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

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Volume I
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PREFACE

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

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

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

what was originally one and the same stanza or formula was handed down in the texts of the various schools in more or less varying forms. The variants are often of the same general character as those which appear in the various forms of ballads, or of church hymns: there are simple differences in the order of words; differences due to the substitution of a more familiar, handy, or modern word or grammatical form for an archaic, inconvenient, or obsolete one of equivalent meaning or function (or the converse of this, due to a conscious archaising tendency). To this must be added the very important point that there are also many
cases in which a given mantra passage, composed under certain definite circumstances, was later on adapted and changed to serve a new purpose.

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

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

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

On Bloomfield's death in 1928, I took charge of the entire work, and I have since revised and completed the section on the Verb, here presented. It seems best to publish it first, since the major part of it
can be issued substantially as it came from the pen of one of the world’s greatest Vedists and linguistic scholars.

The publication has been made possible by the generous aid of the Linguistic Society of America, and of the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies, to both of which hearty thanks are due and are hereby tendered. The surviving author also desires to express his deep appreciation of the staunch and effective support given to the project by the Chairman of the Committee on Publications of the Linguistic Society of America, Professor George Melville Bolling.

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

FRANKLIN EDGERTON
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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

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

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

Scope and plan of this work

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{hūve nū (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. hūyāmi)}\, \text{ṣakraṁ \, puruḥūtām \, īndraṁ} \\
&\text{RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.} \\
&\text{sarasaśvīṁ \, sukṛto \, ahuṇyānta (AV. havante; comm. ahuṇyānta) RV. AV.} \\
&\text{KS.} \\
&\text{ṣṛvāṇaḥ \, agraṇīr \, apsuṣṭo \, hūve \, vāḥ (MS. om. vāḥ) TS. MS. AB.: śivān} \\
&\text{agṛṇī \, apsuṣṭo \, havāmahe AV.} \\
&\text{marutvāṇam \, sakhyaṛya \, havāmahe \, (SV. huvamahī) RV. SV.}
\end{align*}
\]
tāṁ (RV. om.) sarasvantaṁ avase ṭuveda (AV. ṭuvedahe; RV. KS. jhavāmi) RV. RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AS. ŚŚ.
agnim (AV. ukthaṁ; MahānU. ugran) ṭuveda (AV. ṭuvedahe) paramāt sadhasthāḥ AV. TA. MahānU.
ṛtasya patāṁ avase ṭuveda (AV. ṭuvedahe) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AS. ŚŚ.
prātarpitaṁ bhagam ugran ṭuveda (AV. ṭuvedahe) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N.
prātaṁ somam uṭa rudraṁ ṭuveda (AV. ṭuvedahe) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.
mano no ṭuvedahe (Vait. ३६; VS. SB. KS. Kauś, ṭuvedahe) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. SB. AS. ŚŚ. KS. LS. ApŚ. Vait. Kauś. The Vait. (20.9) reading should be the same as that of its source, Kauś. 89.1; but 3 mss. of Kauś. read ṭuvedaḥ, and possibly this should be read in both texts.
ratśilāmau ratāṁ aha (KS. ३५; hūva) ullaṁe TS. MS. KS.: aśūn hūva (AV. iva) suyaṁ (AV. ३५; aha) ullaṁe AV. TS. MS. KS. havaneto vijaya ullaṁe RV.: hūvema vā RV. SV. MS. KS.: huvaya vā RV. AV.

bhṛhaspateṣu vaḥ prajāpatiṁ vo... viśvāṁ vo devāṁ viśvalaṁ pari havā-
mahe GB. Vait.: cf. bhṛhaspateṣu viśvāṁ devāṁ aham ṭuved RV.

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

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

§ 4. In no less than five instances of the above list AV. reads, at the end of its pādas, havāmahe in the place of related expressions in other texts. So favorite a cadence has this become in AV. that we find it in four of these five times as a mildly incommensurable jagati cadence in
otherwise triṣṭūṭī stanzas: 3. 16. 2; 7. 6. 2; 7. 40. 1; 16. 1. 13. Only in one case, 3. 16. 1, does the AV. cadence conform to the rest of the (jagati) stanza. It is quite clear that AV., tho well acquainted with all the other present stems of the root hū, has been enticed into this preference for havāmahe by the fact that the word occurs extensively at the ends of pādas; e.g. avase havāmahe RV. 2. 16. 1; 3. 26. 2; 8. 86. 4; 8. 99. 8; 10. 66. 4, reproduced in two of the four AV. instances, 7. 6. 2; 7. 40. 1. For other numerous instances of havāmahe in jagati cadence see RVRep. 660, under final cadences in -he.

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

hve na (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. hvayami) bākram puruhūtam indram RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.
saravatīṃ suktato ahvayanta (AV. havante) RV. AV. KS.8

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

1 In one internal occurrence, 7. 63. 1, AV. uses havāmahe where it can only be called a gross metrical blunder: agnim (AV. ukhaire, MahānU. ugrami) kavema (AV. havāmahe) paraṃhit sadhasthit AV. TA. MahānU.

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

3 Here, to be sure, the AV. comm. reads ahvayanta with the rest. The variant quoted by the Conc. as apam napātam akvinh kve ihiṣā (TS. akvinh kveyantam) is a slip; TS. reads hayantam and this does not concern the root hū.
Ambiguous grammatical forms: augmented and augmentless preterites

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

prācinīm sīdat (MS. sīdāt) pradhā prthiyāh VS. MS. KS. TB.

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

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

havyā te svadantām (MS. svadān, KS. avadān) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

'delightful to taste be (were) to thee the oblations.' Here svadān may be injunctive to match the modal (imperative) svadantām; or it may be preterite indicative to match avadān.\(^1\) Chi lo sa?\(^2\) Similarly, in kāmaṁ (AV. PB. kāmaḥ, KS. kāmas) samudram ā viśa (AV. viṣeṣa, KS. PB. viśāt) AV. KS. PB. TA. AŚ. ApS.,

viśāt is ambiguous; it may be preterite, to match viṣeṣa, or injunctive to match viśa. Of a different aspect is

aśanna (SV. PB. aśaḥ naḥ) pātram janayanta (KS. aṭu) devāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŠB.

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

\(^2\) And that whether we regard it as augmentless with the mas. and p.p. of MS., or as intended for 'avadān = avadān of KS.; we ignore at this point this purely formal question as to whether an augment is or is not felt as present where Vedic sandhi permits the elision of initial a, a question which obviously increases the dubiety of some of the forms we are discussing; see §§364ff.
'the gods begot (shall beget) him (Agni) as a vessel at their (our) mouths.' We have classified (§136) janayanta as imperfect, because that seems to us the better sense; we are frankly subjective, as we think we must be. In other words, we refuse to attach value in this instance to the implied comment of the single janayantu of KS. Yet the Kāṭhakas, if we may trust their tradition, evidently conceived the passage reasonably enuf.

