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VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

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AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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VEDIC VARIANTS

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

BY

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PREFACE

This second volume of the **VEDIC VARIANTS** deals primarily with Phonetics, included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rime words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important.

The general plan and objects of the **VEDIC VARIANTS** have been described in the Preface to Volume I, *The Verb* (Philadelphia, 1930), which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's. In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me. I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters; those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them. To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter. In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials. This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists.

Cordial thanks are again due to the **LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA** and to the **AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES**, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

Dr Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on **Noun Inflection**. With his able and vigorous cooperation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon. Dr Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb) Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*

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

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

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTORY

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV, the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in

pra vācam (9 35 4a *vājam*) *indur iṣyati* RV 9 12 6a, 35 4a,

'Soma sends forth speech (substance)' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf *RVRep* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

§2. More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j*

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *uṣṭaye hasāya* RV AV TA,

'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth' For some reason *prāñco*, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittiriyaka the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra* + *añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas*, RV). The commentator's *prāñjah* = *prāñcah* is negligible, TA must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist, they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus

ud usriyāh sṛjate (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB,

'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together' (The TB comm seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools *utsacata udgatatvena sambaddhān karoti prasūrayatīty arthah*) The TB reading is inappropriate, but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *r*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *sṛj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac*. Note, in passing, that the TB reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate sacā*. Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *sṛjate*. Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds. Cf Winternitz in his edition of ApMB, Introduction, xv ff, and xxx.

§4. Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology. Concretely speaking. If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *r* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this

ava sma durhanūyatah (SV *durhṛn*^o) RV SV

Here the RV has an obvious Prakritism which the SV 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic *durhṛn*^o. This does not mean that the SV knows more Sanskrit than the RV, the RV itself knows the stem *durhṛn-* (1.84.16, 7.59.8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation. On the other hand, in the variant

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kuṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ MŚ,

who can decide definitely whether the *u* or *u* for *r* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Bohtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *samkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ*. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *r* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *sṛjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts. Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5 Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments. At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word. By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6 We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics. Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character. Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grabh* and *grah*.

§7 Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting. The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *ks*, *ts*, *ps*, and *ch*). The numerous variations of labial stop with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon).

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant. Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized. The tendency of the Taittiriya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i*. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *d* and *l*, or *dh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).

§9 With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between

ś and *s*, a much smaller number between *ś* and *ṣ*, and a very small number between *s* and *ṣ*. The first two groups contain a considerable number of purely phonetic variants. Between *s* and *h* occur only lexical variants and corruptions, not numerous, but not lacking in interest.

§10 Next, a section on insertion or omission of consonants first of nasals and *anusvāra*, cases which show a marked tendency to harmonize with a shift in quantity of the preceding vowel. Then of *y*, very numerous but mostly morphological (e.g. words identical in meaning but containing or lacking suffixal *y*). But there are groups of phonetic interest, such as that concerning *y* between vowels as sandhi-consonant or 'hiatus-tilger', and *y* after palatals, *nr* after two consonants. Presence or absence of *r* does not display much interest, but that of *v* includes some cases of *v* initial before vowels, partly as 'hiatus-tilger' after a vowel. Cases of presence or absence of *h* and *s* mostly concern initial *s* before stops, and initial *h* before vowels (a sort of psilosis), those of *visarga* point to the light pronunciation of that sound as word-final.

§11 The consonantal variants are concluded with sections on single and double consonants, on assimilation of consonants (with suggestions of Prakritism), and on simplification of consonant groups.

§12 The treatment of the vowels begins with the variations in quantity of simple vowels. Most important and numerous are those between *a* and *ā*, especially the rhythmic lengthening of final *a*. Much light is thrown on the meaning of this phenomenon, our conclusions can hardly be stated in a few words and can best be deduced from the section itself. The variants between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are in general parallel to those between *a* and *ā*, but much less numerous. The numerous shifts in quality between *a*, *i*, and *u* vowels are mostly morphological or lexical in character. On the other hand those between vocalic liquids and *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are largely Prakritic, and of great interest, most numerous are those between *r* and *a*. The variations between diphthongs and simple vowels, and between long and short diphthongs, while mainly morphological (varying grades of ablaut, and presence or absence of the vriddhi of secondary derivation), harbor also some phonetic or dialectic differences.

§13. The variations between *r* and *ar* or *ār*, more rarely *r* and *ir*(*īr*) or *ur*(*ūr*), mainly concern ablaut, and involve also dialectic and lexical shifts. The phenomena of 'samprasāraṇa' show that the variations of *va*(*vā*) with *u* vowels, of *ya*(*yā*) with *i* vowels, and of *ra*(*rā*) with *r* are mainly morphological or lexical, on the other hand variations of *ri*(*rī*)

and *ru(rū)* with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*

§14 Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis), the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h*. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *v* (as *i* and *u*)

§15 Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining), then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplogy and dittology

§16 Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values. The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson

§17 A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rime in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably

§18 Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind, they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back

§19 The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one. A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section

PRAKRITIC INFLUENCES

§20 We have at this point refrained from preliminary illustrations in the set rubrics which have established themselves under our hands. There is, however, one kind of interchange which runs as a red thread thru Vedic tradition, and which is so important that it should receive special treatment and emphasis. We refer to shifts which suggest possible dialectic influence from popular speech, by their resemblance to the phonetics of the later Middle-Indic dialects. (Cf especially Wackernagel I, p XVIII, with references there quoted, and for a brief preliminary outline of our materials, Edgerton in *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 25 ff.) The large mass of variants of this kind, clearly pointing to extensive influence of Middle-Indic phonetics in the earliest periods of the language, seems to us one of the most important results of this volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The principle, to be sure, is not new. But it has never before been illustrated so extensively, and the special character of the illustrations, namely the occurrence of double forms of the variants, with and without Prakritic phonetics, makes them especially valuable and interesting. Moreover, some of the rubrics here included are, we believe, now presented for the first time in Vedic phonology. We find, all in all, the most definite proof of phonetic changes not only in the direction of Prakritism, but also (no less interesting) in the reverse direction, 'hyper-Sanskritism,' which latter indicates a rather definite consciousness, on the part of the handlers of the texts, of the antithesis between the phonetics of the high speech and of the popular dialects.

§21 Taking up such variations in the order of their occurrence in our book, we find at the very outset a large number of variations between surs and sonants, some of which seem to defy lexical explanation, and to be capable of interpretation only as quasi-Prakritic phonetic variants. (See Chapter II, especially §§47-9, 53, 59, 66, 69.) Thus

pikah (KSA *piḡah*) *kṣvñkā nīlaśīrṣṇī te 'ryamne* (KSA '*ryamnah*) TS

KSA. No form but *pika* is known outside of this KSA passage. *citrā etuḡvā* (TB *edaḡvā*) *anumādyāsah* RV MS TB. A pure Prakritism in TB, the coinm does not explain the form. Cf the next, in which MS seems to have a hyper-Sanskritism, the reverse of this. *dīśām devy* (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ḡhrtācī* TS MS. All mss and p p of MS agree on *tevy*, if it means anything at all, it would seem to be a laetic (nursery) word for 'mother'. But it is doubtless merely a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism. Cf *mātrk* (for *māḡṛk*) TA 1 5 1, and §66.

khaḥjīpo 'jopakāśīnīh ApMB *baḥābojopakāśīnī* HG Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure

§22 The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism, we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76-7)

mī nah kaścit prakān (ApŚ *praghān*) KS ApŚ
svāyām tanū (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) *ṛtvye* (RV † *ṛtvye*) *nōdhamānām*
 (ApMB *nūtha*°, MG *bādha*°) RV ApMB MG

§23 Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is, but see Wackernagel I p. 252f, who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, KZ 17. 258ff.

asamhryam [perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*?] *parābhavaṃ* JB *asamhhavyam*
parā° AV See §121

gṛdhrāh śitīkākṣī vārdhrānasas te dityāh (KSA *vārhīnasas te 'dityāh*)
 TS KSA So the single ms. of KSA, v. Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī*°, the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms. reading. See §122

kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ *kakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam ṛṣa*°)
rocata VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ The adjective *kakuhā* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV, where *kakubha* is not known. See §120

§24 Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154-61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic hearings, the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatām*, MS °*riyo jyotatām*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB TB

ava jyām va dhanvanah AV Vait ApMB *ava dyām va dhanvanah* HG

§25. On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below, §163

avatasya (SV *avatasya*) *vsarjane* RV SV We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avata*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore

§26 The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf. Wackernagel I §135). Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *ky*, *tv*, *ṛa* (§§183-6), in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following

achalābhīh (KSA *acharā*^o, MS *alsarā*^o in p p, in s p *matsarā*^o, VS *rkṣalā*^o) *kapinījalān* VS TS MS KSA The same word appears as *rcharā* in AV 10 9 23 Either MS. or VS (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations

§27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *ky* (§§190·1) Tho the Tait form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚS has a corruption of it

idhmasyeva prakṣāyatah (ŚS *prakhyā*^o) TB TA ŚS ApŚ

§28 There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *y* (§§192-3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically Cf Wackernagel I §§188b 140b In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival

sauyāmim (ŚG *sauyāmim*, with both sc *tarpayāmi*) AG ŚG —Cf AV 19 34 2a, *jāgrīkṣyas tripañcāśih* (mss, wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāh* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*, or *yā grīkṣyas*, see Whitney's note to Tranel, and our §192

§29 The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf Wackernagel I p 197, it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5) That between *b* and *v* (§§206-19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not, cf Wackernagel I p 183f

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañcasva*) *pṛthivi mā ni bādhatāh* (TA *vi bādhatāh*) RV AV TA

yatra bānāh (VS *vānāh*) *sampatanti* RV SV VS TS AG Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV in this word, it is not known which is original

§30 The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf Wackernagel I p 225f) A few examples out of many may be quoted here, for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274-9

vi srulayo (AŚ *visrulayo*, ŚS *visru*^o) *yathā pathah* SV AŚ ŚS And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow') Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary The contrary is the case in the next

śukeṣu ni (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ

§31 Much less numerous are the variations between *s* and *ś*, yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288-90)

nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arśat (VS *arśat*) VS VSK IśāU The proper form is *urśat*, VS comm. *ṛśa gatau*

§32 There are very few variations between *s* and *ṣ* (§204)

ye vrkṣeṣu (KS *vaneṣu*) *śaṣṭīśjardh* (TS *śaṣṭi*^o) VS TS MS KS
Thought of the word *śaṣṭi* doubtless influenced TS, and cf *śaṣṭa*
for the other form (a kind of haplogy in each case), see §278

§33. The later confusion between *kh* and *ṣ* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense, cf Wackernagel I p 136) finds surprisingly little representation here, in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295)

kaṣoṭkāya svāhā TA TAA *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU

§34 There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *kh*, which must be similar in character, see §296 below

§35. Under presence or absence of nasals and *anusvāra* occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *śiḥa* for *śinḥa* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf §300)

pūṣne 'ñghṛnaye svāhā TA *pūṣna āghṛnaye* (em, mss *āpṛnaye*) *svāhā*
MŚ *āghṛṇu* is regular

§36 Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tilger' (§§338-44) To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse, but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff.)
vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāyu*) *jītam agnīm* RV SV VS TS MS KS

PB ŚB The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*

§37 In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology. The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pāli* §§5, 6. Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393-8), tho again complicated by other considerations

agne samrād iṣe rāye (Aṣ *rayyāi*) AŚ Aṣ *iṣe rāye* VS MS
ŚB TB (See §396) While the two parallel stems *rai* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to

§38 There are also (§§406-16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants, this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid

abhinne khilye (TB *khille*) *nīdadhātī devayam* RV AV TB This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant, TB can mean nothing but an equivalent of *khilye* (comm *khilībhūte*)

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§620-45) The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *r* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhṛn°*) RV SV The SV restores Sanskritic vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV

tejo yaśasvi sthāvīram samiddham (ŚG *samīddham*) ŚG PG ApMB HG Here ŚG alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a *v* 1 *samiddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*')

purandaro gotrabhid (MS °*bhr̥d*, TB *mughvān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS MS KS TB A hyper-Sanskritism in MS, see §636

tvasṛmantas (MS MŚ *tvasṛi°*, ApŚ *tvasṛu°*) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

samvatsara r̥tubhīh samvidānah (KS °*bhīs cāklpānah*, ApŚ °*bhīs cākupānah*) MS KS ApŚ

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *r*, and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *r* as *ri* or (e.g. Marāṭhī) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants *ru* for *r* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants. Besides *tvasṛmantas* (*tvasṛi°*) etc., §39, we may quote from §§666-84

tr̥ṣucyavaso (MS *tr̥ṣu°*) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV MS The adverb *tr̥ṣu* is the only possible form here, the variant of MS is purely phonetic *bhr̥mim* (TB *bhrumim*) *dhamanto apa yā avṛnata* RV TB The mss of TB seem to be unanimous on *bhrumim*, an otherwise unknown form

pruṣvā aśrubhīh VS MS *aśrubhīh pruṣvām* (TS *pr̥ṣ°*) TS KSA The form *pr̥ṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait. texts, it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703-12, 728-32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic. Among the clearest phonetic variants are

avārāya kevarītam VS *pārāya kavīrtam* TB The usual form is *kat°* *sukurīrā swaupāsā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarīrā svopāsā* MS Several mss of MS and its pp read *swaupāsā*

§42. The familiar Prakritic reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744-9, e.g.

namah kīrtīdāya ca kṣayanāya (MS *kṣenāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS
kṣena is otherwise unknown
to-to (MS KS MŚ *tava-tava*, TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rāyah* VS TS MS KS
 ŚB ApŚ MŚ

§43 The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *i*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751-65)

tan nah paṣad (MS *paṣad*) *atī dvīṣah* TS MS Cf Wackernagel
 I p 57

CHAPTER II SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44 These are treated in the following order *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh* (For *g* and *kh* see §82, *ṭ* and *dh*, §97f, *p* and *bh*, §§112-14) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change. They concern, too, for the most part, rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless. It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original.

k and *g*

§45 We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense. In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate, both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools.

athāham anukāminī (MŚ °*gāminī*) TS ApŚ MŚ How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV 1.34.5cd, *yathā nām kamīny aso yathā man nūpaṅṅ asah*. Yet MŚ (all mss) is no doubt secondary.

gṛnatā nah smṣṭaye AV *gṛnatam nah smṣṭam* (MS KS °*am*) VS TS MS KS 'Sing for us unto well-being', 'make well being for us'. The meter of AV is easier, but the *āpri* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54, Keith, *HOS* 18 clx) as to throw doubt upon its version of this *pāda*, easier tho it be. The word *gṛnatā* is preceded by *gṛnata* (other forms of *gṛn*° in the other Saṁhitās), this suggests that *gṛnatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered.

mitrāvarunā saradāhnām (MS °*hnā*) *cikītnū* (MS *cikīttam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikīttam*) TS MS KS AŚ *cikītnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent', tho not quoted in the lexicons) and *jigatnū* of KS ('swift') are both reasonable. See RV 7.65.1, where *jigatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuna (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2.50).

namah kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaḥ ca vo namah MS KS *namo gr̥tsebhyo gr̥tsapatibhyaḥ* VS TS See §185

talo na vicikitsati (VSK ĪśāU *vijugupsate*) VS VSK ĪśāU *na talo vijugupsate* KU *na tadū vicikitsati* ŚB BṛhU 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate The Kānva recension of BṛhU has *jugupsate* Cf AV 13 2 15b

dhr̥psyam vā samcakara janebhyaḥ MS *yad vādāsyam samjagārā janebhyaḥ* TB *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyaḥ* TA Cf *dāsyann adāsyann uta sam gr̥nāmi* (TA and AVPPP *uta vā kur̥ṣyam*) AV TA *adāsyann. agna uta sam gr̥nāmi* AV In all these passages *sam-gr̥* seems to mean 'devour, eat', the doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV 6 71 3 and 6 119 1) If 'devour' is right, *sam-raharu* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning

§46 We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*

ukhām (ApŚ *garbham*) *sravanīm agadīm akarma* (KŚ *aganma*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading, see VV I p 211

urvīm gavyāni pariśudam no akran AV *ūrvam gavyam pariśudanto agman* RV KS The original RV, 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV, 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney)

vadhūr jajāna (AV *jagāya*, MS KS *mimāya*) *navagaḥ* (ŚG *navukṛḥ*) *janitri* AV VS TS MS KS ApMB ŚG See Whitney on AV 3 10 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagaḥ*, the European guesses are scarcely better ŚG tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand *imam loḡam* (TA *lokam*) *nidadhan mo aham riḡam* RV AV TA 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury' TA *lokam* (after *imam*, this follows so naturally¹) makes no sense here The comm in fact interprets it as *loḡam* (= *loḡam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate dṛṣyate iti loko loḡat*¹) Some mss and the comm of AV read like TA, however

pary āgāram (AŚ *ākāram*) *punah-punah* AV AŚ ŚŚ Only *āgāram* makes sense, something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form' The preceding (in AV, preceding but one) *pāda* is *yadi* (*yadīm, lehm*) *hanat katham hanat*

indrāpāsya phaligam ApMB *indrāyayāsya śephām alikam* HG
The correct reading is certainly *phaligam*

mano jagāma dūrakam (PB *dūragāh*) RV PB The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*, *dūragāh* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next *pāda*, *tan ma āvartayā punah* This, according to the PB comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāh* does not fit at all) *rājānah satyam kṛtvānāh* (AV *gṛhṇānāh*, but Ppp *kṛtvāno*) RV AV Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better

tasya rathagṛtsas (MS *°kṛtsnās*, KS *°kṛtsās*) *ca rathaujās ca senānigrāmanyau* (TS *senāni°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The word *ratha°* is a proper name, 'chariot-clever', *°kṛtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to *°kṛtsna*, which does not fit.

abhūr gṛṣṭinām (AV **v āpīnām* mss, R-Wh *vaśīnām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc, ApMB and one ms of HG *āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*) *abhisastipā u* (HG ApMB *°pāvā*) AV (bis) HG ApMB *bhavā gṛṣṭinām* (AV *gr°*, but Ppp *kr°*) *abhisastipāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG See Whitney on AV 19 24 5, Roth, ZDMG 48 110 The word must mean 'people', 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyana's ludicrous attempt to justify it)

prānān samkrośati MS *samkrośān prānān* (VS *°krośati prānān*) VS TS *sumghośān* (ms *°gośān*) *prānān* KSA Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA (*ś* for *ś*, loss of *r*) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant

§47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation. At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion. The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools

nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam Vait *nikīrya tubhyam madhye* ApŚ *niḡīrya tubhyam madhvah* MŚ *niḡīrya sarvā ādhīh* KŚ The passages are unintelligible, *kir*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *ni*, which points, perhaps, to *niḡīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvah* in MŚ)

lena samhanu kṛnmasi AV *lena sann anugrhndsi* HG The meaning of AV is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note) The individually irreproachable words of HG mouth over an uncomprehended text Cf §386

arepasah sacetasah (etc) *vasare manyumattamās* (SV ApŚ °*mantaś*) *cite goh* (SV *citā goh*, ApŚ *citākoh*) SV AV ApŚ MŚ *citākoh*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem **cidāku*, is corrupt *śakma yat te goh* MS KS *śagme* (TS *samyat*) *te goh* VS TS ŚB 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS KS, perhaps correctly and originally In VS ŚB *śagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma* But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*) It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam* VS comm, followed by Griffith, *śagme yajamāne* ('), *goh gauh* (very simple') BR read in TS *sampdte* with one ms (p p *samydt, te*), but the comm, followed by Weber, JSt 13 107, takes *samydt* as = *samyak* So also Keith ('to match thy cow') BR regard *sampdte* as = *śagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel', they render 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst' They therefore derive *śagma* from *sa* and *gam*

rudra yat te krayi (VS KS *krvi*, VSK *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri-*) *param rūma tasmā* (VS MS ŚB *tasmā*) *hutam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible The reading *giri-* is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat

idam aham sarpānām dandaśūkānām grīvā upa grahṇāmī (MŚ mśe *kṛtsnāmī*, Knauer conjectures *kṛnatmī*) TS ApŚ MŚ 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents' But *kṛtsnāmī* is not *kṛnatmī*, and the MŚ may have merely a corruption of TS, in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumān enam* etc, §48

Cf also *jāgrtsyas tripañcāsīh* etc, §192

§48 In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions

invakā (MS °*gā*) *nakṣatram* MS KS This name for the constellation Mṛgaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR (V 1144) only once more (TB 1 5 1 1) The priority of *invaka*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS may have felt the word as a compound of *inva* plus *ga, gā*

sā prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG HG ApMB
dhenukā is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milk cow'. In *dhenugā* there
 may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow',
 but the form is essentially Prakritic.

dāuh kāysthām ivāsan (read °*ram* with comm., Ppp., Whitney, and
 Bloomfield) AV 2 14 5b. All mss. *gāsthām, kā*° is emendation.
 Ppp. also (ms) *gā*° (em. Barret, JAOS 30 193, *kā*°), comm. *glāsthām*
ṛikah (KSA *ṛigah*) *kṣvīkā nilasīṛṇī te 'ryamne* (KSA °*mnah*) TS
 KSA. The word is always *ṛika*, except here.

ṛkāhastā (TS KŚ *ṛkāhastā*, MS *ṛgāvastā*, one ms. *ṛkā*°) *nṛyāṅginah*
 VS TS MS KS. The stem concerned is always *ṛka* 'spear',
 except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation,
 perhaps based on these readings.

namah ṛkāyibhyo (TS *ṛkānbhyo*, MS *ṛgāyibhyo*) *nṛhāneadbhyah*
 VS TS MS KS. See preceding.

vīnūganakīno (ŚB °*gīno*) *devair imam yajamānam samgūyata* ŚB ApŚ.
 Also *vīnūganakīnah pūrvaih saha sukṛdhi rājubhir imam yaja-*
mānam samgūyatu ApŚ. *vīnūgarūginah pūrānair imam yajamānam*
rājahhīh nādhuṛdḥīh samgūyata ŚB. Cf. further KŚ 20 3 2.
 Altho the compound *vīnū*° does not occur outside these passages,
 its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it
 seems that it must contain *-ganaka*, with suffixal *ka*. Perhaps
 the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication
 from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm. on ŚB and KŚ, both of which
 implausibly understand *vīnū-gana* as meaning 'a quantity of
 [various kinds of] lutes'), cf. Conc. under *gāyatam*.

puṛṅkasthalā (KS † *puṛṅga*°) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu*°) *cāpsarasau*
 VS TS MS KS ŚB. This name of an Apsaras appears in later
 literature, always with *k*.

pumān enam tunuṭa ut kṛnattī RV. *pumān enam vāyaty ud grnattī* AV.
 See Whitney's note on AV 10 7 43. *grnattī* is doubtless a mere
 corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath*, *granth* 'tie',
 which with *ud* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛt*. More or less the
 reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *śdam aham* etc.

§49. In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence
 to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*, the words are almost
 or quite ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

viryam kuhābhyām (KSA *gu*°) TS KSA. A part of the horse's body.
 For *ku*° the TS comm. says, *hastayor madhyasamidhi* (cf. *viṣu-kuh*).
 The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda'. Neither is
 recorded lexically.

- pratīkramaṇam kuṣṭhābhyām* (KS *gu*^o) TS KSA *ākramaṇam ku*^o MS
Both otherwise unknown, like the preceding they designate a part
of the horse's body Bhāskara, *hasṭāparārdhamāni*, Keith, 'the
two centres of the loins' Cf *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc
- agne kahya* MS KS MŚ (*agne*) *gahya* TS Neither in lexs, and
neither interpretable Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking
of *gāhya*)
- salilah saligah saḡaras te na ādityā haṇiḡo juṣṭnā vyantu svāhā* MS KS
lekah salekah sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣṭnā vyantu TS ApŚ
All isolated and uninterpretable
- grāmyamañkiradāsakau* ApŚ *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MŚ *vyāgh-*
ram mañgīrudāsa gauh Vait In Vait read *mañgīradāsagau*, or
possibly with Caland, *ādāsakau* Two proper names, Mañgīra or
Mañkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dās^o), are involved
- namo vah kirikebhyo* (MS MŚ *namo girikebhyo*) *devānām hṛdayebhyah*
VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ In such a formula, of the Śatarudriya,
either epithet remains doubtful, tho *gīrika*, of course, suggests
'mountain-boru' like *gīrikā* etc The possibility of different lexical
interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably
purely phonetic
- uruka urukasya* (ApŚ *uruga urugasya*) *te vācā vayam sam bhaktena*
gamemahi (MS *mahy agne gṛhapate*) MS ApŚ Neither form is in
the lexs, *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland)
Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?
- vi te bhīnadmi takarīm* (KS *rim*, AV Ppp [Roth] *tagarim*, AV *mehanam*)
AV TS KS ApŚ There is no evidence as to the meaning of
takarī (*ri*, *tag*^o) except the context and the variant *mehanam*,
and none whatever as to its derivation or original form

c and j

§50 Prakritic interchanges between the two sounds go in both
directions (Pischel, §202) This of itself makes difficult the appraisal
of their phonetic aspect in the variants Moreover all variations
produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that
priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority
of one or the other text We are unable to discover anything like a
concerted movement, either from c to j or vice versa But on the
whole we have the impression that the main current is from c to j, and
that it is Prakritic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aj* from *ud-ac*)

§51 Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam*. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV itself.

pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati RV (both)

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior, see *RVRep* 410. In the next following cases *vācam* is also original.

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu VSK *vācaspatir vācam* (VS *† 91, ŚB *† 5 1 1 16 *vājam*) *nah svadatu* VS KS ŚB SMB *vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti* (MS °tu) *nah* (TB *te*, Poona ed *nah*) TS MS KS TB. The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary.

pavitravantuḥ pari vācam (TA *vājam*) *āsate* RV TA N. The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

premam vājam vājasāte avantu AV *premām vācam vīśvām avantu vīśve* TS MS KS. In all texts the preceding pāda reads *maruḥām manve adhi no* (AV *me*) *bruvantu*. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV 3 14 1, 5 29, 3, 10 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests. AV is a banal recast.

vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam VS ŚB *vājam asman ni dhehi devāyuvam* MS *tapojām vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam* TA. In MS a specious lectio facilior, *tapojām* in TA, as well as the *vip-rānām devayā vācas* of RV 5 76 1, prove that the other texts are right.

§52 In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word.

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS MŚ *sā samnaddhā sanuḥi vājam enam* (MG *sanuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this))' or the like. *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam*. In MŚ *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Pratiprasthātṛ binds the woman as he recites this verse (*iti pratiprasthātṛ yoktreṇa patnīm samnahyati*), *vācam* is simple but secondary.

indrām vājam vi mucyadhvam TS KS TB *indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam* MS MŚ. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ajīyapata*, cf *ajīyapatendram vājam* VS ŚB. As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required, *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvatī', is far-fetched. Cf *vājajic* and *vājajityāyā* in Conc.

asredhanta itana vājam acha RV *adroghāntā vācam acha* AV. The

poor meter and general corruption of AV (in which RV 3 14 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible, see Whitney's note. The *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacanā* and *ojasā*,

sum eta vāvā (AV † *vāve*) *vacanā* (SV *ojasā*) *patim divah* AV SV — Ppp evidently means to read *ojasā*, its text, as quoted by Roth, has *vāvā oham ā*. This supports SV, tho the otherwise corrupt Śaunakīya text makes as good sense as its rivale 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer)'. See, however, above under *vācam asme* §51.

§53 There are next a pair of riming variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schöpfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj*. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym 'drive out' in the scope of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV 1 95 7 *uc chukram atkam ajate simasmil*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved Stud* 2 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac*.

avīraghnīr ud ajantu (ApMB *arantu*) *āpah* AV ApMB 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons', cf *vyukṣat krūram ud acantu āpah* ApMB 1 1 7 Weber, *Ind St* 5 198, and Whitney on AV 14 1 39 go the length of emending *ajantu* to *arantu*, which is doubtful practice (cf §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with *arantu*, despite RV 1 95 7 above.

samudrād udajani vah (ApŚ *udacanniva*) *srucā* MS ApŚ. Here MS is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'.

§54 There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary, it seems that they divide the honors of originality.

caniṣṭhad (SV *ja°*) *agne aṅgīrah* RV SV. Little can be done with the anomalous *caniṣṭhad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906h, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 74 11), less with *janīṣṭhad*, tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.

sāntro 'si canoṭhāh (MS *janadhāyāh*) VS MS ŚB Cf *tuttho 'si janadhāyāh* (PB °*yah*) MS KS PB MŚ *stuto 'si janadhāh* TB ApŚ 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher)'. The preponderance of texts favors *jana-*, there is no other criterion, both are reasonable enough.

§55 In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible.

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *ñṛṭaye hasāya* RV AV TA See §2
devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS *devāvuyam*) *prñactm* (so MS by emendation,
 mss mostly *prñajm*! ApŚ *prñajm*) *yajñasyāyūṣe* MS KS ApŚ
 MŚ *prñajm* (all mss of ApŚ) is supported by Dhātup and by
anavapṛṣṇa RV 1 152 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p 117
 and doubtfully by Whitney (*Roots*) under *prc* See however
 Scheftelowitz, *IF* 33 136, and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* 1 33 (root
 **parzḡ*) But the matter is uncertain, the forms with *g, j* may be
 based on root *prc*, and due to proportional analogy with other
 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain
 forms (e.g., *bhanakti bhagna bhanajm* = *prñakti pṛḡna prñajm*)
 —In this connexion also

upa mā jakṣur (!) *upa mā manīṣā* KŚ 13 2 19, where *jakṣur* is either
 misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *cakṣur*

§66. In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the redupli-
 cation of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns, see §45
mītrāvaruṇā saradāhnuīm (MS **hnā*) *cikītnū* (MS *cikīttam*, KS *jigatnū*,
 AŚ *cikīttam*) TS MS KS AŚ

tato na vicikītsati (*vijugupsate*), etc
dhitṛṣyam vā samcalara jānebhyaḥ, etc

§67 The remaining cases are miscellaneous

somah sulaḥ pūyate ayyamānah (SV *sula ṛcyate pūyamānah*) RV SV
 Here the original form of root *aj* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV
 by *rc*, 'praise', a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency
ve kratum api vṛñjanti viśve (AV **prñcanti bhūri*) RV AV (both) SV
 TS AA ApŚ MŚ 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind' The
 combination *api aprīk* once more AV 10 4 26, and nowhere else
 For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOI* 35 281

agne vyacasva (RV MS *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS 'O Agni,
 make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth' AV
 has a contaminated lectio facilior, cf RV 10 111 2 *mahānti cit*
sam vivyācā rajān., and the converse, RV 8 12 24, *na yam vivikto*
rodasī, or 10 112 4, *yasya mahimānam ime mahī rodasī*
nāviviktīm

divas (SV *divah*) *prṣṭham udhī tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV † *rohanti tejasā*) RV
 SV With metathesis of *c(j)* and *t*

ud usṛiyāḥ ṣṛjate (TB *ṣacate*) *sūryah sacd* RV SV TB See §3
anāhanasyam vasanam carīṣnu (ApMB HG *ja*°, PG *jarīṣnuh*) ŚG
 PG ApMB HG As an epithet of a garment, *jarīṣnu* would mean
 possibly 'much worn' or the like, as an epithet of the subject,

aḥam (PG), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age' To us (contrary to the opinions of Kurste and Oldenberg on HG) *ja*^o seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŚG *carīṣṇu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend')

jāmim (KS † *camu*) *mā hīṅśir amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB ApŚ MŚ *mā jāmim moṣir amuyā śayānām* AV — The KS reading (of a single ms) should certainly be corrected to *jāmim*

gharmas trīśug vi rājati (ŚŚ *rocate*) VS ŚB ŚŚ Hardly belongs here, *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājati*

yuktās tīro vimṛjah (comm *viḥṛjah*) *sūryasya* PB *yunajmī tīro viṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *viṛtah sūryah save* [or, *savah*]) TS ApŚ MŚ In PB the comm has two equally fatuous guesses on *viḥṛjah* 'dividers' (of the sun) But there is little more sense in *viṛcah*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun), it seems to be applied collectively to *pṛthivi*, *vāyu*, and *vāc* It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR take it Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces', Caland and Henry, *Agniṣṭoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'

girā ca (AV *virājah*) *śruṣṭih saḥharā asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP's *mas* (and his oral reciters) and the comm *śruṣṭih* for *śru*^o Whitney adopts *śru*^o, which Ppp also intends with its *sunīṣṭas* (Barret, *J.AOS* 30 207) See §865

parā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *caḥṛbhya*, p p *valṭṛbhya*) *āṭṛdah* (MS *da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB The original is obscure enough, but MS is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible Note its loss of final *h* (§384)

t and *d*

§58 We have found practically no variants here, the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (VV I p 217)

visvāvasam namamā gīrbhīr īde (ApMB *īl(e)*) RV ApMB

t and *d*

§59 Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable

citrā etagvā (TB *eda*^o) *anumādyāśah* RV MS TB The comm on TB

ignores the word. The etymology of *etaḡva* (AJP 17 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change

pārāvataghnīm (TB °*daghnīm*) *avase svṛktibhīh* RV MS KS TB N *pārāvataghnīm* (sc *sarāvatīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance'. TB comm has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *avadaghnīm*, root *dagh*, something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank')

sa im pāhi yu rjīṣī tarudrah (VaradapU *tarudrah*) RV AB GB TB NṛpU VaradapU. Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudrah*, as if 'tree-cleaving'

ime 'rātsur ime subhūtam (MŚ *sūdam*) *akran* TB ApŚ MŚ. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdam*, for *subhūtam*, since it is followed immediately by

ima udvāsikārīna (MŚ *imā uddhāsūcārīna*) *ime durbhūtam* (MŚ °*dam*) *akran* TB ApŚ MŚ. Cf prec

agotām anapatyātām (vulgate with most inss *anapadyātām*) AV 4 17 6b. Some inss and the comm read *anapatyātām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām*. Cf RV 3 54 18 *yuyotu no anapatyāru paśunān astu gūtuk*

yudā rākhātyau vadatah ApŚ *yudā rāghatī varadah* Vait *yad adyā-rādhyam valantah* MŚ. See §§70, 272a. Vait is thoroly Prakritic.

§60 In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*. *vayam hi vām purutamāso* (AV °*dam*°) *asvinnā* AV AŚ ŚŚ. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *kāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *asvinnā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV 7 73 1 (*purudansā purutamā*)? Roth, ZDMG 48 107, and Whitney on AV 7 73 1, consider the AV form, 'having many houses', corrupt

mā me hārīti dvīṣā (MŚ *hārdim dvīṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ. A replica of RV 8 79 8c *mā no hārīti* etc., *dvīṣā* is lect fac.

sato vah pitaro deṣma VS *sado* etc. ApŚ SMB GG. In VS 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you'. The others with lect fac, 'a seat, O Fathers' etc., this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *grhu* in the preceding pāda *grhān nah pitaro datta*. Cf the next

mukham sad asya śira it satena (TB *sadena*) VS MS KS TB. The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MS p p and VS comm), TB comm apparently reads *sam asya*. VS comm takes *satena* from a stem

sata, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, 'chāndasah' TB *sadenu*, taken by its comm to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asyu* Cf prec

śivā rātsyū (VSK *śiva rātsya*, TS and v1 of MS *śivā rātsya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS See §684

gāva upāvatāvataṁ (SV *upa vadāvate*) RV SV VS In SV a form of *upa-vad*, in the others, of *upa-uv* SV is uninterpretable, its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāvah*

svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (SV *udāsaran*) RV SV In SV a form of *ut-ā-sr* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *uta+asaran*

ya ātrnaty (V1Dh *ātrnoty*, SamhitopB *ātrnoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh *avidathena*) *karnau* SamhitopB VāDh V1Dh N *avidathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt

yathāpah pravatā yanti TA TU Kauē *yathā yanti prapadah* SMB The latter is secondary, Jorgensen 'wie die Wege gehen' In his note he suggests *pratipadah*, which is not enticing in view of the variant

agne tīn vettha yadi te jātavedah HG ApMB *tram vettha yati te jātavedah* RV VS *yadi*, 'if', is lect fac

ā vatso jagatā (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadāh*) *saha* AV AG PG ApMB HG MG *jagadāh* (comm 'guards', *anugai rakṣakāh*) is certainly poor and secondary The comm however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows

iśānam jagadāh saha PG *iśāno jagatas patih* AV TS KS ApMB The context is different, the two pīdas are hardly variants of each other PG comm *jagadāh*, *anucarāh* Cf prec

hīnā na ājyam pra patāt patīṣṭhah (AV *prapadāt patīṣṭhah*) RV AV MG In RV, 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying' AV, doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, bring on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV version)

varū varanti dhṛṣatā (MŚ mss °*dā*, one, *dhṛṣudā*) *rujantah* RV TS JB ŚB MŚ The corruption of MŚ miss is due to thought of *dhṛṣad*, 'mill-stone' RV 8 49 (Vāl 1) 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yukṣmād dūrītād avartiyu* (AV *avadhyāt*) AV TB ApMB *avarti* 'distress' seems likely to be original

ā sutrāṃne (MS KS *bhūyṣṭhaddāṃne*) *sumatim āvṛnānah* AV MS KS
oṣṣṭhaddāṃne sumatim gṛnānāh TS See §355

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older, they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older

§61 In the next group we find different division of the words, but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf §65)

pathā madhumatā bharaṇ (MS *madhumad ābharan*) VS MS TB
Either reading is interpretable, in VS TB *madhu*^o goes with *pathā*, in MS with the object of *ābharan*. We judge that the former is probably original, cf RV 10 24 6 *madhuman me parāyanam madhumat punar āyanam*

yena bhūyaś carīty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *cu rātryām*) AG ApMB
MG *yena bhūriś carā divam* PG The original form is that of ApMB MG, of which AG is a corruption PG changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p 235), this is connected with the further change that introduces *divam*

tvam no devatāṭaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV — Ppp reads *devatāṭaye*, indicating that AV (Ś) is secondary It makes, however, a sort of crude sense 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving'

arepasah saretasah *cite goh* (*ritā goh, cidākoh*), see §47 Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-k*)

jivann eva prati tat te (so Jorgensen for SMB, v 1 *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi*
(SMB *dadāmi*) T'A SMB † *jivann eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ
The latter is corrupt

§62 The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement. They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading. Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables

ahā neta (GB *netar a-*, ŚŚ *ahād eta*) *sann avicetanāni* AV AB GB ŚŚ
ahā ned asann apurogavāni (so divide) JB — This is followed by
yajñā (JB Caland, *yajñā*) *netu sann apurogavāsah* (JB Caland, *avice-*

tanāsah) AV AB GB JB *yajñād etu sann apurogavāsah* ŚŚ
Gaastra reads GB as *yajñā netar asann apuro*², and so in the prec, read in GB *netar asann* Weber, *Ind St* 9 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV etc. The true form of the two pādas is *ahā ned asann av*^o, *yajñā ned asann apuro*^o, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader' So

Caland, *ZDMG* 72 24f, who quotes JB as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives AV and ŚŚ are hopeless, but GB (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense

§63. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older

pari doṣād udarpitah KŚ *pariṣṭāt tad arpitā* ApŚ Preceded in KŚ by *yo me 'dya payaso rasah*, in ApŚ by *yan me 'tra payasah* It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari*, sc my] fault') from KŚ, and reads *udarpitah* We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ to accord with it, *pariṣṭāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect fac, is clearly what ApŚ intended

godhāyavam vi dhanasair adardah (TB *atardat*) RV AV MS TB The antique and rare *adardah* (3d sing imperf intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ *hitu*, v 1 *hitu*) 'si (MŚ † *bhava*) TS MŚ The latter is simply a lect fac

sapta rājānu ya udābhṛṣṭāh KS AA *anṁ sapta rājāno ya udābhṛṣṭāh* TB The TB stumbles over *ulā*, 'with water', and ences it up to the colorless adverb *uta*

yāś ca (AV *yā devīr* (SMB *devyo*, PG *devis*) *antān* (AV *antān*, PG *tantūn*) *abhito 'ladanta* (PG SMB *tatantha*) AV PG SMB ApMB *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (so em, 1188 *tatantha*) MG The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrously augmented form *atatantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi) Roth, *ZDMG* 48 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for '*dadanta* In PG, however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha* The comm on PG (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license Cf VV I p 139f

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāli (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS *yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti* MS KS Of course RV is original, but *vitatah* is found also in the AV version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā*

vidad yadī (MS † *yadī*, TB ApŚ *yatī*) *sarunā rignam* (MS † *saramārunam*) *adreh* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ The original *yadī* (*yadī*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem pple *yatī* (TB comm

gachantī) suggested by the final *ī* of *yadī*, and supported by RV 5 45 7 *yaṭī saramā* Saramā, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler, cf RV 10 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *ṛāt* at the end of 3 31 6, the stanza here concerned Caland in his Translation of ApŚ unwisely abandons *yaṭī* for *yadī*

yai *vo devā atipādayāni* (AŚ ^ṛ*layāni*) TB AŚ ApŚ *ati-pad* and *ati-pat* are synonyms, 'transgress' TB conim *akaranam anyathā-karanam cātipatāh* There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other)

ūrdhvā yasyāmatu bhū (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK *ati dyutat*) *sarīmani* AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ N The VSK reading, if authentic, is secondary See VV I p 128

śvetāya vaidārvāya (PG ^ṛ*darvāya*, ApMB HG ^ṛ*darvāya*, MG *vaitahavyāya*) AG ŚG PG ApMB HG MG The epithet *vaitahavya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding

§64 In the following cases the *t* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school

turas ca visvā arṇod apa svāh RV *turas ca visvam arnavat tapasvān* AV † Whitney translates AV 'inay he, quick, rich in fervor, send all' Since Ppp agrees with RV, it is clear that AVŚ is secondary But *turas* is lexically defensible

tvam rājāni pradāh (VS VSK *pratapat*) *sutānām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS N *pratapat* is hardly intelligible, Mahidhara takes *pratapat* *sutānām* as a compound, ignoring the accents 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight'

harinasya raghuṣyadah (ApŚ ^ṛ*ṣyadah*, two mss ^ṛ*ṣyadah*) AV ApŚ Caland adopts the AV reading, if ApŚ really intended ^ṛ*tah*, it simulates a pres pple form from a denominative ^ṛ*raghuṣyag-* *agne* (Poona ed *agre*, but conim *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v 1 ^ṛ*yan*, not in Poona ed) TB *agre vikṣu pratīdayat* RV Conim on TB, groggily *pratīdayat*, *pratyekam eva prāptam āsīt* (as if *pratī*, id, *ayat*)

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61)

satyā tū dharmanas patī ApŚ *satyād ā dharmanas* (ŚŚ and mss of MŚ

^onā) *patī* (Vait MS *pari*, ŚŚ omits) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MS Caland in his *Tranel* of Vait understands *satyāda* as one word (nom dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApŚ, which is surely wrong in principle. The secondary, ApŚ is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ Followed by *ganulharvah kāmyam varah*. ŚŚ has a lect fac which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitiousness (*tat*, twice).

balim ichanto mtudasya (AG *m tu tasya*, v 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (MahānU AG *preṣthāh*) TAA MahānU AG. The AG attempts to rationalize the obscure *mtudasya* (said by TAA comm to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a $\delta\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ which it does not understand.

§66 The remarkable case of *tevi* for *devī* deserves special emphasis, it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf. §21.

dīśām devy (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghr̥tari* TS MS AŚ

In the *pāda mātṛk kva cana vidyate*, TA 1.5.1d, the comm. (does not read *māḍṛk*, as Cone states, but) interprets *mātṛk* by *māḍṛk*, which seems the only possibility.

§67 A few other special cases with problems of their own.

pitvo (VS MS *pitvo*, KSA *bidvo*) *nyūñkuh lakkatas* (MS *kakuthas*, TS KSA *kasas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA ^oyāh) VS TS MS KSA. None of the forms *pitvo* etc. occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant, remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*.

mayandam (MS MŚ *mayantam*) *chandah* VS T'S KS MS ŚB MŚ. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahīdhara, *sukham dadāti*, Keith, 'delight-giving'. This is probably right. *mayanda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m*. See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21.50ff., Wackernagel 2.1, pp. 204ff.

pariṣītuḥ kveṣyasi ApMB *pariṣīdan kleṣyasi* HG *parimīdhah kva gamiṣyasi* PG. The true reading is that of PG, with *dh* and neither *t* nor *d*. See Stenzler's translation ('unpiss!'). Comin on ApMB gets fairly close in general sense. *chāndaśam dirghatvam, pariṣītaḥ paribaddhah*.

[*susadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ. The AV mss. read exactly as ŚŚ, except that they read *gavom* and *pra śudasi*. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation.]

§68 In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange. In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case.

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devī* (AV KS *devi*) *prathamānā prthag yat*
(AV **nā purastāt*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ

adāh su madhu madhunābhī yodhīh RV AV SV AA MŚ ata i su
madhu madhunābhī yodhi TS

iti cid dhī (AV **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantam RV AV* (both)

grhā nah santu sarvadā (P G *sarvatah*) ApŚ PG HG

dhātā āyantū sarvadā (TA T'U *sarvatah svāhā*) TA TU Kauś *sama-*
vayantu sarvatah SMB

tato na (KU *na tato*, ŚB BṛhU *na taśā*) *vicikitsati* (VSK IśāU KU
vijugupsate) VS VSK ŚB BṛhU IśāU KU See §45 *tato* is
certainly older

pari kṛśatu sarvatah (HG *sarvadā*) HG ApMB

p and *b*

§69 Here occur only a few stray variants

phalgūr (KSA **gur*) *lohitorñī balakṣi* (VS *pal°*, KSA *balakṣī*, em by
ed to **kṣi*) *tāh śārasvatyah VS TS KSA MS balakṣa*, of unknown
etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here The
change to *pal°*, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamina-
tion with *palita*, VS comm simply says that *pal°* means *bal°*
avātīratam bṛsayasya (TB *prathayasya*) *seṣah RV*, TB Bṛsaya, name of a
demon TB comm takes its form also as the name of a demon,
it is clearly a corruption of the RV form

khajāpū '*ṣopakāśñih ApMB bajābojopakāsini HG* The readings
are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible

pitvo (*pidvo*, *bidvo*) , see §67

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable
of *bh* (in *bibharti* etc) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in
pīpartī etc), they are gathered in §112

kh and *gh*

§70 Here again are only a few stray variants

mā nah kaś cit prakhān (ApŚ *praghān*) *mā prameṣmahi KS ApŚ* 'May
no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured' Probably
KS is original, *pra-khān* BR (Nachtrage to V), 'durch Graben zu
Fall bringen' *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han*, tho problem-
atic in form, it appears to ease the meaning Prakritic influence is
likely

saghāsi juyūticandāh TS sakhāsi (ŚŚ adds *palvā*) *juyacchāntāh ŚŚ*
MŚ Cī sakhāsi gāyatram chandah MŚ (Bloomfield, JAOS 16

3ff) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated lect fac, it is clear that *saghā* (stem *saghan*, comm 'vulture') is original, preceded in TS ŚŚ by *syeno* 'si gāyatrachandāh, and *suparno* 'si trayupchandāh (ŚŚ inserting *patā* both times)

yadd rāghaṣṭi varadāh (ApŚ *rākhāṣṭyau vudulāh*) Vait ApŚ *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantāh* MŚ The form *rā°* appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible BaudhīŚ 16 23 reads *rākhāṣṭyuu* (?), and one ms of ApŚ *rākhāṣṭyau*

th and *dh*

§71 Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty. It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence.

§72 In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV, with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV *dh*. Yet the AV, relatively late and popular, surprisingly favors *adha* (*adhā*). The RV in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms. The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*.

§73 We begin with cases in which RV shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*), included is also one case of RV *viśvadhā*, SV *viśvathā* *vi bhūnum viśvadhātānāt* (SV *viśvathā*?) RV SV *adhū jūrī* (AV *atha jūrīr*, ms *jūrīr*, ApMB *athū jūrī*) *vidātham ā vadānī* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB *adhā* (SV *athā*) *no viśvācārṣane* RV SV *adhā* (SV *athā*) *te sakhye andhāno vi no madh* RV SV *adhā* (SV *athā*) *te sumnam imāhe* RV AV SV TS *adhā* (TS MS *athā*) *te syāma varuna priyāsah* RV TS MS KS *adhā* (TS MS *athā*) *katākrato yūyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *rudrasya maryā dhā* (SV *athā*) *svāvīh* RV SV

§74 Next, cases in which RV (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*). The latter occurs most frequently in AV (of course

secondary, cf. the similar preference of AV for the archaic *kṛno-* as against *karo-*, VV I p. 116ff.), once in SV (*ūrdhvadhā* for RV ° *thā*), once or twice in other texts

pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *doḍhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūl* (SV ° *dhā bhūat*)
RV (10) SV

athā (AV *athā*) *nah śum yor arapo dadhāta* (MS ° *tana*) RV (10) AV
VS MS KS N *uthāsmabhyam śum* etc. TS

athā (AV *adhā*) *piṭṇu suvidatrān upehi* (AV TA *uphi*, TS † *apīta*)
RV (10) AV TS TA Add to VV I §370

athā (AV *adhā*) *mano śvasudeyāyu kṛṣva* (AV *kṛnuṣva*) RV (1) AV
Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV is secondary as shown by the meter

athā (AV *adhā*, MS KS *tuto*) *no vurdhayā rayim* (RV JB *gīrah*) RV
(3) VS TS AV MS KS JB ŚB TB JābU

athā (AV *athāh*, comm. *adha*, but Ppp *adhah*, Barret, JAOS 40 161)
sapatnī yā mama RV (10) AV ApMB *adhā sapatnān nūmakān*
AV

atho (AV *adhā*) *vayam bhayavantah syānu* RV (1) AV KŚ ApŚ N

athā (AV *adhā*, comm. *atha*) *vayam āditya vrata tava* RV (1) AV VS
TS MS KS ŚB N *athāditya vrata vayam tava* ArS SMB

athā (KS *adhā*) *śomasya prayatī yuvabhyām* (KS *yuvā*°, v. 1 *yuvā*°)
RV (1) TS KS N

athā (MS *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pīthah* RV (2) TS MS

§75 Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV again prefers the *dh* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th*

udha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu*
AV KS ApŚ *athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu* MS

adhā jivema saradāni śatāni AV *atho jiva saradāh satam* VSK And others, see Conc. under *asau jīva*

adhā (IG *atha*) *mūst punar ā yūta no gṛhān* AV HG

adhā (MS MŚ *athā*) *poṣasya poṣenu* VS MS KS MŚ

adhā viśvāhārapu edhate gṛhe VS *atha mīve arapā edhate gṛhah* TS

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS †° *nān*, TS, twice †° *nān*, once ° *nān*)
indro me VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān indrāgnī me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
MŚ

athā jivah (KS *adhā viśvāh*) *pītum addhī pramuktah* (so divide) TS MS
KS *athaitam pītum addhī prasūtah* VS ŚB

adhāsya madhyam edhatām KSA *athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS LŚ
athāsya (TS MS TB ° *syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait ° *tu*, AŚ LŚ
ejatu, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ

indro marudbhīr ṛtuthā (TS ApMB °dhā) *kṛnotu* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ
ApMB

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB ApŚ ṛjudhā) *nayantu* VS TB ApŚ See
§157

§76 Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior. But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, *ZDMG* 40 678ff, cf Wackernagel I p 123)

svāyām tanū (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) *ṛtvye* (RV † *ṛtvye*) *nādhāmānām*
(ApMB *nātha*°, but many mss *nādha*°, MG *bādha*°) RV ApMB
MG

§77 For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older.

avakro 'vithuro (ApŚ 'mith°, Kauś adds 'ham) *bhūyāsam* AŚ ApŚ MŚ
Kauś. That *avithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*, *avidhuro* is clearly secondary.

maṣām nu gād aparo artham (TB ApŚ ApMB *ardham*) *etam* RV AV
VS ŚB TB ApŚ ApMB *mā no nu gād aparo artham etam* TA
ApŚ 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part)
artha and *ardha* are here synonyms, cf RV 1 164 17

abhūr (VS TS *abhur*, NilarU *swa*) *asya niṣāṅgathī* (VS °dthī, NilarU °tī) VS TS MS KS NilarU. Comm on VS 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote *niṣāṅgathī* as meaning 'embracing' etc, the other forms are ἀπλεγ. Probably °dthī is influenced by thought of root *dhū* (popular etymology), while °tī is a mere corruption.

parīdam vāso adhithāh (HG *adhithāh*, ApMB *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV
HG ApMB. The original (AV) form is 2 sing aor mid of *thū*, the personal ending *-thāh* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhū* (*dhāh*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhī*. See VV I p 39

ākhuk kaso mānthālas (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *mānthālas*) *te pitṛnām*
VS VSK MS *pānktrah* (KSA *pānktah*, but all mss of both
TS and KSA *pāntra-*) *kaśo mānthālavas* (KSA † *ma*°) *te pitṛnām*
(KSA † *pitṛ*°) TS KSA. We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else
Said to mean 'flying fox'

indrāvathuh (VSK °*dhuh*, KS * TB ApŚ °*lam*) *kāvyaṣ* (TB ApŚ
karmanā) *darśanābhīh* RV AV VS VSK MS KS (both) ŚB
TB ApŚ The subject is the Aśvins, so that VSK is hardly
interpretable See VV I p 282

apu snehīṭr (SV *snehīṭr*) *urmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS †
urmanām adadhrām) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhī tam urmanām*
(Poona ed *stuhī tam urmanām*) *athadrām* TA See §110

§78. In the rest *dh* seems to be the original

apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ †
ma) *indra* AŚ ŚG *anūmayadhī mā riṣāma nudo* Kauś The origi-
nal (AŚ ŚG) 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra'
This SMB converts into the unbelievable 'be an off-warder of
disease, do not die for us, Indra' At least the comm takes it thus,
seeing in *mṛthā(h)* a 2d sing mid of *mṛ* (one ms reads *mṛdhā*),
riṣāma of Kauś confirms *mṛdh* as original The variation is some-
how connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*tam mā mṛlha*),
which see in §98 On Kauś's reading see §344

madhavyau stokāv (MS °*kā*, AV *mathavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV
yān) *rarādha* AV TS MS Several mss and the comm on AV
read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends

adhōrāma (HG *atho*) *ulumbalah* (HG † *ulumbarah*) ApMB HG *adhō*
= *adhax* is obviously correct, HG mechanically recalls the many
phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q v in Conc

dīrghām anu prasṭim (KS *samṣṭim*) *āyuge dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS
ŚB TB *dīrghām anu prasṭim samspr̥kethām* MS An extensive
alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ye dhām*
°*kethām*)

ph and *bh*

§79 The instances are few and all concern questionable forms
phalāya, and, *phallāya* KhG *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā*
SMB GG The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening
twilight, their meanings are unknown The form with single *l*
and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhalla* is
Prakritic for *bhadra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form
bhallākya which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind St*
2 88)

kanātkābhām (AŚ *pranākūphā*) *na ābhara* TB AŚ See §151

yā sarasvatī varisambhalyā (ApŚ °*balyā*, v 1 °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*)
tasyaṁ me rāsva TB ApŚ See §114

CHAPTER III ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

§80 The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance. In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings. Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended, but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition. Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *t* and *th*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame, and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group. It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent, yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th*—The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff

k and *kh*

§81 Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms *gohya* (ṛiṛagoḥyo *marūka* (PG *mayūkha*) *manohāh* PG SMB Cf *grhyo* etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss vary. The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. fac. The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings.

kaṣoṭkāya (MahānU *khalhokāya*) *svāhā* TA TAA MahānU. The MahānU form recurs in the Purānas, it is interpreted as *kha-kha-ulka* (1), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is *κτλεγ*, and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

g and *gh*

§82 Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form *sukha* is later both times.

sugam (VS MS ŚB *sukham*) *meṣāya meṣyat* (RV *meṣye*) RV VS VSK
TS MS KS ŚB I.Ś

sugam (VS MS *sukham*) *ca me sujanam ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS

g (k) and gh

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt, cf *yena mahānaghnīyā jaghanam* AV Kauś, where apparently all mss of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānagnīyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney

yajñasya ghoṣad aṣi TS TB ApŚ *goṣad aṣi* MS KS MŚ TS comm 'wealth', Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear

yathēyam strī pauṭram agham nu rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG
yathedam strīpauṭram agham nu rudrīyāya MG See §801

tāsām īśāno bhagavah (MS *maghanan*) VS TS MS KS The words are virtual synonyms

apūpakṛd aṣṭake ŚG *apūpaghṛtāhute* ApMB Addressed to an *aṣṭakā*, same context, one must be a phonetic corruption of the other 'O cake-making A', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'

c and ch

§84 Two variants, one an onomatopoeic word
cec-cec chunuka sṛja PG *chad apeh* ApMB Cf the English 'skat'

karnābhyām (PG *gōlānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB *cu°*) *udhī* RV AV
ApMB PG A v 1 of AV with its comin *cubukād*, one ms of ApMB *cibukād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit

j and jh

§85 A single variant

apām naptre jaṣuh (KSA *jhṣuh*) TS KSA *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV), but *jhṣa* is regular in the later language The word is of non-Aryan origin

t and th

§86 These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣt* and *ṣth*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets In nearly every instance the *th* form is proper, or at least more usual Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation

kuṣṭhayā (MS *kuṣṭayā*) *te krīnāni* MS ApŚ Regular is *kuṣṭhā*, designation of a measure, *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically

nadībhyah pauñjīṣṭham (TB °*tam*) VS TB Also

namah puñjīṣṭhebhya (TS °*tebhya*) *nīṣūdebhyaḥ ca vo namah* TS KS

namo niṣādebhyaḥ puñjīṣṭhebhyaś (MS °*ebhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS MS The word *puñj*° or *pauñj*° 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °*tha*, but there is no little fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies.

vanīṣṭum (AB TB AŚ MŚ °*thum*) *asya mā rāviṣṭa* MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ † 5 17 9, MŚ The regular form is *vanīṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation. Knauer (on MŚ) would emend MS to °*thum*.

akorātre ūrvaṣṭive (VS °*ṣṭhīve*) *brhadrathamtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS † *kalpantām*) VS MS (Add to VV I §357) The proper form is *ūrv-aṣṭhīva* the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhī-vant*, 'knee'.

batāpāṣṭhādyā (read with Poona edd °*ṣṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari no vrnaktu* TB TA *śarā viṣṭad* (p p *vā, aṣṭāt*) *dhavṣā vīrnah* (read [a-] *varnah*°) MS As a missile (*heti*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barb'. The MS is entirely corrupt. The Poona ed of both TB and TA makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *agrā*.

anupūrvam yatamānā yati ṣṭha (AV °*ṣṭha*, TA *yatiṣṭa*) RV AV TA *yatiṣṭa* could only be an aorist, but as it retains a double accent (*yātī-ṣṭa*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yatamānā*) for *yātī ṣṭha*, 'as many as ye be'.

ṛdhaḡ ayā (TS MS KS *ayād*) *ṛdhaḡ utāsamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS KS °*ṣṭa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB N *dhruvamaya* (AV *ayo*) *dhruvam utāsamiṣṭhāḥ* (AV *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV AV Here both forms are correct, there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p 241). On the corrupt reading of AV see §234. Cf next.

āṣṭa (MS *āṣṭhah*, KS ms † *āṣṭāḥ*, ein v Schr *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām* TS MS KS PG See VV I p 238, and cf prec.

vīty arṣa vanīṣṭhaya (SV *vanīṣṭaye*) RV SV If the SV reading is tenable at all (*vanīṣṭaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *ti*, whereas RV (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*.

[*nir aṣṭhaviṣam asṃtam* GB Vait ApŚ Quoted in Conc with *aṣṭaviṣam* from GB and Vait. But the Vait reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p 119, and Gaastra reads *aṣṭhaviṣam* in GB without report of variant. Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭaviṣam* never existed. The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhiv* 'spit' (cf *ṣṭhuvā*, ApŚ)]

§87 In the preceding *ṣṭh* is the proper or at least the usual spelling. We now come to the cases where *ṣṭ* seems proper. Both are dubious,

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *th* only in the *pp* of MS

ṣaṣṭim (ŚŚ *ṣaṣṭim*) *sahasrā navatim ca kauramu* AV AŚ ŚŚ The combination *ṣaṣṭim sahasrā* is very common, see e.g. Conc. thereunder ŚŚ, if its reading has any real standing, has confused *ṣaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *ṣaṣṭha*

mā no agnim (*pp agnih*) *nirṣtir mā na āṣṭān* (*pp āṣṭhām*) MS *mā no rudro nirṣtir mā no astā* TA See VV I p 93 The forms are doubtful, read *āṣṭām*?

§88 The following is the sole variant between *t* and *th* not preceded by *ṣ*. Nothing is known about the word *kakutha* or *kakkaṭa* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal
pitva (*pidvo, bidvo*) *kakatas* (*kakuthas*) , see §67

t and *th*

§89 These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning. Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing. No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases. We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged, there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf. VV I, especially §§14ff., 116). Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*, and VV I, especially §§20f., 292ff., 326ff., has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context. There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned.

§90 We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite). They have been listed in VV I p 23f. In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older, in the last five, at least, the *th* form

āpura stī ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā* TS AŚ Add to VV I l c
tam sma jānīta (VSK *tha*) *param vyoman* AV VS VSK TS^o KS ŚB
MŚ *jānīta smarnam* (TS MŚ *jānīlād enam*) *pa^o vy^o* AV TS
MŚ *etam jānītha* (TB *jānītāt*, KS *jānīta*) *pa^o vy^o* VS KS TB

SB Note especially that VSK *jānītha* is apparently a blend of *ḡnīta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānītha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*

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

buddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA °tha, MG °ntu) *yajñīyāsah* RV TA MG

asvā bhavata (AV TS KS °tha) *vājriṇah* AV VS TS MS KS SB

devā bhavata vā° RV

lena krīdantīś (ŚG krīl°) *carata* (ŚG °tha) *pryena* (AV *vaśān anu*) AV
TS ŚG PG VīDh *vaśān anu* in AV is due to infection from RV
1 82 3, 10 142 7

devebhyo bhavata (TB °tha) *suprāyanāḥ* RV AV VS MS KS TB N
datto *asmabhyam* (KS *dattvāsma°*, AŚ *dattāyāsma°*, SMB *dattāśma°*)

dravneha bhadrām AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravnam
yac ca bhadrām* MS

ye 'tra pītarah bhūyāstu AV ŚŚ *ya etasmin loke bhūyāsta* TS

TB A primary ending on a precative form is absurd, yet all mss
of AV and ŚŚ seem to agree on °*tu*, see Whitney on AV 18 4 86

arīlūg udabhartsuta (AV miss °tha) AV ŚŚ The AV reading, aug-
mented but with °*ta*, is a monstrosity Roth's violent emendation,
asannā udabhīr yathā, has no standing

aulaba (HG °va) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG °ta) ApMB HG Several
mss of ApMB read °*ta*, in such trash as this it makes little differ-
ence what is read

saputrikāyām jāgratha PG *yajamīnāya jāgrta* ApŚ See note in Stenz-
ler's translation of PG 1 16 22

indrena yujā (TB *sayujā*) *pra mṛṇīta* (TB °tha [Bibl Ind *pranītha*])
katrin AV TB Add to VVI §16

payasvatīḥ kṛnuthāpa (TS °tāpa) *oṣadhīḥ śivāḥ* (TS omits *śivāḥ*) AV
TS Followed by

ūrjām ca tatra sumatīm ca pīnvata (TS °tha) AV TS (Add to VVI §18)

The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in
both, yet both are inconsistent Little weight is to be attached to
the Ppp readings, quoted by Roth as having *t* thruout the stanza,
even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutah śivāthā madhu*), where the
relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative, see VVI pp
78f) Contrariwise, the AV comin reads *pīnvatha* for °*ta*, which

seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*
yad āmayati nṛṣ kṛtha (TS MS KS *kṛta*) RV VS TS MS KS *kṛtha*,
tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists
like *kṛthi*, is the older reading, *kṛta* lect far

yūyam (MS *divo*) *vṛṣṭim varṣayathū* (MS °*tā*) *purīṣṇah* RV TS MS
KS — MS, which borrows *divo vṛṣṭim* from e.g. RV 2 27 15b, is
secondary also as regards °*tā*

ud irayathā (MS MŚ °*tā*, AV KS °*ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV AV
TS MS KS AŚ MŚ

§91 About equally often second and third duals containing *th* and *t* interchange (listed VV I pp 24f) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (reference quoted §89) We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older, in the majority there is little to choose between them

citrebhur abhrur upa tṣṭhatho (MS °*to*) *ruvam* RV † MS Followed by
dyām varṣayatho (MS °*to*) *asurasya mānyā* RV MS See VV I p 241
yāv (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhrto* (KS † °*tho*, AV *visatho*) *yau ca*
rakṣatah (AV KS † °*thah*) AV TS MS KS Followed by

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhipā*) *bahhūvathuh* (TS † °*tuh*), same
texts See VV I p 228 The unanimity of AV and KS, partly
supported by MS, perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are
original, we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS
4 7 15 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'

tat satyam yau vīram bibhrthah (MŚ † °*tah*), and, in same passage,
vīram janayisyathah (MŚ °*tah*).

te mat prātah prajanayisyethe (MŚ °*te*).

te nā prajāte prajanayisyathah (MŚ °*tah*) TB Apś MŚ See VV I p
236

ghṛtēna (Kauś *aparayā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām* (VS TS Apś
prornuvāthām, MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
Kauś Apś MŚ also see Cone under *svarge* (°*gena*, *svarge*)
loke (-*na*) *prornuvāthām* etc. (only MS °*tām*, VS VSK TS KSA
[*tsamprornuvāthām*]) ŚB TB Vait °*tām*)

yā rājānam (MS KS °*nā*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yātu*) *ugrā* TS MS KS
juṣeṭām (and, °*thām*) *yajnam iṣṭaye* RV (both) Add to VV I §21

kāmam duhātām iha śakvaribhīh AV *raṣtram duhāthām iha reatibhīh*
TB See VV I pp 25, 224

purā gṛdhrūd ararūṣah pibātah (TS °*thah*) RV MS TB Here, and in
the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original
sam (ApMB *sam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *kathah*) RV ApMB
See VV I p 24

hato (SV TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV TB *apṛati*) RV SV AV TB
followed by

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsāni sutpatī* RV SV, and,
hato (SV *hatho*) *vitvā apa dvīyah* RV SV See VV I pp 222, 232
yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °yāv) *abhūlām* (MS °thām) MS
 KS † TB ApŚ And, in the same stanza
divi (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS †
 °thām), same texts *abhūthām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have
 a 3d person in the 1st pāda of the verse See VV I p 235

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other
 verbal endings containing *t* and *th*, or, in the last case, a verbal ending
 with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t*
abhīramyatām (MŚ °thām) MŚ ŚG YDh BrhPDh The MŚ form, if
 correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly
 anomalous, see VV I §22

yās ca (*yā devīr* (*devyo. devīḥ*)) *antān* (*antān, tantūn*) *abhito* 'dadanta
 (*talantha*), etc., see §63
ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udīthah sūryas ca* VS ŚB *aya(h)sthūnam*
 (TS °nāv) *uditā* (TS MS KS °tau) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS
 The old loc sing in °tū is shifted in VS ŚB to a second person dual
 verb, *udīthah*

§93 In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation
 has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscuri-
 ties

asunitāya (TA °thāya) *vadhava* AV TA The AV comm reads °thāya,
 which is clearly original, °tāya is infected by *asunita*, cf Whitney
 on AV 18 2 56

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °nītr, KS * °dhitam, 38
 12b† °nītha, MS °dhite) *yajñāh* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS
 MS KS (113) ŚB All forms are rare and dubious KapS (v
 Schr on KS 9 14b) has *tasudhitam* or °tim (so also v 1 of KS)
nīrtho (MS °to) *yaś ca nisvannah* (AV *nisvarah*) AV MS TA *nīrtho* in
 MS is a secondary blend of *nīrtha* (old) and *nīrthi* (common)
svasti nah putrakṛtṣeṣu (MG *pathyūkrṛtṣeṣu*, but v 1 as RV) *yonyu*
 RV AB MG Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG, if the reading
 is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyīsu* in the preceding

ābhur (MS KS *ābhūr*, NilarU *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathih* (VS °dhuh,
 NilarU °tih) VS TS MS KS NilarU The last has a corruption,
 see §77

paktū (KSA *punthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA Common on TS, *pākaśilam*
 KSA corrupt, see Keith on TS 7 5 20 1

stuto 'si *janadhāh* TB ApŚ (LŚ *pratika, stutah*) *tuttho* 'si *janadhāyāh*

(PB °yah) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ Is *stuto* lect fac for *tutho* of unknown meaning?

samiddho agnir vṣṣanāratir (AV °nā rathī, ŚŚ °nā rayir) *divah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ From RV 3 3 6, 4 15 2, 8 75 1 it is probable that *rathī* is the true reading

garbhaś ca sthātām garbhaś carathām RV Conc would read *cāratām* (gen pl of *cārant*), but *carāthām* (gen pl of *carātha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*)

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work

atho (MU *ato*) *annenaiva jīvanī* TA TU MU

talo (AV ArS *tathā*) *vṣṣvañ vyakrīma!* (AV *tathā vyakrāmad vṣṣvañ*) RV AV ArS VS TA

atho rājann (AV *ula rājānām*) *uttamam mānavānām* AV TB

atho pitā (MS *utīyam pitā*) *mahatām yargardānām* AV TS MS KS

§95. As regards lexical interchange of *t* and *th*, RV 8 13 27 *hari indra pratāvasū abhi svara* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathāvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, *prāpta-vasu*, Sāyana, *vistīrnadhana*), or *pratata-vasu*. But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathā-vasu*. The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', sc the two bay steeds, as subject. Cf the doubtful *kṛtād-vasū* (*kṛta-tad-vasū* with haplogy?) in RV 8 31 9, see however Wackernagel, 2 1 pp 64, 319, Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions

tābhyaṁ (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema sukṛtām u lokam* (Kauś *pathyāsmā sukṛtasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Dhātup has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path*, *panthan*. Possibly Kauś intends *pathyā(h) sma*. In VV I p 110 we have treated its form as a precative. It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*

hitvā na ūrjam pra patāt patīṣṭhah (AV *padāt pathīṣṭhah*) RV AV MG See §60

samarāvabhāgāt (VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava*°, MS °*bhāgāh*, KS Kauś °*bhāgās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *tuviṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś *taviṣā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *bṛhantah*

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rīhānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG

vyantu) *vayah* TS MS KS (bis) TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo* 'ktam *rihānāh* VS ŚB KŚ *aktam rihānāh*, 'licking the fat', is certainly original, the KS *artham* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS 31 11 suggests emending *artham* to *aktam*. On MS see §152

atho mātātho pitā TA *hatā mātā hatah pitā* SMB *hato hataṃtū krimh* AV See §386

atho ye kṣullakā va AV *hatah kriminām kṣudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāh* TA See *ibid*

sarve rādhyāh stha (ŚŚ °*yās tu*) *putrāh* AB ŚŚ

grho hiranyayo mitah (AŚ *gr° ni° hi°*) AV KS AŚ Here all AV mss and comm read *mīthah*, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption, RWh read *mitah* with Ppp and KS AŚ

parītoṣāt tad arpitha ApŚ *pari doṣād ud arpithah* KŚ Read in both *udarpitah*, see §63

upa yujānam asthita (AV comm *astṛta*, MŚ *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh AV ApŚ MŚ

t and *dh*

§97 Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *vr̥dh* and *vr̥t*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous, but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the *vr̥t* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true

bhīma ā vāvṛthe (SV *vāvṛte*) *śavah* RV SV

madanti devīr amṛtā r̥tāvṛdhah (Vait °*vr̥tah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ Caland on Vait 13 20 assumes that °*vr̥tah* (all mss) is an error

abhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya (AV *vardhaya*) RV AV The AV is certainly poor, and Ppp has *vartaya*, see Whitney on 1 29 1 Cf next two

yenendro abhivāvṛte (AV °*vr̥dhe*) RV AV In same verse as prec, same conditions Cf also next

abhi somo avīvr̥tat (AV °*vr̥dhat*) RV AV In next verse to the prec two, same conditions

nivarto yo ny avīvr̥dhah (ApMB °*vr̥tat*) HG ApMB Oldenberg adopts °*vr̥tat* for HG

pumānsam vardhatām (†text is right, despite Conc) *mayi* ŚG *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me', 'let a male be in me' or the like ŚG has a 3 dual active verb See §840

Note further the exchange between the old (RV) adjectives *r̥tāvṛdh*

and *dhṛtavrata* (not concerning root *vṛt*) in *āville* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* *ṛtāvṛdhau* (*dhṛtavrate*), and others, see §§466, 665

§98 The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt:

sainvalsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG Synonymis

sa mā mṛta (MG *vṛta*) AG ApMB MG cf *tam nā mṛdah* ŚG 'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him', and §78, *apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra*, etc The MG has a mere corruption, see §225 *ābhur* (*ābhūr*, *kivo*) *asya niṣarṅgadhīh* (^{°thih}, ^{°tih}), see §77

vi te (PG *tau te*, HG *vidhe*) *krodham nayāmasi* PG HG ApMB Kirste suggests emending HG to *vi te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation, *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vi-dhā*, but is really hopeless

yebhya madhu pradhāvati (AV *pradhān adhī*) RV AV TA Conim on AV, followed by SPP in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap Whitney, p xcii

śriyai (MG *śriye*) *putrāya veltavai* (MG *veddhavai*) ApMB MG For the MG Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Conc *veltavai*

sīnanti pākam atī (ŚŚ *ṛadhī*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ ŚŚ Ap⁵ *adhī* is very inferior in sense

d and *dh*

§99 This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text, cf e.g., Whitney on AV 11 1 23 (*ansadhri* ^{°dri}), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā* These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing

Roots *dā* and *dhā*

§100 They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following *āyurda asī* ŚŚ *āyurdhā asī* TS JB AŚ

āyurdā (MS KS °dhā) *agne 'si* VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ PG

cakṣurdā (KS °dhā) *asi* VS KS ŚB

varcodā asi VS ŚB ŚŚ *varcodhā asi* AV TS MS KS JB TB
ApŚ MŚ

varcodā (MS °dhā) *agne 'si* VS TS MS ŚB ŚŚ PG —All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*cakṣur*, *varco*) *me* (*maye*) *dheḥi* (*dhehi*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent

§101 There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal *dā* does not govern the locative of the person but only the dative. The root *dha*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of *da* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected

†*okhām dadhātu* (MS *dadātu*) *hastayoh* VS TS MS KS ŚB This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhyam*) in the preceding pāda is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoh* being really epexegetic, but also and chiefly because the MS reading is nonsense, since the preverb *ā* is joined with *dā*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf *mā no andhe*, §105

mayi puṣṭim †puṣṭipatr (AV *puṣṭam puṣṭa*?) *dadhātu* (AG †*dadātu*) AV MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG is evidently an error

[*mayi ruṣam dhah* (KS †*dhehi*) MS KS Conc *dheḥi* for KS]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dah*, MS, recurring as *payo mayi dhehi* ApŚ, and in the same text (TS) all three possibilities in a formula like *ayur me dehi* TS 1 5 5 3, *āyur me dhehi* 1 6 6 1, and *āyur mayi dhehi* 7 5 19 2 (but, N B, no **āyur mayi dehi*)

§103 In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading. Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another, not infrequently they may very well have originated independently

rayim me dāh (AV *dhehi*) AV MS

ojo dehi KS *ojo dhatta* TS KŚ *ojo mayi dhehi* VS TB *ojo me dah* (*svāha*) AV VS ŚB

balam dehi KS *balam dhatta* TS MŚ *balam mayi dhehi* (AV *me dah* *svāhā*) AV VS TB

saho mayi dhehi (AV *me dāh svāhā*) AV VS TB

prānam dhehi (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ See Conc in the vicinity of these

vācam dhehi (MS *me dāh*) MS TA

annam me dehi (PB * *dhehi*) PB (both) LŚ Kauś, cf note on Kauś 136 4

āyur dhehi (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ MŚ *āyur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV VS MB ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ *āyur mayi dhehi* VS TS ŚB *āyur me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *āyur me dhehi* VSK TS KS KSA MS TB ApŚ *āyur me dhattum* TB ApŚ

śrotam dehi (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *śrotam mayi* (KSA †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS KSA *śrotam me dāh* AV MŚ

cakṣur dehi (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *cakṣur me dhehi* (KS KSA *dehi*) VS KS KSA ŚB *cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS *cakṣur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV MS

lejo mayi (AŚ *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ *dehi*) AV VS TS KS ŚB TB AŚ LŚ ŚG ApMB *lejo me dhāh* (AŚ *dāh svāhā*) TA AŚ

varco mayi dhehi VS TS PB ŚB ApŚ *varco me dāh* (TA *dhāh*) MS MŚ TA *varco me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *varco me dhehi* VSK MS KS JB ApŚ *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *vīram dhatta* (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ **no datta*) *pitaraḥ* AŚ ApŚ MŚ *vīrān nah pitaro dhatta* V1Dh *vīrān me pitaro* (*tatāmahā, pratātāmahā*) *datta* Kauś

ūrjam mayi dhehi VS VSK MS KS PB ŚB LŚ ApŚ MŚ *ūrjam me dhehi* (PB LŚ *dehi*) VSK TS KS PB GB TB Vait LŚ KŚ *hṛdisprk kratuprg varcodāh* (MS **dhā asi*) MS AŚ

§104 Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority

asvibhyām pradhūpaya (TA **dāpaya*) MS TA

apām oṣadhīnām garbham dhāh (MŚ *garbham me dāh*) TS MŚ

adhi dātre vocah VS TS ŚB *adhi dhātre vocah* MS KS

cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāh TS *varcodhā varivodhāh* MS *varcodā varivodāh* (TA *varivodā dravinodāh*) VS TS KS ŚB TA

bhūs (also, *bhūvas*, and *svas*) *trayi dadhāmi* (MG *te dudāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG HG MG *bhūr bhuvah svah sarvam trayi dadhāmi* (MG *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG MG

anādhṛṣṭāh sīdata snhaujaso (TS MS KS *sīdatorjamatir*) *mahi kṣatram* (*varcah*) *kṣatṛiyāya dadhatih* (KS *dadatih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

iyam vah sā satyā samdhābhūd (MS *samvāg abhūd*) *yām indrena samudhadhvam* (MS **dadhvam*) TS MS *eṣā vas sā satyā samvāg abhūd*

yām indrena samadadhvam KS *yām indrena samdhām samadhathāh* (comm and some mss *samadhathāh*) AV Where the noun *samdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*. note that in MS KS it is replaced by *samvāg*, but even so, *samadadhvam* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p 128)

aetfo nāmāham ātmānam ni dudhe dyāvaprthivībhyām gopīthāya (KS *dyāvuprthivyor ātmānam pari dade*) AV KS

devīr āpo apāni napād devebhyo devatra dhatta (VS ŚB *datta*, KS *dāta*) VS TS KS ŚB *tam devebhyah śukraprebhyo dāta* MS

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuh smane smānam dehy asmaī MS *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °*pate*) *puṣṭiś asmaī punar dhehī* (AŚ *dhehī* or *dhehī svāhā*) AŚ ApŚ For *smane smānam* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21 324

agnir annādo 'nnapatir mayi dadhātu (TB *yajamānāya dadātu*) ŚB TB KŚ Similarly nine other formulas with other gods [*udgātūr devayajanam me dehi* ŚB ApŚ (Conc *dhehī* for ApŚ)]

§105 The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence, only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority. as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original

rayim devī dadhātu me AV *rāyo devī dadatu nah* RV

purumedhas (SV °*dhās*) *cit takave naram dāt* (SV *dhāt*) RV SV

dukṣam dadhāsi (KS *dudāsi*, v 1 *dudhāsi*) *jīvase* RV MS KS TB ApŚ *asmabhyam dattān* (AV *dhattam*, but comm *dattāni*) *varuṇas ca manyuh*

RV AV —Ppp also *dattam*

vasudeyāya (KS °*dheyaya*) *vidhate vibhāti* RV KS In RV *varadeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasulheya*

tato no dehi jīvase RV TB TA *tasya no dhehī jīvase* AV SV Kauś *tisro dadhur* (KS *dadhur*) *devatāh samvaranāh* VS † (so for Conc RV)

19 81b. MS KS TB The majority are probably original *somāya rājñe paridhātānā* (HG °*dā*°) u AV HG ApMB As Kirste remarks, HG is secondary or corrupt, the first pāda of the verse has *paridhattu* in all texts

mā no udhe tamasy antar ādāt MŚ (properly emended by Knauer to *adhāt*, cf §101) *mā sv* (Poona ed *mā sv*) *asmāns tamasy antar ādhāh* TA *mo yvatvam asmāntarādhāt* MS † (corrupt)

pratyādūyāpara iva AV 10 1 27, read *pratyādūyā*°, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations

dhātū dadhātu (TS ApŚ ApMB *dadātu*) *no rayim* AV TS MS † KS
ApŚ ApMB Kauś See §106, first two variante

dhātā dadhātu (ApŚ *dadātu*) *sumanasyamānah* AV MS KS ApŚ
indrena ma indriyam dattam ojah AV *asmīn nara indriyam dhattam*
ojah TS Comm on AV and Ppp *dhattam*

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG *āyus te* (AV *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV TS
TA ApŚ AŚ HG BDh Cf *rayim no dehi* §106

rāyas poṣam cikituṣe (AV °ṣī, AŚ *yajamāne*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV
TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

iṣam ūrjam yajamānāya dhehi (Vait *dattvā*, AV *duhrām*) AV VS TS
MS KS ŚB Vait

lokam asmaḥ yaramūnāya dehi (MU *dhehi*) TS KSA MU

tvastā rūpāni dadhati (ŚB KŚ *dadati*) *sarasvatī* ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ
datali is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda

asme dhehi (SV *dhehi*) *jātavedo mahi śravah* RV SV VS TS MS KS
kṛtvī (AV *kṛtvā*) *svatarnām adadur* (AV *adudhur*) *vivasvate* RV AV N

The AV is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong
to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney)

denebhyo (VS *devānām*) *bhūgadū* (TS °*dhā*) *asat* VS TS MS KS †

pra no (MS KS *mī*) *brūtād bhāgadhān* (ApŚ °*dhām*, MS °*dām*, KS
dhavirdā) *devatāsu* (KS °*ūibhyah*) TS MS KS ApŚ

§106 In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring
one reading or the other In the following we find none, or so little as
not to be worth noting

dhātā dadātu (AV *dadhātu*) *dāsuṣe* AV AŚ ŚŚ AG ŚG N See next
dhātā viśvā vāryū dadhātu AV *dhātū dadātu dāsuṣe vasūni* TS MS

ApMB In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of
a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted But
as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword Does it
indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original
dā was attracted to it?

rayim no dehi jīvase ŚŚ *rayim no dhehi yajñiyam* MS Cf *āyur no dehi*
jīvase, §105

medhām agur dadātu me (SMB *dadhātu te*) SMB ApMB, cf *medhām*
ta vudro dadātu HG, *medhām dhātā dadātu* (RVKh Scheftelowitz
dadhātu) me RVKh VS

tasmai mā devāh paridhatteha sarve AV *tasmai no devāh paridatteha*
(KS MŚ °*dhatta*, PG °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ † *viśve*) TS KS MŚ
SMB PG BDh Comm on AV also °*datteha*, called by Whitney a
better reading, of this we are less sure

lasya no rāsva lasya no dhehi (AŚ *dāh*) AV AŚ

jīvaññ eva pratī tat te dadhāmi (SMB *dadāmi*) TA SMB + *jīvaññ eva pratīdatte dadāmi* MŚ

udno (AV ed *ūdno*, but mss *utno* etc., Whitney transl reads *udno*) *divyasya no dhātāh* (TS KS *dehi*) AV TS MS KS Comm on AV *dhāta*, explaining by *dhehi* (1)

mahi varcah kṣatryāyu dadhatīh (KS *dadatīh*, TS *īannānāh*) TS MS KS

§107 Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dhā*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss, certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form, in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh*. This (originally **dhabh*) produces both *dhīps* and *dīps*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (*dabh*), is the usual form.

undād yo asmīn dīpsāc (VS ŚB *dhīpsāc*) ca VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *dhīpsyam vā samcakara jānebhyaḥ* MS *adīsan vā samjagara jānebhyaḥ* TA. Here *dhīps* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf §§180, 45)

yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah RV *yam te svadhāvan svadanti gūrtayah* RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter, see RVRep on 8 5 7a and 8 49 5c

sā brahmayājā m duncti rāṣtram AV *sā rāṣtram ava dhūnute brahmayasya* AV. Roots *du* and *dhū*

rajanī (AV ed em *rajuni*) *granther dānam* (AŚ *dhānām*) AV AŚ Vait. The emendation *rajuni* is very pat, the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhānām*, like *rajanī*, is nonsense.

adhī kṣami (SV *asmīn kṣaye*) *prataram dīdhyanah* (SV *ṛām didyānah*) RV AV SV. See Whitney on AV 18 1 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjākaumudī* 20. SV has an obvious lect. fac. infected by ideas such as RV 5 64 5, *sudītibhīh sve kṣaye vṛdhase*, or RV 5 23 4, *eṣu kṣaycṣu dīdīh*. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyanah*).

yad banhiṣṭham nātīvdhe (TB *vide*) *sudānū* RV MS KS TB AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense, TB comin *nātyantam labhyam*. But the compound *ati-vid* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms. of MS has *vide*.

indra darta (SV *dharta*) *purām an* RV SV AV The foolish antonym of SV is disproved by RV 1 130 10, 3 45 2, 6 20 3

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ MG So also *mes* on AV 7 83 2, emended by RWh to *dāmno-dāmno* Whitney, Transl, keeps the emendation, tho even Ppp has *dh-* But Keith on TS, 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible At any rate there is no variant In the preceding verse also the AV *mes* have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh to *dāmāni*, the variant KS 3 8, AŚ 3 6 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu*]

§108 A little less close to each other are the roots *vid* and *vr̥dh*, which exchange several times, the 'Prakritic' exchange of *r* and *ṛ* also comes in here In the first two variants *vid* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear

mā no vidad (KS *vr̥dhad*) *vr̥janā* (KS TB ApŚ *vr̥janā*) *dveṣyā ṛyā* AV KS TB ApŚ Cf Conc under *mā no vidad* (*vidan*)

hotrāvīdah (RV *ṛvīda*, TB *ṛvīdha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkuṣh* RV AV MS TB On *hotrāvīd* cf RV 5 8 3, *hotrāvīdh* is not recorded

indrartubhir brahmanā vūvr̥dhānah TB ApŚ *indra r̥bhuhhir brahmanā samvīdānah* ŚŚ

§109 Remoter lexical variants are the following

śyenasyeva dhrajato (MS KS *dravato*) *añkasam pari* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *dravatah* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraj-* with *śyena*, cf RV 1 165 2

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV VS TS MS *pra vedhase kavaye vedyūya* (TB ApŚ MŚ *medhyāya*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ *śrutkurnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV KS ApŚ

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhuyantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*, TS ApŚ *śundhantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ *sūd²* is evidently secondary Note that in AV 20 136 16d the word *śuddham* of the vulgate is based on *mes* readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index)

tam tvā bhṛātarah suvr̥dho (HG *suhr̥do*, AV *suvr̥dhā*) *vardhamānam* AV Ap.MB HG *suvr̥dhā varīh^o*, 'growing with good growth', is original In HG there is a shipshod assimilation in sense to *bhṛātarah* ('brothers, friends')

spardhante dhīyah (TS KSA *dhīah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *vīśah* RV SV TS KSA In RV, 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS KSA, into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed)'. So at least the TS comm, followed by Keith, this however implies emendation of the accent of *divāh* to *divā́h* (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of 'conflicting prayers' (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff, or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25 ff). The whole verse is obscure.

§110 The rest are obscure if not corrupt

apa snehitūr (KS ms *snehiti*, em v Schroeder, SV *sñihitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh* [so divide], KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa sruhi tam nṛmām* (Poona ed *sruhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA — KapS reads *snehiti nṛmanām athadrām*. In RV 'He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies'. Cf 1.74.2 Benfey takes *adhad* as aorist of *dhā*, and *rāh* as 'riches'. The TA comm understands *sruhi* as *bhūman prarrūvaya* (root *sru*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravanasīlam* (v 1 *atho*°, as if *atha* = *adha* + *drā*!). Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV?

anūgaso adham it samkṣayema TB *anūgaso yathā sadam it sam kṣiyema* Vait Comm on TB *adham id, anantaram eva*, but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known. It seems to be a nonce-formation — *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā sadam* — *adhā adham*, note that the TB comm assigns to it the meaning of *sadam*, 'always'. Cf VV I p 195.

upākṛtam śakamānam yud asthāt (MŚ *sadhassthāt*, v 1 *sad asthāt*) AV TS KS MŚ. If *sadhassthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtam* 'fetched from home' or the like.

vanū vananti dhṛṣṭatī (MŚ niss *dhṛṣṭatī* and *drṣṭatī*) *rujantah* RV TS JB ŚB MŚ. See §60.

ud mankam ina yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham ina menire* Mbh.

adhō nṣitah pitum addhi prasūtah KS *adimadam annam addhi pramuktah* AV. And others, §870 *adimadam* is obscure, we suspect that it contains *ada* (pronoun).

[*layā madantah sadhamādhyeṣu* (RVKh VS *sadhamādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB. And others, §325 Schefstelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* in RVKh, but his ms °*mādhyeṣu*].

p and ph

§111 Only in the synonymous roots *gushp* and *gulph*. Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *gushp*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph*, *gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*), see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV* 338, top, where *guṣṭitam* ŚB 3 2 2 20 is a misprint of that text

mano yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ *gulphitam*) MS ApŚ

yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ *gulphitam*) ḥṛdi MS ApŚ

viṣṭane vi yya guṣṭitam (some mss and comm *gulphitam*) AV

p and bh

§112 These sounds vary chiefly in nine-words of nearly synonymous meanings most commonly the roots *pr* and *bhr*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support'. In AV 3 5 4c, *tam priyāsam bahv rocāmānah*, we must read *bhriyāsam* with Whitney

manas lanūṣu bhīhratah (TB • ApŚ • LŚ *pīpra'tah*) RV VS TB LŚ

ApŚ Kanś Both readings in TB ApŚ

utem (ŚŚ *ulu*) *āṣu mānam pīpartī* (ŚŚ *bīhartī*) AV AB GB ŚŚ One

ms of ŚŚ *pīpartī*, which should perhaps be read even in that text

tam pīpṛhi daśamūṣyo 'ntar udare ŚG *tam matī dasa māso bhīhartu*

ApMB HG

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhrtam bhīhartu AV 13 1 1d, Ppp according to Roth

pīpartī for *bī°*, which must be secondary if Ppp has *subhrtam* as

indicated by Roth's silence. This is just the converse of the

following, which concerns three pādas of AV 11 5 (1d, 2e, 4d)

sa ācāryam tapasā pīpartī (Ppp *bīhartī*),

sarvan sa devans tapasa pīpartī (Ppp *bīhartī*), and

śramena lokāns tapasā pīpartī (Ppp *bīhartī*), all AV and Ppp

§113 There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *bubh*, the former being original both times, see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12 414ff

samyopayanto duritāni visvā RV MG *samlobhayanto duritā padāni* AV

āyupitā (ApŚ *alubhitā*, and once *āyupitā* by misprint, see Errata to

Vol 2) *yonah* MS ApŚ MŚ

§114 Finally two miscellaneous cases

agnēr jhivāsi suhūr (VSK TS TB *subhūr*, KS *supūr*) *devebhyah* (TS TB *devānām*) VS VSK TS KS TB ŚB ŚŚ *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jhvā* best

yā sarasvatī vairsambhalyā (ApŚ °*balyā*, vv II °*phalyā*, °*bhalyā*)

TB ApŚ The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet

are unknown TB comm has a fatuous explanation

ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115 That there was in Vedic tunes, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e.g. by Wackernagel I §218. Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*, and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*). Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, I c, p. 252) is cheerfully neglected. The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions. The popular texts, AV and most of the Gṛhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent, they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language. Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS and KS. RV and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS, MS, ŚB and ApMB—and the RV sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole. But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

bh and *h*

§116 We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah* *grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance. First, *grah* and *grabh* *grbhnāmi* (AV HG *grhnāmi*) *te suubhagatvāya* (ApMB HG *supra-jāstvāya*) *hastam* RV AV AG ŚG SMB PG HG ApMB MG *jaḡrhmā* (RV *jaḡrbhmā*, TB *jaḡrbhnā*) *te dakṣiṇam indra hastam* RV SV MS TB Svidh. In VV I p. 252 we have suggested that the form *jaḡrbhnā* (conn. *vayam grhītarantah*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive. [In the ms. of this section Bloomfield wrote 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *n* after the labial aspirate.' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form, *jaḡrbhmū* (in which *-mū* is the 1st plural ending) of RV is stupidly altered to *-nā* with thought of the present infix in forms like *grbh-nā-ti* —F. F.]

na hy asyā (ApMB *asyat*) *nāma grbhnāmi*. RV ApMB *nahī te nāma jaḡrāha* AV

kiranyapāvāh paśum āsu (SV *apsu*) *grbhate* (AV + *grh^o*) RV AV SV *savitā* (AG ApMB HG MG *ōtā te*) *hastam agrabhīt* (AV SMB MG *hī*) AV AG ŚG SMB ApMB HG MG *devas te savitā hastam grhnātu* AV

udam rādhah prati grbhnihy (JB *grhnihy*) *aṅgīrah* AV GB JB ŚŚ *bhagas te hastam agrabhīt* (AV *hīt*) AV ŚG ApMB

- agnis te hastam agrabhū* (SMB °hit) SMB ApMB HG
aryamā (ApMB °mā te) *hastam agrabhū* (SMB °hū) ŚG SMB ApMB
ośadhayah prati grbhñita (TS KS *grhñilāgnim elam*, MS MŚ *grbhñi-*
lāgnim elam) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ
nākam grbhñānah (TS KS *grh°*) *sukrtasya loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB
agne brahma grbhñiṣva (MS MŚ *grhñiṣva*, KS *grhñiṣva*) VS MS KS
 ŚB MŚ
apo devīr (VS ŚB *devā*) *madhumatir agrhnan* (MS KS *agrbhñam*,
 VS ŚB *agrbhnan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
āpo devīh pratigrbhñita (TS KS ApŚ † °grhñita) *bhasmatat* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
devo vah savitā hiranyapānih prati (MS MŚ °pānir upa) *grhñātu* (VS
 ŚB *pratigrbhñātu* , VSK °vah savitā *pratigrhñātu*) VS VSK
 TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
aditis te (VS MS ŚB °tis te) *bilam grhñtu* (VS MS ŚB *grbh°*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ
tam vo grhñamy (MS *tam te grbhñamy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TA
prati grhñmi (MS TB † AŚ *grbh°*) *mahate vīryāya* (MS KS *mahata*
indriyāya) MS KS TB AŚ—TB Poona ed text and comm
grbh°
yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (HG *prati reto grhāna*) ŚG HG vy aṣya
yonim prati reto grhāna ApMB

§117 The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically synonymous roots *bhr* and *hr*, without other motive than the close similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here
parāpuro nīpuro ye bharañtī (MŚ *hur°*) AV VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ
 SMB

rātrīm-rātrīm (VS ŚB ° *ahar-ahar*, AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam*
bharantah AV VS TS MS KS ŚB (both) *ahar-ahar balim it te*
harantah AV

karma varmedam ā bhara ApMB *karma varmantad ā hara* AV
viṣṇuh sambhriyamānah VS *viṣṇur upāvahriyamānah* TS
prānāpānābhyām bulam āharantī (ApMB *ūbhar°*) SMB ApMB
 (Other forms, see Conc)

§118 Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita* (*-dhita*) and *-bhṛta* (*-hṛta*, cf preceding). Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approximate synonyms. Cf also *-dhita* *-bhṛta*, §175

hiranye 'smān samāhītāh (HG *samābhṛtāh*) RVKh HG ApMB Schef-
 telowitz reads °hṛtāh in RVKh

devir devash samāhṛtāh (TB °bhṛtāh) SV TB *devair devih samāhṛtāh*
RVKh But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °hṛtāh for RVKh, if
this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone
gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā rat VS *gan° nāma nihitam guhāru*
TA MahānU And others, §855

sūryarakṣm samābhṛtam TS TB *sūryān* (p p °yāt) *sukram samā-*
bhṛtam MS *sūrye santam* (KS TA *sukram*) *samāhitam* (KS TA
°bhṛtam) VS KS ŚB TA

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (AŚ *prahitam*, MŚ *nihitam*) *padam hi te*
TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ

§119 Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives
of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu*. All are ritualistic
epithets compounded with *su-* or *sva-*, and in such language these
epithets are very nearly interchangeable, one does about as well as
another

agner jihvāsi suhūr (*subhūr*, *supūr*) *devebhyah* (*devānām*), see §114
okayā ca ilasabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ
ŚŚ According to Roth Ppp has *cā bhūte*, evidently intending
cā svabhūte, which is presumably original. Vāyu is addressed

ā tvā subhava (AB AŚ *suhava*) *sūryāya* AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
samudram na suhavam (AV *subhuvāś*, TB Poona ed *suhavam*) *tasthi-*
vānsam AV TB ApŚ *mahiṣam nah subhnam tasthivānsam* MS —
AVPpp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret, JAOS
35 46, reads *subhuvāś*. The root *hu* may be concerned here,
despite TB comm (*sukhenāhvātum śakyam*)

suhutakṛtāh stha AŚ *suhūtakṛtu stha* ApŚ *suhūtakṛtāh subhūtām*
nush hrutu ŚŚ

§120 In two cases—besides the *grah* *grabh* variants—the identical
word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h*

kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ *kukuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam*
ṛṣ°) *rocate bhṛat* (VSK *hṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB (*pratikas*,
ApŚ MŚ) —*kakuha* occurs already in RV, which does not know
kakubha. Cf §23

apām gambhan sīda VS ŚB KŚ *apām gambhīram gacha* KS ApŚ
apām tvā gahman sādāyām MS MŚ

§121 Miscellaneous cases

brāhmanebhyo hy anujñātā (TA °bhyanu°) TA MahānU *hi* (a) *bhi-*
asambhavyam (JB *asamheyam*, perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*) *parābhavan*
AV JB

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yavīṣṭhu* (MS KS
devahitam yavīṣṭhya) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

nābhīṃṣe (MS KS *nābhīdhṛṣe*) *tanu* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣānah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avalā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu d*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso †'valā haveṣu* AV

dh and h

§122 Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhz hi*, participle *hita dhita*), partly on lexical changes

nānh (MS *nāṅg*) *pāhi* *ṣṇudhī* (SV °*hi*) *gīrah* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB Cf Wackernagel I p 253

uṣnena vāya (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB GG °*naudhi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG *thi edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary

upasthe soma āhitah (ApMB *ādhitah*) RV AV ApMB MG Note archaism in ApMB

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny āṅṛdhuh (TS *āṅṛhuh*, MS *ānaśuk*) AV TS MS Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *āṅṛhuh* under *arh*. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *āṅṛdhuh*, see Whitney's note on AV 2 35 1 and Keith on TS 3 2 8 3

grḍkrah śitkakṣī vārdhrānasas te divyāh (KSA ms *vārhīnasas te 'dityāh*) TS KSA Von Schroeder emends to *vārdhri°*, questionably, see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23
harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB °*atī*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV Three miss of AV *dhṛṣitāso*, Ppp mis *rṣamānāso rṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35 59f, reads *dhṛṣatā*. The form *hṛṣit°* is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa°*
usrāv (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam dhūrṣāhau* (VSK MŚ °*vāhau*, KS °*bādā*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ

gh and h

§123 We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*

arghah HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG *arghyam bhoh Kauś arhanīyā āpah* ApG See §321, end *arh* = *argh*

aṅghārīr (ŚŚ *anhārīr*, all mss) *asī bambhārīh* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ LŚ The word is obscure, but ŚŚ looks like a phonetic reduction

somam te krīnūmy ūrjusanlam payasvanlam †vīryāvanlam abhīmātīśūham

(KS *vīryāvantaṁ bahvargham śobhamānam*) TS KS *sumavikrayaṁ somam te krīnāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu śobhamānam* MS *taṁ ghed agnir vṛdhāvati* RV TS *taṁ hed agnir vidhāvati* MS Particles *gha* and *ha*

vīram hi (read *avīraghni*) *vīravataḥ susevā* MG *avīraghno* (ApMB † °ni) *vīravataḥ* (ŚG *vīrataraḥ*, HG °*lamah*) *sumīrān* (HG *susevān*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

kh and *h*

§124 Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoeic word imitating the sound of a frog. With this cf *asambhavyam* (JB *asamheyam*) *parābhuvan* AV JB, where *asamheyam* may be for *asamkhyeyam*, see §121

khanvakhāḥi khavmakhāḥi madhye tuluri AV *haimahāḥi haimahāḥi* KŚ Cf *haimahāḥi idam madhu* ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

CHAPTER IV INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

I GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

§125 Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar. The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VSK affects forms like *tanakmi* for *tanacmi*, *yunagmi* for *yunajmi* (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel, I §§119ff, especially 121ff, deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds.

k and *c*

§126 The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *cit*

samānam celo abhisamvīśadhvam (TB *keto abhisamrabhadhvam*) AV TB
ā no agne sucetunā (TB ApŚ *suketunā*) RV SV MS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

The *s*-stem *ketas* is $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma$, and is doubtless due to confusion between *cetas* and *keta*, both of which are historically regular. TB contains *sahavisasthānam*, the meaning of the Classical *keta* (perhaps from *ci*, 'pile', rather than *cit*). The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-retu*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 146, and further Oldenberg on RV 5.66.4, Neisser, *ZWbch d. RV*, s. v. *ketunā*. Yet the reading *suketunā* is evidently secondary.

śokāt (TS *śocāt*) *ṛṥthuvā uta vā divas pari* VS TS MS KS ŚB *śocāt*
is $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ and analogical.

kanikkunad va sōpayan TB *canikkudud yathāsapam* AŚ *c-* is again analogical, for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p 147
yatrātān (VS ApMB °*nān*) *vettha nihitān parāke* (SMB *parācah*)
 VS AG Kauś SMB ApMB HG MG *parā(ṅ)c-* and its extension *parāk-a-*

nū cit (SV *nakti*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV SV *cit* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*, but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred

atho adhvankartanam (ApMB °*cartanam*) RV AV ApMB Here the two roots are unrelated *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie' In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p 145) The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off', the secondary, 'untying'
imā udvāsikārīna TB ApŚ *imā uddhāsīcārīna* MŚ See §59
 The MŚ reading is secondary and poor, it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kṛ*

§127 In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK, see §125

indrasya (MS MŚ *indrāya*) *tvā bhūgam somena tanuam* (VSK *tanakm*, MS MŚ *somenātanaam*) VS VSK KS ŚB *somena tvā tanuam* *indrāya dadhi* TS TB ApŚ

g and *c*

§128 An isolated case concerning unrelated words, the majority reading with *c* is presumably original

na va svetasīdyādhyācāre (HG °*bhyācāre*, MG °*bhyācāre*, AG *svetas cābhyācāre*) AG PG ApMB MG

k and *ch*

§128a An isolated lexical variant

chavīm (KSA †*kanin*) *chavyā* TS KSA The latter is doubtless original, assimilation to the next word in TS, resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem

kh and *ch*

§129 Two variants contain forms of *khid* and *chid*, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym W'brh* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch* See his references §131b, end, and cf Güntert, *Reinwortbildungen* 23, 32

yatah (MS *yena*) *prajā akhidrā* (MS *achidrā*) *ajāyanta* TS MS KS
akhidrāh (ApŚ *ughorah*) *prajā abhuvāpasya* KS ApŚ *achennapatrāh*
 (MS °*trah*) *prajā anuvikṣasva* VS MS ŚB

g and *j*

§130 The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y*. Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack §130c). The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all.

§131 To begin with, VSK as we have remarked (and in one case SV) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127). This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mṛj* and *ṣṛj* with palatal).

mātrāvaruṇayoḥ tvā praśāstroh prakṛjā yunajmi (VSK °*gmi*) VS
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
agnim yunajmi (VSK °*gmi*) *śavusā ghr̥tena* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
 KŚ ApŚ MŚ

agnīḥomābhyām juṣtam ni yunajmi (VSK °*gmi*) VS VSK ŚB
vājinam tvā vājedyayai (TS *sapatnasāham*, KS *vājin vājayatyāyai*)
sam mārjmi (VSK °*gmi*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB
vājinim tvā vājedyāyai (TS *sapatnasahim*, KS *vājin vājayatyayai*)
sam mārjmi (VSK °*gmi*) VS VSK TS KS Corresponding
 formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*, see Conc under *vāji tvā*
upa tvā kāmān mahah saṣṛjmahe RV AV *upa tvā kama imāhe saṣṛjmahe*
 SV

§132 Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *ṣṛj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*.

hinvāno mānuṣu yugā (SV *yugā*) RV SV
daivyaṃ mānuṣā yugā RV SV VS TS ŚB *viprāso mānuṣā yugā* KS
daivam mānuṣā yujā MS. The SV form of the first variant may be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj*. In this case both are phonetically normal, as the RV has a neuter plural of *yuga* (cf Wackernagel I §128a, d). In the second case also MS may have an adverbial instrumental.

dṛṣṭāyu rajjusarjami (TB °*sargam*) VS TB
prajāpate vīśvasṛj (MS °*ṣṛg*, mss mostly *ṣṛk*, one *ṣṛj*) *jīvadhanyah*
 MS TB AŚ † 2 14 12c [also in Conc under *idam no deva pratihurya*

havyam, read AS 2 14 12d| ApŚ —The $\delta\pi$ $\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ *rajjv*^o seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB comm *rajjūnām sraṣ(āram)*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem. Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *srj* is carried away with the rest, cf. the familiar nomen actionis *sarga*. The 'historically correct' *sarja*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On *srj* *srjg* see Wackernagel I pp 173f, 329. In the second variant *srj* before *j* might stand for *srt*, cf. below, §142, *brahman tvam asi vīśvasrt* (° $\delta\gamma k$)

§133 Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*, cf. the same with *k* and *c*. §126, *kuñīkhunāl* etc
ni jalgalūti dhārakā VS ŚB *ni jalgalūti* (KSA † mes *jalgalūti*, ed em *jalgalūti*) *dhānikā* TS KSA

§134 The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin
 †*prajyāmasy agratah* HG *pragṣyāmasy agratah* PG ApMB *pragṣyāmy asyūgratah* MG. Verb forms of *pra-gai* and *pra-jan*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG, see Kirste's note.

sadā yācanā aham girā (SV *jyū*) RV SV N. Comm on SV reads *girā* with RV. Since *jyū* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*, for **jyām* = **jyām*. Very dubious.

apa (AV *ava*) *sveta padā jah* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah* (most mss *apa*) *svetapad āgaha* (so all mss) MG. See §817
punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (°*nītur*, °*dhītam*, °*dhīte*) *yujñāth* (AV MS KS **agne*) AV VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB. See §93

2 GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135 A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *d*
ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭṭūkas ca HG *tekaś ca sasaramatundas ca* ApMB. See §165

3 GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136 The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants, in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character, often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.

k and t

§137 We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *skabh*, see Bloomfield, *IF* 4 74ff, Guntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff. Among the variants, RV always has *stabh*, while AV prefers *skabh*

jagatā mndhum divy astabhāyat (AV *aska*°) RV AV

mahān mahī astabhāyat (AV KS † *aska*°) *vi jātah* AV TS KS AB AŚ
yam krandaṣī avasā tastabhāne (AV *avataṣ caska*°) RV AV VS VSK

TS *ya ime dyāvaprthivi tastabhāne* MS KS AV Ppp (Barret, *JACS* 35 44f.)

vy astabhnd (VS ŚB *aska*°, MS *aṣka*°, KS *aṣṭa*°, TS *askabhnd*, TA *aṣṭabhnd*) *rodasī mṣnav* (°na, °nur) *ete* RV VS VSK TS MS KS
ŚB TA

divam skabhāna KS *dyām stabhāna* KS

§138 There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion

stuhī śūram vajrinam apratikam (TB *apratitam*) MS TB The Bibl Ind ed of TB has *upratitam*, but comm and Poona ed text correctly, *apratitam*, 'invincible' MS has a mere blunder

avānyāns tantūn kirato dhutto unyān TB *prānyā tuntūns tirale dhutte anyā* AV See Whitney on AV 10 7 42

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jatr̥bhya*, MS *cakr̥bhya*, p p *vakt̥bhya*')

ātṛdah (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB See §57

ugro (HG *ūrhuvo*, MG *agne*) *virājann* (MG °jam) *apa* (MG *upa*-)
sedha (AV *vr̥kṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV ApMB HG MG

§139 Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*), cf. §416, to which all these variants also belong

vi no rāṣṭram unaktu payasā svena TB *sam te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghr̥tēna* AV For *vi-unaktu* cf. RV 1 164 47, 5 83 5, for *sam-anaktu*, RV 10 88 4, 118 4 The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic

devair nyuplā (KS *nullā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahivā* (AV °*tvam*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ 'Cast forth (KS impelled, AV spoken!) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness)' Ppp reads *mahivā*, and also *sṣṣā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean

anyām ichta pṛṣṣadam vyaktām (ApMB *vllām*) RV ApMB *jāmim ichta pṛṣṣadam nyaktam* (read °*līm*) AV Here the assimilated form of ApMB (with *samprasāraṇa*) is clearly secondary

sarvān it tān anu vidur vasīṣṭhāh RV *sarvam uktam anuvīdur vasīṣṭhāh*

JB A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB

īha prasatto (AV *prasakto*, TB *prasapto*) *vi cuyal kṛtam nah* RV AV MS TB *prasapto* (comm *prakarṣeṇa samāgatah san*, as if from *pra-sṛp* with Prakritic *a* for *r*) has no standing AV, tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached', RV probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later *prasanna*

viviktyai (TB *vivityai*, read with Poona ed *vivittiyai*) *kṣattāram* VS TB *viviktyai*, 'for discernment', is certainly original TB comm *vibhoga-lābhābhīmānīnyai* but the form of root *vid* is isolated if *vi* be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication

dhātuh kakkāṣah (KSA *kakkatah*) TS KS Original form unknown, VS 24 32 has *kakkaṣa*

avimuktāḥakra (v l °rā) *āśīran* PG *vivṛttācakrā āśīnāh* HG ApMB

§140 There are also several cases of variation between *kṣ* and *ṭs*, reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff These variants indeed really belong in that chapter, they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on *ch* In five out of six cases the writing with *kṣ* (thrice in SV, once in AV, once in MS) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable

vṛṣanam pṛtsu (SV *pṛkṣu*) *sāsahim* RV AV SV Here only *pṛtsu*, 'in battles', can be meant, 'in delights' (root *pṛc*) is silly

yat te ditsu (SV *dikṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV SV The RV has a nom sg neut. of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas* SV clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt')

yad dīkṣasi (SV *yac chikṣasi*) *stuvate mānate vasu* RV SV In this case the two forms are practically synonyms, *śikṣeyam* and *dīkṣeyam* together in RV 8 14 2, a similar passage RV 1 81 2

agnim (AV *agnih*) *srucā adhvarēṣu prayatṣu* (AV *prayakṣu*) AV VS TS MS KS Cf *prayaty adhvarē*, familiar formula in RV at the ends of pādas (RVRep 660) Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that *prayatṣu* may be for *prayatṣu* = *prayakṣu* (*pra-yuṣ*), but the form does not really construe The hymn AV 5 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54), does not call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the *pp* leaves it undivided), it is, like most of the SV readings with *kṣ* for *ṭs*, a phonetic blunder for *prayatṣu*

āstas (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīh* RV VS TS MS KS Roots *ā-vid-*
ā-yu

prāsmāh *ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu* (TB *yutsu*) RV TB Here, of course,
kṣ is original, *yutsu* is suggested by *pṛtanāsu*

§141 There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding. Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations

tādītṇā (TB † *°knā*) *śatrum* (TB *°ūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB Conc *vivatse*, read *vivitse* with Poona ed text and comm) RV TB *tādīknā* is repeated in the comm (Poona ed), which glosses *tādīśān*¹. It seems that it must mean simply *tādītṇā*

§142 Finally, a few cases of interchange between *k* and *t* final. All concern the ends of *pādas*. Two concern adverbial forms in *-k* from *añ* stems, a third is simply a matter of external sandhi

anamtram no adharāt (KS *°rūk*, VSK *me tūlharāk*) AV VSK KS
Equivalent adverbs, one abl of *adhara*, the other acc neut of *adharūñc*. The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *otlarād adharād* (*°rāg*) *ā pīra-stāt*

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ See §65

brahman (MahānU *brahman*) *tvam asi vśvasṛt* (MahānU *°sṛk*) TA
MahānU There is a *v* 1 *°sṛk* in TA, and as the next sentence begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic. Possibly, however, *ṛt* may be for *sṛt* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *r*, cf Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment of this root in general, §149a, α. [Delete *brahman tvam asi* etc in Conc.]

sumyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam ut*, KS * *sarit*) *śravanti sarito na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ MŚ See §830
sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhīṣṇak (TB ApŚ *abhīṣṇāt*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ. Altho TB comm fatuously glosses by *bhīṣ-ajyatu*, *abhīṣṇāt* (*abhī + ṣṇāmi*) is doubtless an independent lexical word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k t* enters as a factor. While *abhīṣṇak* is *ḍr* *leṅ*, the word, as well as the treatment of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary.

Note also *yajo bhagās ca mā rīṣat* MG 1 9 27c, where Knauer reports that practically all his mss point to *rīṣak* as the true reading, of course it must mean the same as *rīṣat*. Cf Wackernagel I §260a, β, small print, §277a

Cf also AV 1 18 2a *nir arantim savitā sāviṣat padoh*, so the vulgate,

but all mes *sāvīṣak*, retained by SPP and approved by Whitney, see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm and Ppp both have *sāvīṣat*. The same form occurs in the VSK version of the following, on the subject of final *k t* see most recently Renou, *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 163n, Oertel, *ibid* 137, and our §272a, *na me tad* etc., our §145, and *abhīṣyak* for °*ṣyat*, PG 3 1 3b (VV I p. 242, *infra*)

tasyām no devah (MS *tasyām devah*) *savitā dharmam* (VS † VSK † TS † ŠB † *dhurma*) *sāvīṣat* (VSK ° *ṣak*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB

The next is an error of the Conc

[*trivṛt yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB ApŚ *trivṛt bhuvanam yad rathavṛk* KS Conc, but read *rathavṛt*, text °*vṛj jivo*—]

kh and *t*

§143 In the single variant following, PG has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyāni* in the following, Stenzler on PG 2 11 12 translates the AŚ reading. See his note there, and his critical note

pari satyasya dharmānā (PG *sakhyasya dharmānah*) AŚ PG

g and *d*

§144 Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants. The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation

ā galdā dhamanīnām (ApŚ *galgā dhavanīnām*) ApŚ MŚ N *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga-*°), *galdā* is R̥gvedic (8 1 20), but nevertheless obscure. Pischel, *VSt* 1 84, and *KZ* 41 183ff, discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ MŚ. After him many others, see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 1 20. The following word in ApŚ is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamanīnām*, see §225. Caland leaves the pāda untranslated

yad annam aīnu (Pr̥nāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā vrūpam* (etc., §619) AV TA Pr̥nāgU

na vai gāvo māṅgīrasya (KŚ *mandīrasya*) KŚ Vait MŚ Proper names, of unknown etymology

rudras (MŚ *ugras*) *tanticaro vṛyā* TB ApŚ MŚ GG KhG

marudbhīr ugrā ahīrūyamānāh AV *marudbhī rudrāh samajānatābhī* TS Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*

āsmīnn (KS *ā sim*) *ugrā* (MŚ *ā samudra*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ

In an obscure ritual verse, MS doubtless a lect. fac

§145 In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings), as under *k t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence, it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and *°rāk*, which we met in §142, first variant.

ottarād adharād (TB *°rāg*) *ā purastāt* RV MS KS TB

niyubbhir (AV *viyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *īha tā vi muñca* (ŚS †*muñcah*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚS ApŚ [Add to VV I §§25 and 156] Also

prayugbhya (TB *prayud°*) *unmattam* VS TB In the first of these two *viyugbhīr* is untenable, because the *niyutah* are technically the span of Vāyu (Bṛhaddevatā 4 140). In the second, *prayugbhya* of VS is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahidhara, Griffith, 'for Motives'). Comm on TB glosses *prayud°* by *prakarṣeṇa yoddhṛdevebhya*, as if from *pru-yudh*. At TB 3 7 9 1, ApŚ 12 3 2 occurs *prayutah*, which TB comm glosses *prakarṣeṇa somam mīśrayantah* (adopted by Bohlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favouring the TB reading. But PB 1 2 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage, Caland gives up *prayutah*.

nrcaḥśāh soma uta sūsrug (comm, and Poona ed text, *kuśrug*) *astu* TB *sucakṣāh soma uta sarsud astu* MŚ The latter is not quite certain, the mss record forms which look towards the TB reading. But *sarsud* occurs several times in RV. TB obviously contains root *śru* (comm *śrutā*), so that apparently *g = k* must stand for *d = t*. It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a. β, note, 277a. See also our §283.

mayam (also *gauram*, *gavayam*, *meṣam*, *śarabham*) *te śug rchatu* (KS *te kṣud*) VS MS KS ŚB Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant.

trīśug (AŚ *°śrud*) *gharmo vibhāti me* (KS *gharmus sadam in me vibhāti*) KS TB TA AŚ *°śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

yamasya dūtāḥ ca vāg vidhāvati MS *yamasya dūtāḥ śvapād vulhāvati* TA The subject is *grdhrah* 'vulture', TA is correct, and MS an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g(k)* and *d(t)* have a share.

dadhṛg (TA *dadhād*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV *°kṣan*) *paryāñkhayāte* (TA *°tai*, AV *pariñkhayātai*) RV AV TA Roots *dṛh* and *dḥ*

ñ (for k) and ʌ (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain, it is obvious that MS (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced'
suvāñ nabhrād MS MŚ *svān nabhrād* KS *svāna bhrājāñghāre*
 VS. TS ŚB *svāna bhrā!* TA
amūsi sarvāñ (AŚ *varvān*) *un praviṣṭah* AŚ Kauś The original is
sarvāñ (*sarvāñc* 'turned in all directions'), AŚ secondary

Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest
grāme vidhuram (HG *vikhuram*) *ichantī svihā* HG ApMB Both in
 wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted

aghadvīṣṭā devajūti AV Kauś *atharvayusṭi devajūtāh* ApŚ The latter
 is a mere corruption

deva purascara saḡhyāsam tvā TA ApŚ *devapuraś curasa ṛdhyāsam tvā*
 MS The former is original 'may I be able to carry thee' MS
 has a slipshod substitute

yad aḡhriyata (KS *°yathā:*) *tad ḡhṛtam* (KS adds *abhavas*) MS KS *yad*
adhriyata tad ḡhṛtam abhavut TS As Keith says, the TS etymology
 is not too bad for a Brāhmaṇa, but the other is certainly original

4 GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148 Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants They almost all concern *k* and *p*, and reveal no new principle For the peculiar Taittiriya treatment (not mentioned in TPr) of the final sound of the stems *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh* as *k(g)* in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however *k* before *p*), and before *j*, *d*, and *dh*, see Weber, *ISt* 13 109, n 2, Keith, *HOS* 18 p xxxviii This applies to TB as well as TS, but apparently not to ApŚ

anuṣṭup (TB *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktya:* (MŚ *pañkṭaye*) TB ApŚ MŚ
anuṣṭup (TS *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS TS MS KSA
triṣṭub (TS *triṣṭug*) *graiymī* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§149 The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird, AV 11 2 25 adds *puṛīkaya* (comm *pulī°*) It may be noted that most forms contain both *p* and *k* somewhere in the word The original form cannot be determined

mītrāya kulīpayān (MS *pulīkayān*) VS MS

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulīrayas*) te 'kūpārasya (KSA †*kūvarasyu*) VS TS MS KSA

kulīkā devajāmibhyah VS *devānām patnībhyah pulīkāh* MS

§150 Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *nicumpuna* in RV decides. It may be onomatopoeic.

avabhṛtha nicumpuna (TS TB ApŚ *nicañkuna*, MS KS MŚ *nicuñkuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ ApŚ N

nīcerur aṅ nicumpunah (TS TB *nicañkuna*, MS KS *nicuñkunah*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ. In same passage as preceding, nom. changed to voc. in TS TB by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula.

§151 Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following, lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them.

kanāthābhām (AŚ *pranākhāphā*) *na ābharu* TB AŚ. Note the dental *n* in AŚ, despite preceding *r*. Comm. on TB, desperately, *kana-kand bhāsamānām rūpavāṅim kanyām*. Both forms are hopeless. *bajābajopakāśīnī* HG *kha jāpo 'jopakāśīnīh* ApMB. Again both are hopeless.

kūtanānām (VS ŚB *kukūnarānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tā patman ā dhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB *ketanāsu* (sc. *te śukra śukram ā dhūnomi*)

TS. An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoeic, epithet of waters.

śam te (AV * *śam u*, TA *śam u te*, KS MŚ *śam nah*) *santv anūpyāh* (TA *anūkyāh*) AV KS TA MŚ *anūkyāh* might be considered a purely phonetic variant, it should be remembered that Tat. texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāh*, from *anūpa*, so comm., *anūpudeśe bhavā anūkyā āpuh*. Formally, however, *anūkyā* is imaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive' or 'going along with', approximately 'helping?'), and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA.

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantīkā* AV ApMB *lājān āvapantīkā* ŚG PG MG *agnau lījān āvapantī* SMB HG *kulpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tat. preference for gutturals, cf. the prec. and §148.

vanukrakṣam (SV °*prakṣam*) *uduprutam* RV SV 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood' The onomatopoeitic root *krakṣ* also in *krakṣamāna*, *avakrakṣin* SV °*prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm, followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'abide'

anṣum (AV *anśūn*) *babhasi* (ApŚ *gabh*°) *haritebhīr āsabhīh* AV KS ApŚ The ApŚ stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh*° is uninterpretable Caland gives up the verse

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *buddho apikakṣa āsanī* (MS *apīpakṣa āsan*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Original is *apīkakṣe*, a certain part of the body MS (p p *apī-pakṣah*) may have been influenced by thought of *paṣya* (cf Keith on TS 1 7 8 3)

visvalopa visvadāvanya tvāsanī juhomi TS GB Vait *visloka visvadāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ *visloka* is perhaps a sort of lect fac, but *visvalopa* is itself not clear, cf Keith on TS 3 3 8 2

§162 The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate, that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved

agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṣvann* (RV *apīnann*) *uśyo amṣtyave* (RV °*vah*, ApŚ *amṣtyave*) RV MS ApŚ

yad adya dugdham pṛthvīm asṛpta (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ In MŚ, as in AB AŚ, the parallel following pāda contains *asṛpad*, in TB ApŚ, *asurad*

iha prasatto (AV *prasakto*, TB *prasupto*) *vi cayat kṛtam nah* RV AV MS TB See §139

krānū (SV *prānū*) *sīsur mahinām* RV SV And

krānū (SV *prānā*, AV *prānah*) *sindhūnām kuluśān acikradat* (RV *avīvasat*) RV SV AV The SV is really inexplicable, AV attempts to rationalize it Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 279 On the much discussed *krānā* see last *RVRep* 136

devair nyuplā (KS *nuttā*, AV *uktī*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °*tvam*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS °*artham*) *rihīnā vyanṭu (vīyanṭu) vayah* TS MS KS ° TB MŚ GG KhG And others, see §96 The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small' It is hard to apply this meaning here, perhaps adverbially, 'daintily'

asmīn goṣṭhe kariṣinīh (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣinīh*) AV MS Kauś The riming synonyms *kariṣu* and *purīṣa*, cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 16 409ff Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś

kṛiyanta (TB *prīyā ta* [so divide]) *ā barhīh* (TB Conc °*hīa*, Poonā ed °*hīh*) *sīda* RV AV KS TB Preceded by *imā brahma brahma-*

vāhah (TB † **ha*) 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB, are pleasing to thee), sit upon the barhis' [*pra so agne tavotibhīh*] *suwīrābhīh* †*tīrale* (SV TS *taratī*) *vājabhar-mabhīh* (SV TS **karmabhīh*) RV SV TS KS

sugandhim (AV *subandhum*) *pativedanam* AV VS ŚB ApŚ *sugandhim* *puṣṭwardhanam* (KS *rayiṣṭanam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA Vait, LŚ N The AV changes *sugandhim* by adaptation to the meaning of *pati-vedanam* (*pati* suggests *bandhu*)

§153. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pr* and *gr* (*gr*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *ya* are closely associated. These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants. The roots *ya* and *gr* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise), and *abhi-gr* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *ya* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat. *grātus*), see e.g. RV 1 15 3, 3 6 10, 10 15 6. On the other hand *ya* and *pr* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭi-pūrta*), see Windisch, *Festgruss Böhlingk* 115ff, Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 408ff. In the third variant *abhipūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣtam* which recalls *iṣṭipūrta*. In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gr* is secondary. In the second, KS seems to give the best sense, but may be a *lectio facilior*. The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritually so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another. Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance.

indro yajuane prnate (AV *gr*) *ca śikṣati* (AV **te*) RV AV TB

īṣṭam agne abhi tat prūhi (PG *prūhi*, KS *tat grūhi*) KS TB ApŚ PG HG

iṣtam vitam (AV *pūrtam*) *abhipūrtam* (AV **pūrtam*) *vayaḥṛtam* RV AV VS TS MS KSA [Delete in Conc. reference to AV under *iṣtam vitam*]

§153a. The following variants, tho concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *ka* and *pa* (cf. §§182-6)

somasya drapsam (AV *bhaksam*) *avṛṇita pūṣā* (AV *sakrah*) AV TS MS

KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit, it is hard to see any reason for preference.

hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS **nam*) *vikṣu* (RV *apev*, MS *dikṣu*) *agnim* RV VS †TS †MS KS ŚB †

5 PALATALS AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*, the combinations *dy* and *yy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *t* before *i* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156

c and *t*

§155 Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous rining roots *car* and *tar*

yajñasydyur anu sam caranti (AŚ *tarantu*) TS AŚ Cf *yajñayur anusamcarān* TB ApŚ

na tad (AV *narnam*) *rakṣānsi na pikācās caranti* (VS °*cās taranti*, AV °*cāh suhante*) RVKh AV VS But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh as VS

achinnam tantum anu sam tarema (TA *carema*) AV TA Comm on AV *car*^c

śamyāh prataratām (Vait. °*ti*) *va* (MŚ *prararatām tha*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§156 The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt, the first two have interesting phonetic aspects

sā śantīti (SV °*tā*, TB ApŚ °*ci*) *mayas karad apa śridhah* RV SV TB ApŚ The TB ApŚ reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in *-āci*, fem to *-āñc* (like *prāci*), so, perhaps, the comm understood it (*anūṣṭasamanaprāpikū satī*) But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel Cf next

arcīṣūtrino nudatam praticah AV *arcīṣā katrūn dahatam pratitya* AG Here in the secondary AG we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding

natyaujasā TS MS KS *sacetusanu* AV See §305 Here we suspect that AV is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c* *agre* (TB *agne*, Poona ed *agre*) *yajñasya retatah* (RV *locatah*) RV KS TB

nr-tyām yām u ca (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ

jaḡdhā vitṣṭir (HG *vicaṣṭir*) HG ApMB And others, see §634 Oldenberg on HG assumes *vitṣṭi*, 'thirst'

divo vābhīṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ

yat kṣurena marcayātā (MG *vartayātā*) *sulejāsā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supēāsā*) AV AG PG HG ApMB MG —AVPpp reads *varcayātā* (*varcas*)

vācam (RV AV *vātam*) *viṣṇun sarasvatīm* RV AV VS TS MS ŚB *viṣṇun vācam sarasvatīm* KS *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*, note that KS places it next to that word AV comm also has *vācam*

śruddhe kam indra carato vitarturam (TB *vicar^a*) RV TB The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato* Comm regards it as an intensive formation from root *tvar*! (*viśeṣena tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*)

yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya PB *yunajmi tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *viṛtah sūryah same, or savah*) TS ApŚ MŚ Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf next See §57

j and *t*

§157 Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants, the phonetic aspects are faint

sabali prajānām kaciṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ *śaviṣṭhā vṛajam*) *anugeṣam svāhū* PB ApŚ *vṛajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary *tato yajñas tāyate visvadānīm* KS MŚ *tato yajño jāyate visvadānīm* TB ApŚ *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf e.g. RV 7 10 2, 9 102 7, 10 90 15 It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss but one of MŚ as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect *fac jāyate*

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB ApŚ *ṛjudhā*) *nayantu* VS TB ApŚ *yajñam ṛtuthā* is supported by RV 1 170 5, 8 44 8, but in RV 2 3 7 the two points of view blend in *ṛju yajṣatah yajuntāv ṛtuthā* They are in fact nearly synonymous

nam bāhubhyām dhamutī (etc., §853) *sum patatrah* (KS *yajatrash*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

c and *d*

§158 Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*, in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of *sense* to the preceding *vacas*

sumāya vaca udyatam (SV *ucyate*) RV SV

girā-girā ca dukṣase (KS *cakṣase*) RV SV VS MS KS PB ApŚ

sadd (MS *śacyā*) *pasyanū sūrayah* RV SV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

NṛpU and other Up One ms of KS has *sadyā*¹

ajaymādyāsanūma ca (AV *°sanāmādyā*) RV AV *ca* and *adya*

j and d

§159 Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *yy* in the roots *dyut*, *yyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a) It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *yyām* and *ymān* are displaced by *dyām*, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatām*, MS °*rīyo yyolatām*) *aprayuhan*
VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

ava yyām wa dhanvanah SV Vait Kauś ApMB *ava dyām wa dhanvanah*
HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29

upa ymann upi vetase VS TS MS KS ŚB *upa dyām upa vetanam* AV
Vait Kauś The absurd AV₂ reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, see Whitney's note

pavamānah so adya nah RV VS *pav° svarjanah* (*suvar°*) MS KS TB
ApŚ HG BDh In a secondary lect fac, *dy* becomes *j*

imam (MS *imam ca*, VS TS ŚŚ *ya imam*) *yajñam evadhayā* (KS
AŚ °*yā ca*, MS *sudhayā*) *dadante* (AŚ *yajante*, ŚŚ *bhajante*) VS
TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

datvyāya dhatre joṣṭre (MS *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Note
the palatal diphthong after *d*, which is however doubtless secondary

uccairvāji pṛtanāṣūḥ (HG °*vāham*, ApMB °*vādi pṛtanāṣi*) RVKh HG
ApMB If ApMB is correct (v 1 °*vāji* is recorded) it is a hyper-
Sanskritic absurdity, no form of root *vad* can be concerned here

pruṭi smu (AV *sma*) *rakṣuso dāha* (AV *jahi*) RV AV

ichanto 'paridāktān ApMB *īpsantah pariṅāktān* HG See critical
notes on HG 2 3 7 Both forms seem uninterpretable Olden-
berg on HG, 'visiting those who wake (')', apparently under-
standing °*jāgṛtān*

erum tuṅdānā (TS *perum tuṅjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV TS Roots *tuj*
and *tud* are practically synonyms See Whitney on AV 6 22 3,
Keith on TS 3 1 11 9, and cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 1 45 4
The AV comm reads *tuṅjānā*

mā na āyuh puram avaram mānadonah MS *mā nah paṇum udharam*
(MŚ *ṭadhanam*) *mā rajo 'nāh* (MŚ *nāh*) TA MŚ See §536

j and dh

§160. Only lexical variants

mālā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā (MS *jajanaḥ janīṣṭham*) RV VS
MS KS TB Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS to
suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *janīṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son' Cf the following similar variant
oṣadhībhyah paśubhyo me dhanāya (TS *paśave no janāya*) TS KS
 ApŚ † MS
athāsya madhyam ejaṭu VS LŚ *athāsyaḥ* (TS MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam*
edhatām (Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejaṭu*, ŚŚ *ejaṭi*) VS TS MS ŚB TB
 AŚ ŚŚ Vait *adhāsya madhyam edhatām* KSA

y and d

§161 This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense) The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *j* and *d* on the one hand, and between *j* and *y* (below, §§192f) on the other
śūyavasānī manuve (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *dakṣasyā* (TA ° *syē*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
dīśo (TB *yaśo*) *yaṅnasya dakṣiṇāḥ* (TB °*nām*) TB AŚ Note that *d* is followed by 1

6 PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162 Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies We do not include here cases like *kakup* (TS *kakuc*) *charudah*, where the TS reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178

lasyaś le sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyaś carumena paśunā krināmi TS
paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB Corruption in TS, see Keith Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning

vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā (SV *panīṣṭaye*) RV SV See §86
vāyosāvitra (MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomughhyām caruh* (MS *payuh*)
 TS MS KSA

7 LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163 In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *r*, *r* (*l*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145-7) There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid §148a, cf especially §133, note), and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid §156a) In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence Namely dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §§218-25), some dialects show the reverse tendency. Especially *n* becomes *ṅ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds. Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies. We include also the nasals *n* and *ṅ*, except when *n* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945-54).

§164 We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit. Here first we have three cases of *avaṣa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV. We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely.

avataṣya (SV *ava(ṅsya) viśarjane* RV SV

ṛṣṛtāhāvam avatam RV *ṛṣṛtāhāvam avaṣam* TS ApŚ

gānu upāvatāvataṁ (SV *upa vadāvaṣe*) RV SV VS

§165 Next, some demonic names in the Ḡṛhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable, it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously. *tekaś ca sasaramataṅkaś ca* HG *tekaś ca sasaramataṅdaś ca* ApMB *manthākaḥ* (HG *mandākaḥ*) *hu vah pitā* HG ApMB

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS KapŚ may be due to the preceding *r*

aiḍamṛdā yavyudhaḥ KS *aiḍabṛdā* (MS *°mṛdā*, KapŚ *īlamṛdā*) *āyur-*
yudhaḥ (TS *yivyudhaḥ*, MS *no yudhaḥ*) VS TS MS See §241

Cf also *aḥar* (MS *vahad*, v 1 *vahud*, p p *vahat*) *divābhīr* (MS *divyābhīr*) *ūtībhīh* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ See §§272, 272a

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *pan*, *paṅ*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf Pischel, *Ved St* 1 199ff. For attempts to explain *pan* as going back to an IE root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note

sū me satyāṅīr devān gamyāj ṛṣṣ[ṣ] ṛṣṣ[ṣ] *aturū panyāt panyatārā* (KS *panyāt panyatārā*) MS KS ApŚ Cf Durga on N 6 8 (Roth's Erläuterungen 76 foot)

§166 These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization

The curious form *padbhī* which varies twice with *padbhī* has been explained in this way, this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr plural. Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 11 350ff, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff, Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63 300ff, Pischel, *Ved St* 1 228ff

uro vā padbhī (Kauś *padbhī*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB °ta, but Jorgensen °te) TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Kauś SMB

padbhī (ApŚ *padbhī*) *cuturbhī akramīt* AV ApŚ One ms at AV 3 7 3 also *padbhī*, hut Ppp *pad*°

§167 In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *vah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual, see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS has *ditya-vā* and *turya-mīt* in the same passage where *paṣṭha-vāt* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*

paṣṭhavād (TS °nād) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

paṣṭhavā (TS °vāc) *ca me paṣṭhauhī ca me* (MS omits *me*, twice) VS TS MS KS

§168 Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ṣ*, in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*

grhū mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ

ŚG HG *vepidhvam* is an *iṣ*-aorist, *vepadhvam* present

puronāta (KS °ta) *jinva rāvat* (KS *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS KS *puronāta*

varṣuñ jinva āvrt svāhā TS ApŚ And similarly other formulas,

beginning *tapati* etc., all in TS 2 4 7 2, MS 2 4 7, KS 11 9, all containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvat* etc. in the same forms.

A natural assumption would be that the lingual *ṣ* in MS is due to

an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS (which divides badly,

jinva-āvrt for *jinva-rāvrt*), the dental *t* of KS might be due to

dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf §632. The words are mere interjections and any form would pass.

vikrīda (VS °dra, KS °da) *vilohita* VS TS KS *vyakrīta vilohita* MS

Obscure epithets of Rudra, cf TB *ati-krīta*. The original presence

of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS and MS.

The dental of TS may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.

§169 Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions First, the ritualistic root *īd* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms Twice the SV substitutes the more banal *īndh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *īd* 'revere'

agnim īdīta (SV *īndhīta*) *martyah* RV SV

yam sīm (SV *sam*) *id anyu idate* (SV *īndhate*) RV SV

The same *īd* figures along with the similar *vīd* (and adjective *vīdu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies

tigmam anīkam viditam sahasvat AV *tigmam āyudham viditam* (KS *°dham īditam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS In AV *viditam* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *vīditam*, certainly KS *īditam* is equally secondary

dhiṣane vīdū (VS VSK *vīlvī*, KS *vīte*, MS MŚ *īdite*) *satī* (MS KS MŚ omī) *vīdayethām* (MS MŚ *īdīthām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *vīdū* or *vīdvī* 'firm', *vīte* 'pleasant', *īdite* 'revered' KS is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness Kaps has *īdite vīdayethām*

§170 The rest are sporadic

pari no hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK *°yāt*) RV VSK *pari no hedo varan-arya vṛjyāh* RV *hetī* and *hedas* are quasi-synonyms See the list of very similar formulas, *RVRep* 573

divo vībhīṣṭhām anu yo vīcaṣṭe MŚ *devānām vīṣṭhām* (ApŚ *†nīṣṭhām*) *anu yo vīcaṣṭe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ See §156

yajñam (KS *yajñyā*) *yajñam prati devayajubhyah* (KS † ŚŚ † *°yadubhyah*) VSK TS KS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ The stem *deva-yaj* (in sandhi *°yad*) varies with the denominative participle *devayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary

sarasatyā (AV *°yām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v l *manū*, AV *manāv*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jorgensen *manāv*) *acarkṣyuh* (KS SMB Jorgensen, *acarkṣyuh*, SMB Conc *carkṣdhī*, KS v l *acark°*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'), but the AV (loc of *manī*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone')

aśōdhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB *mīdhuse*) RV TB N

ghṛtam duhīnā vsvatah prapīlāh (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPp *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS TB ApMB See §198

pītā bhāsvaty anūpanū TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpanū* MahānU See §838 *nānīs caranti svasica iyānāh* VS TS ŚB *nāno myanti svasico na vānīh* MS KS

mā no agnim (p p *agnīh*) *nirrtir mā na āstān* (p p *āṣṭhām*) MS *mā no rudro nirrtir mā no astā* TA See §87

In ŚŚ 17 12 1 *śarvā vṛudya samṛṣṭyah* (cf. critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals

8 DENTALS AND LABIALS

§171 Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*, we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff., 122)

dh and *bh*

§172 We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi*. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too

bhadrād abhi (AV Kauś *adhī*) *śreyah prehi* AV TS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ
ApŚ MŚ Kauś

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh *svapna svapnābhikarane* AV
brahmādhigupṭah (PG *brahmābhi*°) *svārā ḷṣarāni* (PG *surakṣṭah*
syām) *svāhā* AG PG *brahmābhigūrtam svārākṣānah* MG. See
Stenzler's Translation of AG 2 4 14 (p. 73, n. 2), and the critical
note on MG 2 8 6

tayor devā adhīsamvasantah ApŚ *tasyām devā adhi samvasantah* TS TB
yasyām (v. 1 *usyām*) *devā abhi samvasantah* MŚ

vīśvāvasur abhi tan no grñtu RV TA *vīrebhur adhi tan no grñāno* etc
MS

samānamūrdhnīr abhi (PG *adhī*) *lokam ekam* TS MS KS PG *tī*
ekamūrdhnīr abhi lokam ekam AV

tṛṭīye dhūmāny abhy (VS *dhūmann adhy*) *urayanta* VS TA Mahān U
idam (PG *imam*) *tam adhitṛṣṭhāmī* (PG MG *abhi*°) ŚŚ AG MG PG
ṛtasya nābhāv adhi (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmī* (AV *punāti*) RV AV

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG *śvetas cābhyācāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*,
MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG

mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA
mā no rudrāso adhīgur vadhe nu (mss *nuh*) MŚ

adhī skunda vīrayasva AV · *abhi ḷranda vilayasva* ŚG

ṛṣiṇām pūtro adhīrāju eṣah (AŚ *avirūja eṣah*, AV *abhīśastirā u*, VS

ŚB *abhīastipāvā*, TB *abhīastipā ayam*) AV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TB AŚ SMB N

yamo rājābhīṣṭhātī (KS MŚ *rājādhi*°) KS TA ApŚ MŚ

§173. As the roots *skabh* and *stabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *sudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV seems to prefer *śubh* (five times), Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency

tēna mā sāha śundhati (AV *śumbhantu*) RV AV See VV I p 239

tāni brahmā tu (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV *śumbhati*, ApMB *śansati*) RV AV ApMB

śumbhantām lokāḥ pītṛśadanāḥ AV *śundhantām* etc VS MS KS

ŚB MŚ *śundhatām lokah pītṛśadanah* TS ApŚ

śumbham mukhan mā na āyuh pra moṣih AV *śunddhi* (*śundhi*) *śira māsyāyuh pra noṣih* AG PG ApMB MG

āpak śundhantu (AV *visre śumbhanti*) *manasah* AV VS KS ŚB TB
antah śubhrāvatā (SV *śunthyāvatā*) *pathā* RV SV

§174 An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *sūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh*, this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *sudh*, the latter being replaced by *sūd*

asūśubhanta (TS TB *asūśulanta*) *yaññiyū ṛtēna* TS MS KS TB

§175 In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely Thus in two cases of the participles *dhīta* and *bhīta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hīta* and *bhīta*, §118

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhītam bibhartu (Ppp *pīpartu*) AV *va no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitām dadhātu* TB

garbha va (SV KU, Poley's ed, *vet*) *subhīto garbhinihīh* (RV *sudhīto garbhiniyū*) RV SV KU

§176 Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants

dhartāras (ApMB *bhar*°) *te* (MG *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riśāma* SMB
 ApMB MG

bhākṣimahi (TS MS KS *Vait dhukṣimahi*) *prujām iṣam* RV SV TS
 MS KS PB *Vait*

anādhiṣṭā upasyo vasānāḥ VS MS KS ŚB *anubhīṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah*
 TS Both mean 'undefeated'

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

nīkīrya (MŚ KŚ *nīgīrya*) *tubhyam madhye* (MŚ *madhvah*, Vait *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ *narvā ādhīh*) KŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ See §47
avikṣubhāya (KS °*kṣodhāya*) *parulhīn dadhāmi* KS TB ApŚ 'For non-disturbance' 'for non-hunger' KS makes inferior sense
andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya VS ŚB KŚ *ambhah* (TS ŚŚ *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha°* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ MG *andhah* '(soma-) juice' *ambhah* 'waters'
bhanasaso (ApMB *dhvanasaso*) *vi vṛhāmi te* RV AV ApMB Here ApMB is meaningless

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177 There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p* *vi senābhīr dayamāno* (SV *bha°*) *vi rādhasā* RV SV *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean

bhūrnam (MŚ v 1 *tūrnam*) *devāsa iha susṛiyam dadhuh* RV KS ApŚ MŚ
dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayisnu RVKh *bhūmidṛṅham acyutam pārayisnu* AV *bhūmidṛṅho 'cyutās cyāvayisnuh* AV Quasi-synonyms 'establishing', 'saving'

§178 Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *kakup* (representing stem *kakubh*) and *kakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *kakun*, all by regular sandhi for *kakul*. Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS and TB use *kakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf Weber, *IndSt* 13 109, Keitli, *HOS* 18 p xxxviii)

kakup (and, *trikakup*) *chandah* VS MS KS ŚB *kakuc* (and, *trikakuc*) *chandah* TS

kakup (TB *kakuc*) *chanda thendriyam* VS MS KS TB
apām napād āsuheman yu ūrmih kakudmān (MS *ūrmih pratūrtih kakubhvān* , KS *ūrmih pratūrtih kakudmān*) TS MS KS
devīr āpo yo vo ūrmih pratūrtih kakunmān VS VSK ŚB
bṛhaty uṣṇihā kakup (TS *kakut*) VS TS MS KSA

d and *b*

§179 A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure, applied to fire-bricks

ambā ca bulā ca MS MŚ *ambā dulā* TS , cf *ambāyāi svāhā dulāyāi svāhā* TB 3 1 4 1

Another lexical variant

abaddham mano TS KŚ BDb *adabdhm mana* (MŚ *cakṣur*)
MŚ ŚG

t and *p*

§180 These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies

tiro rajānsi asṛtaḥ (SV *asṛtaḥ*) RV SV Both mean 'unconquerable'
The RV version occurs also with accusative *asṛtam*, 8 82 9b
ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpah (AV °*sātāh*) RV AV Cf RV 1 179 2a, *ye cid
dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan*, which confirms the RV reading, if con-
firmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of
AV ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the
ṛta')

matsarāsah prasupah (SV °*taḥ*) *sākam īrate* RV SV Epithets of Soma
The SV rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand
(comm *prakarṣena sūtāh* ['], *abhiṣūtāh*) Benfey, 'zeugend' =
pra-su(t), but the comm is right to the extent of connecting SV's
word with *su* 'press' The RV reading is obscure, cf Oldenberg,
Noten on 9 69 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *swap*)

vahniḥ samṛtano (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA Practically syno-
nyms, both 'rescuing'

devair nyuptā (KS *nūtā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °*tvam*)
AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

yat kṣurena marayatā (MG *varlayatā*) *supesāsā* (AV MG *sutejasā*)
AV AG PG ApMB HG MG Nearly synonyms See §156
upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ikāvalam* (MS °*nā thāgotam*) MS TB
TA

mitro (VS *vipro*) *bahhūra saprathāh* RV VS TS MS TA

sacetasāv (VSK °*sā*, delete 'MS' in Conc.) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB
sacetasau sacetasau TB *samokasau sacetasū arepasau* MS *samo-
kasāv* (KS °*sā*) *arepasau* TS KS Kauś The TB has a lect *fac*
to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacetasau* (comm
ekakarmapravartakau bhūtvā)

yo gopā api (TB ApŚ *gopāyati*) *tam hve* RV AV TB ApŚ The
denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula
'understood'

susevam somapitsaru (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB V&Dh
susimam somasatsaru AV—Ppp (Roth) *suvekam* (intending
susevam) *somapitsalam* For *susimam*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption Whitney and Keith regard the TS reading as the correct one, in that case the reading °*pīsarū* would contain dissimilation But it is improbable that the isolated TS has the original reading With Mahīdhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker'; and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf *paśu-sá, praya-sá*, both RV), both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the cpd would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV 'having a soma-winning handle')

dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyah MS *aditsan vā samjagaru janebhyah* TA 'Intending to deceive' 'not intending to give' Others, §45 *āsanniṣūn hrtvaso mayobhūn* RV AV TS KSA MS N *āsann eṣām apravāho mayobhūn* SV The latter is wholly secondary, see §820

ṛnān no narnam etnamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS In AV desid of ā + ṛdh, but comm *ecchamānah*, which suggests that TA intends *iccha*° (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*) MS has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*

tato na (na tato, na tadā) vicikitsati (vijugupsate) VS VSK ŚB BṛhU KU IśāU See §45 Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch*, see §182

n and *m*

§181 There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mī* and *nī*, these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124, to §119 should be added the following, omitted there

pratīlāmīti (AŚ °*nīti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language

The rest are scattering

agdhād eko 'hutūd ekah samanānād ekah TS *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko sanāsanād ekah* MŚ TS, 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith) Knauer takes the MŚ form as *sana* + *a-sana* + *ad* Both uncertain Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned *madennendram* (MS *moden*°) *yajamānāh varkāh* VS MS KS ŚB TB Von Schroeder emends KS to *maden*°, without justification, the opt *madema* is probably the original form The other, with instr

sg *madena*, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence Assimilation or dissimilation in MS ?

kad va ṛtam kad anṛtam (SV *amṛtam*) RV SV See Benfey's note in his translation of SV, which is obviously secondary

jīvam (ApMB *jūkim*) *rudanti vi mayanti* (AV *nayanti*) *adhvare* (AV °*ram*) RV AV ApMB Clearly a secondary effort in AV to make an obscure passage 'sensible'

abhimam (TS °*mām*, MS MŚ v 1 °*mān*) *mahimā* (VS MŚ v 1 °*mā*) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness', in the secondary VS *mahimā* (acc to Mahidhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject

jūmim (KS †*camī*) *mā hīnīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānt* KS TB MŚ *mā jūmim moṣir amuyā śayāntām* AV The MŚ is clearly secondary

akṣānām vagnim (MS †*vagnim*, AV *ganam*, read *gatnum*) etc, AV MS 'TH 'TA See §832

ṛteva putram jarasē nayanam (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB HG See §835

nen na ṛnān TA *nem na ṛnān* MS See §180 Particles *id* and *im*

śūro nṛyātā sutasas (SV MS *śra°*) *cukānāḥ* (SV *ca †kāmē*) RV SV TS MS

CHAPTER V INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182 Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126-34, 154-61) contain some similar phenomena, and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192). Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *ḷṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections.

1 *ch* varying with *ḷṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

§183 These changes are distinctly Prakritic, cf. above, §26, and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions, when *kṣ* etc. are secondarily substituted for *ch*, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss., so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss. we may mention *clatsandah* for *etac chandah* MS 3, p. 22, n. 3, *divrchala* for *divrṣata*, *ibid* 1, p. 18, n. 7, *tsata* for *ichala* Kauś 73 15, *putsah* for *pacchah* Kauś 82 29. See further BR, s. vv. *kapuṣala*, *ucchādana* etc. The pāda *pariwādam parikṣanam*, AV Nukṣ, is read *purichavam* in many AV mss., see Lanman's note ap. Whitney, and the Berlin ed. reads *uchantūnā muruto gṛtēna* in 3 12 4, with all of R-Wh's mss. and most of SPP's, the SPP reads (correctly) *ukṣantūdnā* with three mss. and comm. (Ppp, Barret JAOS 32 366, has *ukṣantūnā*, emended by Barret to ²*ūdnā*). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo 'smut samr̥chūtar*, TA 2 4 1c, the mss. at MS 4 14 17c read twice (247 1 and 3) corruptly *samr̥tsātām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA reading—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV *ḷṣu*, as for **pṣu* (*paṣu*), IF 25 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

§184 Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss, concern *kṣ* and *ch*

vācaspatē vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣane (TA °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Tho *dyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption See VV I p 29

somī ghoṣena yuchatu (SV *vakṣatu*) RV SV The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs, *ā-yam* and *ā-vah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither' SV is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology

tām pūṣānu yuchatu (AV *pūṣābhū rakṣatu*) RV AV *anu-yam* 'guide', *abhi-rakṣ* 'protect' Quasi-synonyms, but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics The RV original is much more neat and pointed

achalābhūh (KSA *acharābhūh*, MS *atsarābhūh* in p p, *matsarābhūh* in s p, VS *ṛkṣalābhūh*) *Lapinūjālān* VS MS TS KSA In AV 10 9 23 occurs the form *ṛcharā*, with v 1 *ṛsarā*, which is supported by Ppp The word is a name for a part of the horse's body, its original form is quite unknown Note that *ts* as well as *kṣ* and *ch* occurs Either *ts* or *kṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f

§185 For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find *namah kṛchrebyah kṛchū apatibhyaḥ ca vo namah* MS KS *namo grtsebhyo grtapatibhyaḥ ca vo namah* VS TS See §45

In AV 19 34 2a the mss read mostly *jāgrtṣyas tripañcāsūh* (v 1 *yā gr°*, Berlin ed *akṣahrtyās*, certainly wrongly) For this Ppp reads (with slight corruption, Barret, JAOS 44 262) *yāh kṛchhrās* For the true Śaunakiya reading see §192

§186 For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this *ichantu 'paridāktān* ApMB *īpsantah pariṣūktān* HG The two words are of course perfect synonyms One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *icha-* and *īpsa-* by Goldschmidt, *Gott Nachr* 1874, 525, note

2 *sy* exchanging with *s-c* or *s(h)* plus sibilant

§187 In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-sya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *h* the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant) All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions Either reading may be at times the older

§188 We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya*

stomo yajñāś ca (TB *yajñāsya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB °*tah*) RV TB The TB awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it, comm , *yajñena tram ārdhanīyah* —Here the nominative is the original form, in the next two it is secondary to the genitive *na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG ApMB HG MG In AG the epithet *śveta* is attracted to the noun *ahir* in the next pāda The majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG makes good sense, a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes

ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryas ca* VS ŚB *aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °*nāv*) *uditā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS The Conc unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŚB as an error, it is a nom sing, replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (= Indra and Sūrya) of VS to match the complementary nom sing *sūryas* which follows, cf Edgerton, KZ 43 110ff

yau uturadrāv uparas ca khādatah AV *yad apsaradrūr upurasya* (ApŚ *apsararūpurasya*) *khādatu* KS ApŚ

§189 In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *h* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant, again the movement may be in either direction

dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoh (AV *supratikah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding Agni is meant both times See Whitney on AV 5 27 1

dhyā martaḥ śakamate (SV *murtasya śumatuh*) RV SV The SV has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza, see VV I p 164

yaso bhagās ca mā vdat (MG *riṣat*, ~~mas~~ mostly *riṣak*) PG MG *yaso bhagasya vdatu* ArS Conc suggests *bhagās ca* for ArS No doubt PG is original ('let glory and fortune find me') But ArS makes *yaso* object, and since *bhagās* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive 'let him find glory of fortune'

viprasya dhārayā kavīh RV viprah sa dhārayā sulaḥ SV In SV the stem *vipra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sulaḥ*, for RV *kavīh*, which is a synonym of *vipra* and which SV contains in the preceding pāda

somah sulasya madhvah RV somah sulaḥ sa madhumān SV Like the prec., the geminatives are (so naturally!) made to agree with *somah*

yunajmi tistro viprah sūryasya te (MŚ vūrtaḥ sūryah mave, or savah) TS ApS MŚ yuktaḥ tistro vimrjah sūryasya PB—MŚ is clearly corrupt

mānasya patni suranā syonā AV mā nah sapatnah saramah syonā HG The latter is hopelessly corrupt, Oldenberg follows AV in translating

3 Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kṣ̄*, and *khy*

§190 The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kh* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118. Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khya* in variation with *kṣ* or *kṣ̄*. For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS, and once in KS, is spelled *kṣā*, cf. von Schroeder, Introduction to MS, p. XLIII. In fact the mss. vary greatly, but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition. This writing is also known to the grammarians

anukhyātre (KS °kṣātre) namah KS GB Vait. KŚ The *kṣ* of KS (both mss.) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*

*vy akhyaṇ (MS akṣaṇ) mahiṣo divam (AV * TS mahiṣah s(u)vaḥ) RV AV (bis) SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB* The mss. of MS vary, p p *akhyat* AVPpp agrees with RV

indra ṛbhukṣā murutuh pari khyaṇ (MS kṣaṇ) RV VS TS MS KSA N All mss. of MS here *khyāṇ*, p p *khyaṇ*

anv agrir uṣasām agram akhyat (MS MŚ akṣat) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ All mss. of MS *akṣat* or *akṣyat*, p p *akhyat*. But most mss. of MŚ *akṣat*

vikhyāya (MS vikṣāya) caḥṣuṣā tvam VS TS MS KS ŚB

sar abhivyakhyam (MS MŚ °kṣam) jhotir vai.vānaram MS KS MŚ sar (KhG sar) abhivyakhyam KS ApŚ GG KhG

*ṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sūcakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ kṣeṣam) TS MS duścakṣās te māvaḥsul (KS text with one ms. °kṣat, v. 1 °khyat) MS KS tam te duścakṣā māva khyat TS † (so read) Whatever be the writing of KS, the meaning can only be that of *avu-khyā**

§191 In the following the reverse condition is found, the readings with *khy* are secondary to *kṣ*

yas te agne sumatim maro akṣat (AV *akhyat*, v 1 *ukṣat*) RV AV If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form) *utvākṣam* (MahānU °*khyam*) *utvasambhuvam* TA MahānU No doubt *utvākṣam* 'having eyes all over', is the original, but *utvākhyam* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'

idhmasyevu prakṣāyatah (ŚŚ *prakhyā*°) TB TA ŚŚ ApŚ Both TB and TA comms derive from root *kṣi* with intransitive meaning('), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)', and similarly Caland on ApŚ Better from *pra-kṣā* (*kṣai*) 'burning up' In any case the ŚŚ (all mss) form shows phonetic decay, it makes no independent sense

4 j and y exchanging

§192 The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b, and above, our §§156, 159, 161 The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss, e.g. in AV 3 11 6 several mss read *yavam* for *yavam*, and the comm. evidently had this reading before him Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case

uto (ŚŚ and GB Gaastra, *uta*) *udyūbhur yuyiṣṭhah* (AB *ja*°) AV AB GB ŚŚ The Berlin ed of AV also reads *yuyiṣṭhah*, against all mss There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form, the word can only mean 'swiftest.' But only AB reads so in the mss, while not only AV and its Brāhmana, GB, but the independent ŚŚ, have the 'corrupt' reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss, regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology Similarly in the next

yajñā (*yajñā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*, GB Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurugavāsah* (*avicitanāsah*), *yajñād eta sann apuro*°, see §62 Again there is no doubt that *yajñā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts

talo ha jajñe (MŚ *talo 'ham yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāh* (MŚ *gopā*) TB ApŚ MŚ *te ha jajñe bhū° gopāh* PB Here the reverse change has occurred, MŚ is clearly secondary

śalam yo nah śarado ajlān (SMB Conc *ajijāt*, comm *ajijanāt*, PG *jijān*) TS SMB PG But Jorgensen reads for SMB *ajīyāt*, comm *ajīyād ayyāt*, *aja gatikṣepanayoh*, *gamayatu ity arthah*. Three mss of the text read *ayyāt*. See VV I p 92f

śaujāmim (ŚG *śauyāmim*), sc *tarpayāmi*, AG ŚG Here *śaujāmim* (so v 1 of ŚG) is doubtless original. It is a n, pr *yajñasya hi stha rtvijū* (TB ApŚ *rtvijau*) RV SV KS PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *yajñasya rtvij-* is established from RV 1 1 1 on

śuro yahasya (MS MŚ *jihvasya*, v 1 *yah°*) *śamudhah pariṣmanah* RV MS ApŚ MŚ *jihvasya* probably corrupt, and certainly secondary

iśāno vi śyā (= *śiyā*, TS *arjā*) *dṛtm* AV TS MS KS The two forms are synonyms, TS is secondary

jāgrīśyas (*tripañcāśih* AV 19 34 2a, mss (v 1 *yū gr°*), R-Wb *akṣakṛtyās*, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note. Read either *yā grīśyas*, or better *yāh* (or *yās ca*) *kṛtyās*. Cf §185

añjanti śupraya-śam pañca janūh RV MS, 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possessed of good regulation' *yujjanti śuprayasam* etc., AVPpp 2 74 1 (Barret, *JAS* 30 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedic sense)

§193 Somewhat remoter are the following

hṛdo aśv antaram tu jajoṣat (TA *śad yuyota*) RV KS TA —TA secondary

śamvatsarasya dhūyasū (AV VS *tejasū*) AV VS TS KSA HG

śamayata (KS °tā) *śamatah śyēnam ayitnam* (MŚ °tāh *pretam vājīnam*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

āśum tvījavu (ApŚ *ākhumi tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ. Corrupt in ApŚ. Caland translates the KS reading. Explained in §296

ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rte*, P B *†yākṣate*) *cid abhīśiṣah* RV AV SV PB †9 10 1a. TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG *jaru cetid* (mss *cetid*, p p *cya ite, it*) *abhīśiṣah* MS (corrupt)

5 Palatal stops and ś(ṣ)

§194 There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency). But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters. The single case of § 13

abhy arṣata (AV Vait Kauś *arcata*) *nuṣṣutim gavyam ājīm* RV AV VS KS Vait ApŚ Kauś For the favorite formula *abhy-arṣ* with *nuṣṣutim* see *RVRep* 523ff The AV variant is a lect fac (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*)

§196 The rest concern *ś*

pratyāñ janān samcukōśāntakāle N in *Durga* (Roth, *Erläuterungen* 12, n 4), *pratyāñ janāś tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhah* (ŚvetU and ŚirasU • *tiṣṭhati samcukōcāntakāle*) VS ŚvetU ŚirasU Dhātup has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which *Durga*'s form seems connected *ayasmayam vicrtā* (KS *vikrtā*, v 1 °*drtā*) *bandham etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayasmayān v cṛti banuhapākūn* AV The original *vicrtā* means 'loosen thou' KS seems felt as 2 plur from *vi-ṣṛ* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural

vīśvasya devī mṛcayasya (ŚŚ *mṛśa*°) *janmanah* AB AŚ ŚŚ *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable', perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious' ŚŚ's *mṛśa*° may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form

prthivyāh samprcah (MS MŚ °*cas*, VS ŚB *suniprcah*) *pāhi* VS TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Also *divah samprcas* (MS *samprcas*) *pāhi* VS MS ŚB The two words are synonyms

svitro (MS *cutro*) *rukṣitā* AV MS TS ApMB Also *svitra* (MS *cutra*) *ddityānām* VS MS Again the two words are synonyms Some AV mss have *cutro* in the first variant, Ppp mss *śaltro*, Barret *JAOS* 32 370 em *svitro*

yat kṣurena marcayatū (MG *varcayātū*) *vutejasā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supēśasā*) AV AG PG HG ApMB MG

agre (TB *agne*, Poona ed *agre*) *yajñasya cetatah* (RV *śocatah*) RV KS TB

ūrdhvacatah (MS. KS °*sritah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS text *śra*°, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm, which glosses *śevadhvam*, ŚB correctly *sra*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Assimilation to *śrayadhvam* in MS KS

mṛśare (SV *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV SV The change from (*pari-*) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *pavase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sātaye* RV 9 56 3

chliṭpu chliṭyate ŚŚ *āśliṭpu śliṭyate* AV (mss, R-Wh em *āśliṭkṣum śliṭkṣate*) Unknown words

tanūpāś (TB Conc *tanūpāc*, Poona ed text and comm *†tanūnapāc*) *ca saravatī* VS KS TB The TB (which obviously reads *tanū-*

napūc) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

6 Miscellaneous

§196 Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *h* and *bj*.

mahnā jinoṣi (MS *hinoṣi*) *mahina* RV TS MS KS ApMB N. Synonymous rime-words

āyurdā (*āyurṣmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasum* (*haviṣo*, *haviṣā*) *vṛnānah* (etc.), see §854

dvyah kośah samukṣitah MS *davyah kośah* (AV *devakośah*) *samubjitah* AV TS KS. The MS reading is a riming corruption.

CHAPTER VI LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197 The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects, and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned, and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*.

p (once, *ph*) and *v*

§198 Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original, they are listed in the following

yas tāni (TA MahānU *tad*) *veda sa pituh* (AV *sa pitus*, most mss. *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* AV VS TA MahānU *yas tā vjānāt sa pituḥ* (TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV AV TA N 'He shall be Savitar's father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father', cf. Bergaigne 2 104, 108

abhīśaster avasparat (SV *avasvarat*) RV SV 'Fight away' 'sound away', in either case 'protect' (SV comm *pālayatu*) But *ava-spar*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense, see e.g. RV 10 39 6, 8 66 14

ṛtasya goptrī tapuḥ sah paraspī (SMB °*vī*, MG *taratṛī*) SMB ApMB MG *paraspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)' *parasvī* (also in some mss. of ApMB) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm *utkṛṣṭadhunarūpā*)

spārhā (TB *svāruhā*) *yasya sriyo dṛṣṭe* RV KṢ TB And *spārha* (TB *svāruho*) *deva nyutvatū* RV SV VS TB The TB reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical. Comm., wobbly, once *suṣṭhu ratham ārūdhah*, once *svasṃād eva prarūdhāh*

hiranyaparna śakune PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU *hiranyapakṣah śakunih* HG Practically synonyms. Contrast *darbhah strīṇā* etc. under §200

jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt AV *jāmim itvā mā vritsi lokān* TA The AV original 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven' Poona ed. of TA reads *jāmi mitvā mā vritsi lokāt* (v 1 *lokān*)

- Its comm regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapsyas*) But neither reading of TA really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v* *nākro makarah kulīpayas* (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*, certainly rightly *kūvāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean'
- nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam* AV *nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam* 'TB *ava-prj* is the original, it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving Note *apa ava* also (§201)
- yatrāsprkṣat* (HG *yatrā vṛkṣas*) *tanuvam* (AV *tanvo*, HG *tanuvat*) *yatra vāsah* (AV *yac ca vāsasah*) AV ApMB HG 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yad vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phulam*
- yamasya dūtāḥ ce vāg nuthīvat* MS *yamasya dūtāḥ śvupād vithāvasi* TA See §145
- yunajmi tisro vṛpcah sūryasya te* (MS *tisro vṛtuh sūryah savah*. or *save*) TS ApŚ MS See §57
- ajāsrah paśupā vījapastyah* ('TB 'vastyah) RV MS TB Comm on TB, *vastyam gṛham* (= *pastyam*, see RVRep 58) 'This, and the lexical statements that *vastyā* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastyā*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped
- yat paśur* (Kauś *yad vasū*) *māyum akṛta* (Kauś *akṛata*) TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG Kauś A synonym is substituted in Kauś *sarpadevajanebhyah* (AŚ *sarvā*?) *svāhā* AŚ AG Tho the context is different, AŚ looks suspiciously like a lect fac
- śatīpāsthāḍya* (read, ṣ(h)ā gha, with both Poona edd) *vṛkā pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāstād dhavṛṣā vārnah* MS See §86
- ghṛtam duhānā vṛvatah prapitāh* (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPPP *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS TB ApMB Barret JAOS 35 88, would keep *pravīnāh*, but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption
- §199 The one case of *ph v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of unplenicut
- īśām khṛgalyam śavam* MS *īśām khṛgalyam śapham* ApŚ Tho corrupt in *śavam*, MS seems to be correct in *khṛgalyam* (cf *khṛgata*, RV), for which ApŚ has a Prakritic *āp* *ley*

- §200 The *v* reading seems to be original in the following
- vṛṣṭim* (SV * *pr*^o) *divah parāvava* RV SV (bis) *vṛṣṭim* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates, perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *pr*, §680) may have infected the word
- mahyam dattvā vṛajata* (TAA *prajātum*) *brahmalokam* AV TAA The TAA reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption. Comm takes it for *prajātam* by Vedic license!
- yathāpah pravalā yanti* TA TU Kauś *yathā yanti prapodah* SMB See §60
- zheha vah svatavasah* (TA *svatapasah*) RV MS KS TA AŚ Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatavas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts
- tve kratum api vṛñjanti vīṣve* (AV *api pṛñcanti bhūri*) RV AV SV VS AA ApŚ MŚ See §57
- dīvyam suparnam vīyasam* (AV *payasam*, KS VS TS * ŚB *vayasā*, MS TS * *nuyasam*) *bhantam* RV AV VS TS (bis) MS ŚB AŚ *Suparn* There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky', but Ppp agrees on *payasam* (twice). Once the AV comm has the hardihood to say that *payasam* is for *vā*^o by Vedic license
- payasvan māmakam vacah* (AV * *payah*) RV AV (bis) KS In AV assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily. But TS TB MŚ have a further alteration *payavad vīrudhām payah*
- amba niṣpara* (TS ApŚ *niṣvara*, KS KapŚ *niṣvara*, MS *niṣmara* p p *niḥ smara*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The majority (in which we count MS with *ni*) points to *v* rather than *p*, but the word is obscure in all forms
- suvarṇapakṣaya* (MahānU *supurna*^o) *dhīmahī* TA MahānU 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original, see under next.
- darbhah śtrñtā haritāḥ suparnāḥ* (KS †*suvarnāḥ*) KS MŚ *hotṛṣad-anam haritam hiranyajam* AV *hotṛṣadurā haritah suvarnāḥ* TB ApŚ *sumarna-* is certainly original, as AV shows, cf preceding, and, for the reverse change, *hiranyaparna sukune* etc., §198
- parvādam parikṣvam* (ms mostly *parichavam*) AV Nakṣ *parvādam parikṣapam* ApMB The variant word must mean 'aneezing', see Lanman sp Whitney. The ApMB can hardly be anything but a corruption, one ms has *vam*
- tvam rūjān pradivah* (VS VSK *pratipat*) *sutānām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS N See §64
- tam ajarebhī vṛṣabhis tava* (ApŚ *tapa*) *svaḥ* RV KS ApŚ Followed by *tapā tūpīṣtha tapasū tapasvān* RV KS, *tapa tupaṣva tapasā tūpīṣtha*

ApŚ, which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this pāda Caland understands *tapa* as a voc, 'O Brennender'
sa bhūmim viśvato (ArS *sarvato*) *vṛtvā* (VS *sarvata sprtvā*) RV AV ArS
 VS TA Comm on VS *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from
vṛtvā 'encompassing'

anupauhvad (ApMB *anu po 'hvad*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*)
 HG ApMB In ApMB *po* intends *vo* (pronoun), HG is corrupt
 and obscure See §732 There is no real variant here, both forms
 having *p*

āñjaruna sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *sprśantām*, Ppp [acc to Rotb]
viśantu, TA *mśantām*) RV AV TA

jakṣivānsah papivānsas ca viśve VS etc., the text of VS is misprinted
 as *papivānsas*, corrected, p XXII]

§201 In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants
 between the prepositions *apa* and *ava* So close are they in meaning
 that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so
 far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form
 among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general
nāpa vṛñjāte (*navapṛjyāte*) see §198

ava (AV *apa*) *tasya balam tva* RV AV Note that RV has only *ava-tv*,
 never *apa-tv*

apa (TA ApŚ † *ava*) *bādhatām dūrītānt viśvā* MS TA ApŚ Both
 familiar

dviśantam me 'vabādhasu (Poona ed °*dhiśat*, but *v* 1 and comm °*śva*)
 TA *dviśantam apa bādhasva* SMB If the Poona ed text is
 right, this should be added to VV I §152

dhātā samudro apa (AG °*na*) *hanu pāpam* AG PG

yat tatrasno apa tat suvām AV *yad atrasno ava tat suvām* TA

idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya pūpmānum ava (ApMB *apa*) *gūhām*
 HG ApMB

yad avāmṛkṣuc (ApŚ *apā°*) *chakunih* KS ApŚ MŚ

yenāpīmṛṣatam (SMB *v* 1 °*mṛṣatam*) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāvamṛṣa-*
tām surām PG

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta palā jahī* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *upuh*
śvetepad āgahī MG

ābhur anyo 'pa (ApMB °*va*) *padhyatām* ApŚ HG ApMB *mātur anyo*
 °*va padhyata* ŚG

sarvān ava yajūmahe KS † TB TA ApŚ *sarvān apa yajūmasi* Kauś
ava-yaj is more archaic

indur indum avāgāt (KS *avāgan*, MŚ *upāgāt*, *v* 1 *apāgāt*) KS PB TB
 ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ava dikṣām aṣṛkṣata (ApMB *adāstha*) *svadhā* AV ApMB *iyam apa*
(v l *ava*) *dikṣām ayasṣa* SMB
apa kṣudham nudatām arātīm TB *ava sedim tṛṣṇām kṣudham jahī*
Kauś

§202 To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended, and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB in the first case

apāpāco (TB **vāco*) *abhībhūte nudasva* RV AV AB GB TB But

Poona ed of TB text and comm *apāpāco*, clearly correctly
āyus ca prāyus ca prāñcāpāñ (ApŚ *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS ApŚ

p and *m*

§203 The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam*. A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them

§204 The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV texts, *tam* in Tait texts

tapasax (TB *tamasas*) *tan mahinājyantuikum* RV TB

mā tamo (AŚ *tapo*) *na yajñax tamal* (AŚ *tapal*), followed by

mā yajumānas tamal (AŚ *yajñapatis tapal*) TB ApŚ AŚ

§205 The rest are sporadic:

kṣumāsi VS *kṣupāsi* VSK An arrow is addressed obscurely. Comm on VS 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup root *kṣmā(ṛ)*, perhaps confused with *kṣībh-*. Is VSK influenced partly by *kṣīp*?

amba niṣpara (*niṣmara*, etc.), see §200

yuktās tisro vimṛjah yunajmi tisro vimṛcah (*vimṛtsh*), see §57

namo 'gnaye prthukṣite (ChU MU *prthwi*^o) *lokasṛte* (MU **sṛte*, ChU **kṣite*) TS KSA ApŚ ChU MU And similarly *namo vāyave 'nirikṣakṣite*, *namo ādityāya* (*namah sūryāya*, *nama ādityebhyaḥ*), each time with MU alone reading *lokasṛte*. All in the same passage. There is no doubt that *lokasṛte* is original, Deussen renders MU 'Weltgewahrer', seemingly having **sṛte* in mind

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam insantu (AV *sṛṣantām*, Ppp [Roth] *visantu*, TA *mṛsantām*) RV AV TA

apūna edhi mī mṛthā na indra SMB *amū mu edhi mī mṛdhā nu* (AŚ *†ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG See §78

visvā sṛdho (AV *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV AV TA

b and v

§206 This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*, see Wackernagel I §161. The mss are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vīra*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b*. On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not occasionally written *v* (*pvāmi*, for instance, for *pbāmi*). This elusive theme (cf Grassmann, KZ 12 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

§207 Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are

carnevāvādhus ('TB °*bādhus*) *tamo apsv antah* RV MS KS TB ApŚ
The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away'. TB understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādh* 'they have overcome'. Poona ed. of TB has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm. even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināsitavantah devīm aham nirṛtim bādhāmānah* (TS *vandamānah*) TS KS ApŚ 'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS, but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS *bibhṛato*) *jātanedūh* AV KS *yatra-yatra jātanedūh sambabhūtha* ('TB *sambabhūva*, but Poona ed. text and comm. °*tha*) TB ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV (19.3.1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*, mss. almost all *bibhṛto* or *bibhṛato*, tho the comm. reads *vi-* and so both editions. All three mss of KS *bi-* (vv II *bibhṛto* and *bibhyato*). In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *v-bhṛto* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf. next.

atandrāso yuvatayo tvibhṛtram (TB Conc. *vibhṛtram*, Poona ed. text and comm. *bibhṛ°*) RV TB. Cf. preceding, here we have adjective epithets of Agni ('TB comm. *poṣakam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhṛ*).

sakhāyuu saplapadāu abhūva (ApMB °*padā babhūva*) ApMB HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB *mee* is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, *Introd*, xvi

usrā (MŚ *usrāv*) *etam dhūrvāhu* (KS *dhūrbādā*) VSK KS MŚ
Others, §122

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

[*tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ text, *balam*) *nahah* AA ŚŚ *tuje janā* (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArS This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balam* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*.

Original *v*

§209. We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original. There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vadh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādḥ* (and perhaps of *bandḥ*). In several variants, VS texts (particularly VSK) seem to favor *badh*, but contrary instances occur.

diviśato badho (MŚ *vadho*) 'or VS KŚ MŚ

mā tvā samudra ul vadhīn (VSK *budhīn*) *mā suparnah* VS TS MS KS
ŚB

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

mā me dikṣām mā tapo nir vadhiṣ(a) (KŚ *bu°*) TS KŚ MŚ

abudhiṣma rakṣo 'budhiṣmāmum asau hatuh (VSK *rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhīṣma*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ *avadhiṣma rakṣah*
TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmilo (SMB ŚvetU °mīno, Jorgensen °mīto for SMB) *vadhīh* (TAA SMB *badhīh*, but Poona ed of TAA and Jørgensen's of SMB both *va*°) RV TS MS KS TAA ŚvetU SMB *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno vadhīh* VS

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB *avartyai ṛvadhā*°) VS TB (so Poona ed)

ndārīd (TB °rīr) *asya samṛtīm vadhānām* (TB *ba*°, but Poona ed *va*°) RV TB

ayanam mā vivadhīr (TAA *vīha*°, but Poona ed text and comm *vīva*°) *vīkramasva* TA TAA

Cf also the following, in which MS is surely corrupt (see §260) Apparently MS MŚ understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA has a form of *vrdh*

mā rudrīyāso ubhī gur vrdhānah (MS *ubhī gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso arhī gur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ

§210 Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength') Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV, the word is probably connected with root *vṛ*

indro valim (MS *balim*) *akṣitīram dughnām* RV AV MS

tvam valasya (AŚ *balasya*) *gomutah* RV †1 11 5, SV AŚ

bībheda valam (AV AŚ *balam* but many AV mss *valam*) *bhṛgur va sasāhe* (AV *sasāhe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

ud valasyābhīnat (but all mss °nas, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ *ud balasyābhī nas* (read *balasyābhīnas*) *tvacam* MŚ The form *abhīnas* is for *abhīnat*, 2d person imperf, with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s*. This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262, but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhīnas*.

yo yā udāyud apa (MS *apī*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

indro yad abhīnat valam (GB *balam*, but Guastrea *valam* with most of his mss) RV AV SV AB GB

sa bībheda balam (VS and Poona ed of TB *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*) VS MS KS TB

§211 There is no doubt that the words for *fat*, *pūas* etc, have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit. Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity.

pīvo vṛkka udārathīh RV KS *pīhasphākum udārathīm* AV In AV Shankar Pandit prints *pīhaspākum* (comm *pīvaspakum*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's *mss* Ppp has *pīvasākākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 191, em *pīvaspākami*) *udāhṛtam*. Cf Whitney on AV 4 7 3, 3 17 3, and Index Verhorum of AV under *pīb*^o and *pīv*^o

ṛapharvayam ca pīvarim VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh *pībarim ca ṛapharvayam* AV (comm *pīv*^o, Ppp according to Roth reads like VS etc except *ṛapharvayām*)

neva mānse na pīvasi AV *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG —SPP with some *mss* and comm reads *pīvasi* in AV, so also Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 205) PG, tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc sing fem of *pīvan*)

§212 In the root *vṛh* or *bṛh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain. It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *bṛh* 'be great' etc., has helped the variation in spelling (cf §215). Later, *bṛh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them *vṛh* is the real reading of all texts, Wehr erroneously prints *bṛh*- in TS against nearly all his *mss*.

ādityās tvā pra bṛhantu (most *mss* *vṛh*^o) TS *viśvebhyas tvā devebhyah pra vṛhāmi* KS *ādityebhyas tvā pra vṛhāmi* MS Add to VV I §312

vasavas tvā pra vṛhantu (TS ed *bṛh*^o, most *mss* *vṛh*^o) *gāyatreṇa chandasa* TS ApŚ

§213 There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*) *bandhura*, RV always spells the word with *v*. Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, *RVRep* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole' *trivandhuro* (TB *triban*^o, Poona ed *trivan*^o, comm *triban*^o) *manusā yātu yuktaḥ* RV TB (in Conc by error, TS) MS

ā yāhy arivān upa vandhureṣṭhāh (GB AA *ban*^o, hut Gildstra and Keith in both *van*^o) RV AB KB GB AA ŚŚ

pra nānam pūrvavandhuru (VS ŚB LŚ ^o*ban*^o) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB, LŚ

ratham hiranyavandhuram (TA *sahasruban*^o, but Poona ed text and comm ^o*van*^o, with *v* l ^o*ban*^o) RV TA

trivandhureṇa (KS *triban*^o) *trivṛtā rathena* RV KS

§214 In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original
vahisṭhebhṛ (MS *ba*^o) *viharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm and Poona ed
 text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ The word can only
 mean 'swiftest', root *vah*

etad brahmann upavullhūmasi (AŚ *upa*^o, LŚ *upabulhūmahe*) *tvā* VS
 AŚ ŚŚ LŚ The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in
 LŚ It is perhaps a form of *vṛh*, §212

capyam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyur bhīṣaḡ asya vālah* (KS
vārah, TB *bālah*, Poona ed *vālah*) VS MS KS TB The word
 means 'sieve' and is regularly *vata*, or in the older language *vāra*
 The converse of this in the variant *kūrkuṛo bālabandhanah (vālu*^o),
 where properly *bālu* 'child', §215

Original *b*

§215 In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original
 The VS texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their
 seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209) First three cases
 in which etymology proves *b* the older

sovitṛprasūtā bṛhaspataye (PB LŚ **vṛh*^o) *stuta* GB PB Vait LŚ
 Twice in LŚ, once printed *vṛ*^o and once *br*^o, but comm both times
vṛ^o which must be correct (since quoted from PB which has *vṛ*^o) —
 On the other root *vṛh*, 'tear', see §212

kīrkuro bālabandhanah (ApMB *vālu*^o) PG ApMB Both must intend
bāla, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat* 'spoil' (treat
 as a child)

ya ābabhūva (PB *ava*^o) *bhūmanāni vīsvī* (PB *vīsvah*^o, comm *vīsvant*)
 VS JB PB ŚŚ Vait Tho PB comm repeats the incredible
āvababhūva, it is doubtless corrupt

§216 In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the ety-
 mologies of the words are unknown

yad dhastābhyām cakṛma (MS TB TA *calara*) *kilbiṣāni* (TA *kite*^o, but
 Poona ed *kilb*^o) AV MS TB TA

vīśvasmūd devakilbiṣūt AV MS *sarvasmūd devakilbiṣūt* (VS *kite*^o, IŚ
eva kilb^o) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ

kṛte yonuru (KS *kṛto yonur*) *vapateha bijam* (VS ŚB *vījam*) RV AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB

hasto (VS *vasto*) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

dhamanti hākūram (JB *vā*^o) *dṛtum* RV JB

Original *b* or *v* uncertain

§217 In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v*. The VS texts again seem to favor *v*. First, three cases of *padbīśa* or *°vīśa* 'fetter'. It is always spelled with *b* in RV, which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161), cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form *°vīśa*, *JAOI* 51:170

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mī*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS *°vīśāt*, LŚ † *śadvīśāt*) RV
AV VS LŚ ApŚ

samānām arvantān padbīśam (VS MS *°vīśam*) RV VS TS MS KSA
ync ca padbīśam (VS MS *°vīśam*) *arvatah* RV VS TS MS KSA. Here the sole ms of KS has *°vīśam*

§218 Two variants contain the word *bāna* or *vīna* 'arrow', both R̥gvedic. In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner.

yatra bānāh (VS *vīnāh*) *samputantī* RV SV VS TS AG

vīśalyo vānavān (TS *bā°*, MS *bānavān* KS *bānavān*, NīlarU *vānavān*)
uta VS TS MS KS NīlarU

§219 The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin *māgadhaḥ punścalī kītavah klībo* (VSK *punścalī klīvah kītavo*)
te prājāpatyāh VS VSK *klība* appears to be commoner
dīgbhṛyo vudabe (KSA *vadave*) TS KSA *badabā* and *vī°* are also found
drvāsī VS *dr̥bāsī* KŚ *drubāsī* VSK. An arrow is addressed, said to mean 'piercing' (root *dṛ*)

kṣatrasyaḥḥum (VS TB *°vam*, but TB Pōons ed *°hūm*) *usi* VS TS MS
KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. Both common, RV knows only *b* (once)

vīśvarīpā sabulī (KS *śavaly*) *agniketuh* TS KS PG *b* is commoner
marudbhṛyo gṛhamedhibhṛyo (MS *°dhebhṛyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *vāṣ°*, ApŚ
bāṣkīhān) VS MS ApŚ. Rare and obscure

subīrana (HG *subīrinah*) *śṛju-śṛja* (ApMB adds *śunaha*), and,
śunīm agram subīranah (HG *subīrinah*) HG ApMB. Anomalous name of a dog-demon. The ApMB mss are discordant
aulaba (HG *°va*) *it tam upā hwayatha* (HG *°ta*) HG ApMB. In same context as the preceding

bh and *v*

§220 These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhī* and *vī*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhī* forms are prior.

visvīṇy anyo bhuvanābhicaṣte (MS *°nd vicaṣte*) RV MS TB *visvāṇyo*

*bhuvanā mcaṣṭe AV Cf abhi yo vitvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe RV, and
abhi vitvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe RV*

*devānām viṣṭhām (ApŚ † viṣṭhām) anu yo vi taṣṭhe VSK TB KŚ ApŚ
divo vābhviṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe MŚ*

*mandrābhībhūti (MŚ mandrā vibhūti) ketur TS TB ApŚ MŚ
asrāmukho rudhīrenśhyaktah (TA °āvryaktah) MS TA abhyaktah
'smeared', is clearly original TA comm understands a-vryaktah
(not ā-), explaining idrgjātir iti nūcetur aśakyah*

§221. The participles *ābhṛtam* and *āvṛtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both, secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other, see Whitney on AV 6 125 2

*vanaspatibhyah pary ābhṛtam (MS āvṛtam) saha RV AV VS TS MS
KSA*

*apām ojmānam pari gobhir āvṛtam (AV ābhṛtam), same texts SPP
with some mss and comm āvṛtam for AV*

§222 The rest are sporadic

*yamir yamasya bibhryād (AV vuvhād) ajāmi RV AV vuvhād is unintelli-
gible, it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it
makes good sense See Whitney's note*

*ye no divānty anu tūn rabhasva AV yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva MŚ
yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ratasva ApŚ See AJP 27 413, Caland on
ApŚ 7 17 2*

*adṛṇhathāh śarkarābhīs trivṣṭapī (MŚ trivṣṭ(ībhīh) KS ApŚ MŚ
The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with
pebbles' The MŚ assimilates the last word in meaning to
śarkarābhīs, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed
pebbles'*

*bhavanāso (ApMB dhavanāso) vi vṛhāmi te RV AV ApMB Cf §176,
dhva° has a sort of assonance to bha°*

v and *m*, phonetic changes

§223 This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects. Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper *JAOS* 13 xcvi ff, and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note.

§224 The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first. They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions, but even these contribute their

mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds
First, with original *v*

uc chvañcaeva (TA *chmañ°*) *prthivi mā ni bādhatāh* (TA *vi bādhatāh*)
RV AV TA And

ucchvañcamānā (TA *ucchmañ°*) *prthivi su tiṣṭhatu* (TA *hi tiṣṭham*) RV
AV TA (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332) See Wackernagel
I §177

suśīman *sumasarsaru* AV *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatsaru*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh Attempts are made to explain
suśīman as *su-śīman*, or from root *si* with suffix *ma*, but while some
such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is
essentially phonetic

jyog jīveṃ sarvañrī vāyam tama MG (all mss) *agne sakhye mā riṣāmī*
vāyam tava RV AV SV MS SMB HG ApMB *nū riṣīmā*
vāyam tava Vait GB AVPPP (Barret, JAOS 26 278) The formula
vāyam tava 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced
in MG, was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible
*'vāyantama (as if superlative to *vāyas*)'

ā tvam (GB *ātman*, Ghastra *ā tvam* with *v* 1 *ātman*, LŚ *ā svam*)
indrāya pyāyasva VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait.
LŚ (Probably *ā tvam* is to be read in LŚ, its edition is very untrust-
worthy) The converse corruption in Kauś 65 15, where four of
seven mss read *devā tvā* for *devātmanā*

anamivāsa idayā (MS *anamīmāṣā idayā*, but *p p* 'vāsah, idayā) *mad-*
antah RV MS TB ApŚ *anumimāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a
case of assimilation, but it may be only a misprint which escaped
the editor's attention. The pratika occurs as *anamimāśah* later
in MS 4 12 6 (197 8)

ni dūrāśravaṃ vahu (ŚŚ *mahah*, all mss, ed cm *vahah*) AV ŚŚ

§225 On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following,
the *v* forms being often mere corruptions, cf JB *pratītam devebhya*
juṣtam ha vyuvasthāt, where 'havyam asthāt is pretty certainly intended
ā galdā dhamaninīm MŚ N *ā galgā dhavaninām* ApŚ *dhamanī* 'vein'
is correct, indeed the whole pāda is corrupt in ApŚ, see §144
Possibly thought of *dhav(dhu) = dhāv* 'run' may have flitted thru
the mind of the ApŚ redactor

agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (TB *dūtyam vāriṣanyah*) RV MS TB
ApŚ Comin on TB *vāriṣanyo mā rīriṣah (= māriṣanyah)*

punar dātām (TA *duttāv*) *asum adyeha bhudram* RV AV TA 'Let
them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life' The

preceding pāda is *tāv asrabhyam dṛṣṭvā sūryāya*, perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv*. The comm., at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv act = *dattām* (*dattau prayachātām*). There is no accent on *dattāv*.

sa mā mṛtu (MG *vṛtat*, one ms *mṛtam*) AG ApMB MG cf *tum nū mṛdhah* ŚG *mṛta* is required 'may he not die'.

sarasvatyā adhi manū (KS *mānū*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jorgensen *manāv*) *acarkṣuh* (*acarkṣuh*, *carckṛdh*, see §170) KS TB ApŚ *sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṣuh* AV. The mss of SMB which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption.

bṛhaspatyē tvā (TS KS ApŚ °*tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS ApŚ *ranvatu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. And

deva tvaṣṭar vanu rama (TS *ranva*, MS *ranv*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Here the verb stem *ranva* of the Tait school is based on the adjective *ranva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v*. Comm. on TS 1.3.7.1, *ranva ramanīyam kuru*. See VV I p 121.

v and *m*, lexical variants

§226 Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic. That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic pādas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep* 553ff. Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole.

§227 Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV itself.

sīdantu manuṣo yathā RV *sīdantu vanuṣo yatha* RV SV LŚ. In *RVRep* 60ff the first form is taken to be original. The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior.

manuṣvad (TB *vanuṣvad*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV TB *etat tvātra* (LŚ *etat tām*) *pratimanvāno* (AŚ °*vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ † LŚ *asmin*) VS AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ 'Thinking in reply' 'offering, presenting in return'.

purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*) *vr̥ṣhtam jagat* RV AV VS TS MS KSA N. 'Take note of' 'acquire', *jagat* is subject in RV etc., object in AV. See VV I p 266.

svrlanya mandāmahe (SV *va*^o) RV SV 'Have in mind, purpose' 'desire'
ūrjam bibhrad vasuwanāh (VS LŚ ŚG ApŚ * *vah sumanāh*, ApŚ * *vah*
suwanāh, ApŚ * *vasumanāh*) *sumedhāh* AV VS KS LŚ ApŚ ŚG
 HG 'Winning wealth' or 'very acquisitive' 'well-minded' or
 'minded to wealth' Note three different readings in ApŚ AVPpp.
 has *vasumatāh* Epithet of an owner of a house, all epithets fit well
 enough, but the readings with *man* may be assimilated in meaning
 to the following *sumedhāh*

§228 In three cases, somewhat dubious forms in *ūr-* and *ūr-* (*urv-*)
 interchange, perhaps this is partly a matter of genuine phonetics, and
 not lexical, cf *ūrmitā*, in the Rāmāyana personified as sister of Sitā,
 probably connected with Vedic *urvarā* 'field of grain', which is asso-
 ciated with *sītā* 'furrow' among the genuses of the field PG 2 17 9,
 see JAOS 13 p xcvi

nama ūrvyāya (MS *namā ūrmyāya*) *ca sūrvyāya* (TS MS *sūrmyāya*)
ca VS TS MS *namas sūrmyāya cormyāya ca* KS Mahidhara on
 VS derives from *urvā* 'earth' with *ū* by Vedic license, or alternatively
 from *ūrva* 'submarine fire' Keith adopts the first interpretation
 Neither is plausible, and *ūrmyā* is probably the true form, *ūrvyā*
 possibly merely a phonetic equivalent

utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva (KS MŚ *ūrmasm*, VS *arvan*, VSK
 **sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS VSK TS KS ApŚ MŚ The com-
 bination *ūrmi madhumat* 'honeyed flood' is frequent RV 4 57 2,
 58 1, 7 47 2, 96 5 The vocative *ūrva* in TS is, as Keith remarks,
 probably incorrect (he renders 'ocean') This vocative seems fur-
 ther corrupted into the common adjective *arvan* in VS VSK

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) *svādityā aditye*
syāmānehasuh (ApŚ *aditye 'nehasah*, ŚŚ *ādityā anehasah*) ŚB ŚŚ
 ApŚ ŚB, 'in the vastness of the Rudras', ŚŚ, 'in the favor of the
 Rudras' ApŚ seems secondarily to blend the forms of the other
 two, *ūrmyā* 'night' (RV) gives no chance for intelligent interpreta-
 tion

§229 In two variations of the roots *mand* 'rejoice' and *vand* 'extol',
 each is once prior

mandadvīrāyendave RV *vandadvīrāyendave* SV
maghavan vandīṣimahi (TS MS KS LŚ *mand*^o) RV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB LŚ

§230 The noun *medhā* (*medhas*) 'hymn' and its derivative adjective
medhya, vary with *vedhā* (*vedhas*) 'pious', or with *vedya* 'well-known'
vedhām aśāsata (SV *medhām āś*^o) *śriye* RV SV †

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV VS TS MS *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB ApŚ MŚ *medhyāya*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ *śrutkārnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV KS ApŚ

§231. Somewhat similarly, the word *medin* 'ally' is replaced by a slovenly *vedin*, if Scheftelowitz's ms of RVKh is to be trusted (note also the corruption *kṛno* for *kṛmo* in the ms of AVPPP)

asya (KS and RVKh Scheftelowitz, *īha*) *kurmo* (RVKh *kulmo*, Scheft em *kurmo*, KS *kṛmo*, AVPPP ms *kṛno*, for *kṛmo*) *harivo medinam* (RVKh Scheft *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh TS KS TB AVPPP (Barret, JAOS 37 263f) *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV Cf §263

§232 The words *mayas* and *vayas*, practically synonyms, exchange in two associated formulas

hayo dātra edhi vayo (VSK † ŚŚ *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahūre* (ŚŚ °*grhate*) VS VSK † ŚB ŚŚ And, in same passage

prāno dātra edhi vayo (VSK ŚŚ *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahūre* (ŚŚ °*grhate*) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ In two accompanying formulae all texts read *mayo*, VS ŚB vary the expression with *vayo*

§233 In two cases the syllables *sama* are changed to *sava* on faint lexical suggestions issuing from the root *su* in the context.

sahasrasāmīni prasutena yantah PB TB ApŚ *sahasrasava prasavena yantah* MŚ

tasmū u adya samanū (SV *savane*) *sutam bhara* RV AV SV

§234 The rest are sporadic

śrinānū apsu mṛñjate (SV *mṛñjate*) RV SV Subject is *somāh* 'are purified in the waters' It is hard to see other than phonetic reasons for the SV alteration of this *pāda*, which occurs twice in RV Possibly, however, SV means 'are worked, operated', assimilating the idea to the sphere of the *barhis*, cf Bloomfield, JAOS 35 273ff

uchā ma (SV Svidh *va*) *indram matayah svarūdah* (SV *svaryuvah*) RV AV SV GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait Svidh Change of person as in *indro vah* (AV *me*) *sarma yachatu* RV AV SV VS TS, or in the persons of the verb, VV I §§290, 307 For others of this sort see our future volume on Pronouns

amba niṣparu (*niṣvaru*, *niṣvara*, *niṣmura*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ, see §200

rdhag ayā (TS MS KS *ayād*) *rdhag utākamīṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*ṣṭa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB N *dhriyam ayā* (AV *ayo*) *dhriyam utākamīṣṭhāh* (AV *utā savīṣṭha*) RV AV The AV is clearly a phonetic variant or corruption (comm and Ppp *utāṣamīṣṭhāh*) See §86

yat kṣurena marcayātā (MG *varlayatā*) *sulejasū* (AG PG ApMB HG *viṛpeṣasū*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG 'Injuring' 'moving' In AV Ppp we find *varcayata*, a sort of *voz media*, perhaps with thought of *varcas*, but really of course corrupt.

yuktās tist *vimṛjah* *yunaymi tistro viṛcah* (*viṛtah*) , see §57

§235 In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words. In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter, the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge.

ā rakmīn (RV *raśmīni*) *deva yanuise* (TB *yuvise*) *svāśūn* (RV TB *svāśūh*) RV VS ŚB TB Tho TB is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others, coinm *rakmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya mīrīkuru*

drapaś caskunda pṛthuvīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *pṛthuvī* in all later texts against RV

kauberakā viśvarāśah HG *mīśravāsūśah kauberakāh* ApMB (probably original)

avimuktavakra (v l °rā) *āsīran* PG *viṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB *sa me mukham pra mūrṣyate* (ApMB *vekṣyati*) PG ApMB 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth' Probably PG is original

āñjaneni sarpiṣṭā sim viśantu (AV *spṛśantām*, TA *mṛśantām*) RV AV TA —Ppp (Roth) *viśanta*

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhu ApMB *adharo vud asau vadū svāhū* HG † *adho vadādharo vada* HG ApMB certainly original, the first form of HG unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mad*

vṛtrasyaśi (KS *mītra*°) *kanīnika* (VS ŚB °*nakah*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *vṛtrasya kanīnikāśi* (VSK °*nakāśi*) VSK TS ApŚ Secondary change in KS

anu tvā harino vṛṣā (ApŚ *mṛgah*) AV ApŚ

aśūdhūya sahumānūya vedhuse (TB *mūdhuse*) RV TB N

mitro (VS *viṛo*) *babhūva saprathūh* RV VS TS MS TA

pra hānsāsas tṛpalam manṣum (SV °*lā vaḡnum*) *acka* RV SV

kalpantani te (TA * *me*) *diśah sarvūh* (TA * *śugmāh*) VS ŚB TA (both)

§236 Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words. Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields a good sense.

ulem anamnamuh TS MS AB AŚ ApŚ MŚ *uleva namnamuh* KB
 ŚB ŚŚ KŚ

athem ava sya (AV *athemam asyd*) *vara ā pṛthivyāh* AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ
 The original is *ara sya* 'set free', AV secondarily brings in the familiar notion of *iyam pṛthivī* (in genitive form)

tuvī-śvanasam (TS JB *tuvīṣ-manusam*) *suyajam ghṛtaśriyam* RV TS
 JB ŚB MŚ The RV supports its reading by numerous instances of *tuvī-śvan* (-i, -as), whereas *tuvīṣ-* does not occur in compounds *vīśvavidam* (AV ^o*vido*) *varum avīśvam-īnvām* (AV *avīśva-īnnām*); RV AV The AV change is due to preceding *vīśva-vido*, see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128

manmā dūlhyānā utā nah sakhāyā MŚ *anvādūlhyāthām iha nah sakhāyā*
 TB See the context, quoted VV I p. 163, note that the preceding *pāda* ends in *m*

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV KS ^o*tyū*, TS ^o*tīr*, MS ^o*tī*) *vāurdhānā* (AV ^o*ruu*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iyānū*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ The sūtra texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'

bharatam uddharem anuṣṭīca (MŚ *uddharemu vanuṣanti*) TB ApŚ MŚ The TB context says that *im* (in *uddhara-im*) is for *imam chāndaso 'yam mavarnalopah*. The corrupt MŚ reading then seems to have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*

natsa vṛājō vṛṣabho malinām AV *pitā vṛājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB
 See §359

v and *m* in inflectional endings

§237 Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange between acc sing and nom-acc dual, between nom-acc dual and gen plur, between 1st person dual and plural, and so on. Similar cases occur among corruptions of the mss, thus in Kauś 60 19 two mss read *manthanīm* for *manthanīv*, and in Kauś 71 1 all mss *anśo rājā vibhajitīmām agnī*, where the editors emends *īmām* to *īmāv*

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhi rohu vanśu* (MG *vansah*) AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Roth quotes Ppp as *sthūnā dhī*

aya(h)sthūnam (TS ^o*nān*) *udītā* (MS TS KS ^o*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS For the VS ŚB form see §188

putrah pitarāv (AV ^o*ram*) *avṛṇā pūṣā* RV AV The original dual refers to the Aśvins, AV has a stupid simplification

yena śriyam (PG *śriyam*, ŚŚ *śriyāv*) *akṛṇitam* (PG ^o*tīm*, ŚŚ *akuru-tam*) ŚŚ PG SMB GG The ŚŚ is secondary and poor

apsarasū anu dattām nam yat (TB TA *ṛāni*) AV TB TA *apsara-*
sām anudattāṅṛāni MS (p p *anu. dattāni, ṛāni*) MS. is hope-
less, see VV I p 282

īdam vatsyāvah (AG *vatsyāmo bhoh*) AG HG See VV I p 249, others
on the same page and on pp 263, 276

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇvojasam (SV *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV SV 'Having
terrible strength' 'terrible in strength'

v and *m* in noun-suffixes

§238 On this subject cf Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant*, Baltimore, 1910 The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular, otherwise the *m* form In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels, cf Sturtevant, *AJP* 50 360ff, *TAPA* 60 33ff The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels, and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant* Variants occur in the readings of individual mss, thus at AV 19 42 3 *śutrāmne* for *śutrāṇne*, and at Kauś 89 1 four out of seven mss *manvabhīh* for *manvabhīh* We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation

§239 We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*, once, *vant*)

udyan nakṣatram arcvat (TB °*nat*) RV SV TB Note that RV also knows *arcimat*

tapur yayastu carur agnīvān (AV KS °*mān*) *iva* RV AV KS N *agnīvān* is read by AVPPP, *agnimant* not in RV This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory

pūṣā jñātīmān ŚG *pūṣā jātīm* (read *jñātī*°) Kauś

ṛṭīyasya savanasya ṛbhumatō (ApŚ °*ṛyarbhu*°) *ṛhaspatiwato* (KŚ °*mato*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The majority show *vat* after *i*

īndram ādityavantum vājavantam ṛhaspatimantam (AŚ °*vantam*) *īśvadevyāvantum āvaha* KB AŚ ŚŚ Here only AŚ has *vant*,

and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmana text has *mant*, *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *vant*. But cf. next.

tāsv adhvaryo (ŚŚ °*γav*) *vājavate bṛhaspativale* (ŚŚ °*mate*) *viśvadevyāvate* AB AŚ ŚŚ Here again we might suggest the surrounding *vant* forms as source of *bṛhaspati-vale*, but this time the older Brāhmana text reads *-vate*. Note that AŚ belongs to the school of AB, and ŚŚ to that of KB (cf. prec), the two schools seem to have affected different forms.

puṣpavāṭh (TS V1Dh *puṣpī*°) *prasūvarṭh* (AV KS °*sūmatih*, TS °*sūvaṭh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS V1Dh The original form has suffixal *varī*, fem. of *van*, according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric. It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS by the still irregular *vafī*, which looks like a blend of the other two.

apām napād kukudmān (MS *kukubhvān*) TS MS KS *devīr āpo kukunmān* VS VSK ŚB See §178

hiranyavul annavad dheḥi (ApŚ [read] *annamad dheḥi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ See AJP 27 415

tveṣam cakṣur dadhīre codayanvatī (RV °*matī*) RV TB ApŚ Psychologically, tho. not formally, this variant belongs here, *codayanmatī* in RV is a compound with the noun *matī* 'they made (thee, Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *v* form required after an *a*-vowel. TB conim, accordingly, *vidhāyakavākyayukte* (*karmānī*)

§240 The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms. *nṛṣadvā* (SV °*mā*) *śīdad apām upasthe* (SV *apām vivarte*) RV SV *śadman* (also RV) is in the mind of SV.

kṣīpreṣave devāya svadhāvne (TB °*mīe*) RV TB N The otherwise unquoted form of TB plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman svadhāran*)

ādityānām patvān (PB °*mānv*) *ihī* (KSA †*ehī*) VS TS MS KSA PB ŚB TB MŚ ApMB Both forms are Rīgvedic, cf. next.

āyoh patmane svāhā KS *āyoṣ patvane svāhū* ApŚ Cf. prec. *kavīn pṛchāmi vulmane* (AV *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV AV Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV.

mitajñavo varimann (TB °*vann*, but Poona ed. *mitajmavo varimann*) & *pṛthivyāh* RV MS TB *varivan* is not recorded, unless here.

- varṣmā* (VS *varṣimā*) ca me *drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, KS *drāghvā*, MS *drāghmā*, KapS *drāghimā*) ca me VS TS MS KS The curious TS form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*
- [*āpataye tvā parīpataye gṛhṇāmi*] *tanūnaptre* (KS adds *śakmane*) *śakvarāya śakvana* (KS *śakmann*) *ujyṣṭhāya* VS KS ŚB *tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā ujyṣṭhāya* MS *tanū*² *śakvarāya śakmann ujyṣṭhāya* VSK In KS the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'
- abhikhyā bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanh* RV *dṛṣe* (MS *dṛṣā*) ca *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanh* (KS ^o*abhih*, MS *suśikmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS form owes its *i* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śikvan* 'able' (RV), the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel
- avavyayann asitum deva vasma* (TB ApS *vasvah*) RV MS KS TB ApS Comm on TB explains *vasmah* as acc sing of an agent noun, *vāsayitram āchādakam* The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvah* as voc of a stem *vaman* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB must be deleted
- prathamāya janaye bhuvaneṣṭhāh* (ŚŚ *bhūma neṣṭhāh*, AŚ ed *bhūmanēṣṭhāh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Ppp has *bhūm*^o The ŚŚ reading makes good sense 'thou shalt lead the world' AVŚ has *bhuvane-ṣṭhāh*

m and *b*

§241 The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v* A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *bṛhat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical, see, provisionally, the Conc under these words

parā dehi śāmulyam (ApMB *śābalyam*) RV AV ApMB The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *śāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain' Apparently ApMB is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted' See §607

asambādham budhyato (many AV mss *mu*^o) *mānavānām* (Ppp ^o*veṣu*) AV Kauś *asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS Sense and text tradition require *madhyato* The form *ba*^o is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bāiham* (so Whitney), it is in any case a corruption This is immediately followed by

yasyā udvatah pravatah sanam bahu (MS *mahat*) AV MS Synonyms, cf *bṛhat mahat*, referred to above But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments

aulamṛdā yavyudhah KS *ailabṛdā* (MS °mṛdā, KapS *īlamṛdā*) *āyuryudhah* (TS *yavyudhah*, MS *vo yudhuh*) VS TS MS The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure, Mahīdhara on VS desperately, 'bringers of food' (*bhṛtah*')

anuṣṭub (°tum) *mītrasya*, see §412

m and *bh*

§242 The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical

indra ukthebhīr mundīṣṭhah (ŚŚ *bhand*°) SV ŚŚ Cf next, the roots are quasi-synonyms

divas (*divah*) *prṣṭham* (PB *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*°) *suman-mabhih* RV PB TA ApŚ Cf prec

tāsām īsāno bhagavah (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS Practically synonyms

sarvam tam (AV *sarvān ni*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tūn*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS ŚB *maṣmasā*, MS †*mṛsmṛsā*, v 1 *mṛsmṛsā*, VS *bhaṣmasā*) *kuru* (AV *-karam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The onomatopoetic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhaṣmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS

sarvā bhṛtyām (KS *mē † nanyām*) TS KS, von Schroeder emends to *bhṛtyām*

acīṣyāma (p p *amī*, for *abhi syāma*) *vṛjane visva ūtī* MS *abhi syāma vṛjane sarnavīrah* RV KS Corruption if not misprint

yuktās tiro vimṛjah (*vibhṛjah*) , and others, see §57

CHAPTER VII INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243 Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *d* which we add at the end of the chapter.

y and *r*

§244 Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption.

dvīṣas taradhyā (ApŚ °*ya*) *ṛmayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KS AB
ApŚ *dvīṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV Roots *īr* and *ī* (intensive), both 'go'

sāndikera (PG *śaundikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* PG HG *śanderathaś śandikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB Fanciful names of demons

vāyosāntra (MS *vāyusāntṛbhyaṁ*) *āgomugbhyaṁ caruḥ* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA

samvatsarāya paryāyānīm (TB *paryārinīm*) VS TB Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning

ny āsvinā hṛtsu kāmā (ApMB *kāmān*) *ayansata* (AV *aransata*) RV AV ApMB *ni-yam* 'settle', and *ni-ram* 'rest'

prīnasya vidvān samare na dhīrah TS MS *yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīrah* AV Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'juncture'

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu acāriṣam* RV VS MS KS ŚB AŚ LŚ MŚ ApMB MG *apo anu ucāriṣam* (JB *ṭacārṣam*) TS TB JB ApŚ

apo divyā acāyīṣam AV *anu-car* 'follow after' *cāy* 'fear, revere'

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye* ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *ni bhujāni* (SMB *bhujāni*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB ApMB HG Stonner on SMB understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady' Is HG Prakritic for *ca āryo*? (cf. Pali *ayyo*) One ms of ApMB also *cāyyo* All very doubtful

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA *yasyedam oja*

ārujah ŚŚ Obscure in all ŚŚ's *ārujah* looks as if blended of *ārajo* and *yujah*, whereas AA seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āra(jo-yu)jah* Or ŚŚ may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*, *ajah* vaguely = *ā(y)ujah*

gohya †*pagohyo marūko* (PG *mayūkho*) *manohah* PG SMB See §81
śadā yācann aham girā (SV *gyā*) RV SV N See §134

rudra yat te krayī (*kriv*, *kravi*, *giri-*) see §47

īdm pūṣānu yachatu (AV *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV AV See §184

antah śubhrāvātā (SV *śundhyāvātā*) *pathā* RV SV See §173

vijye †*vijye vikṣepel* (pp *m-kṣepe*) MS *vijre vikṣipe vidhame* MŚ
(Read *vikṣipe* in MS) According to Knauer (note on MŚ) these words are vocatives of cow-names No etymology for **vijyā* or **vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow

vanīṣṭhor hṛdayād (AV **udarāul*) *adhī* RV AV (both) ApMB

agor arir (SV *nāgo rayir*) *ā ciketa* RV SV Wholly different words and constructions

yena bhūyas carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryāmi*, PG *bhūrīś carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG *bhūyas* and *bhūrīś* are different suffixal formations from the same root

śukram te (TA **vām*) *anyad yajatum* (TA **raj*^o) *te* (TA **vām*) *anyat*
RV SV TS MS KS AB KB TA (both) AŚ Svidh N The Poona ed of TA reads *yajatum* for *raj*^o, but with v l *raj*^o, which the com. also reads, he has a labored and worthless explanation

y and l

§245 Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *lubh* or *lup* on the other. The two instances of *yup* *lubh* have been quoted in §113, which see. The other is

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV ^o*ta*, MG *lopayante*) *yud*
(AV omits) *eta* (RV *aita*, TA *aimu*) RV AV TA MG

y and v

§246 Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements, among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology. There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §254.

§247 We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittiriya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait. texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622). The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this. The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems). The *y* bridges euphonicly the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf §§338ff.), precisely as *e g* in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāyi* etc.). The *vin* of Tait. texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*, e g. *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in*. It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin*. See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e, Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp 211ff., Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *ṛṣabha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e.

nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyabhyas (TS °*vibhyaḥ*) *ca vo namah* VS TS
MS KS

namah sṛkāyabhyo (TS °*vibhyo*, MS *sṛgāyi*°) *jighānsadbhyah* VS TS
MS KS

namo rudrāyūtāyine (TS °*vine*) VS TS MS KS

pīlāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (TB ApŚ °*vibhyaḥ*) *svadhā namah* VS
KS ŚB TB ApŚ Also with *pitṛbhyah* and *prapitāmahebhyaḥ*

ūrjāvatih svadhāyīṇih (TS °*viṇih*) TS KS

§248 Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal, it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking.

aramgamāya jagmāye (TB ApŚ *jagmāye*) RV SV TB Ap, Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown in Tait texts, for regular *jagmā divasyave* (TA *divasvate*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* MS TA Stems *divasyu* and *divasvant*, but MS has *v* 1 *divasvate*.

ojasvīnī nāmāsi TS ApMB *ojasyā nāmāsi* MS Agan Tait texts with *v*.

atharva pitum me pāhi VS ŚŚ *atharva pitum me gopāya* (AŚ †*pāhi*) TB AŚ ApŚ *atharva* looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharva* (cf RV *athari*, *atharva*), epithet of Fire. Note *v* in Tait texts (to be sure also in AŚ.)

tapyatvai svāhā TS *tapatyai svāhā* KSA TA Stems *tapyatu* (RV) and *tapati*. Poona ed of TA *tapyatvai*, *v* 1 *tapatyai*.

ye te agne medayo (KS °*vo*) *ya indarab* TS KS. Here TS has the regular *v*-stem *medi*, while KS substitutes an otherwise unknown *medi*.

puṣe putrāya vettarai (ŚB [-o, for Conc ŚG] BrhU *vittayē*, MG *kartarai*, KS † and *v* 1 of MG *kartate*) KS ŚB TB BrhU ApŚ ApMB.

tvam no devatātāye (AV *deva dātāye*) RV AV N. See §61.

śrudhī śruta śradddhām (AV *śradddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV AV. The anomalous RV form is, as it were, explained in AV.

svacarsanib sahurib sahurān (AV *sahūyān*) RV AV MS Agan. AV eliminates a rare hieratic form.

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (AV *baladārā na thi*) RV AV. 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV *p p tā, a, thi*) 'come to us, giving strength'.

namo hradayyāya (KS *hradaryāya*) *ca nivesyāya* (KS *nivesyāya*) *ca* TS KS *namo nivesyāya* (*p p ni*?) *ca hrdyayā ca* MS *namo hrdayyāya ca nivesyāya ca* VS. Anomalous forms seemingly from *hrd* and *hrdaya* (but cf §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the like'). Stem *hradayā* quoted Pān 6.1.83. Vārt 2, Pat.

rdā manuṣyat (AV *maṣ manuṣyat*) *tha cetayanti* RV AV VS MS KS TB N. The mss reading of AV is supported by APr 4.65 (comm *manuṣyavat*) and adopted by Whitney. The APr comm looks in the right direction, it is a blend of *manuṣyat* and *manuṣya-*

namah nīlāyāhantya (TS °*hantya*, MS KS °*hantvāya*) VS TS MS
 KS *a-hanti*, 'not smiting' *a-hantya* = *a-hantva* 'not to be smitten'
arāyo śarmān abhiduchunāyate TB AŚ ApŚ *arāvā yo no abhi duchu-*
nāyate RV TAA Vait MŚ The stem *a-rāy-a* (*rai*) is bahuvrīhi,
a-rā-van karmadhāraya Caland would read *arāvā yo 'smān* in
 ApŚ, it seems indeed that the syllable *yo* is inherited from the
 RV form of the pāda

vasuranvo (MahānU °*nyo*) *vibhūr asi* TA MahānU *ranya* is from root
ran, as to *ranva* we must remember the quasi-root *ranv* (see last
 variant in §225) Both comms have fatuous explanations, that
 on MahānU divides *vasur anyo* (= *stutyah*!)

etena tvam atra śirṣanvān (MŚ *tvam śirṣanyām*, Conc, but Van Gelder's
 ed, 6 1 2, *śirṣanyān*) *edhi* KS ApŚ MŚ The KS ApŚ reading
 alone makes sense 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy
 head' The MŚ form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a
 phonetic variant for °*vān*

unnetar un non (read *no*) *nayonnetar vasvo abhy un nayū nah* AŚ
unnetar vasīyo na un nayābhi (KS *vasyo 'bhy un nayū nah*)
 MS KS ApŚ The AŚ form may be felt as acc pl of *Vasu*
 (*n pr*), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for
vasyo (*vasīyo*) 'lead us unto welfare'

§249 In a little group of three cases, AV substitutes the more popular
varīyah for *varivah*, of which the *v* is certainly connected with the *u*
 of *uru*

asmabhyam tvatra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV AV *asma-*
bhyam mahi varivah sugam kah RV

sakhā sakhībhyo varivah (AV **varīyah*) *kṛnotu* RV AV (both) TS KS
 GB Here Ppp has *varivah*, one ms of GB *varīyah*, which, it
 seems, ought to be read in GB in accord with AV, unless GB
 quoted from Ppp

tvastū no atra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV TS

§250. In another small group the *y* is definitely part of a case-ending,
 while the *v* remains suffixal or is a stem final
yābhīr indro vāvṛdhe vīryāya (AV *vīryāvān*) RV AV N 'Increased unto
 heroism' 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'

gārhapatyah (ŚŚ °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK *prajāvān*) *vanuvittamah* VS VSK
 ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Objective gen varying with possessive adjective
prajānanam vai pratīṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās (MahānU *sādhu prajāvāns*)
tanūm tanvānah TA MahānU But most mss of MahānU
 agree with TA, the ed follows one ms and the comms

namah śamgave (TS † *śamgāya*) *ca paśupataye ca* VS TS MS KS
 Wackernagel, II 1 p 315, plausibly takes *śamgāya* for *śamgayāya*
sa ghā (TB *śadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed.) *no devah sunitā sahāvā*
 (TB *savīya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§251 In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations, see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here.

pra stomā yanty (SV *yantī*) *agnaye* RV SV

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted
brahmasūtrad upāsvatit (MahānU °*svatit*) *tapah* TA MahānU. The
 reading of TA is uncertain, see VV I pp 45, 125

[*madhye pośasya* (AG °*sva*) *tṛmpatām* (MG *puṣyatām*, AG *tṛthantīm*)
 AG ŚG MG. For *pośasva* read °*svya* with Stenzler's 'Translation']

And in different present stem-formations of verbs

manve (ArS *manye*) *vām dyaṃpṛthivī* (ArS adds *subhojasau*) AV ArS
 Vait. See VV I p 125

§252 We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*.

tam u tvam (SV *tava tyam*) *māyayūvadkīh* RV SV

tvam (KS *tyam*) *hy agne agnīnī* RV TS MS KS AB KB JB ŚB
 AŚ ŚŚ Kautś

imam ū (MS *u*, p p *ū*(*m*)) *yu tvam asmakam* (TA ApŚ *tyam asma-*
bhyam) RV SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ

§253 Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root *ι* 'go' in variation with *av*. They tend to confirm the use of *at* as a verb of motion, see Neisser, *ZWbrh d RV* 123ff.