Next,

_tiero yad agne saradas tvām ic, chuceh qhṛtena śucayaḥ saparyān_ (TB. saparyān), nāmāni cid adhīre yajñīyāni RV. TB.,

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

§9. Similarly, in

_jātaḥ prchād (SV. prchād) vi mātaram RV. SV._

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

Uncertainty as to the moods of certain presents and aorists

§10. In this work, as elsewhere, it is hard to distinguish modal forms of the root-present and the accented a-present (aorist present) from the modal forms of the root-aorist and the a-aorist. In two related cases, _marto vṛṣṭa (TS. vṛṣṭa; KS. vareta) sakhyaṁ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB._

_dyunmama (KS. also -ne) vṛṣṭa puṣyaṁ (KS. vareta puṣyaṭu) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB._

we have followed what may be called the orthodox classification of the
forms surita (Lat. volite) and vara as aorists. The decision is grounded on the absence of forms with primary endings by the side of these forms. We are of course not influenced by the present-tense variant purita, which is ambiguous as to mood. But this criterion is not always valid in our eyes. In §210 a, occur seven cases in which kṛdhi (once kṛṣa) exchanges with kṛṣu and kuru (once kṛṣuṣa). We have taken kṛdhi to be aorist imperative, contrary to some authorities (e.g. Grassmann, Wbch. 334b), not deterred by sporadic back-formations (from this very kṛdhi) into the present: kṛtha, kṛtha (cf. Whitney, Roots, 21). With some hesitation we have also classed as aorists the first of the following pairs: pūtam, pūtalam (notwithstanding RV. pūnti, §210, a); ṭrotā, ṭṛṇota (ibidem); manai, manve (§119). Or we have shirked a final decision as to whether the first is a present or an aorist in the following pairs: yuvā, yuvā (§192); madāna (probably present), madāna (ibidem). Various cases of ambiguity spring from thematic a; is it present sign or subjunctive sign on the body of a non-thematic form? Thus in karati, karoti (§124, end), cf. karati, kṛṇotu (§154), and karah, kṛṇotu (§104, a), in both of which last cases we classify kara- as aorist subjunctive. Doubtful also is vanate, varying with both the present vanute and the aorist vansate (§117), or, again, with vanutām (§§116, 154, 191).

§11. In the perfectly clear expression
sa tvaitbhyaḥ pari dadat (TA. dadat) pūtsbhyaḥ RV. AV. TA. N.
'he shall hand thee over to these manes', both forms, though grammatically ambiguous, are treated as respectively subjunctive and injunctive (see §167). They might also be regarded as imperfect indicatives, thematic and non-thematic; see §193 where occur what may be felt as the same forms, since the circumstances make it impossible to say whether the augment was felt with them or not.

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

**Imperatives (f) or Subjunctives in se**

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

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*Perhaps best considered optative in view of the parallels, tho in itself it might equally well be subjunctive or imperative.*
them as 2d person singular middle imperatives, or perhaps better subjunctives, corresponding to the well-established class of active modal forms in sī.

**Phonetic variants: interchange between t and th in 2d plurals**

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

`tam` *sma jānīta* (VSK. ʾthā) parame vyoman AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŠB. MŠ. Here jānītha, tho perfectly sound grammar, is a secondary blend of jānīta and (subj.) jānītha in the kindred formula: etam jānītha (KS. jānīta; TB. jānītā) pa° vy° VS. KS. ŠB. TB.; cf. jānīta smaināh (TS. MŠ. jānītād evam) pa° vy° AV. TS. MŠ.

§15. In the next, kṛtha is a dubious root present, really a back-formation from aorists such as kṛdhi. Yet it is certainly the original reading: yud āmayati nīṣ kṛtha (TS. MŠ. KS. kṛta) RV. VS. TS. MŠ. KS.

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

devēbhya bhavata (TB. ʾthā) suprāyagāh RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. śīva no bhavata (ApŚ. ʾthā) jīwase MS. ApŚ. śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. ʾthā, MG. "ntu) yajñīyāsah RV. TA. MG. tena kriḍānīḥ (ŚG. krič) carata (ŚG. ʾthā) priyena (AV. vahān anu) AV. TS. ŚG. PG. ViDh.

aṅga bhavata (AV. TS. KS. ʾthā) vājinaḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB: devā bhavata vā° RV.

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

§17. Wholly anomalous, not to say impossible, are the traditionally recorded tha forms in the next two:
ye 'tra pitarah . . . bhūyāstha AV. ŚŚ.: ya etasmin lobe . . .
bhūyāsta TS. TB. Of course a preceptive formation cannot, according
to decent grammar, have a primary ending; yet apparently
all mss. of both AV. and ŚŚ. agree on -tha; see Whitney on AV.
18. 4. 86.
arūta Ag udabhāsata (AV. mss. 'tha) AV. ŚŚ. The AV. mss. at 20.139.1
read thus; in an augmented form tha is a monstrosity. Roth's
violent emendation, āśanā udabhīr gathā, has of course no standing.
§18. On the other hand the forms in tha claim precedence in the
following:
payaññath kṛyātāpā (TS. 'tāpa) oṣudhītā śivā (TS. om. śi?) AV. TS.
ud tvayātā (MS. MŚ 'ta; AV. KS. 'ta) marutāh samudrataḥ RV. AV.
TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ.
yuḥān (MS. dīvā) vṛśēn varṣayātā (MS. 'ta) purīśīnā RV. TS. MS.
KS.
§19. Doubtful as to precedence are:
aulabā (HG. 'ta) it tam upā havyātā (HG. 'ta) ApMB. HG.
saputrikāyām jāgratā PG.: pujāmanāya jāgīta ApŚ. Cf. Stenzer's
note to translation of PG. 1. 16. 22.

Phonetic variants: interchange between t and th in 2d and 3d duals
§20. About equally often the 2d and 3d dual forms interchange so as
to involve t and th; these cases will be classified in greater detail in the
section on Person, below. The decision as to priority depends on attendant
circumstances, notably the relative chronology of the texts:
hato (SV. TB. hatho) vṛtvāgy āryā (AV. TB. aprati) RV. AV. SV. TB.
Followed in RV. SV. by the next two:
hato (SV. hatho) dāśāni satpaṭi, and: hato (SV. hatho) visvā apa drīṣāḥ
RV. SV. An entire stanza is changed here from 3d person reference
to direct address; see below, §§329, 332.—As in this case, the t forms
are prior in:
The form hathaḥ is absurd, though apparently very old in the Ap.
tradition, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., p. xx.
purā grhrūḍ āraṣṭvā pibāṭaḥ (TB. 'tḥaḥ) RV. MS. TB.
§21. But in the next two the th form is evidently prior; while in most
of the rest here listed there is little clear evidence supporting either one:
citrebhir abhrār upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. 'to) rawa RV.† MS. Followed by:
dyān varṣayatho (MS. 'to) asurasya mahayā RV. MS. The p.p. of MS.
has 'tḥaḥ. See §337.
gṛtena dyāvāphtiḥ pronyavādhām (VSK, TS. ApŚ. pronyāvādām; MS. MŚ.† pronyavādām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. MŚ.; cf. vapayā etc. Knau.; and see Conc. under swargā ("peṣa, swarge") lokē(-na) pronyavādhām etc. (only MS. ṭām; VS. VSK. TS. KSA.† [which reads sampronyavādām] SB. TB. Vait. ṭām).