ūpo agre visvam avan AV *ūpo ha yad bṛhatir* (TS MS KS *yan mahatir*)
visvam (TA *garbham*) *āyan* RV VS VSK TS MS KS TA
 'Went (rushed) into the all', AV is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'.

ati setum durāvyaṃ (SV *durāvyaṃ*) RV SV. The derivation of the
 RV form is uncertain, see Oldenberg *Noten* on 9 41 2. The SV
 form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root *ι* ('hard to
 cross').

ayebhyah (TB *ave*^o) *kitavam* VS TB *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original, note that *av-* occurs in a Tait text (see §247), is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-* (comm 'to helpers') Tho *aya* may not be derived from root *i*, the variant belongs to this group

§254 Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant. In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable)

r̥sīnām putro abhisastpā u (VS ŚB °*pāvā*, TB °*pā ayaṃ*) AV VS ŚB TB

tanūpīvānas (AV *tanūpā ye na-*) *tanvas tapoyāh* (AV *tanūyāt*) AV AB AŚ *tanūpānan* = *tanūpā*

svarvaj (AV *svar yaj*) *gyotir abhayam svasti* RV AV KB TB

satyam (SV ApŚ *sa trām*) *vr̥san vr̥ṣed asī* RV SV ApŚ The RV original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas

utānyo asmad yujate vi cāvah (TB *vicūyah*) RV MS TB N The original has *vi-ca-āvah*, *vicūyah* (conim *vr̥ṣeṣena pūjāyuktah*) is ⚡ λεγ, corrupt, and untranslatable. See Kuegl. *Festgruss Roth* 159, 165

yena bhūyas carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG *bhūyas carā dīvam*) AG PG ApMB MG The PG reading is clearly secondary

nāvas caranti svastica iyānāh VS TS ŚB *nāvo vi yanti svastica na vānāh* MS KS The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough, VS etc. may have a lect. fac

pitā bhāsaty anūpamā TA *pitābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §535

praty eva (ŚŚ *pru tveva*) *gṛbhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

§255 The rest we shall not attempt to classify, note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both) *ghṛtam ghṛtayanve* (MS *ghṛtavane*) *piba* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'Home of ghee' 'rich in ghee', *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-vant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV)

anuvāsi (VS *anuyā*, MS *anivāya*, GB † Vait † *ahnānsi*, em Vait (d to *anuvāsi*) *rātriyai* (VS *rātryā*, MS KS † Vait † *rātriyai*) *tvā* (VS MS omit) *rātrīm* (VS MS KS † *rātrīm*) *gṛiva* VS TS MS KS Vait (pratika in GB) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants. The lexicons take them as containing the

- roots *vā* and *yā* But note that MS presupposes a stem *anuvā*, with short *u*
- trātāram indram akṣnor uvadhyam* (VSK *uyudhjam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonyms, note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v* Something like the reverse process in Pāli *ānudha* = Skt *āyudha*
- āvutsi* (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhīh* RV VS TS MS KS Roots *ā-vid ā-yuj* Other interchanges of *u* *yū* in §805
- nādyā śrutum namu* (ŚB τ *na nu*) *purā vutse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV ŚB Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*u* *yū*)
- rāyah syāma rathyo yayasvatah* (TB *vivasvatah*) RV MS TB The startling change in TB is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the pre-*pāda* Vivasvant goes well with Yama!
- śamgayī* (MS ŚB ^o*gavī*, TB ^o*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jivadānū*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ *gaya* 'chattel-' *go* 'cow'
- sonī ghosena yachatu* (SV *vakṣatu*) RV SV Substantially synonyms-
sparhdante dhīyah (TS KSA *dhvah*) *sūrye aa* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *visah* RV SV TS KSA See §109
- sarasvatyaḥ ya-obhaginyaḥ* (KS *vesabha*^o) *svāhū* VS KS
- bṛhann asī bṛhadravā* (TS KS ^o*dgrāvā*, MS ^o*drāyāh*, MŚ ^o*drāyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The Mantr texts obviously secondary
- malmalābhavanti tvā* (N ^o*tilyā*, corrupt) *sālayāna* TS MS KS TA N *rudra yat to krayī* (*kravi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) see §47
- dhuñkṣāgneyī* (VSK *vv* II *dhuñkṣyā*^o and *dhuñkṣvā*^o) VS VSK MS *agnaye dhuñkṣnū* (KSA ^o *sā*) TS KSA Wholly obscure words-
- akīrya* (MŚ *niḡīrya*) *tubhyam abhya āsam* (ApŚ *tubhyam madhye*, MŚ *tubhyam madhyah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ *niḡīrya sarvā ūdhīh* KŚ A desperate passage, see §47
- du-vaprahan duruṣyaha* TA Bitl Ind, *dusvaprahan duruṣaha* TA Poona ed, text and comm *dohvaprahan duruṣahā* MahānU Comm on TA *duruṣaha dāhham utkarṣenābhībhava*, comm on MahānU *duruṣahā tram, dustam aṣam* (!) *dāham hanti* The word seems to be *duruṣyaha* (^o*hā*) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasya*)'
- asvān anasato* (KS † ApŚ *anasato*, MŚ Van Gelder *anasato*, without *v* I) *dānam* KS TA ApŚ MŚ Poona ed of FA reads *anahsato*, *v* I *anasato*, the comm *ayahsaphās*, with *v* I *anasato* Obscure
- revatī ramadhyam* (MS * ^o*tīr amedhyam*) VS TS MS (both) KŚ The variant of MS is corrupt, see *AJP* 27 403 But the reading of the ed is an emendation, miss ^o*ramadhyam*

§259 The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel MS 3 7 9 has *aśvanāra* and *āśvanāra* against *aśvanāla* and *ās°* in the corresponding passages of KS 24 8 and KapS 38 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS, p xv) PG 1 15 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG 1 14 4 *glapsa* (GG 2 7 4 *grathna*). The variant *pleñgha* for *preñkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh 1 11 31 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *juar* and *jual* figure on the same page of the Kathāsarisāgara (5 118, 122). In Aufrecht's edition of AB, p 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urūka*, *bahura*, etc.) Such a thing is not surprising in a Rigvedic Brāhmana, and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV one better, for that form is unknown in RV, where *bahula* is common. In fact, the AB passage in question, 2 20 14 (also in AŚ 5 1 15), containing *bahuramadhya*, imitates RV 10 42 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa(h)*—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, ZDMG 33 196, that MS has a general preference for *l* over *r*. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text, we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS. While Maitr texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally. Per contra, note MS *aśvanāra* above in this section, and *khurvās* (to be sure with *v* 1 *lhal°*), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265).

§260 The very small group of lexical variants is now given first, one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt:

te no 'gnayah papayah pārūyantu (MŚ MG *pāla°*) TS TB PB ApMB
MŚ PG MG. The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated, both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent *papayah*, related to *pārūyantu*.

adhī skanda (Ppp *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV *adhī kranda vilayasma* ŚG
'Play the hero' 'be strong' (*vīl°* for *vīd°*). See §272.

dhik tvā jāram parasya janasya karmārjmi MŚ *dhik tvā jālmī*

LS. The words are quite different in meaning and construction.
mā rudrīyāso adhī gur īdhānah (MS *adhī gulbadhānah*) MS TA
mā no rudrāso adhīgur vadhe nu (miss *nuh*) MŚ. See §209 *gul-*
badhānah is not divided in p p, it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc.) = *guh*, 3 pl aorist.

§261 The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV, but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV, or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bahura* in AB (§259)

asrīrā (AV ApMB *asīlī*) *tanūr bhavati* RV AV ApMB. The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV, which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *srī*. For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*.

asvīrami (TB † *asīlam*, both edd.) *cit kṛnuthā* (TB † *thāt*, comin and Poona ed text *thā*) *supratikam* RV AV TB.

samūdhan (VSK *samūlham*) *asya pānsure* (SV *le*) RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB N. The *l* form is regular after RV, the *r* form in RV only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts. *mā tad bhūmyām ā śṛisan* (VSK v 1 *śṛiṣan*) *mā tṛneṣu* RV VS VSK TS MS KSA. Cf *aslesā* (*āsreṣā*) below, §265.

andhāhīn (TS *he*, KSA *heh*, em, ms *he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS KSA *gudā*, VS *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS p p) VS TS MS KSA. The RV knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf however *sthavira*).

anu no mārṣṭu (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad vṛiṣṭam* (VS TS KS † ŚB TA ŚŚ *vṛiṣṭam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ. *vṛiṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later.

capyam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyū bhūṣag asya vālah* (KS *vārah*, TB *bālah*, Poona ed *vālah*) VS MS KS TB. The *r* form is almost limited to RV, cf however *asvavāra* in MS, §259.

devānāso yasmat tvede tat satyam upariprutā (ApŚ *apariprutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ *bhaṅgena*) VS ŚB ApŚ. The root is commonly *pru* in RV, only very rarely so later.

aslonā (comin *asronā*) *aṅgair ahṛutah svaṛge* AV *aslonāṅgair aṅṛtā* (read *ahṛutāh* or *ṛtā* with Poona ed.) *svaṛge* TA *srona* chiefly RV.

§262 Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV goes RV one better in its hieratic *r*, but both RV passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh labh*, which in RV always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later.

utālabdham (AV *utārabdhān*, Ppp *utāl°*) *sprnuhi jātavedah*, followed by *ālebhānvīd ṛṣiḥbhīr yātudhānāt* (AV *utārebhānān ṛṣ° yātudhānān*) RV AV

The AV is secondary and corrupt in its construction, see Whitney's note

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern *sukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns *rohita lohita*, of which again RV has only the *r* form. The case of *kṣudra kṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole.

śukrāya svāhā VS MS ŚB *śuklāya svāhā* VS MS

peṣo na śukram (KS TB *suklam*.) *usutam* (MS *sanīh mss aś°*) *vasāte*
VS MS KS TB

varunāya rājñe trayo rohitalalāmāh (TS † misprinted *rohita-la°*, KSA *lohita°*) TS KSA

atho ye kṣullakā va AV *hatah kṛmīnāni kṣudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā*
atho kṣudrah TA (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives)

§263 Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b). In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānah* of MS, see §260.

asya kurmo (RVKh *kuḷmo*, AV Ppp *ms kṛmo*) *harivo medinam tvā*
RVKh TS TB AV Ppp (Barret, JAOS 37 263f) *asmākam*
abhūr haryasva medi AV *tha kṛmo harivo medinam tvā* KS
Scheftelowitz p. 112 reads for RVKh *tha kurmo ha° vedinam tvā*.
But his *kurmo* is an emendation of a ms. reading *kuḷso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kuḷmo*.

uppravada (RVKh *upapla°*) *mandūki* RVKh AV N. Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapra°* in RVKh, this time with his *ms*. The form intended is *upa-pra-vada*, cf. *a-vada* in next *pāda*. The reading with *pla*, if it is anything more than a *ms* corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavasva* in the second half stanza.

antarikṣam puritatā (TS *puri°*, MS *pulī°*, KSA *pulī°*) VS VSK TS
MS KSA. The *r* forms are commoner.

satatam tu śrābhīḥ tu MahānU *santatam śrābhīḥ* (Poonk ed. *śil°*, but *v l* and comm. *śir°*, gloss *nadībhīḥ*) *tu* TA. No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded.

§264 Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare. Here, first, eight passages containing *surira* or *salila* 'ocean'. That MS invariably has *salila*

cannot be considered significant (cf §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV, neither RV nor AV knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism

akvam jajñānam sarirasya (MS *salilasya*) *madhye* VS TS MS KS ŚB
prapīnam (MŚ v 1 °*lam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ *salilasya*) *madhye* VS
 KS MŚ *prapyātam* etc TS ApŚ

vibhrājamānah sarirusya (MS *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA °*yāt*) VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TA

vyacyamānam salilasya (VS KS ŚB *sarirasya*, TS TA *bhuvanasya*)
madhye AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

sariram chandah VS KS ŚB *salilam* ch° TS MS

sarirāya svāhā VS *salilāya tvā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ *salilāya svāhā*
 ŚB

sarirāya (MS TA *salilāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS MS ŚB TA

sarire tvā sudane sīdayāmi VS KS ŚB *salile* etc MS *salile sadane*
śāda TA

§265 The rest are miscellaneous

kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rurāṭe (MS *lalāṭe*) *purastāt* VS MS The *l* form is
 commoner

āsleṣā (TS *āsreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS In MS *p p akl°*, KS may
 intend either *a-* or *ā-*. The word regularly has *l*. Cf *mā tad*
bhūmyām etc. §261

alhorāma (HG text *atho°*) *ulumbalah* (HG *ṭulumbarah*) ApMB HG
 The word (usually *udum°*, probably related to *udumbara*, *ud°*
 'fig-tree') appears in RV AV etc, always with *l* in the last syllable,
 except here in HG, which may show dissimilation to preceding *l*.
 Cf §273

mudgās ca me khalvās (MS *kharvās*, v 1 *khal°*) *ca me* TS MS KS A
 kind of grain, the *r* form not found elsewhere. Note that it occurs
 in MS (cf §259)

achalābhīh (KSA °*rābhīh*, MS [*m*]atsarābhīh, VS *rkaśalābhīh*) *kapirījulān*
 VS TS MS KSA See §184

r and *v* ✓

§266 These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning
r and *v* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance. We
 record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide
 from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are
 regularly involved. In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word *jīra-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīra-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood *udhādaya pṛthvīm jīradānum* (TS TB ApS °*nuh*, VS ŚB *jīradānum*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApS

śamgayī (TB °*ye*, MS ŚB °*gavi*) *jīradānī* (ŚB *jīva*°). MS ŚB TB
AŚ ŚŚ

§267 The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings

avakrakṣīnam vṛṣabham yathājuram (SV *yathā juram*) RV AV SV
'Ageless' 'swift'

ūrjasvatīr aśadhīr ā rikantām (KSA *viś*°) RV TS KSA † 'Grazed on'
'enter', the latter an evident lect. fac

purū reto dadhīre sūryasvatā (AV °*śritah*) RV AV KS The AV is
secondary and not very intelligent, 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-
resorting' is original. Yet KapS (see note on KS) has °*śritah*,
evidently intending °*śritah*

rudra yā te kravi (*krvi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) see §47

pāli priyam ripo (and *ripu*) *ugram padam veh* RV (bis) *pāty agnir vipo*
ugram padam veh ArS

dūredrśam gṛhapatim atharyum (SV *atharyum*) RV SV KS ApS
MŚ N The SV form is desperate. Benfey suggests *atharu-yum*
with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff.)
In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned

akṛnā gharman pātam hārdvānam (TA *hārdvānam*, read *hārdi*° with
Poona ed., LŚ *pātum atharyānum*, MS *pātum hārdvānum*) VS
MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ The MS corruptly mouths over an obscure
form. Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis,
reappears as the vowel *u*

hitvī (SV *hitvā*) *sero jihvayā vāvadac* (SV *rīrapac*) *curat* RV SV

lutra raysṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (MŚ °*retam*, AŚ corruptly °*bhavatum*)
TB AŚ ApS MŚ

rathe akṣeṣu vṛṣabhusya (KS TB °*ṣu vṛ*°) *nāj* AV KS TB *rathesv*
akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāh Vilh. See §359

mīstavāsasah kauberakāh ApMB *kauberakā viśavāsah* HG

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*ugne*) *jara-sam* (*haviṣā*, °*ṣo*) *vṛndnah* (etc.), see
§854

asmān (MS KS *a:smān*) *u demī avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhavesv ā*) RV SV
VS. TS MS KS *asmān devāso vṛatā haveṣu* AV

varunāyu rīsādase (KSA *mdase*) TS KSA So the *ius* of KSA
but von Schroeder omends to *rīsādase*

§268 In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned
ugram oṃṣṭham tavasam (SV *tarasam*) *tarasvinam* RV AV SV Assimilation to *tarasvinam* in SV

vātajavarī (HG *vālājīrarī*) *balanādbhir manojavarī* MS HG Either assimilation in MS, or avoidance by dissimilation in HG of the banal sequence *vātajavarī manojavarī*. Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS is secondary
dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam pārayiṣṇu* AV *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutas cyāvayīṣṇuh* AV The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyūt°* after *acyutah*, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (c g *ajuryam jaraṇantam*, RV 2 16 1)

r or v and h

§269 These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance, cf §266

aredatī (KS * *ahet°*, so ed. but ins *īdatī* read probably *ared°* with v Schr on KS 12 3. ii 3) *manasā deran garcha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*, TS *manasā tac chakeyam*) TS MS KS ApŚ *ahedatī* (ŚŚ *ahet°*) *manasēdam juṣasva* AŚ ŚŚ 'The root *red* in Naigh 2 12 is followed immediately by *hed* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'

suhamāṣā sahasvatī (PG *sarasvatī*) PG ApMB HG *sarastatī* is a blunder

am tvā bhrātarah svrṛdhā (ApMB *°dho*, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG See §109

tā (tār) ehi (eha, iha, MG eva), see §§578, 89*

sa ghā (TB *sadyā*, Poona ed *sa ghā*) *no derah savitū sahāvā* (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

l and d

§270 It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *d* and *dh* between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāskala recensions of the RV to *l* and *lh*. This variation is ignored in the Cone, because it is carried out with mechanical completeness. Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later Vedic texts, Wackernagel I §194. This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completeness as in RV, in two texts, VSK and ŚŚ, and also in the twentieth book of AV. These cases are recorded in the Cone, but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK and ŚŚ alone. Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically

It is clear that ma tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercised their discretion to some extent. Thus N seems to intend to write *l* thruout. In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV occur in Book 20, and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV in those parts of AV 20.

§271 The list follows

- idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena* ApŚ MS *idāvāsmān* (RVKh *idāva vām*) *anu vastām vatenā* RVKh AV Vait. But Scheftelowitz reads *idāva ghṛtena* for RVKh.
- aidamṛdā yayudhah* KŚ *aiabṛdā* (MS ^o*mṛdā*, KapŚ *ilamṛdā*) *āyur-yudhah* (FS *yayudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS. See §241.
- ādityā rudra vasaras velate* (AB *vel^o*, for *ved^o*, GB Gaustra *ftenite*, with all mss.) AV AB GB JB ŚŚ.
- aś'rām tādām pratināhā* (ApŚ † *vīlām pratināham*) MS ApŚ.
- vad devī devahedanām* (VSK TA ^o*velanam*, but TA Poona ed both *ur^o* *hel^o*, with v l ^o*hed*) AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB TA (bia) Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś BDh GDh.
- nahy anyam balāharam* (AA *balā^o*) RV AA AŚ. But Keith reads AA *balā^e* (as is read in RV).
- asrathnan dṛdhāvradanta vīdā* RV *aradanta vīlā* (fragment) N *indras ca mṛdayāti* (AV ŚG *mṛ^o*) *nah* RV AV ŚG.
- ilē* (ŚŚ VHDh *ile*) *dyūmipṛthāi pūrocottaye* RV AB KB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ MS VHDh.
- idenyo* (AV ŚŚ Vait *ilenyo*) *nyamasyah* RV AV SV ŚB TB AŚ Vait.
- krīdantau* (N *kr.^o*) *putiay nṛptṛbhīh* RV AV N.
- gad vīdār* (AV *vīlār*) *indra gal sthō* RV AV SV Svīdh.
- vidu* (AV Vait *vīlū*) *cul ārajatrubhīh* RV AV SV Vait.
- vīhī sūa* (TB *sūra*) *purulāsam* (AV ^o*lāsam*) RV AV KS TB N.
- vauṣat* (ŚBK ŚŚ *vauṣat*) AB GB ŚB ŚBK ŚŚ Vait MŚ ApŚ.
- vyanad* (AV *ānal*) *utrah pṛtanāh sojāh* RV AV.

d and *r*

- §272 The same change occurs sporadically also between *d* and *r*. Twice this concerns the word *idā*, *idā*, or *irā*—the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf. also *akur dvābhū utbhīh*, §360, here MS has (for *akar*) *vahad* (cf. next §), but one ms. *vahad* and p p *vāka^t*.
- irānāṅi* (KŚ *idā^o*) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA AŚ ApŚ MŚ.
- ula* (ŚŚ *ila*, MS MŚ *idā*) ApŚ ^o*ira*, in the same passage with ^o*ida*) *hi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ (both) MŚ.

dṛnhasva vīdayasva (MS *vīr°*) *su* TS MS *adhiskanda vīrayasva* AV ,
abhi kranda vīlayasva ŚG See §260
vīruc chapathayopantī AV *vīdu chapathajambhaniḥ* ApŚ The latter
 is a clear corruption of the AV reading, which Caland adopts
varenyakratūr (AV **tur*, ApŚ *īdenya°*) *aham RVKh* AV ApŚ *vīren-*
yah kratūr indrah susastih RV See §§383, 554

d and *r*

§272a On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in
 GGA 1931 236ff, especially 239f, and his article in *Ehrensorge für*
Wilhelm Geiger 136f He refers to Patañjali (Introd to Mahābhāṣya,
 on VĀrtt. 9, p 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations
yavānas, tarvānas, for *yadvānas, tadvānas*, and to Wackernagel I p
 212 Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB **rīr*) *arya*
samṛtim vadhūnām (TB *bu°*) RV TB, where a difficult 2d person sing
 is substituted for a 3d person (cf VV I p 237), traces of this phonetic
 tendency (Cf ChU 4 1 2 *pradhākṣīr* for **ṣīd*, Oertel, *ll cc*) It
 seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations,
 altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious
 variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I
 passim, especially p 195f) Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also
 his note in ZII 8 289f) are

mayi rāyo mayi rakṣah MS 4 9 13 134 5, for which the Conc suggests
dukṣah for *rakṣah mayi dukṣakratū* TS †2 5 2 4, ApŚ AG HG
mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh VS MS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ

na me tad upadambhiṣar dhṛṣir brahmū yad dadau MS (originally
**dambhiṣad ṛṣir°*, Caland, ZDMG 72 10 *infra*) *na ma idam upa-*
dambhiṣag (once erroneously *udambhiṣag*) *ṛṣir brahmū yad dade*
 ApŚ (bis) Here the ApŚ form seems to stand for *upadambhiṣad*,
 with final *g* for *d* (= *k* for *t*), see our §142

yadū rāghaṣī varadah Vait. *yadū rākhātyau vadatah* ApŚ *yad udyārū-*
dhyam vadantah MS See §70

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following
ahar (MS *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS *divyābhir*) *ūtībhīh* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ
 LŚ One *m* and *p p* of MS *vahad* (*vahaṭ*), see §360, and the
 preceding §272 The MS is secondary, and may be considered
 hyper-Sanskritic

dadhīr (SV *dadhād*) *yo dhāyī sa te* (SV *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV

balim vchanto vitudasya (AG *vi tu tusya*, v 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (Mu-
 hānU AG *preṣhāh*) TAA MuhānU AG See §65

divyas taradhya (ApŚ °yā) ṛmayā na iyase (SV īraṇe) RV SV KS
 AB ApŚ *divyas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV

l and d and n

§273 By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *n* and with dental *d*, these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here, but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q v) In two contiguous passages *hariknikū*, fem of the color-adjective *harita*, is changed in ŚŚ to *hariklikū*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r*, but the characters are graphically much alike

lāsām ekā hariknikā (ŚŚ °hlikā) AV ŚŚ
hariknike (ŚŚ °hlike) *kimichasi* AV ŚŚ

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l* *urūnasāv* (TA uru°) *asutpā* (AV TA °pāṅ) *udumbalau* (TA ulum°) RV AV TA AŚ See Lanman apud Whitney AV The TA *conim*, fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktau* (as if *uru-bala*!) See *adhorāma* etc., §265

ni nūvartatai rūtayendra nūdabuda (KS *nandabula*) TS KS ApMB
 Both *ák* *λεγ*, obscure epithets of Indra KS looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary

CHAPTER VIII THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as *koṣa koṣa* (cf. §289, end), *śrambh śrambh*, are really never determined, and even so clear a root as *sru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13 cxvii ff., Bloomfield, *Kaṣṣika Sūtra*, p. lx, Winternitz, Introduction to *ApMB*, xvi. and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

ś and s

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges, and first those in which ś takes the place of regular or etymological s. In a number of cases the root *sru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *sru*, the *Pet. Lex.* goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *sru* in that sense. *śam yor abh' śravartu* (MŚ śra²) *nah RV AV SV VS KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ HG*. So *Conc.* from Knauer's report of mss., but Van Gelder's ed. reads *sru*² for MŚ without v. l.

vi śrutayo (AŚ *visru*², ŚŚ *visru*²) *yathā pathah SV AŚ ŚŚ*. One ms. of ŚŚ *visru*².

dadhī mantham pariśrutam (ŚŚ *manthām pariśrutam*, one ms. ²*śrutam*) *AV ŚŚ*

ū tvā pariśrutah (MG ²*śrutah*, mss. ²*śrutam*, AG ²*śrutah*) *kumbhah* (*ApMB* † ²*āh*) *AG PG ApMB MG enām* (ŚG *enam*) *pariśrutah kumbhah* (ŚG *kumbhyā*) *AV ŚG* — *AVPpp ū tvā pariśrutah*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32 366 ²*śrutah*. The readings of AG MG, tho. certainly secondary, make sense.

pratyān (VS TS ŚB * TB ²*yanik*, MS †* and KS v. l. ²*yanik*) *soma atidrutah* (AV text *atī hrutah*, VS †* MS *atīśrutah*, KS v. l. ²*śrutah*) *AV VS* (bis) *VSİK TS MS KS ŚB* (bis) *TB ApŚ*. The true reading of AV is ²*drutah*, see Whitney's note.

§276 The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally, see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified

śam ūdho romaśam hathah ApMB *sam ūdho romaśam hatah* RV
Comm on ApMB takes *śam* as 'Verhe' for *sam*, see Winternitz, p xx

§277 The rest are sporadic

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG *sramo dadat*) MS ŚG MŚ SMB Sṛma
is a name of an Asura, in the adjoining Brāhmana of MS it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to Sṛma, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth, cf Sṛpa, Sṛnara, and Sṛmala, names of Asuras (Harivanśa, see Pet Lex). ŚG has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gehe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle.

āstām jālma (KS *jālma*) *udaram śransayitvā* (KS *sranā?*) AV KS
Both edd of AV read thus, some miss *śrans?* and some *sranś*, none the 'correct' *srans?*

śam te hiranyam śam u santu (ApMB *sam u santu*) *āpah* AV Kauś
ApMB Metathesis of s and ś in ApMB, see Winternitz, p xvi
somaś caturakṣarasayūrīr (MS *śrīrīr*) *nakṣatrān*: MS KS A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asrūi* except here in MS

peśo na sukram (KS TB *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS all samhita miss *aśitam*, ed em *asitam* with pp) *vasāte* VS MS KS TB

ā śirśnah samopyāt AV, comm and Ppp *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney (cf however Bloomfield, SBE 42 255 (*keśam opyāt*'))

snāṛt tat HG Kirste suggests *sv-āṛt*, the context gives no help in interpretation

madhu vanśeśiya AV Read *vans?* cf JAOS 13 cxviii, and Whitney on AV 9 1 14

§278 In the following s takes the place of regular or etymological ś

śam te hiranyam śam u santu (ApMB *sam u santu*) *āpah* AV Kauś
ApMB See §277, and for other *sam sam*, §§276, 280

[*agnim ca visvasambhuvam* RV † AV † KS TB † ApŚ † No variant, correct Conc.]

śimāh (VS *śimāh*) *kṛṇvantu* (VS * *samyantu*) *smyantah* (VS *śamyuntih*)
VS TS KSA † The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

occurring in the same pāda, is the *s* of VS due to dissimilation?

Mahidhara = *śimāh*, glossed *rekhāh* or *maryādāh*

parnabūdo (ŚŚ °*sado*) *jaritah* (AV Vait °*dah*, om *jar*°) AV AŚ ŚŚ
Vait Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf' ŚŚ possibly
understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *śad*)

vīve devā nātividhyanti sarve (KS *sūrāh*, ApŚ *sūrāh*) AV KS ApŚ
The latter can only intend *kūrāh* Other cases of these two words,
capable of lexical explanation, §284

yam eva vidyāh sucim (V&Dh *sucim*) *apramattam* V1Dh V&Dh N
śukeṣu me (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ 3 of SPP 's
mss, comm, and Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 228) read *śukeṣu*

mṛgasya śṛtam (HG *śṛtam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB HG (vv II *śrutam* and
śrutam in ApMB) Kirste says 'probably *śṛtam*' More likely
śrutam is intended in both texts It is a question of ill-omened
sounds (*sakunai ruditam ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG)
'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss' For *śru*
śru cf §§275, 283

pred u harivah kṛtasya (SV *sutasya*) RV SV TS The word refers to
Indra, SV is perhaps thinking of Soma Benfey abandons it
and translates the RV

namah śaṣpiṇjarāya (TS *śaṣp*°) *tvīṣimate* VS TS MS †KS See next
ye vaneṣu śaṣpiṇjarāh KS *ye vṛkṣeṣu śaṣpiṇjarāh* (TS *śaṣp*°) VS TS
MS MG See prec Except in TS the word is always written
śaṣp°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaṣpa* (with haplology,
Wackernagel I p 279) Perhaps TS gets its *s* by confusion with
śaṣya 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śaṣya*, cf Wacker-
nagel I c, Keith on TS

yā nu ūrū uśatī vīśrayāte (AV °*ti*, ApMB HG *vīśrayātā*) RV AV
ApMB HG Comm on ApMB, *śakūśasya śakūrah*, cf Winter-
nitz p xvi

kṛdī (VSK °*ḥi*) *ca śākī cūjjeṣī* (ApŚ *sūkī* †*corjjeṣī*, v I °*jjeṣī*, *ca*) VS
VSK ApŚ Name or epithet of one of the Maruts Doubtless
'mighty', root *śak*, so Mahidhara, and *śākī* seems incapable of other
interpretation

jīmūtān hṛdayaupasābhyaṁ (VS °*sena*, VSK v I °*sena*) VS VSK TS
MS KSA

na jyotiṅṣī cakūsatī Suparnī *jyotiṣam nu prakāśate* RVKh
trīṣam piśitam aśyate AV 5 19 5b Whitney accepts Zimmer's emenda-
tion *aśyate*

yad asṛavan pakava uḷyamānam AV 7 66 1 Read or understand
asṛavan with SPP, comm, and Whitney

sarau pārnām wāladhat AV 5 25 1 Read or understand *sarau* with Whitney

§279 In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original

rkṣo jatūh susūlikā (MS *śusulūkā*) *ta itarajaninām* VS MS The p p of MS reads *susūliketi susūlikā*, suggesting that VS has the true reading. But *susulūkā* occurs once in RV. Both meaning and original form are obscure, folk-etymology may have been at work, Sāyana thinks of *sasu* and *ulūka*, in RV it is associated with *ulūka*

grāmyamañkīradāsaku ApŚ *grāmyam mañgīradāsaku* MŚ *vyāghram mañgīradāsa gauh* Vait. Obscure proper names, see §49

§280 In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation tho they seem to us too faint to be important. While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms. Thus the words *sam* and *sam* each make sense in these passages, cf §§276, 278
śam abdhyaḥ TS MS ApŚ MŚ *sam abdhyaḥ* (supplying *sundhasva* from the preceding) KS

mandūkyā su sam ḡgamah (TA *gamaya*) RV TA *mandūky apsu śam bhūvah* AV. The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily
yat ta āsthitam sam u tat te astu TB *yat te vriṣṭam sam u tat ta etat* Vait. 'That shall be all right for thee' 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'

§281 When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer. Thus in three cases of the roots *sam-vas* and *sam-ṃs* which are practically synonyms we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments

teṣu aham samanah sam vīsam (AŚ *vīsatī* for *²ni*, MG *vasama*) AŚ ApŚ HG ApMB MG. See Knauer's note on MG
amavānye samvasanto (MŚ *²vasanto*) *mahitva* AV TS MŚ
tasyām deva adhiśamvasantah TS TB *tasyam devaḥ samvasanto mahitva* AV *tuyor deva adhiśamvasantah* ApŚ *yasyam* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi samvasantah* MŚ

§282 The root *ās* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *āś* 'attain', they are practically synonyms in these passages. The *ās* forms all occur in RV, the *āś* forms in SV, which is contaminated from such expressions as *barhiṣ āśate* RV 8 31 6 and 1 144 6
sahasrasthūna āśate (SV *āś°*) RV SV

samīcināsa āsate (SV *āsata*) RV SV

yatrāmṛtāsa āsate (SV *āsata*) RV SV

§283 The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*, in the first variant also the roots *sru* and *sru*, cf. §§275, 278

ṛṣakṣāh soma uta sūśruḡ (comm. and Poona ed. text. *śūśruḡ*) *astu* TB
sucakṣāh soma uta sasruḡ astu MŚ See §145 *sasruḡ* is an em. for mss. *śasruḡ*, *sarṣruḡ*, *sūśruḡ*, Conc. suggests *susruḡ*, but *sasruḡ* occurs in RV, and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing'. Perhaps *sasruḡ* should be read in MŚ

ḍṛṣe ca (MS *ḍṛṣā ca*, RV *abhikhyā*) *bhūkā bhṛhatā susūkvanā* (RV *sū^o*, KS *susūkvanā*, MS *susūkmanā*) RV VS TS MS KS
ŚB See §240

§284 The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice, cf. *visve devā* etc., §278

śūro (TB *sūro*) *na mitravarunā gaṃṣṭisu* RV TB The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'

vīhī śūra (TB *śūra*) *purodāsam* (AV *śāsam*) RV AV KS TB N The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero', TB transfers it to an address to the sun

§285 The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words in *s*, some of them rather remote in form

sarvātah sarvasarvebhyaḥ (TA *śarva sar^o*, some mss. add *sarvasarvebhyaḥ*, MahānU *sarva sarvebhyaḥ*) MS TA MahānU See *namah* 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm. on MahānU *sarvātma*])', to all (the Rudras)' MS has v. l. *sarvātah* for *sarvātah* Interesting for the thro-going confusion of the two sounds, despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic

sarvān agnīn (AV *suān agnīn*) *apsuśado huve vah* (MS *huve*, AV *havamāhe*) AV TS MS AB

kalpantām te (TA **me*) *disah sarvāh* (TA **sagmāh*) VS ŚB TA (both) *visve devā natwidhyanti sarve* (KS *sūrāh*, ApŚ *sūrah*) AV KS ApŚ
See §278

§286 The root *sūd* varies with *sudh* and *subh*, cf. §174, and note AV *radantam śuddham uddharet* AV 20 136 16d, where *śuddham* is based on mss. readings *sudam* and *sunam* (Index Verborum)

asūśudanta (MS KS *asūsubhanta*) *yajñyā rtena* TS MS KS TB

āpo usmīn (MS *ma*) *matarah sundhayanu* (TS ApŚ *sunuhantu*, AV MS KS *sūdayantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ

§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question

yena strīyam (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛnūtam* (PG **tām*, ŚŚ *strīyāv akurūtam*)

ŚŚ SMB PG GG *strī* is certainly original

kumbhānāḥ (KS *stām*^o) *tannam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV *†tanvām*) *svām* HV
SV MS KS TB

svām tanvam (TS TB *tanuvam*) *varuno* 'susot' (TS TB *asvret*) TS MS
KS TB 'Enlivened' 'entered into'

śunam ma iṣtam *svām ma* (*ma idam*) *iṣtam*, see §353

tās tvā vīśantu manasā sivena (TB *mahasū sivena*) AV TB

yad anena haviṣāsaste tad asyāt (AŚ *asyām*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
'May he obtain that' 'that (is) in this (offering. see *hatrīyam*)',
or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words
are *tad iḍhyāt*) Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām iḍhed*
dhotrīyām

sakma yat te goh KS MS *sagme te goh* VS ŚB KŚ *samyat te goh* TS
See §47

tasthau nākasya sākavi (SV *sarnnani*) RV SV

apāveṇod duro asmarayānām (MS *asmadrathānām*) RV MS TA

svātrāh pītū (VīDh *snātāh pītū*) *bharata guyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ
VīDh

sulū (MS *sacyū*) *pasyanū surayah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB
NrpU GopālU VīsuU SkandaU

tad asya pṛyam abhi pātho asyām (TB *asthām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ
Poona ed. text and comm. *asyām* for TB, see VV I p. 86

aryo naśantu (SV *nah santu*) *sanyantu* (SV *†tu*) *no dhīyah* RV SV
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

āsūm jāyantam ann (KS *ya samjāyantam adhi*) *yāsu varāhase* RV VS
TS MS KS ŚB Even the original version is obscure

ā sūtrāme samatim utpānah AV Perhaps originally *āsutrāme*, see
§355

s and ṣ

§288 Here the total number of variants is much smaller. Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following s seems to replace proper ṣ phonetically.
nainud devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (VS *arsat*) VS VSK IḥāU The
word clearly means 'going' (root ṛṣ), VS comin *rsa gatau*. Cf
however *anarsarātum* (*alarsarātum*) §292

abhyaṣikṣi rājābhūm (MS v 1 °bhūt, ApŚ °bhūnam) MS ApŚ *abhikṣa rājābhūvam* (v 1 °bhūvam) MŚ (quoted from unedited mss, probably only a textual error)

§289 We find *ṣ* for proper *ś*, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Aśura, Śanda or Ṣanda. The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with *ś*.

śandāya (VSK ṣa°) *tvī* VS VSK TS MS ŚB ApŚ

nirastah śandah (VSK MS † *4 6 3 ṣa°) VS VSK MS (bis) ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

apanuttau (KS °tū) *śandāmarkau* (MS * ṣa°) TS MS (bis) KS TB ApŚ MŚ. See von Schroeder's note on MS 4 6 3 82 16, which indicates that he then believed MS to intend *śanda* thruout. But need it have been consistent? The mss are unanimous for *ṣ* in some places, nearly unanimous for *ś* in others. Those of MŚ vary.

Corruptions

yenāpāmṣatam (SMB v 1 °ṣatam) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāwamṣatām* *surām* PG

varuneti sapāmahe (MS † °hai, LŚ †ṣayāmahe) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ. The LŚ has probably a mere misprint.

[*kavaṣyo koṣadhāvanik* (MS text *koṣa*°, all mss *koṣa*°, TB † 'koṣa°) MS KS TB. Read 'koṣa° in all. There would be no variant but for the em in MS, which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *koka*.]

§290 The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions, the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original.

indrānyai kīrśā (KSA °ṣā) TS KSA

ṛkṣo jatūh suṣūlikā (MS *śukulūkā*) VS MS. See §279.

kūśmān (VSK † v 1, MS *kūṣ*°) *chakapindah* (MS *śa*°) VS VSK MS *kūśmān chakabhīh* TS KSA

kūśmāndāh, *ku*°, and *kūṣ*°, *kuṣ*°, also °māndyah and °māndāni, various Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses.

ākarṣye karṣyo yathā ApŚ *gīh koṣṣyaaur yadā girah* Vait *maihv ity ākarṣath kusaur yathā* KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure.

§291 Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *viśva* varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*), the meanings are fairly close.

viśvam satyam kṛnuhi viṣvam astu RV *viṣvak satyam kṛnuhi citlum eṣām* AV. See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50. Whitney on AV 3 1 4, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 30 6. [But no emendation of AV

is necessary. Render 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party)' Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 32 351f) has *viśvam viśvam kṛnuhi satyam eṣām*, closer to RV. Same general sense in all F E.]

adhī kṣamī mṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā viśva*^o) *yad aśtī* (ArS *aśya*, MS † *āśtā*) RV AV ArS MS TB (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs) *purudāsmo viśurūpa* (KS ^o*dasmavad viśmarūpam*, TS Ap^ś *urudraso viśvarūpa*) *induh* VS TS KS ŚB Ap^ś

§292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable

anarṣarātīm (SV *alarṣirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhī* RV AV SV N. The RV form is derivable from root *ṛs* 'injure', cf Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v. The SV form seems on the face of it to contain the root *ṛ*, it may be corrupt. Benfey, 'reiche Spende habend'

nābhīmṛse (MS KS *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣānah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB (Not to be touched (attacked))

asya hotuh pradīsy (AV *praśīsy*) *ṛlasya vāci* RV AV VS MS KS TB N. Synonyms 'at the command'

prānān samkrośān MS *samkrośan prānān* (VS ^o*krośān prānān*) VS TS *samghoṣān* (ms ^o*goṣān*) *prānān* KSA. Synonymous roots *kroś* and *ghoṣ*

yayor vām devau deveṣu anīritam (TS *anīṣ*^o) *ojah* TS MS KS 'Undestroyed', from *a-* and pple of *ni-ṣyati*, 'incessant', *a-nīṣita*

sam tvā śīśanti (Vait *śīṣ*^o) Vait LŚ KŚ. Garbc takes *śīśanti* from *śīṣ* 'leave', it is more likely from *śīṣ* (śīṣ) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śīśanti* ('sharpen')

vanaspatīn ośadhī rāya eṣe (^o*rāye aśyāh*) RV (both). Roots *ṛ* and *aś*, practically synonyms. The two versions in adjacent hymns, see *RVRep* 258. Add to VV I §121, 324

aspārśam enam satasārādāya RV AV. In AV most mss, SPP, and even Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 257), read *aspārśam*, in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV form in his Translation (root *spṛ*, aor), we think that the AV tradition intended *aspārśam*, as a form of *spṛś* 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years'. Of course the form is highly anomalous

dirghām anu prasṭīm (KS *samṣṭīm*) *ayuse dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS MS ŚB TB *dirghām anu prasṭīm samspṛśethām* MS Cf §78

ive ṛjah (KS *vāve*, MS *tvā eṣah*) *samidadhur bhūṛvāpasah* (TS † *bhū-ṛretasah*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

pratnāso agna ṛlām āśasānah (AV *āśasānah*) RV AV VS TS 'Blowing upon' 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending')

abhiṣṭir (HG °*ir*, ApMB *abhiṣṭir*) *yā ca no grhe* (RVKh *ca me dhruvā*)
RVKh ApMB HG

ā darṣate śavasā sapta dānūn RV AV N *ā darsati śavasā bhūryojāh* AV

The whole thought is made over in AV

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apasyum (KS *bhadrā vṛṣanā ugrbhnam*) RV VS TS
KS

aśūśubhanta (TS TB *aśūśudanta*) *yajñiyā rtena* TS MS KS TB
See §286

§ and s

§293 Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete.

dauṣṭā mīmānā manasā (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB
made sūstṛam (SV *madesu śṛpum*) *andhanah* RV SV Cf PAOS
13, p cxviii

āpṛno 'sī *samṛnah* (ApŚ *āpṛnoṣi samṛna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is corrupt

varīṣṭhahanuh VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam* TS TA
sugantuh karma karanuh kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karnah karanah*
karah karanyuh LŚ

tenemām upa sīcatam RV AV TA N *teno mīm abhiṣṭirulam* ŚŚ
asūrte (MS KS °*tā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS °*tā*, KS *na sattā*) RV VS
MS KS N See §828

kratrā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemunṣ ām-*
urim uta SV

rṣināni ca stutir (SV *sūstutir*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS

§294 The rest are scattering

ye vṛkṣeṣu (KS *varuṣu*) *śaṣṭriṅjarāh* (TS *saspi*°) VS TS MS KS MG
See §§32, 278, and next

namah śaṣṭriṅjarāyu (TS *saspi*°) *bnṣimate* VS TS MS † KS
sarvām tam (AV *sarvān ni*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tām*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS
ŚB, *masmasā*, MS † *mṛsmṛsā*, one *mā mṛsmṛsā*, VS *bhasmasā*)
kuru (AV *-karam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The word is
sound-imitative (cf Eng *mash*, similar but independent) VS
rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242)

ā sutrāvne sumatim āvṛnānah AV *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatim gṛnānāh* TS
Whitney suggests, attractively, *āsutrāvne* (to match *oṣiṣṭha-* in

TS), but *su-trāman*, *su-trāta*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV (*āsu* seems not used with the root *trā*)

kh, *kṣ* and sibilants

§295 In view of the common later confusion of *ṣ* and *kh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds, of the mss reading *yudasi* at AV 20 135 4, for *khudasi* of ŚŚ
kaṣṭkāya svāhā TA TAA *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU Neither word is interpretable

§296 There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *kh* and *ṣ*, which point in a like direction, of the reading *khunā* for *ṣunā* (thru *ṣunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Carita 2 268

āsum tvājan (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dudhice devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ The original is *āsum*, which refers to Agni To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ and MŚ, reads *ity ākhukarīṣam* (MŚ *ṣkarim*) *nivapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill' Hence the word *akhu* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ (where Caland translates *āsum*)

ud vansam va yemre RV SV TS KB N *ārdhnam kham va menire* Mahābh 12 284 78

§297 And one case of *ks* and *s* (lexical)
mayam te sug jhata (KS *te ksut*) VS MS KS ŚB The same with other animal names in the same passage

s(*s*) and *h*

§298 There is but faint evidence for this interchange The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic, see Waekernagel I §221, Pischel §264 In the following it is to be presumed that an original *s* is replaced by *h*

dhiya na (SV *na*) *vājan apa māsi* (SV *māsi*) *savatah* RV SV Verb endings, see VV I p. 104 The reverse is found in the first variant in §299

dhrvāsah (TB ApŚ *dhrvā ha*) *parvata ime* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG The obsolescent ending *āsah* is replaced by the regular *ā*(*s*) plus the particle *ha*

jātaredo nayā hy enam sukṛtam gatra lokah JB *jātaredo vahemam* (ŚŚ *vahasraṇam*) *sukṛtām gatra lokah* (TA *lokāh*; TA ŚŚ The Conc suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB

āsanīṣṭīn hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām*
apnuvāho mayobhūn SV See §820

[*pratyāñ* (etc) *somo atidrutah* (^o*srutah* etc, AV text ^o*hrutah*), see §275
 The true text of AV is "*drutah*]

§299 In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s*
stuto yān (RV *yāhi*) *vakān anu* RV VS TS KS ŚB LŚ See VV I p
 105 The converse of the first variant in §298

turiyāditya (VSK *turyā^o*) *savanam* (RV *hav^o*) *ta indriyam* RV VS
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonymous roots *su* and *hu*

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

guhā hitām nihitām (KS † omits *nihitām*, by haplology) *guhvarēṣu* KS
 MŚ *guhā salīm guhane gahvarēṣu* TB ApŚ

pratno hi (TA *pratnoṣi*) *kām idyo adhvarēṣu* RV AV TA MāhānU
 The TA reading is corrupt, comm: *pratnoṣi*!

[*suhaveha* (AV misprinted *susaveha*) *havīmahe* RV AV VS MS KS
 See Whitney on AV 3 20 6]

CHAPTER IX PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

1 Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300 This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi, namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels, the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character: see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or *anu-vāra* varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root

ya eṣa svapnanaṅsanaḥ (AV °*nasanaḥ*) RV AV N

pūṣne 'āghṛṇaye svaha TA *pūṣna āghṛṇaye* (em, m, āghṛṇaye) *svāhā*

MŚ *āghṛṇu* is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For *āghṛṇu*, comm. *añjanena dīpyamānaḥ*, but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *agh*°

§301 From different and equally regular forms of the verb

agnim naraḥ triśudhasthe sam idhite (SV TS *indhate*) RV SV TS KS

agnim idhe (SV *indhre*) *vasvabhṛt* RV SV

atra pitaro yathābhāgum mandudhvam TS TB ApŚ *atra pitaro mādayadhvam* VS VSK MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ MŚ Kauś SMB

GG KhG ViDh Add to VV I §240

krūrām ānana (KS † ApŚ *ānāsa*) *martyaḥ* (KS † *martuḥ*) AV KS

ApŚ See VV I p 197

na pāpatvāya rāsīya (SV *rausīyani*) RV AV SV See VV I p 109

§302 In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nu mā*) *yamasya pubhīsāt* (VS °*vīsāt*, LŚ † *padvīsāt*)

RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ See §217

agnim idūta (SV *indhita*) *martuḥ* RV SV Cf next, both verbs are common in Agni-worship

yam śim id anya idate RV *yam sam id anyā indhate* SV Cf prec

yāśad (SV TS KS *yāśad*) *vśvam ny atrinam* RV SV VS TS MS. KS

Roots *yā* and *yam*, quasi-synonyms

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yōṣta (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ MŚ HG *mā vo* (AŚ *no*) 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata (AŚ *yūñqdhvam*) AŚ Kauś If we may trust *yūñqdhvam*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic Cf VV I pp 42, 150

āpo aruñ (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (TS ApŚ *śundhantu*, AV MS KS *śūdayantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ

§303 Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological, at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vda vinda*, *vṛjyāh vṛjyāt*, etc.), §279 (*masīya masīyu*), §280 (*adadṛhanta adadṛhanta*), and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *ti, nti, te, nte*, etc., on pp 255 ff

§303a Twice subjunctives in *-(ā)si* are reported with an anomalous *u* before the *s*. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms of KS in the second, in the first no v 1 is reported for ŚG and Oldenberg keeps °*yānsi*, tho he translates °*yūsi* (see his note, p 36)

jātīnām janayās ca yān (ŚG *janayānsi ca* AV Ppp *janayāsī* [not °*ni*, as Whitney says] *ca*) AV ŚG Barret, JAOS 32 360, needlessly emends Ppp to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253

vahāsi mā (KS † *vahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāh* (KS † *lokah*) KS TB

§304 Similarly, such cases as *vṛṣā punāna āyūṣu* (SV *āyūṣi*) RV SV, or *śvar devā* (TS TB ApŚ *śvar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ, belong to noun declension, and *ajasram tvīm* (ApŚ *tvā*) *sabhūpālāh* TB ApŚ to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated, here we content ourselves with examples

§305 Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation

urvī gabhīrā (TS *gambhīrā*) *sumatiḥ te astu* RV TS MS KS In this

and the next TS replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language

gabhiram (TS *gambh^o*) *imam adhvaram krdhi* VS TS MS ŚB Cf prec

samudra wāsi gahmanā (TB *ganh^o*, but Poona ed *gah^e*) TB ApŚ
satyaujasū dṛghanā (KS † *dṛghanā*, MS *durghnā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS
KS *saratasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV Both TS and KS understand a form of *dṛh dṛh* (cf *adadṛhanta adadṛh^o*, VV I p 187), AV and MS struggle in common with another idea

antah subhrāvātā (SV *sundhyāvātī*) *pathā* RV SV Cf §173

somudrāya sisumārāh VS MS *sindhoh sisumārāh* (KSA † *sisū^o*)
TS KSA The form *sisu^o* occurs in RV, cf Pali *sunsumāra*. Later *sesu^o* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to *sesu* 'boy'. The long *ū* of KSA may be a mere corruption in the single ms

§306 The prefix *sa-* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious)

samvṛd asi TS *saṛṣṭ asi* VS KS PH *saṛṣṭā saṛṣṭe saṛṣṭi yava* MS
sam-stap chandah VS MS KS ŚB *saṣṭup chandah* TS
namo vṛddhāya ca saṛṣṭhe (TS *saṛṣṭhane*, KS *saṛṣṭhane*, MS *saṛṣṭhane*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

satatam tu srābhis tu MahānU *samtatam śrābhis* (Poona ed *sāi^o*, v 1 *srā^o*) *tu* TA

nakṣatrānām sakāsān mā yaucām MS *nakṣatrānām mā samkāsas ca pratikasas tārātām* Vait Kauś

agne saṣṣṭmahe (MS *samsṣṭ^e*) *gṛah* RV SV MS KS Here *sa-* is the reduplicating syllable

sa (MS *sam*) *dundubhe saṣṭ indreṇa devaib* RV AV VS TS MS KSA
N The MS hardly makes sense, it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to *saṣṭ*

sam (MS *sa*) *dāsuṣe kṛatu bhūri vāmam* TS MS AŚ ŚŚ Again MS is hardly interpretable, its change is the reverse of the prec

sam yajñapater (VSK *yajamāna*) *āsīṣā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
ŚŚ KS ApŚ MŚ *sa yajñapater āsīṣā* Vait (probably to be corrected to *sam*, see Caland on Vait 4 21)

§307 Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf also §401)
rajabhūmis tvam nām (MahānU *tvam am*, so TA Poona ed with v 1 *tvam nām*) *rodayasva pravadaṅtī dhīrāh* TA Mahān U

tato (PB *te*) *ha yajñe* (MŚ *ham yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopīb* (MŚ *goptā*)
TB PB ApŚ MŚ See §192, MŚ clearly secondary

- ya im vahanta āsubhīh RV yadī vahanty āsavah SV*
svahpatir yadī vrdhe SV svarpatim yad im vrdhe RV AV
yo rayvo (SV rayim vo) rayinmah RV SV KB ŚŚ ŚG The SV
 doubtless corrupt
- tasym no devah (MS lasyām devah) savitā dharmam (VS † VSK †*
TS † ŚB † dharmā) sāviṣat (VSK ° śak) VS VSK TS MS KS
 ŚB Stems *dharmā dharmān*
- mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB yono vām hārasīh) PB JB LŚ* Incom-
 prehensible in either form
- sa im (TS ī) mantrā (see §374) VS TS MS* The particle *im*
 becomes *ī* in TS, before *m*, this might be put with §401
- sam im (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV*

Nasal as 'Hiatusilger'

§308 The Rīgveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV cases always anuvāra) acts as 'Hiatusilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1.33.4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelieved, and in another case ApMB MG read *tanūn* for RV *tanū*, all intending a loc. sing.

svāyām †tanūn (RV tanū) ṛvīye (RV † °vīye) RV ApMB MG
 See Winternitz, *Introd. to ApMB*, XIX. Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām*.

ū te supariā aminantun (MS TS °ta) evah RV TS MS KS AB

§309 Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m*, seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatusilger' between vowels, or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus.

yadīn (AV yady) ṛnam saṃgāro devatīsv AV TA Comm. on TA
yadīn ṛnam, yad eva prasiddham ṛnam. We must apparently understand *in* for *im* (aliter *ī*), the particle of emphasis, the TA form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus. A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf §438.

abhīm ṛasya (SV abhy ṛasya) sudughū ghṛtaicutah RV SV The SV, tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatusilger.

abhī (SV abhīm) ṛasya dohanā anūyata RV SV

yenākṣā (SMB °kṣān, PG °kṣyāv, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyāṣīcatam*, PG °tām) AV ŚŚ SMB PG Nom acc forms

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV If TS has the original form, AV may be regarded as a lect. fac., with avoidance of hiatus
agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvībhi*, p p *jihvām*, *abhi*, AV KṢ *jihvayābhi*)
ṭgṛṇitam (AV *gṛṇata*) AV VS TS MS KS 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni' MS might intend an instrumental, but note the p p

§310 Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants

agner ukthena nāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agner uktheṣv anhasu* AV
apām rasam udvayasam (KS *udayansam*, TA *udayansan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA

agnim adya hotūram avṛṇitāyam yajamānah parān paṅktīh (VSK *paṅktīh*)
pacan VS VSK MS KS TB (See also Conc under *sīsena* *agnim adya* etc., TB, but Poona ed. of TB lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi) *paṅktīh* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt. The same blunder in Kau⁴ 22 10 see Bloomfield, GGA 1902 492

§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*), to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong

tam āhutani nāśimahi (AV °tam as³) RV AV AB Parallel roots *as* and *nas*

tasya rathayṛtsas (MS °kṛtsas, KS °kṛtsas) ca VS TS MS KS ŚB See §46

namah kṛtsnāyutāya (VŚ °yatayī, KS *kṛtsnāvītāya*, TS MS *kṛtsnāvītāya*) *dhāvate* VS VSK TS MS KS A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS

na kir devā mīnimasi RV *na ki devā mīmasi* SV Svīdh The strange *mīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from 1(-noti). Benfey equates it with *mīn*^o with unexplained loss of *m*. Reverse of Hiatusstilger"

sam tvā tulakṣuh (LŚ °kṣuh) Vait KŚ LŚ See VV I p 146 The monstrous form of LŚ may be influenced by its *viniyoga itī takṣuyuh* (itself somewhat anomalous)

agnaye dhūnkṣānā (KSA °kṣū) TS KSA *dhūnkṣāgneṣi* (VSK vv II °kṣyā and °kṣvā) VS VSK MS Possibly the second nasal of TS is due to the influence of the first

annam me (ApŚ *no) *budhya* (ApŚ °dhnya) *pāhi*, and °yājūgupah
MS ApŚ One ms of MS writes *buddhya* each time, perhaps
budhnya is intended

CI *jivām r̥ebhyah* (read *m̄r̄°* with SPP, com, and many mss)
parinīyamānām AV

§312 Note finally the following curious variant

kāyamāno (MŚ *kāmuyamāno*) *manū tvam* RV SV MŚ N Sāyana
glosses by *kāmuyamāno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily
introduced in MŚ

2 Presence or absence of *y*

§313 A large proportion of the variants under this head concern the presence or absence of suffixal *ya*. A form containing this suffix varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a*. These cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics, notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as *bhaksya bhakṣya*, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent, the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form, and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as will be pointed out in individual cases.

(a) *Words equivalent in meaning, y follows two consonants*

§314 We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and is often written, and regularly pronounced, *ya*, see §784), and in which the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y*. The latter in a few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by showing vriddhi of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks vriddhi.
aghorrna cakṣuṣā mtriyena (ApMB *maitrena*, KS ApŚ *cakṣuṣāham svēna*) AV KS ApŚ ApMB But *maitrena* may be a noun, 'friendship', *mtriyena* must be an adjective

māham pautram (KHU *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG *ruyām*, see §724, SMB *ruḡām*, and *ruyam*) AG SMB ApMB HG KHU

ya antarikṣāh (see *sarpās* etc.) HG *ye sarpāh pārthivā ye antarikṣyā*

AG

vāyur na ūlta iditavyar devair antarikṣyāh (ApŚ *āntarikṣāh*) *pātu*
KS ApŚ *vāyuṣ tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divah* MŚ The latter contains the primary noun and belongs with §321

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB *āgnendham*) VS TB On the troublesome TB form see §491

§316 In the rest, the great majority, secondary vridhhi appears in neither form or in both

sumnūya sumnini sumne mā dhallam TS TB ApŚ *sumnūyuvah* (KS °yavas) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhalla* MS KS *sumne sthah sumne mā dhallam* VS ŚB Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'

agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatryebhyaḥ (TA °trebhyaḥ) RV AV TA N *svargāsi* KS *svargyāsi* ApŚ

ūrdhvaṁ manah svargyam (TA *svargam*) MS TA

na yajñasyu manvate martyāsah (TB ApŚ *martāsah*) RV KB TB ApŚ The reading *martāsah* is poor metrically

krūram ānāsa (KS † ApŚ *ānāsa*) *martyah* (KS † *martah*) AV KS ApŚ Again *martah* is unmetrical

marṭṣu (VS MS KS *marṭyṣu*) *agnir amṛto ni dhāyi* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

sumitrā (VS ŚB MahānU ŚŚ KŚ *sumitryā*, AŚ LŚ *sumitryā*) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa ośadhayah santu* (KS † "yo bhavantu) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh Followed by

durmitrās (VS ŚB MahānU KŚ °tryās, AŚ ŚŚ LŚ °tryās) *tasmai santu* (KS * TS † TB TA MahānU BDh *bhūyāsu*) *yo* , same texts

śārgah śṛjyah (TS KSA *ākhuḥ śṛjyā*) *śayāndakas* (KSA °kās, em v Schr °kas, TS *śayandakas*) *te maitrāh* (KSA °tryāh, em unnecessarily to °trāh in ed) VS TS MS KSA

abhi dyanmam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhuktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*, MS p p °ṣṭha) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB *yaviṣṭha* and °ṭhya are perfect equivalents, the former seems to be preferred at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas

tvām agne samadhānam yaviṣṭha (RV °ṭhya) RV TB ApŚ The stanza is pure jagati in RV , half of it is made triṣṭubh in the others

satam pūrbbir yaviṣṭhya RV *yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasah* RV TA See RVRep 539

gambhīrebhīh (AV TS HG °raih) *pathībīh pūrvnebhīh* (MS *pūrvēbhīh*, AV *pūryānāh*, TS HG *pūrvyāh*) AV TS MS KS SMB AŚ HG

bṛhat sūma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇyam (MS °nam, so ed with p p , other mss °nim, read probably °nyam, TS °vṛṣṇyam) TS MS KS AŚ

tāsām viśiśnānām (KS °nyānām) MS KS

namo niveṣyāya (p p nī^o) *ca hr̥dyāya ca* MS ' *namo hr̥dayyāya ca niveṣyāya ca* VS *namo hr̥dayyāya* (KS *hr̥dayyāya*) *ca niveṣyāya* (KS °*ṣyāya*) *ca* TS KS From the noun *niveṣyā* 'whirlpool', is derived *niveṣyā* 'of the whirlpool' The stem *niveṣyā* (or nī^o, note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it, practically a question of mere orthography One KS ms *niveṣyāya*

namah śighryāya (TS śighryāya) *ca śibhdyāya ca* VS TS *namah śibhdyāya ca śighryāya ca* MS KS

tau te bhakṣam (LŚ °*ṣyam*) *rakratur agra etam* VS JB TB ApŚ LŚ ŚŚ *tayor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi* TB ApŚ *tayor aham anu bhakṣam* (LŚ °*ṣyam*) *bhakṣayāmi* VS LŚ *tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi* JB ŚŚ

jairāyā (ApMB °*tryāyā*) *vkutād u* (HG °*lām*, ApMB °*lān*) *mām RVKh* VS ApMB HG

devāno yamāi tveḍe bhañgena (ApŚ *bhañgena*) VS ŚB ApŚ *yamam bhañgyaśravo* (KS MŚ *bhañga*^o) *gāya* KS TA ApŚ MŚ *yamam gāya bhañgyaśravah* (KS MŚ *bhañga*^o) KS TA ApŚ MŚ *mandūkāñ jambhyyehhik* (KSA *jambhahik*) TS KSA TB ApŚ *jambhābhyām taskaran* (p p °*rān*) *uta* MS *jambhyyas* (KS °*yebhis*) *taskarān* (KS † °*rān*) *uta* VS TS KS

aśvasya vāje (KS *krande*, TB *krandye*) *puruṣasya māyau* AV KS TB *yo 'sya* (MŚ *asya*, but Van Gelder 'sya) *kauṣhya* (KS *kauṣha*) *jayatah* KS TS ApŚ MŚ

svetāya vaidurvāyu (PG °*vyāya*, AG ŚG °*dūrvāya*, MG *vaitahavyāya*) AG PG ŚG ApMB HG MG

pāpāt svapnyād abhūtyāh AV *pāpah svapnād abhūtyai* KŚ It would be pedantry to see in *svapnyai* any really different meaning from *svapna* [*matamam āptyam* (AV *āptam*) *āptyānām* RV AV N The AV must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney]

(b) *Words equivalent in meaning, y follows one consonant*

§316 Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant, both forms still equivalent in meaning A small group shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y* *meghyā* (VS *maighir*) *ndyulo vācah* VS TS MS KSA

brhanto daivāh (VS *divyāh*) VS MS ApŚ *divya* from *div*, *daiva* from *deva*, but meaning the same.

achinnno divyas (KS ApŚ *divyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ See next

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *dawo*, this belongs to §324) *brahmāham manu-
uṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ *bṛhaspatir
brahmāham mānuṣah* LŚ *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equiva-
lent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the
latter a noun Cf prec

kalpayatam mānuṣih TB ApŚ *dṛghantām dawīr viśah kalpantām
†manuṣyāh* KS

dhiṣanāi pārvati (VS ŚB *par*°, TS TB ApŚ *parvatyā*) VS TS MS
KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Adjectives *pārvata* and *parvatya* (and,
if VS ŚB are right, *parvata* Mahidhara, *parvatātmikā*), all 'of
the rock' The VS ŚB reading is supported by the ma readings
(two occurrences) of KS, *pārvati* both times, von Schroeder has
emended, with doubtful justice

aranyāya (MS *āranāya*, but p p *aranyāya*) *śmarah* VS TS MS KSA

§317. The rest show viddhi either in both forms or in neither
Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly
equivalent stems *dawa* and *dawya*

dawo (HG °*vyo*) *yo mānuṣo ganidhah* ApMB HG

dawā hotārah sanuṣan na etat AV *dawjā hotāro* (TS °*rā*) *vanuṣanta*
(TS *vani*°, KS *†vanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (KS *etat*) RV TS KS

dawyā (AV °*vā*) *hotārū* (TS °*rāv*, AV °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (MS adds *imam*,
KS *hotārordhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV VS TS MS KS
18 17a (†)

dawyam (MS °*vum*) *mānuṣi yuṣā* (MS *yujā*) RV SV VS TS MS
ŚB

pauruṣeyād dawyāt KS *pauruṣeyān na dawāt* AV 4 26 7c

mānuṣād dawyam (MŚ °*vam*) *upaimi* TB ApŚ MŚ

sam dawena (VS ŚB both also °*vyena*, TA *devena*) *savitṛā* VS ŚB TA
Mahidhara glosses both forms by *devena*

§318 Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūra* and
sūrya, agam perfect equivalents

bṛhat sūro (KS *sūryo*) *arocata* RV KS

sūryāso (SV *sūrāso*) *na daratāsah* RV SV

sajūh sūra (MS *sūrā*, TS *sūrya*) *etasena* VS TS MS KS ŚB

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *januṣyān jyotir indram* (ŚŚ *indrāh*) TB ŚŚ

spardhante dhuyah (TS KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA †
sūryena) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA

§319 The rest are sporadic

āpura etā mā prajyā pasubhih pūrayata ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata
prajyā ca dhazena ca* TS AŚ

- agneh puriṣavāhanah* (MS *purīṣya*°, VS † ŠB † °*vāhanah*) VS TS MS
KS ŠB *puriṣa* and °*ṣya* are equivalent, Pān 3 2 65
- kāmīyui svāhā* MG *kāmīyāya: svāhā* MS MŚ Probably MG
corrupt
- śakalyam* (AG *śakalim*, sc *tarpayāmi*) ŚG AG Both patronymics
from *śakala* Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG reads *śāk*°, we
assume that *śakalyam* is the true reading, *śa*° probably misprint
- yakṣmam śronibhyām* (ApMB *śronī*°) *bhāśudāt* RV AV ApMB
yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāśadam AV In RV *bhāśada*
is a noun, in the second AV version it and *bhasadya* are both
adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyam*, but Whitney suggests
bhāśadam) must be omitted as an ancient gloss
- rāyam paśam audbhīdam* (ApMB °*dyam*) RVKh VS HG ApMB
pāvamānāh, °*nyāh*, and °*nyah*, various Dharmā texts All adjectives
from *pāvamāna*
- māyobhavāyā* (ŚG *āyo*°) *catuṣpādī* AG ŚG *catvāri māyobhavāyā* TB
ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG MG Equivalent nouns
- advēṣe* (MS °*ṣye*) *dyaūvāpṛthivī huvema* (MS *huvē*) RV VS MS 'Having
no hostility' = 'not hostile'
- [*mūtrāvarunābhīyām ānuṣṭubhābhīyām* VS TS MS KSA † Conc
wrongly quotes KSA as *ānuṣṭubhīyā*°]
- anyam te asman* (NṛpU 'eman, AV *asmat te*) *nī vapantu senāh* (AV
senyam) RV AV TS NṛpU *Senyam* must = *senā*

(c) *Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows two consonants*

§320 In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it. In other cases the difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is especially tenuous.

§321 As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two consonants, being then sometimes written *iy*.

murdābhībhūtiḥ (MŚ *murdā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur yaṅnām* (MŚ *yaṅnyā*)
vāy TS MŚ

vīne devā manu śṛvāntu yaṅnyāh (ArS *yaṅnām*) RV ArS ŚŚ

yaṅnām-yaṅnām (KS *yaṅnyā yaṅnām*) *pratī devayadbhyah* (KS † ŚŚ †
°*yadbhyah*) VSK KS TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ

mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (mss *nuh*) MŚ *mā rudriyāso abhi
gulbadhānah* (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA

iyam pitryā (AB *vai pitre*, AŚ ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV GB *eto*) *agre*
AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

putrah pitre (KŚ *pitrye*) *lokukṛj jātavedah* TB KŚ ApŚ 'As a son to
his father' 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'

yā (AV *omite*) *antarikṣa* (KS AG °*kṣyā*) *uta pārthivīr yāh* (KS *pār-
thivānah*, AV *vā pṛthivyām*) AV KS TB ApŚ AG (AVPpp
pārthivā yāh)

namah kāṣṭhāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya (MS °*ṣṭhāya*, p p °*ṣṭhāya*) *ca* VS TS
MS KS

indro jyēsthānām (MS KS *jyauṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyauṣṭhyāya*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB 'Of the noblest' 'of the highest nobilities' 'for
highest nobility'

adhvanām adhvupate śreṣṭhah svastyasyādhvanaḥ (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyād-
vanah*, MG *śraṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanaḥ*) *pāram aśiya* AŚ
ApMB MG Read *svastyasyā* in MG with *mnet mss*

arghah HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG *arghyam bhoh* Kauś *arhanīyā āpah*
ApG *arghyam* '(water) of the argha'

adhyakṣāyānukṣallāram TB *ṭādhyakṣyāyānukṣallāram* VS

§322 A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter
meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered
with *ukthas*'

uktham vācīndrāya TS AB GB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ *uktham avācīndrāya*
ŚŚ *ukthyam vācīndrāya sṛvate tvā* AŚ

mantram vadaty ukthyam (NṛpU *uktham*) RV VS MS KS AA ApŚ
NṛpU

aṅgāni ta ukthyah pātu MS ApŚ *ukthas* (! read *ukthyas*?) *te †'ṅgāni*
pātu asau AŚ

ukthebhyaḥ trokthāvyam gṛhṇāmi KS *ukthebhya ukthyāyama* ApŚ
uktham (AŚ *ukthyam*) *indrāya sansyam* RV SV AŚ

(d) *Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows one consonant*

§323 Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the
y, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya*
'heroism'

yau vīryair vīratamā satiṣṭhā AV *vīrchhir vīratamā sanṣṭhā* MS
vīryebhir vīratamā satiṣṭhā (TB *sac*?) VS ŚB TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
eṣa te yajño yajñapate sahasūktanākah suvīrah (AV *suvīryah*, VS *sarna-
vīras*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

andṇi ksutram ajaram suvīryam (MS KS *suvīram*) RV TS MS KS
sa (also *sā*) *no dohatām suvīryam* (MŚ *suvīram*) TB ApŚ MŚ (In
all texts with both *sa* and *sā*)

purukṣu tvāṣṭā (MS °*taḥ*) *suviryam* (VSK TS *suviram*) VS VSK TS MS

nirdevam nirviram (KSA °*ryam*) *kṛtvā* TS. KSA.

prajāṃ suvirām (PG *suviryam*) *kṛtvā* TS PG

§324. Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *divya*, cf several similar cases at the beginning of §316
divak chadmāsi AG *divyam chadmāsi* LŚ

divo dhārāṃ bhindhi KS *bhindhidam* (MS *bhindhy adu*) *divyam nabhah*
AV TS MS KS

mudhye divo (MS °*divyo*) *nihitah pṛsnur aśmā* VS TS MS (both) KS
ŚB

ahar divābhir (MS *vahad divyābhir*) *ūtubhiḥ* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ
divābhir is for *divā + ābhir*, but is understood by comm on TA as one word, = *dyotamānābhir*. This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS, which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective

vācā tvā hotrā prānenodgātrā pañcabhir divyair (MŚ *devair*) *rtvabhir uddharāmi* ApŚ MŚ

§325 The rest require no subdivision

ātir (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhano darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāḥ*) VS TS MS KSA

pāru (p p of TS *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyah* (KSA † *'vārīyebhyah*) *pakṣma-bhyah svāhā* TS KSA *avāru* (p p of TS °*re*) *ikṣavah pāryebhyah* (KSA *pārīye*°) *pakṣmabhyah svāhā* TS KSA *pāryāṇi pakṣmāni avāryā ikṣavah*, and *avāryāṇi pakṣmāni pāryā ikṣavah* VS MS

pāryāya kavartam TB *pārāya mārgāram* VS *avāryāya mārgāram* TB *andrāya kavartam* VS

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathah RV SV *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB

sugam ca me supatham (VŚ KapS °*thyam*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS KapS

mā tvā kṣetrāṇy arānāni (MS °*nyāni*, p p °*nāni*) *ganma* RV TS MS KS TB

bṛhatā tvā rathamtaḥ ca trīṣṭubhyā (KS *trīṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* MS KS

bṛhadrathamtarayō tvā stomena trīṣṭubho vartanyā TS

sūpasthā asi vānaspadyah MŚ *sūpasthā devo ianaspatih* TS ApŚ

ugne tvam purīṣyuh VS KS ŚB *ugneh purīṣam asi* VS VSK TS MS

KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ And others, see Conc

namah sobhyāya ca prutisaryāya (MS °*sarāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

namo loṇyāya colamyāya (MS °*pāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

- namah parndya* (TS KS † *parnyāya*) *ca parnasādāya* (VS °*śadāya*, TS °*śadyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS
- śukras te grahah* (VS ŚB *grahyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ 'Draught' '(juice) for the draught'
- atho varunyād uta* RV AV VS *nir mā varunād uta* (ApŚ *adhī*) LŚ ApŚ Inferior meter in the latter
- sa budhnyād* (TS KS AŚ °*nād*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS KS AŚ *januṣabhy*) *agram* AV TS KS AŚ (AVPpp agrees with the others, Barret, JAOS 37 260)
- tayā grnantah sadhamādeṣu* AV *tayā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh VS °*mādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB *tasthur grnantah sadhamādyāsah* RV AV (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh, but his ms °*mūdyeṣu*) In MS KS TB *sadhamādyā* means the same as °*māda* 'feast', but in RV AV 'participant in a *sadhamāda*'
- nir mā muñcanti śapathāt* LŚ ApŚ *muñcantu nū śapathyāt* RV AV VS
- agne devānām ava heda iyakya* (KS *ikṣta*) KS ApŚ *ava devānām yaja heda agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ
- namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya* (MS *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

anhasapataye tvā VS ŚB KŚ *anhaspatyāya tvā* TS MS TB ApŚ

§326 We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar

- ūrjastālī rājasūya* (TS *rājasūyāya*, MS KS °*sūyās*) *citānāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB *rājasūya*, adjective in MS KS, is equivalent to *rājasū*, the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel. In TS it appears as a noun. Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -ūy- and -r-
- svāhā rājasūyāh* (VS ŚB °*svah*, TS °*sūyāya citānāh*) VS TS MS ŚB MŚ Cf prec
- mahādevam antahpārsvena* (VS † °*parśavyena*) VS TS TA Formally, the VS form is based on *parsu* 'rib'. Mahidhara *antar pārśvāsthīsanbandhinā mārsena*. The form *antahpārśvya* occurs in the next formula
- aganma mitrāvarunū varenyā* (KS °*yam*, MS *varena*) TS MS KS Here the adjective *varenya-* is corrupted in MS to *varena*, instr sing of *vara-*

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya*

upastulyam mahi jātam (MS °*tyam janīma tat*, TS * *upastulum janīma tat*) *te śarvan* RV VS TS (both) MS KS Vait Gerundive varies with past pple

uta prahām atidīvyā jayāti (AV °*dīvā jayati*) RV AV The RV has a gerund form, the AV a nom sg of stem -*dīvan*

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning)

jivātave na mṛtyave (PB *martave*) RV PB

§328 A few variants concern noun inflexion. Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem forms in *y-ah* varying with masc or neut forms without *y*)

āpo me hotrāśansīnah (AG °*śanyah*) ŚB ApŚ AG 'The waters are my Hotrāśansīns', the priest-naine is once made fem to agree with *āpah*

varṣās cākṣuṣyah VS ŚB *varṣāni cākṣuṣīni* TS MS KS Here the noun itself changes gender

Or different case-forms vary

in śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *pathva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, KS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā*. The latter may be nom in RV (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10 13 1), in most texts it is certainly instrumental

imām narāh (MŚ ApŚ * *narah*) *kṛnuta vedim etya* (MŚ *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss but one, ApŚ † 2 2 6a *eta*) TB ApŚ MŚ Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya*. The reading *etat* (actually *etad*, before *d-*) has no standing, were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401

vān ma āsan (MŚ PG *āsyē*) AV TS GB TAA Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś PG BDh Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsyā*. Interest attaches to the form *āsyān*, which is read by Gastra in GB with all his mss, and which is also the reading of most mss of AV and Kauś, so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts. (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mss of Vait, possibly this is an editorial oversight) The form *āsyān* is evidently a blend of the other two forms

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur. Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first), the same root now and then forms both, cf. VV I p. 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following

tapate svāhā TS KSA TA *tapyate svāhā* VS

tapatyai (TA Poona ed *tapyatvai*, v. 1 *tapatyai*) *svāhā* KSA TA *tapyatvai* (v. 1 *tyai*) *svāhā* TS. The form *tapyatvai*, if correct, would be from the R̥gvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapya-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres. ppl.) is based on stem *tapu-*

§330. So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms, see VV I pp. 49 ff., where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound

yenākṣō (ŚŚ *yenā kṣūm*, SMB *yenākṣūn*, PG *yenākṣyāi*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *°stīcatam*, PG *°vīcatām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG

§331. Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA ApŚ MŚ See VV I p. 78

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *ṣ*, etc

§332. Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *kṣ*. Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character, connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants. The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp. 28-9)

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA *°yakṣyase*, ŚŚ *°yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Aorist in MS, future in TA, in ŚŚ a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *ā-yam*

(*net tvā*) *dadhṛy* (TA *dadhu*) *vidhakṣyur. paryāṅkhayāte* (TA *°tai*, AV *vidhakṣan. parīṅkhayātai*) RV AV TA. Many mss of AV *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended

bardhānsy agne ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV
SV MS ApŚ See VV I p 29

bhakṣu bhakṣyamānah (KS *bhakṣa*^o) VS KS So the single ms of KS, ed emends to *bhakṣya*^o. If the ms reading were kept we should have to assume a pple middle in form but passive in meaning *mekṣyāmy ūrdhvas tiṣṭhum* AV, so emended by RWh, all mss *mekṣāmy yendākṣā* (^c*kṣyāv*, etc) (see §330). In PG *akṣyāv* is taken to be from *akṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption.

§333 In one verb form the *y* appears after *ts*, it may be regarded as belonging with the *kṣ* cases in view of §§182 ff

tendātsyam (GG ŚŚ MŚ ^o*sam*, so also p p of MS, most mss of MŚ ^o*syam* with MS text) MS ŚŚ MŚ GG The proper form is *ardāsam*, aorist, the conditional does not fit. See VV I p 29

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category

ratho na vājam sanisyanu (SV ^o*ṣanu*) *ayāsit* RV SV Clearly a phonetic slip in SV, making a sort of aorist pple, Benfey, tho he interprets the form as aor, translates a future

ā vṛṣcyantām (AV *vṛṣcantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV AV The AV form is evidently a phonetic blunder, cf VV I pp 29, 51 f

§335 Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff, we find the following cases of *y* present or absent after *kṣ*

dhuñkṣāyneyi (VSK ^o*ṣyāgneyi* or ^o*ṣvāg*^o) VS VSK MS *agnaye dhūñkṣā*
(TS ^o*ṣvā*) TS KSA See §255

tarakṣuh (KSA †^o*kṣah*) *kṛṣnah svā caturukṣo* (KSA ^o*kṣyā*) *gardahas ta itarajandnām* TS KSA The ed emends to *caturakṣo*, which seems necessary

akṣyos (mss *akṣos*) *tanvo rapah* AV

Cf further such mss readings as *vibhuñkṣamāna* for *vibhuñkṣya*^o at Kauś 23 9, 38 26

§336 The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal consonants. Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root *ścut* (Wackernagel I p 268). The forms written with *ścyut* may be partly contaminated with *cyu*, indeed the mss also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful

praṣṭitā vo madhuścutah (VSK MS ^o*ścyutah*) VS VSK MS TB So the editions. But Poona ed of TB records a v l ^o*ścyutah*, and per contra, all *sambhitā* mss of MS read ^o*cyutah* or ^o*ścutah*

śrucā devam ghrtaścutā (KS and v l of MS ^o*ścyutā*) RV TS MS KS

ghṛtaścūto madhuścūlak TS MS KS ŚB *ghṛtaścyūto madhuścyūlak*
VS MS So v l and p p of MS in the other passage Moreover
KS has v l *ghṛtacyūto*, and for *madhu*° its two mss read °*ścyūlak*
and °*cyūlak*

dyaūr yataś cūtat agnāv eva tat ApŚ *prthivyām avarūcotarind* TB ApŚ
yata ścūtat dhūtam agnāv tad astu KŚ *yatra cūścūtat agnāv evatāt*
MŚ (but the latter is a dubious emendation, better, *yatra ścūtat*)
yata ścūtat (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ See on this variant VV I
p 139

§337 Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals

viṣṇo śnaptre (TS *śnyaptre*, MS *sipre*) *śtāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ
ApŚ The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately
ñ, this is indicated by the TS variant (v l and p p, however,
śnaptre), so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf Keith, *HOS* 18
xxxvii)

apāśnyuṣṇim apū rakṣuh (and, *apū ragham*) TA *apāśnyuṣṇim* etc TA
So, correctly, Poona ed 4śn(y)uṣṇi is an otherwise unknown
epithet of Agni The comm explains only the form with *y*,
monstrously *asñinām bhoktṛnam uṣṇir dāhako yo 'gnih* Cf *prec*
mano jyōtir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *jṣṣatām ājyaśya* (TS TB Vait *ājyam*,
AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS KS TB ŚB AŚ Vait LŚ KŚ
divo jyōte (KS *°*tir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvan*) MS KS
vivasvān aditir devajūtis TS

mṛśase (SV *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV SV

syāmā sarūpamkaranī AV 1 24 4R Here the Berlin ed reads *sāmā*
with nearly all mss, but against comm, Ppp, and the evident
sense, which demands *syāmā*, see Whitney's note

Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

§338 To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected
with any consonant That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most
commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel
Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases
in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two
words which are unconnected in the form without *y* In either case
the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y*
presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatusliger', reminding us of the similar
use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73), cf
Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31 The phenomena are,
to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical
changes, rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this

agne akṣīni (HG *agneyakṣīni*) *nir daha svāhā* ApMB HG As Kirste observes, HG must intend *agne ak°*, so that *y* is a simon-pure 'Hiatusstilger' and nothing else. See also *āṇmayaidhi* etc., §344

§339 The cases of initial *y* are

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, KS °*dhītam* and † °*nītha*, MS °*dhīta*) *yajñaih* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *agne* is probably original, it is preceded by *r* or *m* in AV KS, by *e* in MS, the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial *y*.

añjanti suprayasam (AV Ppp *yñjanti suprayasam*) *pañca janāh* RV AV Ppp MS. See §192

pītevidhi sūnava ā (MS *sūnave yah*) *sukevah* VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ *dvebhīr aktam* (VS TS *yuktam*) *aditih sajoṣāh* VS TS MS KSA

kāṣṭhā ajmeṣu (SV *yajñeṣu*) *atnata* RV SV. A lect fac in SV

vivukarmā vīmanā ād vihāyāh (KS °*nā yo vyomā*, MS *vīmame yo vihāyāh*, TS *manasū yad vihāyāh*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ N *ameṣtam asī svāhā* VS ŚB *yameṣtam asī* (with or without *svāhā*) TS MS KS TB 'Sacrificed at home (to Yama)'. Preceded by *asī* in all. The preceding vowel *i* makes insertion or omission of *y* particularly easy.

āśum jayantam anu yāsu vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB *yā sanjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS. The latter is doubtless secondary. Preceded by *qirā*. KapS *āśrum*, doubtless intending *āśum*.

§340 In some instances case-forms of the relative stem *ya* exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem *a*. This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial *y*.

trīṇśad yasyā (TB *asyā*) *jaḡhanam yojanāni* MS KS TB

asya (SV *yasya*) *te sakhye vāyam* RV SV

ghorā ṛṣayo namo asti ebhyah (MŚ *asti aitya yebhyah*) AV TS MŚ *cakṣur yad eṣāni manasas ca satyāni* AV *cakṣur yeṣām* (v 1 *hy eṣām*) *tapa ucubhīmam* MŚ *cakṣuṣa eṣām manasas ca saindhau* TS *yasyām* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi samvīśantah* MŚ. Others with *tas्यām*, see §281.

§341 And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems.

mitro no atra varuno yuyyamānah AV *mitro yatra varuno ajyamānah* RV. Double case, the *y* of *yatra* seems as if were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV.

yaded (KS *ād id*) *antū adadhanta* (TS *adadhñh°*) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS KS. This *pāda* precedes or (in KS) follows the next, the

words *yad* (*yaddā*) and *ad* are transposed in KS owing to the transposition of the two pādas

ād (KS *yad*) *id dyāvāprthivī aprathetām*, same texts See prec

athā (TB* *yathā*, AV MS TB* *yatra*) *devaih sadhamādām madema* (AV *madanti* comm *madema*) AV MS KS TB (all three) ApŚ
Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB

yathā (RV *atho*, VS ŚB *athā*) *na* (RV *ta*) *indrah kevalih* (VS TS ŚB *indra id viśah*) RV AV VS TS KS ŚB

yathainam jurase nayāt AV *athainam jarimā nayet* HG

Cf also *yasya* (*vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* etc, §363, and *yasyām idam viśvam* (*viśvam hy asyām*) etc, §386

§342 Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group

varsūnaram ita ā (TS *itāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV VS TS MS KS
PB ŚB 'Born for the *ita*' is obviously secondary

sudevīm indre asvinā (MS *indrāyāsu*°) VS MS TB As in the last, a dative is substituted for a locative, both depend on *dadhuh* in the context

sahasrākṣo (VSK TS KS *akṣa*) *medhūya* (TS KS *medha ā*) *cīyāmānah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'For (at) the sacrifice', the latter probably original. Keith on TS 4.2.10.1 translates 'for', his text seems to require 'at'

graha viśvajanīna nyuntar viprāyāma te (MS p p *viprāya, male*, KS *nyuntar vipra ā tsati*) MS KS As in prec, a loc with *ā* varies with a dat.

yo gopā api (TB *gopāyati*) *tam hure* RV AV TB ApŚ

ta ā vahanti (MS *tayāvahante*, KS *tad āharanti*) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS KS TB See Keith on TS 1.1.2.1. The original reading probably in TS, Keith thinks that MS may intend the same, with *tay* for *te*, altho its Brāhmana explains *tayā* as referring to the *dhiṣanā*

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāsmā*°, AŚ *duttvāyāsmā*°, corrupt for *dattvā*°, SMB *dattvāsmā*°) *dravineha bhadrām* AV KS AŚ SMB
dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadrām MS See §367

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS °le) *kāme asmīn* (AV *kāmāyāsmar*) RV AV
TS KS

§343 In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily

pāvakayā yāś (TS *pāvaka ā*) *cītayantyā kṛpā* RV VS MS KS ŚB
Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 453

pāhi gāyandhano (SV *gā undh°*) *mude* RV SV The RV has a regular 2d sing impv pres from *gāi*, the SV an aor inj, *gāḥ* Add to VV I §158

pīeva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma eman*) MS KS ApMB HG
The MS *p p* reads *jarasena, ā, unam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts

§344 Consider also the following peculiar case

amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ† *ma*) *indru AŚ ŚG apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB *anāmayaṛdhi mā mṛṣāma indo* Kauś The mss of Kauś read *anāmayedhi*, the emended °*yaṛdhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for °*ya(h) edhi* 'he free from disease' But the Kauś reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ ŚG, with 'Hiatusstilger' *y* as in §338 See Bloomfield's Introduction, p lvii, and cf §78

§345 We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya* The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts: *yad dha syā* (AV *sī*) *te panīyusī* RV AV SV TS MS KS

mayi tyad (MS *tad*) *indriyam bṛhat* (KS TB TA *muhat*, MS *nīryam*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ Pratikā in MŚ *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss mostly *tād*)

yuthā ha tyad (TS ApŚ IG *tud*) *vasavo guruyam cit* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ HG TA AŚ ŚŚ

ā nu tac (SV *tyac*) *chardho divyam vṛnīmahe* RV SV

prati te (AV *tye*) *te ajardśas tarṇṣ(hāh* RV AV

ud it te vasuntāmāh ApŚ *ud u tye* (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumuttumāh* RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ

§346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few

peśasavāḥ tantunā samvayantī (KS TB °*vayantī*) MS KS TB Roots *vā* and *vyā*

endram vagnunā vahatu PB *vagnunendram hvayatu* TB ApŚ (with metathesis of *h*)

§347 We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated

susatyam id gavām usyusa pra khudam ŚŚ *susadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV Berlin ed, violently emending the mss which agree precisely with ŚŚ but for the slight corruptions *gavom* and *sudam* *vidad gavyam saramā dṛdham ūrvam* (TB *ūrvyam*) RV TB But Poona ed of TB has the correct *ūrvam*, text and comm, without v l *satāsati* (comm *satya-sati*) *prajūpatih* TB But Poona ed comm *satāsati*

hīraṇyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ The corruption may be graphic in nature *prayupsyann va sakthyau* (TB text *sakthau*) TB ApŚ But Poona ed text and comm *sakthyau*, the only possible reading *oṣiṣṭhahanam śūgīnikosyābhyām* (TA °*kośābhyām*) TS TA *vasiṣṭhanuh śūgīni kosyābhyām* VS Poona ed of TA °*kośyā*° *ayoddheva* (TB °*dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV TB The Poona ed has the same reading, it is surely corrupt, perhaps graphic The comm has the same, but explains it as the *ayoddhā-iva*

3 Presence or absence of r

§348 Owing to the rarity of r in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance, that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with y

§349 We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots, and first, *śravas* and *śavas* and related words *sūro nṛṣṭā śavaśas* (SV MS *śra*°) *cakānah* (SV *ca* †*kāme*) RV SV TS MS

gṛnānāh śravase (SV *śra*°) *mahe* RV SV

satrā dadhānam upratīskutam śuvānsi (SV *śra*°) *bhūri*) RV AV SV TB

ā yo vīśvāni śavasū (SV *śra*°) *tatāna* RV AV SV

śraviṣṭhāh stha MS KS *śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāh* VS ŚB

§350 The roots *dhā* and *dhr* and the like, in virtual synonyms

sado vaneṣu dadhrīṣe (SV *dadhriṣe*) RV SV

vṛjā dharmāni dadhrīṣe (SV *dadhriṣe*) RV SV TS MS KS ApŚ

yo nah pṛtā janitā yo vidhātī (MS *vidhartā*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhurtā vidharū*) *paramota sandṛk* (KS *paramo na samṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS

davyāya dhartre joṣṭre (MS *dhūtre deṣṭre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

devayor dharme (MS °*mā*, AV *dhāmanu*) *asthīran* AV TS MS KS

kṣayasyaḥ vidhatah (SV *vidhartū*) RV SV Here *vidhatah* from root *vidh*

§361 Roots *pū* and *pr*

atirātram vavṛṣvān pūrta rāvaḥ (KS *vavṛṣvān pūrta rāvat*, TS *varṣan pūrta rāvṛt*) *stāhā* TS MS KS

apālam indra (MG *indrav*) *triṣ* (ApMB MG *trih*) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtva*, MG *pūrtvī a°*, ApMB *pūrtvī a°*) RV AV JB ApMB MG

§362. Roots *prī* and *pā*

śvātrāh pūā (V1Dh *śnāvīh prīā*) *bhavata yūyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ V1Dh *pru vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān* (AV °*tu payasvān*) AV AŚ ŚŚ
Comm on AV *prayasvān*

§363 Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words, in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatusstilger'

ahim budhnyam (TS °*nyam*) *anu riyamānāh* (TS *sanicuranīh*, MS KS *anu iyamānāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms, note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary, a sort of 'Hiatusstilger' ? *r* is used in this way in Pāli

anlarikṣe pathibhir iyamānah (GB *hriyamānah*, so Gaastra without the *v* 1 *hīyamānah* recorded in Bibl Ind ed) RV GB The AVPpp 1 107 4 (Barret, *JAS* 26 290) has the RV reading, GB perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary Note the final *r* of the preceding word

vanasade (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *veḥ* (TS MS *vaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §650

mā tvam hārṣih śrutam mayi PG *śrutam me mā pra hārṣih* RVKh 'Take away' 'abandon'

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *caḥṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātṛdah* (MS °*du*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB Comm on TA tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jr*)

vikṛida (KS °*ida*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *vitohita* VS TS MS KS See §168

ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rte*, PB † *yakṣate*) *civ abhīrṣāh* RV AV SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *juri cetid abhīrṣāh* MS (corrupt, see §193)

jadṛṣyas (mss, v 1 *yā ṛṣ°*) *tripañcāśih* AV *yā(h) kṛchrās tri°* AVPpp See §§185, 192

śunam ma iṣṭam kunam śāntam (p p *śrāntam*) MS *svam ma* (AB *ma idam*) *iṣṭam svam śrāntam* (TB text *śrāntam*, Poona ed *śrāntam*) AB TB ApŚ *svam ma iṣṭam astu śunam śāntam*
KS

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm (KS *bṛhaspatīm*) *kronitah* (KS *śomitat*, Conc suggests reading *śro*^o) VS KS

pṛthivi bhūvarī (KS *vibhī*^o) *śinīwāly urandhra* (KS *uramdha*) *ōritte*
KS ApŚ An obscure epitbet of earth, perhaps belongs in §350
agne 'dabdhāyo 'śrītatanō pāhi mdyot KS *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śūtatanō pāhi mīdyā dīwah* TS TB ApŚ *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītama pāhi mā dīdyoh* VS ŚB In KS, apparently the original, 'having uninjured body', TS, 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect fac VS has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable, comm either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR and fits Agnī well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory

in jihīṣva lokam kṛnu AV *in jihīṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA The AV is original 'go apart (root *hā*), make room' TA comm takes it as desiderative from *hr* (*vhartum icha*), which would require *jihīṣasva anādhrīṣṭam sahasyam* (TS KS *sahasriyam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS AŚ 'Thousandfold mighty', probably original 'powerful and mighty', lect fac

yo agnīh kravyavāhanah (VS KS *kavya*^o) RV VS KS AŚ *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS Euphemistic change of *kravya*^o to *kavya*^o

yata ārtas (AŚ *ārttas*) *tad agan punah* TS AŚ 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned' AŚ mere blunder or misprint

prati vastor aha (AV * *ahar*) *dyubhīh* RV AV (both) SV ArS VS KS ŚB *praty asya raha dyubhīh* TS The comm on AV has *aha*, *ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhīh*

apīm tvā sadhīṣi (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādavyāmi* VS MS KS ŚB *sadhīṣ-i*, 'in the seat', *sadhriṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS 4 3 1 1) perhaps with thought of RV *sadhri*

anūbho mṛḍa dhūrta (MS ^ote, v 1 ^ota) MS MŚ *anūrbhava mṛḍa* KS ApŚ See §749

śun no bhava hṛḍa ā pītu indo RV GB AŚ Vait MŚ According to Gaastra, all his miss read *intra* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text

ā na indra (and, *inlo*) *mahīm iṣam* RV (both)

vyrdhīyā apagalbham (TB *apra*^o, hut Poona ed text and comm *apa*^o) VS TB Probably mere misprint

^o*potrāgnīdhro* (read with Gaastra *potā°*) *nīhīlam pādām ekam* GB

§354 The following involve different word-divisions

yaśya (ApMB. *vy aśya*) *yonim palireto grbhāya* (ApMB HG *prati reto grhāna*) ŚG HG ApMB

āyuhpati rathamtaram (MŚ *āyuh pratirath°*) *tad aśya* etc ApŚ MŚ
The latter corrupt

yena bhūyaś (PG *bhūriś*) *carāty* (MS *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, corrupt, PG *carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

tan mā jīva (KS *mārjitvā*) TS MS KS 'Quicken me' 'cleansing it'
sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan AV *sarvah sarvā* (p p *sah, sarvāh*)
vi caratu prajānan MS The latter carelessly assimilates to the following *sarvāh*

mā mā yūnarvā hāsī (JB *yono vām hārasih*) PB JB LŚ Both forms obscure

agnir hotrenedam (ŚŚ *hotrena*) *havr ajuṣata* MS ŚŚ *agnihotrenedam havr* TB AŚ But *agnir ho°* must certainly be read in all texts, with Poona ed of TB

ud varṣam iva yemre RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh

§355 In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically

ūrdhvacitah (MS KS °*ritah*) *śrayadhvam* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
See §195

svām tanvam (*tanuvam*) *varuno 'suṣot* (TS TB *abīśret*) TS MS KS TB
See §287

pred u harivah śrutasya (SV *sutasya*) RV SV TS See §278

trīṣug (AŚ *trīśrud*) *gharṃ vibhātu me* (KS *gharṃas sadam in me vibhātu*)
KS TB TA AŚ See §145

śivā rulasya (TS and v 1 of MS *rudrasya*, VSK *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*ja*) VS VSK TS MS KS See §684

apūlapā dāhūyamānah TS *viṣṇur āpūlapā āpyāyamañnah* VS 'Drinker of unpurified (soma)' 'protecting when propitiated (°)'

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ApŚ ŚŚ
See §228

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmūd duritād arartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV PB ApMB See §60

anu dāha sahamūrān kravvīdah (SV *kayādah*) RV SV *sahamūrān anu dāha kravvīdah* AV Benfey explains the SV form as from *kaya* = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating' This would imply metric shortening of *ā* to *a* There may be involved euphemistic avoidance of the word *kravvīd*, as in *kravvāvāhuna kavya°*, §353

ā sūtrāṇe (MS KS *bhūyīṣṭhadāṇe*) *sumatim āvṛṇānah* AV MS KS *
oṣīṣṭhadāṇe sumatim grṇānāh TS It is likely that the original
form was *āsūtrāṇe*, cf Whitney on AV 19 42 3 The TS form,
the impeccable, is secondary

§356 Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative
elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion
ghṛtam duhata (RV * *duhrata*) *dśiram* RV (both) SV See *RVRep*
137, 562, and VV I p 169

te dakṣiṇām duhate (AV *te duhrate dukṣiṇām*) *saptamātaram* RV AV
See VV I, 1 c

utainam (NīlarU *uta tvā*) *gopā adṛśran* (TS NīlarU *adṛśan*) VS TS
MS KS NīlarU See VV I p 170 Followed by

adṛśranm (TS † *adṛśannm*) *udahāryah* VS TS See *ibid*

apa snehitir (SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanū adhata* (SV *adhā rāh*, KS † *nṛma-
nām adadhṛām*) RV AV SV KS *upu stuhī* (Poona ed *enuhī*)
tam nṛmnām athadrām TA See §110, and VV I p 170

sarasvatyā (AV **yām*) *adhī manav* (KS *mānū*, v 1 *manā*, SMB *vanāva*,
hut Jorgensen *manāv*, AV *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS and SMB
Jorg *arak*°, SMB Conc *carṅṛdhi*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB
PG The KS also has v 1 *arark*°, which perhaps should be read
thruout Jorgensen assumes dissimilation, see VV I p 149

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rre*,
VV I p 170, and *ghṛtam mīmikṣe* (TA °*kṣire*) *ghṛtam asya yonih* RV
VS TA, *ibid* p 214

§357 Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or
inflexional syllables of nouns These cases belong to noun formation or
inflexion It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those
listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group In these,
especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected, cf
the similar cases with *y*, §§314-5, 321-2, and our chapter on Consonant
Groups below

bhūri śastam (SV *sastram*) *pṛthuh svaruh* RV SV VS Synonyms,
but here the form without *r* is older

atvaddhā vithurenā cid astrū (MS *astāh*) RV MS KS The MS is
secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption

na kir devā mīnīmase RV *na ki devā mīmase* SV Anomalous reduc-
tion of *na-kiṣ* to *na-ki*

eūro rathasya naptiyah (ArS *napṛiyah*, TB *napṛiyah*) RV AV ArS
KS TB Feminine stems *napṛī* and *napṛī*, the latter influenced
by *naptar*

vaṣṭimatī (TA Conc *vaṣṭri*^o, which is a v l in Poona ed, its text *vaṣṭri*^o) *te sapeya* TS ApŚ TA *vaṣṭrmanātas* (MS MŚ *vaṣṭri*^o, ApŚ *vaṣṭu*^o) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The MS MŚ ApŚ forms are Prakritic in vocalism In the Tait school form, which concerns us here, the stem *vaṣṭr* is, as it were, feminized Add to VV I §345

praty etā vāmd *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ °*vakta*, v l °*vaktar*) *uta* KB ŚŚ *praty etā sunvan* *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar uta* AŚ The form can only be construed as nom , °*vakta*, if it is intended, must stand for °*vaktā* with partial sandhi (*ā* shortened, §991) But it looks as if all texts intended °*vaktar* Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ , p 252 note, suggests that *ru* is a bad writing for *u*, but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error Is *r* a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatusstilger, as in Pāli? Cf the first variant in §353 Or is °*vaktar* used as nom? Cf the nom neut (?) forms in *-tari*, Wackernagel III p 205 supra

viśvā amivāh pramuñcan mānuṣibhīh (KS °*ṣebhyah*) AV KS *viśvā āsāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah* VS TS See §783

vaptrā (ApMB *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapuzi* (PG °*ti*) *keśasmasru* (AG PG MG *keśān*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG *vaptrā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals

ā mā stutasya stutani gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB Synonyms

matyāḥ śrutīya (*nahe srotāya*) *cakṣase* AV (both)

ghurmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA °*tā*, MS °*trā*) *vāt* (MS *net*, TA *vat*) VS MS TA ŚB *yajatu* (°*tā*) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB HG See §818

agner agneyāny (KS *agniyāny*) *asi* (one ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asi*) MS KS *devānām agneyāny asi* TS *agner yāny asi* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ *agneyānī*, certainly the true reading of TS and probably of MS , is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case KS has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary

bṛhaspatīśulasya (TS MS add *ta*, VS VSK ŚB add *deva soma ta*) *inda* (TS *indu*, VS ŚB *indr*) *indriyāvatah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Gen voc

sa viśvācīr (KS °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe gṛtācīh* (KS °*cī*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The KS changes an accus plur , with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasi* in the preceding *pāda* *devī dvārau* (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samūptam* TS AŚ Vait Cf prec , and §732

asmadrātā madhumatīr (KS °tī) MS KS ŚŚ and others, §800
gaurīr (°rī) *mimāya* , see §545

4 Presence or absence of *v*

§368 Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE tunes, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf Wackernagel I §232c) Among the variants they are fairly numerous Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§338-44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§453) As with those sounds, however, the form with *r* is not by any means always secondary in text history

v initial before a vowel

§369 Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *ṛṣabha* and *vr̥ṣabha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel But this is by no means universal

vr̥ṣabhena (TS ṛṣ°) *braṣṭā* TS KS This is an instructive case, it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS, in a consonant in TS We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS begins with *v*-

vatsō vr̥rāḷo vr̥ṣabho matinām AV *putī vr̥rājām ṛṣabho rayinām* TB Observe that *ṛṣ-* is preceded by a final *-m*, *vr̥ṣ-* by a final vowel It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236)

vr̥ṣabhenu (TS ṛṣ°) *gāh* (KS *gāvah*) TS KS KSA The single ms of KSA has corruptly *asvā-vr̥ṣa°*, which Von Schroeder emends to *asvān vr̥°*, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS reading (*asvān ṛṣ°*) should be adopted

vr̥ṣabham (VS * ṛṣ°) *naryāpasam* RV AV SV VS (both) MS TB Here preceded by a consonant

ṛṣabhāyu (MS *vr̥ṣ°*) *yavaṅṅ* (TS KSA *rājne yavayah*) VS TS MS KSA A consonant precedes

ṛṣabho (KS *vr̥°*) *gaur rayo dudhuh* VS MS KS TB A consonant precedes

vr̥ṣabho 'sī svargah AV *r̥ṣabho 'sī svargo lokah* TB Initial in verse
kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ °ham) *rūpam vr̥ṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam r̥ṣ°*)
rocate bṛhat (VSK *bṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
astabhñād dyām vr̥ṣabho (TS MS *dyām r̥ṣ°*) *antarikṣam* RV VS TS
 MS ŚB TB KŚ

bṛhad r̥ṣabham (TB *vr̥°*, but Poona ed text and comm *r̥°*) *gām vayo*
dāhat VS TB

śākvarā (LŚ *ye śāk°*) *r̥ṣabhā* (AV *vr̥ṣ°*) *ye svarājah* AV LŚ Note the
 vowel preceding

rathe akṣeṣu r̥ṣabhasya (KS TB °ṣu *vr̥°*, so AV comm, and so Ppp
 intends, Barret, JAOS 30 204) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣu akṣeṣu*
vr̥ṣabharājāh V1Dh

§360. There are no other forms with and without *v* that are precisely
 identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases
 of presence or absence of initial *v* before a vowel, in many of which the
 preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the
 tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play
 their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary,
 reversing the direction of the process

te arṣantu te varṣantu LŚ *te varṣantu te varṣayantu* AV Roots
arṣ 'rush' and *varṣ* 'rain'. One is inclined to suspect assimilation
 to the following *varṣ-* in AV

r̥jīte (KS *vr̥j°*) *pari vr̥ñdhu nah* RV VS TS MS KSA ApŚ Initial
 in the verse. Von Schroeder says on KSA, 'wohl fehlerhalt für
r̥jīte'. Perhaps assimilated to the following *vr̥ñdhu*

śalmāṣ vr̥ddhyā (KSA *r̥ddhyā*) VS TS KSA ŚB Synonymis
agne vājajud vājam tvā VS ŚB TB Vait ApŚ *ājim tvāgne* MŚ
 Synonymis since earliest times. Note preceding vowel before *vāju°*
varenyakratūr (AV °tur, ApŚ *idenya°*) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ *vire-*
nyah kratur vūbrah suśastih RV

hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS °nam) *nikṣu* (RV *apsu*, MS *dikṣu*) *agnim*
 RV VS † TS † MS KS ŚB † For the RV original is substituted
nikṣu after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatusilger' *v* and other
 phonetic changes (cf especially §153a). On MS see §869 (a
 further, graphic change)

tad āyuh (ApŚ *vāyuh*) MS KS ApŚ 'That is life (wind, breath)'.
asum (AV TS *vasum*) *pharmam divam* (VS *svar*) *ū tyṣthalānu* (AV
rohalānu) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *asu* 'life' *vasu* 'weal' (with
 ungrammatical *m*), preceded by vowel, *asu* is original, as shown by
 RV 10 14 12, 15 1 (cf 10 15 9, 10)

devā gātuvīdo gātum viltvā (VSK *gātum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB Cf *gātum viltvā gātum ita* MS ApŚ, *devā gātuvīdo* (MŚ adds *gātum viltvā*) *gātum yajīdya vīdata* TB ApŚ MŚ 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original, VSK assimilates to the following *ita*

ive iṣah (KS *vīve*, MS *iva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrivarpasah* (TS † *bhūri-retasah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB On MS see §694 KS clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *v* between vowels

dhiṣane vīdū (VS VSK *vīdvī*, KS *vīte*, MS MŚ *īdite*) *satī* (MS KS MŚ omit) *vidayethām* (MS MŚ *īdethām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ See §169

tigṇam anīkam viditam sahasvat AV *tigṇam āyudham vīṭitam* (KS 'dham *īditam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS 'Implored' of KS is secondary to 'strong', AV is still farther afield, see §169

yo anāro matrumaho vanuṣyāt (KS *anu*²) RV KS ApŚ 'Who fights against us' KS seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us' Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger' Kaps *vanuṣyāt*

namo vidhryāyu (MS *vidhryāya*, p p *vidhryāyu*, TS *nama idhryāya*) *ratapyāya ca* VS TS MS KS Both forms are obscure, TS probably secondary See Keith's note

iśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase (SV *īyase*) RV SV Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV, reverse of 'Hiatusstilger' with a vengeance!

mahīva dyaaur alha (AV *vadha*) *tmanā* RV AV *vadhatmānā* (sic) not divided in p p, and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption, he translates the RV Still, the AV may be rendered 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'

ahar (MS *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS *divyābhir*) *ūtibhīh* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ *ahar*, adverb 'by day' One ms of MS with p p *vahad* (*d* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a), preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatusstilger'

vīśām vavarjuśīndm (AV *vīśām avur*²) RV AV The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhis*)', Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 275 The AV uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation, the initial *a-* must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*vṛj* = *pari-vṛj* as in Classical Skt) Cf Whitney ad loc The retention of the perfect pple form shows the badness of the AV

mahī no vāld̄ iha vāntu bhūmau AV *mīham na vāto va ha vāti bhūma*
RV Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'

abhūr āpinām (HG °nām, AV mss *v āpi°*) *abhīśastipāvā* (AV °pā u)
AV HG ApMB Others, §46

ramayata (KS °tā) *marutah śyenam āyinam* (MŚ *marutah pretam*
vājinam) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV *cid̄ tvā*) *yemur im* (SV *cin ni yemur in*, TA *cin*
nyemur in) *na pāśinah* RV SV AV VS TA *im*, acc of *in*,
secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (*id̄*)

vidvīr yāmann avardhayan VS *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB (Conc)
But Poona ed of TB has correctly *yāmann uvar°*

§361 In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v*
(after a vowel, 'Hiatusstilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*
pro drata (TB 'vārata) *maruto durmadā va* RV TB 'Rush along,
Maruts, like madmen' Common on TB *avārata dhāvata*

uruṣya rāya eṣo (VSK *rāyo 'veṣo*, ie *ava*, *ṣo*, TS MS KS *rāyah sam*
ṣo) *yajasva* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *ava-yaj* 'remove by sacrifice'
with object. *ṣo*, is peculiarly inept

§362 A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this
category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word

agninendrena sumena upa te huve savāham (KSA *huve 'sā aham*)
TS KSA 'I summon for thee, O offering' 'I, so and so (*asau*
'N N'), summon for thee' If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA
is original, the TS reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatusstilger', yielding
a different lexical result The same with *brāhmanān tvājo devān*
ṣṣena pakvam, *devān sendrān*

añkāñkam (MS *añkāv-añkam*, so divided in p p, KS *añkāñkam*)
chundah VS TS MS KS ŚB Nothing is known of the original
form or meaning of this word (said by comms to mean 'water'),
note the curious KS variant, with short *a* It may be that MS
has a kind of 'Hiatusstilger' with its *v*

v initial before a consonant.