yā (AV. TS. yāv) ātmavad bibhṛto (KS.† ṭhāo, AV. viṣatho) yau ca rakṣataḥ (AV. KS.† ṭhāh) AV. TS. MS. KS.
yau viśvasya paribhā (KS. viśvasyādhīpā) babhāvathuḥ (TS.† ṭuḥ) KS. TS.
yā rājānā (TS. ṭnam) sarabhaṁ yātha (MS. yāta) ugrā TS. MS. KS.
tāt satyam sad virah bibhṛthah (MS.† ṭuḥ); and, in same passage:
vīram janayiṣyathāḥ (MŚ. ṭuḥ); and:
te mā praśāk prajanayiṣyēthe (MS. te), te mā praṣṭāte prajanayiṣyathāḥ (MŚ. ṭuḥ) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
yajñasya yuktāv dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. yāv) abhātūm (MS. ṭhām) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. And, in same stanza:
dīvi (KS. dive) jyotir ajaram (MS. KS. uttamaṁ) ārbbhetūm (MS. KS.† ṭhām), same texts. abhāthūm is anomalous; see §§56, 337.
kāmān bhūtām iva sakvarībhīḥ AV.; rāṣṭram bhūtām iva revatībhiḥ

TB. Here, tho the context in AV. requires a 3d person verb, most ms. read ṭhūm like TB. (but Pp. ṭām).

§22. For lack of a better place we append here another curious variant between t and ṭh in verbal endings, which concerns neither duals nor 2d plurals:
abhiranyatūm (MŚ. S. 20 ṭhāml) MŚ. SG. YDh. BrḥPDh. So according to Conc. the ms. of MŚ. as recorded by Knau., since it occurs in the unpublished part of MŚ. it is impossible to verify it, but it is presumably a mistake in copying by either an Indian scribe or a western scholar. The form abhiranyatūm is, of course, 3d singular passive imperative.

Phonetic variants: interchange between a and u before v

§23. From out of the confusion of shifting vowel tradition in the variants, to be treated in our volume on Phonetics, one phase tends to unsettle the exact meaning of a certain group of verb changes. Namely, in quite a number of cases u interchanges with a before v, so that the resulting forms may be judged to be either phonetic or morphological, in all probability a mixture of both. Thus, in
abhī pra ṭonuvr (SV. nonuvr) girāh RV. SV.
ṭonuvr is intensive perfect (Whitney, Gr. § 1018a), while nonuvr is in-
tensive augmentless imperfect (ibid., §1015). The SV. reading is surely secondary, and phonetic at least in part, rather than truly morphological. Considerations of this sort are in order in the following list, in which the frequent interchange between stems bhava- and bhava- strikes the eye; note particularly the persistent choice of bhava- on the part of SV in the first six examples (cf. contrariwise SV. nonavur above). The Black YV. texts also show a preference for u as against a, as we shall show in the Phonetics volume.

sammīṣlo arūpo bhava (SV. bhuvah)...dhenubhī ṇi RV. SV.
ula trātā śivo bhavā (SV. bhuvau) varūthyāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kauś.
tatra pāṇābhavat (SV. bhuvat) sacā RV. SV. KS.
netiṣ ca cakram ivābhavat (SV. MS. bhuvat) RV. SV. TS. MS.
yat some-soma abhavah (SV. abhuvah) RV. SV.
yad dāre sann ihābhavah (SV bhuvah) RV. SV. MS. N.
samprīyāḥ (TA. yanī praṇāyā) paśubhir bhava (TB. TA. bhuvat) MS.
TB. TA. ApŚ.
asaṃpatnā (RV. *naḥ) kilābhuan (ApMB. bhuvam) RV. (bis) ApMB.
yatā (SV. yatā) devā iti bravan (SV. bruvan) RV. SV.
tasmāi devā adhi bruvan (VS. TS. bruvan) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
tasmāi somo adhi bravat (KS. bruvat) RV. AV. KS.
pra bravāna (MS. bruvāna, v.1.brva) śaradaḥ satam VS. MS. TA. ApMB.
HG. MG.
tād aham niḥnave (SŚ. niḥnuve) tubhyam AB. SŚ.
upa śravat (MS. bruvat, p.p. śravat) sahaṇā yajñe asmin RV. MS.

An interchange like: ām aheś (SV. u huve = u ṣuhe) vajasaṭaye RV. SV., may be suspected of being a similar phonetic variant across the faint pronunciation of h.

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

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

agnir dā (TS. dā) draviṇam viraṇēśāḥ RV. TS. P. p. of TS dāḥ; this form occurs several times in the context, and no doubt fitted thru the mind of the compiler. But a 2d person form is most bizarre, since a nominative subject (agnir) immediately precedes; despite Keith's attempt to explain it (TS. 162, n. 4), we believe the variant is essentially phonetic. Cf. the next.
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yal ārāhvas tiṣṭhā (KS. tiṣṭhād) draviśeha dhattāt RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. P. p. of RV. tiṣṭhāh; 'bestow upon us wealth here when thou standest erect.' All texts have as next pāda, yad vā kṣaya mātur aspṛt upasthe, showing up the extreme reprehensibleness of the KS reading. Cf. prec., of which this is the reverse.

āprā (AV. āprād) dyuṣāprthiḥ antarikṣam RV. AV. ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA.

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

bodhā stotre (MS. bodhāt stomān) vayo dadhat (ApŚ. vayorvedāḥ) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. In MS. part of a different stanza; but a v. l. bodhā is recorded.

adharō mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB.; adharō vadāsēu vadā svāhā HG. (corrupt; see §153); cf. adho vadādarho vada HG.

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

§25. In a number of cases verbal variations depend entirely or in part upon the presence or absence of visarga (ī), especially at the end of a pāda. As the sound was pronounced faintly (not, as in modern Hindu pronunciation, as ī followed by a vowel), it is quite possible that some of these interchanges are purely phonetic; it would doubtless be going too far to say that they all are. Thus (§158, end) TS. 3. 5. 10. 1 has the anomalous yodhi for yodhī of other texts at the end of a stanza (Whitney, Gr. §309); if this is the only occurrence of yodhi, we might cancel it from our grammars and lexicons. Cf. Keith’s note, HOS. 28. 286, n. 1. The total of such correspondences is not small; those which concern verb forms are supported by others, cf. pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ. ŚŚ. somam amadahō) enam 踔e (AŚ. ŚŚ. 网首页), AV. AŚ. ŚŚ., §137, where it occurs in noun forms.

pra-prā yajñāpatiṁ tīra (TA tīraḥ; but Poona ed. tīra) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §156 for this and the next three.

sāryaṁ tapas tapa (MS. MS. tapaḥ) MS. TA. ApŚ. MS. ni dūraḥravase vahā (ŚŚ. vahāḥ) AV. ŚŚ.

visvasmāt (TA. dīvo vi ) āṁ aghāyata uruṣya (TA. uruṣyāḥ) RV. TA. tāv imā upa sarpaṁā ŚV. JB.: emāṁ anu sarpaṁ MS. See §116.

agnī vittād dhavaśo yad yajñāṇa (TB. 2mah) RV. TB. See §124, where also, but in the interior of the passage, dhvārāna: dhvārāmas, in the item tam dhūrēa etc.
anyarrasya (TA. anyad eva) saścico (TA. omah; RV. saścire) RV. VS. MS. SB. TA. (corrupt.) For this and the next four items see §262, e.

prabi bhūgam na didhima (SV. omah) RV. AV. SV. VS. N. viratāh smah (SG. sma bho) SG. PG.
abhiratāh smah (YDh. sma ha) ViDh. YDh. BrhPDh.
tasmin vagam upahūdhas tava smah (MS. sma) TB. MŚ.
tau saha (VS. SB. tā ubhau) caturah padaḥ sam prasārayāvahai (VS. SB. əyāra, MS. əyāvaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. SB. ApŚ.

Phonetic variants: interchange between e and ai

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

supippaśa aspālā kartalāsme (AV. kartam asmai; VSK. kartam asme)

AV. VS. VSK. MS.

In the item brahmāhau antaram krove (KŚ. karaevi) AV. KŚ., the Com. suggests the more proper karavai for KŚ.

vi sakhyāni serrāmahe (SS. əmahā; MS. visvāvahā) AS. SS. Vait. ApŚ. MS. PG.
yām jīvam anānavāmahai (MS. əhe) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
devān yajñīyā iha yān yajāmahai (TS. havāmahai) TS. MS. KS.
rayim yena vānāmahai (SV. əhe) RV. SV.
kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvah, sacāvah (MS. əhai, p.p. əhe) yad avyākūm

purā cīt RV. MS.

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

Phonetic interchanges concerning y in combination with other consonants

§27. For this theme as a whole see Bloomfield, SBE. 42, 418 ff., and the appropriate section of our volume on Phonetics. The Concordance presents the item:
bhaksā āgatah TS.: bhaksāḥ pitaḥ VSK.: bhaksop bhaksyamānah (KS. bhaksā) VS. KS. So the single ms. of KS. (at that time unedited)
reads; but the now printed text quite properly emends to bhakṣya-
maṇāḥ, matching VS. Similarly,
(net tvā...) dadhīyā vidhakṣyān paryaṣṭhayātvē (AV. vidhakṣan pariṣṭha-
ayatāti) RV. AV.; net tvā... dadhad vidhakṣyān paryaṣṭhayātvait
TS. 'Lest the bold one embrace thee (shake thee about) intending
to burn thee', or the like. Many ms. of AV. read vidhakṣyān,
which should be adopted. Cf. Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 58.
vācaspate vācā śrīrṣaṇa sambhyātatanāyakṣāse (TA. "yakṣyāse; ŚŚ.
"yachṣe) MS. TA. ŚŚ. The aorist yakṣyāse may = the future
yakṣyāse; and yakṣe is certainly a phonetic corruption for
yakṣ(y)āse.

On the other hand, the fuller kṣy is secondary in the following:
ā te yatante rathyo yathā prthak, kardhāṇsy agne ajarāṇi (SV. ajarasya)
dhakṣataḥ (ApŚ. dhakṣyānā) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. dhakṣataḥ is aorist
participle, gen. sing.; dhakṣyāse, 'thou shalt be kindled', connected
asynetically with yatante, is obviously secondary. In fact, Caland
on ApŚ. 3. 15. 5 takes it as a mere corruption of the other reading.
§28. Similarly the group kṣy is reduced, secondarily:
ā vr̥ṣeyantām (AV. vr̥ṣicantām) aditye durevāh RV. AV. See §87.

In one instance kṣy is secondarily reduced to s:
ratho na vājan sanīṣyam (SV. sanīṣam) ayāstit RV. SV. 'He hath come
like a chariot about to win (that hath won) booty,' sanīṣyam is a
common form, sanīṣan an aorist participle made for the occasion.
Cf. Oldenberg, Prolegomena 281, and our §234, c.

In a remarkably persistent way the mss. read arātṣyam, improper
conditional, for arātṣam, proper prophetic aorist, in the set formula:
tenārātṣyam (ŚŚ. MS. GG. v. I. rātṛsā) MS. ŚŚ. MS. GG.; cf. tan me
rādhi (Kauś. rāddham) VS. TS. TA. Kauś.
CHAPTER II. THE VOICES
INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ACTIVE AND MIDDLE AND PASSIVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

apriyaḥ prati muñcatāṃ AV, ‘let the enemy fasten on himself’; apriye prati muñca tat (Kauṣ.ī muñcatāṃ) AV. Kauṣ. ‘fasten thou (ye two) that on the enemy.’

niṣkam iva prati muñcata (and, ṛtāṃ) AV. (both). In different verses: ‘fasten ye on (others) like a necklace’, or, ‘let him fasten on himself’ etc.

ya iti vahanta āsabhīḥ RV. ‘who travel (transport themselves) with swift horses’; yadā vahantu āsavaḥ SV. ‘if swift horses transport (him).’ Cf. §67, where the two voices of vah are found without difference of meaning.

yad vo ‘suddāḥ (VSK. 9ah) parā jaśnur (VSK. jagāhānaitad) idam vas tac chuṇhāmī VS. VSK. ŚB. ‘whatever of yours the impure have (has) polluted, that do I here cleanse for you’; yad abuddhaḥ parājaśnur ādaṇa tad va etena sūndhatām KS. ‘whateover the impure has polluted, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (become pure)’, or, perhaps, ‘let them (indefinite) purify that for you thru this’; cf. below, §71, to which the KS. version belongs if sūndhatām has active meaning: yad vo ‘suddha śālehe taḥ sūndhahkram MS. ‘what of yours an impure one has handled, do ye purify that for yourselves (or, do ye become pure as to that).’

yat te krūram... tat te śudhyatu (TS. ApŚ. tat ta etena sūndhatām; MS. tad etena sūndhasa) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. See prec., and cf. §§71, 82, 338 end.

sa viśravl prati cākplpe AV. ‘he hath shaped himself into all things’; sa viśravl prati cākplpe AŚ. ŚŚ. ‘he hath shaped (or, shall shape) the universe.’


The liturgical series, vācām (etc.) te sūndhāmī, VS. 6. 14, ‘I purify thy voice’ etc., is paralleled by a corresponding list showing true reflexive value, mukham sūndhasa etc. Kauṣ. 44. 19, ‘purify thy mouth’ etc.

āpo devī śundhata mā... dēvayāyai MS.: dēvayāya karmāṇe sūndhadvām dēvayāyai VS. ŚB.: sūndhadvām dēvayāya karmāṇe (TS. TB. add dēvayāyai) TS. MS. TB. ApŚ.
yad ahnā (also, rātrīyāt) kurute pāpam TAA.: yad ahnā (and, rātryā) pāpam akārṣam TA. MahānU. 'What evil is done (I have done) by day (night).’ kurute has passive force.

agni daksāih punhi nah (TB. mā; MS. punimahe) RV. MS. TB. 'Purify us’; 'may we become pure.’ And similarly;

brahma tena punhi nah (LŚ. mā; VS. KS. pāntu mā; MS. TB. punimahe) RV. VS. KS. MS. TB. LŚ.: idam brahma punimahe TB.

svamā tāṁ (ApMB. tvaṁ) garbham ā dāhehi (ApMB. dhasva) RVKh. ApMB. MG. 'Thus set thou the embryo (in her)’: ‘thus set thou (addressing the woman) the embryo in thyself (receive the embryo).’