§363 So far initial *v* before a vowel In a few cases the same *v*
appears or disappears before an initial consonant

rekīnām (VS ŚB *vre°*) *tvā putmann ādhūmann* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ
rekīṣu (sc *te śukra śukram ādhunomi*) TS An epithet of water, of
unknown etymology and meaning, *v*-presumably unoriginal

aṅne yajasva (AV *vyacasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS See §57

apāvṛnod duro asmaṛajānām (MS *asmad-rathūnām*, p p *asmān*, *ra°*)
RV MS TA The MS is hardly interpretable

yaśya (ApMB *vy aśya*) *yoniṃ prati reto gṛhāna* (ŚG *ṛitireto gṛbhāya*)
 ŚG ApMB HG Cf §354 *vy aśya* 'open' must be intended,
yaśya makes no sense

v not initial

§364 Coming to non-initial *v*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes *sva-* and *sa-* vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741

satavāsenam (KS *svā²*) *yajñam divi deveṣu dhattām* MS KS TB

śāro na svayugabhik (SV *sayu^o*) RV SV

viśvā dveṣānsi tarati svayugabhik (SV *sayu^o*) RV SV Better meter in RV (anapest after cesura)

indra svayugbhir matsyha (ApŚ *sayugbhir didyūn na matsvā madāya*)
mahe tanāya AV ApŚ

yajño bhūtvā yajñam āśīda sukṣaya (MŚ *svakṣaya*) *ehi* TB ApŚ MŚ

§365 There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *tv-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-*. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *tv-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *kā* (both from the interrogative stem)

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā sanānam it RV *tvām arbhasya haviṣah sanānam*
it SV KS TB ApŚ Followed by

tam in mahe ṛṇate nānyam tvat RV *tām maho ṛṇate* (TB ApŚ
ṛṇate nari) *nānyam tvat*, same texts

tam (TA *tram*) *u nir vīpayā punah* RV TA

tvām (MS *tām*) *kasanta* (MS *“tā*) *upa yanti lājāh* RV SV VS TS MS
 KS

paramāni tam (TB ApŚ *tvā*) *parāvatam* AV TB ApŚ

etat tvātra pratimanvāno (AŚ *“vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ *ṛasmīn*) VS AŚ ŚŚ
Vast etat tān pratimanvāno asmi LŚ

yū tān rātrīm upāsmāhe PG *yām tvā rātry upāsmāhe* (TS *upāsate*,
 SMB *rātri yajmāhe*) AV TS SMB *ye tvā rātry* (MG *rātrīm*)
upāsate KS MG

tvam gopāya MG *tam gopāya* etc., see Conc.

prajāyati mṛtyave tvat (TA *tat*) RV TA Here the stem *tvā-* is not the 2d personal pronoun

layānantam (MŚ *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ *lokam*) *aham jayāni* (MŚ °mī) AS † ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB

layā (ApMB *tvayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °ti, v 1 °tu) ApMB HG

layāham (MS *tvayā*°) *sāntyā sāntim karomi* MS TA *tābhīh sāntibhīh samayūmy aham* AV

tvayā (TAA 10 1 9 *tvayā*) *hutena pāpēna* TA TAA † MahānU

yajuryuktam nāmabhīr āktakham (MS *ṛktakham tā*) MS TA The words are bad enough in either case MS pp *ṛkta-khām, tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic, *ṛktakham* is not in any lexicon. But *āktakham* is little better TA comm *āktāny āpyāyitāni khānīndriyāny avayavā yasya pravargyasya so 'yam āktakhas tādṛsam, nāmuyānena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati* (!)—Boehtlingk, p w 2 293, 'dessen Buchsee geschimert ist'

purus tvā (ŚŚ *purustāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB ŚŚ Here *-tvā* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun. The sense requires object *tvā*. Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff) in the secondary ŚŚ *yat tvemahe* (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kāuś *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS Kāuś SMB PG ApMB All mss and comm of SMB agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading. Comm, unbelievably *te tvām* (!) *yat phalam mahe* (!) *tan no 'smabhyam juṣasva prayachety arthah*

kva (SV *kū*) *pratnū va āhutah* RV SV

§366 Further, *v* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forins without *v*. Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf VV I p 121

deva tvāṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS ŚB (In MS *rane* is a noun)

āpux tvā sam arinan (MS *arivan*) VS MS ŚB *āpah sam arinan* TS KS

manai (MS *manv*) *nu babhrūnām aham* RV VS MS KS ŚB N See VV I pp 76, 121

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated

jananta (SV *jinanta*) *uṣasv bhayam* RV SV

§367 Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvī*) and other forms lacking *v*, but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption

asya pītī (SV *pītāvā*) *svarindah* RV SV Lect fac in SV for *pītā*, loc sing of *pīti*, 'in the drinking of it'

yenendro hanṣā kṛtvī (ApMB *kṛtī*) RV ApMB The ApMB form (v 1 *kṛtvī*) may be interpreted as nom sg of *kṛtin*, but is doubtless corrupt It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff), the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kṛt(v)y-a-*

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāsmā°*, AŚ *dattvāyāsmā°*, corrupt for *dattvā°*, SMB *dattvāsmā°*) *dravineha bhadrām* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadrām* MS* 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity'

hotā viṣṭimena (ŚŚ *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV 20 135 5, AŚ † 8 3 24, ŚŚ Vait This *pāda* is omitted in the Berlin ed of AV and therefore in Conc Most ŚŚ mss *viṣṭī*, per contra, v 1 of AV *viṣṭvī* It is very obscure in any case

dakṣyantāmṛtāya (ApMB *°tvimṛtāya*) *kam* RV ApMB The ApMB form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's *pṛṣṭe*, but may fairly be called corrupt, cf Winternitz, p xx

yuktvā (TB Conc *yuktā*, Poona ed text and conim correctly *yuktvā*) *harī vṛṣanā yāhy arvān* (MS KS *arvāk*) RV MS KS TB

apālām indīa (MG *°ias*) *triṣ (trih) pūtvī* (AV *°vā*, ApMB *pūrtvī*, MG *pūrty a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG The last seems clearly corrupt [*indrāh pāṣena ṛṣktvā vah* ApMB *indrāh pāṣena vah ṛṣktvā* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG *indrāpāṣena sīvā* PG The true reading is *sīvā*]

§368 A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes

madhu (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV These alternative forms of gen sing of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhrah madhch*, see Conc p 681a

ed u madhu (SV PB *madhur*) *madintaram* RV AV S¹ PB AŚ ŚŚ *vaso vasvoh puruṣpṛhah* RV *vasor vaso puruṣpṛhah* SV

asammṛṣṭo jāyase nūtroh (TB *nūtroh*) *surih* RV TB With *nūtroh*, guaranteed by all mss and Vaidikas, cf perhaps *pūtvya*, and note that *nūtroh* in RV is trisyllabic

muhāntam gahvareṣṭhām SV *tanūr varṣṣṭhā yahanēṣṭhā* MS Root *gah*, with different suffixes

gambhīrah pathabhūh pūrvyāh (AV *pūrvyārah*) AV TS HG The AV is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification Cf next

prehi-prehi pathibhīh pūrvyebhīh (AV *pūryānāh*) RV AV MS AŚ
AG Cf prec

aprajastām pautramstyum ApMB HG *aprajāstvam mārtavatsam* AV
Others, §650 Suffixes *tā* and *tvā*

§369 Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf Wackernagel I §232c.

saumyān trayah śrutimgāh (KSA śr°) TS KSA

With *śrut-* and *śit-*, synonyme, is to be compared also the synonymous *cit-*, see §195

citra (VS *śutra*) *ādityānām* VS MS

citro (AV *śutro*) *rakṣitā* AV MS

§370 After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff below

śiśūle śrāge rakṣase (AV *rakṣobhīyo*) *vi nīkṣe* (KS *nakṣe*, AV *mas nīkṣve*),
RV AV TS MS KS The Berlin ed and Whitney's translation adopt the RV reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa*. See Whitney's note, which points out that *vinīkṣva* occurs in the next verse

dhuñkṣāgneyī (VSK °*ṣvī*° or °*ṣyā*°) VS VSK MS And others, see §255

svarṣām (TB *suvar*°) *apsām* (TB Poona ed, twice, *ṭapsvām*, in text and comm) *vrjanusya gopām* RV VS MS TB *apsvām* is uninterpretable

mā tvāgnir dhanayīd (MS *dhana*°, TS °*gīd*, KSA °*ged*) *dhūmagandhīh*
RV VS TS MS KSA The text of MS is based on p p, the samh mss are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*tvāgnir vīnairddhamagandhīr*). It seems that *vu* in these mss is a graphic corruption for *dhva*, which should probably be read in MS as in the other texts

§371 After or before single consonants, a miscellaneous group

āpo devīh svadantu (VSK *sad*°) *svāttam cit sad devahavīh* VS VSK ŚB
svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu MS *svāttam cit sadavam*
hanyam āpo devīh svīdaturnam TS ApŚ The reading of VSK is poor (cf *svāttam*). Cf next

em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu (MS *svad*°) MS KS TB

Here *svad*° does not belong, the reverse of the prec

aparīhvītāh (MS °*hītāh*) *sanuyāma vājam* RV MS KS Intended for synonyms, MS slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption

tuvidyumnam vibhāsaham (SV *vibhā*°) RV SV *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhā*

(for °van) 'excellent' Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'

apām rasam udvayasam (KS *udayansam*, TA *udayansan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing', KS and TA a verb form, which in TA is 3 plur aor of *ud-yam* KS may intend the same with *udayanśam* followed by *s*, but in VV I p 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing *visvam tu tvāhutaṣṭyah sarvā yatra brahmā visvāmṛto 'sī* PrānāgU *visvantu tvām āhulayas ca sarvāḥ prajāś tatra yatra visvāmṛto 'sī* MU The Conc says, 'read *visantu*' for both In the Poona ed (*Upaniṣadām Samuccayah*, An Skt Ser, 1895), the MU passage (p 406) reads *visantu* in text and comm, but the PrānāgU (p 307), *visvam tu* in both Certainly *visantu* must be read

anitr asi dīve TS KS JB PB Vait *anitr asi* GB The Conc calls the latter a 'blunder', yet, curiously, Gaetz also has *anitr mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām* (MS °hnā) *cikṭnū* (MS *cikṭtam*, KS *ygatnū*, AŚ *cikṭvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45 The AŚ form is difficult and suspicious

satyaujasā dṛghanā (MS *durhṇā*, KS † *dṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS KS *sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV See §305

vande dārum vanulamāno ivakmi RV *vandulvūrā vanulamānū vvaṣtu* SV See VV I p 218

anu dāha sahamūrān kṛvyādah (SV *kayādah*) RV SV *sahamūrān anu dāha kṛvyādah* AV See §355

anykāśena bāhyam MS *anūkāśena bāhyam* VS *antarenānūkāśam* TS KSA The VS reading is apparently a blunder, comm reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows

§371a One anomalous case involving false word-division

uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi TS MS KS TB *pururārno deva etc* VS ŚB LŚ The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility' The Vāj reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption Eggeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning, but Mahidhara derives *rāvan* from *rā* 'give'

5. Presence or absence of *s*

§372 Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s* Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spāś* *pāś*, *kr* *skṛ*, etc.) See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi)

§373 Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of periosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially.

§374 Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *k*, *t*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word.

sa prathamah samskṛtir vīvakarmū TS TB ApŚ *sā* (MS MŚ *yā*)
prathamū samskṛtir vīsvavārā (MS *yajñe usmin*) VS MS ŚB
(Pratika, MŚ) The root *kr* regularly appears as *skṛ* with *sam*, so that the Tait form is irregular.

ut te stabhnāmī (TA *tabhnomi*) *prthivīm tvat pari* RV AV TA Cf Whitney §233c. In TA this law operates in spite of tmesis, this is not without parallel.

tegān (TS TB ApŚ *tegān*) *danṣṛābhyām* VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV has *stegu*. Perhaps the root *tij* (originally *stij*) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS MS KSA the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *starī mantras suprayakṣuh* KS *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu pruyasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt, at least they are all difficult. But note *starīman* in MS (*tarī* AV).

§375 The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned, and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds.
divah samsprśas (MS *samprśas*) *pūhi* VS MS ŚB. And

prthivyāḥ sampṛcas (TS TB ApŚ °caḥ, VS ŚB *samspṛsas*) *pūhi* VS TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *sam-prc* and *sam-sprc*, practically synonyms See §195

divam agreṇāsprkṣah †VSK, wrongly quoted in Conc as °*ḍprkṣah* *divam agreṇāsprkṣat* (TB °*āprāt*) VS TB And others

viśvā sprdho (AV *mṛdho*) *abhūmātir jayema* RV AV TA.

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *sprṣantūm*, Ppp [Roth] *viśanta*, TA *mṛṣantūm*) RV AV TA

yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāyasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG

sa bhūmim viśato (ArS *sarvato*, VS *sarvata*) *vṛtvā* (VS *sprtvā*) RV ArS AV VS TA See §200

tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ (PB °*yāḥ*) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB ApŚ See §93

samsrāvabhāgū (VS ŚB *samsrava*°, MS °*gāḥ*, KS Kauś °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *taṁṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś See §§96, 747

§376 Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms), the rest is sporadic *ajōṣā* (SV *saḥ*?) *vṛṣabhām putim* RV AV SV *ajōṣa* 'unersattlich, gierig' *sacetasāv* (VSK °*sā*) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB *sacetasau saretasau* TB And others, see §180

ā (VaradapU *sā*) *nah sṛṇvann ūtibhik sīda sādnam* (VaradapU *saśvat*) RV TS KS VaradapU The comm is hard put to it to explain *sā*, he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening It is in fact inexplicable

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS *yavā ayavā ūmā † evā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah* MS KS MŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS The form *sabda* of TS, for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure, doubtless due to some analogy

anūgaso yathā sadam it san kṣiyema Vait *anūgaso adham it sankṣayema* TB See §110

§377 The very few cases of evanescent medial *s* are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma bhūyāsmā*), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here *agnir no vanate* (VSK *vanate*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *rayim* RV SV VSK TS MS KS Present and *s*-aorist

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (MS KS °*vāno bhūyāsmā*) AV MS KS *tasyās te bhakṣivānah syāmu* (MS KS ApŚ 4 13 7† *bhaktivāno bhūyāsmā*) MS KS TB ApŚ (both) Suffixes *vans* and *van*

6 Presence or absence of visarga

§378 This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings), and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter, and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like, some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379 In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *h* vary with corresponding forms without *h*, a fairly frequent phenomenon.

pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*, Poona ed *tira*) AV VS TS MS
KS TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

sūryasya tapas tapu (MS MŚ *tapuh*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ

ni dūrāśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*, em, mss *mahah*) AV ŚŚ

nyudbhīr (AV *nyuybhīr*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *īha tī vi muñca*
(ŚŚ *†muñcah*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Add to
VV I §25

visvasmāt (TA *divo vi°*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣṣya* (TA *°yah*) RV TA

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

agne vittād dharīṣo yat yajūma (TB *°mah*) RV TB

aśinnā bhīṣajāvatah (MS *°tam*, TB *†ta*, both edd) VS MS TB

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra°*) *śaścīma* (TA *°mah*, RV *suscire*) RV VS
MS ŚB TA (corrupt)

prati bhāgum na dīdhīma (SV *°mah*) RV AV SV VS N

viratāh smah (ŚG *smu bhoh*) ŚG PG

abhiratāh smah (YDb *smu hu*) V1Dh YDh BrhPDh Here, in late
texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation
(*smah sma-hu*)

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

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

visvāh pinvatah (TB *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenūh* RV MS TB (comm
°thah in Bibl Ind ed, but Poona ed *°tha*) This is probably only
a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant, cf §978 ff

ata ū ŷu madhu madhunābhī yodhi TS . *adah su madhu madhunābhī yodhīh* RV SV AV AA MŚ See VV I p 101

agne (MS *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (MS *voca*) RV SV MS TA Add to VV I §§25, 156

sam agnis tapasāgata VS MS ŚB (preceded by *svadhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS edition separated by a mark of punctuation) *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* (**gatah*, Poona ed *gata*) TA * As pple *gatah* is defensible See VV I p 161

varebhīr varāt abhi ŷu prasīdatah (ApMB *pra sīdata*) RV ApMB A participle (gen sing, Grassmann, acc pl, Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur in ApMB

tha rama (HG †*ramah*) MS AB AŚ ApŚ HG Here *ramah* is a noun form

§380 In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms

punar āgāh punar nava (AV °*nava* and °*nivah*) RV AV (bis)

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS TB *nicañkuna*, MS KS *nicañkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ Vocative in TS TB by assimilation to an adjoining formula, see §150

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (MG °*nā*, ApMB HG °*nāv*) *adhī roha vanśu* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Here the nom is secondary

agnīr ghr̥tenāhuta (KS °*tah*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ

yajñah praty u ŷhāt (KS *pratyajñāt*, v 1 *praty u°*, MŚ adds *sumatau matinām*) KS MŚ *yajña pratīṣṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB ApŚ

indrah (*indra*) *somasya pitaye* (also °*ye ṛṣūyate*) RV (all three)

indra (MS *indrah*) *stomēna pañcadasēna madhyam* (KS °*dasēnaujah*) TS MS KS AŚ

paramajyā ṛcīsamah (SV † °*ma*) RV SV AV

devebhīo (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *kavyavāhanah* (RV * °*na*) RV (both) ApŚ

sahasrākṣo amartyah AV *sahasrākṣūyamartya* AV

puvaminah (SV °*na*) *samtanam eṣi kṛvan* RV SV

tvastā devāh sahamāna indrah MG *tvastar devebhīr sahasōma indra* ApMB

yo agnīh kavyavāhanah (VS KS *kavya°*) RV VS KS AŚ *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS See §353

hiranyapakṣah śakunīh HG *hiranyaparka śakune* PG *hiranyavannah śakunah* MU

subirana sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB *subīrinah sṛja-sṛja* HG The latter is doubtless corrupt, a voc is required

indra kratā (MS *indrah kṛtā*) *maruto yad vāśāma* RV MS KS See §664

ayā somah (SV *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV SV See VV I §328

ā tṛṣṭha mitravardhana (KS TB † ApŚ † °nah) AV KS TB ApŚ

āprno 'n sampṛnah (ApŚ *āprnoṣi sampṛna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is secondary and poor

indra karmasu no 'vata VS KS *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but read *indra 'vata*, see VV I p 260)

indra (MS *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV MS The nom is hardly construable

indrah (SV PB *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ

indra (MS *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV MS KS

kāmena kṛtā (RV and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānah* RV MS TB

tṛṣṭhā ratham (TB *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB °tah) RV VS ŚB TB

dhānāsomāni manthina indra (MŚ *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ The nom is not construable, see Knauer's note

mitra satyānām pate (ŚŚ *satyānām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ *mitrah satyūnām* (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG

vśvā (KS PG *vśvās ca*) †*deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhīṣya* (KS °*ṣyāh*, PG † °*ṣyak*) KS TB ApŚ PG HG

vrihīnām medha (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānuh* TB ApŚ MŚ

śuddho mamādhi somyah (SV *somya*) RV SV

saṃjogā indra (TB *indrah*) *saṃjono marudbhīh* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ

§381 In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified, sometimes involving different but related stems

pibāt somam amadann (AV *somam mamadā*), *enam iṣṭayah* (AV *iṣṭe*)

AV AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 88, loc sing of *iṣṭa* nom pl of *iṣṭi*

ghṛtavalī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*yatih*) TS MS KS AŚ

Loc sing instr pl Cf §706

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV * *vāraḥ*) *pari priyah* (and *priyam*) RV SV As prec

candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāh (KS TB comm and Poona ed °*nā*)

VS KS TB *sukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā* MS (but p p °*nāh*)

The plural agrees with *asvīnā* and *sarasvatī* together as subject, the fem sing with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu RVKh *bhūmidṛṅham acyulam*

pārayiṣnu AV *bhūmidṛṅho 'cyulāś cyāvuyiṣnuh* AV Change of

gender, neuter to masculine, the latter certainly secondary, see §268

sa viśvācīr (KS °cī) *abhī caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh* (KS °cī) RV VS TS MS KS SB Change of acc pl to dual, explained in §357 But the actual reading is *ghr̥tācīr* (before initial vowel following)

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV (taken by Whitney as loc plur) *stani mandras suprayakṣuh* KS (apparently felt as 'nom sing) And others, all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt, see §374

samhitāsi viśvarūpā (VS SB ŚŚ °pī, TS ApŚ * °pīh) VS TS MS KS SB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis) In TS the old nom fem of the *vr̥kīś* type

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB *bajābojopakāśinī* HG Both words unintelligible, §69 Perhaps *h* in ApMB ending of *vr̥kīś* type

anāhanasyam vaxanam carīṣṇu (ApMB HG ja°, PG jarīṣṇuh) ŚG PG ApMB HG See §57 The noun masc transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.

yend samatku sāsahah (SV °hīh, MŚ "hī) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ See §584

aghadviṣṭī devajūti AV Kauś *atharvīyujā devajūtāh* ApŚ In AV nom sing fem In ApŚ, which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °jūtā followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing, but the verb is plural, and the Conc gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom plur)

sīrāh (TS MS KS sarāh, AV surā) *patatrīni* (TS MS KS °nīh) *sthana* (KS stha, AV bhūtvī) RV AV VS TS MS KS Sing in AV, plur in the others

ya ābabbhūva (PB āva°) *bhuvanāni vsvā* (PB vsvāh, comm vsvāni) VS JB PB ŚŚ Vait *vsvāh* is certainly wrong

vīruc chapathajopani AV *vidu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ (corrupt, Caland adopts the AV reading) See §272

uta vām uśaso budhi RV GB Conc *budhih* for GB, and so all mss apparently read, hut Gastra emends to *budhi* (loc sing 'at the awakening of dawn')

arādīhyā edīdhiṣuhpatim VS *ārādhyai* (read with Poona eu ar°) *īdīdhiṣūpatim* TB The VS form is anomalous, as a fem word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom form in composition is absurd

avasyvātā bhṛatī (TS °tir) *na* (TS nu, AŚ tu) *śakvarī* (TS °rīh) TS MS KS AŚ Sing plural

imam yajñam avantu no ghr̥tācīh (MS KS AŚ *avatu yā* [AŚ no] *ghr̥tācī*) TS MS KS AŚ Sing plural

- paraśur* (TS *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS °*tih*) AV TS *svasti*
is familiar as both fem and neut
- vṛṣhūtāh* (AV °*ta*) *prthvīm anu* RV AV VS AB TB SMB Fem
pl neut pl (in different contexts)
- śam rātrī* (VS. *rātrih*, VSK TA *rātrih*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK
TA MS All nouns sg
- śatamūlā śatāñkurā* TA MahānU *śatamūlāh śatāñkurāh* MahānU
Fem sing plur
- śrīvandū āpo dhīṣanāś ca devāh* (MS * *dhīṣanā ca devā*) VS TS MS *
KS ŚB Sing plur
- viśo* (SV *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Agni
is meant, and a nom or voc masc is required, *prabhu*, repeated
in the comm, is apparently understood as an adverb, but is prob-
ably only a phonetic error
- samśitam kṣatram* (MS KS TA add *me*) *jiṣnu* (AV *kṣatram ajaram*
astu jiṣnuh) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The AV form would
be masc, which cannot be construed, Whitney accordingly adopts
jiṣnu
- vatso jarāyū* (KS *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣah* AV TS MS KS
The regularly neuter word is here masc in KS, perhaps attracted
to the gender of the preceding masc
- sa nah prthu* (TB *prthuh*) *śravāyām* RV SV ŚB TB Transference
of the epithet with change of gender from neut to masc
- sīsam ca me trapu* (TS °*puś*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS The rare
stem *trapus*, for the regular *trapu*
- sapatnīr śubhābhūvarī* (ApMB °*rīh*) RV ApMB Only a nom sing
fem can be construed See Winternitz, *Introd*, xxii
- sarasvatī* (AV TB † °*tih*) *śvapasaḥ sadantu* (AV *sadantām*) RV AV VS
MS KS TB N Whitney calls the °*tih* form a blunder and emends
This is perhaps going too far, but of course it is a nom sing like
the other
- sarasvatyā* (TV °*tyāh*) *supippalah* VS MS TB Instr gen
- śahasraśīrṣī* (ArS °*śāh*) *puruṣah* RV ArS VS ŚB TA ApŚ Both
nom sing, °*śīrṣāh* as if from an *s*-stem (contamination from
śiras?)
- ativeddhā vithurenā cid astrā* (MS *astāh*) RV MS KS The MS is
doubtless corrupt
- varṣman kakubhī* (TB Conc °*bhīh*, MS *kakubbhīh*) *śīśriyānah* (TB
śrayasva) TS MS TB See §400
- upahūtāh sapta hotrāh* TS TB ŚŚ *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB Sing
plur

agne tvam puriṣyāh VS KS ŚB *agneh puriṣyam aṣi* VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Voc gen

hiranyayāh (MS °yā) *śucayo dhārapūṭāh* RV MS The only gram-
matically construable form is °yāh, MS seems corrupt

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS *sanāmy jagneh*) VS TS MS KS
Voc gen

sapratha (MŚ °thah) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ *pāhi*, and 'jugupah) TB
ApŚ MŚ Both voc, stems in a and as

imā brahma brahmanāhah (TS † °ha) RV AV KS TB As prec

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK TS ApŚ °vah, KS *subho*) *rūryāya* VS VSK
TS MS KS KB ŚB ApŚ Vocatives, s and a-stems On KS
see §749

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV *dātum cec chaknavānsah* (Poona ed
chaknavān sa) *svarga eṣām* TA See §826

dyumad mbhātū bharatebhyah śucih (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV SV VS
TS MS KS *śuci* might pass as an adverb

dūrvā rohatu puṣpinī (RV *rohantu puṣpinīh*) RV AV Sing plur
tripadā yā ca śatpadā (VS *yās ca śatpadāh*) VS TS MS KSA Sing
plur

tṛnam vasānū (HG °nāh) *sumanū aśas* (HG *aśi*) *tvam* AV HG The
form can only be nom sing fem, HG is impossible

pṛthivyā (MS * °vyāh) *sambhava* VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
Probably the only correct reading is °vyā (see von Schroeder's note)

§382 In adverbial forms

athā (AV *adhah*, comm *adha*, hut Ppp *adhah*) *sapatnī yā mama* RV
AV Ap, MB *adhā sapatnīn māmukān* AV See §74

śrīveantī (PB °tv) *ūpo adha* (PB 'dhah) *ksurantiḥ* RV PB

parā svapnamukhāh śucah AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ See
§820 The variation -*mukhāh* (*hahuvrihi*) *mukhā* belongs to the
preceding section

§383 Involving different divisions of words

śumudrād ulajani vah (ApŚ *uducani va*) *śrucū* MS ApŚ See §53

idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS **rakṣobhīh*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam lahōmi*)
TS MS (both) KS MŚ As the Conc suggests, *rakṣobhīh* must
be a corruption

gīrā ca (AV *vīrājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharā aśan nah* RV AV VS TS MS
KS ŚB See §57

śarīram yajñāśumalan. (MahānU. *yajñah sa*) TS KSA TA
MahānU See §818

tigmāyudhāya bharatū śnotu nah (TB *śnotana*) RV TB N

- dsann ā* (SV PB *dsan nah*) *pātram janayanā* (KS °tu) *devāh* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB
- pra su* (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artim*) *yuyolana* (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG
- ūrjam bibhrat vasuvanāh* (*vah rumanāh*, *vah suvanāh*, *vasunanāh*) , see §227
- upānasah saparyan* RV † *upo nu sa sap°* SV
- kavir yah putrah sa im ā* (TA Conc *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV AV TA N *imāh* has no standing
- ava* (RV *abhi*, MS *āvah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *nomam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The reading of MS is secondary but simple
- indrāh pāsena †siktivā* *vah* (HG *pāsena vah †siktivā*) ApMB HG *indra-pāsena siva* PG See §819
- ṛtasyartena mām uta* (TA *ita*) TB TA *ṛtasya tv enam āmutah* MS (corrupt, see §838)
- adyā mamāra sa hyah sam āna* (MS Samhitā, *sahyah samānah*) RV AV SV MS N *sam āna*, verb, *samānah*, adj
- vīrenyah kratur indrah suśastih* RV cf *varenyakratūr* (°tur, *īdenyakra-tūr*) *aham*, §554 Conc suggests *vīrenyakratūr*, Oldenberg, Nolén, goes further and suggests *varenya-* (or °yah) *kratur*
- vāñmanaścakṣuh.śrotrajihvāghrānarelobuddhyākūtsamkalpā* (TA TAA °ākūtih *samkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* FA TAA MahānU Despite the persistence of the reading °ākūtih (to be sure, one ms of TA reads like MahānU), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound
- §384** Miscellaneous
- purā jatrubhya* (TA ApMB *jatṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhya*) *ātṛdah* (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB See §57, *ātṛdah* apparently abl sing of a noun, MS corrupt, perhaps feels *ātṛda* as imperative
- apa* (AV *ava*) *śveta padā jahī* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah śvetapad ā guhī* MG (but most mss *apa*, so read, cf §817)
- apa* (MG *apah*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV MG Here all mss of MG have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense
- paritoṣā! tad arpiṭha* ApŚ *pari doṣād ud arpiṭah* KŚ The true reading in both seems to be *udarpitah*, see §63
- sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan* JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ On the obviously corrupt LŚ see §739
- gharmam śocantuh* (AŚ °ta, ŚŚ °tam) *pranaveṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV I p 165

aghāya bhūma harivah parādau (MS °*dath*) RV AV TS MS *parādau* is an infinitive, *parādath* is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra, despite the 1st person verb *bhūma*!); or else as an instr plur 'by betrayal' *tām ha jaritar na pratyayrbhnan* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ Gaastra reads *nah* in GB (v 1 *na*), but the sense clearly requires *na na śivarīdata* (HG †*śivarīdatah*) ApMB HG Both hopelessly corrupt, Winternitz p xxvi suggests *nīsarī datah* *udrñathāh śarkarābhīś trivṛṣṭapī* (MŚ *trivṛṣṭibhīh*) KS ApŚ MŚ *samudram nah subhram* (AVPpp ms *subhavas*) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS *samudram na subhvaḥ svā abhīṣṭayāh* RV *samudram na subhavas tasthivānsam* AV And others, §§119, 789 *nah*, pronoun *na*, comparative particle *bhīṣajam na* (MS *nah*) *śarīśvālīm* VS MS TB *na*, comparative particle

7 Presence or absence of *h*

§385 The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional paliosis, or its reverse. In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions, but of the startling *sanjyāre* in the first variant under §387

§386 Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r*. The variation is almost wholly lexical, it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words *sa ugrah sa hi* (PG *ṛ*) *havyo babhūva* TS PG This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant, an otherwise unknown *ṛ* (said to mean 'and', the mes are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *hi*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *hi himkārāya* (and, *himkṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS MS ŚB *imkārāya* (and, *imkṛtāya*, KSA *ṛim*) TS KSA TB ApŚ Interjections *tasminn* (AV *tasminn*) *ā* (VS *tasmin ha*) *tasthur bhuvanāni mēvā* RV AV VS · cf *tasminn ārptā bhū^o v^o* RV *rakṣur yeyāmi* (v 1 *hy eṣāmi*) *tapa uccabhūmam* MŚ And others, see §340 *yasyām idam viśvam* (MS *viśvam hy akyām*) *bhuvanam āvṛṣa* VS TS MS KS ŚB *mahaś* (MS *mahā*) *cid yasya mīdhūṣo yavyā* RV VS VSK MS ŚB *mahī hy aśya mīdhūṣo yavyā* TS *dhīyo hinvāno* (MS *dhīya invāno*) *dhīya in no avyāt* (RV *avyāh*) RV MS TS Rime words *antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānah* (GB *hrīyamānah*, v 1 *hīyamānah*, but no v 1 in Gaastra) RV GB See §353

uta no brahmann anṣah (MS °*man haviṣah*) RV MS KS AB ŚB ŚŚ
KŚ The secondary *haviṣah* is unaccented in MS, perhaps felt
as a verb form from root *hu* 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the
brahman'

lena samhanu kṛnmasi AV *lena sann anugṛhñāsi* HG See §47
atho mīlātho pītā TA *hatā nātā hatāh pītā* SMB *halo hatamātū*
kṛmih AV The TA probably secondary

rakṣohāmīvacātanah (AV **atho amīva*°) RV AV (both) VS TS MS
KS ApŚ If the AV variant is based on the other, which is not
certain, it is clearly secondary

ānṛīmukhah HG *ālikhann anīmīṣah hanṛīmukhah* PG
Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular
etymology (as if related to *ānṛu* and a fem form of *hanṛ*)

atho ye kṣullakā iva AV *hatah kṛmīnām kṣudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā*
atho kṣudrāh TA

āsannīyūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām*
apsuvāho mayobhūn SV See §820

vanīṣhor hṛdayād (AV **udurād*) *adhī* RV AV (both) ApMB

§387 Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no
particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special
attention, in it all mss of Vait are reported as agreeing on the remark-
able form *samīyāire*, which is certainly for °*hire* and shows an un-
questionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs
counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to
be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant

tāh prūcyu (Vait °*yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujyāhire* (KŚ † °*hire*, Vait *sam-*
īyāire) Vait KŚ MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ

sā (read *sa*) *nah prajāṃ pakūn pāhy uranīyamānah* (p p *ahīh, ānī* (sic!)),
yāmānah MS *sa no rucam dhehy ahṛnīyamānah* TA Read
doubtless *ahṛnīyamānah* in MS, the absurd p p points in this
direction

marudbhyo gṛhamedhībhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *vaṣ*°, ApŚ
bāṣkān) The word is wholly obscure

tujo janā (ArŚ *janu*) *vanam svah* AV ArŚ *tuju yujo vanam* (ŚŚ *balam*,
emend) *sahah* AA ŚŚ The passage is obscure, we see little to
choose between *svah* and *sahah*

pary agnim ahṛyatu (VSK † *arṣata* or *aharṣata*) RV VS VSK *parīme*
'*gnim arṣata* AV (v l in AV *arṣata*) Ppp (Barret, JAOS 43
99) reads as in RV except *aharṣata*, with one ms of VSK, Barret
em *ahṛṣata*

CHAPTER X CONSONANT GROUPS

§388 In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone, second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse, and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX

1 Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant. When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss. Editors have followed very different courses, sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss, sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228-232, Wackernagel I §98. The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says *l c*. It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following

śunddhi (PG MG *śundhi*) *śro māsyāyuh pra moṣih* AG PG ApMB

MG Many mss of ApMB read *śundhi*

o śu (MS *śū*) *varṭta* (MS KS *varṭa*) *maruṭo vpram aha* RV MS KS

The spelling *varṭta* (2d plural) is etymological, Muller prints *varṭa* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV

§390 Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel II. cc.) Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss and editions in such cases. Thus the word *paṭra*

'wing', from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *patra* at any time, as in

kyenusya patram (MS *pattram*) *na plihā śacībhīh* VS MS KS TB, where only MS has the etymological spelling So in

ukthapatra (MS °*rā*, TS °*patra*) *īdyo grbhīlak* VS † TS MS KS † ŚB †, the editor of TS alone prints °*patra*, all others (contrary to the Conc) °*patra*, but most mss of TS actually read °*patra*. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS in:

yena (*yenā*) *rṣayas* (*yenarṣ*°) *lapasā satram* († TS † *sattram*) *ārate* (VS ŚB *āyan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB,

where again most mss of TS read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases.

§391 Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms

tā yā devā ā ca śārvā (VS and Poona ed of TB *śārvā*) *ca gurasva* VS TB The root is *śās*, the ending *sva*

īyam vuh sā satyā yām indrena samadhadhvam (MS °*dadhvam*) TS MS *eṣā vas sā satyā yām indrena samadadhvam* KS Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring, to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam (TA *abbhvam*, MS *ā dhanvā*)

RV MS TA The TA may quite possibly have intended *abhvam* (on the epenthetic *u* cf §790). But if the comm is right it would be a lexically different word, he analyzes it as *ab-bhuvam* 'produced from water (and the other four elements)'. This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible.

ut tvā (SV PB Svidh *u* †*tvā*, two words) *mandantu somāh* RV AV SV PB ŚŚ Vait Rvidh Svidh The Conc prints *utvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV, and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first.

ya ātrnaty (SamhitopaniṣadB *ātrnoty*) *avitathena* (V&Dh *avida*°) *karnau* SamhitopaniṣadB V&Dh N *ātrnoty* is an impossible form and must be an error.

ayam yah puro vibhinaty (SV **naty*) *ujasā* RV SV The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint
agnir hotā vetu (ŚB *vettu*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu prāvitrām*
 ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ So the Conc., TB Poona ed reads *vettu* and *vettu*. In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vī* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB comm *jānātu*). Cf next, and the variations between the participles *vīta* and *vitta*, §398 below

prati tvādityās tvay vetu (TB Poona ed † *vetu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
prati tvā diva (TB *divah*) *skambhanir vetu* (TB Poona ed † *vetu*)
 TS TB And others in the context. The text of TB actually reads *vetu-ity āha*, doubtless *vettu* is intended

āprā (AV * *āprād*) *dyāvūprthivī antarikṣam* RV AV ArS VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB AA TA N See VV I pp 27, 129

yad ūrdhvas tīṣṭhā (KS *tīṣṭhād*) *dravincha dhattāt* RV MS KS AB TB
 N Here the KS form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhattāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person. Cf VV I p 27

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravnam vīrapesāh* RV TS See VV I p 26

satvānām (KS † *sattu*^o) *pataye namah* MS KS This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur. of *satvan* would be *satvanām* (cf §494), MS must intend gen. plur. of *sattuva*, like KS

bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (TS *mahiṣad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS The AV has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *dady* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words, see §826

sadarān (Vait *sa dahar*) *pradahun v* (Vait *nv*) *agāh* GB Vait. Particles *u* and *nv*, the passage is metrical and *v(nv)* is read consonantically

lokam (RV *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ *id*) *dve upa jāmi* (RV *jāmim*) *īyatuh*
 RV MS ApŚ

Double and single consonants between vowels

§393 The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention. Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology. See Geiger,

Pāli §§5, 6, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

§394 In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e*. This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pāli and Prakrit, there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss between single and double consonants after it, as in AV 15.10.2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā*. And so in the variant

sa no jīveṣv ā yame AV *sa no deveṣv ā yamat* RV TA,

where most mss of AV. read *yame*, but the comm. *yamed*, which is certainly intended, the next word begins with *d-*, and the actual reading of RV TA is *yamad*. See Whitney's note on AV 18.2.3, and VV I p. 74. This is clearly a phonetic simplification.

§395 The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions, the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently *apsarassu* (HG °*rāsu ca*) *yo gandhah* ApMB HG

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG *medhāpsarāsu*, Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh) RVKh MG *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA MahānU HG ApMB ApG

Here the fem. gender of the word, and its nom. sg. *apsarāh*, may have helped in the change. But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected.

yā te agne 'yāsayā (VS ŚB 'yāśayā, TS 'yūśayā *rajaśayā*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB MŚ *yā te agne rajaśayā* (VS ŚB *rajaśayā*)
VS MS KS ŚB MŚ

§395a The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahā-agre vājasyu bhajate mahādhanam* (SV *bhajate mahad dhanam*) RV SV

§396. The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayyāi* and *rayyās* (see Edgerton, l. c., §393). Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayi* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine). But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved, the *rai* forms seem original *agne samrād iṣe rāye* (ApŚ *rayyāi*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS

SB TB (The Conc quotes AŚ ApŚ under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrād* etc.)

rāyas poṣeṇa (MS *raiyā*) *mā pabyala* (and *vah pabyāmi*) TS MS KS

§397. The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*, a superlative from it, *-suttama*, varies with the parallel base *-sū-lama*

indrāya (MS MŚ °*ya tvā*) *susuttamam* (VS ŚB *susūlamam*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ

§398. The roots *vī* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift, it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vī* are older Cf §329, *agnir hotā vetu* (*vetu*)

iṣṭam ca vīlam (SB AŚ *vīttam*) *ca* (ŚŚ *cābhū*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

śocarva devavītamah (KS °*vīttamah*) RV RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *rocava devavītamah* VS

§399 More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant They are chiefly lexical We begin with those in which the vowel is short Forms of the root *ci*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *ci* or *cyu*

acittapājā (TA *acyula*°) *agnī*, and

acittamaṇḍ (TA *acyula*°) *upavaktā* MS TA ŚŚ Proper names of rishis, 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense, the latter is secondary

cittim (MS KS MŚ *cītim*) *juhomi manasā* (VS TS ŚB *add ghyena*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ ApŚ See Keith on TS (*HOS* 19 p 444, n 1) *Cītim* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *cīlim*, but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs To be sure, one ms of MS has *cītim*, but MŚ *cītim* The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*citi*) the fire-altar In the same context occurs

cītim acītim (KS ms *īcītim acītim*, emended by von Schroeder) *cinavad* KS † °*vo*) *vi vidvān* RV TS KS Add to VV I §337 Cf prec *mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito* (AV °*citta*, MS °*cittau*) *nikārinah* AV VS TS MS KS Lexical, but the reading with *ti* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first', or, in MS, 'in first thought'. 'piling (the altar) first'

- §400 One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem
varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhī (TB Conc °bhīh, Poona ed °bhī, MS
kakubbhīh) *śīrīyānah* (TB *śrayasva*) TS MS TB Loc sing
 instr plur of *kakubh* The form *kakubhīh* is an impossible blend
 of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with
 Poona ed, yet the comm seems to have read so (but he glosses
uttamāṅge, as if loc)
- §401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere cor-
 ruptions and false readings
nama ākṣidate ce prakṣidate ca VS MS KS *nama ākṣidate ca prakṣi-*
dāte ca TS The curious doubling in TS is authorized by TPr
 14 8, but the mss show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's
 note on TPr, and Weber's on TS 4 5 9 2.
- ayā san* (*ayāh san*, *ayās san*) *manasā hitah* (MS *kṛtāh*, p p *kṛtah*, KS
kṛtah) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG *ayānū manasā* (*vayānā*)
kṛtah AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayānā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB *kṛtāh* is
 obviously a blunder Cf §402
- vicṛtāya* (VS *vicṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KSA *vicṛtāya* probably an
 error
- nīṛtah* (ŚŚ *nīṛtāh*) *puruṣād dhṛtah* AV ŚŚ The passage where this
 occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any
 other
- vaiśvānarāh pratnathā nākam āruhat* (PB *†āruha*) AV PB TA ApŚ
 In all followed by *diva-*, *āruhad* is the actual reading PB has a
 phonetic simplification or corruption, a 2d sing impv is inap-
 propriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last
 pāda) Add to VV I §332
- phulāya*, and *phallāya*, KhG *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB GG See
 §79
- samudrād udajani vah* (ApŚ *udacann wa*) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53
- imām narāh* (*narāh*) *kṛnuta vedim etya* (*eta*, *etal*), see §328
- yamasya loke udhīrajjur āyat* (TA *āya*, MS *loke nidhīr ajrāya*) AV
 MS TA Corruption in MS
- vinīṣi* (*vinīṣi*, *vinīṣiyai*, *vinīṣiyai*) *svāhā*, see §866
- māyādevā avataram* HG *adevā devavattaram* ApMB Several HG mss
 read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text
- ava tara* (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadīndm*
 AV See §832
- iṣo yajñō bhṛgubhir drannīdā yatībhir* (MS once *yatībhir*) *āśtrā*
 MS † KS † ApŚ † The isolated *yatībhir* can only be a mistake

pitvo (VS MS. *pidvo*) *nyarkuh kakkaṣas* (MS *kakuṣas*, TS *kaṣas*)
VS TS MS

darādra (TS °*dran*) *nilalohuta* VS TS MS KS ŚB Epithet of Rudra,
the TS form apparently felt as a participle Keith, 'waster'
apā vrdhī pariṣṭam (TB Conc °*vṛttim*, comm °*vṛtim*, Poona ed text
and comm °*vṛtim*) *na rādhaḥ* RV TB

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (GB Conc *ātmannātmānam*) *me mā hṛtsih*
GB Vait Kauś Gaastra reads correctly like the others for GB
rajanī (AV Berlin ed *rajjunī*, by emend) *granther dānam* (AŚ *dhānam*)
AV AŚ Vait The emendation is probably right, at least in giving
the true original reading of the passage, but there is no variant
Caland in his translation of Vait quotes it as reading *rājanī*,
perhaps by a slip

jivebhyas tvā namude vāyur indrah AV 8 1 15a Conc says read
sanimude, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p p
nam-ude 'conversation' The comm however connects the word
with root *mud* If this were right the variant could be classed with
§306 Uncertain

svarūdo abhi gā utrim uṣnan (SV *uṣnan*) RV SV Conc suggests
muṣnan in RV, see however Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc

§402 Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single
or double consonant is long in both cases Particularly interesting, as
suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases
where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant
after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant This
seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that
position Thus

narvaśmād devakṭibhṣāt (VS °*vṛṣāt*, LŚ *eva kṭib°*) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ
The LŚ obviously has a secondary lect fac, altho it makes good
sense

ayū (MS *ayāh*, KS *ayāo*) *san* (KS ms *ayāsā*) *manasā hitah* (MS
kṛtah, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG
ayāsā manasā (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayāsā manasā*
dhṛtah ApŚ ApMB Cf §401

jīvām rṣebhyah parinīyamānām AV *mṛtāya jīvām parinīyamānām* TA
Read *mṛtebhyah* in AV with some mss and SPP

sarvam nī svāpayā janam RVKh AV Edgerton, *AJP* 35 439, has
suggested *svāpayāj janam* as the true reading

§403 There are several variations concerning the synonymous
adverbs *paścā* and *paścāt*, before following *d-* In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved
apaścāddaghvane (SV *apaścāda*^o) *nare* (SV *narah*) RV SV TB ApŚ
apaścāddaghvānnam (AV *apaścādaghvānnaśya*) *bhūyāsam* AV MS
 ApŚ MŚ

paścādoṣṭya glāvnam VS *paścādoṣṭya glāvam* TB

§404. There is some confusion between *pratīta* (and *part*^o), pple of root *dā* in composition, and *pratīta* (*part*^o), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*) In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious

yat kustīlam apratītam (TS ^o*tītam*, and so TA Poona ed, with *v* | ^o*tītam*, SMB *apradattam*) *mayeha* (TS *mayi*) TS MS TA MŚ
 SMB *apamityam apratīttam yud asmī* AV *yāny apāmityāny apratītāny* (TB Poona ed ^o*tītāny*) *asmī* TB ApŚ It seems that the original form must be *apratīttam*, from *prati-dā* (cf SMB), but possibly the pple of *prati-i* may be defended So the comm on TA reads (*apratītam*), glossing *na pratyarpītam*

tyene parīto (VSK *parīto*) *acurac ca tvāte* VS VSK ŚB *tyene vāta ula yo 'carat parīttah* AV Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā*

apah śaśāsan eva (TB ApŚ *suvar*) *apratītah* (TB Conc ^o*tīttah*, Poona ed text and comm ^o*tīttah*) RV AV KS TB ApŚ Here the double *t* has no standing

stuhī kūram vajrinam apratīkam (TB Conc *apratītām*, Poona ed ^o*tīttam*) MS TB The only correct reading is *apratītam* 'invincible' On MS see §138

§405 In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt
atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sūdand* (TA ^o*ndī*) *te minotu* (AV *kriotu*) RV AV †TA A clear error in TA see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV

ugraṃpatyū (MS *ugraṃ paśyōc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS TA Names of Apsarases The MS has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt*, see §820

nama ākṛdate ca prakṛdate ca VS MS KS *nama ākṛhī^o ca prakṛhī^o ca* TS See §401

svāna bhrājā^o. VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *svāna bhrāt* TA *svāni nabhrād* KS *suwān nabhrād* MS MŚ Keith on TS suggests *svāna nabhrāj-* as the original form

2 Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406 The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of disassimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

§407 We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51, Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi)

usrū (VSK KS *usrū*) *etam anaśrū* (KS *anaśrū*, v 1 °*śrū*)
brahmacodanau VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ See Keith on TS 1
 2 8 2, he points out that *anaśrū*, as well as *anaśrū* and *anaśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt.

manyor mṛdhrasya (HG *mṛddhasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB HG *manyoh krodhasya nāśanī* PG Kūster suggests reading *ṛddhasya*, saying that *manyoh* seems superfluous. But the parallels show that *manyoh* is original and that HG has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd*.

kridī ca śākī cōjjeṣī (ApŚ *śākī tcorjjeṣī ca*) VS VSK ApŚ Here the disassimilated form is secondary, it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*ūrj* + root *iṣ*).

dvat tam (TA read *dvar tam*, §873) *indrā śacyā dhamantam* RV AV SV
 KS TA

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is *y*. We have a number of cases concerning it, to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928.

abhinne khilye (TB *khille*) *nidudhātī devayam* RV AV TB Comm on TB *khilībhūte*, the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation.

duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha TA Bibl Ind *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA Poona ed, text and comm *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU See §255

abvān anuśkato (KS †ApŚ *anabyato*, MŚ van Gelder, *anuvato*) *dānam*
 KS TA ApŚ MŚ See §255

ud u tye (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS PB GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ The secondary MS MŚ reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*

yad annendārohati RV ArŚ VS TA *yad anyendbhavat saha* AV Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y* On the nonsensical reading of AV (the comm has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127

pīā bhāvaty anūpamā TA *pīābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §838 The assimilation is secondary

capyam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pīyur* VS MS KS TB *capya* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure, *cappam* may be a graphic blunder

rūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām (KSA *vṛkkā*^o) TS KSA The TS form is a secondary and (as shown by AV *vṛṛka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf Uhlenbeck's plaintive query *s v vṛkka*)

§409 A single case concerns *l*

gāvo gulgulugandhayah (Vait *guggulu*^o) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu*, but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form

§410 As to *r*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408 Besides, we find

tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato (ApŚ *tan no vīsvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ *tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ, assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas yathāyatham nau tanvau* (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ *tan nau*) *jātavedah* KS AŚ MŚ The MŚ is obviously corrupt, no *v* 1 quoted

mūtrāvarunā karadāhnām (MS ^o*hnū*) *cikittnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikiteam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45

vīsvandam (AV ^o*do*) *vācam aīsvaminvām* (AV *aīsvavinnām*) RV AV See §236

apa durhārdhīṣo jahī Kauś Read ^o*dvīto*, the corruption may be graphic (§869)

§411 Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels

aganma yātrū pratiranta (MG *prataram na*, mss ^o*ran na*) *dyuh* RV AV MG

davyā (AV *davā*) *holāru* (TS °rā, AV °rah) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vani*°, KS † *vanuṣan na*, AV *vanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etā*) RV AV TS KS

akṣalam ariṣam ilādam SMB · *akṣalam aṣy ariṣam ilānam gopāyanam* ŚG Epithets of the cow, cf the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS 4 2 1 22 7, 10, and 4 2 7 28 12 Altho SMB comm says *ilādam ilānam kṣīrādīlakṣanam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing *yad ejaḥ jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yānān me*, v 1 *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU Here probably MahānU is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original

ukṣantūdā maruto ghyena AV 3 12 4 So Conc, with Whitney's Transl, the comm, and SPP But according to Whitney no ms reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotṛiyas*, most of them have °ūndā, a few °ūndā Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 366) has °ūndā Sec §183 [*svāhākr̥tasya sam u tṛpnula r̥hāvah* (TB Conc *tṛpnularbh*°, ApŚ and TB Poona ed *tṛpnularbh*°) RV TB ApŚ *tṛnu*° probably misprint]

§412 When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule But it occurs in a couple of cases *sahasrāpśāh pṛtanāpśān* (SV °śād) *na yajñah* RV SV

anuṣṭum (MS °tub) *mitrasya* (GB Vait add *patni*) MS KS GB Vait

It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals

§413 In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains anusvāra This may be merely a matter of writing

devya (ApŚ *divyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* (KŚ *nannam*°) PB KŚ ApŚ

vāṣya hi prasaṇe (TS °vo) *nannamīti* (TS *namna*°) TS MS KS *d yam* (MS MŚ *ayan*) *narah eudānavo daddāḥṣe* RV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ Lect fac in MS MŚ (verb form, 'they have come')

§414. Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with anusvāra But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc and neuter (adverbial) forms *tam* and *tad* (*tan*), and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc as a mere corruption

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu bodhdyai* (MS °yi) TS MS TA

lan (JB lam) mā punar kartary erayadhvam JB KBU

trīta dan manuṣyeṣu māṃṛje TB trīta enam manuṣyeṣu māṃṛje AV

Conc and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended

§415 Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakṛit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt, in it a following nasal (l) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute

śiṣum naḍinīm harim adribudhnam (TS °buddham) VS TS MS KS

SB Keith assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation

§416 The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually, there is, then, no need to repeat them here

§416a To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601-4, and in that of *r* with *ru*, §§678-80 We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622-4

3 Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417 Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *ñ* before a sibilant, see §§938 f On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231, Wackernagel I §233a The dropping of the mute is required by APr 2 20 The VPr 6 30 requires it before a voiced mute, the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389) The other Prātiśākhya's ignore it All texts seem to show it sporadically But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value Note Weber's disregard of the

TS *mas* in the first two variants, which is typical, other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their *mas*

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated

brhaspate tvāmyām (KS *ms* °yā emend °yām) *yuñgdhi* (AŚ *yuñdhi*)

udcam TS MS KS AŚ But practically all *mas* of TS *yuñdhi*

parivṛdhi (TS MS ŚB °vrñgdhi) *harasā* VS TS MS KS ŚB

But here too all *mas* of TS *vrñdhi*, and so p p of MS

ādtvam garbham payasā sam añgdhi (VS *añdhi*, TS KS *añjan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

āhāmṛtena jaritāram añdhi (ApŚ *añgdhi*) TB ApŚ But TB Poona ed *añgdhi*, text and comm

śucir añkte (SV *añte*) *śucibhir gobhir agnih* RV SV

yah pauruṣeyena kraviṣā samañkte (AV *samañte*) RV AV Kauś

udno (VS MS *apo*) *dattodadhim bhintā* (VS MS *bhinta*) VS TS MS

udno dehy udadhim ṭbhindhi KS

śundhi (PG MG and v 1 of ApMB *śundhi*) *śro māsyāyuh pra moṣih* AG PG ApMB MG

ayam sa bñkte (AV *bñte*) *yena gaur abhivṛtā* RV AV JB N

sampasyan pañktir (AV *pañtim*) *upaluṣṭhamānah* RV AV

açd vīram naryam pañktirūdhasam (SV *pañti*°) RV SV VS MS ŚB TA

[*pāñktrah* (KSA em *ṭpāñktah*) *kaṣo māñthilavas* (KSA *ṭman*°) *te pitṛnām* (KSA *ṭpitṛnām*) TS KSA The *mas* of both texts all read *pāmtra*, intending *pāñtra*, TS comm *pāmtra-kaṣūn*, as a *dvandva*]

§419 There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX. (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *v*, see §§314-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu*. The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy, there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well

giraḥ somah (SV *gira stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣdh* RV SV Here there is a change in syntax, but cf the next, where there is none

ghṛtāhulāḥ somapṛṣṭhāḥ (MŚ *stoma*^o) *suvirāḥ* AV MŚ *stomapṛṣṭho ghṛtavān supratīkāḥ* KS TB † 3 7 2 7b, AŚ ApŚ The originality of AV is supported by the RV epithet *somapṛṣṭha* (fashioned on the model of *ghṛtapṛṣṭha*)

apsu dhautasya le deva somu nṛbhīḥ (TS *tr soma deva le*) *sutasya* (KS *stu*^o, MS *ṣtu*^o) TS MS KS PB *apsu dhautasya deva soma le mativido nṛbhī ṣtutastotrasya* (AS *nṛbhīḥ sutasya*) AŚ ŚŚ

nārāhaṇsena stomena (RV *somena*) RV VS TS MS KS AB SB LŚ Kauś See Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 54 54 and 56, Hillebrandt, *Lieder des RV* 124 Grassmann would emend RV to *stomena*, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio facilior

[*stutā* (mss *stutā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss *vedamānā*) AV *stuto mayā varadā vedamānā* TAA Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV edition Weber, *IST* 2 144, discusses the TAA passage, he would understand *stuto* as *stutā-u*]

§420 The rest need no subdivision

pariṇmā cit kramate (AŚ ŚŚ *cid ramate*) *asya dharmanī* AV AŚ ŚŚ 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance' Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable reading, to us it seems merely a lect fac

tam tvam iṣvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS **bhya rtūn*) *kalpaya* KS ApŚ Apparently KS has the true reading, cf Caland on ApŚ 10 25 1, *kratūn* is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣiṇāḥ kalpaya*

ahorātrābhyām puruṣaḥ samena (GB * *kṣanena*) GB (both) ŚB *yena śrīyam akṛṇulām* PG *yena śrīyam akṛṇulam* (ŚŚ *śrīyāḥ akuru-tam*) ŚŚ SMB GG *śrīyam* is clearly a secondary simplification with phonetic aspects

brhanin aṇ brhadravā (TS KS *brhadgrāvā*, MS *brhadrāvāḥ*, MŚ *brhad-rāvāḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The form containing *g* seems to be the older

śumbhānas (KS *stam*^o) *tanvam* (TB *tanvam*, SV *†tanvām*) *svām* RV SV MS KS TB 'Adorning (establishing) his own person'

anyavratasya (TA *anyādvra*^o) *śacīma* (TA **mah*, Poona ed **ma*, RV *śacīre*) RV VS MS ŚB TA Tho the comm on TA takes *anyādvratasya* as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one, *anyā* is the 'stem' form

nūtevuḥ putram bībhṛtā sv (VS ŚB *bībhṛtāpṣu*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS ŚB

namah śuṣkyāya (MS *śuṣyāya*) *ca harityāya ca* VS TS MS KS Von Schroeder thinks MS is probably to be emended to *kuṣkyāya*, but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification)

bhayam kṛimabhyām (KSA ° *mabhyām*) TS KSA Stems in *-man-mant*, obscure names for some part of the horse's body

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added)

ṛtān nah pāhy anhasah (TA *enasah*) MS TA *ṛtān mā muñcalānhasah*
TB The latter is poor, comm *ṛtāl prāptāl tasmād anhasah*

ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneh TS *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām*
VS KS ŚB *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS cf *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthūm* TS KS ApŚ Ritualistic rigmarole
The MS *pāda* may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS

śravo (RV VS *avo*) *devasya nānam* (TS TA ° *nam*) RV VS TS MS
KS TA

stavāno (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhīyā*) RV VS
TS MS KS ŚB *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution

dyobhaviyāya (AG *māyo*°) *caluṣpūḍi* AG ŚG *calvāri nvyobhaviyāya*
TB ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG The ŚG is obviously secondary and poor, it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *dyu(s)*

yāsām agnir iṣṭyā (KSA *niṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV TS KSA The KSA reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice' 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'

erum tundānā palyeva jāyā AV *perum tuñjānā palyena jāyā* TS The original form of *eru peru* is unknown, it probably means the male organ

purudāsmo vāsurūpa (KS *purudāsmavad vāsurūpam*) *induh* VS KS ŚB
urudrapso vāsurūpa induh TS ApŚ Synonyms

madhvā (VS *adhvā*) *rajāneṅdriyam* VS MS KS TB Comm on VS *madhvā*, the only possible reading Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aṣṭmahī tvā* ŚG *tvayāvasena* etc TS KS TB AŚ
MŚ Kauś SMB PG *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected SBE 29
98, note]

CHAPTER XI VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422 The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter — In §§300-2 we have referred to variations between *i* and short *a* plus nasal, they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395-8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

§423 Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and *ā*.

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening, that is, cases in which *ā*, not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of *ā* before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf §§393 ff). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions

1 Final *a* and *ā*

§426. Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases

§427 To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā*. Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV, and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form, whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed, cf Wackernagel III p 34 f and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*, it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p 312 *infra*, rather different is the implication of III p 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

(a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*

§428 Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm, at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264-6. The pada-pāthas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a*. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, nor, in TS, at the end of a

kandikā (Wackernagel I §265a, note), cf VV I p 174 Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables. The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a* thirteen of the 2d sing impv *-a*, eight of 2d plur *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing middle *-sva*, four of 1st plur *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing perfect *-a*, 2d sing perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur perfect *-a*. There are seven other cases two of *sma* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta*. On *prā*, probably not to be connected with IE **prō*, see §§439, 449, 465

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves.

§431. First the variant word never occurs at the end of a *pāda* or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases. (Note that in AV 19 39 10d *suṃā* is a misprint for *suva*, see Whitney's note, the *pāda* is repeated without variant from AV 5 22 3d.) One exception has been explained in VV I p 174 *vanaspate 'va stjā* (KS *stja*) AV VS TS MS KS. For another see *nihāram* etc., §446.

§432. Secondly only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus.

indra somam pibā imam RV AV SV MS *indra somam imam piba* RV ŚŚ. Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form, but *p p* of RV MS both *piba*. Cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 8 17 1.

§433. Thirdly otherwise the word following the *a ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV, short *a* RV) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as it happens, the following word is *pra*. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy), possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf §464).

ut tṛṣṭhata (AV Kauś ^o*tā*) *pra taratā eakṣāyah* RV AV VS ŚB TA Kauś. The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter. *juhota* (AV ^o*tā*) *pra ca tṛṣṭhata* RV AV VS TA. This *pāda* of AV (18 2 2b) is RV 10 14 14b, the preceding one is RV 10 14 15a (these two RV verses are jumbled in AV, see Whitney-Lanman).

yamāya madhumattamam But further, RV 7 102 3b has *juhota madhumattamam*, the first word is the first word of AV 18 2 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV *juhotā* is a reminiscence of *juhotā* RV 7 102 3b, where the *ā* is regular, in that RV passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434 With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned

clayā ca dasabhis ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ Both are regular, in AV *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two

agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda. Perhaps *tvam* is surplusage, whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tvam* (if kept at all) must be read *tuam*. But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *ā* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular.

§435 Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a*. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better, it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a*, but in the other three *ā* is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda, this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are

hinva (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-heratic Vait

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV °*vā*) *vśjasūlaye* RV AV SV KS AB ŚB Lengthening secondary

abhi vānir r̥śindām sapta (SV °tā) *nūṣata* RV SV

vidma (Kauś text °mā, read °ma with AV ?) *te svapna janitram* AV
Kauś (pratīka only)

adha sma (MS smā) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS astu, KS °nam astu
kṛṣṇam) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB Lengthening secondary

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV VS TS
MS KS ŚB ApMB

asti hi sma (TS MS KS astu sma) *te bṛghmān avayadh* RV VS TS MS
KS ŚB

adyā (SV GG Svidh *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV SV AB KB AA TA
MahānU AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ AG ŚG GG Svidh

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final
in its pāda, are

vaha (TB N *vaha*) *devutrā didhiyo* (MS *dadhī°*) *havirya* MS KS TB N
upa (MS *utā*) *no mūrdivarandv ihāvatam* (MS °nā *ihāgatam*) MS TB
TA

indrasya nu vryant pra vocam (AV *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocam vīr°*)
RV AV MS ArŚ AB KB TB AA N Note that ā is clearly
secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464)

§438 In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them
according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the
verse All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical, and that one
is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda In two cases the
order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different
positions Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d,
and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz, six, four, and six times respectively
It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagati pādas before
the caesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty
times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last But of these
sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth, one case
each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagati pādas, and the
sixth of an anuṣṭubh This summary indicates that, except where metri-
cal requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to
be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically
to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that
precedes the caesura) In the last part they occur as a rule only when
the meter requires a long syllable

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda

pra (KS *prā*) *na āyur jīvaṣe soma tārih* RV KS AB GB Vait MŚ

It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS has preserved a historic

representative of IE **prō* Cf *pra* (*prā*) *smā mināty* (*minoty*) *qarah*, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449

§440. In the second syllable

hiwa (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ
vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā dādhiyo* (MS *dadh°*) *havīṅṅi* MS. KS TB N
vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV VS TS
MS KS ŚB ApMB

vidma (Kauś °*mā*) *te svapna janītram* AV Kauś
adyā (SV GG Svidh *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV SV AB KB TB AA
TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ AG ŚG GG Svidh

upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvalam* (MS °*nā ihāgatam*) MS TB TA
§441. In the third syllable.

juhola (AV °*lā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV AV VS TA
pretā (TS *upa preta*) *jayatā narah* RV SV AV VS TS Read *pra-utā*
in RV etc TS seems to have tried to improve the meter, but
only makes it worse

janīsvā (MS °*sva*, RV KS °*ṣṭa*) *hi jenyō agre ahnām* RV TS MS KS
ApŚ

adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS *astu*, KS °*nam astu*
kṛṣṇam) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§442 In the fourth syllable

varivasya mahāmaha (SV °*syā mahonām*) RV SV
lim ā pṛiṭu (TB *pṛiṭā*) *vikupate varūnām* RV TB
ut tiṣṭhata (AV Kauś °*lā*) *pra taratū sakhāyah* RV AV VS ŚB TA
Kauś See §433

ā juhola (TB ApŚ °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV ŚB TB ApŚ (*pratika*)
ramayata (KS °*lā*) *marutah syenam āyīnam* (MŚ *marutah pretani vājīnam*)
TS KS ApŚ MŚ Three *mā* of KS *ramayata*
asti hi śmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuśmīnn awayāh* RV VS TS MS
KS ŚB

§443 In the fifth syllable, before the cesura

udīrayathā (MS MŚ °*lā*, AV KS °*ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV AV TS.
MS KS AŚ

yatrā naś cakrā (Conc *cakra* for KS with one *mā*, but ed *cakrā* with
others) *jarasam tanūnām* RV VS MS KS GB ŚB. ApŚ ApMB
HG

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gama*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV TA

§444. In the sixth syllable of *anuṣṭubh*

indra somam pibā imam RV AV SV MS *indra somam imam piba*
RV ŚŚ See §432.

§445 In the seventh syllable of jagati·

pari ū su pra dhanva (AV *dhanvā*) *vājasātaye* RV AV SV KS AB
 ŚB The third syllable after the cesura in *triṣṭubh-jagati* meter tends to be long

§446 In the eighth syllable of *triṣṭubh-jagati*

apo devīr upa sṛja (MS *sṛjā*) *madhumalāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB
bṛhaspate pari dīyā (TS *dīya*) *rathena* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS
 No real variant, since *dīya* ends a *kandikā* in TS, see §428 and VV I p 174

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless *tvam* be deleted, see §434

vanaspate 'va sṛjā (KS *sṛja*) AV VS TS MS KS Also belongs here properly, see §431 and VV I p 174

dyumantam kuṣṇam ā bharā (SV *bhara*) *svurvidam* RV SV
adītsan vā (MS *dhīṣyam vā*, TB *yad vādīṣyan*) *samjugara* (TB
 °*jagārā*, MS °*cakara*) *junebhyah* MS TB TA

vāyam rāṣtre jāgryaṁma (MS † KS † °*mā*, MS p p and TS *jāgryaṁma*)
purohitāh VS VSK TS MS KS

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

sapta yonīr (KS *yonīnr*) *ā pṛnasa* (TS KS TB °*svā*) *ghṛtēna* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB TB

ekayā ca dasabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā nuhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ
 ŚŚ

bhagemām dhīyam ud avā (TB † ApMB † *ava*) *dadan nah* RV AV VS TB
 ApMB

nīhāram in nī me hāra (TS †*hārā*) TS KS The TS form is quoted as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr 3 12, the actual quotation there includes the following word *nīhāram*, which is the initial of the next *pāda*. There is no doubt of the *pāda*-division, the *pāda* is *anuyubh*, not *triṣṭubh*. But the lengthening of *a* final in its *pāda* is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption that the *pāda* was *triṣṭubh* (including the following *nīhāram*), or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading intended in the *samhitā-pāṭha* is not *hāra* but *hārā*, subj and not imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the p.p. as *hāra*, and hence arose the TPr rule on the subject. This variant should then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures for this section.

§452 In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has *ā*.

yatrā (MS **yatra*, AV **yenā*) *nah* (AV **te*) *pūrve pitarah paretāh*
(RV MS **pareyuh*) RV AV (bis) MS (tris)

yatrā sapta ṛṣīn (TS KS *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam dhuh* RV VS TS
MS KS N

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

atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA °*nāt*) *te mīnotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV †
TA

tatrā sadah (SV *tatra yonim*) *kṛnavase* RV SV KS

tatrā (SV *tatra*) *no brahmanaspatih* RV SV *tatra indra bhāspatih*
VS

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā itī bruvan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV

atrā (VS *atra*) *jahimo* (RV TA *jahāma*, AV *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāh*
(AV *atvāh*, and *asan dhrevāh*, VS ŚB 'kivā ye asan) RV AV VS.

ŚB TA

§453 Adverbs in *tha*, *thā*, and *dha*, *dhā*. Among the variants are found only *atha*, *athā*, *adha*, *adhā*, and one case of *uttha*, *utthā*. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā*. The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha*. The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *atha* and *adha*. There is thus time no difference in accent. The *utthā utthu* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*.

§454 In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one, but the following syllable is long also in every case but one.

atha (AV *adhā*) *mān punar āyāta no ḡhān* AV HG.

adha (TB *adhā*) *vāyum niyutah saccata svāh* RV VS MS TB

atha *visve arupā edhate ḡrah* TS *adhā vibhāhārapa edhate ḡrhe* VS

atha jivir (read *jivir*, see Whitney) *vidatham ā vadān* AV *athā*
jivri ApMB *adhā jvri vidatham ā vadāthah* RV

adha syāma (MS *athā syāta*) *sarabhayo* (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur*
ubhayor) *ḡrheṣu* AV MS KS ApŚ

athā (AV *atha*) *devānām vasanīr bhavāti* RV AV TA

yena sahasr sahasram VS MS ŚB *yenā* (KS *yena*) *sahasram sahasr*
AV TS KS Vait

§459. *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom masc) in ma mā* (once, a *ā*) Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc *ā* neut *a*). Sometimes there is a change of number altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the pp regularly writes *a*. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible, and cf Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut *ang*, so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf Wackernagel III §145b).

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a triṣṭubh once, thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr-*(cf §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long, the following one is long just half the time. *śarmā* (TA °*ma*) *saprathā āvṛne* KS TA *śarma yachātha saprathah* (read °*thāh* with all *mēs*, cf Lanman, *NInfl* 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case.

vyomā (TS °*ma*) *saptadśah* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ—BR. assume a change of gender here in *vyoman*. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

ayam sahasram ānaso vidharma (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ. Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula, rather change of gender, neut to masc, in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

brahma (ApŚ °*mā*) *devānam prathamajā rāsya* PB ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ masc, 'priest of the gods') *rāsya brāhma* (AV *bhūlānam brāhmā*) *prathamota* (emended by RWh in AV to *prathamoha*) *jajīe* AV TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation, see Whitney's note.

tan no brahmā (TA °ma) *pracodayā* MS TA MahānU Here also there is change of gender (MS *brahmā'*)

trīśad dhāma (MS MŚ *trīśāddhāma* as one word) *in rājati* RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS understands its compound as of masc gender

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS MS TB AŚ ŚS *brahmā devakṛtopahūta* ŚB Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB

varma (AV °mā) *sūyadhvam bahulā pṛthūni* RV AV KS ApŚ Both forms here are plural, and so in the next

yatra gaudm nshūā sapta nāma (AV nāmā) RV AV Cf prec, note the variation at the end of a pāda

tava śravānsy upamāny ukthya (SV °ya) RV SV The only case of a n pl in a ā not from an n-stem

§461. One case of the preposition *acha achā* The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain, but in RV it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s v) One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here Wackernagel II 1 p 131, believes that *achā* is original

acha yāhy ā śvāhā dāvīyam janam RV *achā no yāhy ā vaha* RV SV

We consider that *vahā vaha* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a ā* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vahābhi*, fusing *vaha* with following *abhi*.

The p p, of course, always reads short *a*

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened

§462 Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vant* and *van*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way

§463 The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final So the *ā* is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse There are five metrical

variants of *a ā* before the suffix *vant*, in every one the variant syllable is second in the pāda

§464 Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v*. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence, cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants — For compounds of a privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f.

§465 Prepositions in final *a*, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are prose. In two out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

apamityam apratīltam yad asmi AV (pratikas in GB Vait Kauś)
yāny apāmityāny apratīltāny (TB Poona ed. ²tīltāny) *asmi* TB
 ApŚ (Metrical in AV, but prose in TB ApŚ)

upāvir (TS ApŚ *upa*^o) *asi* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ. See pw VII p. 325.

prayāsāya (VS *prā*^o) *svāhā* VS TS KSA TB TA. On *prā*, not to be identified with IE **prō*, cf. §§429, 439.

[*prāvanebhīh* (MS KS *pravanena*) *sajoṣasuh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana*. See §491.]

§466 Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v*. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see §476.

āvite dyāvāpṛthivī pṛthivīdhau MS KS *āvīne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB. And (in same passage) *āvittau* (TS *āvīnnau*) *mitrā-varunau dhṛtavratau* (TS ^onāv pṛthivīdhau) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr-* (the syllable being long already). Cf. §665.

sahasrapoṣam subhage (TS *^ogā) *rarānā* RV TS MS KS SMB ApMB. *sahasrāpoṣam subhage rarānā* AV Kauś.

ide agnīm svavasam (AV *svāvasam*) *namobhīh* RV AV MS TB AŚ. Only the AV truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vasu*. The others have a compound of *su* with *avas*.

deva samsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe (AV *sahasrā*^o) AV TS *sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe* SMB. (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV TS, but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase.)

dvārapāya svāhā, dvārapīya svāhā, dvārapoṣa sprśa, dvārapya upa sprśa, all HG. *dvārā*^o etc., ApMB.

[*bṛhaspatind rāyā svagākr̥tah* TS †*svagāk̥rakṛto mahyam* MŚ Conc
svagāḥ for MŚ]

§467. *Formations in vant and vin* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr texts short *a*, but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed, we have seen (§§238 ff) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels. The first five variants are metrical

aśvavat (RV *aśvā*^o) *soma vīravat* RV SV VS

indravanto (TS *indrā*^o) *maruto viṣṇur aynih* RV AV TS KS †40 10b

puṣpavatih (TS *puṣpā*^o) *supṣpūlāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

puṣpavatih (TS ViDh *puṣpā*^o) *prasūvarih* (TS ^o*vatih*, AV KS ^o*matih*)

RV AV VS TS MS KS

śṛkāhastā (TS KS *śṛkāvanto*, MS *śṛgavanto*) *niṣaṅginah* VS TS MS
KS

indravān bṛhad bhāḥ svahā KS *indrāvān svāhā* TS TB *indravān
svavān bṛhad bhāḥ* MS

dūrehetir indriyāvān (PB † ^o*yavān*) *patutri* (PB ^o*trih*) TS PB TB
PG ApMB

vātavān varṣan bhīma ravat svahā MS *vātavad varṣam ugrar āvrt svāhā*
TS *vātavan varṣam ugra rāvat svahā* KS

agnīndrayor aham devayajyayā vīryavan indriyavān bhūyāsam MŚ
indrāgnīyor (MŚ ^o*nyor*) *aham devayajyayendriyāvay annādo* (MŚ
^o*driyavan vīryavan*) *bhūyasam* TS MŚ *indrasynham devayajya-
yendriyavā* (KS ^o*yavan*, MŚ ^o*yavan*) *bhūyāsam* TS KS MŚ

juṣṭam devebhyo hanjam ghṛtāvat (TS *ghṛtāvat svāhā*) TS MS

dhiṣanas tvā devīr visvadevyāvatih (MS MŚ *dhiṣana tvā devī visvadevyā-
vatī*) *prthivyah sadhasthe* VS TS MS KS ŚB And so with
adhīṣ tvā (^o*tiṣ tvā*) *devī* , *devānāni tvā patnīr devīr* , *janayas
tvāchinnapatra devīr* , *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūtrī*, etc) , *gnās
tvā devīr* All in same texts, Maitr always reading *vīśvadevyā*^o,
the others ^o*vyā*²

[*somam te krīnāmy ūrjūsvantam payasvantam vīryāvantam* TS KS
Conc *vīryavāntam* for TS]

§468 *The reduplicating syllable* Two cases, in both the following
consonant is *m* or *v*

trita etan (AV *tr̥ti enam*, conini *etāt*, read *etun* or *etvan*) *manuṣyṛṣu
māmṛje* (AV *mamṛje*) AV TB The AV form is more usual but
bad metrically, TB (probably secondarily) improves the meter by
using the stem *māmṛj-* (found RV)

bucanto agnim pavrdhanta (AV $vā^o$) *indram* RV AV KS The regular form is va^o , but forms with $vā^o$ are found in RV

(d) Final \bar{a} optionally shortened to a , and other $u \bar{a}$ either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds

§469 We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' $a \bar{a}$ Real phonetic shortening of \bar{a} is not common In most of the following variants both short and long a can be justified morphologically We begin with an interesting group concerning a privative and the preposition \bar{a} Some of these concern lengthenings of a privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition \bar{a}

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV form $\bar{a}'deva$, 'godless', is the same as $\bar{a}deva$, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV itself A somewhat dubious theory on $\bar{a}deva$, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 6 49 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II 1 p 131

vīśa ādevīr abhy āśnavāma RV *vīśo ādevīr abhy ācarantīh* RV AV AB *bhuvān* (SV *bhuvo*) *vīśvam abhy ādevam* (SV ad^o) *ojasā* RV SV Here the \bar{a} may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cesura, with short a we have a tribrach

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of a privative are *adayo* (TS *adāyo*, MS *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV *alaya ugrah*) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS In pw I p 297 it is said that *ādāya* is an error for *adaya* But the $p p$ repeats the form, it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from $\bar{a}-dā$

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS *yavā āyavā ūmā tevā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah* MS KS MŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS ApŚ The forms *yava(n)*, $yā^o$, and *ayava(n)*, $ayā^o$, are used with great confusion, but the a - seems to be felt as privative, the y -forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the ay^o forms the latter half The form with \bar{ay}^o is not noted except here and in the next, it seems to be equivalent to ay^o

śayūr abdo (MS * *abdā*) *āyavabhīh* (TS ApŚ 'yāvabhīh, MS MŚ *āyavabhīh*, KS *āyavabhīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ Cf preceding

§472 In the next we have a clear case of the preposition \bar{a} varying with a privative

yām āpīndm upasīdantī āpah AV *yām āpītā upatīṣhanta āpah* LŚ

'Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon' 'whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon'

§473 In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *a* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants, cf. the similar law in Pāli and Prakṛit (§§393 ff) The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them *a* privative may be involved, so in the first

svastīdā aghṛṇi (TB TA *agh^o*) *sarvavīrah* RV AV MS TB TA This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā* The form *aghṛṇi* is recorded in no lexicon Comm on TB desperately takes the *a* as privative *asodhavyadīptih* (!) The comm on TA varies in different mss, one reading is *āgatadīptih* (taking *a* as = *ā*) The reading adopted in Poona ed is *adīptih*, *asmāsu anugrahī*, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf. the classical *aghṛṇin* (PW II p 286, 'nichts verachtend') But cf. also *pūṣne 'āghṛṇaye svāhī*, §300, where the yet different form *añghṛṇi* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṛṇi*

aśleṣā (TS *āreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa*, both these forms are otherwise unknown BR derive *aśleṣa* from *a* privative, but *āśleṣa* (*āśr^o*) from the preposition *ā*, this is hardly credible The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a*- is a case of shortening before two consonants

ā no visva (MS *°vā*) *āskrā* (TB *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS *°ta*) *devāh* RV MS TB AŚ The word is obscure, *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown Comm on TB *ābhimukhyena kartārah santah*, which implies *ā* and supports BR's derivation from *ā* plus root (*s*)*kr* (Sāyana derives from *kram*) This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group

§474 There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of *a* privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB Bibl Ind ed, and each time the Poona ed reads short *a* in text and comm without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts *arādhyā edidhīṣupatim* VS *ārādhyai ididhīṣupatim* TB Conc 'For misfortune'

aśādham (TB Conc *aś^o* or *āś^o*) *yutsu pṛtandṣu papṛim* RV VS VSK MS TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Unconquerable'

aśādham (TB *āś^o*, Conc) *ugram sahamānam ābhīh* RV AB TB

§475 Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *vant*. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II I §56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case.

nānkāvale (TS °*kavale*) *svāhā* TS KSA

amāyān māyavattarah ŚB *māyān māyāvattarah* AB

īdaprajaso (KS *īdā*°) *mānavih* TS MS KS

hr̥h̥p̥n̥īp̥d̥ap̥ā-r̥ēva ṛṣ̥ṥhor̥īdarajāñghas̥īsnopasthapūyavo (MahānU

°ṛṣ̥ṥhor̥īdarajāñghā°) *me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU

ūrnamradasam (TS TB ApŚ *ūrnat*°) *tvā stnām* (KS *ūrnamradah*

prathasva, Kauś *ūrnamradam prathasva*) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB †

°*sthām*) *devebhyah* VS TS KS ŚB TB KŚ Kauś *uru prathas-*

vornamradam svāsastham devebhyah MS

§476 The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition.

mitrāvarunanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā devebhyo uttarāsadbhyah

(VSK *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS VSK ŚB

ye devā mitrāvarunanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas (VSK *vottara*°)

tebhyah svāhā VS VSK ŚB

§477 The rest are sporadic. The stem *as̥ta as̥tā* belongs with noun formation rather than here, *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf Wackernagel II 1 p. 131, III p. 358). On *itthā ittha* see §455, on *achā achu*, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form *visvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants.

śivā visvāha (VS and p p of MS °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*, TS *visvāhu-*

bheṣajī) VS TS MS KS (Cf *vratam rakṣanti visvāhā* etc., §511).

The reading of MS p p suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of *visva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut plur in *a ā*, cf §§459 f).

ati vā (AV *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate nah* RV AV *vā va*

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N

See §832

athem ava nva (AV *athemam asyā*) *vara ā pṛthivyāh* AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ

'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth' 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth'

2 Non-final *a ā* in verb inflexion

§478 In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, *a* medial varies with *ā*. Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p. 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift

devān devayate (TB Apś Mś *devā*^o) *yaja* (Mś *yajamānūya svāhā*)
RV SV KS TB Apś Mś

agne prehi prathamo devayātām (AV *devātānim*, MS KS *devāyatām*)
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is meant for jagati in all except AV, meter favors *devā*^o

apinudo janam amitrayanam (AV *amitrā*^o) RV AV TS KS
devayuvam (TS TB *devā*^o) *viśvavārām* (Aś ^{ore}) TS ŚB TB Aś ŚŚ
devir āpo agreṣṭho devayuvam (VSK *devā*^o) VS VSK ŚB

§479 Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p. 155)

vasuṣpate ni ramaya (N *rām*^o, so v. 1 of AV) AV N *vasuṣpate vi ramaya*
MS

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS *yāvayāsmad dveṣah* VS TS ŚB Kauś *yāvaya*
(v. 1 *yū*^o) *dveṣo u-smat* MS *yāvayāsmad aghā dveṣānsi* TA

yāvayārātām KS *yāvayārātīh* (MS Kauś ^{tim}) VS TS MS ŚB Kauś
The pp of MS has *yāvaya*

tatra havyāni gāmaya (KS *gā*^o) RV KS TB Apś Mś But von Schroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS with one of his three mss

§480 There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation, see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added

aditsan vā (MS *dhiṣyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyan*) *sanjuguru* (TB ^o*jagārā*, MS ^o*akara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS TB TA These are first person forms,

so that either *a* or *ā* is permissible by regular grammar

yat sāśahat (SV *sāsūhā*, KS *śāsūhat*) *sadane kum cid atranam* RV SV
KS

bibheda valam (AV Aś *balam*) *bhṅgur na saśūhe* (AV *śaśahe*) AV SV
Aś ŚŚ The *ā* is probably due to the meter here, in the middle it is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h)
But the AV form is itself not regular, it should be *sehe*

svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanvum*) *pīprāyusva* (AV *pīprā*^o) RV AV TA
MahānU See VV I p. 187 The *ā* here disturbs the meter, but is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form

§481 There are a number of cases of aigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a*. They are mostly collected in VV I pp 128 f, 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following

ānyāvāksīd (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vīryāni* VS TB Cf also
grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*, so KS ed, with v 1 as Conc) *abhi somaryānham* (ApŚ °*sunā*) KS ApŚ

§482 Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *ā* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a*. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152-4, 167f). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *u* and *ā* (VV I §193), or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā a*, VV I pp 180f, and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples

āyann (TB ApŚ *āyann*) *arthāni kṛnavann apāni* RV KS TB ApŚ
adhā yad dyāvo (AV *devū*) *asunitim āyan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *āyan* subjunctive

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337

ā mā gantāmi (VSK † °*tam*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK †*yuvam*) VS VSK 10.3.12c, TS KS ŚB Subject voc in VSK, nom elsewhere. Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs

3 Non-final *a ā* in noun formation

§483 In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear, the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

§484 Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *u* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the vriddhi of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this vriddhi. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite.

§485 Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yava(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv*°, and *ay*°, *āy*°, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown.

sayūr abdo (MS **abdā*) *ayavobhīh* (KS *āy*°, TS ApŚ 'yāvabhīh, MS MŚ *āyavabhīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
yāvā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS *āyavā ūmā tevā abdas*, TS ApŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh. sabdah*) *sagatah sumekah* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ
yāvānām (TS *yāv*°) *bhāgo* 'si VS TS MS KS ŚB
ayāvānām (TS *ayāv*°) *dīhīpatyam* VS TS MS KS
yāvās cāyāvās cādhipataya āsun VS MS KS ŚB *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsīt* TS

§486 Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable, type *bhaga bhāga*. They call for no comment.

suhāgamkarani mama AV *suhāgamkaranam mama* SMB. Most *samhitā* mes. of AV *suhāg*°

mām agne bhāginam kuru ApMB *mām indra bhāginam kṛnu* AV
samsāvabhāgā (°*gāh*, °*gās*, VS ŚB KŚ *samerava*°) *sthejā* (Kauś *tanijā*)
brhantah VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

namah parnāya (TS KS † *parnyāya*) *ca parnaśādāya* (TS °*śadyāya*, VS °*śadāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

prātah prātahsavasya (ApŚ MŚ °*sāvasya*) *śukravato* ŚB KŚ
 ApŚ MŚ *prātahsām* is the only form known to RV, but the other is commoner later.

prātah prātahsavasyendrāya (ApŚ MŚ °*sāvasya*°) KŚ ApŚ MŚ
śrāvās (VS *śraavāś*) *ca me śrutis ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS *śraavās*
 might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *śrāvās*.

kṣuro bhrajas (TS *bhṛjvāñ*, MS *bhṛjas*, VS *bhrajās*) *chandah* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB *bhrajās* (KS *ed †bhrā*°, v. l. *bhra*°) *chandah* VS
 (in next verse) TS KS (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS
bhrajās for *bhrā*°.

vahnīh samtarano (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA. Different but synonymous roots.

§487 Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning.
yud bhūtam yac ca bhavyam (AV *ArS VS *bhā*°, AV **yud vā bhāvya*m)
 RV AV (b18) ArS VS TA. Comm. on AV and Ppp *bhav*°.
 Metrical lengthening, possibly.

ullarasyaṁ devayajyāyām upahūlah (TB also °*tū*) TS ŚB TB *upahūlo*
 'yam yajamāna (MS °*nā*) *ullarasyaṁ devayajyāyām* (MS °*yājyā-*
yām) MS AS ŚŚ

§488 Forms in other suffixes

havanaśrun (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bouhi* RV TB *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hū*

dūṣṭikābhīr hrādunim (KSA † *hra*²) TS KSA *hrādunīr dūṣṭikābhīh* VS MS The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*, if KSA is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*

divācarebhyo (MG ^c*cāriḥhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* MG V1Dh *ahāscarebhyah* ŚG (Sc *namah* in both) Also *naktamcarebhyah* ŚG V1Dh *naktamcāriḥhyo bhūtebhyah* MG Steins *cara* and *cārin*

talam me apas (TB ApŚ *ma āpas*) *tad u tāyate punuh* RV KB TB AŚ ApŚ Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic

vratāni (MS TB ApŚ *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhaḥ* (TB ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG *atābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG Here the gerundive varies with a participle

§489 The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations, occasionally they may be lexically different in origin

adāyo (TS *adūyo*, MS *ādūyo*) *vīrah* (AV ed with pp *adāya ugrah*, but ms *adā*², and so comm) *śatamanīyur indrah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS On the initial *ā* of MS see §471 The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV comm) Possibly 'without a share' (*dūya*), tho this fits none too well For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS and note

marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo (MS ²*dhebhyo*) *baṣṭikān* (MS *vay*², ApŚ *bāṣṭkān*) VS MS ApŚ Cf §219 The word is obscure, is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ?

vāṣa (ApŚ *vāṣatkārah* AG ŚG If Garbe's conjecture is right (all ms of ApŚ *vāṣu*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vāṣa*!

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māindhālas*) *te pitṛnām* VS VSK MS *pāñkrah* (KSA † *pāñkrah*, but ms of both texts *pāntra-*) *kaśo mānthālavas* (KSA † *man*²) *te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitṛ*²) TS KSA See §77

hemantūya kakarān (KSA † *kalārān*) VS MS KSA ApŚ Name of an unknown animal or bird

[*śiśṛāya vīkakarān* (KSA † *vīkarān*, Conc *vīkārān*, ApŚ *vīkārān*) VS KSA ApŚ]

āstām jālma (KS *jalma*) *udaram śraṅśayitū* (KS *śraṅs*²) AV KS

nākro makarah kultipayas (TS *kultikayas*, MS *pultkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) te *'kūpdrasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA Read *kūvārasya* in KSA, see §198

sanderathāś śandikera ulūkhalah ApMB *śāndikera* (PG *saundikeyu*) *ulūkhalah* HG PG Fanciful names of demons

ākhuḥ śṛjyāś śayandakas te *maitrāh* (KSA *śayāndakās* te *maitrīyih*, em in ed to °kas te *maitrāh*) TS KSA *śārguh śṛjayah śayāndakas* te *maitrāh* VS MS The word *śay*° is obscure, and may have been originally a compound

tāsā śtha VS TS ŚB TB ApŚ *vasāh śtha* MS KS MŚ Addressed to waters *vāśā* probably 'bellowing' (BR and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyana's guesses), *vaśāh* 'cows' It is held by some that *vaśā* is connected with the root *vāś*, 'bellow'

§490 Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having vṛddhi in the first syllable and the other lacking it

tīras ca rājibāndhuvih (HG °*īarh*) HG ApMB *prajāh sarvās ca rājibāndhuvah* (MG °*vjuh*), PG MG *sarvas ca rājibāndhuvih* (ŚG † °*bāndhuvah*) AG ŚG (Oldenberg suggests reading °*vih* in ŚG) Alternative stems *bāndhava* and *bān*°, both from *bāndhu*

matrāvuranoru prasāstarau prasāstrut (KŚ *pra*°) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The office of the *prasāstr* is *prasāstru* or *prā*°

divyam suparnam vāyasam (AV *payasam*, KS VS ŚB TS* *vayasā*, MS TS* *vayasam*) *bhantam* RV AV VS TS KS MS ŚB AŚ *Suparn vāyasa* and *va*° both 'bird', *vayasā* is instr of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength'

dhiṣanasi parvatī (TS TB ApŚ °*tyā*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*, but KS mis *par*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ In the Tait texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr school an equivalent *parvata*, the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahidhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening), it is too well attested to make emendation advisable. See next

prati tvā parvatī (TS TB °*tir*, MS KS MŚ *pārvati*) *vettu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ See prec Twice in KS, once the sole ms has *parv*°, the other time *pārv*°, but KapŚ *parv*°

gārgī (AG *gargī*) *vācakanvī* (ac *tṛpyatu*) AG ŚG Patronymics, *yārgī* is to be expected. See next

śakalyam ŚG *śākalam* AG (with both se *tarpayāmi*) Read no doubt *śakalyam* in ŚG (misprint, Oldenberg's translation has Śākalya) Cf prec

ya antarikṣāh (sc *sarpās lebhya imam balim harāmi*) HG *ye sarpāh pāṛthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* AG

vāyur na iḍita iḍitavyair devair antarikṣyath (ApŚ *antarikṣath*) pātu KS ApŚ

āṅgūśānām (SV *aṅgoṣṇam*) *avāśanta vānīh* RV SV The SV form in this and the next is dubious

āṅgūṣyam (SV *aṅgoṣṇam*) *pavamānam sakḥāyah* RV SV Cf prec *hvelāya vaidarvāya* (^o*vyāya*, ^o*dārvāya*, *vaitahavyāya*), see §315

swarnastānyam avratyam (RDh *avratyam*) V1Dh BDh Perfect equivalents

nardānase (VS *nār°*) *somapūham ya dāh* (KS *ānakuh*) VS MS KS TB

It is at least conceivable that *nardānasa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without vridhhi

[*nardānasa staviṣyate* AV AŚ ŚŚ In the Berlin ed of AV is printed the false emendation *nārā°*]

sūyavānī manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśaryā* (TA ^o*ṣye*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *mānuṣa* of KS = *manuṣa* of TA (*manuṣe* in RV is dative of *manuṣ*, a more primitive form, all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*)

agnīd rajanarauhīnu (so ed, v 1 *rāja°*, p p *rājan*, *ruu°*) *purodāśū adhiśraya* MS A name of a *sāman*, see note in MS, and BR s v *rājana*, which seems to be the true form, *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB *śroni°*) *bhāsadāt* RV ApMB *yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV

aranyāya (MS *āranāya*) *śmarah* VS TS MS KSA Both mean 'of distance'

kalpayatam mānuṣīh TB ApŚ *dṛṅhantām dāvīr vitāh kalpayātām* †*manuṣyāh* KS

achīnu divyas (KS ApŚ *davyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣā* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyā*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *dāvō*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§491 In other cases a secondary formation with vridhhi of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word

śunam vāhāh śunam narah (TA *nārāh*) RV AV TA *narah*, plur of *nṛ*, *nārāh*, plur of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nara*

namas te rathamāryā (AA *rāth°*) AA LŚ ŚŚ Both words refer to

the Rathamtara sāman, AA forms an adjective from the noun *rath°*, with *sāmne* understood

bhuvanam aṣi sāhasram (MS **sah°*, ŚG *sahasrapoṣam*, MS **sahasrapoṣapusi*, ApŚ *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS SMB ApŚ MŚ ŚG Probably read *sāhasram* in MS*, note that MŚ has this

vāyusāmitra (TS p p °*trah*, MS *vāyusavitr̥bhyaṁ*) *āgomugbhyaṁ caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmāḥ (TA *brahmā*) *ca* AV TA

nāsām āmitro (TB *nainā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV AV TB *āmitra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amitra*)'

agneḥ tvā (MS *agneḥ tvā*) *mātrayā jagatyai* (KS °*tyā*, MS *jāgatyaḍ*) *varṭanyā* TS MS KS 'with the path of the jagati' or 'with the jagati as path' KS v l *jāgatyaḍ*

jagad aṣi MS MŚ *jāgatam aṣi* MS TA ApŚ *jāgatāṣi* MS *jāgato 'aṣi* MS MŚ All 'composed in jagati meter'

prabhūyā agnyedham (TB *āgnendham*) VS TB The TB form is problematic, compare *agneḥ prajvalanukartūram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham*. Should we read *āgnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *āgnīndham*?

sadyakrīṣ (ApMB *sādyaskrīṣ*) *chandāṣa saha* ŚG ApMB *sadyaskrī* (nasc l), name of an ekāba The ApMB form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem, and there seems to be no fem noun with which it could agree

prāvanebhīḥ sajoṣasah RV VS TS ŚB *pravanena sajoṣasah* MS KS The *ἀπ λεγ* *prāv°* is doubtful, Grassmann as secondary adj, '(fires) of the abyss'. But RV p p *prav°*, possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *vana*, in that case it would belong to §465

sāsvatīhhyah (AV ApŚ and TB Poona ed *saṣ°*) *samībhyyah* AV VS TB

Iśū ApŚ The adjective *sāsvatu* = *saṣvat*, fem forms of both *yadi varunasyāṣi* Kauś *yadi vāruny aṣi* Rvidh ApG *yady aṣi vārunī* GG

yathā yamūya harmyam (TA *hā°*) AV TA, and

evā (TA *evam*) *vapāni harmyam* (TA *hā°*) AV TA *hārmīya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that, but TA takes it as a secondary adj, 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun, and this is also possible

sūpasthā aṣi vānaspatyah MŚ *sūpasthā devo vānaspath* TS ApŚ

epa u sya vṛṣā rathah RV SV *epa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB
adhyakṣydyānukṣattāram TB *†ādhyakṣydyānukṣattāram* VS
somo vaiṣṇavo rājā (AŚ ŚŚ *somo vaiṣṇavas*) *añgraso* (AŚ *†āñg°*,
 ŚŚ *dñgraso vedo*) *vedah* ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'The Añgrasas (i.e.,
 the AV) are the Veda', so ŚB The others mean the same thing
 'the (Veda) of the Añgrasas'

§492 There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern
 noun formation in a broad sense First a group of variants between
āgrayana and *āgrā°*, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma,
 which is apparently derived from *agra*, the *ā* may be rhythmic in
 character The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in
 MS MŚ and KS, with short *a* elsewhere

nidhanavata āgrayanah (MS KS *āgrā°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
āgrayanaś (MS KS *āgrā°*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS
āgrayantī (KS MS *āgrā°*) *trinavatrayastrinṣau* VS TS MS KS ŚB
āgrayano (MS MŚ *āgrā°*) *ṁ svāgrayanah* (MS MŚ *svāgrā°*) VS TS
 MS ŚB MŚ

āgrayanus te dakṣakratū pātu asau AŚ *ātmānam ta āgrāyanah* (AṛŚ
†āgrā°) *pātu* MS AṛŚ

§493 When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds,
 the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a*
 declension

ūrnamradasam (etc., see §475) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † *°sthāmi*)
devebhyaḥ VS TS KS ŚB TB KŚ Kauś *uru prathasvornam-*
radam svāsastham devebhyaḥ MS

†ṣṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhah (MS KS and most mss of MŚ *°ṣṭhāh*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB TB MŚ AṛŚ

yuvā kavī puruniṣṭha (KS *°ṣṭhā*) *rlāvā* RV TS MS KS
mitro na (MS MŚ *nā*) *ehi sumitradhah* (TS KS *°dhāh*, MS * *°dhal*
saha rāyas poṣena) VS TS MS KS ŚB

yo divānām nāmadhā (AV *°dha*) *eka eva* (KS *eko asti*) RV AV VS TS
 MS KS

adadhō gopāh (KS *†gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS *pari pātu vsvatah*)
 RV TS KS

pravāyāhne 'har jīva MS *pravayāhnāhar jīva* VS The MS form is
 suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which
 are instrumental in form If correct it is a dative from *pra-va*,
 VS has instr of *pra-vā* The root is *vā*, 'blow'

§494 Other variants involving different related or quasi-related
 noun stems

aprajastām paultramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajasyam paultramartyam*
SMB *aprajāstvam mārtaṃvatsam* AV On stems *prajas* and *prajās*
(*prajā*) see Wackernagel II 1 p 95 f

su tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB °*sam kṛntu*) PG ApMB 'He shall make thee (fem) me-minded' Stems *man-maṃas* and *man-manasa*

agnir adhyakṣah (TA °*śāh*) MS TA 'Agni is overlord' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA, as if from stem *adhyakṣas*! It is repeated in the comm., with gloss *svāmī*

salvānām (MS *salvānām*, KS *śalvānām*) *palaye namah* VS TS MS
KS Stems *salvan* and *sattuva*, MS has a bad writing for *sattu*°, cf §392

umīm narāh (*narah*), see §328 Nom pl of stems *nara* and *nṛ*
tisrah kṣapas (TA °*pās*) *trir ahātivrajadbhiḥ* RV TA Stems *kṣap*
and *kṣapā*

tābhīr (TB *yabhīr*) *yāsi dūtyām* (MS °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV MS TB
Stems *dutyā* and °*ya* (Pischel, *VSt* 1 22, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 58 3)

agne pṛthivīpate varuna dharmānām pate TB *agne pṛthivyā*
varuna dharmānām ŚŚ Stems *dharma* and °*nvan* (Also listed in Cone under *varuna*)

§496 The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*, the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language, cf Wackernagel III p 358 f

aṣṭasthuno daśapakṣah Kauś *aṣṭapakṣām daśapakṣām* AV
aṣṭabhyah (KSA *aṣṭa*°, but ed em *aṣṭi*°) *śatebhyah svāhā* TS KSA
[*aṣṭūbhyah* (Cone wrongly KSA *aṣṭa*°) *svaha* TS KSA]

[*agnaye gayatrāya trivṛte rathamūrāyāṣṭākāpālāh* (with varr) VS TS
MS KSA All texts *aṣṭa*°, Cone *aṣṭa*° for VS]

§496 A couple of doubtful cases

samudrasya tvavakayā (TS ApŚ *tvava*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
avaka, name of a water-plant, from *avu*, *avāka* presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf similar cases before *vant* and *van*, §467, and Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 118, where this should in that case be added Bochtlingk, 'die untere Fihant' for *avākā*, evidently thinking of *avā(ā)c*, Keith, 'wind', we see little reason for either interpretation

nirrtim nirjarjalpeni (MS *nirjalpena*, TS *nirjālmakena*, KS *nirjālmāka-*) *śirṅgū* VS TS MS KS Obscure word, see §810 TS comm., followed by Keith, 'bald'

4 Non-final *a* & *ā* in Noun Declension

§497 In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax, that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

§498 First, the forms *apa* and *āpa* are frequently interchanged as nom and acc of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p 240)

ham no bhavanātv āpa oyadhayah (6 23 3 *apa oyadhīh*) *śivāh* AV 2 3 6, 6 23 3. But *mas* at 2 3 6 also *apa* (comm *āpah*), which Whitney's Translation restores, and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter, it furnishes the desired anapest after the caesura.

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu* (TS TB JB ApŚ *anu*, AV *divyā*) *acāryam* (JB *†acāryam*, AV *acāryyam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB ApG MG. Here the form is accusative.