See §302.

madhu kariṣṇāni madhu janayisyāmi...JB.: madhu janīṣye (AV. "stya) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ. 'I shall produce honey (for myself).’

ud dharṣantāni maghavan vājaṁāni AV.; ud dharṣavya maghavan (AV. satyanām) ayudhāni RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. 'Let strength be aroused, O generous one!’ or, 'arouse the weapons, O generous one (or, the weapons of the warriors).'

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

samāhye (KS. "hya; 2d sing. net.) sukṛtya kam TS. KS. TB ApŚ. MS. ApMB.: samāhyasyaṁṝtya kam AV. Only KS. has a transitive verb, 'gird on’ (the things mentioned in the preceding pādas). For the others ('I gird myself', 'gird thyself'), see §308 end.

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

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

paraśutṛpah kālecataḥ śṛṇiḥi AV. 'destroy the fiercely burning (demons) that delight in (taking) life’; paraśutṛpa abhi kālecānaḥ (sc. śṛṇiḥi) RV.’ destroy (the demons) that delight in (taking) life, burning fiercely against them.’ Cf. Renou 128.

viśvasmād ṭṣataḥ (MS. ṭṣamāṇah) ... paridhiḥ TS. MS. KS. 'the fence from every attacker’; the MS. reading (somewhat uncertain, see editor's note, 1. 1. 12: 7. 10) seems to mean 'fleeing from every attack.'
jaññānaḥ (SV. janayan) sūryam apinvo arkaś RV. SV. In RV, jaññānaḥ is absolute, 'when born'; in SV, janayan lamely governs sūryam. The interchange of the loosest kind.

§32. In one case active and middle are used in precisely the reverse of the function to be expected:
tasmai tvam stana pra puṇya ApMB. 'do thou, O breast, swell for him';
tasmai stana pra puṇyasya HG. 'do thou swell out thy breast for him.' [But the middle seems justified, as referring to 'thy' breast.—G.M.B., approved by F. E.]

§33. There are also, as noted above, a few formulas, related in context, but not strictly variants of one another, which contrast the two voices according to the same standards, the middle being reflexive or at least intransitive, the active being transitive.
divo mātrayā varinā (VS. ŚB, varinā) prathasva VS. TS. MS. KS, ŚB.:
ṛṣayas te prathamajā devesu divo mātrayā varinā (VS. varinā) prathantu VS. MS. KS, 'with the measure of heaven extend thyself in breadth'; 'the sages of yore... shall extend thee in breadth.'
dṛṣhā prthivīḥ PB. and prthivīṁ dṛṣṭa VS. TS. MS. KS, ŚB. JB. MG.
'make firm the earth'; dṛṣṭaṁ prthivyāṁ VS. KS. ŚB. 'be firm upon earth.'
iṣṭa pinvasva, āṛje pinvasva VS. ŚB.: iṣṭa pinva, āṛjam pinva MG.
vācaṁ me tvayi dadhāni; (response,) vācaṁ te mayi dadhe KBU. And the same with many other nouns besides vāc, in a long litan. The father says: 'Let me place my speech (etc.) in thee.' The son replies: 'I take thy speech (etc.) in myself.'

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

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

7 Renou, passim, shows that a verbal system is frequently made up with one tense of one voice and another tense of another, there being no difference of
§35. In his admirable *Wörterbuch*, Grassmann says (column 1070) under *yaj*, ‘Das Medium fügt überall die bekannte reflexive Bedeutung hinzu.’ BR. s.v. cite the scholiast to Pān. 1. 3. 72, Vop. 23. 58 to the effect that the active of *yaj* is used of the priest, the middle of the sacrificing householder (*yajanti yajakāh, yajamāno yajate*). However, both BR. and Dellbrück⁴ recognize that this distinction is not absolute. The *yaj* variants, below, show at any rate that it is not adhered to very closely in Vedic tradition. The twin of *yajati*, namely *juhoti*, which might be expected to be on all fours with *yajati*, shows scarcely, if ever, any such distinction, being generally active. This may be due to the fact that *juhoti* is conceived as the function of the *hotar*. The root *hā* ‘call’, produces only middle forms in the RV. when the present stem is *hāva-*, whereas the other stems show both actives and middles. This is not the place to go into an elaborate investigation of the reason why *hāva-* has no actives; the variants, at any rate, show in almost every instance active forms of the other stems interchanging with middle forms of *hāva-*. In general, our variants are loftily on the other side of right and wrong; the total of this evanescent distinction has broken down, almost every root showing actives in interchange with middles.

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

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

¹ *AISyntex* 248; so also Renou 106, 110. Dellbrück 241, observes that *ci* ‘pile’ (bricks of the altar) exhibits regularly the same distinction, the middle being used of the sacrificer, the active of the priest.

⁴ [In a charm against poison, especially that of snakes; there may be in the middle a suggestion of ‘for thyself’, the poison being magically directed back against its emitter. F.E.]
VOICES

syonam patye (AV. patibhyo) vahatun kr̥ṣṇva (AV. kr̥ṣṇ team) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG.N.
marutāṃ pitar uta tad gṛṇām (MS. gṛṇe te) TS. MS.: marutāṃ pitar uta tad gṛṇimah KS.
ani marutāva savyā yajāna (MS. yaje hi) TS. MS.
āśi no rayiś subhajasaṁ yuveva (TS. yuveha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ra no mayobhāṅ pita āviśasa (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jörgensen] pitar āviśasva,
AŚ. pitar āviśeha) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG. See §69.
huve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU, hveyām) sakram puruhūtam indram
RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU,
itan manyeta (Vidh. vai manyet) pitarāṃ mātaram ca ŚānhitopaniṣadB.
Vidh. Vidh.

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

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

§38. The following is an alphabetic list of all the roots which so inter-
change; those which are not treated by Delbrück—a rather large
number—are distinguished by italics. The two denominatives rājaya
‘demean oneself as king’, and sukṛatīya ‘have superior wisdom’, are not
listed.