§499 Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387 4, Wackernagel III p 235 f). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *sad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p 237, foot.

divpāc catuṣpad (SV *divpāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV SV

divpāc catuṣpad (AV VS Kauś *divpāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV AV VS VSK TS Kauś

catuṣpadām uta yo (TS *ca*) *divpadām* AV TS *catuṣpāda uta ye divpādah* KS MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular, different case forms.

utvā āśā dakṣinasat (AB AŚ °*sāt*, ŚŚ °*tah*, LŚ °*dhak*) VS MS AB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

§500 Twice Tait texts present vrddhi-grade forms of *pitṛ* in the bahuvrīhi compound *dākṣa-pitṛ*, which Wackernagel II 1 p 101 (cf also III p 200) properly compares with *tvāt-pitārah*.

sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (TB °*tārā*) RV TB

ye devā manujātū (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS † °*tāras*) TS MS KS BDh V1Dh

§501 Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom pl *vyānah* (Wackernagel III p 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vyānāh* *vyānah* (TB *vyānāh*) *samidhīmahī* RV AV SV ŚB TB

§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *paśumānti*, from a *munt* stem (noted RPr 589 = 9 30), is replaced in SV by the regular form.

mīteva sadma paśumānti (SV °*mānti*) *holā* RV SV — Similarly
ava dronāni gṛtvānti sidu (SV °*vānti roha*) RV SV

§502. As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom -acc of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p 288)

śarmā (TA °*ma*) *saprathā āvr̥ne* KS TA *śarma yachātha saprathah*
 AV But all mes of AV °*thāh*, which should doubtless be read,
 comm °*thah*

yachā nah (AV *yachāsmāi*) *śarma saprathah* (AV VS KS TA ApŚ
 ApMB HG °*thāh*) RV AV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG
 ApMB N

udām agnīm atithim suprayasam (KS °*yāsam*) RV KS The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading, v Schr emends to °*yasam*, rather rashly, we think Cf Whitney §415b, 2, 3 (But Wackernagel III p 282 denies *ās* to other words than *uśas*) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV, which is unquestionably conservative and wise, but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it
ayā san (so read, MS *ayāh san*, KS ms *ayāsā*, ed emend *ayās san*)
manasā hitah (MS *kṛtah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB ApŚ
 ApMB HG *ayāsā manusā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ *ayasā manusā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB HG See next

ayā san (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*, KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayasā ha° ū°* ApŚ ApMB HG The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts, a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom form with noms of stems in *as* See Geldner VSt 3 122 n 5, Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v, Wackernagel III p 282

§503. A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms

agne yan me tanvā (TS *tanvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan ma ā prna* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG Abl-gen sing of *u*-stem

anadvāris tapyate vahan (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ The passage of MŚ is unpublished, if correctly reported, the ending of the nom sing pres pple would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems

§504. Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yuva-* is replaced by the later *yuvā-*

athā somasya prayati yuvabhyām RV athā somasya prayati yuvābhyām
KS But v l of KS *yuva*^o

§506 Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender

svām (MS KS *svam*, MG *sva-*) *yonim garha svāhā AV VS TS MS KS*
ŚB MG *yonī* may be masc or fem, the Tait school makes it fem in all the variants

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See prec

svam (TS *svāni*) *yonim ihāsadah VS TS † MS KS* (No *svam* in TS)
yajño bhūtā yajūm ā sīda svām (MŚ *svam*) *yonim TB ApŚ MŚ*
[*svāmkr̥to* (KS *svam*^o) 'si VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form]

dhruvam (TS *°vām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā mā (KS *nām*) *hinsīṣam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim MS KS*
mā mā hinsīṣ svām (KS *svam*) *yonim VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ*
munnam hinsīṣam svām yonim AB

sa no dadātu tam (AV *tām*) *rayim AV AA ŚŚ rayi*, masc or fem
athārmabhyam sahvīrīm (AV VSK MŚ KS *°ram*) *rayim dāh AV*
VS VSK TS MS KS HG Cf prec

abhīmanim (TS *°mām*, MS MŚ v l *°mūn*) *mahinā* (VS MŚ v l *°mū*)
divam (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ

yā (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB*
iṣu, m or f

§508 These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yonī*, *rayi*, and *div*) There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am*, *-ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc or neut adjective

indremam praturam (VS TS ŚB *°rām*) *kṛdhi* (VS MS ŚB *nayu*) AV
VS TS MS KS ŚB

ud enam ullaram (VS TS KS ŚB *°rām*) *naya AV VS TS MS KS ŚB*
Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś

jīvāṭve pratarām (RV *°ram*) *sūdhayā dhīyah RV SV SMB*

drāyāyū ayuh praturam (TA † *°rām*, MG *praturam*) RV AV TA
AG MG And others, see §575

asmin kṣaye pratarām dīdyānah SV *adhī kṣamī prataram dīdhyānah*
RV AV

§507 In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the metr sing and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom masc sing and plur of *a*-stems, as well as between masc or neut and fem forms, treated in §§505-6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom and accus pronouns *tvam* and *tvām*. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension.

surayā (MS KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS †MS °*ta*) *retah* VS MS
KS † TB 'By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine'

surayā (MS *surāyāh*) *somah suta āxuto madāya* VS MS KS ŚB TA
dikṣayedam (KS *dikṣāy°*) *havir āgachatham nah* KS TB ApŚ. All ms
and ed of KS read so, but it seems that it must be an error for
dikṣay°

ā yal ṭṣpan *maruto vīnākāruḥ* (MS °*nah*) RV TS MS KS. The
originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS
pra candramās tirate (TS † °*ti*, AV † °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV
AV TS MS KS N. Nom voc

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāh (AV † *devah*) RV AV VS TB ApMB
devāh voc pl, *devah* (lect fac) nom sing. Ppp ms *devāh*, wrongly
emended to *devah* by Barret. JAOS 35 88

namah kṛtsnūyutayā (VSK °*yatāya*) VS VSK. Others, §311
Metathesis of quantity in VS, which simulates an metr fem but
is really uninterpretable.

tvām (TB *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV MS KS TB. The
construction is changed, both readings are construable.

5 Non-final *a* *ā* lexical and miscellaneous

§508 In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins, of the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment.

vedhām āśāsata (SV *medhīm āśā°*) *krīye* RV SV †
ākrān (TA *ākrān*) *samudrah prathame vulharman* RV SV PB TA
MshānU N. Comm on TA *ākrān ākrānāvān vyāptāvān*
āgann upāna ātmānam ŚŚ *agan prānah svargam* ŚŚ

āganma (AŚ *ag*^o) *viśvavedasam* VS ŚB AŚ

āganma (SV *ag*^o) *vrāhanamam* RV SV AA ŚŚ

ūrdhvo adhvare asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara *asthāt*, KS 'dhvare *sthāt*, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

agnaye samidham āhāṛṣam (ŚG GG *ahāṛṣam*) AG ŚG SMB GG
PG HG ApMB

yad gharmah paryavartayat (MŚ *paryā*^o) TB ApŚ MŚ

ājagan rātri rumanā iha syām AV SPP, Berlin ed *ajagan*, with slight
ms authority, some mss *ājagan*, see Whitney's note on AV 19
49 3

§509 Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition
ā, before forms in short *a*

āgne (RV *agne*) *yāhi svastibhih* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

aryamdyāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān TS *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turdṛgāl* MS KS
patha anaktu (AV KS ^o*ti*, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghr̥tena* AV VS TS
MS KS

āsmāsu (KB *as*^o) *nṛminam dhāt* (KB *dhāh*) MS KB TA ŚŚ

kāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ ^o*ṣa ār*^o) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

lāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ Vait ^o*ṣa ār*^o) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Vait
yasmin sūryā ārpitāh (KS †TB TA *ar*^o) *sapta sākam* AV KS TB TA
indrām yajñe prayaty ahvelām (TB Conc *dhv*^o, Poona ed *ahv*^o, comm
ahi^o with *v l dhv*^o) VS TB

agnaya upāhvayadhvam Vait *agnir me hold na mupahvayatām* SMB
agne gṛhapatā upa mā huayasvu KS ApŚ MŚ In Vait *upa + ā*
[*antarikṣam* (VS *ān*^o) *pṛthivīm adṛiṅhū* VS TB But Poona ed of TB
ān^o, which is clearly right.]

§510 The pronouns *asmāt* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' ex-
change

kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV TS * *mumuktam*) *asmāt* (KS
asmāt) RV AV TS MS KS

praty auhalām (MS *ūh*^o) *abvnd mṛtyum asmāt* (AV *asmāt*) AV VS TS
KS MS TA

§511 The rest are miscellaneous

vratam rakṣanti viśvāh AV *vratā rakṣante viśvāh* RV Probably both
forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penulti-
mate vowel lengthened in the RV form for some obscure reason, cf
hūd viśvāhā (^o*ha*) etc, §477

ye te panthāno bhavo janāyānāh AV *ye te 'ryaman* (KS *arya*^o) *bhavo*
devayānāh TS MS KS † 10 13a *jana-ayana deva-yāna* But
rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here

gharmam p̄dta vasavo yajata (TA °tā, see §448, MS °trā) *vā!* (MS *vet*, TA *va!*) VS MS ŚB TA *va!*, *vā!*, or *vet*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation

āhalay (MS *ah°*, TS TB *āhalam*, KSA *ahalam*) *iti vañcati* (TS TB *sarpati*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB An onomatopoeitic interjection. All texts may intend *āh°*, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final -ā, comm on VS TS *āh°*, p p of MS, to be sure, *ah°*, in default of comm or p p there is no evidence as to which KS intended

aññārasya parah putrah ŚB āhnārasya parasyādah ŚŚ Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships

śataḥśaraś chundasūnuṣṭubhena ApŚ śatākṣarachandasā jāgalena Kauś The Conc suggests *śatākṣ°* in ApŚ, but probably wrongly, Caland, 'der hundertstromige' (*sruva*)

agdhād eko samasannād ekuḥ TS adhvād eko sanād ekah sanā-sanād ekah MŚ See §181

agnaye tvā mahyam āyur (MS mayo) dātra edhi VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

añkāñkam (MS *añkāñ-añkānt*, so p p, KS *añkāñkam*) *chanduh* VS TS MS KS ŚB The curious shortening in KS seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening) Cf §362

āptye (AV aprtye) sam nayāmasi RV AV See §878

vātajavair (HG vātājvair) buluvudbhīr manojuvāt MS HG See §268

yāva upāvatāvataṃ (SV upa vadāvate) RV SV See §60

āntrīmukhah HG ālikhann hantrīmukhah PG See §386

visvakarman bhavvanu mām didāsithu (ŚB manda ūsithu) AB ŚB ŚŚ
See §840

§512 Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous

pra smā minoty ajurūh RV KS prāsna minoty ajarah ApŚ We cannot interpret *prāsna*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *śma*). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439

nīlāgalasālā AV 6 16 4c nīlayulamālūh śivah paśya NilarU 22b The true reading of NilarU is certainly that of AV, see Jacob's *Concordance* s v, two mss and the comm read so, and the comm quotes AV 6 16 4

aśīrṣānā ahaya (SV °ṣāno 'haya) va RVKb SV aśīrṣāna vāhayah AV But we must read in RVKb *ae* in SV, with Scheftelowitz (p 106)

- agnis ca dahatam prati* AV SV Misprinted *agnis* in AV, see Whitney's note
- atrā* (AV *tatra*) *yamaś sādunā* (TA °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV TA. Conc *sadanā* for AV
- asmān devāso 'vatā* (Conc 'vata) *havesu* AV † And others, all with *avātā*
- ā na indo śatagunnam* (SV misprinted *śāta*°) RV SV See Benfey's Corrigenda
- arvān* (GB *ārvān*) *ehi sumakūmum tvāhuh* GB etc Gaastra correctly *arvān*
- visve devā udīcyām tu abhiñcantu* (error for °*cyām tvābhū*°) *ēreyase* Rvidb *udīcyām tvā disi mste devāh abhiñcantu* AB
- jāmīn* (KS *īcamī*) *mā hin.īr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ *mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV The KS (one ms only) must certainly be emended to *jāmim*
- pavamānu vidharmanī* RV SV Once misprinted *pavamānā* in SV, corr Benfey's Corrigenda
- †vārṣāharam sāma gāya* (correct Conc) MS ŚB MŚ *prustotar vārṣāharam sāma gāya* ApŚ

CHAPTER XII VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513 In contrast to the *a ā* variants, those between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between *i ī* and *u ū* as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long *i* and *u* declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an *ī* or *ū* historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence—See §§300-2 for variations between *ī*, *ū*, and short *i*, *u*, plus nasal, and §§395-8 for the like before single and double consonants.

I Final short *i* lengthened phonetically

§514 We begin with cases in which final *i*, originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of *a ā*, we include not only absolutely final *i*, but *i* in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final *i*.

§515 The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a *pāda*. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose, of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the *pāda*. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*obhe aprā rotasī vi [vī] śa āvahi*, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for *i* to be lengthened before *v*, but also before *r* and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).

§516 First the cases of prepositional adverbs. Note that the following consonant is most commonly *v* (once *b*), but *r* is also frequent, and there are several cases of *y*. The first five variants have *ṛ* absolutely final, not in composition, in four of them the older form of the variant has short *ṛ*. We add one case of the conjunction *yadī*.

vidad yadī (MS † *yadī*, TB ApŚ *yadī*) *saramā* RV VS MS KS
TB ApŚ Sec §63

abhī (SV PB *abhī*) *no vājusātamam* RV SV PB
tena somābhi rakṣa nah RV *tebhīh simābhi* (TA °*bhī*) *rakṣa nah* (TA *nah*) RV TA

abhī na ā vaurtsva RV *agne 'bhyāvartirni abhi mā ni vartasva* (with variants, Kauś *abhi nu ā vaurtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś
See §648

mā tvā sūrya 'bhi (KS *sūryah pari*, ApŚ *sūryah pari*) *tūpsin māgnir*
(ApŚ *mo agnir*) *vaiśvānarah* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

ubhe aprā rodasī vi (SV *vī*) *ṣa āvah* RV SV Here the meter favors *ṛ*, which SV introduces secondarily

agnim atirugbhyaīm (MS *atī°*) VS MS

adhīvdsam (MS *adhī°*) *yā hiranyāny asmatī* RV VS TS MS KSA

abhiwatah (TS *abhi°*) *savāśah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

abhiṣāhe (and *abhi°*) *svāhā* MS (both)

abhiṣāḥ (no ed em, Conc with ms °*ṣāḥ*) *ṛābhiṣāhyaḥ ca* KS *abhiṣāḥ*
cābhiṣāhī cābhiṣātīḥāś LŚ *abhiṣāc cābhiṣarī ca* ApŚ

nītrohu (PB *nī°*) *'ṣi* TS PB

namo nīveṣyāya (p p *nī°*) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS *namo hradayyāya* (VS *hṛdayyāya*, KS *hradayāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS °*ṣyāya*) *ca* VS TS
KS

parītoṣāt tad arpitā ApŚ *parī doṣād ud arpitāh* KŚ

parīvīdam parikṣavam AV *parīvīdam parikṣapam* ApMB

ṛṣī bodhapratibodhau AV *bodhāś ca tvā pratibodhāś ca rakṣatām* AV
bodhāś cu mā pratibodhāś (KS †*pratī°*) *ca purastād gopīyātām* KS

MŚ bodha pratibodhdevapnānavadrīna gopīyamāna KS

vivadhāś (KS *vī°*, MS *vivadhāmī*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

svarto (MS KS *vī°*) *'ṣīcatvārinśah* (KS *aṣṭī°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§517 To these may be added a case of *antarikṣa* for *antari°*, the old adverb *antari* is fairly comparable with prepositions in *ṛ* (most of which, presumably, were ancient prehistoric locatives, like *antari*). The form *antarikṣa* crops up again in Buddhist Sanskrit, e.g. Saddharma-pundarikā, ed Kern and Nanjio, 149 1

svadhā pīṭbhya 'ntarikṣasadbhyah (AV *antari°*, GG † *'ntari°*) AV ApŚ
MŚ GG HG

§518 The only other absolutely final *i* concerns the imperative ending *dhi*, which appears sometimes as *dhi*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur, we may note that in the pāda. *sa no bodhi śrudhi havam* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ several mss of MS read *śrudhi*, but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant* II 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg* 421), that the lengthening in RV is due to the common cadence *śrudhi havam* (cf *RVRep* 673, top). In all texts but one this pāda has *śrudhi*, and that one (AŚ) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there).

imam me varuna śrudhi (AŚ *śrudhi*) RV SV VS TS MS KS AŚ
Ap.MB

§519 Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants, the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *i*).

imam agne camasuni mā v jhvarah (TA *ji*^o) RV AV TA AG
yinyapsyata (AŚ *yi*^o) *iva te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ SŚ Desiderative
from *yabh*, the form with *yi*^o is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots

udgrāhhenod ajigrabhat (KS *ajigrabham* and *ujigrbham*) MS KS

§520 There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *i* before the suffix *vant*

mādhyandīnasya savanasya nīṣkevalyasya bhūgasya kukravato (ApŚ adds *manthivato*) *madhuśculu* (KŚ * *manthivata*, v 1 *manthi*^o) *indrāya* (MŚ *savanasya śukra*^o *manthivato nīṣk*^o *bhūgasyendrāya*) KŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ Stem is *manthin* (weak *manthi*) + *vant*
parameshthi tvā śādayatu rāsmwalim (MŚ *rāsmi*^o) MS KS

§520a In one case *i* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *kr*, while the *i*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *in*-stem before *cārin*

ima udvāsikārīna ime TB ApŚ *imā uddhāsi-cārīna ime* MŚ
Cf §59

§521 And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *i* as stem final of its first member
yā te agne hariḥayā (VSK *hari°*, MS *MŚ harā°*) *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahvar-*
eṣṭhā VS VSK ŚB (Pratikas MS *MŚ*)

2 Final *i* in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522 No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II 1 §56 e-g (cf also Leumann, *Gurupūyakaumudī* 13 ff.) It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening, that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, *i* was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis.

§523. Radical *i* is shortened in the word *senāni*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527), the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS alone has the shortening
tasya rathagrtaś (KS °*kṛtsaś*, MS °*kṛtsnaś*) *ca rathaujās ca senāni-*
grāmanyau (TS *senāni°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. And so with
tārkyas cāriṣṭanemiś ca, senajic ca kusenac ca, rathaprotas (TS
rathē°) *cāsamariṭhas ca, rathasvunaś ca ratheritraś ca*

§524 The other cases concern the feminine nouns *prthivī* and (once) *praphurvī*

yā devy aśiṣṭake prānadā praphurvidāh (ApŚ °*vidah*) KS ApŚ
namo 'gnaye prthivikṣite lokasprte (ChU *prthivikṣite lokakṣite*, MU
prthivikṣite lokasṃrte) TS KSA ChU MU
prthivisādam (MS *prthivī°*, VS †°*sādam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS †adds
divisadam denasadam) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
prthivisprñ (MS *prthivī°*) *mā nu hinsih* MS TA
ye devā divbhāgā ye prthivibhāgās (TS KS *prthivī°*, but 2 mes of
 KS °*vī°*) TS MS KS
svaiḥ pīrbhyah prthivisadbhyah (MŚ GG *prthivī°*) AV ApŚ MŚ
 Kauś GG HG

3 Miscellaneous final *i* : *i*

§525 There is very little else. On *na ced aveḍi* (*aveḍi*) etc., see §530 below, it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified. Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final *i* or *i*
agne tvam sūktavāg aṣy upasruṭi (MS °*ti*, TB °*sruto*) *divas* (TB *divah*)
prthivyoh MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ. The form is locative of an *i*-stem

MS is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?)

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devī* (AV KS *devi*) *prathamānā pṛthag yat* (AV °*mānā purastāt*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ Nominative and vocative

stomatruyastrinše bhuvanasya patni TS KS AŚ *stomus trayastrinše bhv° patnī* MS As prec see §818

sam dev (KS *devī*) *devyurvaśyō* TS KS ApŚ

rātri (TB *rātrī*, v 1 of KS *rātrih*) *stomam na jigyuşe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV KS TB

satyūḍ ā (ApŚ *satyū tā*) *dharmanas patī* (Vait MŚ *pari*) AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

asvinendram na jāgrvi (TB ° *vī*) VS MS TB The *-vī* form is a dual adj., and so Mahidhara takes the *-vi* form also, but possibly it may be a neut sing adverb

gāyatrī (MG °*tri*) *chandāsīm mātā* (MG *mātah*) TA TAA MahānU MG Nom voc

va śisurīdata (HG † *śisurīdatah*) ApMB HG See §384

4 Noun stems in *i*

§526 It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax, many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

§527 We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *ī*. First, a case of the stem *senānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition.

namah senābhyaḥ senānbhyaś (VS TS °*nibhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS

§528 In the same context occurs the following variant. Bochtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *śva-nī* 'leading dogs', this seems improbable in the light of the variants, both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahidhara, followed by Griffith and Keith).

namah śvanibhyo (MS *śvanī°*) *mṛgayubhyaś ca vo namah* VS MS KS
namo mṛgayubhyaḥ śvanibhyaś ca vo namah TS

Other cases of probably original *i* are

sucakṣā aham akṣtibhyām (MG *akṣi*^o) *bhūyāsam* AG PG MG N The *i*-form is regular in the older language Wackernagel III p 303

varūtrīm (KS † *varu*^o, TS *varūtrīm*) *tvayśtur varunasya nābhīm* VS TS KS ŚB *tvayśtur varūtrīm va*^o *nā*^c MS MŚ

rātrīm-rātrīm (AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV TS MS KS ŚB

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

rātrīm (TS *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS KSA

ham rātrī (VS *rātrīh*, VSK TA *rātrīh*) *prati dhīyātām* AV VS VSK. MS TA

rātrīm (SMB PG MG *rīm*) *dhenum vāyatīm* (AV *upāyatīm*) AV HG ApMB SMB PG MG

ye rātrīm (KS *rīm*) *anutīṣṭhantī* (KS † *ṣṭhatha*) AV KS

prati tvā parvatī (TS TB *rī*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ See §490

veṣātrīr (TS *rīr*) *asī* TS KS GB PB Vait IŚ

mahīnām (VSK *mahīnām*) *payo 'sī* VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG Even from the stem *mahr*, the VSK form would be anomalous

hrādunībhyah (KSA *nībhyah*) *svāhū* VS TS KSA This is uncertain, both short and long *i* are otherwise known RV has *hrādunīm*, but *hrādunī-vrt* See also *dūyikābhīr hrādunīm* etc, §543

śimībhih (KSA † *śimi*^o, VS *śamī*^o) *śimyanu* (VS *śam*^o) *tvā* VS TS KSA §529. But in the rest stems in short *i* seem to be primary

svāhākṣtibhyah (TS ApŚ and most mss of MŚ *krī*^o) *preṣya* TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'To hail-makings', suffix *tī*

ayāś cāgne 'sy anabhīstasī (AŚ ApMB HG *tīs*) *ca* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG Suffix *tī*, as in the last

ākūṭīm (SMB *ām*) *devīm manasah* (SMB *sā*, AV *subhagāni*) *puro dadhe* (SMB *prapadye*) AV TB SMB As prec

ātīr (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidū te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA *ātī* is Rigvedic

abhīṣṭīr (HG *rīr*, ApMB *abhīrīr*) *yā ca no gr̥he* (RVKh *ca me dhruvā*) RVKh ApMB HG

diva (*divas*, *divah*) *skambhanīr* (VS ŚB *nīr*, VSK † *skambhany*) *asī* VS VSK TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Here fem gender is responsible for the long *i*

śrah-śrah prati sūrī vi caṣṭe TS ApŚ *śiro devī prati sūrīr vi caṣṭe* KS Here too *sūrī* is made fem, agreeing with a fem entity

tronibhyām (TS *tronī*^o) *svāhā* TS KSA.

yakṣmam tronibhyām (ApMB *ni*^o, v 1 *ni*^o) *bhāsadāt* RV ApMB
yakṣmam bhasadyam tronibhyām bhāsadam AV

mīrḍavarunau tronibhyām (TS *tronī*^o) TS KSA

śam methīr (ApMB *śam te methī*) *bhavatu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB
tṛdma) AV ApMB

ṛtūn prṣṭibhiḥ (KSA em *prṣṭibhiḥ*, ms *bhr*^o) TS KSA Cf Macdonell
and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 358 f

prṣṭibhyah (KSA † *prṣṭi*^o) *svāhā* TS KSA

imām khandam ośadhīm (ApMB *dhīm*) RV AV ApMB

ośadhībhyah MG *ośadhībhyah* ŚG

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim
uta* SV

śam arīr (VS ŚB *arīr*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB Nom
sing of stem *arī*, the anomalous VS ŚB form is noted in BR,
s v 2 art

adhā jivī (AV *atha jivīr*, ApMB *athā jivī*) *vidatham ā vadān* (RV
vadāthah) RV AV ApMB Stem *jivī* (or, with most mss of AV,
jivīr) RV has a dual form, ApMB an isolated sing from a stem
in *i*, perhaps due to confusion between the RV and AV forms
On the *i* of the initial syllable see §544

plāhīr (TB *āhīr*) *vyaktah śatadhīra utsah* VS MS KS TB

ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī MS *ambā dulā nitatnīr* TS

apo mahī vyayati cakṣase tamah RV *apo mahī ṛnute cakṣuṣā tamah*
SV TB Here we have a complete change of construction, in
addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form

vi te bhīnadmī takarīm (KS *rim*, AVPPP [Roth] *tayarim*, AV *mehanam*)
AV TS KS ApŚ See §49 There is no way to determine the
original quantity of the *i* here

§529a There are also cases in which a nom sing in *i*, apparently
from a stem in *in*, varies with one in *ih* from a stem in *i*

vyānāhī (SV *āhī*) *pavase soma dharmabhīh* (SV *dharmān*) RV SV
tan no dantī (TA *āhī*) *pracodayāt* MS TA MahānU Common on TA
mahādantah

dūrehetīr indriyāvān (PB † *yavān*) *patatrī* (PB *trih*) TS PB TB PG
ApMB *dūr*^o *patatrī vājīnīvān* MŚ MG

suparno avyathīr (SV *āhī*) *bharat* RV SV

§530 In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also
verb forms

na ced avedī (BṛhU *avedī*) *mahaī vinasīh* ŚB BṛhU So Conc, with

the printed texts But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation, *ms* *avedi* The Kānva recension, however, has *avedir*, and Kena Up (not in Conc) *avedin*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [thus, it is] a great disaster') *avedir* would be nom sing of a noun stem *avedi* 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster' *avedi* is taken by *comm* as nom sing of *avedin* 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5 Verb forms containing *i* *ī* and *i* *ī* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531 This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftener in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character

suśamī samīṣva (TS TB *śamīṣva*, KS *śamīṣva*) VS TS MS KS TB
avanty aśya puvīlāram (SV *pavī*) *āsavaḥ* RV SV The shortening of SV improves the meter (anapest after caesura)

§532 The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure

antarikṣam puritālā (TS *purī*, MS *pulī*, KSA *pulī*) VS VSK TS MS KSA

ūlo halikṣno (TS *ūlo halī*) VS TS MS KSA Name of some animal A theory as to the origin of this *ī* in Wackernagel, I §39 note

§533 At least in origin, the *i* of the *is* aorist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf VV I p 189

tena (TB *tato*) *no nūtrāvurūnūv* (MS *nā*) *avīṣam* (TB *avī*) RV MS TB The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin The *i* of TB is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avī* So in the next

amīmadantā pītarō (Kauś also *patnyo*) *yathābhāgam* () *āvīṣāyāta* (AŚ *yīṣāta*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ LŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG Cf prec

mā tvāgnir dhvanayid (TS °yid, KSA °yed, MS *dhanayid*) *dhūmagandhik*
 RV VS TS MS KSA This is the converse of the preceding,
 TS shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms
ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS *aduh su madhu madhunābhi*
yodhi RV AV SV AA MŚ On the anomalous TS form see
 VV I p 27

ā gharṃ agnim ṛtayann asdā (TA °dit) RV TA *ā gharṃ agnir*
amṛto na sādā MS See VV I §84

§534 Probably rhythmic in character is the ī which varies with i
 in denominative stems before the ya-sign, cf VV I p 155, and above
 §478 where the same shift occurs between a and ā

putriyāntah (AV *putriyanti*) *sudānavah* RV AV SV
janīyānto nv (AV *janīyanti nāv*) *agravah* RV SV AV AŚ ŚŚ

§535 In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening
 of i in stem syllables, at least it occurs in positions where the meter
 favors a long

prati śma (SV *śma*) *deva rīṣatah* (SV *rīṣ°*, and so p p of RV and MS)
 RV SV MS KS TB The p p readings confirm our opinion that
 the ī is metri gratia

anīmha (VS ŚB KŚ *am*) *rudram adimahi* (VS ŚB KŚ *adī°*, and so
 v l of MS KS MŚ, and p p of MS) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
 KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§536 But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some
 cases where it cannot be rhythmic, the explanation varies and is some-
 times obscure

sarvān patho anṛnū ā kṣīyema (AV *kṣī°*) AV TB TA ApŚ The root
kṣī 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with ī, perhaps under
 the influence of the other root *kṣī* 'perish', from which i forms are
 familiar

yūpāyocchṛīyamānāyānubrūhi (MŚ °chṛīyā°) ApŚ MŚ Here the ī,
 in the passive of *chṛī*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in
 MŚ with most mss

samīṣayati (ŚB *samī°*) *sarvatah* RV ŚB BṛhU The root *īṣ* appears
 sporadically as *īṣ* in the Brāhmanas, the true reading of BṛhU
 is *samīṣ°* in this passage (text emended)

§537. Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *ji* and *jyā*, *ji*
ajitāh (TA *ajitāh*, ApMB and one ms of HG *ujitā*) *śyāma sarudah*
śatam TA ApMB HG

vājino vājanto vājan sarvānso (KS *jiṣvānso*, TS *sarvānso vājam*
jiṣvānso) VS TS KS ŚB

§538 We have classified the form *iyāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *ṛ*, see VV I p 126

iyānah (SV *iy*^o) *kṛṣṇo daśabhūh sahasraśh* RV SV AV KS. TA
stotṛbhūyo dhṛṣṇav iyānah (SV *iy*^o) RV AV SV

§539. The participle *idāta* appears as *id^o*, probably under the influence of the nouns *id*, *idā*

idāto (MS KS *id^o*, VSK *il^o*) *devair harvātā abhiṣṭh* VS VSK MS KS
 TB

§540 The present and past passive participles of root *kṣi* 'perish', *kṣīnat* and *kṣīna*, are concerned in the following

namo inkṣīnatkebhūh (TS KS *inkṣīnak^o*) VS TS KS ŚB *nama*
ākṣīnakebhūh MS If MS is right it has a blend of the other two readings, but the mss vary, and it is likely that *ākṣīnak^o* was intended

The 3 plur perfect ending *ire* appears once as *īre*

tāh prācyu (Vait **yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjyādhire* (KŚ † **īre*, Vait *samj-*
gāire) KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīś cojjyādhire* ApŚ

6 Noun suffixes containing *ṛ* i

§541. Twice in MS the suffix *īya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*, but both times the pp of MS has *īya*

namo aṛiyāya (VS KS *'griyāya*, MS *'griyūya*) *ca prathamāya ca* VS TS
 MS KS

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatīm*, MS *sahasriyo jyotatām*) *aprayu-*
chan VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

§541a We have quoted in §249 (q v) three variants in which AV reads *varīyah* for older *varivah*

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhī* RV AV *as-*
mabhyum mahi varivah sugam kah RV

sakhā sakhībhūyo varivah (AV **varīyah*, so one mē of GB, Ppp *varivah*)
kṛnotu RV AV *TS KS GB

tvaṣṭi no atra varivah (AV *varīyuh*) *kṛnotu* AV TS

§542 Several times forms in *ina* vary with other forms containing short *i*

yā sarasvatī veśabhaginā (ApŚ **veśbh^o*, KS *veśabhaginī*) MS KS

ApŚ *-bhaginā*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here, KS substitutes a more regular form (fem of *bhagin*)

tiraścīrājī (MS *tiraścīnarājī*) *rakṣitā* AV MS Again *ina* varies with *in* (weak stein *i*)

namo yuvabhya āśīnebhyaś

(MS *āṣṭ*^o, p p *āṣṭ*^o) *ca vo namah* (MS *namo-namah*) MS KS *āṣṭna* is *ἀπ λει* in RV, in MS it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *ina*

§543 The shortening of *i* to *ɪ* before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings Cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 95 f, 111 *dūṣṭkābhīr hrādunim* (KSA *†hra*^o) TS KSA *hrādunīr dūṣṭkābhīh* VS MS

7 Miscellaneous *i* and *ɪ*

§544 Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious *imkārdāya*, and **kṛtāya* (KSA *im*^o, VS MS ŚB *him*^o) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ

īryatāyā (TB *ir*^o) *akīlavam* VS TB From the equivalent adjective forms *īrya* (RV) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v *īrya*)

uṣṭārayoh pīlwayoh (ApŚ *pīlwayoh*) MS ApŚ MŚ Cf the word *pīlu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree Obscure

vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan VS *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB Common on TB *dṛdhaśaktayah*, that is equivalent to *vīdu*, for which *vidu* is not recorded

adhā jivī (AV *atha jivīr*, most ms *jivīr*, which Whitney would restore, ApMB *athā jivī*) *vidutham ā vadāsi* (RV *valāthah*) RV AV ApMB Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā(ji)* or *ji* The *ī* in the first syllable in ApMB is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jī* or of the *ī* forms of *jyā* or *ji* (*jīna* etc) See §529

anamīmāsa idāyā (MS *anamīmāsā idayā*, p p *idayā*) *madantah* RV MS TB AŚ The MS form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of *id*^o cf the lexically quoted *idā*), corrected in p p *dame-clame suṣṭutyā* (TS ^o *tīr*, MS ^o *tī*, AŚ ŚŚ ^o *tīr*) *vāvrdhānā* (AV ^o *nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām vyānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ Different case forms of an *i*-stem Sec §236

śanderathas śandikera ulūkhalah ApMB *śāndīkera* (PG *śaundikeya*) *ulūkhalah* HG PG See §489

§545 The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations, thus in the first

subhūtāya pīpīhi (MS *pīpīhi*) MS TA ApŚ And others, with *īe*, *ūrje*, *brahmanavarcaṣāya*, etc In MS always *pīpīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpīhi* is from *pyā(pī)* 'swell' The result, how-

ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity, cf VV I p 182

sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṅak (TB ApŚ *abhiṣṅat*) RV AV VS MS
KS TB ŚB ApŚ See §142

*sudītir aṣi TS PB sudītir aṣi KS GB Vait sudītirnddityebhya ādityān
ṛnva MS Boehtlingk sudītī Anklang an Aditi, sudītī glanzvoll
(dī) Sudītī is Rigvedic*

vāsvam id dhītām (MS *dhītām*) *ānaśuh* (SV *āsata*) RV AV SV MS
ApŚ Roots *dhi* and *dhā*

tigmam āyudham (AV *anikam*) *vidītam* (AV *vidītam*, KS *°dham idītam*)
sahasrat AV TS MS KS See §169

kavir yah putrah sa im ā (TA *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *cikela* RV AV
TA N

ati vā (AV *Kauś atīva*) *yo maruto manyate nah* RV AV *Kauś* Meta-
thesis of quantity

śam padam magham ṛayīṣine na kāmam (AA *rayīṣani na somah*) SV
AA *rayi-ṣini rayi-ṣan* (so Keith, or, *-sani*)

ghāṣind (ApŚ *ghāṣind*) *me mā sampṛkthāh* VSK ApŚ Corruption in
ApŚ, perhaps for *ghāṣind* (RV *ghāṣi*), with metathesis of quantity?
Cf Caland's note

ā yāhi kūra haribhyām (SV KB ŚŚ *harīha*, AŚ *harī tha*) AV SV
KB AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless read, in all except AV, *harīha* (= *harī
tha*), with Whitney on AV and Keith on KB

gaurīr (TB TA *°rī*, AV *gaur īn*) *mimāya salilāni lakṣatī* RV AV KS
TB ApŚ SMB MG

indrāpāsya phaligam ApMB *indrāyayāsya kēpham alikam* HG
See §46

samiddho agnir vṛṣanāratir (AV *°nā rathī*, ŚŚ *°nā rayir*) *divah* AV AB
AŚ ŚŚ

rādhanṣit (MS MŚ *°ni*) *sampṛcānāv* (MS MŚ *°nā*) *asam°* MS ŚB
KŚ ApŚ MŚ

nen na ruan ṛnava it samānah TA *nem na ruan ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS
And others, see §180

[*atikṛtām* (comm *°rīṭām*) *atidanturam* TB So Conc with Bibl Ind
ed, probably misprint, Poona ed comm with text *atikṛtām*]

[*ṛvāṅkrīr* (so all!) *āsvāsya svadhūtā sam eti* RV VS TS KSA]

8 Final u lengthened

§546. As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here cases in which the
vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i*, and add nothing further to the subject.

§547. Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *eu*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS).
o su (MS *ṣū*) *varla* (MS KS *varla*) *marulo vipram acha* RV MS KS
tam ū (MS *u*) *śucim śucayo dīdvātsam* RV ArŚ TS MS KS
imam ū (MS *u*, p p *ū[m]*, and MŚ *ū*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA ApŚ
tyam asmabhyam) RV SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ
idam ta ekam paru ū (TB † ApŚ † *u*) *ta ekam* RV AV SV KS † TB
 TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ (*u-la = ula*). On *puru purū*, a matter of
 noun inflexion, see §555.

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*, the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf VV I p 182.

gṛhān ajūgupaṭam yuvam AŚ *gṛhān* (MŚ *gṛhānī*) *jugupaṭam yuvam*
 MS MŚ

prajāṃ me (ApŚ **no*) *naryājūgupah* (ApŚ and MŚ *v l °jūgupah*)
 MS KS ApŚ MŚ

pakūn me (ApŚ **nuk*) *kansyājūgupah* (ApŚ and MŚ *v l °jūgupah*)
 MS MŚ ApŚ *dhanam me sarśyājūgupah* KS *śarśya pakūn me*

'jugupus tīn me pāhy eva ŚŚ. And others in the same passages
akṛbudhnyā mantram me 'jugupah (*v l °jū°*) MŚ

§549. There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant*

śantre svarbhūmale (VS ŚB *sva ṛbhū°*, MS *svarbhū°*) VS MS ŚB
 TA. If MS understands a form of *ṛbhū°*, as do the others, we have
 rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous
 sandhi for MS (see §916), and two MSS read *svarbhūmale*.

§550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the
 preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū*. The change occurs before either
v or *r* in every case but one (cf under §516).

anuroham jinvu Vait *anuroho* (KS *anū°*) 'si TS KS GB PB Vait
anurohāya tvā PB Vait *anūrohenānūrohāyānūroham jinvu* MS
 (with p p and *v l* each time *anū°*)

anuṣṭ (KS *anū°*) *asi* KS GB PB Vait *anuṣṭe* (KS *anū°*) *tvā* KS
 PB Vait *anuṣṭam jinvu* Vait *†anuṣṭānūṣṭe 'nūṣṭ jinvu* MS
panthām anūṣṭbhyām (KSA *anu°*) TS KSA

anukāśena bāhyam MS *anukāśena bāhvyam* VS *antarenānukāśam*
TS KSA

§551 Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*, in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts

sandhāśā sandhim (MS °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB and p p of MS *puro*°, MS *puru*°) RV AV SV MS PB. TA KŚ ApMB

urūnasāv (TA *uru*°) *usūṛpā* (AV TA °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA *ulu*°) RV AV TA AŚ

mithucaranam (TS *mithuś ca*°, KS *mithū*°, AV *mithuyā ca*°) *upayāti* (AV *abhayāti*) *dūṣayan* AV TS MS KS

sindhoh śiśumārah (KSA † *śiśū*°) TS KSA *samudrāya śtūmārah* VS MS See §305 Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain

§552 Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū* *u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf also §563)

brahmanas pale suyamāya (MS *sū*°, p p *su*°) *śivahū* RV MS TB The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura)

suyame me adya ghr̥tācī bhūyāstam svāṛtau sūpāṛtau ApŚ *suyame me bhūyāstam* VS ŚB *sūyame me 'dya stam svāṛtau sūpāṛtau* MS MS

kuyavam ca me 'kṛtīś (VS °*lam*) *ca me* VS MS KS (v 1 *kū*° in MS) *akṛtīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS

9 Final *ū* shortened

§553 Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening

kūṣṭho (read *kū ṣṭho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV *ku ṣṭhah ko vām aśvinā* SV See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5 74 1

10 Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554 The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of *-hhū*, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition

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

hanubhyām (TS *hunū*°) *stenūn bhagavah* VS TS MS KS In this and the prec Tait texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*

agne sadakṣah satanur (KS †^onūr) *hi bhūtā* TS KS *agnih sudakṣah sultanur ha bhūtā* MŚ

būrāso ye tanūtyajah (TA *tanu^o*) RV AV TA Note that two consonants follow the *ū*, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening

iyam te yajāyā tanūh (VSK *tanuh*) VS VSK ŚB ApŚ

avasyur (VS ŚB ^osyūr) *asi duvanān* VS TS MS KS PB ŚB ŚŚ

śundhyur (VS TS ^oyūr) *asi mārjālīyah* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ

Only *-yu* in RV

ārādhyai (see §474) †*didihīṣūpatim* TB *arāddhyā edidhīṣuhpatim* VS (on the latter see §381)

varenyakratūr (AV ^otur, ApŚ *īdenyakratūr*) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ

Whitney calls ^otūr 'an improvement' See also §383

vibhūr (PB *vibhur*) *asi pravāhanah* VS TS MS ŚB. TB PB ApŚ. MŚ

vibhūr (KSA *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA *prabhuh*) *pitrā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

śambhūr (KS ^obhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB

Note *mayobhūr* even in KS

ābhūr (VS TS *ābhur*) *arya niṣāṅgathih* (VS ^odih) VS TS MS KS

santre tvarbhūmate (etc., §549) *vibhūmate* (MŚ *vibhū^o*) VS MS ŚB

TA

phalgūr (KSA ^ogur) *lohitornī* VS TS MS KSA

havanaśrun (TB *havanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV TB Comm on

TB *āhvānasya śrotā san* Irregular lengthening of *ru* in composition

§555 Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom -acc forms, both sing and plur, in either *u* or *ū*

su hi purū (SV *puru*) *cid ojanā virukmatā* RV SV Adverbial

[*sam grbhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed *purū-*) *śatū* RV AV MS KS TB]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*

dadhad ratnam āyuni (AV *āyūnṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ See §819

vṛṣū punōna āyuyu (SV *āyūnṣi*) RV SV

§556 In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the *ū* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel *kratūdakṣābhīyām me varcodā varcase pavasva* VS VSK ŚB *dakṣakratubhyām* (acc *me* etc) TS ApŚ *dakṣakratubhyām me varcodāh pavasva* MŚ

§557 The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c) In the ApŚ form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhīh*, and conversely in the KS form *ūr* before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound, note that in the 'correct' MS form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur. Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc., stigmatizes KS *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for **ram*) as corrupt, and Knauer proposes to emend KS on the basis of MS. But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants.

yathādhuram (KS ms **dhūran*) *dhuru* (KS *dhūru*) *dhūrbhīh kalpanātm*
KS MS *yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhīh kalpanātm* ApŚ

11 Other *u* *ū*

§558 The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing. In verb inflexion there is practically nothing. Once TB presents an anomalous *ūh* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uh*, it occurs at the end of a *pāda*, and remains unexplained.
upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh (TB *gūh*) RV MS TB

§559 The various forms of the root *nu*, *nū*, 'beget, enliven' etc., show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel. Thus *prasūstah pra suhi* (KS *nūhi*, MS *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AS ŚS KS ApŚ MS. Both *sūhi* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p 189 it is suggested that *suhi* is a blend of the two. Cf. next.

ardhamāsyam prasūtāt pitryāvatah JB *pañcadakāt prasūtāt pitryāvatah* KBU. Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *nūta*, but *suta* is recorded otherwise. JB 1 18 has v 1 *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, JAOS 19 [2], 112, 115, delete in Conc. *tam ardhāmānam*).

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*

abhyasikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ **bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhisikṣa rājābhuvam* (v 1 **bhūvam*) MS

§560 Quite similarly *vah* (weak stem *uh*) and *ūh* are 'in some forms and meanings hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*), indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *uhyate*) as identical from the two roots. Of course they are ultimately variants of each other.
mā hīnsisur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB † *ūhyamānām*) AV ApMB. Here *ūh* does not fit very well, AV means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds' (In ApMB the pple is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off').

samūhyo 'si vīsvabharāh ŚS *samūhyo 'si vīsvabharūh* ApŚ *samūhyo 'si vīsvaverā* VSK KS. Here, contrary to the prec., it is *sam-ūh* that is meant, even in ŚS.

phalgunibhyām vy ūhyate ApG *phalguniṣu vy uhyate* AV Kauś

§561 The present participle of the 'root' *tūrv* varies with the related adjective *tura*

tūrvan (KS *turo*) *na yāmann etasasya nū rane* RV VS TS MS KS

§562. Several times the word *varutrī* *varūtrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vṛ* 'cover', varies in its two forms

varūtrīṣ (ṣvā (KS *varutrīs* *tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīh* VS KS ŚB KS
varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr TS *varūtrī* (once, 2 7 6, *ṣvaru*^o,
 and so v l in the other passage) *tvā devī viśva*^o MS (bis)

tvasṣur varutrīm varunasya nūhkim MS MŚ *varūtrīm* (VS ŚB ^o*trīm*,
 KS † *varutrīm*) *tvasṣur var*^o *nā*^o VS TS KS ŚB

varutrīr avayan KS *varūtrayas* †*tvāvayan* ApŚ

§563 The word *sumna* or *sū*^o has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times, yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf §547) also appear with *sū*

sumnāya (VS *sū*^o) *nūnam imāhe sakhībhyuh* RV SV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB Kauś

dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā (AV ^o*yau*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS
 MS KS ŚB

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form, but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread

viṣno (^o*noh*, ^o*noḥ*) *stupo* (TS TB ApŚ *stūpo*) ^o*si* VS TS MS KS ŚB

TB ApŚ MŚ *viṣnoh stupah* MS MŚ

reṣmānum stupena (MS *stū*^o, but p p *stu*^o) VS MS

§564 The word *ūruva*, on which see last Neisser ZWbch d RV, s v, may be ultimately connected with *uru*. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption

urvīm ganyām pariśadam no akran AV *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto*
agman RV KS See §46

urv (AŚ once *urvy*, once *ūrvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ.
 (bis) ApŚ MŚ We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint

ūruva (TB *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmo asme* RV †3 90 19c, TB N Comm
 on TB *urva* *iva*, *vāduvāgnir iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūruva*

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ

See §228

§565 The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank'

kulyābhyah (TS *kū*^o) *sohā* TS KSA Here the TS comm takes *kū*^o as a secondary adjective from *kūla*, but it is probably only an equivalent of *kulyā*, cf next Keith, 'to those of the pools'

medasah (HG * *ājyasya*) *kulyā* (HG *kū*^o) *upa tān* (AG *upatān*, SMB *abhi tān*) *śravantu* (HG ApMB *kyarantu*) VS AG ŚG Kauś SMB HG ApMB *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhinśravantu* MG. Cf also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* in Conc, and prec Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *kū*^o

§566 The form *pūruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV, but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA Poona ed reads *pu*^o with v l *pu*^o

ato (AV ArS ChU *tato*) *jyāyānś ca pūruṣah* (TA *pu*^o) RV AV ArS VS TA ChU

§567 Twice the RV writes *ūgra* for *ugra* According to Oldenberg, *Noten* on l 165 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*svarita* accent followed by an accented syllable, cf Wackernagel I p 293 f) One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p p *hi*, *ugrah* Both *pādas* occur in the same hymn

aḥam hy ugrān (RV *ū*^o) *tavṛṣas tavrīmān* RV MS KS TB

aḥam hy ugro (RV *ū*^o) *maruto vidānah* RV MS KS

§568 Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words

ūlena parimūtho 'śi HG *ūlena pariṣīto 'śi* ApMB Followed by *parimūtho 'śy ūlena* HG *pariṣīto 'śy ūlena* ApMB *utūla parimūtho 'śi* PG The meaning of *ūla* or *ūla* is unknown Cf next

ulo halikṣno (TS *ūlo hali*^o) VS TS MS KSA Cf prec Here apparently some animal is meant

godhūmāś ca me masūrīś (TS and KapS *masu*^o) *ca me* VS TS MS KS

Both forms are otherwise known, *masūra* seems to be commoner *hotū vedīśad atithir dūronasat* (VS *dū*^o, but comm *du*^o) RV VS VSK TS MS KS AB ŚB TA MahānU KU NṛpU VaradapU The word *dūrona*, for the usual *dūrona* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded

kurkuro nīlabandhanah HG *kūrkuro bālabandhanah* (ApMB *vālu*^o) PG ApMB The usual form is *kurkura*, perhaps cf Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant) Cf next

kurkurah sukurkurah HG *kūrkurah* (ApMB °ras) *sukūrkurah* PG
ApMB Cf prec

kuṣmāndāh, °dānī, °dyah, and *kuś*°, *kūś*°, *kūs*° See §290

prathamāya januṣe bhūmaneṣṭhāh (AV *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ *bhūma ne*°) AV AŚ

ŚŚ Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma(n)*

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS *ā puṣṣam etv ā vasu* AV

āpura stū ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā* TS AŚ

atikulvam (VSK °*kūlvam*) *cātīlomasam ca* VS VSK *kulva* 'bald', regularly with short u

agnaye dhūñkṣnā (KSA °*kṣā*) TS KSA *dhuñkṣāgneṣṭi* (VSK °*kṣvā*° or °*kṣyā*°) VS VSK MS Smid to mean a sort of bird, original form and precise meaning unknown

uṣo (PB *ūṣā*) *dadṛkṣe* (PB *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatīva* RV PB Cone suggests reading *uṣā* in PB

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants) Cf §151

§569 The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra* and *ūrdhva*

ugro (HG *ūrdhvo*, MG *agvo*) *vrājan* (MG °*jam*) *apa* (MG *upa-*) *sedha* (AV *vrāṅkṣva*) *satrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV ApMB HG MG

ugrothanvā (TS MS KS *ūrdhvadha*°) *pratīhītibhir a-stū* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS

ud vanṣam va yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham va menire* Mbh

yad annam admi (PrānāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā vrūpam* (PrānāgU *vrād-dham*, vv II *vrāyam*, *vruddham*) AV TA PrānāgU

brahmādhigūptah (etc) *brahmādhigūrtam*, see §742

athā jivah (KS *adhā viṣitah*, VS ŚB *athaitam*, AV *adomaslam*) *pitum* (AV *annam*) *adīhī prusūh* (TS MS KS *pramuktah*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

aghryau sūnam (AV *aghnyāv aśunam*) *aratām* RV AV *sūna* 'want' *aśuna* 'unprosperity'

suhulakṛtah stha AŚ *suhūlakṛta stha* ApŚ

utem (SV *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS In RV etc *uta-īm*, in SV acc of *ūtī* But the Saṁhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the u vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final u

sā brahmadjyā vr dunoti rāṣṭram AV *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahma-jyasya* AV 'Burns up' 'sbatters'

trīni padāni rūpo anv arohat AV pañca padāni rūpo anv aroham RV

Read *rūpo* in AV, with many *mas*, *comm*, and Whitney's *Transl udno* (AV text *ūdho*) *divyasya no dehi* (AV MS *dhātah*) AV TS MS

KS *ūdho* is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note Cf §106

namo vah pitarah śuśmāya (VS ŚŚ *śośāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūśāya*)

VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720

CHAPTER XIII QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

1 Short *a* and *i*

§570 The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them. That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

§571 We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut, it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *sakya* (by which TA comm. glosses *śikya*). One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman*, *śikvas*), according to Wackernagel (I c, p. 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ* *śatām śikyah* (MahānU *śa*^o, v 1 *śi*^o) *pruvacopaniṣat* TA MahānU¹.

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in *dātum cec chikṣān sa* (TA *chakruvānsah*, or ^o*vān sa*) *svarga eva* (TA *evām*) AV TA. See §826.

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots *śam śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p. 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant *pādas* VS uses only *sam*, TS KS only *śim*.

śamībhīh śamyantu tvā VS *śimībhīh* (KSA †*śim*^o) *śimyanu tvā* TS
KSA

kas te gātrāni śamyati (TS KSA śim°) VS TS KSA
mānā dchyanantu śamyantah VS *māsās chyanantu śmyantah* TS KSA
śimāh (KSA Conc śimām, ed with v l śimāh, VS śimāh) *kṛvantu*
 (VS * śamyantu) *śmyantah* (VS śamyantāh) VS TS KSA Note
 that VS denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the
 noun by reading śimāh with s, not ś (comm interprets by śimā
 rekḥāh)
nūctibhiḥ śamyantu (TS KSA śim°, MS śamyantu) tvā VS TS MS
 KSA

§573 Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of
 containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf Wackernagel I
 §21, but most of the cases are obscure or dubious, only the first is a
 clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar, SV
 has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*harī*) for the
 old and rarer *hirī*

hirīkmaśrum (SV *harī*°) *nārvānam* (SV *na varmanā*) *dhanarcam* (SV
 °ctm) RV SV

asyai nāryā upastare (ApMB °stire) AV ApMB Infinitive forms,
 Whitney emends to °stire with Ppp

śiśirīya vikakarān (KS *vikarān*, ApŚ *vikrān*, vv ll *vikakarān*, *vikī-
 krān*) VS KS ApŚ Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin,
 and meaning

sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyur JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah
 karah karasyuh* LŚ With *karasyu* of the noun *kāras*, RV ?

rudra yat te krayī (VS KS *kriṇi*, VSK *kram*, MS MŚ *giri*°) *param
 nāma* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47,
 all the forms are unintelligible

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain
 verb forms (e.g. the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with
 presently, and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e* i) also appears among
 the verbal variants (§582). Here we shall append a number of varia-
 tions between words which, while actually of independent origin, simu-
 late the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-
 synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite
 homonyme

§575 First, cases in which *r* follows (cf §578). Here we find two
 cases in which *pratara*, that is *pra-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies
 with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with
 the root *tṛ* 'cross'. The psychological affinity between this root as
 commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident

drāghīya āyuh prataram (TA †*pratardm*, MG *pratiram*) *dadhānāh* (AV **te dadhāmi*) RV AV TA AG MG *dīrgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajāni* TB *āyur dadhānāh prataram navīyah* AV Here *pratirad* is a verb-form (*prakarṣena dadātu*, comm), *pratardm* an adverb (comm *prakarṣena*), *pratiram*, if correct, is the R̥gvedic infinitive *pratiram*, but all but one of Knauer's mss read *prataram* in MŚ

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV AV MG

§576 Before other consonants than *r* (cf §570 ff), here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots *sam-vax* and *samivś*, which are listed in §281. Formally even closer are two variants between *kṣan* 'injure' and *kṣi* 'destroy', also virtual synonyms

indrā wāriṣṭo akṣatah (AV *akṣitah*) RV AV

akṣalam asy (SMB omits *asy*) *arīṣam* SMB ŚG *akṣitam* (*akṣitir*) *asī* (see §586)

pṛthivī durvir akṣitāparimitūnupadastī (V1Dh *akṣatī*) Kauē V1Dh *yathāgnir akṣito* ApMB HG

§577 Other near-synonyms

yajñam devebhīr anvitam (TS TB *inv*°) TS MS ApŚ TB †1 4 4 5b 'Accompanied' (*anu* + *i*) 'impelled'

śiśile śrīge rakṣase (AV *rakṣobhyo*) *vinikṣe* (KS *vinakṣe*, AV mss °*nikṣe*) RV AV TS MS KS *nikṣ* 'pierce' *naś* (as if causative) 'destroy' But no such form of *naś* is otherwise recorded, and the KS form is questionable

pavamāno daśasyati (SV *diś*°) RV SV Benfey would derive the SV form from stem *diśas* = *diś* (lex, and class in composition)

§578 Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false readings or corruptions. First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *i*) and particles (*ha* *hi*, etc)

ato (AV MahānU *ito*, TB *tuto*) *dharmāni dhārayan* RV AV SV VS TB MahānU

pūrvo ha (TA MahānU *hi*) *jātah* (JUB *jayīc*) *sa u garbhe antah* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚirasU JUB

ṛṣir hu (ŚŚ *hi*) *dīrghasruttamah* TS MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ

eṣo (TA MahānU *eṣa*, ŚirasU *eko*) *ha* (TA MahānU *hi*) *devah pradīko* 'nu *sarvāh* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚirasU

mśvam hi (KS *ha*) *riṣram pravahanti* (MS °*tu*) *devīh* RV AV VS MS KS ŚB

agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtva MŚ *agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS †
 °nūr) *hi bhūtva* TS KS

breṣṭho ha (Sāyana, AV Introd p 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhiyāta* GB
amūtrabhūyād adha (AV *adhi*) *yad yamasya* AV VS TS MS KS TAA
anūdhā yadi jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cid d*)

RV SV Two cases in the same pāda

vācā cit prayatam (AŚ *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ

duraś ca vītvā avṛnod apa svth RV *turaś cid vītvam arnaval tapasvān*
 AV

tāv ehi (AV *īha*, AB *ēha*, MG *tā eva*) AV AB AG ŚG PG MG

Others, §888 *ehi* contains the verb *īhi*, *ēha* is probably corrupt
 (Weber, *IsI* 10 160), and *eva* is certainly secondary

anu manyasva svuyajā yujāma (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ
anūrte (TS MS KS °tā) *vūrte* (TS °tā) *rajasī* (TS °so) *niṣatte* (MS
 °tā, KS *na sattā*, TS *vimāne*) RV VS TS MS KS N

mā no agne 'va (MG *vi*) *srjo aghāya* RV AG MG

śūrya apo vi (MG 'va) *gāhate* MS ApŚ MG

Miscellaneous pronominal forms

āre asman (MS NīlarU *asmin*) *nī dhehi tam* VS TS MS KS NīlarU
asmat 'from us' *asmin* 'in it' or 'in him' MS has *v l asman*,
 and its *p p asmat*

prajūyati kam (AV *kim*) *amṛtam nāvṛnīta* RV AV Both forms are used
 as particles here

yad vā me api (LŚ 'pi, Vait *upu*) *gachati* AŚ Vait LŚ

yo gū udiyad apa (MS *api*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

ahir juyhāna (PG *dadarṣa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* AG PG ApMB

HG MG Here true pronoun forms, no one' 'nothing'

māmīṣām kam canoḥ chīṣah RV SV VS *māiṣām kam canoḥ chīṣah* TS
 TB ApŚ *māiṣām uc cheṣi kim cana* AV As in prec

§579 Remoter lexical variants

mā no vidad (KS *vaidhīd*) *abhībhū mo akasth* AV KS TB ApŚ These

forms are etill quasi-synonyms, 'find' (in a hostile sense) 'injure'

dhyutāno vājibhir yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV 'Guided' 'placed'

jām:m itvā (Poona ed *jāmi mitvā*) *mā vintsi lokān* (Poona ed *lokāt*)

TA *jāmim itvā mānu patsi lokāt* AV See §198

śukrām vayanty asurāya nirnījam RV *śukrā vī yanty asurāya nirnīje*
 SV

vātajavair (HG *vātajirair*) , see §268

anarśarātīm (SV *alarśarātīm*) *vasudām upa stuti* RV SV AV N See

§292

hṛtsu kratum varuno (**nam*) *vikṣv* (*apsv*, *dikṣv*) *agnim*, see §360
mūrāvarunā śaraddhnam (MS °*nā*) *cikīnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*,
 AŚ *cikīvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45

tiṣro yahvasya (MS MŚ *jihvasya*) *samidhah pariṣmanah* RV MS ApŚ
 MŚ See §192

viśvakarman bhawana nām didāsitha (ŚB *manda āstha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ
 See §840

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS
devahitam yaviṣṭhya) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB
rāyah śyāma rathyo vayasvatah (TB *viyasvatah*) RV MS TB See §255
yaśo (AŚ *diśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇām* (AŚ °*nāh*) TB AŚ
agnih pareṣu (AŚ *prutneṣu*, SV VS ŚB *priyeṣu*) *dhāmasu* AV SV VS
 ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

hinvāno hetṛbhīr yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV

ulivandāya svāhā KSA *iluvardāya svāhā* TB ApŚ Followed by
balinarilāyu (KSA °*inulāya*), which suggests that KSA has an
 assimilated form

sam padam magham trayiṣṭinr na kāmam (AA *ruyīṣṭanr na somah*)
 SV AA See §545

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB
bhṛjāsi, HG *bhājā sa*) *jīnan* AV SMB HG ApMB

miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV *mahi no vātā sha vāntu bhūmau*
 AV Metathesis of *a* and *i*

§580 The following seem to be false readings

ahim (RVKh *aham*) *dandenāyatam* RVKh AV Both words make good
 sense, but Scheftelowitz (p 62) reads *ahim* for RVKh with *hia ms*
tūditnū (TB Poona ed *†tūdiknā*) *śatrum* (TB *śatrūn*) *na kilā vivitse*
 (TB *vivatse*) RV TB But Poona ed *vivitse*, comm gloss *na*
labhase

gāvo bhugo gāva indro me achān (AV *ma ichāt*, TB with two AV *mas*
†achāt) RV AV KS TB *achān* is the only intelligible reading and
 is adopted by Whitney, see VV I p 130

[*uñṛṣakthāya* (KSA °*ṣak*°, Conc °*ṣik*°) *svāhā* TS KSA]

[*namah śaṣṛiṅjurāya* (TS *śaṣṛ*°, Conc wrongly *śṣṣṛ*° for MS) *tiṣimate*
 VS TS MS KS]

[*mā no vadhih* (Conc *vidhih* for TS, wrongly) *pitaram* RV VS TS
 TAA MŚ]

§581 In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants
 Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i*, included are
 some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems

pra bhānavah asrate (SV *sa*^o) *nākam achu* RV AV SV VS TS MS

On this and the two next see VV I §272

vr̥ṣāva cakradad (and *°do*) *vane* RV *vr̥ṣo acikradad vane* SV See prec
tāh prācyā (Vait *°yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjgāhire* (KŚ *°tre*, Vait *samjigātre*) KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīś conjgāhire* ApŚ See prec two
stutāram id didhiṣeya (SV *didhiṣe*) *radāvuso* RV AV SV See VV I p 90

hastagrābhāṣya didhiṣos (AV *di*^o) *tavedam* (TA *tvam etat*) RV AV TA

Manymss of AV *di*^o, which Whitney would read Cf however next
vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS *da*^o) *havīṣṣi* MS KS TB N
 Cf prec The MS reading is not certain, several mss *di*^o

§582 In present formations of different classes

svīrābhīṣ *†trate* (SV TS *tarati*) RV SV TS KS Note the following *r* (§573)

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema*
 Vait 1st and 4th class presents, VV I p 125 In the latter *y* is epenthetic

yac ca prāniti (AV *°ati*) *yac ca na* AV ŚB † TB BṛhU † 1st and 2d class presents, VV I p 123

yah prāniti (AV *prānati*) *yu im śṛnoty uktam* RV AV Cf prec
kutī kṛtvah prānati cāpānati ca (ŚB *prāniti cāpu cāniti*) GB ŚB Cf prec two

ni ṣṇinī (AV *abhi ṣṇana*) *duritā bādhamānah* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS Cf prec three

§583 The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf Whitney §1030

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ *ali*^o) AB ŚŚ An aorist in AB See VV I p 87

sa bhikṣamāno (SV *bha*^o) *amṣṭasya cārunah* RV SV Both *bhikṣ* (a sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhaj*, but function as quasi-independent roots

§584 In various miscellaneous verb forms,

ajījapata (TS TB *°jīpata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS TB MŚ See VV I p 192 Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists, the form with radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by that of the simple root

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepadhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG See VV I p 133

nābhā samdāyi navyaṣi (SV *°dāya navyaṣe*) RV SV *samdāyi* is 3d sing passive aor, *samdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb)

yenā samatsu sāsahāh (SV °h_ih, MŚ °h_i) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ
 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV (perfect subj) 'where-
 by (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV (adjective) In MŚ
 the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(tby) mind' in
 prec

sam indra no (no) manasā neṣi (AV *neṣa*) *gobh_ih* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB See VV I p 105

pitā no bodhi (TA *bodha*) VS ŚB TA See VV I p 123

a : in noun formation

§585 The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes. Phonetics has little to do with them, at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and *i* may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous. Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *tu* with nouns of action or abstracts in *ti*, the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages. Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *ti*, or the nouns in *ti* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles. Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na ni* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra ri*, patronymics in *ka ki*, heteroclitic stems in *a(an) i*, stems in *ana in(a)*, stems in *in* (in composition) *a(n)*, stems in *a-ka ikā*, and a remnant of unclassifiable *a i* forms.

§586 We begin with the suffixes *tu ti*, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning, see also §599 below
yam akṣitam (ŚŚ N °tim) *akṣituyah pibanti* TS ŚŚ N *yam akṣitam akṣitū bhakṣuyanti* AV *yathūkṣitam akṣituyah pibanti* (KS °yo madanti) MS KS 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV imperishable ones) drink (or the like)'

akṣitam asi mā pīḥnām (with variants) *kṣeṣṭhā* ApG ApMB HG
 BDh *akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāh* TS *akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyāh* MS *akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā* VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ And other variations

apā vṛdhi parivṛtam (TB Conc °vṛtim, Poona ed text and comm °vṛtim) *na rādhaḥ* RV TB 'Open up as it were hidden treasure' 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'

bradhnaś cud atra (SV *yasya*) *vāto na jūtaḥ* (SV *jūtim*) RV SV *jūtaḥ* 'speedy', adj with *vāto*, *jūtim* 'speed', with change of construction

pra samrājo (SV °jam) *asurasya prabastim* (SV °tam) RV SV KB
atirdtram varṣan pūrtir dūrī (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaī*, KS *vavṣvān*
pūrta rāvaī) *svāhā* TS MS KS

§587 These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *tī*

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe MS *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °pate) *puṣṭis* AŚ ApŚ
pro ayāsid indur indrasya niṣkṛtam RV SV PB *pra vā etindur indrasya*
niṣkṛtim AV

nyañ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanī uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °tim) RV AV KS
ākūtim (MS MŚ MG °tam) *agnim prayujam svdhā* VS TS MS KS
 ŚB MŚ MG

vāco vidhṛtim (MS °tam) *agnim prayujam svdhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 In same passage with prec

sviṣṭam (MŚ v l °tim) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS MŚ *sviṣṭim no abhi*
 (KŚ 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KŚ

kṛnutam nah sviṣṭim (MS KS °tam) VS TS MS KS

mayi puṣṭim (AV °tam) *†puṣṭipatir* (AV *puṣṭa*°, KS °*puṣṭipatnī*)
dadhātu (AG †*dadātu*) AV MS KS (four times) TAA MahānU
 ApŚ AG SMB

kuyavam ca me 'kṛtis (VS 'kṛtam) *ca me* VS MS KS *akṛtis ca me*
kūyavāḥ ca me TS

[*śdityās te citim* (KS Conc wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS ApŚ]

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °nītir, KS *°dhītam,
 v l °dhītim, KS * [38 12b] †°nītha, KapS °dhītam or °tim, MS
 °dhīte) *yajñān* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 °nītha is a variant for °nīta, see §93

§588 Coming to variants between *na* and *ni*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī*

anapatnī sapatnaghñī (ApMB °nighñī) RV ApMB ApG Cf *sapatnī*,
 for which *sapatni* is recorded in the Rāmāyana (BR)

gandharmīya januvide (ApMB *janu*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG Cf the stems
janī and *janī* Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both
 radical, not suffixal (disyllabic root *janī*)

somāyu januvide (MG *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG In same passage as prec
teṣām yo ayyānīm (PG 'jyānīm) *ajītim āvahāt* (SMB Conc *ajītim*
āvahāh, but Jorgensen text and comm as others) TS SMB PG
 BDh *teṣām ayyānīm* (MŚ °nam) *yatamo vahātī* (KS MŚ *na*
āvahāt) AV KS MŚ *a-jyā-ni*, 'non-oppression' *u-jyā-na* id, not
 recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *anu*, which appears
 as *na* after *ā*

hiranyapakṣaḥ śakunīḥ HG *hiranyaparna śakune* PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU

pururūpam suretasam maghonam (TB °nim) VS TB *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc sing of *maghavan* (cf RV *maghonas*, nom plur) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem, *maghonim* (inacc) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same TB comm *annavanam*, VS comm *maghavantam dhanavantam*

§589 Of the suffixes *ra ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri* °ra The usual form is °ri, but °ra occurs elsewhere, however in this passage the MS p p reads *tittiriḥ mandūko mūṣikā tittiris* (MS °ras) *te sarṣānām* VS MS Cf §598, *varṣābhyas*

§590 The suffixes *ka* and *ki* exchange in patronymics, really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k*, all occur in the same passage

śaunakam (ŚG °kim) AG ŚG
kaḥolam kauṣītakam (ŚG °kim) AG ŚG
mahākauṣītakam (ŚG °kim) AG †ŚG

§591 Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan asthi*

asthabhyah (KSA *asthi*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA
ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohītākṣi (MahānU *puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohītākṣa*) *dehi dehi dadāpayitā me kṛdhyantām* TA TAA MahānU

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds)

anakṣikāya (KSA °akāya) *svāhā* TS KSA
anasthikāya (KSA °akāya) *svāhā* TS KSA

§592 A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at*

dhrūvas tiṣṭhāvincālah (AV MS KS °calat) RV AV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TB

parvata vāvincālah (AV MS KS °calat) RV AV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TB

dadhīr (SV *dadhad*) *yo dhāyī sa te* (SV *ṛte*) *vayānsi* RV SV
enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām TS *eno mahac cakṛvān baldha ṛeṣa* MS

§593 Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (ina)

tan nau samvānanam kṛtsm MG *tenu samvānanau svuke* HG *samvānana* 'concord' *samvānin* 'concordant'

manyoh krodhasya nāsānī PG *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB *mṛdhrasya*) *nāsānī* ApMB HG Femines of *nāsana nāsin*

mā no vidad (KS *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS TB ApŚ °*and*) *dveṣyā tṛd* AV
KS TB ApŚ Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise
unknown

ḥunām agram suvīrinah (ApMB *subīranah*) ApMB HG Cf next
subīrana ṣṛja-ṣṛja ḥunaku ApMB *suvīrinah ṣṛja-ṣṛja* HG Epithets of
dogs, of unknown origin and meaning

§594 Variations between stems in *in* (in composition *i*) and stems
in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*)

tasya te †*vājipītasypahūtasyopahūto* (Vait *vājipītasypahūto*, LŚ
vājipītasypahūta [text °*hata*] *upahūtasya*) *bhakṣayāmī* AŚ LŚ
Vait *tasya te vājibhīr bhakṣamkṛtasya vājibhīh sūlasya vājipīlasya*
vājinasypahūtasyopahūto bhakṣayāmī ApŚ *vājy aham vājinasy-*
opahūta upahūtasya bhakṣayāmī VSK KŚ

vājam tvāgne Vait *vāji tvā* ApŚ MŚ *vājīnam tvā vājīn*
KS *vājīnam tvā vājedyāyau* (*sapatnasāham*) VS VSK TS
ŚB

ava jyām (HG *dyām*) *iva dhanvanah* (HG *dhanvīnah*) AV ApMB HG
See §159

matsvā suśipra (SV °*prīn*) *harivas taṣ* (SV *taṣ*) *īmahe* RV SV
bodhīrmanā (SV *bodhan*°) *id astu nah* RV SV In SV pres 1pl ,
bodhat

§595 Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i*
replaces *a*, see Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 95 f

vidyutām kanīnikābhyām (VS *kanīna*°) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanā-*
nakābhyām TS

vṛtrasyāsi (KS *mitrasya*°) *kanīnikā* (VS ŚB °*ukah*) VS MS KS ŚB
MŚ MG *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*akāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ

agner akṣnah kanīnakam (VSK °*kām*, TS MS KS °*ikām*) VS VSK TS
MS KS ŚB

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB *ni jalgalīti* (KSA ms †*jalgalīti*, em
°*īti*) *dhārikā* TS KSA

avajihvaka nijihvaka ApMB *avajihva nijihvika* HG Here, in a
masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous, it may be corrupt,
or may be based on thought of a form **jihvīn*, with suffixal *in*

§596 The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a i* in suffixes and endings
tasmin mā indro rucim ā dadhātu AV *tasmin somo rucam ā dadhātu*
HG ApMB Stems *ruci* and *ruc* Cf next

hīrismaśrum nāvānam dhanarcam RV *hīriśmaśrum na varmanā*
dhanarcam SV Stems *rc* and *rc-i* (possibly with confused thought
of *arciḥ*?)

- kuwayah* (KSA °yih, VS TS *kuwayh*) *kuṣarur dātyauhas te vājindm* (TS KSA *antudiyai*) VS TS MS KSA A name of an unknown animal, p p of MS also *kuwayh*
- ndrah* (ŚŚ °us) *patis tuvṛṣamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣu ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*) AV AA ŚŚ Stems *tuvus* and *tuvṛ-* (the latter not used as a separate word)
- tīlvāstām* (ed misprinted *tīlva*°, see Stenzler's Transl p 83 n) *vāvatīm* AG *tīlvā sthājirāatī* ŚG *tīlvā sthivāvatī* MG † 2 11 12b *tīlvā syād vāvatī* ApMB The word is otherwise *tīlvā*, probably MG is to be emended
- vi bloka etu* (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokaḥ yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *pathena*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS †*sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU
- agne varcasān* (VSK °van) *varcasvāns* (ŚŚ °vī) *tvam deveṣu asi varcasvān* (ŚŚ °vy) *aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ
- pradakṣiṇin* (AV °nam) *marutām stomaṃ ṛdhyām* (MS *akhyām*) RV AV MS TB The old adverb *pradakṣiṇi*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV
- mānasya pitṛe śaranā syonā* AV *mā nah supatnah śaranah syonā* HG *harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB °atā) *marutvah* RV TB N See §122 and VV I §86
- kṛkalāsah* (KSA *kṛki*°) *pippakā śukunis* (TS KSA *śak*° *pi*°) *te śaravyū-* *yai* VS TS MS KSA Of uncertain origin, simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛki-*

2 Long ā and ī

§597. These variants are few. The most interesting group concerns ā varying with ī as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound. We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings ī and ā in this connexion. These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples

samhitāḥ nīśvarūpā (VS ŚB ŚŚ °pī, TS ApŚ * °pīh) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis)

upasthāvarābhya dāsam VS *upasthāvarābhya tbarindam* (so Poona ed text and comm) TB

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

śiva rūtasya (TS and v 1 of MS *rudrasya*, VSK *śiva r̥tasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °jā) VS VSK TS MS KS See §684

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not)

vardhrah śikakakṣī vārdhrānasas te divyāh (KSA *v̥r̥hī°*, ed em *vārdhrī°*, te 'dityāh) TS KSA The word (otherwise spelled with ī) seems at least to be felt as a compound, cf *vārdhra*?

uṣṭro ghr̥nīvān vārdhrīnasas (MS *ghr̥nāvān vārdhrī°*) te *matyaḥ* VS MS Cf prec, p p of MS *vārdhrī°* In *ghr̥°* we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here

ākhuḥ kaśo mānhālas (MS °thālavas, VSK *māndhālas*) te *pitṛnām* VS VSK MS *pāñktrah* (KSA *ṭpāñktrah*, mss of both *pāntra-*) *kaśo mānhālavas* (KSA *ṭman°*) te *pitṛnām* (KSA *ṭpitṛ°*) TS KSA See §77

yā te agne harāśayā (VSK *harī°*, MS MŚ *harā°*) *tanūr* VS VSK ŚB (Pratīkas MS MŚ) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*

vidyutam kanīṅkābhyām (VS *kanīṅa°*) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here

§598 The other variations of *ā* and *ī* are very miscellaneous, mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort

agne tejasvīn tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh TS *agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvam tejasvān deveṣu edhī* MS See also *agne varcasvīn* etc, §596 *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS °yāvān, MŚ °yavān) TS KS MŚ

śiva vīsvīha (VS °hā) *bheṣajī* (TS °habheṣajī, MS °jā) VS TS MS KS *vīsvacarṣurūh sahurūh sahāvān* (AV *sahīyān*) RV AV MS

śilpā vaiśvadevīh (VS °vyah) VS MS *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāh* TS KSA Fem and masc forms, nom plur

samānī na ākūtīh RV AV TB AG *samīnā nī* (KS *na*) *ākūtīnī* MS KS MG *ī* of fem sing *ā* of neut plur

varṣābhyas tittirīn (MS °rān) VS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ Acc plur of the words which vary in §589

dhiyā manotā prathamō manīṣī (SV °nā *manīṣā*) RV SV 'The foremost intelligent one' 'intelligence'

sā śamtāti (SV °tā, TB ApŚ °cī) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV SV TB ApŚ *śamtāti* acc neut, and *śamtātā* loc sing, from *śamtāti*, on *śantācī* see §156

aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni (VS and v 1 of MS 'sthāni) *ca me* VS TS MS KS
 Stems *asthan asthi*
teṣāṃ sam hanmo akṣāni (AV *sam dadhmo akṣāni*) RV AV (Ppp *has*
akṣāni) Stems *akṣan akṣi*
bahu ha vā ayam ararṣād MS *bahu hāyam arṛyād* (KS °*ṛad*)
 TS KS See VV I p 129
turo ha prajā atyāyam āyan (JB *tyuh*) AV JB Imperfect and perfect
 of 1

In VV I p 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in (n)ā (n)ī, which we shall not repeat here Add the following

śrīti viśvataḥ prati RV †*śrīti viśvatas pari* SV

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvi* As was to be expected, the form in *tvi* is regularly the older *avād dhavyāni surabhīni kṛtvā* (RV VS *kṛtvī*) RV AV VS TS ApS
 SMB

kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvi (RV °*tvi*) RV AV ApMB

kṛtvī (AV *kṛtvā*) *devair niktibṛṣam* RV AV

kṛtvī (AV *kṛtvā*) *savarṇām adadur* (AV *adadhur*) *ivasvate* RV AV N
pūtvī (SV TS *pūtvā*) *śipre avepayah* RV SV AV VS TS ŚB

vayo ye bhūtvi (AV °*tvā*) *putayanti naktahkḥ* RV AV

svannah snātvi (AV °*tvā*, VS ŚB *snāto*) *malād wu* AV VS MS KS
 ŚB TB

hivī (SV *hivā*) *śiro jhavyā vāvadur* (SV *rārapur*) *carat* RV SV

apālām indra (MG °*ras*) *triy (trih) pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, ApMB *pūtvī*,
 MG *pūrty a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG

3 a and i with shift of quantity

§599 Here are found only a few stray variants too few to classify Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality, these will not be repeated We begin with variants of ā and i, the first two belong with those of a and i in §586

prācīm jivātum akṣītām (ŚŚ ŚG °*tim*) AV TS MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG AG †
 (Stenzler's Translation, p 36 n) ApMB N

vyacasvatīṣayanī subhūtī AŚ MS *viśvavyacā ṣayanī subhūtī* (KS °*tā*) TS KS In the latter *subhūtā* is an adjective going with *aditī* in the next pāda

tan no durgā (TA °*gih*) *pracodayāt* TA MahānU Durgi for Durgā seems to occur only here

śriyo (AV TB °*yam*) *vasānāś carati svarocī* (TB °*cāh*) RV AV VS
 KS TB

āṅgūṣṇām (SV *āṅgūṣṇam*) *avāvasanta vānīh* RV SV Different case-forms of *a* and *i* in stems

adhī kṣamī vṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā vṣva*°) *yad astī* (ArS *asya*, MS † *asta*) RV AV ArS MS TB

kara ād (SV *id*) *arthayāsa st* RV SV

anādhyṣṭā VS MS KS ŚB *anībhṛṣṭā* TS See §176

§600 Between *a* and *i* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic *śrāh* (TS MS KS *śarāh*, AV *śarā*) *patatrīnī* (TS MS KS °*nīh*) *sthana* (KS *stha*, AV *bhūtā*) RV AV VS TS MS KS Besides the synonymous *sarā* and *sirā*, *śrā* is also found (RV) All are from root *sr*, cf. §§570, 573

amṛtenāvr̥ṣṭīm puram (TA *purīm*) AV TA Equivalent stems *pur* and (later) *purī*

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṅaktkārīm (TB *kaṅaktakāram*) VS TB Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd, show shift in gender *nayanto garbham vādm dhīyam dhuh* RV *nayantam gīrbhīr vānā dhīyam dhāh* SV Lexical

āmīnn (KS *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ Lexical

vīrenyāh kratuḥ vudrah sūśasth RV *varenyukratūr* (AV °*tur*, ApŚ *ūlenya*°) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ See §§383, 554

4 Interchange of short *a* and *u*

§601 Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the *a i* variants, in which *a* varies with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift. To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms, representing *ū* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel. Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here. But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded. The great majority of the forms concern roots in *ū*. There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV, and the like seems to be largely true of MS.

§602 In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation. The following are those from *ū* roots *acīkradāt svapā iha bhuvāt* (Ppp *bhuvāt*, Barret, JAOS 30 244) AV Ppp Add to VV I 1 c

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS KS TB † [Poona ed text and comm]

ApS *bruvan*) VS TS MS KS TB ApS

tasmai somo adhi braval (KS *brual*) RV AV KS

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

pra bravāmu (MS *bruvāma*, v 1 *bra°*) *haradah satam* VS MS TA ApMB

ApG HG MG

sammislo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV

uta trātā tivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS

Kauś

nemiś cakram wābhavat (SV MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuvah*) RV SV

yad dūre eann ihābhavah (SV °*bhuvah*) RV SV MŚ N

tutra pūjābhavat (SV °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

asapatnā kilūbhavam (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB *asapatnah kilū-*
bhavam RV

sampriyah (TA °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB TA ApS *bhuvat*)

MS TB TA ApS

marutvantani sakhyāya havānahe (SV *thuvemaht*) RV †1 101 1-7, SV

[*svāveśo anamāvo bhavā* (Conc wrongly *bhuvā* for ApMB) *nah* RV TS

MS SMB PG ApMB]

§603 From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer

abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) *guruh* RV SV (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long *u* root) Here SV goes counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV *uv*

upa śravat (MS *sruvat*, p p *bra°*) *subhagā yajñe usmān* RV MS On the anomalous and doubtful MS form cf VV I p 106

tad ahuni nihnave (ŚŚ °*nave*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ To be added to VV I §193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents, the latter (*hnute*) is more regular

neḍiya it sṛnyah pakvam ā yavan (Ppp *yuvan*, Barret, JAOS 30 207)

AV Ppp (Others, see Conc) Add to VV I l c

§604 The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both *ū* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems
abhūbhuvē (MS °*bhuvē*, KS °*bhuvē*) *svāhā* MS VS KS TB ApS And, in same passage.

vbhuvē (MS *vbhuvē*, KS †*vbhuvē*) *svāhā*, same texts

samudram na suhavam (*suhavam*, *subhuvās*) , *mahīyam nah subhavam* (*subhuvās*) , see §119

indrah (ŚŚ °*as*) *putis tivrīṣtam* (AA ŚŚ *lavastamo*) *janeṣu ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*)
AV AA ŚŚ Cf §596

h̥tibhravo (MS °*h̥hravo*) *vasīnām* VS MS

puṣṣavanam puṣṣavanam AG *puṣṣavanam aṣi* ApMB The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV)

tad viprāṣo vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV VS NṛpU VāsuU SkandaU ArunU MuktiU

tā vām gīrbhir vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV

sumnydyuvah (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS MŚ

laśya prajā apsaraso bhīruvāh (MS *bhīravo nāma*) TS MS

§605 Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff., we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf. §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo kuru*. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par-* *pur-*, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work.

sukarīrā svopahā (v 1 *svau*°) MS *sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB

The usual form is *kurīra*, the etymology is unknown. If MS is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*).

avabhīrtha nicumpuna (TS TB ApŚ *nicañkuna*, MS KS MŚ *nicuñkuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ MŚ ApŚ N. See §150.

Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words.

nicerur aṣi nicumpunah (TS TB *nicuñkuna*, MS KS *nicuñkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ Cf. prec.

samkasuko vikasukah AV MS *samkusuko vikasukah* TA ApŚ. The root is *kas* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows. Cf. next.

asmin vayam samkasuke (ApŚ °*kusuke*) AV ApŚ Cf. prec.

ni nīvartana vartayendru nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB. See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by *b*, a labial consonant.

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya*, v 1 °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ MŚ. Here the original form was neither *a* nor *u*, but *r*, see §631.

tuce tanāya (SV Svidh. *tunāya*) *tat su nah* RV SV Svidh. The SV form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*.

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a* *u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal, assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *karo-*, *karu-* (VV I p 116 f, and references there quoted) Most of the other words are obscure, often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel

karanam (TS *karunam*) *asī* TS AS ŚŚ Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work', but *karanam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karunam* in this variant *varano vārayātai* (and, *vārayīyati*) AV *varuno vārayāt* TA The root *vṛ*, like *kr*, has dissyllabic forms in *u* It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuna* is derived from it, the god's name (if the reading is correct, Poona ed has *varano* with *v* | *varuno*) is here used obviously with punning intent

So with the verb-forms *vanate vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p 121, whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l c), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u*

ugrīr no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *varsate*) *ruyīm* RV SV VS VSK TS MS KS

tad ugrīr devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutīm*) TS MS ŚB TB AS ŚŚ

§607 The rest are more dubious in character

pulvo (VS MS *pulvo*, KSA *bidvo*) *nyañkūh kukkaṣus* (MS *kakūṣas*, TS KSA *kaśas*) *te 'numutya* (KSA °*yāh*) VS TS MS KSA There may be assimilation in VS or dissimilation in MS, but the forms are wholly obscure

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB °*tunam*, ŚŚ *sajojanam*) AV AB GB JB ŚŚ Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal, yet the variant seems to belong in feeling to this group No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetana* is recorded later, and cf RV *cetū*

somāya rājñāh kulūṅguh TS *somāya kuluṅguh* (MS *kulūṅguh*) VS MS *somāya rājñe kuluṅguh* KSA The usual form is *kuraṅga*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable In both this and the next variant MS *p p* has *kulu*°, contrariwise VS comm reads in both *kula*°, glossing *kuraṅga*

sādhyebhyah kulūṅgān (MS *kulaṅgān*) VS MS Cf prec

yādase śābalyām (TB *śābulyām*) VS TB *parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB *śābalyam*) RV AV ApMB Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words, *śāmulya* means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with *śābala* 'spotted'. A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS TB, whose commm interpret 'a woman with spotted skin', the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b*. ApMB is clearly thinking of *śābala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment', in RV AV ApMB reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night Cf §241

§608 Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation. First a group in which the common synonyms *cakṣas* and *cakṣus* interchange. Note the misreading *cakṣaṣṭi śāmavedasya* in GB Bibl Ind ed, which is a mere misprint for *cakṣuṣṭi* as shown by the following ξ , Gaastra reads correctly *cakṣuṣṭi*. *Cakṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *cakṣus*.

namah sumudrasya cakṣase (PB *cakṣuṣe*) TS MS KS JB PB LŚ
apo mahi vyayuti cakṣase tamah RV *apo mahi vṛnute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV
āyuk ca prāyuk ca cakṣaḥ ca vicakṣaś (ApŚ *cakṣus ca vicakṣuś*) ca
 MS ApŚ

§609 Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation

tarakṣuh (KSA †^o*kṣah*) *kṛṣṇah* TS KSA Both forms otherwise recorded, original unknown

sādhu (SV *sāthah*) *kṛtvantam avase* RV SV As the accent of *sā'dhu* shows (see Wackernagel II 1 p 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb. It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*.

tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā RV ApMB *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically, but resembles the case of *cakṣas* *cakṣus*, §608, superficially

duvyū minānā manasā (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrū* VS MS KS TB
sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ Cf §573

ārdrah prathasnur (MŚ †*prthasnur*, v 1 *prathasnur*) *bhūwanasya gopāh* TB ApŚ MŚ Knauer, note on MŚ, would understand *prathasnu* (TB comm *prathasāṣilo*) as dialectic by-form of *prthasnu*

samarṣṣam ubhayam kṛtam (KŚ *abhayam kratum*) KS TB KŚ ApŚ
Note metathesis of a u in KŚ, which is poor and secondary, and
cf next

puṅjikasthālā (KS † *puṅjiga°*) ca *kṛtasthālā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau*
VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, compounded of *kṛta* 'kratu',
cf prec Really lexical, since the words are radically not related
dhanasṣṛtam (MS *dhanu°*, but p p *dhana°*) *kūśwānsam sudakṣum* RV
MS *dhanu°* could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of
'wealth-winning', it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by
assimilation to the u vowels of the following

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a
shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitā*
gṛtāvāṭi savitā (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*tyaḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ

'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'

§611 In verb inflexion, morphological change between a and u vowels
is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect
indicative) endings, (n)tu (n)ta The instances are gathered in VV I,
mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics
are hardly concerned We add a few other stray cases

adārasṣṛ bhavata (AV °*tu*) *deva soma* AV TB ApŚ *bhavata* seems
uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see
VVI p 283

ā pīaram vaiśvānaram avase kah (PB *kuh'* comm *akah*, glossed *kuru*)
PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *kuh* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a
gross corruption for *kah* ('*kah*), VV I p 283

§612 The remaining cases of a u are purely lexical A large group
concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms
as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other,
also the pronoun *su*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa su*, of
various character, are included here

ye sajātīh samanasaḥ (Kauś *su°*) TB ApŚ Kauś *ye samātīh samana-*
saḥ VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

śalam jīvena śarīkḥ sarvavīrāḥ (TB *suvirāḥ*, ApŚ *suvirāḥ*) AV TB
ApŚ

ā tvā vahantu harayah śucetasah (ApMB *sa°*) MS ApMB HG

ādityāsah sumahasah (SV *sa°*) *kṛtotana* RV SV

agnih sudakṣah sultanur ha bhūtā MŚ *agne śalukṣah satanur* (KS †
°*nūr*) *hi bhūtā* TS KS

namo vṛdihāya ca savṛdhe (TS *savṛdhvane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS
savṛdhvane) ca VS TS MS KS

sajdlānām braiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam AV TS *sa° madhye braiṣṭhyā ā dhehī mā* MS *sujdlānām braiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS
tad vo astu suctelanam (JB °*tunam*, ŚŚ *sajoṣanam*) AV AB GB
 JB ŚŚ

marutvān astu ganavān sajdlavān (AŚ *sujdlavān*) TB AŚ
akah su (TS *sa*) *lokam sukṛtam prthivyāh* (VS ŚB °*vyām*) VS TS MS
 KS ŚB Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*
ayam sa (ŚŚ *su*) *vām abivnā bhāga ā galam* AV AŚ ŚŚ
pra sumartyam (*su mṛtyum*) *yuyolana* SMB ApMB *pra sa mṛtyum*
yuyolana HG Here *sa* seems uninterpretable, Conc would
 read *su*

dadhad yo dhāyi sule vayānsi SV *dadhir yo dhāyi sa le vayānsi* RV
 Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of
 different character, involving false divisions of words
samṛaṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samṛaṣṭāsu*
yulev indro ganeṣu MS

nṛcakṣāh (MŚ *sucakṣāh*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm and Poona ed *suśrug*,
 MŚ *sasrud*) *astu* TB MŚ If Poona ed is right, TB has *su-*, the
 reduplicating syllable See §145

§613 Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or
 with other *a-*
yajñah pratyasṭhāt (*v l praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumalau*
malīnām MŚ

lam ahve (SV *u hve*) *vājusātaye* RV SV In VV I p 26 we have
 suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated
 from the vowel only by the aspirate
īdām u ha (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ AG

§614. The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other
na, sometimes involving false division of words
lam le vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt (MS KS *nu madhye*) VS MS KS
 ŚB *īdam le tad vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt* TS
yajñāyale vā paśuso na (MS *nu*) *vājān* RV MS KB
upānānah saparyan RV † *upo nu sa saparyan* SV
avasyuvāt bhātī (TS °*ār*) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śakvari* (TS °*rih*) TS
 MS KS AŚ

mahān indrah paraś ca nu (SV *paraś ca nah*) RV AV SV Metathesis
 of *a u*

§615 Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange,
 this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in
 §605, q v Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur
pari pūṣā purastāt (AV *pu°*) RV AV

yasmāḍ jātā na parā nava kim canāsa TA *yasmāḍ jātam na purā kim canāsa* VS *yasmāḍ jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ *yasmāt param nāparam asti kimcit* TA MahānU N *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait *yasmād anyo na paro asti jālah* PB *yasmān na jālah paro anyo asti* (NṛpU 'sti) VS, TB ApŚ MahānU NṛpU

[*ye devāḥ purahsado* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ BDh *ye devā agni-netrāḥ purahsadas* VS ŚB Conc quotes *parahsado* for TS]

§616 Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words, sometimes with false division of words

pra na (SV *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV *tu nah*) RV SV

sarve rādhyāḥ stha (ŚŚ °*yās tu*) *puṛāḥ* AB ŚŚ

devāṅso yasmai tveḍe tat satyam upariḥpruḍā (ApŚ *aparipṛuḍā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ *bhaṅgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ

ugro (MG *agne*, HG *ūrdhvo*) *mr̥jann* (MG *virāyam*) *apa* (MG *upa-*) *sedhu* (AV *vṛñkṣva*) *satr̥in* (MG *śukram*) AV ApMB HG MG *upaśṛuvate* (ŚŚ *apa*°, corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ ŚŚ

apa snehitir etc RV AV SV KS *upa stuhir* etc TA See §110

tāni brahmā tu (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV *śumbhati*, ApMB *śaṅsati*) RV AV ApMB

§617 The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another

mitro yatra (AV *no atra*) *varuno ayyamānuh* (AV *yuyja*°) RV AV

devebhīr aktam (VS TS *yuktam*) *aditih sajoṣāḥ* VS TS MS KSA

vācā cit prayatam (AŚ *ca prayuḍi*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ

prumude (TB °*mule*) *kumārīputram* VS TB

anu stomam mudimahi (PB *mudemahi*) RV AV PB

asmun goṣṭhe kariṣṇih (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣṇih*) AV MŚ Kauś

See §152, note *p* before *u*

sā sannaditḥ sanuḥi vājum emam (MŚ *sunuḥi bhāyadheyam*) AV MG (Others, §52) *ā-san su*, near-synonyms

añjanti suprayusam (Ppp *yuñjanti suprayasam*) *pañca janāḥ* RV AVPpp MS Sec §192

vāyosāvitra (MS *vāyusavitṛbhīyām*) *āgomughhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA

pratnāso agna ṛtam āsuyānāḥ (AV *āsakānāḥ*) RV AV VS TS

astimahi (MS *uś*°) *tvā* MS TA

ā raśmīn (RV °*mim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB °*vah*) RV VS ŚB TB

ni galgaliti dhārakā VS ŚB *ni jaljalūti* (KSA *nis tjalgalūti*, ed *em* °*lūti*) *dhānukā* TS KSA Onomatopoeic forms?

ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (AV *ye apa°*, some *mss ya upa°*, comm *u parāsa*) *iyuh* RV AV VS TS MS

[*yaje samrāadhanīm aham* ŚB BrhU AŚ SMB ApMB *yuje* (but read *yaje* with most *mss*, Hillebrandt, p 250) [*samardham im aham* ŚŚ *agnau samrāadhanīm yaje* HG]

§618 And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote *pratiṣṭam prātisrutvanam* (AB °*satvanam*) AV AB ŚŚ Boehtlingk regards the reading °*sutv°* as a corruption of the other But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sutvan* as *satvan*

svastī nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākṛtheṣu*, v 1 as RV) *yonīṣu* RV AB MG

vasiṣṭhahanuh śiṅgīni kokyābhyām VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA °*kośā°*) TS TA

yamāya loke adhirajjur dya (TA *dya*, MS *loke nulhīr ujurāya*) AV MS TA See §401

adha syāma (MS *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayer*) *grheṣu* AV MS KS ApŚ See §840

pratiṣṭukāyā artanam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB See §651

kumbhānas (*stambh°*) , see §287

in no rāṣṭram unattu TB *sam te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV See §139
bhakṣimahi (TS MS KS Vait *dhukṣ°*) *prajāṃ iṣam* RV SV TS MS KS PB Vait

rajuni , *rajjuni* , see §107

ide agnim svavasam (AV *svāvasam*) *namobhīh* RV AV MS TB AŚ See §466

īman ślām anupakṣītau (ApMB *anapekṣ°*) AV ApMB

āsum jayantam anu (KS *yā samjayanām adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

abhi sprdha usro vedim tatarda ŚŚ *vy usridho astro adrir bibheda* TB
The TB looks generally secondary Comm *astro nirasanakusalo priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūṣi* (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūni*) TB Vait [*hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram acīṣum* (TB Conc °*ṣam*, Poonā ed °*ṣum*, which certainly read) MS KS TB]

[*haviṣ hamīṣu* (SV *haviṣṣu*) *vandyuh* (SV Conc wrongly °*yuh*) RV SV]
[*aemākam anbum maghavan purusprham* SV Conc 'read *anām*' for *anbum*, but cf Benfey's Glossary, perhaps *anbum* is correct]

[*upa drava payasā godhug oṣam* (ŚŚ † *oṣum*, AŚ † *payasā goṣam*) AV AB AŚ ŚŚ Both AŚ and ŚŚ probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV]

5 Other interchange of *a* and *u* vowels

§619 The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*

divyo gandharvāḥ ketapūh (VSK °*pāh*) *ketam nah* (MS KS omit *nah*)
punātu VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB SMB 'Purifying (protecting)
the will', the verb *punātu* is cognate with *-pūh* of the original
reading

ṛtā devānām janitā vibhūvasuh (ApŚ MŚ *vibhā*°) RV SV ApŚ MŚ
drapsas caskanda pṛthuvīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

aghadoṣṭā devajātā AV Kauś *atharvuyṣṭī devajūtā* ApŚ
yad annam admi (PrānāgU *agnur*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrānāgU *virū-*
dham, vv II *virūjam*, *viruddham*) AV TA PrānāgU

§620 Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in

sakhā susevo adwayāḥ (Mahānāmnyah °*yuh*) RV KS AA Mahānām-
nyah Nom. sing. masc. of *a*: *u* stems

yo nah (AV *mā*) *kālārcul abhidāsati druhā* (AV *druhuh*) RV AV *druhā*,
instr. sing. of stem *druh*, *druhuh*, nom. sing. of adj. *druhu*

sā prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB HG
Pronoun *sā* prefix *su*

ṛmānsam u (ŚG *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG †*dadhād*) *iha* AV ŚG Add to VV I
§§167, 193

§621 Variants of *a* and *ū*

yad udya hotṛarye (ŚŚ °*vūrye*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ °*vūryu* is Rigvedic, its
long *ū* seems anomalous. For the *u*-vocalism cf. *varūta* etc. (VV I
§10)

nakhī (RV *nū* cit) *su dabhyaṭe janah* RV SV *nū* = *nu*

druhah pāśān (TS KS *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *vū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV TS MS
KS See §612

utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva (KS MŚ *ūrmim*, VS *arvan*, VSK
°*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS VSK TS KS ApŚ MŚ See §228

6 Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

§622 These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical. Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittirīya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables. These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

v for *y* (§§247-8) The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change, so in

pareyivānsam (TA ApŚ *pareyu*^o) *pravato mahīr anu* (AV *iti*) RV AV MS TA AŚ N (Pratikāś, ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś Rvidh) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *z* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance, possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*

hlādike hlādikāvati (TA *hlādike hlādu*^o) RV AV TA Here, too, another motive is discernible. The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling'. This meaning in the Brāhmana language is expressed by the suffix *uka*, cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31.104 ff. But again the form appears only in a Tait. text.

gorv abveṣu śubhrīṣu (TB *°uṣu*) RV AV KS TB. The stem *śubhru* occurs only here, the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation).

made-made hi no dadih (TB *daduh*) RV AV MS KS TB AŚ *daduh* can only be a noun form equal to *dadih*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable). The samhitā *ms* of MS have a different phonetic corruption, *dadrk*, ed. follows *p p*.

§623 In other texts *i* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous. *acety agnīś ciktituh* (SV KS *°tih*) RV SV KS. Perhaps assimilation in SV KS.

dawyā (AV *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS *°rā*, AV *°rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanīṣ*^o, KS † *vanīṣan na*, AV *sanīṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etat*) RV AV TS KS. The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vani-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end. It is historically quite as justified as *vanīṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS, contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation.

§624 In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned.

rkṣo jatūh suṣulīkā (MS *suśulūkā*) *tu itarajanānām* VS MS (*p p* of MS *suṣulīkeli suṣi-likī*). See §279.

dṛṣe ca (MS *dṛśū ca*, RV *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanih* (RV *śuśu*^o, KS *°rabhīh*, MS *suśikmanā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. See §240.

§625 In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *i* and imperatives in *u*. They need not be listed here, see VV I, e.g. §116. Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt, unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *him* and (commoner) *hum*

paśūnām tvā himkārenābhijyghrāmy (GG °mi, HG *hum*°) *asau* .
SMB GG ApMB HG

§626 In several variants forms of root *śru*: exchange with *śru* or *śru* *agne tvam sūklaviṅ asy upasrutī* (ŚB AŚ ŚŚ °ti, TB *upaśrito*) *divas* (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ *upaśrito divah prthivyoh* TS

śavasā hy aś śrutah (AV *śrutah*) RV AV But SPP *śrutah* for AV, with many *mss* (other *mss* *śrutah*), and so Whitney's Transl *ā tvā parīsrutah* (MG °śrutah, *mss* °tam, AG °śrutah) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °ñh) AG PG ApMB MG And others, see §275

§627 The rest are sporadic

prajāvulīh sūyavasam (AV °se) *ruśantīh* (RV TB comm *riś*°) RV AV TB See Whitney's note on AV *ruś*° 'ehming', tho no doubt secondary to *riś*° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is clearly the reading of AV tradition

prīyo me hṛdo (MŚ *hṛto*, v 1 *huto*) 'si (MŚ †bhava) TS MŚ Thus, as between *i* and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the *mss* of MŚ

svarūdo abhi gā adrim uṣnan (SV *iṣnan*) RV SV See §401

pāti prīyam ripo (and, *rupo*) *agram padam veh* RV (both) *pāty agnir ripo agram padam veh* ApŚ Read *rupo* in both RV passages, cf Ludwig ad loc, Bloomfield, JAOS 27 75, and RVRep 184

apām tvā sadhīṣi (MS † *sadhīṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB See §353 The MS is mangled, is its ending felt as loc plur? (*sadhīṣi* loc *ang*)

upa yajñam asthita (MŚ *astu no*, AV comm *asthita*) *varīśvadevī* RV Kh AV ApŚ MŚ

ā śuṣe (SV *āśiṣe*) *rādhasa mahe* RV SV The RV has a verb form from *ā-śvas* 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty' In SV we have an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form The ending *e* suggests a dative matching the following *rādhasa*, hence *āśiṣe* 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb Benfey supplies 'we summon'

ṛtasurteru mām uti (TA *ita*) TB TA *ṛtasya tv enam āmutah*. (p p *tu*, *enam*, *mām*, *uttam ma*') MS (corrupt in both forms) TA comm takes *ita* as a verb form (= *prāpṛita*)

mandānu ud vṛṣyate (SV *id vṛṣyase*) RV SV

- ṣaḍ id yamā (TA udyamā) ṛṣayo devayā itī RV AV TA N
 ud it te varuṣṭamāh ApŚ ud u tye (MS MŚ ud-ut te) madhumattamāh
 RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ
 sarvān it tān anu vidur vanṣ(ḥ)h RV sarvam uktam anuvīdur vaṣṣṭhāh
 JB
 vīsvair devai rātibhīh namrarānah (MG devair ṛtubhīh samīrānah)
 ApMB MG
 sugandhim (suhandhim) , see §152
 lokam (RV ulokam) u (ApŚ id) dve upa jāmi (RV jāmi) īyatuh
 RV MS ApŚ
 [vātāpe pīva id bhava RV KS †—Conc ud for KS ul]
 nāḍya hatrum nanu (ŚB † na nu) purā vītse (ŚB yuytse) RV SV
 See §255, and other interchanges of *vi yu* in §805
 ahvandāya svāhā KSA ulwardāya svāhā TB ApŚ See §579
 achidra uṣyah padānu takṣuh TS achidrosījuh kavayuh padānutakṣījuh
 (so text, em by Caland, ins † padānutakṣīvat) KS
 vratānu (MS TB ApŚ vratā nu) bibhrad vratayā arlabihuh (TB ŚŚ ApŚ
 ŚG adūbhayah) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG

7 Interchanges of long ī and ū (u)

§628 Here are found only a few stray variants

- ūrjām samsūdena (KSA °sūdena) TS KSA Parts of a horse's body,
 wholly obscure TS comm samsūdam samtatakyarano nūśikādh
 vṛṣṇur āpṛitapā āpyāyamānah VS apūtapā ādhūyamānah TS The
 passages are rather low bathos
 ahir na jūrṇām (TB ahir ha jūrṇām) atī sarpati tvacam RV SV TB
 Both participles of the dissyllabic root *jṛ* The ī form is regular in
 Sanskrit, but the Vedic ū form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton,
Ind Stud C R Lanman 27)
 ṛkṣo jatūh suṣūlīkā (suṣūlūkā) , see §624
 sam im (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV
 dhūmrā bahhrunūkāsāh VS ṛtṛbhyo barhīyadbhoyo dhūmrān bahhr-
 unūkāsān ApŚ See §742

CHAPTER XIV VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629 With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *r* (*l*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *r* in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic *r* and consonantal *r* with another vowel, especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *r* as *ri* or *ru*. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *r* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical, that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf our remarks in §20.

1 *r* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

§631 We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the R̥gveda itself

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhṛn*^o) RV SV. The SV has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally *hṛn*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *han*.

iṣām khṛgulyam śavam (ApŚ *khagalyam śapham*) MS ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khṛgala*, RV, if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

paṣṭhavād (MS *prṣṭhavād*, p p *paṣṭavād*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts, and even in the fourth a v l has it

tejo yāsaṁ sthāvīram samiddham (ŚG *samīddham*, v l *sami*°) ŚG PG ApMB HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34, *samidham* is pretty clearly for *samīddham*

dadhiṣa ehi ApS *dadhiṣy ehi* MS The forms are voc sing fem, and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root *dhṛṣ*, so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kühne'

To these may be appended another, in which however i for r seems to be a textual corruption

ayam śatrūn jayatu jarhiṣānah (AŚ † *jarhiṣ*°) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ But elsewhere AŚ has the vikāra *ahan śa*° *jayāmi jarhiṣānah*, indicating that *jarhiṣ*° is corrupt

§636 An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next, *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhū*), cf Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34

puramdaro gotrabhid (MS °*bhṛd*, all mss, TB *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuh* VS MS KS TB

§637 In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between i and r, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct

jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt AV *jāmim itvā mā vīvitsi lokān* TA The roots r and i are synonyms But Poona ed of TA *jāmi mitvā adityānam prasīti* (MS °*sīti*) *hetir ugrā* MS TB TA 'Extension' 'progress' Cf next two

prayutis ca me prasitīs (MS KS °*sītīs*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Cf prec and next

dīrghām anu prasitīm (KS *samītim*) *dyuṣe dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS ŚB TB *dīrghām anu prasitīm samapṛsthām* MS Cf prec two *tām dhīrāso anudīśya* (VSK °*dīśya*) *yajante* (KS *tanudīśyāyajantu kavayah*) VSK TS KS TB *tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudīśyāyajanta* MS *tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante* VS ŚB *anu-dīś* 'assign' *anu-dīś* 'survey'

tam ghed (MS *hed*) *agnir vṛdhāvati* (MS *vidh*°) RV TS MS In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avati* MS is obscure and probably corrupt, p p *vadhā* (sic!), *avati*

§638 To this same group belongs the single case involving long *i*; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ mss read °*mṛte* with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root *mṛ* 'change, alter'

tasmin śidāṃṣte prutiṣṭha (MŚ text *śidāṃṣte prutiṣṭhan*) TB ApŚ
MŚ Add to VVI §250

§639 Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hita* (or *dhita*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhṛ* (*hṛ*)

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu (Ppp *pīpartu*) AV *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhutam dadhātu* TB

gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sut VS *ga° ndma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU And others, §855

devair devih samāhṛtāh RVKh (but Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāh*) *devīr devāh samāhṛtāh* (TB °*bhṛtāh*) SV TB

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (AŚ *prahitam*, MŚ *nihitam*) *padam hi te* TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

hiranye 'smṛn samāhṛtāh (RVKh Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāh*, HG °*bhṛtāh*) RVKh ApMB HG

garbha va (SV KU [Poley's ed] *vet*) *subhṛto garbhniḥbhīh* (RV *sudhito garbhniṣu*) RV SV KU

sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam TS TB *sūryān* (p p °*yāt*) *sukram samābhṛtam* MS *sūrye santām* (KS TA *sukram*) *samāhṛtam* (KS TA *samābhṛtam*) VS KS ŚB TA

§640 Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants

prīyo ma hṛdo (MŚ *hito*, v l *huto*) 'si (MŚ †*bhava*) TS MŚ

imā (MS *idam*) *brahma pīpīhī* (MS *pīpīhī*, v l *pīpīhī*) *saubhagāya* VS MS KS ŚB

vṛṣyājūr no 'vṛtāh (SV 'vī) RV SV *a-vṛ-tāh av-z-lā* (nom ag, root av) *hotrāvidāh* (RV °*vidā*, TB °*vṛdha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaṁh* RV AV MS TB *mā no vidad* (KS *vṛdhad*) *vṛjvā* (KS TB ApŚ °*avī*) *dveṣyā † yā* AV KS TB ApŚ

indrartubhīr brahmanā vōvṛdhānah TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhubhīr brahmanā samvīdānah* ŚŚ

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *spṛsantām*, TA *mṛśantām*) RV AV TA

atrāhu tad urugāyasya viṣnoh (RV N *vṛṣnah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N *Viṣnu* is meant, even in RV, later texts substitute the name for the epithet

prānlar ṛṣaya sthāvīrīr (SV *prānlarīkṣāt sthāvīrīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV SV
vācaspatē hṛdvīdhe nāman (MS MŚ *hīrvīdhe*) MS TA ŚŚ MŚ All
 mss and p p of MS agree on the strange form Even *hṛdvīdhe*
 is none too clear (TA comm *hṛdayasya vidhātāh cītiaprarakety*
arthah)

vṛtrasyān (mitra°) see §235

made-made hi no *daduh* (TB *daduh*, MS samh mss *dadrk*) RV AV
 MS KS TB AŚ See §622

adṛnhathāh śarkarābhīs trivṛṣṭapī (MŚ *trībhṛṣṭībhīh*) KS ApŚ MŚ
 See §222

īśāno vi ṣyā (= *ṣyā*, TS *ṣṛjū*) *dṛtum* AV TS MS KS

upa yajñam asthita (AV conim *astṛta*, MŚ *astu no*) *varīvadevī* RV Kh
 AV ApŚ MŚ

dame-dame *suṣṭulyā* (TS °*tīr*, MS ° *tī*, AŚ ŚŚ °*tīr*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV
 °*nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām ṣyānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ See §236
 [*ṣya ṣyāya* (AV Berlin ed *ṛṣaye*, emendation) *māmahe* AV ŚŚ Keep
ṣyāya with AV mss]

3 ṛ (ṛ) and u (ū)

§641 The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be
 prevalingly Prakritic in character We should expect u for ṛ especially
 in the vicinity of labial consonants, but except in the first variant
 (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case, the only other instances
 with labials (e.g. *bhṛ* and *bhū*) are lexical The most clearly Prakritic
 cases are

tvasṛmuntan (MS MŚ *tvasṛrī*°, ApŚ *tvasṛī*°) *tvī sapema* VS MS KS
 ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf. *tvasṛīmātī* (TS ApŚ and TA Poona ed
tvasṛī°) *te supeya* TS TA ApŚ The Taittirīya form is feminized
ut (Vait *adhāma*) *sukthyā* (ŚŚ Vait °*yor*) *ava gṛdam* (TS KSA ApŚ
sukthyor gṛdam) *dhehī* VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ Vait ApŚ Altho
gṛda seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be
 the original form of *gṛda*

etām sanikṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhuvhī* MS ApŚ MŚ See
 §631

ṛlaprajātū (MŚ *uta pra*°) *bhaqa ut vah syāma* TS MŚ This may be
 called a lexical variant, since MŚ makes sense, but it is doubtless
 fundamentally Prakritic

§642 Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably
 both are mere textual errors or corruptions

sa nirudhyā nahuṣo (TB Conc *nahr̥ṣo*) *yahvo agnih* RV TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading
devam manah kuto (AV *kṛto*) *adhī prajātam* RV AV Altho all mss of AV apparently agree on *kṛto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kuto*, with Whitney
made-made hi no dadih (*daduh, dadrk*), see §§622, 640

§643 More purely lexical variants are
priyo me hr̥do (MŚ *hito* or *huto*) 'si (MŚ *ṭbhava*) TS MŚ See §640
agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnvan* (RV *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS ApŚ

vanīṣthor hr̥dayād (AV **ularāil*) *adhī* RV AV (both) ApMB
upa yajñam asthita (*astṛta, astu no*) , see §640

avimuktacakra (°*rū*) *āstran* PG *vīrtucakrū āsindh* HG ApMB
 Note labial consonants preceding *r* *u*

āyurdā deva (AV *agne*) *jurasaṃ vṛndnah* (ApMB ApG HG *gr̥n°*) AV MS KS MŚ ApMB HG ApG *āyurdā* (VS ŚB *āyusmān*) *agne havīṣo juṣānah* (VS ŚB ŚG *havīṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

§644 The only cases of long *ū* and *r* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhr̥*, which are practically synonyms here
adbhyah sambhṛtah (TA MahānU ApŚ *sambhūtah*) *pṛthivyaḥ* (MS KS † °*vyā*) *raṣāc ca* (KS *raṣah*) VS MS KS TA MahānU KŚ ApŚ PG

samveśāyopaveśāyu gāyatryaḥ (PB ŚŚ KŚ also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyaḥ*, TS ApŚ *gāyatryās triṣṭubho jagatyaḥ anuṣṭubhah pañktyā*) *chanduse* (TS ApŚ omit) *'bhībhūtaye* (TS ApŚ *abhībhūtyaḥ*, ŚŚ *'bhībhṛtyaḥ*, KŚ *'bhībhūtyaḥ*) *svāhū* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ *ariṣṭyā avyathyaḥ samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryā* (also *triṣṭubho, jagatyaḥ, anuṣṭubho, pañktyā*) *abhībhūtyaḥ svāhā* ApŚ

Once *r̥* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms

tānām svasṛt̥r̥ ajanayat (MS *svat̥r̥ ajanan*, KS *ms̥ † svasṛt̥r̥* [ed em *svasṛt̥r̥*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS KS

4 ḷ and u

§645 There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form. A perfect middle participle of root *kṛp* appears twice in ApŚ with *u* for *ḷ*. There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism. It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots

samvatsara rtubhik samvīdānah (KS °bhīś cākīpānah, ApŚ °bhīś cākūpānah) MS KS ApŚ

salyam pūrvair (KS °vebhīr) ṛṣibhik samvīdānah (KS † °bhīś cākīpānah, ApŚ cākūpānah) MS KS ApŚ

5 r and o

§646 In a single lexical variant, showing forms from the roots *grh* and *guh*

grhyopagṛhyo mayobhūr ŚG *guhya ṭupagohyo* SMB PG.

6 r and ar

§647 The variants under this head are not very numerous, and are almost exclusively concerned with ablaut. That is, the variant forms are nearly all nil-grade and full-grade formations from the same root, in verb inflexion or noun formation. Usually both forms can be justified by regular grammar, altho a number of them are grammatically more or less irregular.

§648 The following concern various finite verb forms

pari agnim ahr̥ṣata (VSK ṭarṣata or aharṣata) RV VS VSK *parime 'gnim arṣata* AV (Ppp ms aharṣata, Barret JAOS 43 99 em ahr̥ṣata) Sigmatic aorists from *hr̥*, weak-grade or *guna*, the latter is ungrammatical, and if it is to be accepted (cf VSK and AVPpp) it is to be regarded as a blend of *ahr̥ṣata* and *arṣata*

bahu hāyam (MS *ha vā ayam*) *avṛṣad* (TS *avṛṣād*, MS *avarṣād*) *itī śrūta rāvat* (MS °vaṭ, TS *śrutar avṛt*) *svāhā* TS MS KS See VV I p 129

praty u adar̥ky (TB *uv ṭadṛky*) *āyati* RV SV TB AŚ ŚŚ This can only be a 3d sing aor pass, with *r* in TB anomalously for *ar* (comm *dṛṣyate*) To be added to VV I §281

bhartam (VS ŚB *bhṛtam*) *agnim puriṣyam* VS TS MS KS ŚB See VV I p 188

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva (TS *abhi na ū vartasva*, KS *abhi no nīvartasva*, MS *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva* RV See VV I p 126 *punar ūrjā nī vartasva* (Kauś *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ MŚ Kauś

ime jīvā vī mṛtair āvavṛtran (TA *āvavarttin*, Poona ed °rtin) RV AV TA See VV I p 42

nādhr̥ṣa ā dadhr̥ṣate (AA *dadhr̥ṣa*, ŚŚ *dadhr̥ṣayā*) AV AA ŚŚ See VV I p 89

§649 In various participles and gerundives

atirdātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS *vavarṣeṇ pūrta rāvaḥ*, KS *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvaḥ*) *svāhā* TS MS KS See VV I p 147

jāgaritāya (KSA *jāgritāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA Both equivalent participles *adhā te viṣno viduṣā cid ardhyaḥ* (TB *rdhyaḥ*) RV TB Gerundives, cf Whitney §963b, 4

dāma grīvāsv avimokṣyam yat (TS *avicartyam*) AV TS *pāśam grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS ŚB °*cṛtyam*) VS MS KS ŚB Cf prec AVPPP according to Whitney has °*cṛtyam*

§650 In other noun and adjective formations

śam methir (ApMB *śam te methī*) *bhavatu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB *tṛdma*) AV ApMB No stem *tṛdman* is otherwise known

atandrāso yuvatayo tvibhṛtram (TB *vibhṛtram*) RV TB Poona ed of TB text and comm *bibhṛtram* Agni is referred to, TB comm *poṣakam*

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajasyam pautramṛtyam* SMB Comm on SMB repeats the form, glossing *putrasam-bandhīmaranam*

pra na (read *na*?) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG *pra sumṛtyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* ApMB SMB *prathamam arim yuyotu nah* MG

agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnavan* (RV *apnavan*) *ukṛjo amṛtyave* (RV °*vah*, ApŚ *amṛtyave*) RV MS ApŚ In ApŚ a blended stem *-mṛtyu* (fused from *marā*, *martya*, and *mṛtyu*), cf prec

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB *marāve*) RV PB Infinitive in PB

sarūpavaryā ehi MS *sarūpa vṛṣan ā gahi* SV JB

vanasade (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *veḥ* (TS MS *vaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV in compounds It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here The next preceding phrase in KS is *nṛṣade veḥ*, the *r* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°

devāḥ pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt (AV *nirṛthāt*) RV AV TS Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition', *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic

[*nīṣkartā* (RV KŚ 13°, ApMB Conc wrongly *nīṣkṛtā*) *vihṛutam* (PB TA ApMB *vihṛtam*) *punah* RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB]

§651 Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words

pratiśrukāyā arānam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB *arānam*, comm *dukkhīnam*, BR 'reviler', *ṛtulam*, comm *deśarājavarṛtātkathanāstīlam*

sarnikāya tvā TS *ṣṛāikāya tvā* MS Both words wholly obscure, said to mean 'water'
diviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ ° *ya*) *ṛṇayā na iyase* (SV *trase*) RV SV KB AB
 ApŚ *diviṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV

7 *r* and *ār*

§652 Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the *ṛiddhi* of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *r*. Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*.

aprajāstvam mārtaṃvatsam AV *aprajastām pautramṛtyum* ApMB HG
 Others, §650

ārtavā (MS KS *ṛtavo*) *adhīpataya* (MS KS 'dhi°) *āsan* VS MS KS
 ŚB *ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt* TS

ṛtavo 'ṣṛjyanta VS TS ŚB *ārtavā ṣṛjyanta* MS KS

agnir gṛhapatīnām (MS KS *gūrhapatyānām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

ārtyai (TB *ṛtyai*) *janavādīnam* VS TB Stem *rti*, from *r* *ārti*, from *ā + r*

8 *r* and *ir, ur, ūr*

§653 Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt. Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least. As to *r ir*, we find just two cases in which the *samhitā* miss of MS (the same text each time!) read *r* for proper *ir*. In both cases the *p p* points to the reading *ir*. Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *r* in one case and emends to *ir* in the other, there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other.

nama ānirhalebhyah (MS *ānr°*, *p p ānir°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS miss *nakṛnu*, ed em *nakir nu*, *p p nakis, tu*) RV VS MS KS

§654 Under *r ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious.
agnir dvārā vy ṛvati RV TB Conc quotes *urnvati* for TB, but. Poona ed text and comm *ṛn°* without *v l*

satyaujasā ḍṛṇhanā (MS *durḥṛnā*, KS *ḍṛḥanā*) *yam nulethe* TS MS KS And others see §305

nābhīmṛṣe (MS KS *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jurḥṛṣṇah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Might also be classed in §643

§655 Of *r* *ūr* we find only the following, in which the root *r* varies with the so-called 'root' *ūrnu*, really a form of *ur*
twegas te dhūma r̥nwatī (AV *ūrnotu*) RV AV SV LŚ KŚ MŚ

9 *r* and *ra*, *rā*

§656 In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Samprasāraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp 69-71, and of the similar variations of *i* and *u* with *ya* and *ia* in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of *r* varying with *ra* which stands for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation) and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

§657 The cases of so-called Samprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah*, *grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of *grabh*, *gr̥bh*, on which see especially VV I §281

agr̥bhūt VSK *agr̥bhūt* VS AŚ ŚŚ

agr̥bhīṣata VS *agr̥bhīṣata* KS

udgr̥bhenot *agr̥bhūt* (MŚ *ajigr̥bhat*, KS *ajigr̥bham*, and *ajigr̥bham*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnaye tvā mahyam *pratigr̥hītre* (ŚŚ *ṛgr̥hate*) VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ
prāno dūtra edhī *pratigr̥hītre* (ŚŚ *ṛgr̥hate*) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ The
 same with *haya dātra*

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms
viṣe viṣam apr̥kthāh (*apr̥kṣy api*) AV (both)

§658 In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel I c, some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical.

hradam (MS *hr̥dam*) *na hi tvā nyṣanty ūrmayah* RV. MS 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmāni*)'. The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hr̥du* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *samprasāraṇa*. Cf next

namo niveṣyāya (p p ni^o) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS *namo hradyāyāya* (VS *hṛdayyāya*, KS *hradavyāya*) *ca niveṣyāya* (TB °*ṛyāya*) *ca* VS TS KS See §248 The MS and VS forms simulate derivatives of *hṛd* and *hṛdaya*, but these can hardly be in place here, the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hṛda* = *hrada* found in MS in the preceding variant

prkṣāya (ArS *prakṣ^o*) *vr̥ṣṇo aruṣāya nū saha* (ArS *maha*) RV ArS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh *prkṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse, its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere

nīmrado (ApŚ *nīmrdo*) 'si MS KS ApŚ MŚ Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p 71

avṁtiralam bhṛāyāya (TB *prathayāya*) *keṣah* RV TB See §69

bhṛjās chandah MS *bhṛjās chandah* VS TS ŚB *bhṛjās chandah* KS † (but v l *bhṛa^o*) The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhṛāj*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l c but may be related to *bhṛajj*, Wackernagel p 69, cf also *bhṛgas* etc There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots Cf next

kṣuro bhṛjās (TS *bhṛjvāṇ*, MS *bhṛjās*, VS *bhṛjās*, stigmatized by Conc as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandah* VS TB MS KS ŚB Cf prec

ardrah prathasnur (MŚ †*prthasnur*, v l *pratha^o*) *bhṛwanasya gopāh* TB ApŚ MŚ See §609, and Wackernagel p 71

avasty apsu vr̥jane svarvati (MG †*vrajane svarvatah*) RV AB MG Really a lexical variant, *vrajana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyānu* of the preceding pāda But some MG mss read with RV

[*digbhyās cakravākah* (KSA Conc *cakr^o* with the sole ms, ed em *cakrav^o*) TS KSA This is probably a mere corruption, if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same]

§659 The roots *rādḥ* and *rdh*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin, and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group Cf also §606

rdhyāsam adya makhāya hīrah MS TA ApŚ *makhāya te 'dya hīro rādhyāsam devayajane pṛthivyāh* VS ŚB [The references to MS MŚ in Conc seem to be erroneous]

tan me rādhyatām VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ Kauś SMB *tan me samrdhyatām* (Kauś *samrdham*) TB SMB Kauś

harivato graham ṛdhyāsam KS *harivato harivojanasya harivantam*
graham rādhyāsam MS

§660. The single case noted of *r* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p 212 f) is

samṛṣṭsu yutsu indro ganeṣu MB *samṛṣṭā* (AV v 1 *samṛṣṭā*) *sa*
yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS

§661 From the root *ṣṛ*, also quoted as *ṣṛā* 'boil', are found the two participles *ṣṛta* and *ṣṛāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *ṣṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise

subṛātam (AV *subṛtam*) *manye tad ṛtam navīyah* RV AV

§662 The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflexion forms in *r* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*

āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata HG *āpo jāgrta* MS KS MŚ *āpo havihṣu jāgrta*
ApŚ *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG See VV I p 123

ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati (KS *jāgrtha*) AV KS See VV I p 221

yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ *saputrīkūyām jāgratha* PG See VV I p 96

te na ātmaṣu jāgrati (KS † *jāgrta*) AV KS

yat paśur māyīm akṛta TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG *yud vaśi*
māyīm akṛta Kauś See VV I p 257

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS *bibhṛato*) *jītvadhā* AV KS Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p 158), and obscure as to interpretation

§663 Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *r* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*

hotrakānām (MŚ *hotṛka*^o, v 1 *hotrak*^o) *camasādhuryavah* ApŚ MŚ

The words *hotṛka* 'secondary *hotṛ*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest. See Caland on ApŚ 12 23 4

§664 Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated, notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kr*. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology

puñjikasthalī (KS † *puñjiga*^o) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu*^o) *cūpurasau*
VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, and so naturally flexible

samṛṣṭam abhayaṁ kṛtam (KS *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS TB ApŚ KŚ

indra kratvā (MS *indrāh kṛtvā*) *maruto yud vaśama* RV MS KS The MS, which is certainly secondary and poor in *indrāh*, reads the

gerund *krtvā* for *kratvā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness

mainū arvā renukakīśah pṛnak (MS † [v | pṛnak] KS *pranak*) MS KS

TB *pra-nak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*, *pṛnak* from *pṛc*

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG *sṛamo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB See §277

§665 The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague

drapsak cakanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV

AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vague assonance only

tam tvam vṛsvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS °*bhya r̥tūn*) *kalpayā* KS ApŚ

sā (read *sa?*) *nah praṣṭm paśūn pāhy arantiyamānah* (p p *ahāh*, *anū*, *yāmānah*) MS *sa no rucam dhehy ahṛṇiyamānah* TA The MS

is hopelessly corrupt, probably read *ahṛṇiyamānah*

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (KS *bhadrā vṛṣandā agrbhnam*) RV VS

TS KS

idāsmān anu vāntām ghṛtena ApŚ MŚ *idavāsmān* (RVKh *ilūva*

vām) *anu vāntām vralena* RVKh AV Scheftelowitz reads *ghṛtena* in RVKh

idam aham sarpānām grathnāmī (MŚ miss *kṛtsnāmī*) TS ApŚ

MŚ See §47, MŚ perhaps corruption for *grath°*

nudayor ivratayoh śūra indrah RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV See

§828

vṛsair devai rātubhīh samrardānah (MG *devair ṛtubhīh samvīdānah*)

ApMB MG

avṛte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS *avṛne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate*

TS TB In this and the next, TS has interchanged the two old adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh* and *dhṛtavrate* (both RV)

āvṛtau (TS *āvṛṇau*) *mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec

10 ṛ and ṛi, ṛī

§666 Since ṛ and ṛi have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of ṛ to ṛi (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects). On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp 31 ff. It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss., including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard. As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV 5 14 3, apropos of the pāda *riśasyeva pariśāsam*. So the Berlin ed prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss read *ṛśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text, we agree with him. Against most mss, but with some of them and with the comm., Whitney would also read *ṛśyapadīm vṛśadatīm* in AV 1 18 4a, where both editions have *riśya*°

§667. These AV cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS, which presents *triṣu* for *ṛṣu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *ṛṣ*) and *tvāṣṛi* for the god-name *tvāṣṛ*. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss, despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrāyanīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word.

ṛṣu (MS *triṣu*) *yad annā veviśad vitiṣṭhase* RV SV MS ApŚ

ṛṣucyavuso (MS *triṣu*°) *juhvo nāgneh* RV MS

tvāṣṛmūntas (MS MŚ *tvāṣṛi*°, ApŚ *tvāṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS

SB KS ApŚ MŚ Others, see §641

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *krmi*, altho its original form seems to have been *kṛmi* (Wackeruagel I p 33, Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch*, a v). Several variants show both forms of this common word.

hatas te atrinā kṛmih (GG *kṛ*°) SMB GG *atrinā tvā krime hanmi* TA ApŚ *atrivad vah kṛmayo hanmi* AV

hatih kṛmayah (but Jørgensen text and comm. *kṛ*°) *śāśātikāh sanilamukṣikāh* SMB *śāśātikāh kṛmaya* (but Poonā ed *kṛi*°, v 1 *kṛ*°) *iva* TA. Note that different editions differ on both texts!

nīlamgoh (MS °*gave*) *kṛmih* (TS *kṛi*°) VS TS MS KSA

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *ṛ*, not *ri*. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism, or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *ṛ* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially

§670 Take for instance the proper name *Trita*, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrita*) Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV (6 113 1 and 3) it is spelled *Tṛta*, according to all mss known to both editions In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trita* In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss
tṛta enam (read *enan*, TB *tṛtu elan*) *manuṣyeyu munṛje* (TB *mā*)
AV TB

tṛte (TB *tṛte*) *devā amṛtātataḍ enah* AV TB

§671. There is little doubt that the MS form *āpaprivān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpaprivān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pr*, as Whitney questioningly suggests The MS *p p* has °*pr*°

āpaprivān (MS *āpaprivān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§672 The verb *sredhāt* makes it clear that *svidh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant In fact many AV mss read *svidhah*, which Whitney regards as the true AV reading
atī nīho atī svidhah (AV MS *svidhah*) AV VS TS MS KS

§673 In the next *kriv* is the only form known to RV, and so may perhaps be assumed as the original, both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown

ā va indram krivim (SV *Svidh krivim*) *yathā* RV SV ŚŚ *Svidh*
adha tvaṣmān abhy ojasā krivim (SV *krivim*, v 1 *krivim*) *yudhābhavāt*
RV SV

§674 According to Wackernagel I §180b, *r* was regularly replaced by *ṛ* before *y*, by phonetic law, when *r* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy In the second variant the original (AV) reading was pronounced *pṛtryāc*, and for this TA *pṛtryāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *r* for proper *ṛ*
vayam rāṣṭre jāgriyāma (MS † KS † °*mā*, TS and *p p* of MS *jāgriyāma*)
purohitāh VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

dyāvur nah pitā pṛtryāc (TA *pṛtryāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA *bhavāti*) AV TA

Cf the next where the RVKh reading is doubtful

dyvyaṣam jāgritād aham AV *dyvyaṣam jāgriyād aham* RVKh Aufrecht

but Scheffelowitz *avyuṣam jāgryām* (em, for ms °yāmy) *aham*
Cf VVI p 102

§676. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning, presumably MS is secondary

vikrīda (KS °da, VS °dra, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS .

§676 Finally a few corruptions and false readings

ya rē (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rē*, PB *ṭyakṣate*) *cid abhiṣṛṣah* RV AV
SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *jarī cetid* (ms
cetid, p p *cya iti it*) *abhiṣṛṣah* MS (grossly corrupt, cf §193)

sam tvā rinanti (Vait *rinanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait Note the anomalous sandhu
in Vait, *sam-r* and *sam-ri* would be virtual synonyms, but a 9th
class present from *r* is anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup, but not
known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*) The Vait
reading is therefore doubly suspicious See §992

[*īmau te pakṣāv* (°ṣā) *ajarāu patatrināu* (VSK TS KS °nah, Conc
wrongly quotes TS as *patatrinah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB]

§677 Twice *r* varies with *ri*, both forms are morphologically justifi-
fiable in both cases

śrītas tvam sṛto 'ham ApŚ *śrītas tvam śrīto* 'ham KS Participles of
the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *śr*, *śrā*, *śrī* 'cook,
mature'

adbhir vsvāṣya bhartṛbhīh ApMB *adbhīh sarvasya bhartṛbhīh* ŚG
In ApMB a distinctively feminine stem *bhartṛi* is used, to agree
with *adbhīh*, ŚG uses the stem *bhartṛ* as of common gender

11 *r* and *ru*

§678 The shift between *r* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than
that between *r* and *ri*. There is equally good reason to regard it as
having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhī the *r*
of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*,
instead of *ri* as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very
ancient is proved by RPr 14 12 (796), which states that some erro-
neously 'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarāu kurvanti*
oṣṭhyanibhau sarephau). There are, to be sure, not so many variants
that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case
with *r ri*. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial
consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *r* in
conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring

§679 Among the clearest phonetic variants are

bhṛmī (TB *bhṛumī*) *dhomanto apa gā avṛnata* RV TB Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original *bhṛmī* is not very clear, one of Sāyana's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhṛmī* by TB comm., who derives it from root *bhram*

drvā VS *drvās* KŚ *drubās* VSK An obscure word, note the following *b*. There is no way of determining the original form

§680 A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *r* for original *ru* is the stem *prṣvā*, found several times in Tait texts for regular *pruṣvā*, note the preceding *p*. BR call *prṣvā* a 'falsche Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA comm explains by *jalahinduh*. It seems clear that it was the established Tait school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters, see e.g. Keith on TS 7.4.13.1

pruṣvā aśrubhī VS MS *aśrubhī pruṣvām* (TS *prṣ*^o) TS KSA
pruṣvābhyah (TS *prṣ*^o, KSA ed *pruṣābhyas*, ms *pruṣā*^o, read probably *pruṣvā*^o) *svāhā* VS TS KSA

śam u prṣhāva (read with Poona ed text and comm *prṣvāva*) *śiyatāni*
 TA *śam te pruṣvāva śiyatām* AV

§681 Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *r* in the following cases, we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the *r* form seems quite well established in the Tait school, the MS is more seriously corrupt. *purā jatrubhya* (TA ApMB *jatrbhya*, MS *caṣrbhyā*, p p *vaktrbhya*¹) *ātṛdah* (MS ^oda) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB

§682 The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots *sr* and *srū* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sṛti* and *sruti* both mean 'course, way'. *dve sṛti* (VS KS ŚB BṛhU KŚ *sṛti*, and so TB Conc., but Poona ed *sruti*) *aśṛnavam pitṛnām* RV VS MS KS ŚB TB BṛhU ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS 38.2 to *sruti*)

namah sṛtyāya (KS *sṛt*^o) *ca pathyāya ca* VS TS KS *namah pathyāya ca sṛtyāya ca* MS Derivatives of the words concerned in the preceding *tvā parisrutah* (AG ^osṛtah, MG ^osṛtah) *kumbhah* (ApMB † ^oah) AG PG ApMB MG *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG *emām parisrutah kumbhah* AV *pūrnān parisrutah kumbhān* ŚB No form *parisṛt* is otherwise recorded, despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG (all mss) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parisrutah*

hiranyam aśṛtam (ŚB BrhU GP *aśṛtam*) *bhava* ŚB BrhU KB
AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG Here *śru* varies with *śṛ*,
'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold)

Cf *mṛgasya śṛtam* (HG *śṛtam*, ApMB vv II *śṛtam*, *śrutam*) *akṣṇayā*
ApMB HG See §278

§683 Similarly *hṛ* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*, the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like. A third variation between *hṛ* and *hru* is merely a textual corruption.

avinaṣṭān avihṛtān (AŚ °*hṛtān*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ ŚG

vykartā vihrutam punah RV KŚ *vykartā* (Conc wrongly °*kartā* for
ApMB) *vihrutam* (PB TA ApMB *vihṛtam*) *punah* AV SV MS
PB TA ApMB In TA there is a v l *vihrutam*, adopted in the
text in Poona ed., but the comm. even there reads *vihṛtam*, and
glosses *viśeṣena bhagnam*

aślonā (comm. *aśronāḥ*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svare* AV *aślonāṅgair aḥṛtā*
svare TA But Poona ed. text and comm. *ahrutāḥ*, v l °*tā*,
for TA, and this is the only possible reading. The simple *hṛ* is
not a synonym of *hru*, *aḥṛta* would make no sense, comm. *kuṣṭi-*
varuhitāḥ (= *ahrutāḥ*)

§684 Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *ruvaddhvo 'ksā*) *paprathānebhir evaḥ* RV MS KB
TB The original has *ruvad dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared'. This is
misunderstood and corrupted in TB.

śivā rutasya (VSK *śiva ṛtasya*, TS and v l of MS *śivā rūtrasya*) *bheṣajī*
(MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS Original is certainly *rutasya*
'healer of what is injured'. *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an
obvious lect. fac., and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the ṛta' or 'the ṛta's healer',
while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by
the phonetic relations between *ṛ* and *ru*.

satyayajānā dṛṣhanā (MS *durhṛnā*, KS *ṛdṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS
MS KS *sacetasu dṛuḥvano yam nudethe* AV Multiple con-
fusion, see §305, etc.

muyobhūh śamtamā yad dhruto (comm. *dhṛdo*) 'sī TB So Conc., hut
Poona ed. text with comm. *dhṛdo*

CHAPTER XV THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAMPRASĀRANA

§685 In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e ai* and *o au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

1 2 e

§686 The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems, with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives.

atra (ŚB *atrā*) *jahīno* 'śivū ye asan VS ŚB *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahīta*)
ye asann aśevāh (AV **aśvāh*, **asan durevāh*) RV AV TA The
meter properly requires *aśevāh* if the word be final (VS ŚB trans-
pose)

yā sarasvatī viśobhagīnī (MS ApŚ **veśa*°, KS *veśabhagīnī*) MS KS
ApŚ *viśo-* 12 gen sing of *viś*

divyah kośah samukṣītah MS *davyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU *devnkośah*)
samubhītah AV TS KS ŚirasU

divo jyote (KS **jyotir*) *vivareva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) MS KS
vivasvān adītir devajūts TS

devya (ApŚ *divyā*, v 1 *devyā*) *ūpo nannamyadhvam* PB KŚ ApŚ

sūryo dīvo (TS KS * *devo*) *diviṣadbhyah* (TS KS °*bhyo*) TS KS *
MŚ

puṅse putrāya veltavar (ŚB BṛhU *viltaye*) ŚB TB BṛhU ApMB
ApŚ HG

pra suvānāso (SV *svā°*) *bṛhaddiveṣu* (SV °*deveṣu*) *harayah* RV SY
lekah salekah TS *salilah saligah* MS KS See §49

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like **trayadhā* (cf §§744 ff below, Wackernagel I p 53, III p 347)

tridhā (MS *tredhā*) *baddho vṛṣabho roravīti* RV VS MS KS GB TA
ApŚ MahānU N

§688 In the stem-syllable of verbal forms

maiṣām uc cheṣi kim cana AV *maiṣām kam canoc chiṣah* TS TB ApŚ
māmiṣām kam canoc chiṣah RV SV VS

yah prānato nimitāta (v 1 KS *nimeṣ°*) *ca rājā* MS KS *yah prānato*
nimitāto (VS *nimeṣ°*) *mahitvā* RV AV VS TS KSA Present
participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *ni-miṣ*, the 1st
class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded Add to VV I §197

vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dhiṣīya (MŚ *dhe°*) MS KS *viśvasya*
te vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā relānsi dhiṣīya TS Cf next The
form *dheṣīya* seems to be established in the Maitr school It can
hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly
anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guna *dhe*
perhaps by confusion with root *dhī?*) See VV I p 196

somasyaḥam devayajyayā suretā (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ *dhe°*)
TS ApŚ MŚ

§689 In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly
as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere See VV I
§§39-79 and 82 *et passim*

§690 Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat -
abl plur forms in *ibhyas ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n) a*
divācarebhyo (MG °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* (sc *namah*) MG VīDh
ahaścārebhyah (sc *numah*) ŚG

naktamācarebhyah ŚG VīDh *naktamācāribhyo bhūtebhyah* MG

marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo (MŚ °*dhebhyo*) *'nubrūhi* ŚB MŚ

marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *vaṣ°*, ApŚ
bāṣkān) VS MS ApŚ

svāheṣtibhyah (Kauś °*tebhyah svāhā*) KS Kauś *iṣtebhyah svāhā vaṣad*
aruṣtebhyah svāhā TB ApŚ

§691 The others are miscellaneous case-forms, since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists

pūṣṇe śarase (MS † °*ai*) *svihā* MS TA ApŚ *svihā pūṣṇe śarase* VS
 ŚB KŚ The majority reading (dat) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms), but the loc of MS is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage

hīranyapakṣah śakunih HG *hīranyaparna śakune* PG Nom voc
pṛa vo mahe mahvṛdhe (SV PB *mahvṛdhe*) *bharadhvam* RV SV AV
 PB AŚ ŚŚ The SV seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding)

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślukā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)
sūreh (AV MS † *sūrīh*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Nom gen.

agnir hotā vetu agnir (AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu* (vettu) TB AŚ ŚŚ
agner hotā vetu agner hotram vetu ŚB Nom gen

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*
uta SV

§692 Oddities of noun stems

agner agneyāny (KS *agni*°) *asi* (MS v 1 and p p *agner agner yāny asi*)
 MS KS *devānām agneyāny asi* TS *agner yāny asi* TS MS KS
 ApŚ MŚ See §357, and cf *vāyosāvitra*, §716

śrudhī śruta śraddhivam (AV *śraddheyam*) *te vidāmi* RV AV See
 §248, both forms have the force of gerundives

§693 The remaining variants are lexical, but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688

sa idhāno (KS *edh*°) *vasuṣ* (MS *vasuh*) *kamh* RV SV VS TS MS KS
 The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guna

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janyesu* (ŚŚ °*yv ā*, MS *janīṣva*) MS
 AB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The MS form could be interpreted as a 2d sing impv from *jan* but for the accent (*janīṣva*), which seems to call for emendation

ino (AV *enā*) *viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāh* RV AV N *ino*, nom of stem
ina, *enā*, adverbial pronominal form

ulem (SV *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS *uta-īm* acc sing
 of *ūti*

krīti ca śākti cūjjeṣi (ApŚ *sākti tcorjīṣi ca*) VS VSK ApŚ See §407

āsanniṣūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām*
apevāho mayobhūn SV See §820

[*vācā mendriyāvīṣa* TS KS MŚ Conc *vācam* *indr°* for KS, so ed
 reads at 4 14, but at 31 15 (p 18, n 1) it is corrected]

§694 Several times a word beginning in *i* varies with the same
 word preceded by *ā*

indrām (SV *endram*) *agnim ca vodhave* RV SV

īha (MS AŚ ŚŚ *ēha*) *gatir vāmasya* TS MS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ †1 14 19
īve iṣah (KS *īṣve*, MS *īva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrwarpasah* (TS † *bhūrī-*
retasah) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB See Von Schroeder's
 note If correct, MS must intend *īve, ā, iṣah*, but the *ṛ* *p* reads
īve īī ve, iṣah

tāv (tā) ehi (*ēha, eva*, AV *īha*) , see §§578, 888

ṛnān no narnam erīsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA
 See §180

ādityānām patvānu (PB °*mānu*) *īhi* (KSA †*ēhi*) VS TS MS KSA PB
 ŚB TB MŚ ApMB

2 i e

§695 Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a con-
 siderable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns
 and adjectives Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms
 involved are slightly different

īśo yantrē (KS *yantrī*) *nudumāne arātīm* KS TB ApŚ Duals from
 stems *yantrā* and *yantrī*

śamgayī (MS ŚB °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīrudānū* (ŚB *jīva°*) MS ŚB TB
 AŚ ŚŚ Also feminine duals

vairājī (KSA †°*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA †) TS KSA Also fem duals,
 there seems no reason to emend KSA as von Schroeder would do
rātri (TB °*rī*, KS v l °*rih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV KS
 TB

mahī vīśpatnī sadane (KS °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS TB ApŚ MŚ Here *sadane*
 is loc sing '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*' KS makes *sadanī*
 fem dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *urānis*), the
 other reading is simpler and most likely original

vaiśvānarāya matir navyaṣī (ArŚ °*se*) *śucih* RV ArŚ Nom sing fem
 dat sing masc (with *agnaye* in next *pāda*)

nābhā sandāyī navyaṣī (SV °*dāya navyaṣe*) RV SV As prec

rāyus poṣum cikituṣe (AV °*ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS ŚŚ
 As prec

ūrnamradā yuvatir (AV °dāh pṛthivī) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA °tī) RV AV TA
As prec

tava praśastayo mahāh (SV °taye mahe) RV SV Nom pl dat sing
satyasya dharmanas pati (ApŚ pate) ŚŚ ApŚ Vocatives, dual and sing
graha vishvajanīna nyantar viprāyāna te (KS nyanantar vipra ā tsatī)
MS KS See §838

sa supranīte (ŚŚ °tī) *ṛṣtamah svarādā asī* AA ŚŚ Both forms are
uncertain The two text mss of ŚŚ have °te, comm apparently
°tī which Hillebrandt adopts, seemingly taking it as loc ('in good
guidance?') Sāyana on AA takes °te as loc, and Keith follows
him, rendering 'when (the rite) is duly paid', but in his note Keith
suggests deleting the accent and understanding a voc, 'O good
leader'

idivā hi mahe (ApŚ mahī, v 1 mahe) *vṛṣan* SV ApŚ Acc dual (with
dyāvāpṛthivī) dat sing (with *hotrīya*)

krusṣī (SV °te) *jātāsa indavah svarvadah* RV SV Instr (?) of *i*-stem
loc of *u*-stem SV comm in one of two places reads *krusṣī*

īyam ośadhe (PG °dhī) *trāyamānā* PG HG ApMB The voc cannot
be construed, see Winternitz on ApMB, Introduction, xxiv

mṛgā na bhīmās tamyibhir arcinah (TB °ṣebhir ūrmibhīh) RV TB The
adverbial instr of RV (from the noun *tamyī*) is made an adj agreeing
with *ūrmibhīh* in TB

dauṁbhyas (KS *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS °yas) *svāhā* KS TB ApŚ
Kauś 'To the bodies of the gods', or 'to the gods, to (their)
bodies'

vātvā anivāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhīh (KS °ṣebhyah) AV KS

§898 A few cases involve different ablaut grades, or forms which
simulate that relationship

agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devānām yaju*
hedo agne (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *ava*
devān yaje heidyān TB ApŚ

apa snehitīr (SV *snīhitīm*) *ṛmanā udhalla* (SV *adhā rāh*, KS *ṛma-*
nām adadhāram) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhī* (Poona ed *snuhī*) *tam*
ṛmanām (Poona ed *ṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA

suśīmam somasatsaru AV *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS
TS MS KS ŚB V&Dh

dhenām untah sabardughām SV *dhīnām antuh sabardughah* RV The
gen pl of *dhī* is changed to an acc sing, but the accent of SV
shows that it has a false form (the true stem is *dhenā*), cf Oldenberg,
Noten on RV 9 12 7

lālāya (MahānU *lāle*°) *dhimam* TAA † (not TA) MahānU Names of Agni, of unknown origin Hardly to be classed as ablaut The two commas have different and equally ridiculous explanations
apādhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB *mīdhuse*) RV TB N Lexical

In the reduplicating syllable

aīndrah prāno aīge-aīge ni dīdhyat (TS *ni dedhyat*, VSK *rudhitāh*) VS
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS is felt as such, cf VVI pp 149, 160

§697 Cases concerning verb inflection An aor ind varies with a present opt But the KS ed reads as ApS, with *v l* as Conc
grāvāvādīd (ApS *grāvā vaded*) KS ApS VVI p 86

anu stomum mudīmahi (PB *maik*°) RV AV PB Optatives of different verbs

mā tvāgnir dhanayid (TS °*yid*, KSA °*yed*, MS *dhanayid*) RV VS
 TS MS KSA

§698 Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *d* is responsible for the variant, cf §694

vāmam pīrbhyo ya idam samerire (AV *samī*°) RV AV ApMB

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS

See §180

3 1 01

§699 Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vriddhi

vaiśvānara uta vīsvadāvyaḥ AV KS *yo vaiśvānara uta vīsvadāvyaḥ* (ApS *vaiśvadevyaḥ*) MS ApS Whitney's Transl adopts for AV *vīsvadevyaḥ*, which he states is the reading of Ppp, but this is an error, Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 358) has °*davyaḥ*, intending °*dāvyaḥ* Only ApS has a derivative of *vīsvadevu*

davyaḥ kośah samukṣitah MS *dāvyaḥ kośah* (AV ŚirasU *devukośah*)
samubjītah AV TS KS ŚirasU

achinno davyas (KS ApS *dāvyaḥ*) *tantur mā nūnuyas* (KS ApS *manu-
 syas*) *chedi* MS KS ApS

bṛhanto dawāh (VS *davyāh*) VS MS ApS

nirbādhyena (AV *nar*°, Ppp *mr*° according to Whitney) *humsā* AV
 TB ApS

bṛhatā tvā rathamārena triṣṭubhya (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* MS
 KS *bṛhadrathamārayas tvā stomena triṣṭubho nartanyā* TS

aghorena cakṣuṣā mitriyena (ApMB *maitreya*, KS ApŚ *cakṣuṣāham*
divena) AV KB ApŚ ApMB

indrasya vaiṣṛdhasyādhām (KS *indrasyādhām vaiṣṛdhasya*) *devayajyayā-*
sapatno (ApŚ but not †MS adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS ApŚ
MS

kapota (MS °ta) *ulūkah kāsas te nirṛtyai* (TS KSA *nairṛtāh*) VS TS
MS KSA

nirṛtyai svāhā MŚ *nairṛtyai* (sc *dise*) *svāhā* V&Dh

vihāyasō (PG *vaih°*) 'dhi *bhūnyām* HG PG *vi°*, abl of *vihāyas*, *vai°*,
nom of adj *vaihāyasu*

indrasya bṛṣṇam trayann apasyubhīh RV SV *aīndrah bṛṣṇo vīsvarūpo*
na āgan AV

vaiṣvasatō (AV *vīvasvān*) *no abhayam kṛnotu* AV TB TAA ŚŚ ApŚ
SMB PG HG *vai°*, of course, means *Manu*

hastanyanābhah (ŚŚ *hur°*) *kaukulyah* ŚB ŚŚ

indropānasyakehamanaso (MŚ *aīndro°*) ApŚ MŚ The formula is
so obscure, that emendation of MŚ to *indro°*, while tempting, is
hardly safe

§700 Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning
noun inflection

indrādhipatih (MS KS °*patyāh*) *pīptād ato nah* TS MS KS AŚ
'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °*yz*) TS MS TA The
form in *yai* is dat of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor' The *yi* form
would seem to be acc neut of a stem *śobhāyin* (cf §247), perhaps
used adverbially

Two concerning aorist verb forms

āpo malam va prānāikṣīl (ApŚ *prānījan*) AV ApŚ See VV I p 129

pitur va nāmūgrabhīṣam (ApMB °*bhaiṣam*) ApMB HG See VV I
pp 139, 186

And one in which *ai* contains the augment

yam aīrhāma (ApŚ *īrhāmi*) *manasā su 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ

4 ī ai

§701 Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange
between instr plur and nom -acc plur (fem) forms

indrēna devīr (MŚ *devāir*) *vīrudhah samvidānāh* TS MŚ

devīr devīr (ApŚ *devāir*) *abhi mī nīvartadhvam* MS ApŚ MŚ

sapta ca vīruṇīr (PG °*nair*) *imāh* AG PG ŚG MG *sapta ca mānuṣīr*
imāh ApMB HG Followed in all by

tīraś ca rājabāndhavāḥ (HG °*varāḥ*) HG ApMB *prajāḥ* (this word belongs to prec *pāda*) *sarvās ca rājabāndhavāḥ* (MG °*vyāḥ*) PG MG *sarvās ca rājabāndhavāḥ* (ŚG † °*bāndhavāḥ*) AG ŚG
ā dadhnaḥ kalaśūtr (ApMB °*śtr*, MG °*śam*) *aguh* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann wa*, MG *airayam*) AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG MG

§702 There are three cases of vriddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous, and one aorist verb form, also anomalous

straiṣūyam anyatra dadhat AV *strīṣūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāsv*) *ā dadhat* ŚG

madhvā yayānam naktatī (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīndānah* (AV *prai°*) AV VS TS MS KS In the pres nnd pple the vriddhi is quite out of place, 'blundering corruption', Whitney

yad adīvyann (MS *daiṣyam*) *ṛnam aham babhūva* (AV *kṛnomi*) AV MS TA BDh *adīvyunn ṛnam yad aham cakāra* TB The original is *adīvyan* 'not gaining', MS has a stupid lect fac Add to VV I §231

indra enam (TB ApŚ *enam*) *parāśarūt* AV TB ApŚ cf *indro vo 'dya parāśarūt* AV But for the last SPP with most mss and Ppp °*śarūt*, the regular form See VV I p 156

5 e ai

§703 Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of *ai* to *e* must be largely concerned in them They are fairly numerous, the great majority fall into three classes, to wit dative (or locative) forms in *e ai*, forms with *e ai* in the root syllable, in which *ai* is generally the vriddhi of secondary derivation, and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings

§704 First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat or loc) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it' *asmai* (TB *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vānum* (Conc divides AV before *vānam*) AV TB *asme* is secondary

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS ApŚ *ṛrud asmaī naro vacase dadhātana* VS KŚ Keith assumes that TS intends *asmaī*

asmaī (MS *asme*) *rāṣṭrāyu nuhi śarma yachalam* TS MS AŚ *asmaī* is certainly simpler

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāśme (AV *kartam asmaī*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV VS VSK MS 'For him' 'for us', equally possible

savitṛā prasavitṛā . *indrenāsmē* (VSK °*smāi*) VS VSK As prec
asme (AV *asmai*) *dhārayatam* (MŚ °*tām*) *rayam* RV AV MŚ Different
 contexts, both possible

asme (AV *asmai*) *dhulla vnsavo vasūni* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N
 Equally possible

asme (KBU *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann ṛṣiṣin* RV KBU AG PG N
asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya (KS *rāṣṭram adhīkraya*) MS KS *asme kṣatrāni*
dhārayer anu diyūn RV TS MS KS *asmin rāṣṭram adhīkraya*
 TS *asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne* AV Kauś Different
 contexts

asmai (MŚ *asme*) *karmāne jūtah* MS ApŚ 'For our rite' 'for this
 rite' Probably lect fac in ApŚ

asme (AŚ *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspatiḥ* RV TS MS KS AŚ Probably
 misprint in AŚ

§705 Other dative forms in *e ai*, including infinitives

te (VS ŚB *yā*, TS *te*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmnīny* (RV KS N
vāstūny) *ukmasi gamadhya* (TS °*ye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N
 The TS form is anomalous, cf Keith's note and Whitney, *Gram-*
mar §976a Infinitives

havyāyāsmāi vodhave (KS °*vai*) *jātavedah* TS MS KS Kauś Infini-
 tives

sugam meṣāya meṣya (RV °*ye*) RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ *sukham*
meṣāya meṣya VS ŚB

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayya*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS
 ŚB TB Cf §396

ābhīy (vāham sūtave (HG °*vai*) HG ApMB

kuhvai (KSA *kuhve*, ed em °*vai*) *trayo 'runatāh* TS KSA

punee putrāya veltavai (ŚB BṛhU *viltaye*, KS †*kartave*, MG *kartavai*,
 v 1 °*ve*) KS ŚB TB BṛhU ApŚ ApMB HG MG

śakrāya svnai (JB °*ve*) *tvā* RV JB

śriyai (MG *śriyē*) *putrāya veltavai* (MG *vedhavai*) ApMB MG

śam lokāya tanve (SMB *tanvai*) *ryonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai PG *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG cf *paridam*
vāno adhithāh (HG °*ihāh*, ApMB *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV ApMB
 HG These forms are taken as datives by the PG comm, followed
 by Stenzler and Oldenberg It is uncertain whether this is cor-
 rect, or whether they are verb forms, see VV I p 112

§706 Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc sing
 and instr pl)

ghṛtuvatī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*yatih*) TS MS KS AŚ

avyo (SV *avyā*) vāre (SV **vārah*) pari priyah (and, *priyam*) RV SV
punar brahmdno (brahmā) yajñāh (agne), see §339

§707 When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with *vṛddhi* varying with other related forms without *vṛddhi*

dāvin (VS *devīm*) nīvam svaritrām andgasam (AV **sah*) RV AV VS
TS MS KS

devīh (AV *dai°*) śad uritr uru nah (TS ApMB *nah*, and so Whitney
for AV with most mss) kṛvota RV AV TS ApMB

dawibhyas (KS *devebhyas*) tanūbhyah (KS **yas*) svāhā KS TB ApŚ
Kauś

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *davin*) brahmāham manusyānām (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*)
VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

devān mā bhayāt iti SMB *davān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ

imā yā devīh pradīśā catusrah AV yā dawīs catusrah pradīśah TB
ApMB HG

sam devena svitrā TA *sam dāvena* (and, *dāvyena*) naritrā VS ŚB
dvyah kośah samukṣitah MS *davyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU *devakośah*)
samubjitah AV TS KS ŚirasU

vācā tvā hotrā pañcubhir davyair (MŚ *devair*) ṛtvagbhir uddharāmi
ApŚ MŚ

mā devānām (TA *davyas*) tantuś chedi mā manusyānām (TA *manu-*
ṣyah) MS KS TA ŚŚ

indro jyēṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyayṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyayṣṭhyāna*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB PG

vaiśvānaram kṣaitrajityāya (TB *kṣetra°*) devāh VS TB

somaindrā (KSA *ṣsāuniendrā*) bahhrulālānāḥ tūparāh TS KSA

adhvanām adhvaṇate śreṣṭhah svastyasyādhanah (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhan-*
nah, MG *śraṣṭhyasya svastyādhanah*, read *svastyā°* with most
mss) pāram aśya AŚ ApMB MG

meghyā (VS *marghir*) vdyuta vācāh VS TS MS KSA

§708 A couple of cases with *e* *ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding, it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary *vṛddhi* or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e*. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants

avārīya kevarṭam VS *pāryāya kavartam* TB The usual form is *kai°*,
evidently of non-Aryan origin, and it is, to say the least, very
possible that *ke°* is a Prakritism

veśantābhyo dāsam TB . *vaiśantābhyo bairdam* VS Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin, but this time the usual form is *ve*^o. Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS

§709 Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *e*, where *a:* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §269c). The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731. Wackernagel, I c (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *a:*, *au* to *e*, *o*, besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either. Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here. But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *e* form.

adhī na indrayām (VS *intreṣām*) RV VS. Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS is *indra-eyām*. This is the most certain case.

neva māṅse na pībasi AV *naiva māṅsena pīvati* PG. The AV pp reads *na, wa*, according to Barret JAOS 26 205, Ppp also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note). Yet it is possible that AV really intended *naiva*, which certainly is a more natural reading. *jagatyānam* (AŚ °*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS KS °*ni*, AŚ °*ni*) TS MS KS AŚ. In VV I p 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyenam* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh, to be sure the edition of AŚ inspires little confidence. But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc *jagaty* instead of instr *jagatyā*).

enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā KS (prec by *-mānā*, actual text, *-mānā-nāhne*^o) the MŚ version quoted in Conc as *idāhna id āharam aśīya* is Knauer's emend of corrupt mss which begin [-*mān*]-*enāhned-*, doubtless intending the same as KS.

See also *anāmayaḍhi* etc., §344.

§710 In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *e* vary with subjunctives in *a:*, see VV I p 28.

vi sakhyāni ṛjāmahe (ŚŚ °*hai*, MŚ *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ PG

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

devān yajñi:yān iha yān yajāmahai (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS

rayim yena vanāmahai (SV °*he*) RV SV

racāvahe (MS °*hai*, pp °*he*) *yad avṛkam purā cit* RV MS

brahmāham antaram kṛnve (KŚ *karave*, read °*vai*) AV KŚ (? the proper subjunctive form would be °*vai*, °*ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant)

anu nau kūra mānsate (TS °*ta*) RV TS KSA

yā na ūrū uśatī viśroyāte (AV °*ti*, ApMB HG *viśrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG

pari svajāte (AV °*ta*) *libhujva vṛkṣam* RV AV N

pra yah katrācū (TB *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB °*ta*, text. and comm. in Poona ed.) RV TB

dadhad vidhaksyan paryankhayātai TA *dadhṛg vidhaksyan paryāṅkhayāte* (AV *vidhaksan parīṅkhayātai*) RV AV

manai (MS *manve*) *nu babhūnām aham* RV VS MS KS ŚB N *yayū qā ākurāmahe* (SV °*hai*) RV SV

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

§711 There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf. §§694, 698, or, in the first two cases, to the augment *mṛtyoh padam* (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV °*ta*, MG *lopayanti*.) *yad* (AV omits) *eta* (RV *aita*, TA *aita*) RV AV TA MG

vācas pate 'chidrayā hotrām arayat (KŚ °*yant*, TA *eruyava*, ŚŚ *arayasva*) *stāhā* ŚB TA KŚ ŚŚ Augmented forms in ŚB KŚ, the ŚŚ is uninterpretable

ā te garbho yonim etu (AG *aitu*) AG ApMB HG *ā te yonim garbha etu* AV ŚG *ā yonim garbha etu te* AV *ā garbho yonim etu te* ApMB HG The preceding *a* proves AG secondary

aiṣu (AŚ *aiṣu*) *dyumnam svar yumat* AV AŚ ŚŚ Perhaps misprint in AŚ, as Whitney on AV suggests

etat te agne rādha aiti (MS KS *eti*) *somacyutam* TS MS KS

gṛhān aimi (LŚ HG *emi*) AV VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG

abhyaite (SV *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamana* RVKh SV VS

§712 Miscellaneous cases

he 'lavo he 'lavo ŚB *haiho haiho* ŚBK Interjections

mā bhv VS TS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ *ma bhav* MS KS MŚ Aorist verb forms, see VV I p. 129, and next

mā bher mā VS VSK TS ŚB *mā bhav mū* MS KS See prec *uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakenhi* (SMB GG °*naidhi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG See §122, and on the MG form, VV I p. 87

uttamani nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nake*) *adhī rohayenam* (VS MS KS ŚB °*yunnani*, TA °*rohemam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Pronouns *imani enam*

latra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatām (MŚ °relām, AŚ °bhavalām) TB
AŚ ApŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ fusion of *sambhara* and *elam*, in the
others dual verb forms

śatruhanam amitrahanam (KS *śatru*° asī *śatruhanam*) *bhrātrvyahanam*
arurahanam tvaindrām (ApŚ text *tvendram*) *vajrain sādūyāmi*
KS ApŚ Here *tvendram*, if not a corruption or misprint, can
only be a phonetic reduction of *tvaindrām* (*tvā* + *aindrām*)

[*endram* (TB *aindrām*, but comm and Poona ed text *endram*) *acu-*
cyavuh TB ApŚ]

6 u o

§713 The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables, thus, in nouns and adjectives

namo vah pīlarah kuṣmāya (VS ŚŚ *soyāya*, SMB GG KbG *śūyāya*)

VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KbG See §720

matyāi krulāya (*mahe bhrōtrāya*) *cakṣase* AV (both)

ā mā stotāya stulam gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS Vait. *ā mā stotrāya*
stotram gamyāt PB

duṣkryavanah pṛtanāśād (°āḍ) *ayudhyah* (AV MS *ayodhyah*) RV AV
†19 13 70, SV VS VSK TS MS KS Gerundives

deva gharma rocitas tvam deveṣv ā MS *rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣv*
asī TA Causative and simple participles Cf next

rocito gharmah MS KB ŚB TA etc *rocito gharmo rocīyu* TA Cf
prec

ānandī moddh pramudah AV *ānando modah pramodah* TB *modah*
pramoda ānanduh TB *mudah pramuda āsate* RV Stems (*pra*)*mud*
and (*pra*)*moda*

druṇī (SV *drone*) *sadhastham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV SV Stems
dru and *drona*

714 With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations

dyumnī slokī (KS *lukli*) *su soṃyah* (TB *sau*°) RV AV SV MS KS TB
suṣvam somapīkuru (TS *sumatīksaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh

suśīman somasāksaru AV See §180

sumitrah soma no (Kauś *sumano*) *bhava* RV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ

Kauś An obvious lect fac in Kauś

§715 Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists.

yan me mātā pralulubhe (ApMB HG *pralulobha*) ŚG ApMB HG MDh

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
Aorist and present, see VV I p 82

āditya (AV also *sūrya*) *nāvam ārukṣah* (SMB *ārokṣam*) AV SMB
See VV I p 130

amocī (AV *umukthā*) *yakṣmāid duritūd avartyai* (AV *avundyāt*) AV TB
ApMB

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŚB *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS *rawī mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS See VV I p 129

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śucih (TS *śūśucah*, KS *śucah*, MS *hīśih*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB See *ibid* p 128

devasyu (^o*syāham*) *savituh ruheyam* (GB *roh*^o) VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB TB GB Vait MŚ ApŚ LŚ See *ibid* p 132

sa yathā tvam rucyā ruciṣīya (MS *rociṣīya*) AV MS See VV I p 186

On the following form see VV I p 281, the MG form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu*.

antas tiṣṭhatu (MG ^o*tu*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuh* SMB HG MG

§716 In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition.

vasuh (TS ApMB *vasoh*) *sūnuh sahaso apsu rajā* RV VŚ TS MS KS
ApMB Nom and gen forms, the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc.)

dyumattamā suprutikasya sūnoh (AV ^o*tikuh sarūnuh*) AV VS TS
MS KS ŚB See §189

āyuskr̥te (ApŚ *āyoṣ*^o) *svahā* KS ApŚ Both 'maker of life'
vāyusāvitra (TS p p ^o*trah*, MS *vāyusavitr̥bhyim*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA TPr 6 8 explains *vāyo*^o by *vāyusavitr̥bhyām*, it is a secondary adj. in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyoṣ*, cf. *agner agneyūny* etc., §692

uror ā no (VS ŚB LŚ *puruāno*) *deva r̥yas pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB LŚ See §371a

madhū reto (TS *madhor ato*, KS † *mudhur ato*) *mīdhavah pātu asmān*
TS MS KS AŚ See §837

§717 The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*, cf below, §721

aamdhlātā samdhim (MS °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB MS p p *puro*°, MS text. *puru*°) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB *puru vśudni jūrvan* RV *puro rakṣānsi nījūrvan* AV

§718 Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf §§694, 698, 711

obhe pṛnāsi (TS *ubhe pṛnakṣi*) *rodast* RV TS MS *pṛnakṣi rodast ubhe* RV SV VS KS ŚB

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

§719 The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant. *vayūr devair vayoṇādhaih* (MS MŚ *vayu*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna*, *vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd of *vayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy.

ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *manoyujah* (KS *manu*°, V1Dh *manuyajah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB BDh V1Dh ApŚ Stems *manas* and *manu*

agnir havānumanyutām (MŚ *havyā no man*°) TB ApŚ MŚ

pra nu (TA ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no* with all mss but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *nu*) *vocam cikittaye janāya* RV TA SMB Kauś GG ApMB HG MG

pra nu vocam (ArS *no vaco*) *vidathā jātavedasah* (ArS °*se*) RV ArS *yas te stanah śasayo* (AV ° *yur*) *yo mayobhūh* RV AV VS MS AB ŚB TA BṛhU AŚ Equivalent stems, *śasaya* °*yu*

yā cohitā yā ca noditā (TA *yā cānuditā*) MS TA *na-uditā an-uditā yatheyam stri pautram agham na rodāt* SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam stripautram aganma rudriyāya* MG See §801

agnaye tvā mahyam āyur (MS *mayu*) *dātra* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ See §228

śidanto vanuṣu yathā RV SV LŚ *śidantu manuṣo yathā* RV See §227 *karma kṛnavantu* (MŚ °*to*) *mānuṣāh* AV MŚ The MŚ form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation.

[*ato* (TB *tato*) *no rudrū ita vā ṛnu* (Conc *no*, TB *nu*, Poona ed 'nu, comm *anu*) *asya* RV TB]

7 ū o

§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut, but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §84).

abhi tyam devam samvīram imyoh (TS *ūnyoh*) *kavikratum* AV SV VS
TS MS KS KB AB ŚB AdB AŚ ŚŚ The isolated TS stem
ūni must mean the same as the regular *oni*.

namo vah pitarah śuśmāya (VS ŚŚ *śuśāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūyāya*)
VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG. Common on
SMB *śūya iti balanama*.

sam pūṣū (ApŚ adds *sam dhātā*, MS * *poṣā*) *sam bhaspatāh* (KS
dhātū) AV MS (bis) KS ApŚ *poṣa* is either a textual corruption
or due to the analogy of guna forms of root *puṣ*. The mantra is
repeated in fragments in a Brāhmaṇa passage immediately follow-
ing its quotation with *poṣū*, and in the Brāhmaṇa *pūṣū* is read.
Cf next.

apī (PG *ihā*) *pūṣa ni śidatu* (AV ŚŚ * *ti*) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMR
PG HG *rāyas poṣo ni śidatu* ApMB ApŚ Cf prec, *rāyas*
poṣo is here evidently secondary, but sensible.

kukūnānām (KS *kūtanām*, MS *pūtanām*) *tvā* VS MS KS
ŚB *kotanāu* TS. Wholly obscure words.

yamasya pūṣūrah (KSA *pūṣo*) TS KSA *yamūni pūṣūrah* TS *yonyāh*
pūṣūrah KSA. Uncertain part of the horse's body.

aṅgoṣyam (RV *aṅgūṣānān*) *avāśanta vānīh* RV SV Cf §190 and
next.

aṅgoṣyam (RV *ḍṅgūṣyam*) *pavamānam sakhāyah* RV SV Cf prec
mano jyotir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *jusātīm ājyasya* (TS TB Vait *ājyam*,
AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ Vait LŚ
KŚ ApŚ MŚ. Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms.

divo jyote (KS * *ti*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvan*) MS KS
vivasvān aditir devajūti TS.

§721. The stem *purū*, for *puru* in composition, varies with *puru* for
pura, in the first variant quoted in §717, q v, and also in
tam sakhāyah purorucam (SV *purū*) RV SV.

§722. The *o* is due to a prefixed *d*, cf. §718 etc

yat kim cāṅṅtam odīma (TA *ūdīma*) MS TA
yad vācāṅṅtam odīma (TB TA *ūdīma*) MS TB TA
devatrā haryam ūhīṣe (RV *ohīṣe* and *ohīre*) RV SV TB A complicated case, on which see *RVRep* 131 f, *VV I* p 237 f

§723 The rest are miscellaneous

amo 'ham aṣṇī sā (AB *sa*) *tvam* AV KS AB ŚB BṛhU JUB AG ŚG
 Kauś PG MG *amūham aṣṇī sā tvam* TB ApŚ ApMB HG
sā (AB *sa*) *tvam aṣṇī amo 'ham* (ŚB BṛhU PG *aḥam*, ApMB
amūham, MG *aṣṇī āṣṇī amo 'ham*) KS AB JUB ŚB BṛhU AG
 ŚG PG ApMB MG *amo*, for *amas*, stem *ama*, *amūham*, peculiar sandhi connecting some form of stem *amu* (*amū?* *amūṣ*, *amūṣ?*) and *aḥam*, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, p xxvii

aṅghrinā viṣṇo (KS *viṣṇū*, twice, ms once *viṣṇu*) *nā tvāva* (KS *vām* *ava*) *kramiṣam* VS KS ŚB *agnāviṣṇū nā vām* *ava kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ See Von Schroeder on KS 1 12 and Keith on TS 1 1 12 1 *viṣṇo*, voc sing, *-viṣṇū* in TS *devatādvundva*, in KS elliptic dual (note *vām* in KS), but note also the phonetic resemblance between *aṅghrinā* and *agnā* of TS

tapūṅṅy (MS *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā putamgān* RV VS TS MS KS
 Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh AV *tanūpūvīnas tanvas tapojāh* AB AŚ
na tū (SV *sato*) *dhanum kāṛine na pra yānsat* RV SV

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīl (JB *yono vānī hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms obscure

8 u au

§724 Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the riddhi of secondary derivation as regards their *au* forms, but one or two of them are strange forms (For the aorist forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rauk*, see §715, *mā bher* etc)

suślokyāya (ApMB *sau*^o) *svastaye* ApMB AG PG MG
māham puutram (KBU *puṭṛyam*) *agham rīdam* (AG *niyām*, read *niḡām*, with SMB *, SMB **niḡām*, **riyam*) AG SMB ApMB HG
 KBU

ulūkhala (ApMB *aul*^o) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG *akurvata*) ApMB
 HG MG *aulūkhalāh sampravādanti grāvānah* SMB

udbhinnam (ApŚ *audbhidyam*) *rājñah* MS ApŚ

āṣir na (*nā*, *ma*) *ūrjam ula suprajāstvam* (AV *sau*^o) AV TS MS KS
 KŚ Whitney rightly calls the AV form 'anomalous'

kumbhīnasah (KSA *kaum*^o) *puṣkarasādo lohulāhis te tvāṣṭrah* TS KSA
Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the vriddhi, the meaning
seems to be the same as that of the primary noun

vāce krauñcah (VS *kruñcah*) VS TS MS KSA Again the two forms
are apparently synonyms In this case the form with vriddhi is
commoner, at least in the later language The origin and primary
form of the word are unknown

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh *dyauh samā tasyāditya*
upadraṣṭā HG See §833

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyuchal (ŚG *vyuchal*) AV T'S MS KS TB
ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB Augmented and augmentless forms
vy uchā (and, *aucho*) *duhitar divah* RV SV (both in each) As prec

9 ū au

§725 Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning vriddhi of
secondary derivation

ṭairdrāsūrāh śyetalalāmā^s (KSA *ṭairulrāsaurāh ṭayāmalalāmā*) *tūparāh*
TS KSA

pauṣno (VSK *pūṣā*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc *mahāvīrah*) VS VSK
varnarudhnyāya svāhā KS *svarmūrdhā vatyasano vyāsyana* MS
dhruvāya bhūmāya (PG *bhau*^o) *svāhā* TA MahānU PG
ūrvāh ŚŚ Vait *aurvāh* IŚ With both sc *pitṛbhīh*

§726 There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhautā*,
from roots *dhu* (*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in
origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language

ṛṣhir dhūtah (SV *dhautah*) *suto aśvāh* RV SV

ṛṣhir dhūto (SV *dhauto*) *vacakṣanah* RV SV

apsu dhautasya (AŚ ŚŚ *dhū*^o) TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ
apsu dhūto (SV *dhautam*) *ṛṣbhīh sutah* (SV *sutam*) RV SV

§727 In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment
praty aukatām (MS *ūh*^o) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV *asmāt*) AV TS VS
MS KS TAA

10 o au

§728 Here again the largest group concerns the vriddhi of secondary
derivation

dyumnī ślokī (KS *śuklī*) *sa somyah* (TD *sau*^o) RV AV SV MS KS TB
namo mauñjyāyormyāya vusumndāya GDh *namo mauñjyāyur-*
myāya Svidh

yat somyaryāndhaso (ApMB *sau*^o) *bubodhatī* RV ApMB

juṣantām somyam (TB *sau*^o) *madhu* VS MS TB

somairdrā (KSA ṣaumendrā) *babhrulalāmās tūparāh* TS KSA

somāpauṣṇāh (KSA sau^o) *ḡyāmalulāmās tūparāh* TS KSA

yadi sinnasyāḥ rājñāh nomāt Kauś *yadi saumy asi somāt* AG

Rvidb *yady asi saumī somāya* GG

cauraryānnam (TAA BDh cor^o) *navasrāddham* TAA MahānU ViDh
BDh

[*twam rauhinam* (AV misquoted *roh^o* in Conc) *vyāsyah* AV ŚŚ]

§729 Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems

mā (VS ŚB add *vayam*) *rāyarkṣena vi yauṣma* VS MS ŚB *māham rūy^o vi yoṣam* TS KS TA ApŚ

ihava stam mā vi yauṣam (ApMB *yoṣtam*) RV AV ApMB

mā bher mā etc., see §715

§730 Once the *au* form is due prefixed *ā*, cf §722 etc

ā no (VS ŚB *mā*) *goyu viśatu ā tanūṣu* (TS *auśadhīṣu*, MS *ośadhīṣu*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB

§731 A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of *e* and *i*, §709, q v

upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena (TS ^o*noṣṭhena*, KSA *adharoṣṭhena*) VS TS
MS KSA See TPr 10 14

saha ojah (VS *sahaujah*, VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK AB GB AŚ Vait.
Adverb *saha* plus *ojah* in VS VSK, the latter with irregular *sandhu*, the other texts *sahas* + *ojah*

ya āvnekoṣyadhīr (MS ^o*sausadhīr*) *yo vanaspatin* AV MS There is a
v l ^o*sausadhīr* in AV, which Whitney adopts in the text

[*sukurirā svauṣā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarirā svopaśā* MS But several
mss and p p of MS *svaup^o*, which should probably be read in the
text. The second part of the cpd is certainly *opaśa*, and the first
probably *sva*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su*, doubtless this
was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS]

§732 Miscellaneous

asthūrī nau (*nau*, *no*, *no*) etc., see §950 Dual and plural pronouns *nau*
and *no* (*nas*)

[*ye ke cobhayādutah* (TA *cau^o*, Puona ed correctly *co^o*) RV VS TA
ye ca ke cobhayādutah AV]

anupauhvad (ApMB *anu po* 'hvad) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*)
HG ApMB The ApMB surely means *po* for *vo*, comm says *p*
is 'chānūlāsa' for *v*, cf Winternitz, p xxi. The HG seems to
intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure

devi dvārau (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samlāptam* TS AŚ Vait The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait is impossible

sūryo rūpam kṛṇute dyor (MS *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV AV VS MS TB Only a gen can be construed here On *dyauh* as abl-gen see Wackernagel, III p 224, *infra*

yatrādhi sūra udito vbhāti (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS Others, §63

mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito (AV °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nikārīnah* AV VS. TS MS KS See §399

īmau (Kauś *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS °*yā*) *ajarau palatrinau* (VSK TS † KS °*no*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Nom dual gen sing

11 'Samprasārana', *i(i) ya, yā*, and the like

§733 We have already referred in §§656 ff to the phenomena of so-called samprasārana as they concern *r* in variation with *ra*, *rā*. Similar exchanges occur between *i* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms. There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaj* *ij*, etc. The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory. They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *i ya* as a live factor in the language. Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint.

agne yat te tejas tena tam prali tityagdhī (KS *tityagdhī*, AV *tam otejasam kṛnu*) AV MS KS ApŚ For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhī*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p 191

§734 All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following.

prapīnam (MŚ v 1 °*tam*, TS ApŚ *prapyātam*) *agne surirasya* (MŚ *salilasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one.

yatrāsate sukṛto yatra te yayuh (AV *ta iyuh*) RV AV VS ŚB TA 'Roots' *yā* and *i*, the latter form here metrically poor.

vikīrīda (KS °*da*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

antimitras (TS *antiyam*^o) *dūre-amitras* (MS 'mitras) *ca ganah* VS TS MS KS Both probably mean 'having near friends', *anti* and adj *antya* Weber and Keith follow the comm on TS in dividing *anty-amitras*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible

ugniḥ havyam (RV KS *havih*) *śumitā rūdudyati* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

ahih kariram (TB *ahac char*^o) *payasū sameti* (TB ^o*tya*) TB Vait (also AVPPP) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *sametya*, the 3d sing *sameti* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Samprasārana' Cf VV I p 164

kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhūt (SV *paricakṣi nāma*) RV SV TS MS N The SV form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other

tāh prācyā (^o*yah, prācīr*) , see §387 Equivalent case-forms, others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions

satyam vadanty anu iche (KS *anu yacha*) *etat* TS KS PG *anu-iz* 'seek after' *anu-yam* 'follow'

yebhir viśvam (SV *vy āśvam*) *airayah* RV SV *Vy āśvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift Benfey takes *asva* as a proper name

anyām iche pitṛśudam vyaktām (ApMB *vittām*) RV ApMB *jāmim iche pitṛśudam nyuktam* (read ^o*lam*) AV *vittim* is certainly secondary Note that in *jāmim anyām* we also have a kind of samprasārana in the final syllable

acittapājā (TA *acyuta*^o) *agnū* MS TA ŚŚ Also *acittamanā* (TA *acyuta*^o) *upavaktā*, same texts Here *yu* i vary, cf the second variant in §736, and next

bhujyuh (MS *bhujī*) *suparno yajño gandharvah* VS TS MS KS ŚB *yu ī*, cf prec

pāhi mā didyoh (TS TB *mādyā divah*) VS TS ŚB TB

ayani yo 'si (MŚ *yo asya*) *yasya ta idam biruh* KS ApŚ MŚ The latter certainly secondary

yena bhūyas ca rātryaḥ (ApMB *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *bhūris cara divam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

12 Samprasārana u(ū) va, vā, and the like

§739 Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants, almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences The most clearly phonetic cases are

svar (KhG *sur*) *abhivṛyakhyaṃ* KS ApŚ GG KhG *svar abhivṛyakhyaṃ*
(MS MŚ °*kām*) *gyotir vaiśvānaram* MS KS MŚ *sur* is certainly
for *svar*, cf. the Dhātupāṭha root *sur* 'shine'

katī dhāmāntī katī ye vivāsah MS *lo asyā dhāma katīdhā vyusṛīh* AV
Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shine'

agnir havyam (RV KS *havh*) *śamitā sūdayātī* (AV *svalayatu*) RV AV
VS TS MS KS The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically,
but no doubt related prehistorically

agnir havyāni svadati RV *agnir havyā svādatī* RV

ayā no yajñam vahūsi KŚ *ayasā havyam ūhīṣe* ApŚ ApMB HG
And others, see §502 Related roots *vah* and *ūh*

And similarly in suffixal elements

vidyullekheva bhāsvarā (MahānU *bhāsurā*, v 1 *bhāsvarā*) TA MahānU
Both these stems are familiar adjectives

madhūntamānām (VSK *madhvant*°, MS *madughānām*) *tvā palmanī*
ādhnōmī VS VSK ŚB MS The VS form is a kind of superlative
to *madhu*, modeled upon *madhu-tama*, which occurs in the preceding
formula The VSK form is a variation on the other, suggested
by suffixal forms in *van(t)*

sugantuh karma karanaḥ kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanaḥ*
karah karasyuh IŚ So the printed ed of IŚ, BR read *sugantvah*
'leicht gangbar', but no °*gantvu* is recorded The text is evidently
very corrupt

§740 Several times the AV presents the word *abhīśastipā(h)*,
'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other
texts read *abhīśastipāvā*, as nom. of a suffixal form in *-van*, cf. Luneman's
note in Whitney on AV 19.24.5, which suggests that AV is secondary
bhānā kṛṣṇīnām (AV *gr*°) *abhīśastipāvī* (AV °*pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG
abhūr kṛṣṇīnām (AV °*vasānam* in text, mss *v āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*,

ApMB *āpīnām*) *abhīśastipāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV HG ApMB
ṛṣīnām putro abhīśastipāvā (AV °*pā u*) AV VS ŚB

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once

yad vā (RVKh *u*) *devī sarasvatī* AV RVKh

§741 The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva*
in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa-* (§§364, 612)
nūvās caranti svasica iyānāh VS TS ŚB *nūvo svayanti svasico na vānīh*
MS KS

imam yajñam svadhayā ye yajante (KS *dadante*) KS AŚ *imam ca*
yajñam svadhayā dadante MS *ya imam yajñam svadhayā dadante*
(ŚŚ *bhujante*) VS TS ŚŚ

svagā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS N *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś ApŚ *sadanāni santu*, KS *devās sadanedam astu*)
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ Kauś ApŚ N

sunīti svayaśastaram (SV *su*^o) RV SV

avabhṛthiś ca svagākāras (KS *mi*^o) *ca* MS KS So the one me of KS,
but ed em *svagā*^o, no doubt rightly, cf *ava*^o *ca me svagā*^o *ca me*,
in Conc

ekayā ca dakabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ
ŚŚ See §119

prīḍany aṅgāni svadhītā parūṅgi (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūni*) TB Vait
§742 The rest are sporadic lexical variants

urudrapso msvarūpa induh TS ApŚ *purudrasmo viśurūpa* (KS *°das-*
manvad viśnarūpam) *induh* VS KS ŚB KŚ Other cases of *viśu*
viśva in §291

dhūmrā bubhrunīkāśāḥ pīṭnāni somavatīm VS *pīṭbhyo barhiḥadbhyo*
dhūmrāni bubhrvanūkāśāni ApŚ *babhru + nīkāśa (anukāśa)*

brahmādhiḡuptah (PG *brahmābhi*^o) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah syām*)
svāhā AG PG *brahmādhiḡūrtam svarākṣānah* (mss *svarātrak-*
ṣānah) MG For AG Stenzler says 'moge ich Lieder ergießen'

asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devī avatī haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣv ā*) RV
SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso †'vatā haveṣu* AV

svādhyo (TB *°dhyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv oj*^o) RV TB
purutrī te manutīm (AV *vanvatām*, comin *vanutīm*) *viṣṭhitam jagat*
RV AV VS TS MS KSA N Sing plur, see VV I p 266

indrah (ŚŚ *°as*) *patih taviṣtamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*)
AV AA ŚŚ

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ *° ā*, MS *janiṣva*) MS AB
AŚ ŚŚ See §§693, 826

§743 A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or
vī is found varying with *u* or *ū*

vidyutīm (PG MG *udyatīm*) *va sūryah* ŚŚ AG PG MG

adyā kṛnuhi vītaye (SV *°hy ūtaye*) RV SV *uḡvat kṛnuhi vītaye* (SV
°hy ūtaye) RV SV The variation may also be considered one
between *yū* and *vī* (§805)

achidrān pārayiṣnum (SMB *°pāriṣvīm*) TS SMB Fem acc of *u* stem
dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urvyā*, MS *urvyā*) *vḡ adyaut* (MS *vi*
bhātī) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB; ApMB Cf §791, and next

variant The form *urvyā* seems to be characteristic of MS
cakṣur ma urvyā (KS *urvyā*, MS *urvyā*) *v bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB
Cf prec

dhiṣane vīdū (vīdvī) , and others, see §169

yatrādhi sūra udito vrbhātī (TS *uditar vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS *yasmīn*
adhī vritatah sūra eti MS KS *yasyāsau sūro vritato mahitvā* AV
 See §63

13 aya e and the like

§744 On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5 27 ff, Wackernagel I p 53 f It is clearly Prakritic in character The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following, the MS form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other

namah kṛkṛlāya ca kṣayandya (MS *kṣenāya*) ca VS TS MS KS
 Epithet of land

§745 In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *ayu* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents, but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them

arejetām (TB *arejayalām*) *rodanī pājasā girū* RV TB Cf VV I p 154, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB, which spoils the meter

ullamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *ullame nāke*) *adhī rohamam* (VS MS KS ŚB °*yainam*, TA *rohamam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
 See VV I p 152 The contracted form of TA is unmetrical

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB *kṣeti*) *carṣanīnām* RV MS TB The contracted form is again unmetrical Cf VV I p 123

agnir (also *vāyur*, *prajāpatir* etc) *dikṣitah dikṣayatu* (JB *dikṣeta*)
 JB ApŚ See VV I §160

§746 Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles

vīdāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ °*mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 83

tanved (AV *tanva yad*) *dhuh pippalam svādv agre* RV AV The AV expansion is hypermetric, according to Whitney, Ppp agrees with RV

§747 As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e(a)* and *av*, *ay*, *īye*, *īya*, *ā-yā* For *e ya, yā*, see §803

samerāvabhāgā (VS ŚB *samerava*°, MS °*gāh*, KS Kauś °*gāḥ*) *stheṣā*
 (Kauś *tanṣā*) *brhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś See §96

TS pp *stha*, *iṣṭh*, and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished', but this is implausible. The original doubtless means *stha iṣṭ* 'ye are great by food', Kauś, 'by strength'

tebhyo ghr̥tasya kulyuṣtu (TA *dh̥r̥rayitum*) AV TA The AV form intends *kulyā-etu*, TA suggests *dh̥r̥astu* (*dh̥r̥ā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV and its secondary reading

āruroha tve sarā (KS *tvayy apī*) KS TB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

revati prēdhā yajñapatim ā vīśa MS KS *revati yajamāne priyam dhā ā vīśa* VS ŚB *revatir yajñapatim priyadhāviśata* TS ApŚ The old adverb *prēdhū* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS, and this is further broken up into *priyam dhāh*, 'establish the pleasant', in VS

vi dhūmam agne aruṣam miyedhya (MS *medhya*) RV VS TS MS ŚB TA *miyedha* and *medha*, both RV, are synonyms, it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them

agnir devebhyah suvidatryebhyah (TA *suvidatrebhyah*) RV AV TA N

In the original form *datryebhyah* stands for *datryebhyah* (suffix *ya*) *pratiravebhyah* (TA *pratirebhyah*) *svīkā* MS TA The correct reading is certainly that of MS, *pratirava* in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava* TA comm *pratirebhyo 'bhividdhikhetubhyah prīnadevebhyah* (as if *pra-tira* 'extending' [life]) *ā yāta* (SMB GG VīDh *etu*) *pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV SMB GG HG VīDh *ā-yā* and *ā-i*, synonyms

Compare the interesting case *agnim* (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhakoṣyam* HV SV, see §843

14 *ava o* and the like

§748 See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *e*. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p. 54)

to-to (MS KS MŚ *tava-tava*, TS ApŚ *tu-te*) *rāyah* VS TS MS KS ŚH KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§749 Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency *yatra yanti srotyās* (KS *sravatyas*) *tuy jitam te* AV TS MS KS The fuller form of KS improves the meter. RV knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *sravantī* = KS *sravatī*, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss of KS read *sravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyās*

sā nah priyā supratūrtir maghonī TS *sā nah supratūrtih priyā nah*

suhār nah priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi MS In TS the regular fem of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*, in MS an *i*-extension of the strong stem

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK TS ApS °*vaḥ*, KS *subho*) *sūryāya* VS VSK TS MS KS KB ŚB ApS The KS probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (-*bhū*), parallel to -*bhāta*(*)

anābho mṛda dhūrte (read °*tu* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApS Cf p w 5 Nachtrage, s v Possibly here also forms of root *dhū* may be involved, as in the last, but the readings are very obscure Epithets of Itudra KS mss reads *anārbhava*, KapS *anūr*°

§750 We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*,

avamais ta ūrvais te kāvyais te pitrbhir bhakṣayāmi PB LŚ *ūmaish pitrbhir bhakṣayāmi* AB ŚŚ Vait It is possible that the latter form intends *avamā* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pitrbhir* so well We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction Caland does not translate the word in Vait

For o *va*, *vā*, see §504

CHAPTER XVI INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

1 EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751 In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation. One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uv* for *v*, it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *v* have vocalic function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49-53, also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-ry-* or *-ri-*, in VV I pp 189-191. As Wackernagel says (p 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prākritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

§752 In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel, and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it.

§753 Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp 190-1, and Wackernagel I p 60. As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words *pra na* (MS *nā*, SV PB *na*) *āyūnsv tārīṣat* (VS *TS *KS *ŚŚ N * *tārīṣah*, Kauś *tārīṣat*) RV AV SV VS *TS *MS KS *PB TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N *. The Kauś form is had metrically *āchettā te* (TB ApŚ * *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS and all mss of MŚ *mārīṣam*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ. Since the root is *riṣ*, the Maitr form (to be read also in MŚ) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*.

§754 In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms.

āpo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyūnw* (TS TB JB ApŚ *anw*, AV *divyā*) *acārīṣam* (JB † *acārīṣam*, AV *acāyīṣam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB ApG MG Add to VV I §286a,
p 190 Note that JB is unmetrical

agne vralapate vralam acāriṣam (MS MŚ v 1 *acārṣam*), VS TS MS
KS † ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ HG

vralānām vralapate (Kauś °*palayo*) *vralam acāriṣam* (MS *acārṣam*)
MS TA Kauś

§755 The original form of *paraṣu* or *parṣu* is uncertain, Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parṣu*, but *paraṣu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek *πῆλεκος*. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *svastih*, the form *parṣur* can be made to fit metrically), but note that in TS both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parṣu* suspicious

paraṣur (TS *parṣur*) *vedih paraṣur nah svasti* (TS °*tih*) AV TS

§756 There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

§757 The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u*. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h*. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*, this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter, to make the text metrical it has to be omitted.

§758 First, between *r* and sibilants the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, 1 c)

yad rātriyā (MahānU TA v 1 *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v 1
akārṣam) TA MahānU

dileh putrānām aditer akārṣam (MS *akārṣam*) AV MS

tan nah parṣad (MS *pariṣad*) *ati dvīṣah* TS MS

dakṣam te bhadrām ābhārṣam (AV *ta ugram ā bhārṣam*) RV AV

§759 The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed of TB text and comm reads *dhūrṣadam*. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p 56, likewise delete there the form *dhūrṣadh-*, which is supported by only one ms in TS 1 2 8 2, the other mss all read *dhūrṣāh-*.

ghṛtapratīkam va (TB *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB Bibl Ind *dhūrṣadam*)
RV TB ApŚ

§760 There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant, most cases of MS (in three occurrences) and of MŚ (in two) read with epenthesis *-valśā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśd* and only once *-valśā*

sahasravalśā (MS * MŚ *v l °valśā*) *vi vāyam rihema* RV VS TS MS *
KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The epenthetic *i* is bad metrically

§761 Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical (*spārha svārūha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering

spārḥā (TB *svārūha*) *yasya śriyo dṛṣe* RV KS TB

spārḥo (TB *svārūho*) *deva nyutvata* RV SV VS TB

§762. A single instance between *l* and *h*
etad brahmān upa valhūmanī (AŚ *apa°*, LŚ *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ
ŚŚ LŚ

§763 Likewise one between *h* and *r*

dahram (*v l daharam*) *vipāpmanuraveśmahūtam* (TA Poona ed
vipāpum [*v l vipāpma*] *varu°*, MahānU *vipāpman varam* [*v l*
vara-] *veśna°*) TA MahānU Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known,
the latter is required by the meter here

§764 Before labial consonants, generally *v*
puru tvā dāsvān (SV *dāsvān*) *voce* RV SV The inserted *i* in SV is
doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV *dāsvān* was trisyllabic (probably *dāsvān*, Oldenberg)

rutah sudakṣa dhanva (SV *dhanva*) RV SV Read *dhanua* in RV,
the *i* of SV is to be explained as in the prec

āsvina gharman pātam hārdvānam (TA *hārdvānam*, read with Poona
ed *hārdi°*) VS ŚB TA ŚŚ And others, see §267

varṣmā (VS *varṣma*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*,
KS *drāghvī*) *ca me* VS TS MS KŚ The *i*-forms of VS are
exceptional. Interesting is the TS form, which suggests a middle
stage **drāghivā* (blend of KS *drāghvā* and VS *drāghimā*), which has
suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*iv uy*)

Here we may also mention the common forms *prthvī* and *prthivī*. In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form. It is a disputed question which is the original, Wackernagel thinks *prthivī* (I p 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf e.g. Avestan *parəthwi*)

prthvi (VaradotU *prthivī*) *svarcā yuvatīh sajoṣāh* TB VaradotU

§765 Finally, an isolated corruption

yad aryā anubhedyāh (LŚ *anubhedyāh*) AV VS GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
Vait LŚ The LŚ form is an uninterpretable corruption. The
word *anu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke
or wrote it.

2 WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note, a briefer statement in Whitney 129d. The Prā-
tishākhya seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr, altho the
resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS and other Tait texts. In
the commentary on TPr 2 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference
to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear.

§767. The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition
comes out nowhere more clearly than here. Certain broad general
tendencies appear, the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all
Taittiriya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv*. Yet even this is cut
across by counter-currents in individual cases. The participle of the
root *kṛ*, which in all non-Tait texts beginning with RV itself is regu-
larly spelled *kṛiyant* with resolution, in Tait texts alone keeps or rather
restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṛyant*, in defiance of meter
which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṛiyant*
(§795). In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait texts
perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their
general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they
read *pronnvāthām* (this time with VSK) against *pronnuv*^o of all other
texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the
present-sign *nu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a). Again,
the word which in most texts is written *kuvala* seems to have in the Tait
school the definitely established form *kvāla* (§782), nor can this be
explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose
Brāhmana passages. Similarly the adverb *urvyā* (so RV always) is
spelled *urvyā* in TS (also in VS, §791), and *kvayī* or *°ya* of MS KS is
written *kvayī* in TS and VS. A Tait text (TA) even contains one of
the three cases (*nyemur*, for *ni-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*)
of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*)
which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance
of the resolution of which the Tait school is otherwise so fond (§770).

§768. Nor is the Tait school the only one which displays this capri-

cious character KS in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uv* for *v*. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *tryavi*, KS in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *tryavi* (§776). The RV itself is guilty of one strange anomaly: the pres. mid. participle of the root *su* 'press', is always written *svāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*, the SV in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794).

§769 Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense. This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic. Thus the writing *iy* or *uv* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing. Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary. In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait. school) substitutes *iy* or *uv*.

§770 To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uv* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v*. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 59. These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention. They are

nā tvī ke cin nī (AV *ke cid ṣm*) *yaman vim* (SV *ke cin nī yemur in*, TA *ke cin nyemur in*) *nā pāśinuh* RV AV SV VS TA. The TA form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *nī yemur*, so the comm. There is, to be sure, a *v* *ī nī yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA.

graha viśvajānīna nyantar (KS *nyantar*) MS KS. This and the next passage are prose. KS can only intend *nī-yantrar*. *anuvāsi* PB *anuvāsi* TS KS (not GB Vait., see §255) *anuvāya* MS. Here PB can only have in mind *anu-vā*.

§771 In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsv ā* is resolved to *apuv ā* which is then read *apsu vā* in TS (§778), or when an original *nyān* (from *nyānc*) is broken up into *nī yan* (thru the middle stage *nyāñ*) in a secondary reading of AV (§778). Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *apī yā* in SV (§785), and the RV *abhvam* (two syllables, not **abhvam*) is revamped by TB into *ab-bhavam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790). Other variants which have lexical bearings are *svāñ svān*(*n*), §778, *nv* for *nu* varying

with 'nu for *anu* (wrongly printed *nw* in TB Bibl Ind ed, §778), and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *īy* (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic.

§772 The variants fall into five clearly defined groups. First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *īy* or *uv* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel, most commonly after more than one consonant. Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables, chiefly the one word *svar* (*suvār*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k-* (in which the *īy* or *uv* form seems to be more primary). Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *īya*, and written so in secondary texts, in practically all cases after more than one consonant. Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel, again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *īy* or *uv*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles.

§773 In all of these groups except the last, the writing *īy* or *uv* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait texts which show this secondary writing. Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suvār*, the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait texts (such as KS, from which ApŚ frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *īy* and *uv* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV *svānu* (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

A *uv* and *īy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

§774 Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic. We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV etc is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a).

ghṛte bṛito ghṛtam v (TA *w*) *asya dhāma* RV VS TA AŚ MŚ
praty u (TB *w*) *adarśy* (TB †*adṛśy*) *āyati* RV SV TB ŚŚ AŚ
na vā u (TS TB ApŚ *w*) *elan mṛiyase na riṣyasi* RV VS TS KSA
 ŚB TB ApŚ

sa u (TS *uv*) *ekavṛṇṣavartanīh* TS MS Prose

§776 The spelling *w* was regular from RV times in the word *svīta* (*svita*). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait texts *śarad dhēmantuh svīte dadhāta* (MŚ °*tu*) KS MŚ *śarad varṣāh svīte* (TS SMB *svītam*) *no dadhāta* (TS SMB *astu*) AV TS SMB The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS SMB because of their change to *astu*

svīte mā dhāh TS MS KS ŚŚ LŚ ŚG N *svīte* etc VS GB ŚB AŚ Vait Prose

§776 The word *tryan*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *tryam* in KS, altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tait texts write this word *tryavi* (!) Two of the variants are prose, the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*

tryavir (KS *tryavir*) *gur vayo dādhuh* VS MS KS TB

tryavir (KS *trya*°) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Prose

tryavis (KS *trya*°) *ca me tryavi* (KS *trya*°) *ca me* (MS MŚ omit *me* twice) VS TS MS KS MŚ Prose

§777 The rest are sporadic

śutudri stomam sacakī parusny (TA °*ny*) *ā* RV TA MahānU N In a jagati stanza, RV certainly pronounced °*ny-ā*

asikny (TB °*ny*) *asy ośadhe* AV TB

dhūriṅvarā maruḷo dhṛṣṇuvosuh (TB *dhṛṣṇuvo*°) RV AB KB TB

§778 False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following

yad ośadhīṣṇ apsu ā (TS *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV VS TS ŚB *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsuv ā* As a matter of fact, this may be what TS really intends, but *p p* divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith

nyañ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °*tm*) RV AV KS The AV has a corruption based upon *nyañ* for *nyañ*

svāna bhṛājā° VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *svān nabhrād* KS *svāna bhṛāj* TA *svāñ nabhrād* MS MŚ In the latter *su-vāk* (*vāk*) is meant

[*talo no rudrā uta vā* †*no asya* RV *talo no rudrā uta vā nuv* (but Poona ed 'nv, and comm *anu*) *asya* TB We assume that the Poona ed is right, so that the variant does not belong here]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*

B Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

§779 These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds. Numerous variant *pādas* begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form *svar* is practically limited to Tait texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ) from non-Tait sources, retaining the non-Tait spelling. We note that in the variant *s(u)varge loke samprornvāthām* TS KSA TB, the true reading of KSA is *ṣvarge loke ṣamprornuvāthām*, correct Conc.

§780 In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete)

pari lokān pari dīśah pari svah (TA MahānU *svah*) VS TA MahānU
divi mūrthūnam dadhiṣe svarṣām (TS TB *sv^o*) RV VS TS MS KS
TB

hiranyavāsīr iṣirah svarṣāh (TB *sv^o*) RV TB - The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz
svarṣām (TB *sv^o*) *apṣām* (TB Poona ed twice *ṣapṣām*, text and com) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB

§781 There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait text (TB) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements, if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait school, TA and MahānU, write *svair*

tapasrṣayah (MahānU *ṛṣayah*) *svair* (TB *svar*) *anuvindan* TB TA MahānU

§782 Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *iy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*, is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone, and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait school and to be regularly used there in this particular word - despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations.

pukṣmāni godhūmanih kvalair (TB *kvalair*) *utāni* VS MS KS TB

Here, to be sure, the form *kvalair* makes better meter. But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kvāla* in the Tait school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmana passage, TS 2 5 3 5 — The same word in

ajo dhūmro na godhūmarā kvālair (TB *kvalair*) *bheṣajam* VS MS, TB *kiyāmbv atra rohatu* RV *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA *jdyātām*) AV TA

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling *i* *kwayah* (KSA and *p p* of MS °*yih*) MS KSA *kvayih* VS TS

§783 Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *samdhvānā*, which TS substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *sandhvānā* of other texts We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *samdhvānū*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhū*)

samdhvānū (TS °*dhvānā*) *vātū abhi no grantu* TS MS KS AŚ

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832, the word *bhīyah* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending *-bhīyah* (KS *i*, or *-bhīh* AV)

vīśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣibhīh (KS °*ṣebhīyah*) AV KS *vīśvā āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣir bhīyah* VS TS *vy amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣānām* MS

C Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

§784 Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in (*i*)*yañc*, (*i*)*yaç*, where the *y* is treated in the same way In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character) In practically every case the writing *iyu*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary It occurs almost exclusively in Tait texts The following are the metrical *pādas* concerned, beginning with the few (*i*)*yañc* stems *asmadryak* (TS °*driyak*) *sam mīmihī sravānā* RV TS MS KS *asmadryag* (TS TB °*driyag*) *vāvṛdhe vīryāya* RV VS TS MS KS

ŚB TB

te pāyavah sadhryañco (TS *sadhryañco*) *niṣadyu* RV TS MS KS

mū te mano vīṣvadryag (TS °*driyag*) *vi cārīt* RV TS MS KS

vi nūcyadhvam aghnyā (TA ApŚ *aghnyū*) *deniyānāh* VS MS KS ŚB

TA ApŚ MŚ

vūjam urvatsū payo aghnyāsu (TS *aghnyāsu*) TS KS

payo grheṣu payo aghnyūyām (TB ApŚ *aghnyāsu*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ

yad āpo aghnyā (TS TB *aghnyū*) *iti* (omitted in TS TB MS KS LŚ)

AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ *yad āhur aghnyā itī*
VS ŚB

nī vīram (TS *vīravād*) *gavyam abhyam* (TS *abhyam*) *ca rādhaḥ* RV TS
MS KS. Several mss of MS *abhyam*

sugavyam *no vājī svakhyam* (TS °*nyam*) RV VS TS KSA AŚ
parā dīsvapnyam (TB TA ApŚ MahānU °*nyam*) *sua* RV SV TB
TA ApŚ Kauś MahānU

achā devān ūciṣe dhīṣnyā (TS *dhīṣnyā*) *ye* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
sa budhnyā (TS TB TA *budhnyā*) *upamā aśya viṣṭhāḥ* AV SV VS TS
MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ TA

pra budhnyā (TS °*nyā*) *va irate* (TS *irate vo*) *mahānḥ* RV TS MS KS
AŚ ŚŚ

ahim budhnyam (TS °*nyam*) *anu rīyamānāḥ* (MS KS *anu rīyamānāḥ*,
TS *anu samcarantīḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

svdyām lanū (ApMB †MG †*lanūn*) *rtvye* (RV † *rtvye*) *nādhāmānām*
(ApMB *nātha*°, MG *bādhu*°) RV ApMB MG

sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhīḥ (TB °*nyebhīḥ*) *samokīḥ* RV AB KB TB

tam eadhṛīcīr ūlayo vṛṣṇyānī (TB *vṛṣṇyānī*) RV MS KS TB

bṛhat sōma kṣatrabhīd vṛddhavṛṣnyam (MS °*nam*, see §315, TS °*nyam*)
TS MS KS AŚ

§785 There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant
(cf §771)

ya usṛiyā apyā (SV *apn yā*) *antar asmanāḥ* (SV °*nī*) RV SV The
adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apyā*, is falsely divided in SV

§786 In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with
īy, that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary
noun formations in (ī)*ya* sometimes, the rest are either comparatives
in *yans iyans*, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in
īy is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in
plain *y* secondary, note that, most curiously, one of these secondary
forms without *ī* occurs in TS¹

apo vṛnānāḥ pavale kavīyan (SV † °*ydn*, TS *kavīyan*) RV SV TS KSA

In SV nom. of a comparative stem, in the others, of denominative
participles

turyādītya (VSK *turyā*°) *savanam* (RV *hav*°) *ta indriyam* RV VS VSK
TS MS KS ŚB

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical,
and is twice found in Tait. texts alone

tam tvā gṛnāmi tavīsam alavyān (TS °*vīydn*) RV SV TS MS KS N
Comparatives

sanam gāyatram navyātsam (TA *naviyātsam*) RV SV MS TA Com-
paratives In the next case the meter is ambiguous

devā devebhyo adhvaryanto (KS *adhvariyo*) *astuh* VS TS KS ŚB
sviṣtm (°*ṣam*) *no abhi* ('*bhi*) *vāyo* (TS KŚ *vātyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KS
KŚ MŚ Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling
vāyo seems older

yathā no vāyasa (TS °*sah*, LŚ *vātyasa*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB
LŚ

unnetar vātyo (KS *vāyo*) MS KS ApŚ Prose

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS *dundubhaye cāhananyāya*) *ca*
VS TS MS KS Prose

pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyah (KSA †'*vārye*°) *pakṣmabhyah svihā* TS KSA
avāra ikṣavah pāryebhyah (KSA *pārye*°) TS KSA Prose

§787 The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *ya*
elāni te aghnye (PB '°*ghnye*) *nāmāni* 'TS PB *elī te aghnye nāmāni*
VS ŚB MŚ In the latter form quasi-meter

ā pyāyudhvam aghnyā (TS TB ApŚ *aghnyā*) VS TS MS KS
ŚR TB ApŚ MŚ

yāsyā apuṣyā (ŚG °*ṣyā*) *lanās* ŚG SMB

ahir am budhnyah (TS ApŚ *budhnyah*) VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ ApŚ
ahirbudhnya mantram me pāhi MŚ *ahē bulhnyā mantram me gopāya*
TB ApŚ

ahir budhnyo (TS °*nyo*) *devalī* TS MS KS

namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya (TS °*nyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS *namo*
budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca KS

namo agrīyāyu (VS KS '°*grīyā*, MS '°*grīyāya*) VS TS MS KS

namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya (TS °*myāya*) *ca* VS TS KS

namo vīdhryāya (MS °*ryāyu*, p p °*ryāya*, TS *nama idhryāya*) *cāta-*
pyāya ca VS TS MS KS

namah śighryāyu (TS °*ryāyu*) *ca śibhyāya ca* VS TS *namah śibhyāya ca*
śighrāya ca MS KS

sumitrā (VS ŚB MahānU ŚŚ KŚ °*ṣyā*, AŚ LŚ *sumitryā*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh ApŚ KŚ MŚ

And similarly *durmitrās* etc., see §315

uśvibhyām tirohnyānām (MŚ *tirohnyānām*) ApŚ MŚ

tirohnyān (MŚ *uśvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somūn* ApŚ MŚ

D Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

§788 Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly
every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *uv* is in

accord with the pronunciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, monosyllabic (radical) *i* and *u* stems. In these we expect regularly *iy* and *uv* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a), consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y*, *v*, but Tait texts (and rarely others) show *iy*, *uv*. Second, derivative *i* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *ū* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d, only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792). Fourth, *ū* stems of the *vr̥kīś* type, the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*.

§789 Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *i*, *ū*. Most of the variants are metrical, we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhi*, *bhū*, and *pū*.
svādhyam (TS °*dhiyam*) *janayāt sūdhīyac ra* RV VS TS MS
svādhyo (TB °*dhiyo*) *manasā devayuntah* RV MS KS AB TB PG
svādhyo (TB °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv ajī*?) RV TB
tam tvā vayam sudhyo (TB *sudhiyo*) *navyam agne* RV MS KS TB
pūhi mam yajñānyam (TS TB °*niyam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ
vaneṣu citrum vibhvam (TS *vibhavam*) *vise viśe* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
vibhve (MS *vibhve*, KS † *vibhave*) *svahā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ Prose
abhivhve (MS *abhivhve*, KS *abhivhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ

Prose

tatam yasya subhvah (SV *subhawah*) *sīkam irate* RV SV
mahiṣam nah subhvam (AVPpp *ms subhavas*, Barret JAOS 35 46
subhuvan) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS *samudram na subhvah svā*
abhīṣ(uyah RV *samudram na subhuvan tasthivānsam* AV Others,
 see §119

ghrtena no (MS KS *mā*) *ghrtapvuh* (TS °*puvah*) *punantu* RV AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB According to Roth, AVPpp also °*ṛnvah*
devas tvā savita punatu nasoh pavitrena *supvā* (ApŚ *supvā*) VS ŚB
 ApŚ *devas tvā suvitotpunatu* *supvotpundmi* Kauś Prose

§790 A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following

arhanu idam dayase vsvam abhvam (TA *abhavam*) RV TA The
 pāda occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvam* was undoubtedly a
 disyllable in RV. In TA it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vam*
 'originating in water', according to the comm., see §392

§791 Derivative *ī* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type. The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases. The first is the only case of an *ū* stem.

samrājñī kvaśrūñm (ApMB °*rūñm*) *bhava* RV SMB ApMB On this form cf. Wackernagel III p. 189, l. 1

asiknyā (TA °*nyā*) *marudurdhe vitastayā* RV TA MahānU N
sūro rathasya naptiyah (ArS *naptiyah*, TB °*triyah*) RV AV ArS KS
TB

ubhayor ārtnyor (TS °*nyor*) *gyām* VS TS MS KS
devo vāmryo (VSK *vāmryō*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ Prose
dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urvyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS *vi bhūti*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB This adverb is always spelled *urvyā* in RV, the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS, cf. next

cakṣur ma urvyā (MS *uruyā*, KS *urvyā*) *vi bhūhi* VS TS MS KS
ŚB Prose Cf. prec.

apīparo mā rātriyā (MŚ *rātriyā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ Also
apī² māhno rātriyai (*rātriyai*) etc., same texts
yad rātriyā (MahānU and v. l. of TA *rātriyā*) *pāpam akāryam* (TA v. l. *akāryam*) TA MahānU *yad rātriyāt kurute pāpam* TAA Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form

rātriyai (TB °*triyai*) *kṛṣṇam piṅgākṣam* VS TB
rātriyai (TS *rātriyai*) *tvā* TS KS PB Vait.
rātriyai (TA ApŚ *rātriyai*) *mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ
rātriyai (TS TB *rātriyai*) *svāhi* TS MS KS KSA TB
vśvapsnyā (TS °*psnyā*) *vśvatis pari* SV VS TS MS KS Kauś.

Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form
samvesāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (TS ApŚ °*triyās*) TS KS PB ŚŚ
KŚ ApŚ

sa gāyatryā (TS TB °*triyā*) *triṣṭubhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ
Kauś.

gāyatryai (TS °*triyai*, MS KS °*triyā*) *gāyatram* VS TS MS KS ŚB
mano gāyatryai (TB ApŚ °*triyai*) VSK TB KŚ ApŚ

§791a The following case is peculiar

vlipti ya (*vliptyā*) *bṛhaspate* AV (both) In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12.4.44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical. Whitney would emend *vliptyā* to *vliptī yā*, but this is unnecessary, *vliptyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *aśnīyāt* of pāda c 'of the *vliptī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat.'