aś ‘obtain’
ark ‘move’
as ‘throw’
āś ‘sit’
1+adhi ‘read’
1+pālā ‘bīc’
īr ‘arouse’
edh ‘prosper’
kār ‘make’
kār ‘praise’
kalp (caus.) ‘shape’
gam ‘go’
gar ‘praise’
gup ‘protect’
gai ‘sing’
grabh ‘seize’
ghus ‘sound’
cat (caus.) ‘drive off’
ēi ‘observe’
jān ‘beget’
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<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>ji</td>
<td>'conquer'</td>
<td>lubh</td>
<td>'desire'</td>
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<tr>
<td>jus</td>
<td>'enjoy'</td>
<td>sakṣy</td>
<td>'grow'</td>
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<td>tan</td>
<td>'extend'</td>
<td>vac</td>
<td>'speak'</td>
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<td>tar</td>
<td>'cross'</td>
<td>vad</td>
<td>'speak'</td>
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<td>dah</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
<td>vadh</td>
<td>'slay'</td>
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<td>då</td>
<td>'give'</td>
<td>van</td>
<td>'win'</td>
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<tr>
<td>dī</td>
<td>'shine'</td>
<td>vap</td>
<td>'throw'</td>
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<td>dī</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
<td>vāraya</td>
<td>'ward off'</td>
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<td>dīks</td>
<td>'consecrate'</td>
<td>vart</td>
<td>'turn'</td>
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<td>dyut</td>
<td>'shine'</td>
<td>vardh</td>
<td>'grow'</td>
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<td>dhṛty+ā</td>
<td>'dare'</td>
<td>vah</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
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<td>dhā</td>
<td>'set'</td>
<td>valh</td>
<td>'ask a riddle'</td>
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<tr>
<td>dhāraya</td>
<td>'hold'</td>
<td>vidy</td>
<td>'obtain' and 'perceive'</td>
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<td>nam</td>
<td>'bend'</td>
<td>viś</td>
<td>'enter'</td>
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<td>'perish'</td>
<td>vyāy</td>
<td>'envelop'</td>
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<td>'obtain'</td>
<td>ṭiks</td>
<td>'help'</td>
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<td>'lead'</td>
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<td>'expel'</td>
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<td>'cook'</td>
<td>sac</td>
<td>'follow'</td>
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<td>'mix'</td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>'sit'</td>
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<td>'purify'</td>
<td>san</td>
<td>'be effective'</td>
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<td>'bind'</td>
<td>sar (caus.)</td>
<td>'move'</td>
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<td>sarj</td>
<td>'loosen'</td>
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<td>bhar</td>
<td>'bear'</td>
<td>sakh</td>
<td>'be able'</td>
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<td>bhū</td>
<td>'be'</td>
<td>see + ni</td>
<td>'be devoted to'</td>
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<td>bhrāj</td>
<td>'shine'</td>
<td>stan</td>
<td>'thunder'</td>
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<td>'dive'</td>
<td>stu</td>
<td>'praise'</td>
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<td>mad</td>
<td>'revel'</td>
<td>sthā</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
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<td>man</td>
<td>'think'</td>
<td>sthāpaya</td>
<td>'place'</td>
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<td>muc</td>
<td>'release'</td>
<td>snāpaya</td>
<td>'cause to bathe'</td>
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<td>yaj</td>
<td>'revere'</td>
<td>svad</td>
<td>'taste'</td>
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<td>'hold'</td>
<td>svap</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
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<td>yu</td>
<td>'unite' and 'separate'</td>
<td>han</td>
<td>'slay'</td>
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<td>raks</td>
<td>'protect'</td>
<td>hā</td>
<td>'leave'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ram</td>
<td>'rest'</td>
<td>hi</td>
<td>'incite'</td>
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<td>ram, rā</td>
<td>'give'</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>'sacrifice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruḥ</td>
<td>'grow'</td>
<td>hū</td>
<td>'call'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interchanges between active and middle which occur twice or oftener

§39. *aś ‘obtain’ (D. 229)

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

viśvam id dhīlam (MS. dhīlam) ānaśūḥ (SV. āśata) RV. AV. SV. MS.
ApŚ.

yena kṛvāṇasy ānaśūḥ (SV. āśata) RV. SV.

vy aśema (SV. VS. aśemahī) devahitam yad āyuh RV. SV. VS. VSK. MS.
KS. TA. ApŚ. NṛpU. NṛṇU. MG. The active is usual with
prepositions, and *vy aśema obviously prior to *mahi; Delbrück,
l. c.; Oldenberg, Prolegomena 278.

tenāmṛtatvam aṣiyām (KS. PB. aṣiyā) KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ.: so *mṛtatvam
aṣiyā (VSK. aṣiyāt) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: tayāmṛtatvam
(and, tair anṛ) aṣiyā PB.

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

§40. *ir ‘arouse’

vācaspate cīḍrayā vācācīḍrayā jūhā dīvi devāyādham (ŚŚ, erroneously
deva śrīhan) hotrām aṣiyāt (KS. aṣiyānt, TA. aṣiyāvaa, ŠŚ.
aṣiyāvaa) saḥā (ŚŚ. om.) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. KS. See §248, end.

evayā tanaṁ tanaṁ aṣiyāt AV.: svāṁ yāt tanāṁ tanāṁ aṣiyāta MS.
AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: svā yāt tanāṁ tanaṁ aṣiyāta KS. KSA.: svāyām yāt
tanāṁ (TS. tanāmā) tanāṁ aṣiyāta TS. KS. But aṣiyāta is
the reading of most mss. also in AV. 7. 3. 1; see Whitney.

agnyāṇāṁ ud śrāte (AŚ. *ati) AV. PB. AŚ. We put little faith in the
Bibl. Ind. edition of AŚ.

tāṁ naḥ pūṣāṁ chiva-śam erayaśa HG.: tāṁ pūṣāṁ (AV. *an) chiva-
śam erayaśa RV. AV. ApMB.: śa naḥ pūṣā śivatamām eraya PG.

§41. kar ‘make’ (D. 238)

ugraṁ cettāram adhirājam akraṇ (AV. akraṭa) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS.
akrama collides with the triṣṭubh meter of the stanza as a whole,
and Ppp. (Barret, J.A.O.S. 37. 264) reads akraṇ.

dyumantaṁ ghoṣāṁ vijayāya kṛṣmahe (AV. kṛṣmaṁ) RV. AV.
agnau kariṣṭe karavai karavāni (with reply: kriyatām kurunṣa kuru)
AG. agnau karavaṇi karaviyāmi MS.: agnau karaviyāmi GG. BDh.:
agnau karavāṇi ViDh. Cf. Stenzler’s note on AG. 4. 7. 18, Transl.
syonāṁ patye (AV. pathibhyo) vahatām kṛṣmaṇa (AV. kṛṣṇa team) RV.
AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N. Besides the patch-word (cf. §36),
AV is marked as secondary by dissyllabic syanam (the others, archaically, sianam).

*kuru* AG. GG. ViDh.: *kurupça* AG. YDh. AusDh. BrhPDh.

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

MG.: *kurudhvam* PG.

krṣiṁ svāsasyāṁ ut kṛṣe (KS. kṛḍhi) MS. KS. MŚ. See §165.

yajñapataye vasu vāryam āśañkarase ŚŚ.: yajñapataye vāryam ā svas kaḥ MS.: yajamāṇāya vāryam ā svas kār aśmai TA.

Participles (cf. §31):

punaḥ kṛṇāṇā (KS. kṛṇāntā) pitarā yuvanā VS. KS. ŚB.: punaḥ kṛṇatāṁ pitaro yuvanah MS.: punaḥ kṛṇane tāḥ pitaram yuvanam TS.

§41a. gam ‘go’
juṣṭe juṣṭiṁ te gameyam (ŚŚ. ०ya; TS. ०iya) TS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ.
nāpa vṛṇḥāte na gamālo antam AV.: nāvapṛjyāte na gamāle antam TB.