§792 Genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems On these cf Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoh* and *-voh* (rather than *-iyoh* and *-uvoh*) 'durchweg', the occurrence of the Tait spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV

indrāgnyor (TS ApŚ °*gnyor*) (prose formulas, see Conc) VS TS

MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayāḍ agnur indrāgnyoḥ TB *ayād indrāgnyoḥ* MS

bāhvor balam TS TAA *bahu bāhvor hulam* AV *bāhvor balam* Vait
MŚ PG

bāhvōs (TS *bāhvor*) *tavī hetuyāḥ* VS TS *hetayas tava bāhvoh* MS KS

patātrī dīdyun naryasya bāhvoh (TS *bāhvoh*) RV TS MS KS

ūrvoor (TS TAA *ūrvoor*) *ojah* AV TS TAA Vait MŚ PG

§793 The stem *tanū* and its type The only form from another stem

than *tanū* itself is the fem accus sing *sudrvam* (from **sudrū*, fem to *su-dru*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV —The very numerous cases in which *uv* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait texts alone are not listed in full

nemim taṣṭeva sudrvam (SV *sudruvam*) RV SV

yasyaḥ bahvīs tanuvo vitaprṣṭhāḥ TB *yasyā bahvyaḥ tanvo vitaprṣṭhāḥ*
MS

na dhvurmānas tanvī (TS *tanvī*) *repa ā dhuh* RV TS

tanūs tanvā (TS TAA *tanuvā*) *me saha* AV TS TAA PG Vait

tanūr me tanvā saha MŚ The AV mss read °*me sahel antih* or the like, the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse

śam lokīya tanva (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

Note that PG has the characteristic spelling of TS from which it here quotes (there is a *v* 1 *tanvai*)

tayā nas tanvā (TS ŚvetU *tanvā*) *śantamayā* VS TS MS KS ŚvetU

NilarU Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form

tanvum (TS ApŚ ApMB HG *tanuvam*) *me pāhi* VS TS MS KS AB

ŚB JB ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG ApMB Prose

E Verbal forms

§794 The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous A large group contains the participle *śwāna*, from *śu* 'press', which is always

written thus in RV altho pronounced *svāna*, SV changes the spelling to match the pronunciation

pra svānāso (SV *svā^o*) *bṛhaddiveṣu* (SV *°deveṣu*) *harayah* RV SV

bṛhat soma vārdhe svāna induh (SV *svāno adrih*) RV SV

soma u svānah (SV PB *svā^o*) *soṛbhūh* RV SV PB

mtrāh svānā (SV *svānā*) *arepusah* RV SV

indre svānāsu (SV *svā^o*) *induvih* RV AV SV

ā soma svāno (SV *svāno*) *adribhūh* RV SV

pari śya svāno akṣāh (to be read *akṣāh*, cf Oldenberg *Noten ad loc*)

RV *pari śya svāno akṣarat* SV cf *pari śya svāno avyayam* RV

pari svānāś (SV *svā^o*) *cakṣane devumādanah* RV SV

pari svānāsa (SV *svā^o*) *indavah* RV SV

pari svāno (SV PB *svāno*) *griṣṭhāh* (to be read *°ṣṭhāh*) RV SV PB

svānā (SV *svānā*) *devāsa indavah* RV SV

svāno (SV *svāno*) *arṣa pavitra ā* RV SV

svāno (SV *svānar*) *yāti kavikratuh* RV SV

§795 We have already referred (§767) to the Tait spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣiyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣiyanti* etc), in defiance of meter

prati kṣiyantam (TS *kṣyantam*) *bhuvanāni vsvā* RV VS TS MS KS

ŚB

āhityasya vratam upakṣiyantah (TB *°kṣyantah*) RV MS TB

§796 Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait texts show *vīyantu* for *vyantu* (root *vī*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical *samīdho agna ājyasya vyantu* (TB *vīyantu*) MS KS TB

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB KtG

vīyantu) *vayah* TS MS KS TB MŚ GG KtG *vyantu vayo*

'ktam (VSK *ripto*) *rihānāh* VS VSK ŚB KŚ The commas on

both VS and TS, followed by Keith, take the verb form from

vi + root *i*

vasuvane vasudheyaṣya vyantu (TB *vīyantu*) VS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ

vyantu (TS *vīyantu*) *devā hutīṣo me aṣya* TS MS KS

vyantu (TS *vīyantu*) *devīr ya rūr janīnām* RV AV TS MS N

vyantu (TB *vīyantu*) *ājyasya* VS MS KS TB

uta gnā vyantu (TB *vīyantu*) *devapatnīh* RV AV MS TB N

pibantu madantu (MŚ *°lām*) *vyantu* (TB *vīyantu somam*) VS MS TB

prati ni im surabkīm vyantu (TS *vīyantu*) RV TS MS KS

lekah salekah vīyantu TS *salilah saliqah vīyantu* MS KS

§797 In two prose variants Tait text-, with VSK, read *prornvāthām* for the more regular *prornvā^o* (above, §767)

svargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait *svarge loke prornuvāthām* (MS
 °tām, VSK *prornuvāthām*) VS VSK MS ŚB *svarge* (KSA †
svarge) *loke samprornuvāthām* (KSA † °nuvā°) TS KSA TB

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām (VSK TS ApŚ *prornuvāthām*, MS
 MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS ŚB KS ApŚ MŚ
vapayā dyāvā° prornuvāthām Kauś

§798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th,
tud-class?) with *v* exchanging with *uv*. The latter are commoner in
 most texts.

mano nu ā hvāmahe (Vait °hi, VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hvāmahe*) RV VS
 VSK TS MS KS AB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś
 See VV I §2

tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasālaye* RV SV

CHAPTER XVII METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

1 Metathesis

§799 On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800 We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another. *pūlyāny* (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB. Here mss of both texts present both readings, and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic.

asmaddātrā devatrā gachata madhumatīh TS *asmadrātī* (MS KS ŚŚ add *madhumatī* or ^{°tī}) *devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*) VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ. The TS is doubtless secondary 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates, this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA *yasyedam oja ārujah* ŚŚ. See §244.

vandram vagnunā vakata PB *vagnunendram hvayata* TB ApŚ.

§801 Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times.

vad ejati jagati yac ca ceytati nāmno (MahānU *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*) *evāhā* TAA MahānU. In MahānU v 1 *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yan nāmne* for *yatnān me*. The comm. understands 'let that (all) be my (*itmanah*) portion by effort—no other'. TAA comm. says *nīman* = *paramātman*!

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aghanma rudriyāya* MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'.

adhā jivri (AV *atha jivrit*, mss *jivri*), ApMB *athā jivri*) *mdatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB. See §544.

§802 More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants

yena turyeṣa brahmanā bṛhaspataye 'vapathās tena mahyam pavaśva JB
yena rūpena prajāpataye †'vapathās tena mahyam pavaśva KS The
 original is 'vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS,
trir vaśubhyo 'vapathās etc (see Conc) If the JB reading is
 correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the
 following *pavaśva*

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS *pulīkayān*) VS MS See §149, and next
nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-*
rayas) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA See
 under prec

svaṅhi nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākṛtheṣu*, v 1 as RV) *yonīṣu* RV
 AB MG

vśvasmai bhūtāyādhuvo (KS MŚ *bhūtiyu dhruvo*) *astu devāh* (TS
 °*dhruvo 'm*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

adubdham manu duridram cakṣuh sūryo TS KŚ BDh *adubdham*
mana ṛṣiram cakṣuh (MŚ *adubdham cakṣur ariṣtam manah*) *sūryo*
 MŚ ŚG

gharman śocantah (AŚ °*ta*, ŚŚ °*tam*) *prunaveṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *prunaveṣu*)
bibhratah AB AŚ ŚŚ

chandonāmānām (VSK *chandomānānam*, TS °*mānām*) *sūmriṣyam*
gacheti (VSK *gachatād iti*, MŚ *guched iti*) VS VSK TS
 ŚB MŚ

jarī celūl (mss *celūd*, p p *rya iti it*) *abhiṣṣah* MS *ya* (TA ApŚ ApMB
yad) *ṛte* (PB †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiṣṣah* RV AV SV PB TA KŚ
 ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB See §193

ye no dveṣaty anu tān rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣti tanūm rabhasva* MŚ
yo no dveṣty anu tam ravasva ApŚ Here MŚ transposes the syl-
 lables *nu-ta*

apa snehitīr (SV *snihitam*) *ṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS † *ṛma-*
nam adadhram) RV AV SV KS *upa stūhi tam ṛmanām* (Poonā
 ed *suūhi tam ṛmanām*) *athadram* TA See §110 The KS
 reading looks like a metathesis of *adhad rān*

agne dakṣah punīhi nah (TB *mā*, MS *punīmah*) RV MS TB The
 MS reading may be a metathesis of that of TB, which is secondary
 to RV

śam te hiranyam śam u santu (ApMB *sam u śantu*) *ūpah* AV Kauś
 ApMB See §277

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhi*?, MG *brahmābhiḡūrtum*) *svārū kṣarūni*

(PG *surakṣatah syām*, MG *svurākṣānah*, most miss *svarūrakṣānah*)

AG PG MG Evident corruption in MG

divas (SV *divah*) *prsthām adhi tisthanti cetasā* (SV *trihanti tejasā*)

RV SV With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf. §57

vājas ca prasavaś vasuś (TS *suvaś*) *ca* TS KS The syllables *va-su* exchange position yielding *suvaś* (= *svar*)

§803 When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms. These cases are related to §§747 and 748ff. above, *q v*. The following are instances of *e* (= *ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*

arhuś ca mi emaś (VSK *me yūmis*, MS *ca mī ema*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS

īṣṭyādvānam (ApS *īṣṭim devīndam*) *amṣtam svarūdam* MS KS ApS *ahā yud dyāvo* (AV *devā*) *anūritim ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV

āyur vasāna upa vetu (AV TA *yātu*) *śeṣah* (TA *śeṣam*) RV AV TA

itidam vāvam bhūvānam sm eti (AV *v yāti*) RV AV N Synonymous and related roots: and *yā*

ahorātre ūronṣṭine (VS *“sthīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vṣṣṭyū*) VS TS MS See §840

iyam pitrā (AB *vai pitre*, AŚ ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV GB *ety*) *agre* AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

tnayāyam vṣtram vaihyāt (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Cf. VV I §175, and next

ā mī stulasya stulam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mī stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB See prec

vanaspatīnṛ ośadhī rāyu ege (*rāye aśyāh*) RV (both)

ghṛtam evu (BDh *ghṛtam yavā*) *madhru yavāh* BDh V1Dh

§804 Instances of *o* (= *av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*

sāmāni cakruḥ tasarūny otave (AV *°n: vātave*) RV AV

vasiṣṭhahanuh śiṅgīnu kośyābhyām VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnukośyābhyām* (TA *°kośā°*) TS TA

sam eta vāsvā (AV *vr̥ṣṇe*) *vacasū* (SV *ojasū*) *patim divah* AV SV Roth quotes Ppp as reading *oham ā-*, evidently for *ojasū*. See §52

pari ghransam omanū (TB *parighranṣa vām manū*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N Bad corruption in TB

§804a A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *mudhoh mudhvuh*. While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here

madvuh (SV *mudhoh*) *ṛkivanta ūrmayah* RV SV

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

madhoh pibatam āsvnā VS MS ŚB TA LŚ *madhvah* etc RV VS
AŚ ŚŚ

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

madhoś cakānās cāsur madāya AV SV *madhvaś* etc AŚ ŚŚ

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

§805 Instances of *vi*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*

achā ma (SV *va*) *indram malayah svarindah* (SV *svaryuvah*) RV AV SV
GB Vāt

adyā (also *nrvat*) *kṛnuhi vītaye* (SV °*hy ūtaye*) RV SV Cf §743

āvīta (MS *dyukṣi*) *sarvā onadhīh* RV VS TS MS KS

nādya śatruṣi nānu (ŚB †*na nu*) *purā vvitse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV ŚB

vivalam (MS KS *yuvalam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā le vyoma (= *vyoma* or *vioma*, AV *yuyoma*) *śamḍṣi* (AV ° *śah*, LŚ †
°*śah* or °*śe*) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG

yajñam pranaya (TS *pra sva*) *devāvyam* (TS MS *devāyuvam*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB

devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS *devāyam*) *prnarṁi* etc MS KS ApŚ MŚ

devebhyas tvā devāyam (VSK *devāyuvam*) *grhṇāmi* etc VS VSK ŚB

prāsmān ava pṛtānsu pra vīkyu (TB *yutsu*) RV TB

ukthebhyas ukthāvyam grhṇāmi KS *ukthebhya ukthāyuvam* ApŚ

varṣmā (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghīma* (TS *draghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*,

KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS See §764 TS apparently
has a metathetized form for **drāghivā*

§806 With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared
§§656ff In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *r*
vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *r*), or as guna deriva-
tives of a root in *r*

tēna rādhyāsam VS ME ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś *tenardhyasam*

KS SMB The latter stands for *tēna rdh°*, cf §659

agnau samrādhanim yaje HG *yaje samrādhanim aham* ŚB BrhU

AŚ SMB ApMB *yaje* (read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt
p 250) †*samardham im aham* ŚŚ

ahā uarṣim (AV *arṣim*) *avdat* (AV °*dah*) *syonam* AV TB ApMB

2 Haplology

§807 On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, PAOS 16
xxxiv, AJP 17 418, Wackeruagel I pp 278ff, where further references
may be found, we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV 4 5 5, and other

references below We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplology, those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology, and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable

- §808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplology
- prthiv vibhūvari* (ApŚ *bhūvari*) KS ApŚ This is a very clear case On the strength of the isolated ApŚ form Boehtlingk (pw 6 304) set up a goddess Bhūvari, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvari* after *prthiv*
- uvāsyām vīkṛ pravivīśvānsam* (KS †*pravivīśvānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS *uvā-vīśah pravivīśvānsam īmahe* AV Lanman, in Whitney's *Transl.*, has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplology But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also
- ya aste yaś ca carati* (AV *yaś carati*) RV AV The haplology is again noted by Lanman
- trīni padāni* (TA MahānU *padū*) *nuhitā guhānya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU The ms of Ppp *padānihatā guhāns-*, em Barret JAOS 30 195 to the AVŚ reading Clear haplology in TA MahānU
- agne 'dabihāyo 'śitatano* ('*śirtatano*, '*śītama*) *pāhi*, see §153
- yani kani ca cakṛma* (ApŚ *niss* omit *ca*, by haplology) MS ApŚ cf *duritāni yāni kani ca cakṛmu* MS *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS TB TA (here not really haplology, *ca* is needed only after *kani*)
- ye vā* (MS omits *vā*) *vanaspalīn anu* (MS NilarU °*palinām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB NilarU ApMB Supposed to be metrical even in MS, which is clearly haplogical In the same verse
- ye vavateṣu* (MS †KS *ye 'vateṣu*) *śerate*, same texts Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *vavateṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplogical
- tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* (MS *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS MS ŚB TA cf *eṣā te agne samit tayā* (MS *tayā tam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS ŚB ŚŚ MS ApŚ ŚG ApMB ApG HG The second *ca* is clearly required
- yad eva kim ca pratijagrāhāham* (TA °*jagrāham*) AV TA The TA form (also found in Ponna ed) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplogical
- nyag vāto 'va vāti* (AV *vāto vāti*) RV AV Lanman notes the haplology
- yūyūtām ito rapo apa sridhah* RV *yūyūtām asmad rapo apa sridhah* TB ApŚ The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long ā

an̄homuce pra bhareṃā (AV *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV TS MS KS See VV I p 263

an̄dhr̄ṣṣā apasyo vasānāh VS MS KS ŚB *an̄dhr̄ṣṣā apasyuvo vasānāh* TS See Keith on TS

chandonāmānām (VSK **mānānam*, TS **mānām*) *sāmrājyam gacheti* (with variant) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK see §802) is better than 'of the Chandoinas', a ritualistic sbp

yad ṣapsaradr̄r̄ uparasya (ApŚ *apsarar̄ūparasya*) *khādati* KS ApŚ The latter corrupt

guhā hitām nihitām (KS † omits *ni°*) *gahvareṣu* KS MŚ

namah kamgān (TS † *kamgāya*, for **gāyāya*) VS TS MS KS See §250

yasyedam ā rajō yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA Other, see §244

vśvāny anyo bhuvanūbhucaste (MS **nā m°*) RV MS TB *vśvānyo bhuvanū vucaste* AV

parīdam vujy ajinam (PG **ilam vājnam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ujnam dhatsvāsu*) ŚG PG HG ApMB The PG is not construable [*yo no agne niṣtyo yo 'niṣtyo* KS ApŚ Conc quotes ApŚ as omitting the second *yo*, a modern haplology!]

§809 The following cases are less certain

mama ca nāma tavā ca (KS omits *ca*) *jītavedah* KS (both) The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical, this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā-*)

puru vśvān̄ jūvan RV *puru rakṣān̄ ni jūvan* AV (Ppp *vśvān̄-jūvan*) Whitney suggests *vśvā ni jūvan* for RV, Lanman, *vśvān̄ ni°*, assuming haplology As Oldenberg (*Noten* on I 191 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda, he would read *jūvan*

svādī nabhrād anghāre bambhāre MS *svāna bhrājānghāre bambhāre* VS TS ŚB *svāna bhrāī, anghār̄ bambhār̄h* TA *svān nabhrād anghāre bambhāre* KS See Keith on TS 1 2 7 1, he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original

3 Dittology

§810 The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation

kukūnanānām (KS *kūtanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvī* VS MS KS ŚB *lotanān̄* TS Note double dittology in VS ŚB

- namo babhūśāya vyādhirne* (TS *vyāḍ*^o) VS TS MS KS Either form makes good sense, we assume that the majority have the original
athem enam pra hinulāt pīṭrbhyah (AV †*pīṭr upa*), and
athem enam (AV *athemam enam*) *puri dattāt pīṭrbhyah* RV AV TA
 See Whitney on AV 18 2 4, 5 There is no doubt of the dittology in AV (note the meter), in 18 2 5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss and both editions In 18 2 4 there is more variation in the mss, and SPP reads *athem enam* with the comm
- devā* (AV *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV AV The meter proves AV secondary, and Ppp (Barret, JAOS 42 127) also omits *nā(t)*
- namo girīśāya* (VS ^o*śāyāya*) VS TS MS KS The stems *-sa* and *-śāya* are both unexceptionable, probably the majority indicate the original
- na sim adeva ūpat* (SV *ūpa tat*) RV SV ŚŚ The RV has an aorist of *ūp*, to be read as a trissyllable SV tries to improve the meter, cf VV I p 138
- nirrtim nirjarjalpena* (MS *nirjalpena*, TS *nirjā'makena*, KS *nir-jālmūka-*) *sīrṣnā* VS TS MS KS Obscure word, VS simulates an intensive from *jalp*
- ye te agna* (MS *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayah* (TA *urnunābhayah*, but Poona ed *u nā^o* with v 1 *urnunā^o*) MS KS TA The absurd corruption of some TA mss seems to be read by the comm also, perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrnanūbhi* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here
- anhaspatyāya* (VS ŚB KŚ *anhasaspataye*) *tvā* VS TS MS ŚR TB KŚ ApŚ Stem varying with genitive case form in composition
- ṛtur jamtrī tasyā apas* (GB *apasas*) *puri* RV GB If GB is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *puri* (in RV *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *puri* governs *tasyāh*) But Gastra reads *apas*, with v 1 *apasas*
- tanūpāś* (TB Poona ed text and comm *tanūnapār*) *ca sarasvatī* VS KS TB See §195
- tir asmaḥ sapta dhenavo duduhre* (SV Svīdh ^o*hrīre*) RV SV Svīdh See VV I p 170
- vīśā pāntre adhi sāno avye* (RV **avyāye*) RV (both) SV TA MahānU N Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *avya?* or *avi?*) are well known, and both are metrically possible, they are tristubh and jagati forms of the same expression But the latter occurs in a verse

(9 86 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RVRep* 453), so that *avye* is probably original

ājim na girvadhō jagyur aśvāh SV *ājim na jagmur girvāho aśvāh* RV
For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV the original. Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 24 6. The SV form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely.

§811 Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following

nidhedhām puruṣpārham (so KS and TB Poona ed., and pp of MS, MS text *puruṣaspārham*) *yahasvat* MS KS † TB †

tato vākā (TS *tatah pāvakā*) *āśigo no juyantīm* VS TS MS KS ŚB
'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers', TS spoils the meter. Dittology with *p* for *v*.

tena yo 'smat (TA * *tenāyo 'smat*) *saṃr̥chātai* (MS mss *saṃr̥tsātīm*) MS TA. The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here. TA repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change, the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc.

indrāpāsya (v 1 **yāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya śepham* *ālikam* HG. Kirste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'

4 Haplology or Dittology

§812 In a smaller group we find either haplology or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine. Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām*.

dyur br̥hat tūl aśya tan māvatū (MŚ *mām avatū*) ApŚ MŚ

tan mām āvīt TA TU *tan māvīt* MG

tan māvatū PB TA TU ApŚ *tan mām avatū* MŚ AG MG

punar mām ar̥tv (AV Vait. Kauś *mar̥tv*) *indrīyam* AV ŚB TA Br̥hU

ŚŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB GG HG MG

§813 Other, miscellaneous cases

vājajityāyāi (KS **jityāi*) *tā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ. Stems *jityā* and *jiti*. While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive. KS is probably on the whole the most original YV text, only two other schools differ from it, and *jiti* is a much commoner stem than *jityā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*.

śīśīrāya vikarān (KSA †*vikarān*, ApŚ *vikrān*, vv II *vikakarān*, *vikikarān*) VS KS ApŚ. Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird). Cf. the preceding formula, *hemantūya kakarān* (KSA †*kakārān*).

aneṣann aśya yā iṣavah (TS KS NīlarU *aśyeṣavah*) VS TS MS KS
NīlarU The presence or absence of the articular relative makes
little difference, and the meter is no better in one reading than in
the other

bharatam uddharem unuṣṭīca (MŚ *uddharema unuṣṭanti*) TB ApŚ MŚ
See §236, end Either haplogy in TB ApŚ, or dittology in MŚ
which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*

anu no māṛṣṭu (VS TS ŚB TA *anu māṛṣṭu*) *tanvo yad vriṣṭam* (vlt°)
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ

CHAPTER XVIII FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814 Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

1 A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change.

§815 In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulae suggest a reinterpretation.

§816 We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable.

jugāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam (AV *vi madhyam*) RV AV Whitney rightly says that the AV reading is a corruption of the other.

vaṣṭhaḥāhanam śiṅgīnikokṣyābhyām (TA **kośābhyām*) TS TA *vaṣṭha-hanuh śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS. The VS reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended.

yatheyam stri pautram agham na rodāt SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam stripautram agunma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca MS *ghora ghoratarebhyah* TA MahānU. Preceded by *aghorabhyo 'tha ghorebhyah*. The forms of Rudra are meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms. of MS has two accents, but MS p p takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original. TA has two accents, yet its comm. understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed. prints it so (but with two accents). Comm. on MahānU, however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.

manasaspata imam deva yajñam (KS *devayajñam svāhā vācā*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS KS ŚB The variants in AV 7 97 8 and TS I 1 13 3, 4 44 3, have *deveṣu yajñam*, which supports KS in meaning. The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm on VS, but the accentless voc is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd.)

vācaspatē 'chidrayū vācachidrayū juhvā dim devāvṛtham (ŚŚ *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām arayat* (KŚ ²*yant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *arayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB TA KŚ ŚŚ The ŚŚ is uninterpretable.

§817 In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose.

yujur yuktam (TA † *yajuryuktam*) *sāmadhir uktakham tvā* (MS *ṛkta-khamta*) MS TA Comm on TA, 'provided with the *yajus*' In MS two accents 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like.

madhu śaspair (MS *madhukaśpair*) *na teja indriyam* VS MS TB In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bheṣajam*, or *śaspair*. MS p p divides *madhu śaspair* as two words, Poona ed of TB prints it as one, but with two accents' (and against the comm.)

madhu havir (MS *madhuhavir*) *asī* MS TA ApŚ MŚ So according to the accents of MS and TA. Probably MŚ must be read *madhuhavir* like MS, Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutam havir* in MŚ 4 3 34, but MS also reads *hutam havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word. Cf prec.

devabarhih (KS *deva barhiḥ*!) *śatavalsam vi roha* TS KS TB ApŚ *atav tram deva vanaspate śatavalsam* (MS *tram barhih śatavalkam*) *viroha* VS MS ŚB The latter version suggests taking *deva barhih* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc, so that the accent proves nothing, TS p p takes it as one word. But Poona ed of TB prints it as two.

anivarata vo hi kam (TS *hikam*, so printed also in KS †) AV TS MS KS Comm on AV (as also that on TS) as a single, compound particle. *upa prakṣe* (AA ŚŚ *upaparakṣe*) *madhumati kṣiyantah* SV AA ŚŚ Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two. For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA Transl, p 285 n 7. Keith's text of AA prints *upa prakṣé* with most miss, but against comm, who understands *upaparakṣe* as a prepositional cpd, 'near the *prakṣa*' Cf also the infinitive (?) *upaparakṣé*, RV 5 47 6.

- namas te rudra rūpebhyo namah* MS *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah* TA MahānU 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage' 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'
- tvā tvāvāha bhṛṣajī* (TS °*habhṛṣajī*, VS °*hā bhe*°, MS °*ha* [p p, °*hā*] *bhṛṣajī*) VS TS MS KS There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not
- devīh* (AV *davīh*, KS *trayīḥ*) *ṣad urvīr* (TS p p *ṣadurvīh*, and so Conc assumes for ApMB HG) *uru nah* (TS ApMB *nah*, KS † *nas*) *kṛṣṭā* RV AV TS KS ApMB HG The words are voc and there are no accents RV and AV p p interpret as two words, which seems more natural No doubt all texts except possibly the Tait school separate *ṣad urvīr*
- deva purācara naghyāsam* (MS *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ MŚ See §147, and §838 MS p p divides *deva* from *puraś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*)
- smām su ndvam āruham* TS KS ApŚ *sunūvam ā ruheyam* VS (pratīka PG)
- pra su* (HG *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumartyam*) *yuyutana* SMB ApMB HG The reading of ApMB is original
- apa* (AV *ava*) *śveta padā gahī* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah śvetapad ā gahī* MG Read *apu śveta padā* in MG, there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text See his note and comin, and our §134

2 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818 Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts

- stomatrayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī* TS KS AŚ *stomas trayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī* MS The latter corruptly turns the vocs into nouns, apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender
- vāñmanascaḥṣuḥkṛotrājīhvāghrānaretobuddhyākūtīsamkalpā* (TA TAA °*ākūtīh samkalpā*) *me sudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU See §383
- śarīram yajñāsamalam* (MahānU *yajñah śa*°) *kuśīdam taṣmīn vīdatu yo 'smān ducṣī* TS KSA TA MahānU The latter is clearly second-

ary, comm makes *śarīram yajñāh* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body' On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB HG The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow', but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression

tām vidyām brahmayonim svarūpām (VaradapU *brahmayonisva*°) NṛpU VaradapU 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman', either is possible

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇoḥjasam (SV *dhṛṣṇum oḥjasa*) RV AV SV 'Of irresistible strength' 'irresistible in strength'

mithucarantam (KS *mithū*, TS *mithuś car*°, AV *mithuyā car*°) *upayāti* (AV *abhīyāti*) *dūṣṇayan* AV TS MS KS There is really no way of deciding the original

agner (TS *devūnām*) *agniyāny* (KS *agniyāny*) *asi* TS MS KS One ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asi* Cf *agner yāny asi* TS MS KS ApŚ MS See §357

devajūte nivasvan āditya te no devāh MS *nivasvān aditir devajūte te na ādityū* TS *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *nivasva āditya te no devā* KS Both parts of the cpd are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words

syonā nūmśateramudāh (TS °*urā mudāh*) TS MS KS The TS may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural 'kindly enter into me as food and drink' But it is probably a lect fac for the other 'kindly enter into me as Irammāda (Agni, lightning?)'

rtaprajātū (MŚ *uta pra*°) *bhuga id vuh syāma* TS MŚ The latter is secondary but intelligible, §641

sarvasmād devakilbīśāt (LŚ *evu ki*°, VS *devakilv*°) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ *mēvasmāil deva*° AV MS The LŚ is secondary but sensible, §402

[*ānindrāsūrāh* (KSA *ānindrāsaurāh*) *syetalalīmūis* (KSA † *śyāmala*°) *tūparāh* TS KSA Conc quotes KSA as *ānindrāh saurāh*]

[*anyavratasya* (TA *anyadōra*°, printed by Conc as *anyad vra*°, the accent proves that it is a cpd, tho the comm seems to take it as two words) *śakcīma* (RV *śāścīre*, TA *śāścīmah*, Poona ed °*mi*) RV VS MS ŚB TA]

§819 In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original

mūhā yajñam manasah (KS 2 3 *yajñamanasah*) VS MS KS †2 3 and

23 5, ŚB ApŚ KŚ MŚ A verb like *a rabhe* is understood, the accus *yajñam* is necessary to the sense, and KS 2 3 should be so corrected. In 23 5 KS has correctly *yajñam ma°* (not noted in Conc) '(I take) sacrifice from mind'

māyadhah jṛṅkalī kitavah klībo 'śūdrā ahrāhmanās (VSK *puṅskall klīvuh kitavo 'śūdrābruhmanās*) *te prajāpatyaś* VS VSK

śatakṣarāś chandasānuṣubhena ApŚ *śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś In Kauś v 1 *śatākṣarah*. The original reading of ApŚ (cf §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayam* κρωο preceding, with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*

dahram (v 1 *daharam*) *vr̥p̥r̥mavaraveśmabhūtam* (MahānU *vr̥p̥r̥mam varam veśma°*) TA MahānU The Poona ed of TA reads *vr̥p̥r̥p̥mam vara°*, with v 1 *vr̥p̥r̥p̥marara°* MahānU also has v 1 *varaveśma°*. The most plausible original seems to be *dahram vr̥p̥r̥p̥mam varaveśmabhūtam*. This is stylistically better than *vr̥p̥r̥p̥marara°*, an awkward compound

dadhad ratnum (AŚ *ratnā dakṣam pītṛbhya* (AŚ ŚŚ *dakṣapt°*) *āyunt* (AV *āyūṅṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless AV is original. The edition of AŚ separates *dakṣa* from *pi°*, evidently regarding it as a voc *indrah pāsena ṣiklūḥ vah* (HG *pāsena vah ṣiklūḥ*) ApMB HG *indrā-pāsena ktivā* PG. See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG *aślonā* (AV comm *aśro°*) *aṅgair* (TA *°nāṅgair*) *ahrulāh* (TA *ahrūḥ*, Poona ed *ahrulāh*, v 1 *°lā*) *svirge* AV TA 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs'. AV Ppp agrees with TA, but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in Ppp, meter indicates that the other version is original.

ruḍra yāt te krayī (VS KS *krīm*, VSK *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS MS ŚB *tumnin*) *hutam aśi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. See §47

yasya (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim prati relo* (ŚG *putirelo*) *grhāna* (ŚG *grbhāya*) ŚG ApMB HG *patirelo* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one

śad id yama (TA *śad udyamā*) *ṣṣayo devayā uti* RV AV TA N. Apparently TA must understand *udyamā* as an adjective

3 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820 In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form, sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word.

vṛṣṭidyānām (ApŚ *vṛṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtam svarvadam* MS KS ApŚ

The original of MS KS means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rainy, heaven-finding', the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ by a lect fac the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

parā svapnamukhāḥ kucāḥ AV *parāḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhī* KŚ 'Away the dream-faced pains' 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances)'. But KŚ may intend a compound.

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB *indrah sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā* AŚ. Comm. on TB takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as nouns sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a devatā dvandva, object of *janayan*. The whole verse is pretty low hatched. AŚ has a lect fac.

bhūmanam asi sahasrapoṣapūṣi (ApŚ *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS ApŚ 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity' 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity'. Verb form introduced secondarily, cf. next.

agne tvām kāmayā (SV *tvām kāmaye*) *gīrā* RV SV VS. The original means '(O) Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect fac SV introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next: '(O) Agni, I desire thee with song'.

revati pṛthā, *revati yajamāne priyam dhā*, *revatir yajñapatim priyadhāmśata*, see §747.

āre satrūn (AV † *āreśutrum*) *kṛnuhī sarvaivrah* (AV °*ranī*) AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV, doubtless original 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect fac. The AV comm. stumbles over the form and understands two words.

ugrapaśyā (MS *ugram paśyāc*, TB *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rūṣṭrabhīc ca tānī* MS TB TA *ugrapaśye ugrajitau tad adyu* AV. In this and the next MS is hopelessly corrupt, note accents.

ugrapaśye (MS *ugram paśyēd*) *rūṣṭrabhīc kulīṣānī* AV MS TA. Cf. prec.

āsannīṣūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām apravāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd *āsannīṣūn* 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV means 'carrying water in their mouths'.

mama padyāya vi rājo ApMB *mayi dohah padyāyaḥ virājah* (MG adds *kalpalām*) AG HG MG *mayi padyāyaḥ virājo dohah* ŚŚ SG PG The original is *virājah*, gen. of *virāj*

[*subhāgamkaraṇī mama* AV *subhāgam karanam mama* SMB But Jørgensen properly prints SMB *subhāgamkaranam*, as one word] §821 In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original

sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahī SV JB *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS In the latter nom. of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS) The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives

pari ghraṣeam omanā (TB *parighraṣa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N Hopeless corruption in TB See §828

agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam AŚ ApŚ *agnihotram pṛthivīm antarikṣam* MŚ The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding *pāda* *ukhām śrauvantīm agadām akarma*

pari doṣād udarpiṭhah KŚ *pariṭoṣāt tad arpiṭha* ApŚ See §63

mā rudrīṣo abhi gulbahānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāno adhiḡur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ See §§209, 260, MS has a gross corruption

sahamradhāram vṛṣabham divo duhuh (SV *divoduham*) RV SV Verb form in RV 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked' SV 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'

urot ā no (VS ŚB LŚ *pururātmo*) *deva rṣas pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ See §371a

4 Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822 In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'), or the reverse. The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841-850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater, there is no hard and fast line between them.

§823 Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original. In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question

apsarasūv anu dallām ṛnāni (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām anudallānṛnāni* MS (pp *anu, dallāni, ṛnāni*) Either the plur *ṛnāni*, or the sing *ṛnam* with the pronoun *nah*, is quite satisfactory

vratānu (MS TB ApŚ *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adubdhah* (TB ApŚ ŚŚ ŚG *addbhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG In MS etc the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*, in the other the alternative form *vratānu* is used

mā mā yūnarvā hāsū (JB *yono vām hārasih*) PB JB LS Both forms incomprehensible

§824 In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word Here may be mentioned RV 4 20 9b (also in KS, where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛnoti muhu kā vid rṣvāh*, read *muhukā* with Ludwig and Conc, cf Oldenberg, *Noten* ad loc

jāmim (KS *†camī*) *mā hinsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anū yā*) *śayānā* KS TB ApŚ MŚ *mū jānim moṣīr amuyā sayānām* AV Acc to AV comm the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed, *amuyā* is adverbial The MŚ variant makes *śayānā* refer to *jāmim*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees

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

dhruvāsah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG

stavāno (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhiyā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā rudrīyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (ms *nūh*) MŚ Altho the MŚ reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect fac TA accents wrongly *vṛdhā'nah*, and its comm takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāh*)! Cf §521

yo rayvo (SV *rayim vo*) *rayintamah* RV SV KB ŚŚ ŚG VHDh Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayim* as accus of specification

rṣinām putro abhisantīpāvā (TB *°pā ayam*, AV *°pā u*) AV VS ŚB TB See §740

bhavā kṛṣṣinām (AV *gr²*) *abhisantīpāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG See prec

abhūr grṣṣinām (ApMB *āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*, AV ms **v āpīnām*, em wrongly *vaśānām*) *abhisantīpāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV HG ApMB See prec but one

- ya usriyā apyā* (SV *apī yā*) *antar atmanah* (SV °*ni*) RV SV See §785
 SV misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters'
achāyam eti (KS °*yam yanti*) *bavaśā ghr̥tena* (AV *ghr̥tā cit*, KS *ghr̥tācī*)
 AV VS TS MS KS The AV reading looks secondary to that
 of KS, which has an adjective agreeing with *srucāh*, the subject of
yanti, *ghr̥tā* can only be construed as an accus. of goal after *eti*,
 whose subject is Agni
- divas̄ cit antāḍ* (RV *antān*) *upamām* (RV °*mān*, TA *upa mām*, so AV
 v 1 adopted by Whitney, and comm.) *ud ānaḥ* RV SV AV TA
 While RV is of course original, the AV TA reading is not bad
 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me' This
 should doubtless be read in SV
- te brahmalokeṣu* (TA °*loke tu*) *parāntakāle* TA MahānU MundU
 KauV
- vīpranya dhārayā kavīh* RV *vīprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV See §189
somah sūlanya madhvah RV *somah sutah sa madhumān* SV See §189
na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG *śvetas cābhyācāre*, others all *śvetasyā-*)
 AG PG ApMB HG MG Secondary but intelligible reading in
 AG, see §188
- ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udīthah sūryas̄ ca* VS ŚB *ayu(h)sthūnam*
 (°*ndr*) *udītā* (°*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS See §188
- ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto uḡman* RV KS *urvīm gavyām pariśadam*
no akran AV
- aganma yatra prateranta* (MG *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV AV MG
sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB *sugam vah karmah karunah*
karah karasyuh LŚ See §739
- apa snehitir* (SV °*snīhitim*) *urmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS *ṣurman-*
nīm adadhrām) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhī tam ṣrmanām athadrām*
 (Poonā ed varies) TA
- sam lakṣā hanti cakrī vah* (HG *cakrinah*) ApMB HG Very obscure
 passage, HG seems to approach closer to a sensible reading
ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (°*nāv*, °*nā*) *adhī roha vanśa* (MG *vanśuh*)
 AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛd*
iva', yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte ava* In any
 case MG is secondary
- svartaj* (AV *svar yaj*) *jyotir abhayam svasti* RV AV
grāmyamañikīradāsakau ApŚ *grāmyam mañgiradāsakau* MS *vyāgh-*
ram mañgiradāsa gauh Vait See §49
- §825 In verbal endings (cf §827)
- svasti rāye maruto dadhātuna* (MG *dadhātū nah*) RV KS AB MG
 See VV I p 281

pra su (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artim*)
yuyotana (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG

vīśvam tu tvāhulayah sarvā PrānāḡU *vīśvantu tvīm āhulayah ca*
MU Read *vīśantu*, see §371

kriyanta (TB *priyā ta*, so divide) *ā barhiḥ sūda* RV AV KS TB
davyā (AV *°vā*) *hotāro* (TS *°rā*, AV *°rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanu°*, KS
†*vanuṣan na*, AV *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etat*) RV AV TS KS
vasūni cārur (*cārye*, *cāryo*, *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*)
jīvan AV SMB ApMB HG Cf VVI p 96

jātavedo nuyā hy (read *nuyāsy?*) *enum sukṛtām yatra lokah* JB *jātavedo*
vahemam (ŚŚ *vahasvarnam*) *sukṛtām* TA ŚŚ

§826 In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older, a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change

samudrena (aud *°dre na*) *sindhavo yādumānūh* RV (both) Read
samudre na in both, Blomfield, *JAOS* 27 77 ff, *RVRep* 197,
Oldenberg, *Nolen* on 3 36 7

twiṣim indre na (MS *indrena*) *bheyajam* VS MS TB Bathos in either
case, but MS pp *indre, na* VS *comin* says that *na* means *ca*
spardhante dhiyah (*divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*)
viśah RV SV TS KSA Change to instr in TS KSA because this
is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*

nera mānse na pīvasi AV *nava mānsena pīvasi* PG *na mānseṣu na*
suīvasu ApMB Perhaps PG should be divided *mānse na*, at
least this is the original reading

samirayā sa yudha indro ganenu RV AV SV VS TS KS *samiṣṭānu*
yukṣv indro ganeṣu MS 'This Indra the joiner of battle' 'Indra
in the joined battles'

trīni padāni (*padā*) *nihitā guhāsiya* (TA MahānU *guhāsi*) AV VS TA
MahānU Pronoun *arya* replaced by loc ending *-su*

māteva putram bibhṛtā sv (VS ŚB *°ūpsu*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to waters, hence the secondary
reading *apsu*

idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS **rakṣobhi*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam duhāmi*)
TS MS (bis) KS MŚ See §383

ūvat tam (TA Conc *prāvartam*, *comin* and Poonā ed text *āvartam*)
indrah śacyā dhamantam RV AV SV KS TA The sole ms of KS
also reads *āvartam* (ed emends) TA *comin* interprets as a gerund
(*āvṛtya*)

samid dīśam āśayā nah (MS *āśayānah*) *svavit* (TS *svav°*) TS MS

KS AŚ ApŚ Both accent and sense show that no pres mid pple (masc) can be intended, altho MS p p does not divide the word

yajā no (MS yājāno) devo (TB AŚ ApŚ devān) ajarah swīrah MS TB AŚ ApŚ bhavā no dūto ajarah swīrah ŚŚ ŚG Again (cf prec) the accent shows that MS p p is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable

in cu naśan na iṣo arādayah RV in cid aśnānā iṣayo arādayah SV Benfey renders SV 'devoured' (root aś 'eat', middle pple in passive sense) It is a Verballhornung, the orig itself is rather obscure, in-naś is peculiarly used

yato bhayam abhayam tan (KS 35 1c ṭabhayatvam) no astu (AV ed anti, misprint) AV KS * TB ApŚ MŚ

imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyam me (TB kṣatriyānām) AV TB Kauś viśvāvaruṇā (TB °vāṣ) abhīśantipāvā (TB °pā vām) MS TB Followed by devā yajanta haviṣā ghṛtēna 'O V and V, let the 'gods' (TB comm ṛvijah) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc The variant form must be dual, and as MS can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem °pāvu, or irregularly from °pāvan), we assume that TB is orig

bṛhaspataye (MŚ °pate) mahiṣu (TS mahi yad) dyuman nanaḥ AV TS MŚ Comin on AV agrees with TS, which has the correct reading see §392

dātum ece chikṣān na svarga eva AV dātum ece chakṣuvānāḥ (20, with double accent, Calc ed) svarga eṣām TA For the latter read chakṣvān (or better °vān) sā with Poona ed, see VV I p 165

purastāt (AB puras tā) narve kurmaḥ AB ŚŚ See §365

sumitrah soma no (Kauś sumano) bhava RV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ Kauś

stomo yajñās ca (TB yajñasya) rādhyo haviṣmatā (TB °lah) RV TB Ser §188

arepasah (ApŚ addh sarnokasah) cite goh (SV citā goh, ApŚ cidākoh) SV AV ApŚ MŚ See §47

turāś cid viśvam ṭarnavāḥ lapuvān AV durāś ca viśvā avṛṇod apu svāh RV

tum id arbhe hanṣy ā sumānam it RV tvān arbhasya haviṣah samānam it SV KS TB ApŚ

anupūrvam yalamānā yati śha (AV stha, TA yatīṣ(a) RV AV TA See §86

agne vitalani antar ā (LŚ antaram) RV VS MS KS TB LŚ VHDh Assimilation in I Ś to vitalam

ā no yāhi (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (MS *jāniṣva*, ŚŚ *janeṣu ā*) MS AB AŚ ŚŚ The accent proves MS wrong, it seems to presuppose *janeṣu ā*

yad ullaradrāv uparāś ca khādātāh AV · *yad tapasaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādātāh* KS ApŚ In AV complementary sing after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ 43 110 ff) See VV I p 270 f

§827 Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf §825) *srucā juhuta no* (ŚŚ *juhutanā*) *havih* TB ŚŚ ApŚ

tiḡmāyudhāya bharatā śnotu nah (TB *śnotana*) RV TB N Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB

yatheyam nri pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG yathedam etripautram aghama rudriyāya MG See §801

āprno 'sī sumpṛnah (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samipṛna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter inferior

ramadhvam mā bibhīta mal (Kauś *bibhītana*) AV Kauś

pratno hi (TA *pratnoṣi*) *kam idyo adhvaṣu* RV AV TA See §299

5 First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828 Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary

śūro nryātū kavasaḥ (SV MS *śru^o*) *cakānah* (SV *ca tkāme*) RV SV TS MS Assimilation in SV to the preceding loc *nryātū* 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'

varasah cātīṣhan vasudhātaraś ca AV *varuk cetiṣho vasudhātamaś ca* VS TS MS KS The bad meter and feeble sense of AV show that it is a corruption of the other, moreover Ppp agrees with the other texts (Barret, JAOS 42 108)

śukrām vuyanty asurāya nirṇyam RV *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Aśura' 'the bright (soma-drope) stream variously for the adornment of the Aśura' *nadayor vivrutayoh śūra indrah RV* *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV seem to be Indra's horses, lect. fac in SV

asūrte (MS KS *°tā*) *asūrte rajaso niṣalle* (MS *°tā*, KS *na sattā*) RV VS MS KS N *asūrlā sūrlā rajaso vimāne* TS Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle, it is of course secondary

aryo naśanta (SV *nah santu*) *samśanta* (SV † *°tu*) *no dhīyah* RV SV

- tan mā jīva* TS MS *tan mārjivā* KS See §354 KS probably secondary
- amum ma iṣāna*, and. *sarvalokam ma iṣāna* VS *amum maṇiṣāna*, and *sarvam maṇiṣāna* TA The form *iṣāna* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchati* 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)', 'every world' TA has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna*'), as if from the aorist of root *man*, comm. *prayaccha*
- ā samśrū* (KS *ā śm ugrā*, TS ApŚ *āsminn ugrā*) *acuryavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS seems clearly secondary
- apān na yanty* (SV *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayah* RV SV 'Like streams of water go (the somas)' '(the somas) lead on the waters'
- upākṛtam śasamānam yal asthāt* (MŚ *sadhasthāt*, v 1 *sad asthat*) AV TS MŚ MŚ If *sadhasthāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtam*
- pariṣītah kveṣyasi* ApMB *pariṣīdah kleṣyasi* HG The true reading is *kva iṣyasi*, or more properly *eṣyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go' The HG has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *klīṣ* (thinking of *klīś*)

6 Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§330 Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once. That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa, often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original

tad vipro abravīt udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ See §65

ava (RV *abhi*, MS *ā vah* [text *vah* preceded by *hanīṣā*], VS ŚB *vāvi*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛsāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

sanvan (KŚ *sa tvam*) *sanim svimucā vimuñca* KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The secondary KŚ reading may be graphic

yamasya dūtah śvapād vidhāvasi TA *yamasya dūtas ca vāg vidhāvati* MS See §145

satyam (SV ApŚ *sa tvam*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed as* RV SV ApŚ

itām u ha (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ ŚG

pra na (SV *na*) *vulo mathe tane* (SV *tu nah*) RV SV

amyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam it*, KS * *sarit*) *sraṅanti surto*

(TAA Conc °*ū*, Poona ed text and comm °*lo*) *na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS * ŠB TAA KŚ ApŚ * MŚ The second reading of KS, *sarī*, tho given by all mss, is evidently a mistake for *sam it*, which is secondary to *samyak*

nyāñ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °*tim*) RV AV KS *larī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *manūrū suprayasā stariman*) VS TS MS *starī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt, but *sa im* (*i*) looks like a secondary lect fac for some single word (as in AV KS)

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original

idam ta ekam para ū ta (TB ApŚ, but not KS, *uta*) *ekam* RV AV SV KS † TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Comm on TB *uta*, *api ca*, but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta ekam*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (*te*)

sa tū (SV *sato*) *dhanam kārine na pru yuñsat* RV SV 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer' 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer' The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV

kavir yah putrah sa im ā (TA Conc *sā imāh*, Poona ed text and comm *sa imū*) *ciketa* RV AV TA N Comm on TA *imū*, *ebini drśya-mānāni sarvāni bhūlāni*

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ

ā yam (MS MŚ *āyan*) *narah sudānavo dadāśuṣe* RV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ The corruption of MS is indicated by the fact that the verb *arucyavuh* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent

ku ṣṭhah ku vām aśvinā SV *kūṣṭho devāv aśvinā* RV It is universally recognized that RV must be read *kū ṣṭho*

utem (SV *ūtim*) *arbhe huvāmahe* RV AV SV MS *uta-im ūtim*, 'aid' *mahī no vātā tha vāntu bhūmaru* AV *muhani na vāto m ha vāti bhūma* RV *ā tvā* (AV *enuim*, ŚG *enam*) *parisrutah* (AG °*śritah*, MG °*ṣṭah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB *īkumbhāh*, ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV AG ŚG PG ApMB MG

ive ā (SV *ivayō*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV Note resolution of *e* to *ay* *svahpatir yanti vṛthe* SV *svarpatim yad im vṛthe* RV AV

sarvah sarvā vi caratu prajānan MS *sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan* AV The MS *p p sah*, *sarvāh*, in the *sambitā* text stupid assimilation to the following word

yatrāpṛkṣat tanwo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuam yatra vāsah*) AV
ApMB *yatrā pṛkṣas tanuam yatra vāsah* HG Probably *yac ca*
of AV is original and *yatra* due to assimilation to the preceding
yatrā

[*ā tvam* (GB *ātmam*, but Gaastra correctly *ā tvam*, LŚ *ā tvam*) *indrāya*
pydyasva VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ]

[*name tad upadambhaṣar* MS MŚ *na ma idam upadambhiṣag*
ApŚ We must read *nā me* in MS MŚ, there is no p p here, and
nāme is simply bad editing]

[*vi gā indra vicaran spēṣayasva* TA ApŚ In TA text printed *vigd*,
but both syllables accented, clearly *vi gā(h)* is intended, so comm]

7 Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more
shorter words, and vice versa

§832 We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more
than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more
shorter words, or vice versa. Excluded are divisions of compounds into
parts, which have been treated above. First come cases in which the
longer word is original

bulim icchanto vitudasya (AG *vi tu tasya*, v l *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (Ma-
hānU AG *preṣ(hāh)*) TAA MahānU AG See §65

upanasah śaparyan RV *upo nu sa śaparyan* SV Indra is meant,
SV has obvious earmarks of secondariness

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *mu tha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N
As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv.) is broken
up into a series of harmless particles in SV

na me (so read, §831) *tad upadambhiṣar* MS MŚ *na ma idam*
upadambhiṣag (once erroneously *udam bhīṣag*) ApŚ A simple
and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint

n.ā (AG MG *ā*) *tū prāpani aghāyavah* (MG *adyāyavah*) AG ŚG
ApMB MG See §868

akṣandam vagnum (AV *om ganam*, true reading probably *gatum* with
SPP, see Whitney's note, MS *ṛagnum*) *upajighramānah* (AV
upahipsamānāh, MS *avajighram āpah*) AV MS TB TA The
MS is corrupt, its p p, yet worse *akṣnā*, *avagmam ity ava-gmam*,
avajighram ity avajighram, *āpah*. But the original is obscure
enough

visvā amivāh pramuñcan mānuṣibhih (KS °*ṣebhiyah*) AV KS *visvā*
āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah VS TS *vṃ amivāh pramuñcan*
mānuṣānām MS Evidently VS TS are secondary, tho inter-
pretable, cf §783

yasya le vīvamānuṣah (SV *vīvam ānuṣak*) RV AV SV It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV reading distorted in SV into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret. See Benfey's note in Translation, p. 259.

anvādīdyāthām iha nah sakhāyā TB TA *manmā dīdhyānā utā nah sakhāyā* MS The latter seems clearly corrupt, p p *dīdhyānām*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuna)'

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA The AV comm. followed by SPP and Whitney's Transl., reads *pradhāvati*, correctly.

tvam no devatātaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV See §61.

prathamāya januṣe bhūmanuṣṭhāh (AV *bhūvanē*°, ŚŚ *bhūma neṣṭhāh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ If ŚŚ intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world' Obscure.

yajñah pratyasṭhāt (v 1 *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt* (v 1 *pratyasṭhāt*) MŚ *yajñu pratitṣṭha* TB ApS *apāmityam* (AŚ *apām ittham*) *iva sambhara* MS KS AŚ A graphic error in AŚ.

ubhe yatele ubhayasya (AV *ubhe asya*) *pratyatuh* RV AV Cf next.

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV *aryobhe asya*) *rājatah* RV AV In same verse as prec., here Whitney adopts the RV reading. See §911.

§833 Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary.

ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadinām* AV *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original, in TS AV there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double *t* is suspicious (cf §401), BR take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS AV). Keith rejects the conn. and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition. MS p p *avattaram*.

prāntar ṛṣya sthāvīrī (SV *prāntarīkṣāt sthāvīrī te*) *asṛkṣata* RV SV *pra dhārā yantu midhunah* AB *pra dhārayantu midhuno ghr̥tasya* AG (corrupt, abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading).

dyuṣamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyūtā BDh *dyuṣah samā tasyāditya upadr̥ṣṭa* HG The BDh reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG, which is typical stylistically.—The next two variants are in the same passage.

antarīkṣasamantasya le vāyur upadr̥ṣṭā BDh *antarīkṣam samam tasya vāyur upadr̥ṣṭā* HG As prec.

- prthivīsamantaryā le 'gnir upadraṣṭā* BDh *prthivī samā lasyāgnir upadraṣṭā* HG. See prec two
- nutarān tarase* (MahānU *sutarāniddhatarase*) *namah* RVKh TA MahānU The latter has a v l like the others, but its comin reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler *Sutarān* is voc sing fem, and *tarase* an infinitive
- ḥite vāte punann wa* (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait, most mss of ŚŚ, and v l of KSA *punarnva*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ Doubtless a graphic corruption, but its wide spread is curious
- antarā dyāvūprthivī apuh svah* TB ApMB HG *anturā dyāvūprthivyor apasyuh* MG Is *apasyuh* understood as *apa-syuh*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom-sing of *apasyu* In any case it is secondary
- anupahvad anupahvayet* HG *anu po 'hvad anuhvayah* ApMB See §732
- yajñaputaye* (ŚŚ adds *vasu*, TA *yajamāniya*) *vāryam ā svas kah* (TA *ā svas kar asmaī*, ŚŚ *āsamskarase*) MS TA ŚŚ The latter secondary
- tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh* AV *tanūpāvīnas tanvas tapojāh* AB AŚ The AV is probably original See §254
- ayam sahasram ānvo dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ °mā) SV ApŚ MŚ *ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe vidharmanī* AV Renfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV reading *sahasramānivo* as one compound word, against the accents 'der tausendbewachende' Probably AV is original, tho it too is not very sensible
- agnir hotrenedam* (*hotrena, agnihotrenedam*) *havir*, see §354
- vande dārum vandamāno vivakmī* RV *vandudvārī vandamānī vvaṣṭu* SV On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p 218

8 Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834 Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant They fall into three subdivisions Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another, sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835 We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older, we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case

avakrakyinam vṛṣabham yathājuram (SV *yathā juvam*) RV AV SV
ajuram 'ageless', *juvam* 'swift'

na mānsam asi nodalam (HG *no dalam*) ApMB HG If the division is so intended, HG must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'. The comm on ApMB (Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxiv) takes *nódalam* for *ná-udāram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'

ya ājagma (N °*muh*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juyānūh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Conc suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-īmā*) for AV, and Whitney notes that the AV text (p p *sāvane, mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'

samidhyamānah prathamānu dharmā (TB ApŚ *prathamō nu dharmah*) RV TB ApŚ The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā dharmā* (neut plur) of RV 'According to ancient ordinances' 'as the very first law'

prasthāyendrāgnihhyim somam vocalopo (KB *vocalo yo*) *asmān brāhmanān brāhmanā hvayadhvam* KB AŚ ŚŚ As Keith says in his Transl, KB must be read *vocalopo*. A graphic corruption

jihvā pavitrām akvīnāsān (TB °*nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS MS KS TB The original, of which TB is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *śān* 'in his mouth'

vśvalopa vśvadvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS GB Vait ApŚ *vśloka vśvadvāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ Precisely like the prec, except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible

gḍia upvādvātam (SV *upa vadāvāte*) RV SV See §60

yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuam yatra vāsah*) AV
ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG The latter corrupt,
see §198

rāhag (RV AV *dhrūvam*) *ayā* (AV *ayo*, TS MS KS *ayā*) *rāhag*
(RV AV *dhrūvam*) *utāsamīṣṭhāh* (MS KS °ṣṭa, AV *utā savīṣṭha*)
RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N See §234

yat tvemahe (SMB *le mahe*) *pratī tan no* (Kauś *pratī nas taj*) *juṣṣva* RV
TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB Original has *tvā-imahe*
SMB comm alternatively takes *mahe* as a verb, *pūjyāmi*, or as a
noun, *utsave*, supplying *pūjādīkam karma* with *yat* All insa agree
on it

āum tvāyu (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ
harīśmaśrumi na vurmaṇḍ dhanarcim SV *harīśmaśrumi nārvaṇam*
dhanarcam RV

dhātī vidhātī (MS *dhurtā vidhartā*) *paramo sanuṭṛk* (KS *paramo na*
samuṭṛk) RV VS TS MS KS N Graphic change in KS, §871
hotī viṣṭimena (ŚŚ *viṣṭī me*) *jaritar* AV AŚ ŚŚ Vait See §367

tenemām upa siñcatam RV AV TA N *tena mām abhiñcatam* ŚŚ
SMB Different contexts, *imām* or *mām*

tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam AV *tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam*
(MS °yā *mām*) TS MS KS *imam* or *mām*

pteva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma enam*) MS KS ApMB IIG
The corruption of MS is indicated by its p p *jarasena*, *a*, *imam*,
pointing to the other reading

yaded (KS *ādīd*) *antā adudṛhanta* (TS *adadṛhṇṇ*) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS
KS

yenāḥṣā (SMB °*kṣān*, PG °*kṣyāv*, ŚŚ *yenū kṣām*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ
SMB *abhyasīcatam*, PG °*tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG For the
original 'dice' ŚŚ lamely substitutes 'earth'

[*tvayāvusena* (ŚG text *tvayā vasena*) *sum asimahi tvā* TS KS TB AŚ
MŚ Kauś ŚG SMB PG The ŚG seems to be a misprint]

§336 We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original
reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words,
the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary

yadīrādyhatī (read *yadā rā*) *varadah* Vait *yadā rākhā(yau vadatah*
ApŚ *yad adyārādyam vadantah* MŚ See §70

praty eva (ŚŚ *pra tveva*, i.e. *tvā-iva*) *grbhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grānā vaded*) *abhi somasyāntum* (ApŚ °*śunā*) KS ApŚ

But KS ed prints the ApŚ reading, with v l °*vādīd*
krutakakṣo aram (SV °*kakṣaram*) *gave* RV SV Nom voc

- d sadhgo* (MS text *dm dāgo*) *dohabāmadh* MS. KS. And others, see §836 MS and KS may intend the same reading
- agor arir ā cikela* RV *nāgo rayir ā cikela* SV Benfey understands *na-ago(s)*, from *agu* 'nicht preisend' = 'bos' Doubtful, the SV is hardly interpretable
- ubhayaor arinyor* (TS *artnyor*, NilarU *ubhaya rājnōr*) *yyām* VS TS MS KS NilarU An absurd corruption in the last, it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm calmly takes it
- satyād ā* (ApŚ *satyā tā*) *dharmanas pati* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, and so miss of MS, Vait MS *pari*, ŚŚ omits *pāti*) AS ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MS
- purovāto varṣaṇ jnvar dōpt svāhā* TS ApŚ *purovāta* (KS 'to) *jīna rāvaḥ* (KS 'vat) *svāhā* MS KS And other formulas in same passage, see §168 TS is secondary
- yam āsvinā namucer āsurād adhi* (ŚŚ *īnamucāv āsure dadhi*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ Followed by *sarasvaty āsunod indriyāya* Some verb, probably a form of *su*, is understood 'which (soma) the Āsvins pressed out (Caland on Vait entnahmen) from the asuric N' ŚŚ is secondary and poor, *dadhi* 'sour milk' conceals *adhi*, to which is affixed the *d* of the abl which preceded in the original form For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15 144-63

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

- §838 In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in
- katāpḍṣhādya* (read with Poona ed of both "(hā pha) *vyd pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vṣṣkū dhanvā vārnah* MS (corrupt)
- pīlā bhāsvaty anūpamā* TA *pīlābhā svāt tanūpamā* MahānU In MahānU a v l agrees with TA but for *anūp*², but the comm keeps to the text as printed He explains *pīlābhā* by *pīlavarnā*, and *tanūpamā* by *sūkṣmenopamiyāne kundalinīti yām naigamā āhuh* The TA makes *pīlā bhāsvati* = *pīlavarnā*, and *anūpamā* is explained by *laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavitum योग्या*
- acikradat svapā iha bhuvat* AV *adidyulāt sv apāko vrbhāvā* RV MS Whitney says the AV has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading Ppp *bhuvat* for *bhuvat* (§602)
- deva purakāra saghyāsam* (MS *devapurāś carasa rāhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ The MS is corrupt p p *deva*, *punar iti punah*, *carase* See §817

dirgas taradhyā (ApŚ °ya) *ṛṇayā na iyase* (SV *trase*) RV SV KS A
ApŚ *dirgas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV 'A simple corruptive
(Whitney) in AV

ṛṣayartena mām ula (TA *ula*) TB TA *ṛṣaya tv enam ā'mūlah* M
(p p *tū, enam, mā'm, ullām ma*, in part pointing to the TB reading
MS is corrupt, in TB supply *muñcata* from preceding pāda
graha vidvajanīna nyanantar viprāyāma te (MS p p *viprāya, 'mate, K*
nyanantar vipra ā ṛsalī) MS KS

§839 In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locative ending

made susipram (SV *madesu śiprami*) *anukhasah* RV SV
tari mandrasu prayakṣu AV *su im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (M:
°sa *startman, TS mandrasu prayasuh*) VS TS MS *stanī mandri*
suprayakṣuh KS

mandūky apsu sam bhuvah AV *mandūkyā su sam ṛgamah* (TA *gamayc*
HV TA The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to
the secondary reading of AV

§840 The rest hardly need classification

yās te somu prajāvat so 'bhi so aham MahānU *yās te somu prajā vata*
'bhi so aham TA Both are obscure, and the far-fetched inter-
pretations of the comms give little help For instance, the TA
comm explains *soma* as *sa + uma*, from *unū = brahmaidya*
so that *soma = paramātman*'

visvakarman bhavuna mām didāsitha (ŚB *nunda āsitha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ
didāsitha is taken as a desiderative from *dā* 'O V Bh, thou didst
seek to give me (the earth) away' ' thou wast slow of wit (see
comm, *mandamāth*)' Father meaning is possible

bhrātāntarikṣam abhisastyā nah (TA *abhisastu enah*) AV TA Comm
on TA *yad ena 'smābhīh kṛtam tad abhisastah kṛtrusthānīyam*
It would be better to understand *abhisaste*, 'upon the accursed one
(may) the sin (light)' Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV
namūdrād udujani vah (ApŚ *uducann wa*) *ṛucā* MS ApŚ The ApŚ
reading seems better

yā samjayanāmi adhi yāsu vardhase KS *āsum juyantam anu yāsu*
vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB

mānasya patni sarand syond AV *mā nah sapatnah saranah syond*
HG See §189

jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anike SV *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmam kṣor*
anike RV The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for
dyukṣayor, from *dyukṣa*

- brahmādhigūptah* (PG *brahmābhi*^o, MG *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā*
kṣarāni (PG *svarakṣitah svām*, MG *svarākṣānah*, most mss *svārā-*
rākṣānah) *svāhā* AG PG MG The original is probably AG,
 see §742 PG has a simple lect fac, MG is corrupt
- yena bhūyāt ca rātryām* (ApMB *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG
bhūrīś carā divam) AG PG ApMB MG See §61
- karasvatyai vāco yantur yantrīye* (VSK *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi*
 VS VSK ŚB Corruption in VSK
- āyuhpati rathamtaram* (MŚ *āyuh pratiratham*^o) *tad aśiya* ApŚ MŚ
 Caland would read ^o*pati* (nom) in ApŚ, and observes that MŚ is
 yet more corrupt
- ud vansum wa yemire* RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham wa menire*
 Mbh
- kratvā varistham vara āmurim uta* RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*
uta SV
- ravad dhokṣū* (TB *krvadbhyo 'kṣū*) *paprathānebhīr evaśh* RV MŚ AB
 KB TB See §684
- prathamachad* (KS *parama*^c) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā viveta*
 RV VS TS MS KS Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen depend-
 ing on *vara* (*vare*) The result is close to nonsense
- ā devo yūti bhuvanāni pasyan* (TS MS *bhuvanū vipaśyan*) RV VS TS
 MS
- tena samhanu kṣnmasi* AV *tena satn anuqṣnāsi* HG See §47
- pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS ^o*nud ābharan*) VS MS TB Either
 makes good sense
- ahorātre ūrvāṣṭive* (VS ^o*ṣṭhive*, TS *ahorātrayor vṣṭiyā*) *bṛhadrathantare*
ca me yajñena kalpetām (VS [†]*kalpantām*) VS TS MS Cf §803,
 TS secondary
- pumānsam vurdhatām mayi* ŚG *pumān sanvāratām mayi* PG *pumān*
gurbhas tavodare SMB See §97 Despite the Conc, ŚG is quite
 correct, and may well be the original reading
- jāmim itrā nā vivitse lokān* TA *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV See
 §198
- hiranyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ *annam udhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*)
mahyam KS ApŚ
- utem unamnamuh* (KB ŚB ŚŚ KŚ *uteva nam*^o) TS MS AB KB ŚB
 AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- athem avi sya vara ā prthivyāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *athemam asyā varu ā*
prthivyāh AV See §236
- utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah* (TB *vicdyah*) RV MS TB N See §254

dr̥yas taradhyā (ApŚ "yaṁ) ṛyaḍ na ṛyase (SV *trase*) RV SV KS AB
ApŚ *dr̥yas tad adhy ar̥yaveneyase* AV 'A simple corruption'
(Whitney) in AV

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA *ita*) TB TA *ṛtasya tv enam ā'mūtah* MS
(p p *tū, enam, mā'm, utām ma*, in part pointing to the TB reading)
MS is corrupt, in TB supply *muñcata* from preceding *pāda*
graha v̥svayanīna nīyantar viprāyāma te (MS p p *viprāya, 'mate*, KS
nīyantar vipra ā teatī) MS KS

§839 In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locative ending

made susīpram (SV *madesu sīpram*) *andhusah* RV SV
tari mandr̥su prayakṣu AV *sa im* (TS *ī*) *mandr̥ suprayasah* (MS
"sā *startman*, TS *mandr̥su prayasah*) VS TS MS *stanī mndras*
suprayakṣuh KS

mandūky apsu sam bhuvah AV *mandūkyā su sam ṛgamah* (TA *gamaya*)
RV TA 'The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to
the secondary reading of AV

§840 The rest hardly need classification

yas te soma praṇāvat so 'bhi so aham MahānU *yās te soma praṇā vatso*
'bhi so aham TA Both are obscure, and the far-fetched inter-
pretations of the comms give little help For instance, the TA
comm explains *soma* as *su + uma*, from *umā = brahmavidyā*,
so that *soma = paramātman*'

v̥svakarmun bhavuna mām didāsitha (ŚB *mandu āsitha*) AB ŚH ŚŚ
didāsitha is taken as a desiderative from *dā* 'O V Bh, thou didst
seek to give me (the earth) away' 'thou wast slow of wit (so
comm, *mandamatih*)' Either meaning is possible

bhrūtāntarikṣam abhiśastyā nah (TA *abhiśastu enuh*) AV TA Comm
on TA *yad eva 'smābhik kṛtam tad abhiśastah satrusthūnīyam*'
It would be better to understand *abhiśaste*, 'upon the accursed one
(may) the sin (light)' Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV
samudr̥d ulajani vuh (ApŚ *ulacann va*) *srucā* MS ApŚ The ApŚ
reading seems better

yā samjyantum adhi yūsu vardhase KS *āsuni jayantum anu yāsu*
vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB

mānasya patni saranā syonā AV *mū nah sapatnah saranah syonā*
HG Sec §189

jyēs(hasya dharmam dyukṣor anike SV *jyēs(hasya vā dharmam kṣor*
anike RV The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for
dyukṣayor, from *dyukṣa*

- brahmādhiguplah* (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmādhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah svām*, MG *svārāksānah*, most mss *svārā-rakṣānah*) *svāhā* AG PG MG The original is probably AG, see §742 PG has a simple lect fac, MG is corrupt
- yena bhūyas ca rātryām* (ApMB *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *bhūrīs carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61
- sarasvatyū vāco yantur yantrīye* (VSK *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS VSK ŚB Corruption in VSK
- āyuhpati rathamtaram* (MŚ *āyuh pratiratham*°) *tad atīya* ApŚ MŚ Caland would read °*pati* (nom) in ApŚ, and observes that MŚ is yet more corrupt
- ud vanśam iva yemire* RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh
- kratvā varīyham vara āmurim uta* RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV
- ruvad dhokṣā* (TB *ṛvadbhyo 'kṣū*) *paprathūnebhir evaih* RV MS AB KB TB See §684
- prathamachad* (KS *parama*°) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā vueśa* RV VS TS MS KS Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen depending on *vara* (*vare*) The result is close to nonsense
- ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan* (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV VS TS MS
- tena samhanu kṛnmasi* AV *tena sann anuṣṭhāsī* HG See §47
- pothū madhumatū bharan* (MS °*mad ābharan*) VS MS TB Either makes good sense
- ahorātre ūruṣṭive* (VS °*ṣṭhive*, TS *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *bṛhadrathamtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS †*kalpantām*) VS TS MS Cf §803, TS secondary
- pumānsam vardhatām mayi* ŚG *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG *pumān garbhas tuvadare* SMB See §97 Despite the Conc, ŚG is quite correct, and may well be the original reading
- jāmni itvā nū vicitae lokān* TA *jāmim itvā nūva patsi lokāt* AV See §198
- hiranyavad anuvad dhehi* (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ
- ulem anamnamuh* (KB ŚB ŚŚ KŚ *uleva nam*°) TS MS AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- athem ava syu vara ā pṛthivyāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *athemam asyū vara ā pṛthivyāh* AV See §236
- ulānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah* (TB *vīcāvah*) RV MS TB N See §254

amādhā yadī jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cad ā*)
RV SV

pra nu (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra nūmṛtyam*, MG *prathamam artim*)
yuyolana (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG The last is
secondary

yāśasendrābrhaspañ (ArS *yāśo mendrā*) ArS PG MG Graphic
change

dṛumallamā nupratikasya sūnoh (AV *°ūkah sarūnoh*) AV VS TS MS
KS ŚB See §189

dhiyā martah śamatah (SV *martasya śamatah*) RV SV See §189

yāśo bhagāś ca mā vidat (MG *riṣat*, most mss *riṣak*) PG MG *yāśo*
bhagasya vīdatu ArS See §189

yunajmī tisto vipracah sūryasya te (MŚ *vīrtah sūryah suve*, or *savah*)
TS ApS MŚ See §189

pragāyāmsy agratah PG ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG †*pra-*
jāyāmy agratah HG *asya* in MG is to be taken in a cosmic sense,
it is of course secondary

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nidhr ajarāya*) AV
MS TA Whitney describes the MS as a 'corrupt guess'

māyādevā avatāran HG *adevā devavattāram* ApMB See §401

ā gharṇo agnīm śayann asādī (TA *asādīt*) RV TA *ā gharṇo agnir*
amṛto na sādī MS The latter is of course secondary

adha syāma surabhayo (ApS *syām anur ubhayer*) *grheṣu* AV KS ApS
aihā syāta surabhayo grheṣu MS The ApS is worthless, Caland
tacitly adopts the other reading

[*īsur nāviraślāram* ŚŚ *īṣum na vīro aslā* AV RWb by emendation,
but mss as ŚŚ except for *īṣum*]

[*pātām mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnah* (Kauś text *aghān nah*) TS ApS Kauś
Read *adyāhnah* in Kauś, cf. critical note, p. 295, n. 4 of ed. In the
reading quoted for mss Bu *hna* should be read for *dna*]

9 Patch-words

§841 In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822-31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Lückenbüsser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above At least they all belong in the same chapter

§842 For instance, in a pāda like

syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu twam*) RV
AV SMB ApMB MG N,

it is clear that AV has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *twam* There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *twam* and *-sva* This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

ni no rayim nibhojasam yunawva (TS *yuehu*) RV VS TS MS KS,
where TS likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *īha* And in a pāda like

āpis tad ghnantu sarvadā (MG *te sadā*) MG YDh,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā*, rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te* If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG, the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same

§843 Prevailingly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word

agnim (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV SV In RV *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p 51) The SV has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*

viṣc viṣam aprkthāh (*apṛāg api*) AV (both) The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original

yatah sūrya udeti AV *yataś codeti sūryah* ŚB BṛhU KaṭhaU 14 9a
āsūn huve suyamān ūtaye TS MS KS *āsūn vu suyamān ahva ūtaye*

AV Here the longer form of AV may be original, at least it is better not only metrically but in sense

§844 There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word

tasmai no (AV *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteha* (AV PG **dhatteha*, KS MŚ **dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ *utve*) AV TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh

Even the KS MŚ form, lacking *tha*, is not really good in meter.

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter

śatena pāśair varunābhi dhehi KS *śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varunainam* AV The reading of Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 37 298) is that of KS, and this is doubtless original

tam aham punar ādade KŚ PG *imam tam punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham, as Kirste suggests) HG

tasma u rādhaḥ kṛnuḥ praśastam (AV *kṛnuḥ supraśastam*) RV AV The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV Anukramanī and omitted in Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 41 266)

§846. Once SV omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV, thereby spoiling the meter, the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sutāsah* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ime* leaves is too short

tubhyam somāḥ sutā ime RV *tubhyam sutāsah somāḥ* SV

§847 Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following

anumate 'nu idam manyasva AV *anumate 'nu* (Kaps *ṭanu*) *manyasva na idam* KS Cf *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG KhG HG ApG

apām napātam aśvīnā huve dhīyā (TS *ṭhayanam*) AV TS The mss of AV read *aśvīnā* (accented) and *dhīyah* Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss, but both are metrically correct See Whitney's and Keith's notes

§848 In the next AV by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV, and to save the meter omits the light word *u*

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV *Kauś sa id dhotā*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB See §996

§849 In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary, they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group

imam (AV **lam u*) *me agadam kṛta* (AV *kṛdhi*) RV AV * VS TS

anu manyasva svayā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ *lam manyeta* (V1Dh *lam var manyet*) *pīṭaram mātaram ca* SamhitopaniṣadB V&Dh V1Dh

asmān (AV *sā nah*) *sile payasābhyāvṛtva* AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB

- upa yajñam asthita* (MŚ *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh AV ApŚ MŚ
apasedhan (SV † °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV *no mṛda*) RV SV
 See VV I §194 In RV *r* in *mṛdaya* is long, in SV it was pro-
 nounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to
 improve the meter
- marutām pitas tad aham grñāmī* (MS *grñe te*) TS MS *marutām pitar*
ula tad grñmah KS
- tasya doham aśimahi* (KS *aśiya*, AŚ *aśiya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB
 TA AŚ ŚŚ In KS prose.
- trvṣṭā sudatro* (TA *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyah* RV VS MS KS ŚB TA
 ŚŚ N
- sa nah pīto madhumān ā vīseha* (Kauś *vīseha*) KS Kauś *sa no mayobhūh*
pītav (TS TB *pīto*, MŚ *pītur*, SMB Jorgensen *pītav*) *āvīseva*
 (AŚ *āvīseha*, MŚ *āvīseva*) TS TB AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG
- añgīrobbhir ā gahi yajñīyebhīh* RV TS MS *añgīrobbhir yajñīyair*
āgahīha AV
- dadhād ratnāni* (RV once *ratnā vi*) *dākuṣe* RV (thrice) SV VS TS MS
 KS TB *dhattam ratnāni dākuṣe* RV *dadhād ratnā dākuṣe vāry-*
āni RV VS
- tvīṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu* AV *tvīṣir akṣeṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB The
 Ppp agrees with TB (Barret, JAOS 30 204)
- anāgā devīh śakuno grheṣu* (AV *grham nah*) RV AV MG The Ppp
 according to Roth agrees with RV, and the AV text makes poor
 sense as Whitney observes
- abhūn mama* (KS *nu nah*) *sumatuu vīśvadeh* TS KS PG
- ahnū yau enah kṛtam asti pāpam* (AŚ *asti kimcit*, ŚŚ *enāś cakṛmeha*
kimcit) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB
- edam burhīr nī śīdata* (AŚ ŚŚ *śīda nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Change
 of context in AŚ ŚŚ requires a singular verb, and the pāda is
 neatly patched with *nah*
- devebhyo havyam* (MS MŚ MG *havā*) *vahatu* (TB * AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ
vaha nah, Kauś **vaha*) *prajānan* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TB * AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś * MG In one form Kauś is
 unmetrical, lacking *nah*
- pra tad voced amṛtasya* (VS *amṛtam nu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*)
vidvān AV VS TA MahānU
- vīryebhīr* (MŚ *vīrebhīr*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śuci°*,
 Poona ed *śavī°*) AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
- punantu vīśvā bhūtāni* (MS *bhūtā mā*) AV VS MS KS Is the MS
 reading a reminiscence of *vīśve devāh punītu nū*, which is the RV
 form of this pāda?

śalam pavitrā vītālā hy (MS *vītālāny*) *drus* MS ApŚ ApMB Un-
doubtedly MS is original, form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others
havyāmi (AV SV TS MS *hwe nu*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV AV
SV MS VS TS KS MahānU

apriye (AV **apriyah*) *prati muñcaldm* (Kauś † **iam*, AV **muñca tat*)
AV (bis) Kauś

sarvān agnīn (AV *śivān agnīn*) *apruśado hwe vah* (MS omits *vah*,
AV *havāmahe*) AV TS MS TB See VV I p 253.

§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word
seems to be the older are

ṛṣīndm ca stutir (SV *ṛṣṣutir*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS

agnim indram (TB *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahanā hwe 'ham* (TB *vām*, MS
**hanam huvema*) AV MS TB

yā antarīkṣyā (TB ApŚ **kṣa*) *utā pārvhivāsah* (TB ApŚ AG *pārvhivir*
yāh) KS AG TB ApŚ Since the adjectives are feminine (agree-
ing with *āpah*), the KS form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62),
but it may nevertheless be the original

yā akrntann awayan yā atarvata (AV *yās ca tatnirc*) AV SMB PG
ApMB HG *yā akrntan yā atarvan* MG Discussed in VV I
§§46, 218

jarām gachāsi (PG *gacha*, AV *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV PG
ApMB HG Only the relative antiquity of AV favors greater
originality of its reading, and perhaps this is not conclusive

CHAPTER XIX RIME WORDS

§851 A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants, the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound, that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852 We begin with the roots *jinv* and *pinv*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the *Sambitās*, both verbs are found in all texts that have both *pādas*, but the two are exchanged in different texts:

mano me jinvā (MS KS *pinvā*, Vait *mano jinvā*) VS TS MS KS Vait

Followed by

vācam me pinvā (MS KS ŚŚ *jinvā*) VS TS MS KS ŚŚ

tad indrāgnī jinvatam (MŚ † *pinvatām*) *sūnṛtāval* TB ApŚ MŚ

jinvā (AŚ † *pinvam*, read *pinvā*) *gā jinvāvatāh* TB ApŚ AŚ Cf.

pinvatam gā jinvatam arvato nah RV KS

§853. Other verb forms are

ūrjā pṛthivīm gachata (MS *yachata*) TS MS KS TB

paramam padam ava bhāti (VS ŚB *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS *bhūreh*) RV VS

TS MS KS ŚB N The comm on VS calmly says *avabhāri*

avabhāti, *takārasthāne chāndaso rephah!* BR derive from root *bhṛ*, as aor pass 'wurde eingedruckt', which is at least possible

trikadrakebhūh patati (AV *pavate*) RV AV KS TA ApŚ Cf Hil-

lebrandt, *Ved Myth!* I 500

pratilāmīti (AŚ °*nīti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS TS MS

KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Derived by the comms from roots *til*

and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise

sam bāhubhyām dhamatī (AV *bharatī*, TS TA *namatī*, KS *namate*, MS °*bhyām adhamatī*) *sam patatraih* (KS *yajatraih*) RV AV VS TS MS KB TA MahānU ŚvetU *sam-dham* and *sam-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together' Note also the noun forms *patatra yajatra* (graphic change)

asadan (TS *asanan*) *mātarām purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms. 'has seated himself' 'has reached'

yābhyām svar ajanann (TB *svuar ajuyann*) *agra eva* MS TB MŚ *yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva* AV 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning'

sam grāvabhīr nasate (SV *vasate*) *vile adhvare* RV SV Both 'unite with', SV lect fac (*sam-nus* was obsolete)

rasena nam asṛkṣmahī (RV *aganmahī*, KS LŚ *aganmahī*, AV JB *apṛkṣmahī*) RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB *sam-sṛ* and *sam-pṛc* practically synonyms Cf *sam-pṛc* and *sam-sṛṣ*, §375

aṅgād-aṅgāt sambhavasī (SMB **samśravasī*) ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB * GG ApMB HG MG N Mahābh In SMB a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arisest' The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts In both cases some mss of SMB have the alternative reading

pra ketunā bhātā yūty (AV TA *bhāty*) *agnih* RV AV SV TA 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam' Perhaps graphic?

śucasva (VS **rocasva*) *devūitamah* (KS °*ittamah*) RV RVKh VS * TS MS KS TA Synonymy

tataś (RV *ataś*, KS *lutra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV °*the*, MS KS *cakrāthe*) *aditim ditim* ca RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Root *cakṣ* perfect of *kr*

adhī skanda virayasva AV *adhī kranda vilayasva* ŚG Quasi-synonyms AVPPP also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *skanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach)

mā chetthā (v 1 *bhetthi*) *mā vyathīṣhāh* KBU

[*varṣmā rathanya n jihīṣate* (ŚŚ *jihūlate*) *divuh* AV ŚŚ So RWh, but the mss of AV read *jihūdate*, which should be kept]

§354 Riming participles occur in the following

pratyag enam śapathā yantu tṛṣṭāh (AV *sṛṣṭāh*) RV AV Comm and one ms of AV *tṛṣṭāh*, for which *sṛṣṭāh* may be called a lect. fac 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'

yā dabhrāḥ parisasruṣṭh ŚG *yā tārdroghnīḥ pari tasthuṣṭh* ApMB
Pples of roots *sru* and *sthā*

dyurdā deva (AV *agne*) *jarasam vrnānah* (ApMB ApG HG *grn*°)
AV MS KS MŚ ApMB ApG HG *dyurdā* (VS ŚB, *dyuṣmān*)
agne haviṣo juṣānah (VS ŚB ŚG *haviṣā vrdhānah*) VS TS ŚB
TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG The ApMB etc readings are an interesting
blend of those which contain *vrnānah* and *juṣānah* Perhaps
grnānah was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring',
even this would be none too sensible in the context Oldenberg
adopts *vrnānah* for HG Still a different version ('thriving by the
oblation') is adopted in VS etc, this is an easy lect. fac in a
passage relating to Agni

ā sutrāvne (MS KS *bhūyīṣṭhadāne*) *sumatim dvrnānah* AV MS KS
oṣīṣṭhadāne sumatim grnānāh TS 'Choosing to myself (praising)
his kindness'

§865 Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman nāman*
stands out In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are
easily interchangeable, the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both
mean its mystic essence In some cases the change from one to the
other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in

yal te nādhrīṣṭam nāma yajñiyam (KS *nāmānādhrīṣyam*, MS *dhāmānā-*
dhīṣyam) *tenu tvādadhe* VS TS MS KS ŚB The change in MS
was suggested by *ādadhe*

sedum priyena dhāmnā priyam sada tāsīdu (VSK *priyena nāma priye*
sadasī sūla) VS VSK ŚB Also

priyena dhāmnā (TS TB ApŚ *nāmā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sadu āsīda*
(VSK TS TB ApŚ * *priye sadasī sīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB
KŚ ApŚ In this and the prec (which are variants of each other)
only the VS texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose
that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym
of *sadas*

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*, Ppp *gandharvo nāma*) *paramani*
guhā yal RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB *gandharvo dhāma*
paramam guhā yal (VS *vibhṛtam guhā sut*) AV VS *gandharvo*
nāma nihitam guhāsu TA MahānU Here two different pādas
have become confused, one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*,
the other with *gandharvo dhāma* The AV Ppp reading (not in
Conc) occurs in the verse where AV has *vidma te dhāma*

puruṣūtasya dhāmabhīh (MS *nā*°) RV AV MS Vait

§866. Twice the RV phrase *pratnena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'

is changed in SV to *prānena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)', much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB follows SV
aham prānena janmanā (SV *jan^o*) RV SV AV
agnih prānena manmanā (SV TB *jan^o*) RV SV MS. KS AB TB
 AŚ MŚ

§857. Other nouns and adjectives

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhi*, KS **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS TB *vyantu*)
vayah TS MS KS * TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo* 'klam
rihāṇāh VS. A very obscure passage, the isolated *artham* may
 possibly be due to graphic confusion

barīram me vicarṣanam (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU *pratikam
 me vicakṣanam* PG. 'My body (face) be active (glorious)' Schef-
 telowitz on RVKh reads *vicakṣana*, but it seems that **nam* must be
 the true reading

paktā (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA. The latter is called 'ludicrous'
 by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p 204, he takes it as a
 masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu
 werden'; cf Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p 171

kuhūm aham (AV Vait *kuhūm devīm*) *survītam* (AV MS KS *suktam*,
 TS *subhagūm*) *vidmanūpasam* AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N. Quasi-
 synonyms

dyumnā sukṣatra manhaya RV. *dyumnam sudatra manhaya* SV
dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh. *bhūmidṛṅham acyutam
 pārayiṣṇu* AV. *bhūmidṛṅho* 'cyutāś cyāvayīṣṇuh' AV. The evi-
 dently secondary *cyū^o* is suggested by 'cyutāś 'unshaken (but)
 shaking (others)'

aślonō 'pīśācadhīrah' ApMB. *anandho* 'ślonō 'pīśācadhīrah' HG. The
 latter is a strange corruption, the original means 'not sucked by
 demons'

adroghavācam matibhiḥ śaviṣṭham (RV * *°bhīr yavī^o*) RV * AV. See
 RVRep 275 f

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devubhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS
devahitam yaviṣṭhya) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB. Quasi-
 synonyms

nagnahur dhīras (KS *vīras*) *tasarami na vema* VS MS KS TB
 Synonyms

pāhi no agna enase (ŚG *edhase*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU ŚG *edhase* is
 certainly right 'protect us unto prosperity'. TA comm quotes
 the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase*. The corruption
 is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah* or the like is

associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *varuṇītha* (AV °*nītr*, KS °*dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38 12b], MS °*dhīte*) *yajñath* (AV MS KS *°*agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The form with *n* is apparently original, in MS KS it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhī*, *vasudhīti* *kurn no asya sumatir naviyasī* (SV. *bhaviyasī*) RV SV 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'

sthīrā en namayisṣavah RV *dṛdhā cid yamayisṣavah* SV Practically synonyms, 'bending' 'subduing'

āndhī kham vartayā paṇim (SV *paṇim*) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read *paṇim* in RV The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it, cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten ad loc*) It is easy to see how *paṇim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent

tās tvā manuritu manasā svēna (TB *mahusā svēna*) AV TB The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots Cf next

ut satvanām māmukāndm māndasi (TS *mahūnsi*) RV SV VS TS Cf prec

dvīṣadbhyah prati muñcāmi pāśam (HG *pāpam*) SMB ApMB HG The two words are near-synonyms, *pāśam* is clearly original

upa śreṣṭhā nu āśīyah (MS *āśīrah*) AV TS. MS KS

panasiyuvah saṁvasaneṣu (SV °*varaneṣu*) *ukramuh* RV SV Quasi-synonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'

asya (AŚ *mama*) *enuṣā evāsurasya praśiṣṭim* (AŚ *pravṣṭau*) TB AŚ Complete change of meaning as well as syntax

svāhā tvā sūryasya (MS *vāliya sūr°*) *ṛṣṭivanaye* (MS °*sanaye*) MS TA ApŚ

is changed in SV to *prātnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)', much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB follows SV
aham prātnena manmanā (SV. *jan*^o) RV SV AV
agnih prātnena manmanā (SV TB *jan*^o) RV SV MS KS AB TB
 AS MS

§857. Other nouns and adjectives

aktam (MS MS *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS TB *vyantu*)
vayah TS MS KS * TB MS GG KhG *vyantu vayo* 'klam
rihāṇāh VS A very obscure passage; the isolated *artham* may
 possibly be due to graphic confusion

harīram me vicakṣanam (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU *pratikam
 me vicakṣanam* PG 'My body (face) be active (glorious)' Schef-
 telowitz on RVKh reads *vicakṣana*, but it seems that *nam* must be
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 by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p 204, he takes it as a
 masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu
 werden', cf Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p 171

kuhūm aham (AV Vait *kuhūm devīm*) *subṛtam* (AV MS KS *sukṛtam*,
 TS *subhagūm*) *vidmanāpasam* AV TS MS KS AS ŚS N Quasi-
 synonyms

dyumnā sukṣatra mathaya RV *dyumnam sudatra mathaya* SV
dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam
 pārayiṣṇu* AV *bhūmidṛṇho* 'cyūtas cyūrayiṣṇuh' AV The evi-
 dently secondary *cyāv*^o is suggested by *cyūtas* 'unshaken (but)
 shaking (others)'

āḥlono 'piśācadhīrah' ApMB *anandho* 'ḥlono' piśācadhīrah' HG The
 latter is a strange corruption, the original means 'not sucked by
 demons'

adroghavācam matibhīh saṁṣṭham (RV * *bhīr yan*^o) RV * AV See
 RVRep 275 f

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS
devahitam yaviṣṭhya) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB Quasi-
 synonyms

nagnahur dhīras (KS *vīras*) *tasaram na vema* VS MS KS TB
 Synonyms

pāhi no agna enase (ŚG *edhase*) *svahā* TA MahānU ŚG *edhase* is
 certainly right 'protect us unto prosperity' TA comm quotes
 the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase*. The corruption
 is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah* or the like is

associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, KS° *dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38 12b], MS. °*dhīte*) *yajñān* (AV MS KS° *agne*) AV VS. TS MS KS ŚB The form with *n* is apparently original, in MS KS it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhīti* *kṛvān no aśya sumatir navīyast* (SV. *bhaviyast*) RV SV 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'

sthirā cin namasyiṣṇavah RV *dṛdhā cid yamayṣṇavah* SV Practically synonyms, 'bending' 'subduing'

uīdhī kham vartayā pavim (SV *pavim*) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it, cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten ad loc*) It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *paṣim* under the influence of *kham*, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent

tās tvā mātantu manasā śvena (TB *mahasā śvena*) AV TB The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots Cf next

ut satvanām māmakānūm manānsi (TS *mahānsi*) RV SV VS TS Cf prec

dvīṣaddhīyah prati muñcāmi pāsam (HG *pāpam*) SMB ApMB HG

The two words are near-synonyms, *pāsam* is clearly original

upa śreṣṭhā na āśīyah (MS *ākīrah*) AV TS MS KS

panasyuvah satvasaneṣu (SV °*varaneṣu*) *akramuh* RV SV Quasi-synonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'

aśya (AŚ *mama*) *śnuṣā śvaśvarya prasīṣim* (AŚ *pravīṣṭau*) TB AŚ

Complete change of meaning as well as syntax

svāhā tvā sūryarṇya (MS. *vātīya sūr°*) *vṛṣṭivanaye* (MS° *sanaye*)

MS TA ApŚ

CHAPTER XX GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858 There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *th* and *dh*, *t* and *ʃh*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion, it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

§859 The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r*. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *v*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

n and *r*

§860 The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861 We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants

indhāna enam jarate (MS KS *janate*, but MS *p p jarate*, KS *v l jarite*) *svādhih* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB N One ms of KS reads *jarite*, and the *p p* of MS *jarate*, thus is clearly the proper reading

ṛṛṭṭike hana (MahānU *hara*) *me pāpam* TA MahānU Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hṛ* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away')

asadan (TS *asunan*) *mālarani purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB

avmuktacakru (*v l °rā*) *āstran* PG *virṭṭacakrā āsināh* HG ApMB *larī mandrāṇu prayakṣu* AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS Others, §830

tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā MS *mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām* SV *nirṛtho* (MS *°lo*) *yaś ca nirvanah* (AV *°rah*) AV MS TA *ṅalgalūti dhārakā* VS ŚB *ni jalgulīti* (KS † *jalgulīti*, mss, em *°līti*) *dhānikū* TS KSA

deva puraścara saḡhyāsam (MS *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam*, *p p deva, punar it punah, carase*, etc) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ MŚ The text of MS is corrupt in both readings

mū na āyuh param avaram mūnadonah MS *mū nah param udharam* (MŚ *param adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naih* (MŚ *naih*) TA MŚ Two cases, *adhanam adharam*, and *mū rajo mūnudo-* (corrupt)

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *ṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhur evah* RV MS AB KB TB But *r* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*, §684

§862. Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants, note one case in RV itself

viśvāny anyo (RV *KS *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV (both) MS KS TB In different contexts

balivardāya (KSA *°vanūdyā*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Apparently *balivardāya* is intended

ilivardāya (KSA *alivandūya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Follows the prec *gaurīr* (TB TA *gaurī*, AV *gaur in*) *mimūdyā salilāni tukṣāṇi* RV AV TB AA TA N

vidyur (ApMB *vidyun*) *me asya devāh* RV AV KS ApMB See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, xxiv *vidyun* is doubtless a corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*, it is read by all mss and confirmed by the comm, who says that *t* for *visarga* is *chāndasa*! *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form

śīle vāle punann *iva* (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait, most mss of ŚŚ, and v l. of KSA *punarniva*) VS TS MS KSA. ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ

The persistence in the mss of the impossible *punarniva* is striking
ni nīartana vortayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB
 See §273

adyā tvā varān (KS *vardhan*) *surekṇāh* RV KS TB

ukhām sravantīm agadām aganma (MŚ *akarma*) KŚ MŚ

anārbhava mṛda KS ApŚ The ms of KS reads *anārbhava*, em v Schroeder, see p w 5, Nachtrage Cf *anārbho mṛda dhūrte* (read *dhūrta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ See §749

§863. As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agnī* and *agra*. A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV 10 18 7d, *ā rohantu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneh* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire' In the Vedic occurrences of this pāda, which is found also in AV and TA, there is no authority for this change. There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne*. It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agnī* secondary. The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion.

§864. The list is as follows, the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantam (PB *abhīsam*°) TS PB TB PG ApMB - *dhvāntā vātā agnīm* (mss of both *vātāgnīm*) *abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ MG. Clearly *agnīm* is secondary.

agne vikṛu pratīdayat RV *agne vikṛu pratīdayat* TB (Poona ed *agre* without v l, but comm *he agne*)

tubhyam agre (MG *agne*) *pari asāhan* RV AV PG ApMB MG

agre (MS *KS *MŚ *agne*) *bhānī upasām ūrdhvo asihāt* RV. VS TS MS *KS *ŚB ApŚ, and Pratikas AŚ ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Rvidh BṛhD

tenemam agra (TB *agna*) *īha varoasā śamañgdu* KS TB Here, by exception, *agna* (= *agne*) may be the original reading, one accented ms of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended

tavāham nāma bibharāny agne (AŚ *agre*) TS AŚ *tavāham agne bibharāni nāma* MŚ Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading

[*agre* (TB *agne*, but Poona ed text and comm *agre*) *yajñasya śocatah* (KS TB *cetatah*) RV KS TB]

[*agne* (AV. *agre*) *samidham āhārsam* AV Kaus *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed, which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation]

§885. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following

akṣānām vagnum (MS *ṭvagnum*) *upajighnamānah* (MS *avajighram āpah*) MS TB TA The MS is certainly wrong TB comm *upahatam kurvan*

girā ca (AV *virājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharū asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Whitney on AV adopts *śruṣṭih* with most mss, Ppp *śruṣṭas* See §57

ūrdhvacatah (MS KS "śritah) *śrayadhvam* (VS † *śna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Doubtless corruption, if not misprint, see §195

c and v

§886 Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-ṛt* and *vi-ṛt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-ṛt*, 'unloose', also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *hac* and *han*. The others are sporadic

agnim hotāram antarā vicrtāh AŚ *hotāram ugnim antarā vicrtāh* ApŚ 'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicrtāh* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect fac. It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'

ṭasya tantum vīlatam vīrtya (VS *vicrtya*, AV *dr̥ṣe kam*) AV VS TA MahānU The true reading is probably *vicrtya*. So Poona ed of TB text and comm, tho with v l *vīrtya*, comm gloss *guruśāstra-mukhān nīcītya*, which looks as if he had read *vīrtya* and taken it from *vi-ṛ* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

case MahānU reads *vīṛtya* without recorded variant, comm gloss
vṛtī sandīpena sandīpya, which is obscure to us

[*vī pāsam madhyamam cṛta* (TB and MŚ v 1 *vṛta*) RV KS TB MŚ
So Conc, seemingly erroneously, MŚ has *cṛta* without recorded
variant, and Poona ed of TB likewise *cṛta* text and comm with
no v 1]

śabakī prajānām kavīṣṭhā vṛatam (ApŚ *śavīṣṭhā vṛajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā*
PB ApŚ

[*vīryebhir* (MS *vīrebhir*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā kavīṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°)
AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ But Poona ed of TB *śavīṣṭhā*
in text and comm without v 1]

[*devānām devatāmā kavīṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°) MS TB Again Poona ed of
TB *śavi*° without v 1]

vicitī (or *viviṣī*) *svāhā* MahānU *viviṣīyati svāhā* TA TAA There is
also a v 1 *viviṣī* in MahānU The word is meaningless Comm
vicitī, which he does not explain, he quotes also a v 1 *vidhīya*
Poona ed of both TA and TAA *viviṣīyati*, explained by comm as
for *viviṣīyati* by Vedic license

ukrutunulāyu (TAA *cakra*°) *dhīmahi* TA TAA † MahānU

am arvanto raghuḍṛunah (VSK °*drucāh*) RV SV VS VSK MS
Meaningless corruption in VSK

ghṛtapratīkam va (TB *ca*) *ṛtaṣya dhūrṣadam* (TB *dhūruṣ*°, Poona ed
dhūrṣ°) RV TB ApŚ The sandhi shows that TB is secondary
and poor

yutra cābhīṃṣūmasī (HG *vābhī*°) ApMB HG

p and y

§867 A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group

indrāpāsya (two mss *indrāyāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya*
(corrupt, Kirste suggests *vultra āyāsya*) *sepham alīkam* HG

hrīyati śalyakah (VS *śalpakah*) VS MS The p is a false reading, VS
comm *śvāvit*

bṛhaspataye kīṛputah (KSA † *śīmyutah*) TS KSA An otherwise
unknown word, said to be a kind of cat

prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somam vocatopo (KB *vocatō yo*) *asmān*
KB AŚ. SS Read in KB as the others (Keith)

sam bhābhūyām dhimatī (etc., §853) *sam patatrūh* (KS *yajatrūh*) RV
AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

prapūnvanā upa sṛṣṣata prapūnūvadbhya svāhā ApMB *prayunvanā*
upasṛṣṣata prayunūvadbhya svāhā HG Both anomalous forms
and scarcely interpretable

- susasyāh* (VSK °pāh) *kṛṣṭe kṛdhī* VS VSK ŚB KŚ *kṛṣyaḥ tvā susas-*
yāyaḥ (KS *śrumanasyāyaḥ*, bia) TS KS ApŚ With the VSK
reading of *śaspa*
- pūlyāny* (ApMB *kulpāny*) *dvapantikā* AV ApMB The mss of both
texts vary between *lp* and *ly*
- anadvāns tapyate vahan* (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ If MŚ is correct
(it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption
tvam hi rūdhaspata (text °yata, wrongly) *eka īkṣe ŚŚ*
- ubhe ca no* (etc) *anhasah* (°sas) *pātām* (TB Cone *syātām*, Poona ed
anhasah spātām, AŚ text *tanhasa syātām*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
The true reading can only be *anhasah* (or °sas) *pātām*
- [*tanūpū* (TB °yā, Poona ed °pā) *bhṛṣajā sute* VS MS KS TB]
- [*vahīṣthebhīr viharan yāsi* (TB Conc *pāhi*, comm and Poona ed text
yāsi) *tantum* RV TB KS AŚ ApŚ]
- [*tvasṭā turīpo* (TB *turīyo*, Poona ed text and comm °po) *adbhutaḥ* VS
MS KS TB]
- [*ūpataye* (GB *āya*°, Gaastra *ūpa*°) *tvā gṛhṛāmī* VSK TS MS GB
Vait ApŚ MŚ]
- [*varuneti śapānuhe* (MS †°hai, LŚ *śayāmahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Probably a double misprint in LŚ]
- [*vīśvalohasta uta vīśvataspāt* (TA °tah *syāt*, but Poona ed correctly
°taspāt) TS MS KS TA]

gh and dy

- §868 The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent
mā (AG MG *ā*) *tvā prūpann aghūyavah* (MG *adyāyavah*) AG ŚG
ApMB MG The correct reading is *mā aghūyavah* 'Let not
the malicious ones reach thee' It is strange that apparently all
mss of AG MG read *ā* at the beginning, preceded by *anusvāra*
at the end of the preceding pāda (Stenzler assumes *mā*) The
further corruption in MG seems an attempt to patch up a bad
job, it implies *adya-āyavah* 'may lives today reach thee'
- magham* (MS, but not KS †, *madyam*) *indrīya jabhṛire* VS MS KS TB
'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra' Indra's well-known bibulous
habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS, involving the
misreading of *gh* as *dy* Cf next
- sa bibhedu balam* (VS and Poona ed TB *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*)
VS MS KS TB Cf prece
- śatāpīsthādya viśā* (read with Poona ed of both °sthā *gha viśā*) *pari*
no vṛnaktu TB TA . *śarū vāṣṭād dhaviśā vārnah* MS (Poona ed of

TB records v l 'dya, and comm v. l adya) The MS is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *ddh* for *gh*, cf §876, see also §838

pātam mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ (Kauś *aghān nah*, read *adyāhnaḥ*)
TS ApŚ Kauś See §840

[*kevalāgho* (TB *kevalādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm °*lāgho*) *bhavati kevalādī* RV TB N Gloss in TB comm *pāpam eva sampādāyati na tu kimcid api punyam*]

[*sa ghā* (TB *sadyā*, read with Poona ed text and comm *sa ghā*) *no devah savitā sahāvā* (TB *sadyā*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ]

[*yad vā ghā* (TA *vādyā*, but Poona ed *vā ghā*, and comm *vā ghā*) *satyam uta yan na vidma* RV TS MS KS TA There is a v l *vādyā* in TA Poona ed, but gloss in comm (*yad eva kimcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*]

d and v

§869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *dis* and *vis*, both stems always appear in the plural number, cf Wackernagel II 1 p 48, foot These are of course rime words In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *vis* There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*

devānām patnīr (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *disah* (MS KSA *ṛvisah*) VS TS MS KSA The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes' This is the only case of original *dis*, and even it is perhaps not certain

ye vā nūnam svayānāsu vikṣu (AV *dikṣu*) RV AV A v l *vikṣu* occurs in AV, and so Ppp reads

śabvad viśah (TB *disah*) *savitur dāvyasya* RV TB The change in TB was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanānu* in the next pāda

viśām (TB *disām*) *patir abhavat vājīnūvān* MS TB Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *viśām*.

viśo (SV *diso*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Agni is meant.

hṛṣu kratum varuno (MS *varunam*) *vikṣu* (RV *apsu*, MS *dikṣu*) *agnim* RV VS † TS † MS KS ŚB †

apa durhārdiśo jahī Kauś (read *durhārdiśo*, Conc)

ut parjunyasya dhāmabhīh (TS TA ApMB *śuṣṣṣṣa*, MS *dhāmā*, KS *vṛṣṭyā*, PG *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK TS MS KS TA AŚ PG ApMB

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdr̥k* (KS *paramo na samer̥k*) RV VS TS KS MS N *samvr̥k* perhaps 'seizer', certainly inferior

avasphūrjan vidyud (TS *didyud*) *varṣan* . TS MS KS

bhūmir *iti tvābhīpramanvate janāh* AV *yām tvā janō bhūmir* *iti praman-*
dāte VS MS KS ŚB The latter secondary and poor, Mahādhara,
stauh, which the verb can hardly mean

s and m

§870 Here the variants are quite miscellaneous

kr̥ṣyāi tvā susasyāyāi (KS *ṡsumanasāyāi*, bis) TS KS ApŚ Others,
see §867 The original is clearly *susasyāyāi*

agne yān devān ayād tān sasanuṣīm (KS *ms tān samanūṣitr*, ed *em samanūṣitr*) *hotrām* MS KS TB The corrupt ms reading of
KS seems to point towards the reading of MS TB, rather than
towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be
replaced by the other version

pr̥kṣasya (ArS *prak*^o) *vr̥ṣno aruṣasya nū sahuh* (ArS *muhah*) RV ArS
AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh Synonyms

athā jivah (KS *adhā vṡstah*, VS ŚB *athaitam*, AV *adomadam*) *pitum*
(AV *annam*) *addhī prasūtah* (TS MS KS *pramuktah*) AV VS TS
MS KS ŚB

graha vṡsvujanīna nyanantar viprāyāma te (MS *p p viprāya*, *male*, KS
nyantar vipra ā ṡsati) MS KS

yaśasendrābhaspatī (ArS *yaśo mendrā*^o) ArS PG MG

mā brāhmanasya (3c *sā br*^o) *rājanya* AV 5 18 1c, 3c In the Berlin ed
mā is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc
But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic
error

mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (SV *paniṡama*) RV AV SV VS
mahāns te mahato mahimā AV The related words in the context
have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*

vahāns mā (KS *ṡvahānsī sā*) *suktām yatra lokāh* (KS *lokah*) KS TB
Certainly KS is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the
juhū

tvāṡṡ devāh sahamāna vndrah MG *tvāṡṡar devebhī sahasāma indra*
ApMB

nīlagalasā AV *nīlagalamīlah śivah paśya* NīlarU See §512 Some
copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU, thinking of *nīla-gala*
and *māla*

t and n

§871 The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters Our list may be incomplete

sa tvam (ŚŚ ApŚ sarvan) sanim surimucā vimuñca KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ See §830

tan mā jnva (KS mārjitā) TS MS KS See §§354, 829

dhātā vidhātā (MS dhartā vidhartā) paramota samdṛk (KS paramo na samvṛk) RV VS TS MS KS N See §835

yad eṣatḥ jagatḥ yac ca ceṣtatḥ nāmno (MahānU nānyo, v 1 mānyo) bhāgo yan (TAA Poona ed 'yam) nāmne (MahānU yatnān me, v 1 yan nāmne) svāhā TAA MahānU

upa stuhḥ (Poona ed snuhḥ) tam nṛmanām (Poona ed nṛmanām) athadrām TA (Other forms, see §110) The mss of the comm vary between stuhḥ and snuhḥ, glose bhūmanu prusrāvaya, pointing to snuhḥ

yām apītā upatīṣṭhanta āpah LŚ yūm āpinām upasīdanty āpah AV prapīnam (MŚ v 1 °tam, TS ApŚ prapyātam) agne sarirasya (MŚ satīrasya) madhye VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ghṛtum duhānā vīsvataḥ prapītāḥ (TB ApMB prapīnāḥ, AVPPP pravīnāḥ) RV AV VS TB ApMB

āvitta dyāvōpṛthivī ṛtūvrdhau MS KS āmnne dyāvōpṛthivī dhṛtavrate TS TB

āmītau (TS āmnītau) mītrāvarunau dhṛtavratāu (TS °nāv ṛtūvrdhau) VS TS MS KS ŚB Others with āvitta āmnna, see Conc 188.

grāmam sajanāyo ṭgachantī ApMB grāmān sajālayo yanti HG

jāmim utvā mā vīsvi lokān TA jāmim ṛtvā māva patī lokāt AV

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto (°no) , mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno , see §209

savitā bhṛtyām (KS ms † manyām) TS KS See §242

ṣ and p

§872 The variants are few

atho (LŚ ApŚ nir mā) yamasya padbīśāt (VS °vīśāt, LŚ ṭśadvīśāt) RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ See §217

vājīnam śepena VS śeṣo vājīnena MS But MS pp śepah, read certainly śepo

ye lāṭṛṣur (TB lāṭṛṣur) devatrā jehamānāḥ RV AV MS TB AŚ ŚŚ. Kauś 'Thirsted' 'delighted'.

d and *prā*

§873 In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV itself
avo (and *pravo*) *ṛuḥhyuntam vṛṣabham dusbadyum* RV (both)
āsmā akṛnvanu ābāh AV · *prāsmā ābā akṛnvan* TA
dvat tam (TA Conc *prāvartam*, comm *dvartam*, Poona ed text and comm *dvar tam*, so also KS ms) *indrah śacyā dhanantam* RV AV
 SV KS TA

s and *p*, *pt*, *pr*, *bh*, *t*

§874 The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870)

suśimam somasatsaru AV *suśevam somapitvaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS
 MS KS ŚB VāDh See §180 *s* and *p* (*t*)

rasena sam asṛkṣmahī (RV *agasmahī*, KS LŚ *aganmahī*, AV JB *apṛkṣmahī*) RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB
s and *p*

[*āptam manah* TS MS KS TB MŚ ApŚ So read in TB, for which Bibl Ind ed has *āsam*]

śacyutim (AŚ *pracyutim*) *jaghanacyutim* MS TB AŚ Preceded by a *pāda* ending in *śacyutim* (MS *hastacyutim*) Perhaps the AŚ variant (*s pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety)

anugṛāsāś (PB *anugṛābhāś*) *ca vṛtrahan* HV AV PB The original is a nom pl of *an-ugra* PB misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*

yad adya dugdham prthivīm asṛpta (TB ApŚ *usakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB
 TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Again *bh* is secondary to *s*

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*) *yonim ā sidu sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *sv tv*, the latter secondary

gh and *dh* and other similar letters

§875 The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868. The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic

ghānāñgāny apve (SV *ughe*) *parehi* RV AV SV VS N The SV is certainly corrupt, see Benfey's Nachtrage to SV text, p 258. Benfey curiously retains *ughe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apvā gh pu*

- agdhāś eko 'hutāś ekah TS adhvāś eko 'ddhāś eko hutāś ekah MŚ
 ḡdh dho or ddh.
 ima udoāsīkārina ime .. TB ApŚ . imā uddhāśmodrina ime MŚ.
 ddh du
 ruvad dhokṣā (TB nrvadhya 'kṣā) paprathānebhś evaś RV MS AB
 KB. TB. The TB is secondary, ddh dbhy

v and j, ṣ, tr, ḥ

§876 Compare §§866, 869 for v and c, d

- pra vṛṣṭimīnam āvṛṣuh AV. VS ŚŚ pra samhrṣṭinam āvṛṣuh LŚ The
 whole passage is obscure, LŚ doubtless secondary, with j for v
 usāu (VSK usā) etam dhūrṣāhu (VSK MŚ dhūrāhu) VS VSK
 TS ŚB MŚ Others, §122 ṣ v
 [vairāṣī (KSA † °ṣ) puruṣī (so also KSA †, Conc wrongly puruṣī)
 TS KSA]
 [pra yah satrāś (TB sa vāś, but comm and Poona ed text satrāś)
 manasā yayāle (TB °lav, Poona ed text and comm °te) RV TB]
 [śam le pruvāva śiyatām AV śam u prṣṭhāva (read pruvāva with Poona
 ed text and comm, tho v l prṣṭhāva) śiyatām TA]

y and ṣ, th

§877. For y and p see §867, for dy and gh, §868

- rṣvāh satih kavayuh (KSA kavayuh) śumbhamānāh VS TS MS KSA
 See Keith's note on TS While the meaning of kavayuh is quite
 uncertain, kavayuh (found also in some TS mss) is probably only a
 graphic lect fac
 tad aśya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB aśhūm, Poona ed aśyām)
 RV MS AB TB AŚ See §287
 apāmityam (AŚ apām ittham) va sambhara MS KS AŚ The AŚ is
 an absurd graphic blunder
 samiddho agur vṣānāratir (AV °nā rathī, ŚŚ °nā rayir) divah AV AB
 AŚ ŚŚ Here the reverse error, y for th, has occurred in ŚŚ, see
 §93

Miscellaneous

- §878 Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character
 āptye (AV *aprye, *dvṛṣate) sam nayūnari RV AV * The AV comm
 reads āptye for aprye But the variant dvṛṣate suggests that aprye
 must have been known in very early times, and indeed Ppp reads

apriye (Barret, *JAOS* 30 220) The RV says 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya' The AV charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character, with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy' Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *dvigate* would be unintelligible

vāsām vishānānām (KS *vishānyānām*) MS KS *leśām vishpriyānām* (VS ŚB °*nām* vo 'ham) VS TS ŚB *śn(y) pr* Both words are obscure, Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS KS meant the same

prathitrukāyā artanam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB n. l. Possibly phonetic, cf §273

khanyābhyah (KSA *khalyā°*) *svāhā* TS KSA. Von Schroeder suggests reading with TS n l, cf preceding

anarśarātīm (SV *alarśarātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhī* RV SV AV N See §292 n l

śaśvat parikupīlena (HG °*plena*) ApMB HG t l Oldenberg abandons the HG reading

abhī yo na irāyati (AV *no durāyati*) RV AV The AV reading (found also in Ppp as *durāyatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV, which is antiquated and limited to RV *du* :

acīṣyāma (pp *amī*, for *abhī*, *ṣyāma*) *vṛjane vitva ūti* MS *abhī ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavṛh* RV KS c bh (note pp of MS)

CHAPTER XXI SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f (nasal as 'Hiatusilger'), 338 ff and 359 ff (*y* and *v* as 'Hiatusilger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful, not a few new principles have come out of the study.

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prā-tiśākhyaś, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions, and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882 For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notably the case, for instance, with the 'abhivhita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*).

§883 The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*). Next, the 'abhivhita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a*. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages, for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *r*, here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *n*, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual *n*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, hughalized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittiriya school (often also in KS). Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittiriya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *h*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels. After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant, here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ś*). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.

FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

§385. Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhinihita sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit

(a) AV writes *āu* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr 2 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV, AVS shows *ā* for *au* before *u*, Ppp has the regular *āu*.

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner. Thus Maitrāyaṇya and Kāṭhaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr 4 124, for the practice of VS see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr texts, cf. *kṛnūtām tāv adhvārā jātavedasau* MŚ 5 1 3 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of *v* 1. On the other hand, at MŚ 3 5 14c Knauer reads *yatra cūhcutad agnāv evaitat*, without any ms authority, the corrupt mss are closer to *agnā*, the expected form.

(c) Taittirīya texts write *āu* and *au* before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr 10 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a*. But 10 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āu* and *au* should always be written, this is favored by the comm on TPr, and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV, SV (very few instances), and VS—write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āu* and *au* before other vowels. So RPr 129 (2 9) and 135 (2 11), and so VPr 4 125 gives the opinion of 'some' opposed to its own rule 4 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize before *u*-vowels, Tait texts write *āu* and *au*, AV writes *āu* for *au* but *a* for *o*, others *ā* and *a*.

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr texts, KS, and VSK write *ā* and *a*, AV writes *āu* but *a*, all others *āu* and *au*.

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc sing forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf. Wackernagel I §273b, the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

§386. The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following
atvareṣu dvyakṣareṇa (MS KS °rayā) *prānāpānāu* (MS KS °nā) *ud*
ajayātām TS MS KS

asā (ApS *asāu-asāu*) *upahvayasva* ŚŚ ApS

asmākam yonā (ApS *yonāu*) *udare susevāh* MS ApS

smam yañlam yañamāñā (TB. °pāu) *upetam* MS TB
upasthe mātuk surabhā (TS °bhāv) *u loke* RV TS MS KS
ubhā (AV ubhāv) *upānsu prathamā pibāva* RV AV
urīnāsū (TA uru°) *arurpā* (AV TA °pāu) *udumbalāu* (TA ulu°)
 RV AV. TA AŚ

kā (TA kāu, AV VS kim) *ūrū pādā* (TA † pādāv) *ucyete* RV AV VS. TA
 The only exception to the rule in AV Ppp (Barret, JAOS 42
 113) reads *pādāv*, regularly

dāvyaḥ holārāv ūrdhvam (VS MS °rā ūrdhvam, KS *holārordhvam*)
 VS TS MS KS †18 17a In KS the form *holārā*, not °rau, is
 concerned

na yonā (TS yonāv) *uśāsā°* VS TS MS

rakṣohanau (VS ŚB °nau vām) *valagahanā* (TS ApŚ °hanāv) *upa°*
 VS VSK TS KS ŚB ApŚ

syone kṛnudhvam surabhā (TS °bhāv) *u loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§887. The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are

uṣnena vāya (ApMB vāyav) *udakeneti* (with varr) AV SMB ApMB
 AG GG PG

deva viṣṇa (ApŚ viṣṇav) *urū* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

divo vā viṣṇa (TS. viṣṇav) *uta vā pṛthivyāḥ* VS TS KS ŚB *divo viṣṇa*
 etc AV MS

maho vā viṣṇa (AV *maho viṣṇa*) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS viṣṇav *uta vān-*
tarikṣāt) AV VS TS KS ŚB

viṣṇa (TS ApŚ viṣṇav) *urukrama* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

§888 The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are

agnāv (VSK MS KS MŚ *agnā*) *agnis carati pravṛṣṭāḥ* AV VS VSK

TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB, pratika, Vait KŚ Kauś GG

agnīṣomāv (MS KS MŚ °ṣomā) *imani su me* RV TS MS KS TB
 AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚŚ

ajasya nābhāv (MS KS *nābhā*) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV VS TS MS KS

asāv (MS KS MŚ *asā*) *anu mū* MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ

āyur dadhad yañāpatuv (MS KS °tā) *avīhrutam* RV SV ArS VS MS
 KS LŚ ApŚ

imau bhadrav dhuryāv (MS °yū) *abhī* SV MS JB

usrāv etam VS TS ŚB MŚ ApŚ KŚ *usrā etam* VSK KS

In MŚ the rule is violated, no *v* l reported

gōsaphē śakulāv (VSK °lā) *iva* AV VS VSK ŚŚ LŚ

tāv (KS tā) *ehi sam* TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ HG BṛhU *tāv thu*

sam AV *tāv ehi* (MG *tū eva*) *vi* AG ŚG PG MG

tāv eha sam AB.

ātkṛto 'yam asā amuṣyāyanah MS MŚ *adtkṛṣṣāyam brāhmaṇo 'sāu amuṣya* . ApŚ

davyā hotārāgnā (KS AŚ °gna, ŚŚ °rā agna) *ājyasya vīlam* MS KS. AŚ ŚŚ Since ŚŚ, if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule which requires °rāv, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ, or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*, the other texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °rau No v l reported for ŚŚ

nabhas ca nabhasyaś ca vīrṣikāv (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK MS TB ŚB KS

namucāv (VSK MS KS °cā) *āsure sacā* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhāv (MS KS *dadhā*) *idam* TS MS KS But MS p p *dadhe*

ṛttram va pitarāv (VSK MS KS °rā) *āsvinnohā* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ

praiṣṭān sāmudhenir āghārāv ājyabhāgāv (KSA *āghārā ājyabhāgā*) *āśrutam* TS KSA

madhavyau stokāv (MS °kā) *apa tau rarādha* TS MS

muṣkāv (VSK *muṣkā*) *id asyā ejatah* AV VS VSK ŚŚ

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °yiv) *abhūtām* (MS °thām) MS KS † TB ApŚ

yadū carīṣṇū mithunāv (MS °nā) *abhūtām* RV MS N

yo 'sāv (MU 'sā) *āditye puruṣah so 'sāv* (MU 'sā) *aham* VS MU

rādhanāsū sampṛicānāv (MS MŚ °si °nā) *asam* MS ŚB KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

vṛṣṭuh śipivṛṣṭa ṛūrāv (VSK ṛūrā) *āsannah* VS VSK *śipivṛṣṭa ṛūrū āsādyamānāh* KS

sacelasāv (VSK °sā, MS *samokasau sacelaśā*) *arepasau* VS VSK MS ŚB *samokasāv* (KS °sā) *arepasau* TS KS Kauś

samidhe agnāv (VSK MS KS *agnā*) *adhī nāmahānah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

samrājāv (MS °jā) *asya bhuvanasya rājathah* RV MS

sarasvatīm āsvnāv (VSK MS KS °nā) *indram agnim* VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB

sahas ca sahasyaś ca haṃantikāv (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvutam* (MS °nā *ihāgatam*) MS TB TA

ṛtena sthūnāv (MG *ṛtena sthūnā*) *adhī* . ApMB HG MG

lena (TB *lato*) *no mitrāvarunā* (MS °nā) *aviṣam* (TB *avi*°) RV. MS.
TB

madhuś ca mādhas ca vāsantikāu (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS
MS KS ŚB

vignūvarunā (TB °nāv) *abhisastiprā* (TB °pā *vīm*) MS TB

yāu (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad* AV TS MS KS

agnim see yonāu (VSK MS KS *yonā*) *abhār ukhā* VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

ahāv (MS KS *ahā*) *anadattā hale* AV TS MS KS

ā tusthāv (VSK MS KS *tusthā*) *amṛtam dū* RV VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

indravāhāv (KS °hā) *ṛbhavo vājaratnāh* RV KS

mitrāvarunāu (VSK °nā, MS *indrāvarunā*) *algābhyām* VS VSK MS

vāsantikāu (KS *ime vās*°, MS KS °tikā) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāh* VS MS
KS TB

śaśirāv (MS °rā, KS *ime śaśirā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāh* TS MS KS ŚB

ṛṣāś corjās ca śaradāv (VSK MS KS °dā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS
ŚB

ubhā dātārāv (VSK MS KS °rā) *ṛṣām rayīnām* RV VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

ko nu vīm mitrāvarunāv (MS °nu) *ṛtūyan* RV MS KB ŚB

tapaś ca tapasyāś ca śaśirāv (VSK MS KS °rā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

devī uṛṣāv (VSK MS °śā) *astinā* VS VSK MS TB

daiivyāv (VSK °yā) *adhvaryū ā gutam* VS VSK ŚŚ

dhanasātāv (VSK MS KS °tā) *ihāvatū* VS VSK TS MS KS

praharṣino (KS *ms °nam*, *ed em*) *madirusya made mṛṣṣāv* (KS
°sā) *astu* KS ApŚ

mahāntāv (MS °tā) *indrāvarunā mahāvarū* RV MS

yojñasya pakṣā (TS °śāv) *ṛjago bhavanā* TS MS KS

yat pṛthivyām yad urāv (VSK MS KS *urā*) *antarikṣe* VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

yā (AV *omits*) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS † °bhū) *āyatāyām* AV KS TB

yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāśāt sapatnāh (TS °varunāv *abhidāśāt*) TS MS

imau (Kauś *gau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatrīnau*
(VSK TS † KS °nāh) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

rājñāh samitāv (VSK MS KS °tā) *iva* RV VS VSK TS MS KS

vāyava ārohanavādhō (KSA °hā) *anadvāhau* TS KSA

venubhāram girāv (KSA *girā*) *iva* TS KSA TB

bacyā hart dhanutarāv (KS °rā) *atāṣṭa* RV KS

bukraś ca śuciś ca graiṣṃāu (VSK MS KS °mā) ṛtū VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

śūdrāryāu (VSK MS KS °yā) asṛjyetaṃ VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāu (VSK °nyā) [ahorātre] VS VSK

sam yāu apnatha (MS yā apnatho) apaseva janān RV MS

sajoṣasāu (VSK °sā) āśvinā danoobhīh VS VSK ŚB

sahasasā (RV also °sām) medhusātāu (VSK °lā) iva tmanā RV (bis)

VSK KB (Thus RV repetition is omitted in RVRep)

somāruḍrāu (MS °drā) iha su mṛdalam nah RV AV MS

stauṃ devāu (MS KS devā) atvinau nāthito johanīmi TS MS KS

hatāghaśansā (TB °śān) ābhuradvasū MS KS TB

hatāghaśansāu (VSK °sā) ābhārṣāṃ vasu vāryāni VS VSK TB

hemantakṣīrāu (VSK MS KS °rā) ṛtū (TS ṛtūnām) VS VSK TS MS

KS ŚB

hotārāu (VSK MS °rā) indram āśvini VS VSK MS TB

hotārāu (VSK MS KS °rā) indram prathamī suvācā VS VSK MS KS

TB

§889 The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are

ubhayebhyah pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau (VSK gaviṣṭau) RV VS VSK

kunt su no gaviṣṭaye (MS KS gaviṣṭaye) RV SV TS MS KS AB

AŚ ApŚ

ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau (VSK gaviṣṭau) RV VS VSK AB KB

eko bahūnām asi manyav īditah (AV manya īditā) HV AV

tam tvā ghṛtasnav (VSK °snu) imah RV SV VSK ŚB

tava vāyav (VSK vāya) ṛtaspatē RV VS VSK ŚB

niyudbhn vāyav (VSK vāya) ā gahī RV ArŚ VS VSK

niyudbhir vāyav (VSK MS KS vāya) iṣṭaye durone RV VS VSK TS

MS KS

niyudbhir (AV viyugbhir) vāyav (AV VSK MS vāya) iha AV VS

VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

matrāvarunanya camasīdhvāryav (MŚ °ya) ādrava (ehī) TS ŚB KŚ

ApŚ MŚ

vācā te viṣṇav (KS viṣṇa) āsa ā kṛnomi RV SV TS KS AŚ

vy astabhnā (etc., §137) rodasī viṣṇav (VSK MS KS viṣṇa) ete RV VS

VSK MS KS ŚB TA

sahasah sūnav (MS KS sūna) āhuta RV TS MS KS

§890 In the following *o* of voc sing is retained without change

sa no mayobhūh pīto (AŚ ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] pītav) āvīśasva

(AŚ āvīśaha) TS TB AŚ ŚG PG SMB

tāsv adhvarāyav ādhāve° ŚŚ tāsv adhvarāyo indrāya AB AŚ

bṛhaspatīśulasya ta (MS *tā*, KS omits) *inda* (MS KS *inda*) *indri°*
 TS MS KS *bṛhaspatīśulasya deva soma ta inda indri°* VSK

INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

§891 In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (*abhinihita*), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a*. On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p. 324, the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

§892 On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the Prātiśākhya give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (*ṛkṣu*).

§893 Early statements in western grammars add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text'.

§894 Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV instances, that

(a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight.

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, I c, p. 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven.

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten, except that at the beginning of a *pāda* in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five.

§895 If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f., Wackernagel I p. 325.

General practice of Vedic texts

§896 Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out, perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts, while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

Evidence of the variants

§898 In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*, whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases.

in the AV, and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr 138 (2 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position.

§899 Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms *a* written and *a* elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV, mentioned in §894. Thus in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases, the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases, the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV are very few (only 5), in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

Metrical passages

§901 The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants, it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902 When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV, written 21 times, omitted 4, AV 25 to 12, TS 19 to 7, MS 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS (10 to 6) and KS (20 to 16). SV forms a striking exception, among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers, they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV school much more than in the others). While the SV and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV itself 21 to 4).

§903 When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904 Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

Prose passages

§905 In the prose variants the school texts of SV show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittiriya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced).

Table of final a written or omitted after e and o

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted.

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
SV	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāj school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
TB	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tait school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items)

so *adhvarān* (AV Kauś 'dhvarān) *sa ṛtūn kalpayāti* RV AV TS MS
KS ŚB Kauś

anumate 'nu (KapS † *anu*) *manyaśva na idam* (AV 'nu *idam manyaśva*)
AṢ KS KapS (quoted in note to KS) *anumate 'nu manyaśva*
(prose) GG KhG HG ApG

nir amum bhaja yo 'mitro asya TB *nṛṣṭam bhaja yo amitro asya* AV
tatra śrīṣṭiye 'ja ekapādah AV † 13 1 6 *tasmitā chīṣṭiye aja ekapāt* TB
leṣām yo aṣṭānim (PG 'yṣṭānim) *aṣṭānim āvahāt* (SMB Conc *aṣṭānim*
āvahāt, but Jorgensen as other texts) TS SMB PG BDh

ṛco akṣare (NṛpU 'kṣare) *parame vyoman* RV AV GB TB TA ŚvetU
NṛpU N

yaśmāy jāto na paro 'nyo (ŚŚ *anyo*) *astī* JB ŚŚ *yaśmād anyo na paro astī*
jālah PB *yaśmān na jālah paro anyo astī* (NṛpU 'stī) VS TB
ApŚ MshānU NṛpU

ye ugnayah (TS KS TB ApŚ 'gnayah) *samanasah* (KS adds *na:clanah*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ

tam tvā vīśve avantu (AV 'vantu) *devāh* AV ApMB HG A very poor
pāda but intended for *trīṣṭubh*

- yo 'syēse dvīpado yaś catuspadah AV ya īse asya (MS KS *īse yo asya)
dvīpadoś catuspadah RV VS TS MS KS (both)
- vaśvōdnaro aṅgīrasām (AV 'ṅgī°, AŚ aṅgīrobhyah) AV · AŚ ŚŚ
kucih kukre ahany ojasīnd (MS ahann ojasīne, KS †ukro ahany ojasye,
AŚ 'hany ojasīnām) TS MS KS AŚ
- rūryo ahobhir (KS rūryo [misprint] 'hobhir) anu tvāvatu KS TB
so asmān (MŚ asmān) adhipatiṅ karotu TS MŚ so 'smān adhipatiṅ
kṛnotu ŚŚ
- svām tanvam (TS TB tanvam) varuno 'suṣot (TS TB abisret) TS MS
KS TB It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS KS
reading to an anuṣṭubh
- agnir ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhīh MS ugnir amṛto abhavad vayobhīh (KS
saḥobhīh) RV VS TS KS ŚB ApMB
- na tā urvā renukakāto aśnute (AV 'śnute) RV AV KS TB AŚ Many
AV mss read aśnute
- adhī bruvantu te 'vantu (TS TB ApŚ avantu) asmān RV AV VS TS
MS KS TB ApŚ
- anīkair dveṣo ardaya (ŚŚ 'rdaya) MS ŚŚ
- annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB 'smāsu) dhātta (MS ApŚ dheṭi) VS MS
KS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ
- anyam te asman (NṛpU 'smān) ni vapantu senāh RV TS NṛpU
anyo- 'nyo (Vait -anyo) bhavati varno asya TB Vait
avūstyo apo (TB 'po) achā samudram RV MS KS TB
- pra varlaya dīvo usmānam (AV 'smānam, v 1 aś°) indra RV AV
prothad aśvo na yanase 'viṣyan (TS aviṣyan) RV SV VS TS MS KS
ŚB
- namo astu (MŚ 'stu) parāyale AV MŚ
- prāñco agāma (TA prāñjo 'gāmā) nṛlaye hasāya RV AV TA
- payo grheṣu payo 'stu tan nah MŚ payo vateṣu payo astu tan mayi
AB TB AŚ ApŚ
- ye agnayah pāñcajanyaḥ (MŚ purīṣinah) VS ŚB MŚ ye 'gnayah
purīṣyāḥ (KS °ṣinah) TS KS ApŚ JUB
- dhātā samudro apa (AG 'va) hanṭu pāpam AG PG dh° sa° abhayam
kṛnotu MG
- śiśū kṛīdanṭau pari yāto udhvaram (AV arnavam, and 'rnavam) RV AV
MS TB
- namo astu (VS ŚB KŚ PG NīlarU 'stu) sarpebhyah RVKh VS TS
MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ PG ApMB HG MG NīlarU
- ye 'do (MS ami) rocane divah RVKh TS MS ApMB
- yo asyāḥ pṛthivyās tvaci TB ApŚ yo 'syāḥ (so all mss but one, and so
Conc, but ed † asyāḥ) pṛthivyā adhi tvaci MŚ

- yo nah svo* (AV *svo yo*) *aranah* (SV 'ranah) RV SV AV AG ŚG
Oldenberg, *Proleg* 40, thinks of inserting *yo* in RV, tho he fails to
note that AV reads *so*
- varśvānaro adabdhas* (AV *no adabdhas*, TA *me 'dabdhas*, MS ApŚ
'dabdhas) *tanūpāh* AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB
- ko ambūdalate* (AŚ 'mbā°) *dadat* MS AŚ
- mayā so annam* (AV 'nnam) *atli yo vipaśyati* RV AV
- indra vājeṣu no 'va* (TB *ava*, KS *vaha*) RV AV SV ArS MS KS TB
- yad vā me api* (LŚ 'pi, Vait *apa*) *gachati* AŚ Vait LŚ
- ye agnayo divo ye pṛthivyāh* MS ApŚ MŚ *ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntarikṣāt*
KS (wrongly printed as prose in ed.)
- ye agnidagdā ye anagnidagdāh* (TB Poonā ed † 'nagni°, so v 1 of AV)
RV AV TB AŚ *ye agniśvātā ye 'nagniśvātāh* (VS *anagni°*)
VS TB ApŚ
- sā tvam asy amo 'ham* (ŚB BrhU PG *amo aham*, ApMB *amūham*,
MG *āpy amo 'ham*) KS JUB ŚB BrhU AG ŚG PG ApMB
MG *sa tvam asy amo 'ham* AB
- kikasābhyo anūhyāt* (ApMB 'nū°) RV AV ApMB
- te asmat* (TS 'smat) *pāśān pra muñcanti enasah* (TS *añhasah*) AV TS
- divo antebhyas* (KS 'nte°) *pari* RV SV KS
- yo adya* (PB 'dya) *saumyo* (AV *senyo*) *vadhah* AV PB AŚ —Ppp
'dya acc to Roth
- vyāghro vaiyāghre adhi* (TB 'dhi) KS TB *vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre* AV
ye anneṣu (VS KS 'neṣu) *vividhyanti* VS TS MS KS
- varṣiṣṭhe adhi* (KS 'dhi) *nāke* TS KS TB
- rōjā me prāno amṛtam* (TB 'mṛtam) VS + MS KS TB
- idam* (KS *ā mā*) *varco* (AŚ *rādho*) *agninā* (KS 'gninā) *dattam āgāt* (AV
āgan, KS *etu*) AV MS KS TB AŚ
- vṛṣṭyamāno 'vṛṇā* (AV *av°*) *somam* RV AV TB
- śulolaye 'dhimūṣāhe* (PG *adhī°*) TS KS MŚ SMB PG
- kṛvāno* (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS KS ApŚ † *anyān*, MS *anyan*, KŚ †
'nyān) *adharān sapatnān* AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ
- śṛnvanti* (PB °tv) *āpo adha* (PB 'dhah) *kṣarantīh* RV PB
- so adhvarā* (AB 'dhvarā karati) *jātavedāh* AB ŚB Cadenced prose, cf
kṛnotu so
- annapate 'nnasya* (MS KS MŚ MG *an°*) *no dehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB ApŚ MŚ PrānāḡU AG ŚG MG SMB Intended for
triṣṭubh
- ayam yo asya yasya ta idam śirah* MŚ *ayam yo 'si yasya ta idam śirah*
KS ApŚ

[*yo aśya kauṣṭhya jagatah* MŚ *yo 'śya kauṣṭhya* (KS °*ṭha*) *ja*° KS TA ApŚ So Conc, but Van Gelder's ed reads 'śya for MŚ without v 1]

[*anamitram no* (VSK *me*) *adharāk* (AV °*rāt*) AV VSK † KS Conc 'dharāk for VSK]

[*brhaspate abhīstaster* (AV ed 'bhi°) *amuñcah* AV VS TS MS KS TAA But read *abhī*° in AV, see Whitney's note]

§908 In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided *namo 'stu* (TS KS *astu*) *nīlagrīvāyu* (NilarU *nīlāṅkhandāya*) VS TS KS NilarU BṛhPDh

viśvasmarī bhūtāya dhruvo (TS ApŚ *bhūtāyādhuvo*) *astu* (TS 'si, MŚ † 'stu) *devāh* (TS omits) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ye apsu śudānsi (KS 'psu sa°) *cakrīre* MS KS

ye te 'ryamān (KS *arya*°) *bahavo devayānāh* TS MS KS † 10 1.4a

vājīnām vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān VSK *vājīnām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ

yo 'gnim (AŚ *agnim*) *hotīram arthāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ †

jālavato maruto adbhīs (1H 'dbhi:) *tamayitvā* TB ApŚ

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

aghorebhyo 'tha (MS *atha*) *ghorebhyah* MS TA MahānU

yās ca devyo artān abhito tatantha SMB *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (mss *tatantha*) MG See §63 The meter is poor in any case

§909 We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written), or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions

anv adya no anumatiḥ (AV Kauś 'nu°) AV MS ŚŚ MŚ Kauś

yān agnayo anvatapyanta (TS 'nva°) *dhīṣnyāh* AV TS MS

ye asmin (KS 'smīn) *mahaty arnate* MS KS MŚ

jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat AV *jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat* HG

jyok śrotre 'dhi (HG *adhi*) *jāgarat* AV HG

antarikṣe adhy (TS KS 'dhy) *āsute* TS MS KS MŚ

sarvābhyo abhayam (TB 'bhayam) *karat* RV AV TB N

garbho aśy (MS 'śy) *ośadhīnām* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait —Ppp

also 'śy (Barret JAOS 48 38)

- tanvo adya* (MS 'dya) *dadhātu me* AV MS
vasanto asyāsīd (VS 'syāsīd) *āyam* RV AV VS TA The meter of VS
 (with *āyam*) seems easier
- salyam it tan na tvān* (MS 'van) *anyo asti* (MS 'ati) RV MS KS TB
 The meter of MS (*tvān*?) is inferior
- ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV *yo armān abhyaghāyati* AV
ūrubhyām te aśthwadbhyaṁ (ApMB 'sthī°) RV AV ApMB
te asmā agnayo (MS 'ye, v l 'yo) *dravinam dattvā* MS ApS *te 'smā*
agnaye dravināni dattvā KS The meter of MS ApS is very poor
- svaśam no abhi* (KS 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KS
svaśam no 'bhi vasyo nayanu KS MS
- sūryāyā udho 'dityā* (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, KS *aditer*) *upasthe* VSK
 TS KS ŚS KŚ
- eko vo devo apy* (AV 'py) *atīṣṭhat* AV MS *eko devo apy atīṣṭhat* TS KS
 Only MS is certainly inconsistent (a written but not pronounced)
- bheṣajam gave 'śvāya* (MS *āsvāya*) VS TS MS ŚB LŚ *bheṣajam*
gave 'śvāya puruṣāya KS In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya*
 to this pāda makes the elision of a better metrically
- mā va eno anyakṛtam bhujema* RV *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema*
 KS In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation
 are consistent
- tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante* VS ŚB (a not pronounced) *tām*
dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta MS (*kavayo* looks like a secondary
 intrusion, cf KS in next form, without it *a-nu*° would have to be
 pronounced) *tām dhīrāso anudīśya* (VSK 'dīśya) *yajante* (KS
anudīśyāyajanta kavayah) VSK TS KS TB (a pronounced)
- anyāns te asman* (KS *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāh* MS KS Both writings
 are metrical VS TS have *anyam asman niva*° *tāh*, which is
 inferior to both MS and KS
- yad vāto apo* (MS MS 'pu) *aganigan* (TS KSA ApS *agamai*) VS TS
 MS KSA ApS MS Writing and pronunciation are consistent
 in all texts except VS, where one of the initial a's must be omitted
 in reading, tho both are written
- yo agnau rudro yo apsu antah* AV (intended for *triṣṭubh*, reading *agnau*,
apsu, and perhaps *rud-r-o*, but more likely a syllable short) *yo*
'gnau rudro yo 'psu antah ŚirasU (meant for *anuṣṭubh*, 'gnau,
 'psu) *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MS *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣu*
 TS ApS MS (*triṣṭubh*, 'gnau, 'psu inconsistent with the writing
 of TS ApS) *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct
 Conc) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspatiṣu* KS (writing and pronunciation
 consistent)

so *asmān pātu sarvatah AV* so 'smān pātu (prose) TS

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53

abhayam vo 'bhayam nu astu (AB AŚ me 'stu) AB AŚ ŚŚ abhayam me astu (AB † 'stu) AB ApŚ

iṣe rāye (ApŚ rayyai) dyumnāyorje (VS ŚB † dyumna ūrje) 'patyāya (VS † ŚB † apa°, TB † patyāya, ApŚ °yorjapatyāya) VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ

ellāni te aghnye (PB 'ghnye) nāmāni TS PB ellā te aghnye nāmāni VS ŚB MŚ In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table, the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or *'ghnye*)

vīvarlo aśṭacatvāriṅśah (MS 'ṣṭā°) MS KS vīvarlo 'ṣṭā° VS TS ŚB yo 'smān (MS MŚ asmān) dveṣṭi yam (AV adds ca) vayam dviṣmah AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU KBU JUB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś HG BDh This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr school, with *'smān* in all others, if the editions are to be trusted. For other formulas containing it see the Conc under it, and also *tam abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc, *agne yut te tapas (tejas, 'rcis, śocis, haras)* etc, *tasya nūmni vṛścāmi* etc, *ny uham tam mṛdyāsam yo tasmān (ApŚ 'smān)* etc MS ApŚ † 6 18 2, *abhy uham tam bhūyāsam* etc, *prāham tam atibhūyāsam (ApŚ †abhi°)* etc, *vy asau yo* etc, *durmitrās* (or the like) etc

devānām tvā patnīr devīr sadhasṭhe aṅgirasvud (TS 'ṅi°) VS TS MS KS ŚB The same with *aditiṣ (tvā (°tis tvā), dhiyanān tvā, varūtrayo* (etc), *gnās tvā*

ākūtyai prayiye 'gnaye (MS KS agnaye) svāhā VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The same with *medhūyai manaye, saramatyai pūṣne, and dikṣāyai tapase*

agneh (also, *indrasya, viśveṣām devānām) priyam pātho 'pīhi (TS apīhi) VS 8 50, VSK 8 22 4, TS ŚB 11 5 9 12*

yo matasyā diśo abhidāsāt (five formulas) MS *agnim* (also, *indram, mitrāvarunau, komam) sa (TB sa diśām devatānām) rchatu yo matasyai (KS °syū) diśo 'bhidāsati KS TB ApŚ*

namo agrīyāya (VS KS 'gryāya, MS 'grīyāya) VS TS MS KS *namo agrevadhāya (MS KS 'gre°) VS MS TS KS*

namo aparasadbhyuh (PB and v 1 of MŚ 'para°) PB MŚ

namo 'śvebhyo (TS aś°) 'śvapatibhyas ca VS TS † MS KS

namas te astu (PB JB LŚ SMB 'stu) VS TS MS KS AB PB JB

- tam* (KS † *tat*) *tvendragruha saha yan me 'sti* (ApŚ *asti*) *tena* KS
 ApŚ *tam tvā pra viśāmi saha yan me 'sti tena* AV
- diśo abhy abhūd ayam* MS KS MŚ *diśo 'bhy ayam rājūbhūt* TS TB
 Semblance of meter, perhaps to be classed with metrical variants
antimitraś (TS *antiyami*^o) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS 'mitraś) *ca ganah* VS
 TS MS KS
- ardho achetah* (TS ApŚ 'chetah) VS TS KS ApŚ Ed of KS 'chetah,
 but the sole ms *aśchetah*
- apāgne agnim* (TS MS TB MŚ ApŚ 'gnim) *āmādam jahī* VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
- apsu dhautasya yo aśvasanī* (KS 'śva^o) MS KS *yo*
bhākṣo aśvasanīr TS
- aśvibhyām tirohnyānām* (MŚ *tirohnyānām*) *somānām anubrūhī* ApŚ
 MŚ Also *tirohnyān* (MŚ *asvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān pras-*
thitān preṣya ApŚ MŚ
- ūrdhva adhvare āsthāt* (VS ŚB 'dhvare āsthāt, KS 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ
adhvare sthāt) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
- āpo devīr agreṣu agreṣu* TS TB *devīr āpo 'greguṣu 'grenāyo*
 MS MŚ *devīr āpo agreṣvāh preman* KS
- ye devāh parāśaulo* (so also TS, for which Conc † *parah*^o) 'gninetrā
 (MS *agni*^o) TS MS KS BDh
- dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrmatī* VS TS ŚB TB *dhvare dhvarantam yo*
asmār, dhvarāt MS
- agnīr le 'gram* TS *agnīṣ te agram* MŚ
- somū 'smākam* (KS *asm*^o) *brāhminānām rājā* VS VSK TS MS KS
 ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ
- svadhā pīṭrbhyo 'ntarīkṣasadbhyaḥ* (AV *antar*^o, GG † 'ntarī^o) AV ApŚ
 MŚ GG HG
- yo asmi sa asmi* AV *yo 'smī sa san yaje* MS KS AB *yo 'ham asmi sa*
san yaje TB ApŚ
- tutho vo viśvavedā vibhajatu varṣiṣṭhe adhi* (KS 'dhi) *nāke* TS MS
 KS
- nirasto ughaśansah* (ApŚ 'gha^o) KS ApŚ
- [*deva narūsanso 'gnau* (ŚŚ † 'gnā) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ ŚŚ
 Conc quotes *agnā* for ŚŚ]
- [*yenu turyena brahmanā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās* JB *yena rūpena*
prajāpataye †'vāpathās (Conc *ava*^o) KS]

§911 Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and initial *a* occur among the variants. For a single case of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338. In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*, but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple.

ve ā (SV *wayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV A loc in RV is replaced by an instr in SV, with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājatah* RV AV Followed by *ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV AV The verse is mystic and obscure. If the AV text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*, so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV reading, but keeps the AV reading in the second.

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc we would seem to have a single similar case of *av* for *o* before *a*

dyāvāpṛthivī uro antarikṣa VS VSK MS KS ŚB, the Conc quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK. But the actual text is *urv*. If the text as printed (with *antarikṣa*, not *°kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā° urv antarikṣam* AV TS

SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *r*

§913. The variants indicate the following school tendencies. Rig-vedic and Vājasaneyin texts write *a-r* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*. This is prescribed by RPr 136 (2 11) and VPr 4 48 (which gives *a-r* for *ā-r* and makes no reference to *a-r*, implying no change).

§914. Taittiriya texts and KS write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*, as prescribed by TPr 10 8. So does LŚ in the single variant noted.

§915. The rule of APr 3 46 is like that of TPr, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r*. But the mss of AV, according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *r* is not followed by a sibilant, when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-r* (because of *svarabhakti*, Whitney on APr 1 101). There are exceptions in the mss, and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc) agrees thruout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss, namely, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-r*. Both Vait and Kauś sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows, the instances recorded are few.

§916. *Maitrāyaṇīya* texts regularly write *ā-ṛ* and *a-ṛ* without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*, so in one variant, see *yad didayac* (°*yañ*) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *ṛ* in MS, these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919 *yatrā ṛṣayo jagmuh* and *yend ṛṣayas tapasā*. There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-ṛ* in MS.

savitre tvarbhūmate (VS ŚB *tva ṛbhū°*, MS *tvarbhū°*) VS MS ŚB TA. This sandhi is unique among the MS variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss read *svarbhū°*, but p p *tva, ṛbhū°*. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267aα, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *ṛ*-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS, attention will be called to them as they occur.

§918. The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *ṛ*.
savitre tvarbhūmate (VS ŚB *tva ṛbhū°*, MS *tvarbhū°*) VS MS ŚB

TA. See §916.

yad didayac chavasa (MS °*yañ chavasa*, TS °*sā*) *ṛtaprajāta* (KS *chav-asarta°*) RV VS TS MS KS AB. This is the only case in which MS shortens *ā* to *a*, see §916. The TS reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kandikā*, which always suspends all sandhi, it is no real exception to the Tait. practice.

dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha ṛtuh (TS KSA *tathartuh*, MŚ *tathā ṛtuh*) RV VS TS KSA MŚ

agnihvebhyaḥ (MS *agnihvarebhyaḥ*) *tvarṛtubhya[h]* (MS *tva ṛtā°*) TS MS KS

yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*) RV AV

yatha ṛtava (AV TA *yathartava*) *ṛtubhir yant: sādhu* (AV *sākam*, TA *klptāh*) RV AV TA

svāha ṛṣabham (MS *svihā ṛṣ°*, TB *svāharṣ°*) VS MS TB

vśvakarma ṛṣih (MS °*mā ṛṣih*, KS °*marṣih*) VS MS KS ŚB

tapasarṣayah (MahānU °*saṛṣayah*) *svavar* (TB, *svar*) *aravavindan* TB TA MahānU. The MahānU reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pān 6.1.128.

yaḡo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih AV *yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmih satya-*
dharmā TS MS KS Here only AV has this sandhu, the other texts
stand for *rathas* plus *ṛju*^o Note, however, that the meter favors
the pronunciation *ratharju*^o, with double crasis, even in the YV
texts

[*śivādḥika rudro maharṣih* (TA Conc *maharṣih*, but Poona ed correctly
maharṣih) TA MahānU]

§919 The rest are cases of short *a* followed by *r*

yatra ṛṣayo (MS *yatrā* *r*^o, KS *yatrar*^o) *jagmuh* VS MS KS ŚB

On the MS forms of this and the next cf §916

yena ṛṣayas (MS MŚ *yenā* *r*^o, TS KS ApŚ *yenar*^o) *tapusā* VS

TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ KS MŚ Cf prec

yatrarṣayah (Kauś *yatra* *ṛṣ*^o) *pruthamaḡā ye* (Kauś ^o*ḡāh*, om *ye*) *purā-*
nāh TS TB ApŚ Kauś

śāradena (also, *śaiśirena*, *vasantena*, *hemantena*) *ṛtunā* (KS TB ^o*nar-*
tunā) VS MS KS TB KŚ

ṛtuṣṭhī (MS ^o*āh*, KS ^o*ās*) *stha ṛtūṛdhah* (KS *sthartūṛdhah*) VS MS
KS ŚB

ṛtava (KS ^o*vas*) *stha ṛtūṛdhah* (KS † *sthartā*^o) VS KS ŚB *ṛtusthā*
sthartūṛdhah TS

medhām sapta ṛṣayo (ApMB *saptar*^o) *daduh* ApMB RVKh But
Scheftelowitz reads *saptarṣayo* also in RVKh

svāhākr̥tanya sam u ṛpnūti ṛbhavah (TB [so Poona ed] ApŚ *ṛpnū-*
tarbhavah) RV TB ApŚ

brāhmanam adya ṛdhyāsam (KS *udyardh*^o) MS KS MŚ

tasya ṛksāmīny (TS KS *tasyark*^o) VS TS MS KS ŚB

tām adya ṛṣa ūṛṣeya ṛṣinām (KS † TB *adyarṣa ūṛṣeyarṣinām*) VS

MS KS TB

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB *avartyai tvadhā*^o, so Poona ed)
VS TB

yathāham bharata ṛyabha (ŚŚ *bharatarṣ*^o) AB ŚŚ The only irregular
case in ŚŚ or any RV text among the variants No *v* / *l* is
recorded

yebhyo na ṛte (TS KS *narte*) *pavate dhāma kimcana* VS TS MS KS ŚB

varunasya ṛtasadanam (KS ^o*ṣyurta*) *asi* VS KS ŚB

varunasya ṛtasadany (ApŚ ^o*ṣyurta*) *asi* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

ṛṛṅyasya savunasya ṛbhumatō (ApŚ ^o*nasyarbhū*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ

tenarṣinā (MS AŚ *tena ṛṣinā*) TS MS TB AŚ ApŚ

bruta ṛṣim (TB *śrutarṣim*) *ugram abhimātiṣāham* RV MS TB

śivo me saptarṣin (KŚ MŚ *sapta ṛṣin*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ Note

ar in Vait even before a sibilant, cf §915

- satyaś* (VS *śukraś*) *ca ṛtapāś* (TS KS *carta*^o) *cātyanhāh* VS TS MS KS
saptarṣayah (VS MS *sapta ṛ*^o) *sapta dhāma pṛyāni* VS TS MS KS
 TB In TS 1 5 3 2b *sapta ṛṣ*^o is read without sandhi merely
 because a *kandikā* ends here, it is no real exception to the rule
sapta ṛṣayo (TS KS *saptar*^o) *'ṛjyanta* VS TS MS KS ŚB
saptarṣīnām (ApŚ Kauś *saptar*^o) *sukṛtām yatra lokah* Vait KŚ MŚ
 ApŚ Kauś Note *ar* in Kauś even before a sibilant (one ms *ar*),
 cf §915
saptarṣīn (ApŚ *saptarṣīn*) *jīva* ApŚ KŚ
upahūtā dhenuh (ŚB *gāvah*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB ^o*bhah*, AŚ ŚŚ † *saharṣabhā*)
 TS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Irregular sandhi in ŚB
upa mā (AŚ ŚŚ *nām*) *ihenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ *saharṣ*^o) TB
 AŚ ŚŚ
indrartubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhvīnah TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhubhir brahmanā*
samvādīnah ŚŚ
indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhīh (KS *saharṣ*^o) RV AV KS ApMB In ApMB
 we must certainly read *saharṣibhīh* with four mss, in accord with
 Tait usage, Winternutz prints *saha ṛ*^o with only one ms
upa ṛṣabhasya (TB LŚ *uparṣ*^o) *retasī* (AV *yad retah*) RV AV TB LŚ
indrāya ṛṣabhena VS *indrāyarṣabhenaḥvibhyāni sarasvatyaḥ* TB
ṛnān no narnam ertsumīnah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnāva it samānah* TA
nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamūnah MS Only AV has this sandhi
 (*na, ṛnam*), the others *nas, ṛ-*
yatrā sapta ṛṣīn (TS KS *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekaṁ āhuh* RV VS TS
 MS KS N
yathauka ṛṣīr (KS ^o*kurṣīr*) *vijānate* KS TA ApŚ Only KS has this
 sandhi, the others *eka(h) ṛṣīr*, two words

SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

§920 On this subject the variants throw little new light. School tendencies are seldom discernible, when they do seem to appear, other known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence.

I Final *n* before initial vowels

§921 All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre-historically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny*. These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics, they hardly belong in this place.

1 Final *ān* before vowels

§922 The Prātiśākhya in general (RPr 284 [4 26], VPr 3 141, APr 2 27) make *anusvāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions, Whitney's note says that AV more often retains *n* TPr 9 20-24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization, Whitney's note (p 225) states that TS retains *n* five times out of six

§923 Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS show *anusvāra* more often than *n*, but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr texts and KS show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr texts, when they change *n* to *anusvāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *ā* to *a*, cf Schroeder, MS, Einleitung, p XXIX. When this shortening of *ā* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s*-aorists (only one of the last)

§924 The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are:

agnis tān (MS † *tān*, KS † *tān*, TS TA *agnis tān*) *agre pra* AV TS
MS KS TA The same with *vāyus* (AV † *tān*)

agne devān (MS *devān*, ŚG *devān*) *ihā vaha* RV AV SV VS TS MS
KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG The isolated form of ŚG is suspicious
(misprint or error?)

aty anyān (VS ŚB *anyān*) *agām nānyān* (VS ŚB *nānyān*) *upāgām*
VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ ApŚ

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS twice † *°nān*, TS twice † *°nān*,
once *°nān*) *indro me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā* RV SV TS VS MS KS

idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ MŚ *idāvāsmān anu vastām vratena*
AV

unnayāmi svān (MS *svān*, AV *svān*) *aḥam* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
TA

etat tvam deva soma devān (TS KS ApŚ *devān*) *upāgāh* VS KS TS
ŚB ApŚ *devān upāvṛtuh* MS

kṛvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS KS ApŚ † *anyān*, KŚ *'nyān*) *adharān*
sapatnān AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ

jambhyas (KS *°yebhis*) *taskarān* (KS *°rān*) *uta* VS TS KS *jambhā-*
bhyām taskaran (p p *°rān*) *uta* MS

pureḍasān (MŚ *°sān*, GB Vait *°sān*) *alamkuru* TS GB ŚB Vait
KS. ApŚ MŚ

- mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt* TS *ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat* MS
maiso asmān avahāya parāgāt KS
- yān* (AV TS MS KS Vait *yān*) *āvaha uśatu deva devān* AV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB KŚ Vait
- yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta* AV *yās ca devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān* etc
 ApMB SMB HG *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān* etc MG
- rakṣohāmītrān* (VS °trān) *apabādhamānah* RV AV SV VS TS MS
 KS
- vājo devān* (MS KS *devān*) *ṛtubhik kalpayati* VB TS MS KS
- sarvān* (MS °van) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*) TS MS
 AV *śvān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV
- sarvān apa yajāmasi* Kauś *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS † TB TAA ApŚ
so asmān (MŚ *asmān*) *adhīpatīn karotu* TS MŚ *so 'smān adhīpatīn*
kṛnotu ŚŚ
- ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV
- §925 Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following
- agnih pravivān* (MS °van, KS °vān) *iha tal* MS KS ApŚ
- idāvān* (MS °vān) *eṣo asura prajāvān* RV TS MS KS
- iṣṭo yajño bhrgubhir āsīrvān* (ApŚ °vān) *atharvabhik* KS ApŚ
- cikītrān* (MŚ °vān) *anu manyatām* TS KS MS
- pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti* RV *pumān enad vayaty udgṛnatti* AV
- visalyo vīnavān* (TS MS KS *bā*°, MS °van, v 1 °vān, KS NilarU
 °vān) *uta* VS TS MS KS NilarU
- payasvān* (TS TB ApMB °vān) *agna āgamam* AV VS TS MS KS
 JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB
- pra yo jajñe vidvān* (AV *vidvān*) *asya bandhum* (AV °dhuh) AV TS KS
haviṣmān (KS °mān) *astu sūryah* VS TS MS KS ŚB
- [*adha tvīṣimān abhy ojasā* RV SV † (Conc *tvīṣimān* for SV)]
- §926 We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form
- savitā jyotir ud ayān* (KS *ayān*, MS *ayan*) *ajasram* RV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB

2 Final *in* and *ūn* before vowels

§927 For this sandhi RPr 289 (4 29) requires *īnr*, *ūnr*. The other Prs allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than RV. See APr 2 29 and Whitney's note, TPr 9 20 and Whitney's note, VPr 3 140. The variants include very few cases, not enough to justify deductions.

sarvān (MS °van) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*) TS MS
 AB *śvān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV

padā pañītr (SV *pañin*) *arādhasah* RV SV AV

ṛtūnr (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj* RV AV MS TB

ṛtūn (AV *ṛtūnr*) *ulstjate vāsi* AV SV TB AŚ ŚŚ

[*tiro bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS [°]*yaṅs*) *trīnr ula dyūn* RV TS MS KS AŚ

In this variant the printed text of MS reads *trīnr*, with nasal consonant *n*, instead of *trīnr*. This reading, which the Conc ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīnr*]

3 Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems

asmīn brahmany asmīn karmany AV *asmīn brahmany asmīn kṣutre*
(ŚŚ adds [°]*smīn karmany*) KS ŚŚ *asmīn brahmann . asmīn*
karmann (PG *karmany*) TS ApŚ PG *te nah pāntv asmīn*
brahmany asyām purodhūyām asmīn karmany MS

ātman (IŚU [°]*ny*) *evānupaśyati* VS IŚU

śucīh śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*,
AŚ [°]*hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ

[*divye dhāmann* (once [°]*ny* acc to Conc) *upahūtah* (once [°]*tā*) TB (both)
But Poona ed *dhāmann* both times]

[*trīye dhāmany abhy* (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *urayanta* VS TS MahānU
So Conc, but TA MahānU both have *dhāmāny*, acc plur]

One isolated case concerning verb forms

ajany aṅnir hotā (ApŚ *ajann aṅnīh*) KS ApŚ See VV I p 51

II Final *n* before initial consonants

§929 Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV

1 Final *n* before *c*

§930 RPr 228 (4 4) requires *n̄*, but numerous exceptions are mentioned, cf 293f (4 32) VPr 3 133 and APr 2 26 require *n̄s*, and so does TPr 5 20f, with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APr 1 c says that this rule is universally followed in the ruse and text of AV, a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV be excluded from consideration (the Pr in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant. The variants are

aciktuvāñ (AV °vāñ) *ciktuṣas cid atra* RV AV
anadvāñs (TS °vāñ) *ca me* VS TS KS *dhenuṣ cānadvāñs ca* MS MŚ
asmāñs (RV KS *asmāñ*) *cakre mānyasya medhā* RV MS KS Most
 mse of MS *asmāñ* (with dental *n*), v 1 of KS *asmāñs*
ghoṣendmivāñs cātayata (PB °mivāñ *cātayadhvam*) TB PB ApŚ
tām arayanṣ candramarī svadhābhīh MS KS *yām arayanṣ* (TS °yañ)
 etc VS TS ŚB
mahah pitum papivāñ (AV 20, °vāñ) *cārv annā* RV AV
vajrīñ (AV 20, SV *vajrīñ*) *citrābhīr ūtibhīh* RV AV SV MS
asmāñ (SV *asmāñ*) *citrābhīr avatād ubhiṣṭibhīh* RV SV

2 Final *n* before *t*

§931. The usage fluctuates here also RPr 295 (4 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done. So also TPr 6 14. In the few variants found, the RV and TS schools, and KS, generally keep the nasal unchanged. On the other hand APr 2 26 and VPr 3 134 require *ns*, tho both allow exceptions. The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith, and Maitr texts seem also to favor *ns*. But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive. Besides the writings *n* and *ns*, a couple of cases of *n* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below, probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*.

§932. The following variants occur,

agnir āyusmāñ sa varaspatībhīr āyusmāñ (PG KS °māñs) *tenu* (KS *tasyā*) TS KS PG ApMB (in the last with punctuation after *āyusmāñ*)
atmans (KS *asman*) *te kṣut* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
ihava san tatra sato vo agnayah TB *ihava san* (MŚ *sans*) *tatra santam tvagne* TB AŚ MŚ
tasmin (Vait MŚ °mīñs) *tad eno* RV TAA Vait MŚ
tisro bhūmīr dhārajan (MS °yañs) *trīur* (MS text †*trīur*) *ula dyūn* RV TS MS KS AŚ
paśūñs (RV *paśūñ*) *tāñs cakre vāyanyāñ* RV AV VS TA
pūṣuñ (ŚB TB *pūṣans*) *tava vrate vāyam* RV AV VS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
śarman (MS *śarmans*) *te syāma* MS KS TA *tava syāma śarmans trivarūtho* VS *tava syām śarman trivarūtho* TS
dhaman (AG *dhāman*) *te māvam* RV VS KS AŚ ApŚ AG ŚG
brahmañs (MS KS *brahmāñs*) *tvam* (MŚ *tvam me*) *brahmāñs* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ *brahmāñs* (TB °māñs) *tvam rājan brahmāñs* TS TB ApŚ (in the last with punctuation after *brahmāñs*)

[*brahman twam ari* MahānU, acc to Conc *brahman* etc in TA, but the Poona ed. of TA reads *brahman*]

3 Final *n* before *j*

§933 The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ*. This is prescribed by the Prātiśākhya: RPr 228 (4 4), APr 2 11, TPr 5 24, VPr 4 92. For *ñ* the spelling *n̄* occurs very commonly in mss of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV mss, according to Whitney (note to APr 1 c), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed., Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ*. We find, in fact, *n* in all the AV variants, and also in SV in the two variants recorded there. (But in ArS once *ñ*.) Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above.

§934 The variants from VS and ŚB, following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ*. Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear, his note on VPr 1 c (*ISt* 4 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss follow the Prātiśākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss keep dental *n*, if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS and ŚB on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm on VPr 4 92 quotes as an example of the rule *nyam vijāñ jayatu*, VS 5 37, which Weber prints *nājāñ*.

§935 According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maṭr school text is MŚ 1 6 3 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *grhāñ jugupatam yuvam* with a majority of his mss, but against that which he regards as the best, its reading is *grhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS passage according to Von Schroeder —KS usually reads *ñ*, but once *n* (*yat te asmīn* etc, below). Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *n̄* (cf. above).

§936 The following are the variants

udyā devāñ (VS *devān*) *jugatamo hi gumyāñ* RV VS TS KSA
ahinś ca sarvāñ (TS KS *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS °ya) VS TS MS KS
āyusmāñ (PG ApMB °māñ, RVKh VS °mān) *jaradaṣṭir* RVKh
 AV VS AG PG ApMB Scheftelowitz reads *āyusmān* for
 RVKh. The mss of PG have corruptly *āyusyam*.

- kam aḡaṅ* (AV *aḡaṅ*) *janayopanaḥ* RV AV N
garbhah samjdyasae punah MS *garbhe saṅ* (VS ŚB *san*, KS *san-*) *j^o p^o*
 RV VS TS KS ŚB
- lam arcisḡ sphūrjayaṅ* (AV *°yan*) *jātavedaḥ* RV AV
tvam elāṅ (AV *elāṅ*) *janarājño dvr daśa* RV AV
te asmin (TS KS *asmiṅ*) *javam ādadhuḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB
devān (RV TB *devāṅ*) *jigāti sumnayaḥ* RV MS ŚB TB
paśyaṅ (AV *°yaṅ*) *janmāni sūrya* RV AV ArS N
pitṛṅ (KŚ *pitṛn*) *jinva* TS KS PB Vait KŚ ApŚ *ojasā pitṛbhyah*
pitṛn jinva MS
- prajāḥ kṛtvan janayan virūpāḥ* MS *prajā vikṛtvaṅ* (ApŚ *vikurvaṅ*)
janayan virūpam (ApŚ *°pāḥ*) KS ApŚ
praty ajātān (AV *°tāṅ*, TS KS TA *°tāṅ*) *jātavedo nudasva* AV VS
 VSK TS MS KS TA
- māre asman maghavaṅ* (SV *°vaṅ*) *jyok kaḥ* RV SV
yaḥ te asmin ghoru āsan juhomī KS *yad ādya te ghora āsan juhomī* MS
yasyās te ghora āsan ju^o VS ŚB *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsaṅ ju^o* TS
 ApŚ Exception in KS
- yāns* (TA Poona ed *†yās*) *te soma prānāṅs tān* (Poona ed *tān*, MahānU
tāṅ) *juhomī* TA MahānU
- vibhrājaṅ* (AV SV *°jan*) *jyotiḡḡ svah* RV AV SV
vṛtrāni vṛtrahaṅ (AV *°han*) *jahi* RV AV
satyāṅṛte avapaśyaṅ (AV *°yan*, MS *°yan*) *janānām* RV AV TS MS
 ApMB This is quoted by APr 2 11 as an example of *ṅ* before *j*
suptarṣiṅ (KŚ *saptarṣin*) *jinva* KŚ ApŚ
 [ḡhān (MŚ *ḡhāṅ*, read *ḡhān*, see above, §935) *juḡupalam yuvam* MS
 MŚ]

4 Final *n* before *ś*

§937 Before *ś*, the regular sandhi of *n* requires *ṅ*, which however is often written *n*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV and AV. The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*). But in the single variant noted from the YV Saṁhitāś, TS alone has this regular *ṅ-ch*, MS and VS keep *ś* unchanged, MS writing *ṅ* before it and VS *ṅ*, the sole ms of KSA reads like VS, but von Schroeder emended to *ṅ-ch* in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr 4 94. We begin with this variant.

ādityāṅ chmaśrubbhiḥ (VS and ms of KSA *°tyāṅ śma^o*, MS *°tyāṅ śma^o*)
 VS TS MS KSA.

asmiñ (AV *asmiñ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV AV
tām nah pūṣaṅ chivatamām erayasva HG *tām pūṣaṅ* (AV *pūṣaṅ*)
chi° RV AV ApMB
divi ṣaṅ (AV *ṣaṅ*, SV *saṅ*) *chakra ātatah* RV AV SV
maghavaṅ (AV SV PB TB Conc °*van*, TB Poona ed °*vaṅ*) *chaḡdhi*
 RV AV SV PB TB TA ApŚ MahānU
yācchreṣṭhābhīr maghavaṅ chūra juva RV *yācchreṣṭhābhīr maghavan*
chūra AV
yat le rājaṅ (AG *rājaṅ*) *chṛtam huvih* RV AG ŚG
rūro na ruruḱvāṅ (SV °*vāṅ*) *chatātīnā* RV SV
parārciṣā mūradevāṅ (AV °*vāṅ*) *chṛnihi* RV AV
pratyañcam arkam anayaṅ (AV °*yaṅ*) *chacībhih* RV AV
satam hemantāṅ (AV °*tāṅ*) *chatam u vasantān* RV AV N

5 Final *n* before *s*

§938 Before *s*, the insertion of *l* after final *n* is required by APr 2 9 and TPr 5 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr 236 (4 6), of the divergent views recorded in VPr 4 14f. It is quite common in all texts, likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *n* before *s*. Cf. Wackernagel I §282. The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *l* in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*, most of them concern *saṅ sam*, in the latter case the preposition *saṃ* being felt as involved.

brahman (LŚ * *brahman*) *stoṣyāmah praśāstah* KB GB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
 Vait LŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ

śasavān saṅ (MS *saṃ*) *stūyase* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. The pp of MS *saṅ*, all *saṃ*h mss *saṃ*. The other texts all actually read *saṅ*, except KS *saṅ*.

pumānsam vardhatām mayi ŚG (Conc says that this is an error for *pumān samvar°*, but the text is correct, see §97) *pumān sam-
 vartatām mayi* PG

jihvā pavitrām abivāṣaṅ (TB °*vāṣaṅ*) *saramatī* VS MS KS TB

§939 To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a complete list—in which *l* is alternatively added after final *n* before *s*:
pratyaṅ (VS TS MS,† SB * TB *pratyaṅ*) *somo atidrutah* (with var)
 AV VS VSK MS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ. Poona ed of TB
pratyaṅ

prāṅ (VS. TB *prāṅ*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK ŚB TB ApŚ. Again Poona ed of TB *prāṅ*.

6 Final *n* before *p*

§940 The only cases noted concern *n̄ṛṇṣ* or *n̄ṛṇh* for *n̄ṛn*, since this variation really concerns final *s* before *k* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965

7 Final *n* before *k*

§941 Only a single case has been noted, AV writes *jayam* (*jayan*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc would read *jayan*. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography *samjayan* (AV ed *jayam*) *kṣetrān* AV TS MS KS KŚ

8 Final *n* before *y*

§942 See RPr 287 (4 28), VPr 3 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d *dadhanvān* (MS KS °*vān*, VS ŚB TB °*vā*) *yo narīyo apsu andar ā* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB

9 Final *n* before *l*

§943 Two variants

agnis t̄an (VS *t̄an*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudātṛy* (etc) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB *agnis t̄an asmāt* AV MŚ Inconsistent with RPr 227 (4 4) and Wackernagel I §231b, the VS reading also inconsistent with VPr 4 13, which requires nasalized *l*. Cf further APr 2 35, TPr 5 26 A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities and was probably pronounced in all texts

eṣa me 'muṣṣmīn (GB 'muṣṣmīn, Gastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB GB † 2 5 8

[*viṣṇus tryakṣarena trīn lokān* (VSK *trīn imān lokān*, TS † *trīn lokān*) VS VSK TS]

10 Final *n* before *v*

§944 One variant

puru tvā dāśvān (SV *dāśvān*) *voce* RV SV N Cf RPr 287 (4 28), APr 2 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d

CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *n*

§945 The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *ṇ* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change, and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *n*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable, one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittirīya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles

§947. (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics, or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-*. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to *n*, while Taittirīya texts generally alter to *n*, but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants

§948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final *r*, Taittirīya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV and MS, which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *n*, and yet, as we have said, Tait. texts generally favor lingualization

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r*

• *svar na* (TS ApŚ *svar na*) *gharmah* (ApŚ * *gharma*) *svāhā* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ. The same with *jyotiḥ*, *śukrah*, *sūryah*, *arkah*, all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.) Only TS has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ)

svar na (TS *svar na*) *jyotiḥ* RV SV VS TS MS KS

asya sutasya svar na (AŚ ŚŚ *ṇa*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

dātṛ na (MS MŚ *nā*) *ūrjān* AV MS Vait MŚ

anuttam ā te maghavan nakṛ nu (MS *nu*) RV VS MS KS. The mss of MS read corruptly *nakṛnu*, p p *nakṛh*, *tu*

vṛtratūr no (TB *no*) MS TB (two variants in the same passage)

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word

pra no naya vasyo acha RV *pra no naya praturam vasyo acha* RV

pra na (SV MS PB *na*) *dyūṅṇi* RV AV SV VS TS VSK MS.

KS PB TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N

- pra na* (SV *na*) *indo* RV SV
pra nah (SV *nah*) *pīnva* RV SV
pra nu (TA ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no*, read *nu*) *vocam cikituṣe jundya*
 RV TA SMB ApMB Kauś PG HG MG Jorgensen reads
nu for SMB, but with *v* 1 *nu*, which should undoubtedly be read
 in accord with the usage of SV texts
pra no (also, *no*) *jāyantām mihundni rūpaśah* Kauś (both)
pra no (TS † JUB *no*) *jīvātave suva* VS. TS KS ŚB MŚ JUB Conc
 wrongly *no* for TS 5 5 7 5 Note JUB *no*, contrary to SV usage
pra no (TB *no*) *navyebhīḥ* RV MS KS TB
pra no (AV TS *no*) *yachatu aryamā* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
pra no (AV TS *no*) *yacha* (KS *rāva*) *viśaspate* (AV *viśam*°, TS
bhuvā°, VS ŚB *sahasrajit*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
parainān (AV °*nān*) *devah savitā dadātu* RV AV
pari nah (SV *nah*) *śarmayantyā* RV SV
pari no (SV *no*) *aśvam aśvavit* RV SV
pari no (VS MS *no*) *rudrasya* VS TS MS KS TB *pari no hetī*
rudrasya RV VSK *pari no hedo* RV
ataś cid indra na (SV *na*) *upa* RV SV ŚŚ
indru enam (KS *enam*) *prathamo adhyatīṣṭhat* RV VS TS KS
indra enam (AV *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV TB ApŚ
sam indra no (AV MS KS Kauś *no*) *manasā* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB ŚŚ KŚ Kauś
sumitrā (etc) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA
 MahāU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDI ApŚ KŚ MŚ
uruyā° *no* (MS *no*) *aghāyatah samasmāt* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ N
tebhīḥ (RV also *tena*) *somābhī* (TA °*bhī*) *rakṣa nah* (TA *nah*) RV
 (b.1) TA
śikṣā no (TS *no*) RV AV VS TS KS AB Note that TS per-
 versely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency
devh (AV *dar*°, KS *trayī*) *ṣud urvīr uru nah* (only RV *nah*, AV *ed*
nah, but read *nah*, see Whitney's note, KS † *na*) *kṛnōta* RV AV TS
 KS ApMB
asthūri nau gārhapatyam MS KS *layor* (ApŚ *layor nāv*) *asthūri*
 (MŚ °*ri nau*) *gārh*° ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *asthūri nau gārhapat-*
tyāni Kauś *asthūri nau* (VSK *no*, ŚŚ *no*) *gārhapatyāni*
 VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ *asthūri no* (TS TB *no*, KS *nau*, MŚ [van
 Gelder] †*nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* RV TS MS KS TB MŚ In
 the first-quoted version, the two best mss of MS read *nau*, in
 accord with MS usage, but the MŚ form of it (*layor* etc) has *nau*
 according to all Knauer's mss

§951 (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV just as in simple words Wackernagel I §170

§952 We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n-* compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions, Wackernagel I §169). When SV shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*, and the *n* of *nāsatyā* is twice lingualized, once in VS and once in MS (I despite the tendency of MS to avoid lingualization)

abhi pra nonumo (SV *no*^o) RV SV SV

abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) RV SV

tvām abhi pra nonumah (SV *no*^o) RV SV KB

pra nāmāni (TS *nā*^o) RV TS MS KS

athainam jarimā nayet HG *yathainam jarase nayūt* AV

tas mād vār nāma (TS *nāma*) AV TS MS KS

gomad ū su nāsatyū (VS *nā*^o) RV VS AŚ

nāsatyū (MS *nā*^o) *bhīṣajākṛnā* VS MS TB Preceded in all by

bhīṣaṇ, which may be meant for part of this *pāda*

punar āgāh punarṇava (AV *ṇava*, and *ṇavah*) RV AV (bis)

uṣṭro ghr̥nīvān vārdhr̥nāsas (MS *ghr̥nīvān vārdhr̥nāsas*) VS MS

gr̥dhr̥n̄h̄ kṛtikakṣī vārdhr̥nāsas (KS *ms vārdhr̥nāsas*, ed em *vārdhr̥*^o)

TS KSA

sahasranīthah (SV *nīthah*) *padavīh kavīnām* RV SV

§953 Of the rest, in which *n* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases

sādhyebhyaś carmanam (VS *ṁnam*) VS VSK TB The form *ṁna* occurs in RV

agne deva punibhir vīyumānah (MS MŚ *ṇah*, VS ŚB *guhyamānah*)

KS *ūhyamānah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ TB

abhūr āpīnām (HG *ṇām*, v l *ṇām*) ApMB HG

dyuladyubhir namasyair iyānā MS *mitajīubhir namasyair iyānā* RV

devāśrih śrīmanāh (VSK TS *ṇāh*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

agneh purīṣavāhanah (MS *purīṣya*^o, VS + ŚB † *vāhanah*) VS TS MS

KS ŚB

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi, in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *n* dental
suṣumnah (TS N °*nah*) *sūryarakṣmih* VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS
 N there is thought of the simple *sumnah*

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound, in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized
amṛnmayam (ApŚ *amṛn*°) TB ApŚ

FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *t*

§956 On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules RPr 349 requires *ṣ* regularly before *tvā* and *te* (but cf 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr 2 84, 85 also makes *ṣ* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions, according to Whitney, *ṣ* is commoner in AV. VPr 3 75, 76 (cf 79ff) likewise makes *ṣ* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr 6 5 allows the change to *ṣ* in only a few specified cases.

§956 Wackernagel I §286b says that the change to *ṣ* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh. kennen solches *ṣ* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen'. This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV shows *y* for RV *s*, not before pronouns. These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns.

dhanuṣ tanvanti (RV *dhanuṣ ta*°) *paunṣyam* RV SV
uṣā apa swaṣuṣ tamah (SV *ṣwaṣuṣ tamah*) RV AV SV AŚ

§957 All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns. (Cf *agneṣ tvā tejasā sūryasya* MG, to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows *agneṣ tejasā sūryasya* MS KS AB TB TA.) They show that the schools of RV, AV, VS, and TS follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhya to their respective Samhitās. To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV, and that is exceptional in showing *s*, but the RV school texts show 12 cases of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*. AV shows 4 of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*, and its school texts 3 to 0. VS has 17 to 2, and other Vāj. texts (incl VSK) 22 to 1. TS, on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases). This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s*, but KS also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ṣ*. SV itself has

only one instance (of *ṣ*), and its school texts have 2 of each MS is as unanimous for *ṣ* as TS is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ and MG) Summarizing the schools of RV, AV, VS, and MS regularly write *ṣ*, that of TS always, and KS usually, *s*, the variants from SV are indecise

§958 There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns

- antur-antus* *ṣe* (TS. KS ApŚ °*ntus* *te*) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS. TS MS
 KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ
agnis *te* 'gram (MŚ *agnis* *ṣe* *agram*) TS MŚ
agnis *ṣe* *tanvam* MŚ *agnis* *te* *tanvam* (KS *tanvam*) TS KS TB
 ApŚ *agnis* *ṣe* *tvacam* VS ŚB KŚ
agnis *ṣe* *tejo* AŚ MŚ *agnis* *te* *tejo* TS TB JB ApŚ
agnis *ṣe* (TS *agnis* *te*) 'dhipatiḥ VS TS MS KS ŚB
agnis *ṣvābhi* (TS *agnis* *tvā*°) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB
agnis *tvā* (TS KS *agnis* *tvā*) *śrīndtu* VS TS MS KS ŚB
agnis *tvā* (MS *agnis* *ṣvā*) *hvayati* TS MS KS TB
agnis *ṣtan agre* MS *agnis* *ṣan* (AV *ṣan*, TS TA [but not KS ṣ]
agnis *tān*) *agre* AV TS KS TA
agnes *ṣvā* (KS ApŚ *agnes* *tvā*) *tejasā sādāyāmi* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
 KŚ MŚ
agnes *ṣvā* (TS KS *agnes* *tvā*) *mātrayā* TS MS KS MŚ
agnes *ṣvāsyaena* (TS ApŚ *agnes* *tvā*°) VŚ VSK TS GB ŚB KB
 ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ
aditis *ṣe* (TS KS TA ApŚ °*tis* *te*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ
 KŚ MŚ
aditis *ṣvā* (TS KS ApŚ [but not MŚ ṣ] °*tis* *tvā*) VS TS MS KS
 ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ
avatatya dhanus *ṣvam* (TS KS NilarU °*nus* *tvam*) VS TS MS KS
 MŚ NilarU
gopāya mā (V&Dh *mām*) *śevadhīte* *te* (N °*dhiṣ* *ṣe*) V&Dh VIdh N
tābhiṣ *ṣvam* (KS TA *tābhiṣ* *tvam*) *ubhayābhiḥ samvidānah* MS KS TA
tebhiṣ *ṣvam* *putram janāya* ŚG *tāis* *tvam* *putram* (*putrān*) *vindasva*
 AV ApMB
dyaus *ṣvā* (ŚŚ *dyaus* *te*) *pṛthā pṛthivī māā* AV ŚŚ
prajāpatiṣ *ṣvā* *sādāyatu* VS ŚB MS MŚ *prajāpatis* *tvā* *sā*°
 TS TB TA ApŚ KS
prajāpates *tvā* (MŚ °*tes* *ṣvā*) *prānena* TB ApŚ MŚ
prabhas *te* (SV °*bhoṣ* *ṣe*) *ṣtatah* RV SV
bahis *te* (AV KS *bahis* *ṣe*) *astu* AV TS KS ApŚ
brhaspates *ṣvā* (TS TB °*tes* *tvā*) . VS VSK TS ŚB TB

brhaspatiḥ tvā (TS KS ApŚ °*tiḥ tvā*) *sumne* VS TS MS KS ŚB
ApŚ MŚ

brhaspatiḥ tvā (SMB HG °*tiḥ tvā*) *niyunaktu* AG ŚG SMB HG
MG

brhaspatiḥ tvā (TA °*tiḥ tvā*) *vāvatr* MS TA

brhaspatiḥ tvā (TS ApŚ °*tiḥ tvā*) *sādayatu* TS MS ApŚ MŚ

brhaspatiḥ tvopasīdatu (TA ApŚ °*tiḥ tvā*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ

manoḥ tvā MS KŚ MŚ *manon tvā* KS TB ApŚ

varūtrīḥ tvā VS ŚB *varūtrīḥ tvā* KS

vāyus tātān (MŚ *ṣun*, KS *tātān*, TS TA *vāyus tātān*) *agre* AV TS KS
TA MŚ

vāyus te (TS *vāyus te*) *'dhipatih* VS TS MS

vāyus te (TS *vāyus te*) *vājryaṇ* TS KSA

vāyus tvābhīpātu (TS *vāyus tvā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

śivebhīr arcabhiḥ tvam (TS °*bhis tvam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

savitus tvā (AG ŚG °*tuḥ tvā*) *pranava* VS ŚB KŚ AG ŚG

svadhitiḥ te (ŚG °*tiḥ te*) *pitā* VS ŚG ApMB

FINAL S BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

§969 Here the rules of the Prāṭisākhya (RPr 260 [4 14] ff, APr 2 62ff, TPr 8 23-35, VPr 3 10f, 20ff, especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus in compounds *s* (or *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *h* (or *upadhmanīya* and *jihvāmūliya*). But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule.

§960 European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf Macdonell 78 2, c). Wackernagel I §286c, β, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an *āmredita* compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible.

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an *āmredita*, and very few others concerning compounds. They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words, but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately. The sole *āmredita* noted is the following:

paruṣah-paruṣas (KS *paruṣas-paruṣas*, TS TA MahānU *paruṣah-paruṣah*) *pari* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA MahānU. Note that in the VS and MS schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases, and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the Prātiśākhya, namely we find *h* in the prior member, *s* in the last member VPr 3 36 mentions this as an exception, likewise TPr 8 33, which states that *h* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *ṣ* or *dh*, covers the case, this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences

§982 The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*)

sādyaskṛtī ApMB *sadyahkṛtī* ŚG

śociṣkeśam (MS * *śocih*^o) *purupriya* RV VS TS MS (both) KS

upahūto bhūyasī haviṣkarane (MS *havih*^o, but *p p haviṣ*^o) MS AŚ ŚŚ

bhūyasī haviṣkarana upahūtah (TB * *lā*) TS TB ŚB

āyukṛd āyuhpatnī ApŚ *āyusṣkṛd āyuspatnī* AV

§983. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the Prātiśākhya, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *h*. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The Taittirīya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *h*, especially after *a*-vowels, but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyaṇīya school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *h* after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ś</i> (dental)
RV	7	9	3	12	
RV school	5	12	1	2	
SV	5	4	3	2	
SV school	1	3	1	3	
AV	4	7	1	8	
AV school	0	4	0	1	
VS	3	15	5	7	
VS school	3	16	4	8	
TS	21	2	2	4	
TS school	24	7	16	6	2
MS	6	15	10	5	1
MS school	2	2	5	1	1
KS	9	9	5	7	1
Others	0	2	0	1	

	After a-vowels		After non-a-vowels		
	h	s	h	r	s (dental)
Total RV school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS school	45	98	38	57	3

1 The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

§964 Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittirīyas, the latter is nearly unanimous for *h*. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f), the following occur

somah (SV *somas*) *pati rayinām* RV AV SV
sa no divā sa riśah (VS MS *riśus*) *pūtu naktam* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS TB

śam nas (RV *nah*) *karato asvinā* RV TB ApŚ

manyāśai śam cu nas (TS *nah*) *kṛdhī* VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N

devih (d*ai*vih) *śad uru nah* (*nah*) *kṛnotu* RV AV TS ApMB

trayīś śad uru śnas kṛ° KS

uru kṣayāya nas (TS *nah*) *kṛdhī* RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

AŚ ŚŚ

varivas (RV °*vah*) *kṛnvan* RV SV

ayam no agnir varivas (TS KS AŚ ApŚ °*vah*) *kṛnotu* VS TS MS KS

ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

urvī roḍasī varivas (TS KS °*vah*) kṛ° TS MS KS

divah (VS *divas*) *parjanyaḍ* VS TS MS KS

divah pṛthwyḍh pary antarikṣāt TS KS TB ApŚ *divas* etc RV AV

MS

divah pṛthwyḍh pary oja udbhṛtam VS TS KSA *divas* etc RV AV

Vait Kauś

divah pṛṣṭham svar (*suvar*) TS MS KS *divas* etc AV VS ŚB

divas (SV *divah*) *pṛṣṭham adhi* RV SV

divas (SV *divah*) *pṛṣṭhāny* AV SV

divah (RV *divas*) *pṛṣṭham* (PB °*the*) . RV PB TA ApŚ

abhi priyā divas padā (SV *divah kavih*) RV SV

agne tvam sūktavāg divas (TS TB *divah*) *pṛthwyoh* TS (fragment)

MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

parameṣṭhi tvā sādāyatu divah (VS ŚB *divas*) *prāṣṭhe*. VS TS MS
KS ŚB ApŚ

ṣrñihī vsvatah prati RV †*ṣrñāhī vsvatas pari* SV Add to VV I §275
gīrir na vsvatas (SV °*lah*) *prthuh* RV AV SV

yathā nah śreyasas (TS °*sah*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

yathā no vasyasas (TS °*sah*, LŚ *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB
LŚ

vśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah (VS † ŚB PG † °*bhyas*, MS *darṣṭrābhyas*)

pāhi (TS TB *pāta*, PG *paripāhi*) VS TS MS ŚB TB
TA PG

yeṣām apru sadas (TS ApMB *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS TS ŚB NīlarU
ApMB † 2 17 6c

mitrās (RV *mitrah*) *pānty adruhah* RV SV

prthivyāh sampṛcas (TS TB ApŚ °*cah*, VS ŚB *sampṛcas*) *pāhi* VS
TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ AŚ

nānā hi vām devahitam sadas (TB ApŚ *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS MS KS
AB ŚB TB ApŚ AŚ

diva oṣadhayas (TS °*yah*) *pari* RV VS TS MS

ubhe ca no (etc) *anhasah* (MS ŚB † AŚ °*sas*) *pātām* (TB Conc
syātām, Poona ed *arṥhasah spātām*!, AŚ text, †*arṥhasa syātām*)
MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

indrah (ŚŚ *indras*) *patis* AV AA ŚŚ

idāyās (ApŚ *idāyāh*) *padam* AV AŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB Vait Kauś
apah (TS TB ApŚ *apas*) *pinva* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ

MŚ Note the perverseness of the Tait texts in reading *s*, contrary
to their usual rule, against all other texts!

agne trātar ṛtas (SV *ṛtah*) *kavh* RV SV

pūṣādhvanah (VS KS ŚB °*nas*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

prānasya tvā tanuvah (MS *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS TA

praitu brahmanas (MŚ °*nah*) *patnī* TS ApŚ MŚ

ṣan morvir arṥhasas (ŚŚ °*sah*) *pāntu* ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

2 The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

§965 Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be
a larger element of chance. In general, however, *ṣ* prevails. The
dominance of *h* in the Tait school is less marked, TS itself has only
half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ*. More
curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of
cases is not very large) that the Maitr school this time favors *h*, tho
after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s*. Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS alone shows *ṣ*, other texts *h*. These all concern the single form *nṛn*, acc plur of *nṛ*, the vowel *ṛ* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāṣika* (cf §940 above)

holdā yakṣad uṣāsānaktā nṛnh (MS *nṛnṣ*) *patibhyo* MS KS TB
holdā yakṣan narāśanam nṛśāstam nṛṣpranētram (TB *nṛnh^o*) MS TB
nṛnh (MS *nṛnṣ*) *pāhi* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB

§966 Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants, both times before a form of root *kr* (does the form *skr* exercise an influence here!)

supṛpald uṣadhīs (ApŚ °*dhīh*) *krdhī* MS KS ApŚ MŚ

śam agnir agnibhīs (RV °*bhīh*) *karat* RV TB ApŚ

§967 Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants

dyauh (RV *dyauṣ*) *pitā pṛthivī mītar adhruk* RV MS TB

dyauh pitā TB ApŚ *dyauṣ pitā* AV

dyauh pṛṣṭham pṛthivī śarīram ŚŚ 10 17 4 (as two separate mantras)

dyauṣ pṛṣṭham andarikṣam ŚB KŚ

upahāto dyauṣ (TB ApŚ *dyauh*) *pitā* VS ŚB TB ApŚ

upa mām dyauṣ (TB ApŚ *dyauh*) *pitā hvayātām* VS ŚB TB ApŚ

jyotiṣ (MS LŚ *jyotih*) *paśyanu* (MS °*tā*) *uttaram* RV MS KS ChU

LŚ

jyotiṣ (SV °*tih*) *paśyanti vāsaram* RV SV KS

yas tāni veda sa pituṣ (VS and most mss of AV *pituh*) *pitāsat* AV VS

yas tā vjdnāt sa pituṣ (TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV AV TA N *yas tad*

veda savituh (MahānU *sa pituh*) *pitāsat* TA MahānU

aham id dhi pituṣ (MG *pituh*) *pari* RV AV SV Vait MG

sa idhāno (KS *me edh^o*, *ed* emends) *vasuṣ* (MS *vasuh*) *kavh* RV SV

VS TS MS KS

haviṣ (HG MG *havih*) *krvantuh parivāsarīnam* (HG † SMB † °*uām*,

MG °*yam*) AV SMB ApMB HG MG

yasya dvārā manuṣ (SV *manuh*) *pitā* RV SV

mṛtyoh (VSK °*yoṣ*) *pāhi* VS VSK MS KS ŚB MŚ

citrāh śikuh (MS *śikūṣ*) *pari* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

dyoh patmane svāhā KS *dyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ

āriṣ (MS *āvih*) *krnuṣva dāvyaḍny agne* RV VS TS MS KS

apīlām triṣ (ApMB MG *trih*) *pū^o* RV AV JB ApMB MG

parne vo vasatiṣ (TS MS °*tih*) *krīā* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS *nīṣ kravyādam sedha*

VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *nīṣ kravyādam anīnaśat* RV AV MG

[*svādus* (AV °*duh*, but most *ms*, SPP, and Whitney °*duṣ*) *kilāyam madhumān utāyam* RV AV AB ApŚ]

ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *k* AND *p*

§968 Among the variants occur only three *pādas* belonging here, and they all concern the word *svarpati*. This occurs in that form in RV (three times), AV and KS (once each), while in SV (three times) and PB (once) it occurs in the form *svahpati*. This accords with RPr 258 (4 12), which requires *svar* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *h*). APr ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr does not treat. The *pādas* are

yuvam hi sthah svarpati (SV PB *svahpati*) RV SV PB
dātrasyāgne svarpatiḥ (SV *svahpatiḥ*) RV SV KS
svahpatir yadī vṛdhe SV *svarpatim yad im vṛdhe* RV AV

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969 In this case RPr 251, 253 allows either *h* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ*. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Muller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *nṛṣṣahamāno*, Muller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *nṛṣṣah*° in accordance with the Pr rule. VPr 3 8 f quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them, according to Weber the *ms* of both VS. and VSK generally write *h*. APr 2 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the *ms* of AV generally write *h*, and the edition usually follows them. TPr 9 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the *ms* of TS generally write *h*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§970 The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *h*, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf his *Einleitung*, p XII), the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS, and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all), but in several of these Müller prints *h* instead. According to the Concordance (based on the *Bibl Ind* edition), TB also

retains the sibilant three times, but in all of these the Poona ed. has *h*. ApMB also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlvi). but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write *h*. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him, and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971 The following variants have been noted

nihśahamāno (SV *nāśsu*²) *yamute nāyale* RV SV On the RV reading see the preceding paragraph

vakśahsu (RV *vakśassu*, but Muller °*hsu*) *ruknuī upaśisriyānāh* RV MS TB

vardhanam puruṅśidhe (SV °*nihśidhe*) RV SV

pṛtutūrśu kṛavassu (AV and Muller's RV °*hsu*) *ca* RV AV

vṛṣā na krudhah patayad rajassu (AV and Muller's RV °*hsu*) *ā* RV AV

havir havīśsu vandyah (SV *havīśu* †*vandyah*) RV SV

kriyanta (TB *priyā ta*) *ā barhīh* (KS † TB °*hīś*, but TB Poona ed °*hīh*) *sīda* RV AV KS TB

uto aranyānīh (TB °*nīś*, but Poona ed °*nīh*) *sīyam* RV TB

upa nah (KS † TB *naś*, but TB Poona ed *nah*) *sūnavo girah* RV SV VS KS TB

īdam devānām īdam u nah (KS *īdam naś*) *saha* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

satyā eśūm (AG *etā*) *āśīśah* (ApMB °*śan*) *santu* VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB HG

FINAL S BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972 RPr 255 (4 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr 3 12 TPr 9 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect, the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS generally follow it. APr contains no such prescription, but the AV mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr 2 40). This appears to be not quite true, of the variants *hotrā-vidah śomatāśūso* AV 18 3 47b, and *madhvah ścatanty* AV 20 88 3d

§973. None of the Prātiśākhya authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant, but the comm. on TPr 9 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then

1 Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions, and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht's edition of RV follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd, but Muller's edition always prints *h*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey's edition of SV is apparently not wholly consistent of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *h*. On AV see above, §972. In TS, Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s*, at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS always prints *h*, but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol 1, p XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss, which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s*. On MŚ and MG cf. Knauer, Einleitung to MG, p xxxviii, it appears that the mss of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *h* generally, among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas te drapna skandati* MŚ 2 4 3 29a. The mss of KS usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant, in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS, quoting its readings with *h* like those of MS.

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. ŚŚ likewise shows a number of cases of *h* where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG of the mantra *mā no hināth (hinā) sthaviram*, with and without *h*, we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v.l. to either.

§976. [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *h* in MS, MŚ, and MG against the evidence of their mss.

Likewise in the case of KS there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his *ms.* The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS, MŚ, MG, or KS, it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *h*, and that of KS reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *h*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Muller's edition in every case reads *h*—I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in *ms.* and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded—F E]

§977. The list of variants concerning final *s* before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows:

pra tad viṣṇu (TB Poona ed *viṣṇuh*, AV † *viṣṇu*, ŚŚ [prattika] † *pra tad viṣṇur itī*) *stavate* RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ ŚŚ
NrpU

ya (ŚŚ *yah*) *strīnām* VS TS KSA ŚŚ

viṣṇo (TB *viṣṇoh*) *stupo* (*stūpu*) 'sī VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

viṣṇo (TB *viṣṇoh*) *sthānam asī* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

samsrāvabhāgū (or, *samsrava*°, TB °*bhāgāh*) *stheṣā* VS TS MS
KS ŚB TB MŚ

huta (TB *hutah*) *stokah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

hotrāvinda (AV °*vidah*, TB °*vdha*, Poona ed °*vdhah*) *stomataṣṭāso*
RV AV MS TB

vprca (TB Poona ed 1 3 3 6 °*cah*) *stha* VSK KS ŚB TB (both
readings) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The same with *sampṛca*

andha sthāndho VS ŚB KŚ *ambha* (ApŚ *ambhah*) *sthāmbho* .
TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ MG

ā na (ŚŚ *nah*) *stuta* RV ŚŚ

āyu stha ApŚ *dyuh stha* TB

ṛtava (TB °*vaḥ*) *stha* VS KS ŚB TB

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

diva (TB *divah*) *skambha*° VS VSK KS TS ŚB TB ApŚ

pra va (KB ŚŚ *vah*) *spad* RV KB ŚŚ

prokṣitā (TB Conc °*tū* and °*tāh*, Poona ed both times °*tūh*) *stha* VS TS
MS KS TB ŚB KŚ MŚ

balavijñāya (SV °yah) *sthavrah* . RV AV SV VS TS MS KS
bṛhadbhīr vājayi (TB Poona ed *vājayi*) *sthavrebhīr* RV MS KS TB
bṛhaspati (TB Conc °ti and °tiḥ, Poona ed both times °tiḥ) *stotram* VS
 MS KS TB

madhva (AV °vah) *ścotanty* RV AV

mā no hinśih (and, *hinśi*) *sthaviram* ŚG (both)

mānta (ApŚ *māntah*) *sthur* RV AV AB JB ApŚ MŚ

mā na stena RV KS *mā va* (TB Poona ed *va* and *vah*) *stena*

RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

yas te drapsa (ŚŚ Vait *drapsah*, MŚ *drapsa*) *skandati* RV VS TS

KS GB ŚB Vait MŚ ŚŚ

ye devā devasūva (TB °vah) *stha* TS TB

vāyava (TB °vah) *stha* VS TS MŚ KS GB ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

upāyava (TB °vah) *stha* TS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ

prānah sthah TB *prāna sthah* ApŚ

stokā (TB Poona ed *stokāh*) *ścotanti* RV MS KS AB TB

subhūtakṛta stha ApŚ *suhūtakṛtah stha* AŚ

sūryalvacusa (TB Poona ed °sah) *stha* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ

gīra (ApŚ *gīrah*) *stomāsa īrate* RV AV SV MS ApŚ

cakṣu (TB *cakṣuh*) *sthaś* TB ApŚ

cīta (TB *cītah*) *stha* TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

cīta (ApŚ once out of four times, and TA twice out of three times acc to Conc, all three times acc to Poona ed, *cītah*) *stha pari*°

VS TS KS TA ApŚ KŚ

prati tvā diva (TB *divah*) *skumbhanīr vellu* (TB Poona ed *†vetu*) TS TB

[*trinave †marutu* (Conc °tah for VS) *stutāh* (°tam) VS MS KS]

[*dhravam an dhruvata* (Conc °tah for ApMB) *sthitam* ApMB HG]

2 Final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978 Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātiśākhya, require *h*. In KS, just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant, again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS as reading *visarga* like other texts. The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB, see Winteritz's Introduction, p xlvi. It appears, however, that the mass of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently. Especially is this true of AV, see Whitney's note on APr 2 86, and on his Translation of AV, 6 121 1. The Bibl Ind editions of TB and TA show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print *h* in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder *syonā* (for *syonāh*, so ApŚ) *syonena ghr̥tena mā samukṣata*, MS 4 2 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of *h* are rare and sporadic.

§979 [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣa* rules, viz. 1. KS always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho' this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance — 2. Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text — F. E.]

§980 The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows

svapnah svapnādīkarane RVKh *svapna svapnādīkaranena* AV. The latter is to be understood with *svāpna(h)* nom., not voc., Edgerton, AJP 35 438ff.

medasah (VSK °sa) *svāhā* VS VSK MS TB

yā dery aśīṣṭake prānūā cakṣurdās (ApŚ °dā) *śrotradī dyaurdās* (ApŚ °dā) *svardāh* KS ApŚ *yā dery aśīṣṭaka dyurdāh cakṣurdāh śrotradīh* MS

samjūinam nah (TB *na*, but Poona ed *nah*) *ve°* RVKh AV MS KS TB

ādityebhyah pṛeṣya mahasvasarasya (MŚ *mahah sva°*) ŚB MŚ ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and *pw*, Addendum to Vol 5, s. v. *mahasvasara*.

avidahantah (TB °ta) *krapayatu* TB ApŚ MŚ

uśasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat ApŚ *uśasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat* TB Conc., but Poona ed as ApŚ

jjyog ajīta (MŚ *jīva*, SMB *jīā*, but Jorgensen *ajīā*) *ahatīh* (SMB °tā) *syāma* TS KS MŚ PG SMB

śrotapāh (AŚ °pā) *śrotam* TS MS AB AŚ

svar (TS ApŚ *svar*) *na* (TS ApŚ *na*) *gharṇah* (ApŚ °na) *svāhā* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ (both)

stutah (TB *stuta*, but Poona ed *stutah*) *śravasyann* RV MS KS TB *syonāh* (MS °nā) *syonena ghr̥tena mā samukṣatu* MS ApŚ

supānīh (TA °nī, but Poona ed °nīh, ŚŚ *subānīh*) *svaṅgurīh* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ

cittīh (TA °tī, but Poona ed °tīh) *śruk* MS TA ŚŚ MŚ

paru marlah parah (ApŚ all mes., and TB Conc. *pura*, but TB Poona ed *parah*) *svā* VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ MŚ

pary dvarte duṣvapnyāt (KŚ *duḥṣva°*, v. l. *duṣva°*) AV KŚ. See Whitney's note on 6 121 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV mss.

dusvapnyam duritam nih (AV **ni*) *śvāmat* AV (both) Whitney, however, would read *niḥ* in both places—with the Prātiśākhya, but against nearly all the *mes*
dusvapnahan duruṣṣaha (Poona ed *dusvap^o duruṣṣaha*) TA *duḥvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU Cf preceding two
aślonā (AV comm *aśro^o*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA *aślonāṅgair ahrūḥ*, Poona ed *ahrutāḥ* with *v l^oā*) *svarge* AV TA
enuṣṭ sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text **nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ 'ham *asmi*) TB AŚ *sapatnāḥ*, nom pl masc (!), seems to be intended in both

INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prātiśākhyas (RPr 318 (5 1) ff, APr 2 96 ff, TPr 6 1 ff, VPr 3 58 ff) The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204–7 In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *i* or *u* vowel, TS reads *ṛkṣama* for *ṛkṣama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *i* or *u* vowel occurred (§984) *Visarga* after *i* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration Wackernagel I p 237, bottom

§982 In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s* In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV, but becomes common in the other Saṃhitās (Wackernagel I §205a), two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV *s* (§983) The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds Here the conditions are confused the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206) We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies, earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV, but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207), accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV) *ṣ*, but the reverse is also found (§987) Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompound words, in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language, yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB substituted for *s* of RV (§988)

§983 The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987.

vy astabhñā (VS ŚB *astabhñā*, MS *aṣkabhñā*, KS *aṣṭabhñā*, TS *astabhñād*, TA *aṣṭabhñād*) *rodasi* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB. TA

ād id dhotāram ny asādayanta (TB *asāḍ*) RV VS TB

abhy aṣṭhām (TS KS ApŚ *anthād*, MS *asthām*) *vikvāḥ pṛtanā arāṭh* AV TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ

lena dasyūr vy anahanta devā TS KS *lena devā vy aṣahanta satrūr* AV *yasmād bhīṣā nyaśadah* (ŚŚ *nyasadah*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ

§984 Conjug to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular. Four of them contain the R̥gvedic words *pṛtanāśah* (°*pūh*, °*ṣāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular °*śah* etc. Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show. The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūśah*, *bhūrīśah*, *abhīśah* etc. — The only other case contains the TS form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anuṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b.

samstap (TS *saṣṭup*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ā vīram pṛtanāśaham (SV °*śaham*) RV AV SV

tam agne pṛtanāśaham (TS °*śaham*) RV TS

pṛtanāśāhyāya (TB °*sāhyāya*) *ca* RV AV VS TB

uccairvūjī pṛtanāśūṭ (HG °*sūhami*) RVKh HG

§985 Twice in the same passage of TS occurs the stem *ṛkṣama*, for *ṛksama* of the others, this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf Wackernagel I p 237, top).

jagatyā ṛkṣamam (TS *ṛkṣamam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

ṛkṣamāc (TS *ṛkṣamāc*) *chukrah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§986 The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong. In GB 1 5 25d, quoted in Conc as *viskandham enam vidhṛtam prajānu*, Gaastra reads *viṣkandham viṣṭam*

abhivītro abhīsatvā (KS °*ṣatvā*) *sahojāḥ* (AV MS † KS *sahojit*) RV AV

SV VS TS MS KS Many miss of AV, followed by the comm

and SPP's ed, also read *abhīsatvā*

ślotā me goṣakhā (SV *goṣakhā*) *syāt* RV AV SV

pṛthivīśadam (MS *pṛthivī*°, VS † °*sudam*) *tvāntarīkṣasadam* (VS † adds,

divīśadam devaśadam) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

deva savitah susāvitrām (ApŚ *susāv*°) PB KŚ ApŚ

rayasthāno (AV °ṣthāno) *rayim asmānu dhehi* RV AV
susamiddho (RV *susa*°) *na ā vaha* RV SV PB LŚ
susamiddho (KS TB *susa*°) *varenyah* VS MS KS TB
susamiddham (TB *susa*°) *varenyam* VS TB
susadam (ŚŚ *susatyam*) *id gavām* AV ŚŚ
ye triṣaptāh (MS *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV MS
triṣaptāso (TB *tris*°) *marutah* AV TB
utkulānikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam VS *utkulānikūlābhyām triṣṭhinam* TB
amba nūpara (TS ApŚ *nūvara*, KS *nūvara*, MS *nūmara*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB ApŚ In VS ŚB divide *nū-para*, the rest belong
 here
somanetrebhyo upariśadbhyo (VSK °ṣadbhyo) VS VSK ŚB
ye devāḥ somanetrā upariśado (VSK °ṣado) VS VSK ŚB *ye*
devā upariśado (KS ° *das*) MS KS
vrajam gacha gosthānam (VS ŚB TB *gosthānam*, but TB Poona ed
 °*sth*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
kṛṣṇagrivah itikakṣo 'ñyisakthas (MS °ṣakthas) *ta aindrāgnāḥ* VS MS
añyisakthāya (KSA † °ṣakthāya) *svāhā* TS KSA
duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣṣaha*) TA *duṣvap-*
nahan duruṣvahā MahānU

§987 Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the
 copula In one or two of these *s* of RV is replaced by *ṣ* in a later text
druhaḥ pāśān (TS KS *pāśum*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV TS MS
 KS

apo su (MS *ṣu*) *myakṣa* RV MS

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction

kṛdhī ṣu (TS *su*) *asmān* RV TS MS KS

prati ṣma (SV *ṣma*) *deva riṣataḥ* (SV *ri*°) RV SV MS KS TB

prati ṣma (AV *ṣma*) *rakṣaso dāha* (AV *jaḥi*) RV AV

asti hi ṣmā (TS MS KS *astu ṣma*) *te ṣuṣmīnn arayāḥ* RV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB

vayam ṣhā te api ṣmasi (SV *ṣmasi*) RV SV

anupūrvam yalamānā yati ṣha (AV *etha*) RV AV

divi ṣaṅ (AV *ṣaṅ*, SV *ṣan*) *chakra itataḥ* RV AV SV

divi ṣad (RV *ṣad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV SV VS

ūtī ṣa (SV *sa*) *bṛhato divah* RV SV

pari ṣya svāno akṣāḥ RV *pari ṣya svāno akṣarat* SV cf *pari ṣya*
svāno avyayam RV

lasmād āpo anu ṣthana (TS *sthana*) AV TS MS KS

§988 Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncom-

pounded words Note that in the first a later text introduces *ḡ* where RV has *s*

trīni śatā trī sahasrāṇy (TB *ḡa*^o) *agnim* RV VS TB .

ye apsu śadānsi (KS 'psu *śadānsi*) *cakrire* MS KS *teḡām apsu sadas kṛtam* RVKh

apsu dhautasya le deva soma (TS *tr soma deva le*) *nṛbhīh ḡṣṭusya* (KS *nṛbhīe stu*^o, TS PB *nṛbhīh sutasya*) TS MS KS PB The mss of MS read *nṛbhī*, which von Schroeder as always (cf §974) changes to *nṛbhīh*, but the presence of final *h*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event

pari bhrātuh pari ḡvasuh HG Ap.MB *pari mātuh pari masuh* PG

vāyo ve (TS ApŚ *vihī*) *stokānām* (VSK ^o*nām juḡānah*, KS *ḡṣṭkānām*) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ KS † 3 6 (with *ḡve*, not *veḡ*)

SECONDARY CRASIS, AND HIATUS

§989 Secondary crasis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG, which according to Knauer (p xxxviii f) has it quite frequently

dhruvī stri patikule iyam (MG ^o*kuleyam*) SMB MG In SMB, also, the v 1 ^o*kuleyam* is recorded, as well as ^o*kula iyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, ^o*kule iyam* (with complete hiatus)

uc chuḡmā uḡadhīnām (AV *chuḡmauḡ*^o) RV AV VS TS MS KS Whitney would 'probably' read *chuḡmā* (for ^o*māh*) *uḡ*^o, this is supported by Ppp, cf Whitney's note and Barret, JAOS 35 50 f *viśvādityāh* [pratīka] MG This probably refers to the formula *viśva* (PG text *viśve*, with hiatus) *ādityā vasavaś ca devāh* (MG *sarve*) AG PG MG All mss of MG (in the pratīka) read *viśvād*^o

sahasradhāre 'va (AV ^o*dhāra eva*) *le sam asvāran* RV AV KS ApŚ Whitney, note on AV 5 6 3, suggests that RV stands for ^o*dhārāh*, with double sandhi The RV pp reads ^o*dhāre, ava* Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping ^o*dhāre* of pp The whole verse is difficult and obscure

anāmayaadhī etc, see §344

§990 All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context

ado ma āgachatu ApŚ *ado māgachatu* MS KS MŚ (not ApŚ which in 4 13 8 reads †*ma āga*^o)—In ApŚ *me*, in the others *mā*

māgadhaḥ purīścālī kīlavah klībo 'śūdrā abrahmanāḥ (VSK 'śūdrā-brāhmanāḥ) *le prājāpatyāḥ* VS VSK Two separate words in VS, a compound in VSK So also in the following; cf the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here

aślonā (AV comm *āstro*^o) *aśgair ahrutāḥ* (TA *aślonāśgair ahrūtā*, Poona ed *ahrutāḥ*, v 1 ^o*tā*) *svargē* AV TA 'Unmaimed in limbs', or 'with unmaimed limbs' Cf preceding

ākrayāyā ayogūm VS *ākrayāyāyogūm* (so Poona ed text and comm) TB Different genders, fem in VS, masc in TB

saha ojaḥ (VS *sahaujah*, VSK *suhajah*) VS VSK AB GB AŚ Vait In VS VSK *saha* plus *ojas* (on VSK's sandhi see §731), in the others, *sahas* plus *ojas* The latter form is probably original

yathauka ṛṣir (KS 'karṣir) *vijānate* KS TA ApŚ See §919, end *yā* (MS *ya*) *īṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *yefu vā yātudhānānāḥ* KS Serpents are referred to 'who are misdeeds of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS makes reasonable sense 'either in whom are sorcerers' (correlative with the following, which see) But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *īṣavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi or they may be called the converse of them In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular, in those we are about to give, it is irregular A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable

uta śravasā (MS *śravasa ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS TS MS TA The p p of MS reads *śravasah*, ā, but both meter and sense show that the MS has a stupid blunder

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚS N See §832

vasneva (KS *vasna va*) *vikrīnāvahar* VS TS MS ŚB AŚ Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom-acc plur of an *a*-stem (*vasna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vasnā* (so MS p p), rather

than *vasa* We have, then, in KS perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in $\bar{a}-r = RV$ etc $a-r$, cf Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than r Otherwise KS would be a mere blunder, like MS in the preceding Cf the next *saputnā vācam manasā* (AŚ °sa) *upāvatām* TB AŚ 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds' Both texts must intend *manasā*, TB has complete hiatus, while AŚ (if the text is correct, we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi', see under the preceding variant The meter is against fusion See also the variant *praty elū vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc , §357

§992. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted

bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhati (MŚ *rājā arhati*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ All Knauer's mss read thus for MŚ, Knauer suggests *pluti* The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ it could pass for a fair jagati pāda

pavāva deva āyuṣak (RV *devāyuṣak*) RV SV PR The accent in SV (*devā*) indicates a nom form, but Benfey translates a voc In any case SV is secondary, and metri gr

pāpmānam ulā vāgham (SMB *vā agham*) SMB ApMB HG Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons

\bar{a} *pūṣā elv ā vasu* TS \bar{a} *puṣām elv ā vasu* AV Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS, in AV the meter is improved without fusion

tatra indro bhṛguḥpatih VS *tatrā* (SV *tatra*) *no brahmanaḥpatih* RV SV Hiatus metri gratia in VS

tan mā (Vait *mā*) *āpyāyatām punah* GB Vait Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR only in one epic passage (Mbh 5 508) In GB (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter

sam tvā rinanti (Vait *rinanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait The hiatus in Vait may be connected with pronunciation of r as ri , see §676

punantu rājayah TA MahānU Hiatus in both forms

davyā hotārāgna (MS °gnā, ŚŚ *hotārā agna*) *djyasya vitām* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ Probably ŚŚ stands for *hotārā*, not °rāu, and therefore has hiatus, see §885d For *hotārāu* we should expect °rāv in ŚŚ

achidrā usījah padānu takṣuh TS *achidrotījah kavayah padānutakṣuh*
(see §627) KS Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achidrā* went with
padā as in KS, but TS p p *achidrāh*, with *usījah*, and so comm
abhīm (SV *abhī*) *ṛtaśya dohanā anūyata* RV SV Cf *abhīm ṛtaśya*
(SV *abhy ṛṣṭarāya*) *sudughā ghrtaścutah* RV SV On *m* as "Hiatus-
tilger" see §309

pitṛbhyah svadhāstu (MahānU *svadhā astu*) TA MahānU

§993 With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like con-
texts, in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical
ā declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā*
declension in *ā*. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait texts,
and according to TS p p and TPr 5 2, 10 13, are to be regarded as
uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*

māsi MS MŚ *mā asi* TA ApŚ Likewise (in MS TA) *pramā*,
unmā, *vimā*, *sammā*, *pratmā*

sahasrasya pramāsi (TS *°mā asi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The same
with *pratmā*, and *sahasrasyonmā*

§994. The next is different in character

manūm (KS *manā asi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N All texts
have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attrac-
tion to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no
doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas*.
In KS it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom *manā's*) In
the others it becomes an *ā* stem

§995 The next group contains textually dubious cases

ṛtaruś ca upāśate (VS *copā°*) RVKh VS The hiatus improves the
meter, but Scheftelowitz reads *copāśate*, with all his authorities
except the late Prayogarātna, which reads *copā āśate*, with hiatus
in a different place

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG *medhāpsarāhsu*) RVKh MG The meter is
better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's
ms read *medhā apś°* in MG, and on the other hand Scheftelowitz
reads *medhāps°* in RVKh without report of variant, he also reads
°psarassu

devā brahmāna āgachata āgachata GB, Cone *de° bru° āgachatāgacha-
tāgachata* LŚ But Gaastra reads for GB *āgachatāgachata*, he
notes a v l *āgachatā āya°*

vibhur vibhāvā suśakhā (AV *sakha ā*) *sakhiyate* RV AV So the mss of
AV, leaving *sakha* unaccented, SPP follows them, the vulgate ed
reads *sākhā ā'* It seems at least possible that the AV. mss correctly

present the Atharvan tradition, the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his *Transl* assumes *sákhā'* (fusion of *sákhā* and *á'*)

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous, in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus.

semām (AV *sa imām*) *no havyadātīm juṣānah* RV AV VS TS MS
KSA Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV should probably be read *sa imām*

agnir indvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV Kauś *sa id dhotā*) RV AV TS MS
KS ŚB Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV omits the particle *u*

sa imām (ŚG *semām*) *devah pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varunah*) ŚG AG
SMB

soma āyusmān sa oṣadhībhir (PG *sauṣa*^o) *āyusmān* TS KS PG ApMB
This passage is prose. PG is hyper-archaizing.

INDEXES

INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, *ā* as a sound, and *ya* as a phonetic combination (which varies with *i*, *ī*, and *e*), are treated here, but *ā* the preposition or privative prefix, and *ya* the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the indexes are to sections.

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SAᅆSKRIT INDEX

Note —Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc) with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, *not* listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word, only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences —In this Index the colon (:) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for' References are to sections

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