§42. gup ‘protect’
tad gopāyata (KS. ०yadhvam) KŚ. ApŚ.
tan me gopāya (Kauś. ०yase) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.
tan gopāya (KS. ŚG. ०yasea) KS. AG. ŚG. ApMB.: lāṁ gopāyasva TA.
asvapne ca māṇavādrāṇaṁ colaturto gopāyetāṁ (KS. MG. ca daksinato gopāyatāṁ) KS. PG. MG.: asvapnaḥ ca tuśnāvādrāṇaḥ ca rakṣatāṁ AV. See also Conc. under gopāyāṁ ca, jāgrti ca, didivi ca, and gopāyāṁnam. gopāyatāṁ is 3d dual impv. act., rather than 3d sing. impv. mid.

§43. grah (grabh) ‘seize’ (D. 240)
tam ātman (MS. KS. ātmanī) pari grhṇīmahe vayam (MS. grhṇīmosaṁ) TS. MS. KS.

(asyyed indro māde v) grābham grbhṛti (SV. grbhṛti) sānasim RV. SV.

§44. jàn ‘beget’
surāyā (MS. KS. surāyā) mūtrāj janayanta (KS.† TB. ०t) retaj VS.† MS. KS. TB.

kṛḍā matiṁ janaye (VS. KS. TB. ०ya) cārum aghnaye RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

dvāipṛthivyor aham devayajyayobbhayor lokayor rādhāsam (KS.* devaya- jyayā prajaniṣeyam prajayā paśubhiḥ; KS.* MS. devayajyāy prajaniṣeyā prajayā paśubhiḥ) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. See §175.

§45. juṣ ‘enjoy’ (D. 229)
sa no nesīṭham (TS. MS. ०thā, VS. ŚB. viśvā) havaṇānī jopat (TS. jopate; MS. havaṇā juṣo) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. On perfect active and present middle cf. Renou 14, 144ff.
tıvṛā (SV. viprāya) gātham gāyata yaḥ juvoṣati (AA. ⁴ṣat; SV. yaṁ juvoṣate) SV. AA. ŚŚ.

§46. 'tan 'extend!' (D. 242)

bhṛhaspati yaṁnaṁ īnaṁ tanotu VS. ŚB, LŚ.: bhṛhaspatiḥ tanuṁ īnaṁ naḥ TS. TB.

ya akṛntan avayaṁ ya atanvata (AV. yāṣ ca tativrē) AV. SMB, PG, ApMB, HG.: ya akṛntan ya atanvam MG.—MG. is obviously secondary, and may perhaps be a case of purely external form-assimilation: atanvam for atanvata to match akṛntan.

yunakta śīrā vi yugā tanudhvan (AV. TS. MS. KS. tanota) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§47. 'tar 'cross'

pra candramās tiraṭe (TS. † ⁴ṭi; AV. † ⁴mam tirasē) dirgham āyuḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.

śuvṛdhīḥ tiraṭe vājabharmabhīḥ (SV. TS. tarati vājakarmabhīḥ) RV. SV. TS. KS. See §197.

§48. dā 'give' (D. 242)

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


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

ajasyaḥ bhāmnaḥ didyatam (TS. didyānam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

viśe āśā didyāno (MS. KS. didyad) vi bhāḥi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

The meter favors didyāno.

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


asmin rāṣṭre indriyaṁ dadhāmi AB.: asmin rāṣṭre śriyam dadhe SMB.

partadā nāsa adhitāh (HG. adhīdhāh, ApMB. adhi防腐) svastaye AV. HG. ApMB. The readings of HG. ApMB. are obviously inferior; the sense requires a middle ('thou hast put this garment round thyself unto well-being').

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

The middle is here proper; VSK. assimilates the voice to that of dhehi.
annādāyānnapātyāyāt dadhat Kuś.: annādam annādāyāدادde (KS. annādāyāyāannapātyāyāدادde) TS. KS.: annādam agnim anna- pātyāyāدادde MS.: annādam anvannapātyāyāدادde AS.: agnim annādam annādāyāدادde VS.

garbham dadhāḥāṃ te vām aham dade TB. ApŚ.: reta dhattam puṣṭyai praśananaṃ MS.
apāṣcādbhārī ṭhātā vi dadhā (MS. p.p. dadhe, TS. дādhāv) idam yat (MS. om. yat) TS. MS. KS. Uncertain, because KS, must, and MS. may (contrary to its p.p.), intend dadhau, like TS.

§50. nam 'bend'
sam akāśīr namāmānī (MS. avamāta, 3 pl. mid.) RVKh. AV. MS.
tasmār viśeḥ svayaṃ eva namante (TB. ṛṛ) RV. TB. AB.
sam bāhubhyāṃ dhāmati (AV. bharati, TS. TA. namati, KS. namate, MS. bhyāṃ adhamati) sam patatraḥ (KS. yajatraḥ) RV. AV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. TA. Mahānū. Śvetū.

§51. ni 'lead' (D. 244)
agnis te 'grave' nayatu TS.; agnīs te aggaih nayatāṃ MS.
samudraṣya tvākṣityā un nayāmi VS. ŠB.; samudraṣya vo 'kṣityā un naye TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. The VS. ŚB. reading simulates triṣṭubh meter; the passage is really prose.
devaṣya tvā savitāḥ pranave 'śvīno bāhubhyāṃ pūṣno hastāḥhyam upa nayāmy asau (HG. naye 'sau') ŚG. HG. And others; see Conc.
īṣaṃ mūṇantaḥ pari gām nayadhvam (AV. nayāmah) RV. AV. MG.

§52. nud 'expel' (D. 244)
nīḥ kravyādām nūdānavi (MS. nudaśav) AV. MS.
agnis tān asmat pra yunottu lokāt MS.: agnis tān (VS. tān; AS. ṭā) lokāt pra yuddhyā (AS. nuddaḥ; SMB. nudaḥ) asmat VS. ŚB. AS.

§53. pac 'cook' (D. 245)
ity apacah TB. ApŚ.: ity apacathāḥ MS.
varūtrayo janayās te...pacantiḥkhe TS.: varūtri (and, varu) te...pacatāṃ ukhe MS.; janayās tvā...pacantiḥkhe VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§54. bandh 'bind' (D. 245)
mītrās tvā padi badhnatu (VS. ŠB. badhnātām) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.
ApŚ.
yena tvābadhnāt (KS. māha; TS. ApMB*, yam abadhnīta) savitā suścevḥ (AV. svaḥ; TS. ApMB*, suketaḥ) RV. AV. TS. ApMB. (bā) KS.

āsvaṃ mediṣyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. abadhnāta) SB. ŚŚ.: on this see §30, end.
§55. bhar 'bear' (D. 230)

atra rayēthām anu sanskhārātam (MŚ. ०retām, 3 du. impv. mid.) TB.
ApŚ. MŚ. (In TB. ApŚ. sanskhara—etam.)

(ud u tva viśe devā) agne bharantu (MS. also bharanta) cittibhiḥ VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. See §156.

§56. bhā 'be, become'

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. ०yāv) abhūtām (MS. ०thām) MS. KS.
TB. ApŚ.—MS. (2 du. mid.) is probably only an error for 3 du.
act. ०tām, mechanically influenced by the parallel form ārabhethām;
see §§337 and 21.

yathāgīnir akṣito 'nupadasta evam mahyaṁ pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG.
०tāḥ) svadhā bhava (HG. bhavatām) ApMB, HG. And the same
with yathā vāyū... yathādiyā... See §329.

§57. bhṛāj 'shine'

sa yathā tvam bhṛājatā bhṛāja 'ny evāhāṁ bhṛājatā bhṛājyaśaṁ AV.: sa
yathā tvam bhṛāja bhṛāja evam aham bhṛāja bhṛājaśya MS.
mahi bhṛājante (TS. MS. KS. ०ty) arcayo vibhāvaso RV. SV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. On the evidence of RV. (see Grassmann) the middle
present is prior to the active. See also Whitney, Roots s.v., and
Oldenberg, Proleg. 309.

§58. mad 'revel'

kotā yakṣād aśvinai... somāśya pibatu madantām vyantu MS.;
vyantu pibantu madantu (form-assimilation) AŚ. The KS. parallel
lacks any form of mad.
pibantu madantu (MS. ०tām) vyantu (TB. vyiṣṭo somam) VS. MS. TB.
Cf. prec.

yatā (TA. yatra) suhārāh sukṛto madantī (TA. ०to) AV. TA.

§59. nuc 'release' (D. 247)

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

Participle (cf. §31):

pramuñcamānā (AV. ०canto) bhūvanasya retāḥ AV. TS. KS. ApŚ.
MS.

§60. yaj 'rever' (D. 248); see §55 above

ava devaiv devaikram eva 'yakṣi (KS. TS. TB. ०yāt) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.
TB.; ava no devaiv devaikram eva yakṣi MS. KS. See §266.

agn evāntām ava heṇa iyakṣa (KS. iṅka) KS. ApŚ.: ava devāntām yaja
heṇo agne (KS. yaje hityāmi; MS. yaje hedyāmi) AV. KS. MS. Cf.
avo devaiv yaje hedyān TB. ApŚ.

sarvāt apa yajāmani Kauś.: sarvāt ava yajāmahe KSjj. TB. TAA. ApŚ.
asau yaja AŚ.: asau yajate LŚ.
mahyam yojantu (AV. KS. ॐntām) mama yāṇi havyā (AV. KS, yāṁyā) RV. AV. TS. KS.
anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. yaje hi) TS. MŚ. See §36.
yasmad yoñer udārithā (KS. ṣthā) yaje (MS. KS. yajā) tam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
§61. yam ‘hold’ (D. 248)
yachantāṁ paśca VS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ.: yachantu paśca MS.: yachantu tvā paśca KS.
gharmasyaikā savitaikāṁ ni yachati (MS. KS. te; PG. tu) TS. MS. KS. PG.
§62. yu ‘separate’ and ‘unite’ (D. 249)
ato no ‘nyat pitaro mā yago’ (HG. yūḍhavam) ApŚ. MŚ. HG.: mā vo (AŚ. no) ’to ‘nyat pitaro yojwata (AŚ. yuṅḍham) AŚ. Kauś. ni no rayin subhojasam yuvatva (TS. yuweha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. Delbrück, l. c., and §36 above.
§63. rakṣ ‘protect’ (D. 250)
agni havyam rakṣevā (VS. ŚB. rakṣa) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.
vijña havyam rakṣaseva (VS. ŚB. rakṣa) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
vrataṁ rakṣante viśvahā AV.: vrata rakṣante viśvahā RV. The AV. reading is in every way secondary, cf. the formulas vrata rakṣante...
in Cone.
§64. vad ‘speak’ (D. 252)
achāyaka vadavasā (MŚ. vada) AŚ. SS. MŚ.: achāyaka vadavasā yat te vāyam AB. KB. ŚB. KS. ApŚ.
avapatantīr avadān RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: avayatiḥ sam avadanta VSK.: pippalyah samavadanta AV. Here the preposition sam is, of course, concerned in the use of the middle, which might perhaps better be placed in §30.
satyaṁ vaddisyāmi (TA. vaddisyen) TA. (bis) TU. ŠG. MG.
§65. var (caus. vāraya) ‘hold in, hold off’ (D. 230)
antar evamgantāv vārayadhvāt (MS. TB. vārayatāt, but most mss. and p.p. of MS. ṣdvat) MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. SS.
§66. vart ‘turn’ (D. 235)
imē jīvā ni mṛtaṁ dvayttran (TA. dvayartin) RV. AV. TA. AG. The monstrous form is found in both edd. of TA., text and comm.;
comm. glosses by örtthā. It can only be felt as a wholly anomalous 3d. plural impf. act.

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

§67. vah 'carry' (D. 253)

ṭa a vahānti (MŚ. tayavahante) kavayā purastāt TS. MS. TB.

jātavedo vahemām (ŚŚ. vahàvānām) sukrūmā yatra lokāh (TA. lokāḥ) TA. ŚŚ. The reading of ŚŚ. is obviously secondary.


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

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

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

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

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

mā jñātāram mā pratiṣṭhāṃ vidanta (AG.† vindantu) AV. AG.

§69. vīt 'enter' (D. 253)

ny anyā arkaṃ abhito vīvāre (AV. *viṣanta; JB. viśīṣyuh) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

sa no mayobhāḥ pito āviśasa (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jörgensen] pītav āviśasa; AŚ. pītav āviśaḥ; MŚ. pītav āvieṣa) TS. TB. AŚ. MS. ŚG. SMB. PG.: sa naḥ pito (!) madhumāḥ ā vīveka Kauś.: sa naḥ pito mdhumāḥ āvīṣeṣa KS. See §§139, 332; on perfect active and present middle, Renou 14, 144ff.

Participles (cf. §31):

viśo-viśaḥ praviśāvān imahe AV.: viśaṣyaḥ viśi praviśāvān (KS.† praviśāvānam) imahe TS. MS. KS. See §273.

§70. vyā 'envelop' (D. 254)

tasmā devā amṛtāḥ (AV. 1.17) sam vyayantām (AV. 1.17tu) AV. TS. MS. ApMB.

tōs tvā devū (SMB. MG. devyo) jarase (SMB. HG. 8vū) sam vyayantu (PG. vyayasa) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.: tōs tvā jarase sam vyayantu AV. Stenzler, Transl. of PG. 1. 4. 13, takes PG. to be a mere corruption; at a pinch it could perhaps be rendered 'wrap
thyself in these goddesses unto old age', with distinct middle force, belonging then with the preceding section.

§71. सुध ‘purify, be pure'

yad vō 'suddhāh pari jagnūr etc., see §30.

yat te kruṇām... tāt te śudhyat (TS. ApŚ. tāt etena kundhatāṃ; MS. tāt etena kundhasa) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. Here both verbs are middle in force; or, more strictly, śudhyat is properly a passive, made into an active intransitive by change from middle to active ending; see §§82, 30.

§72. श्र ‘set up’ (D. 255)

vaṅg pannaśya śirīye TS.; vaṅg pannaś asiriyat (KS. gā aśīrayuh) AV. KS. See §219.

yā na ural uṣāti viśrayāle (AV. oli; ApMB. HG. viśrayātai) RV. AV. ApMB. HG. See §253.

§73. सु ‘sit’ (D. 230)

tiero devār barahir edam sadantu (AV. ośām) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS.

sarvasati (AV. ośām) avapasaḥ sadantu (AV. ośām) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.

§74. सूर ‘loosen’ (D. 255f.)

tena mām īndra sanī śṛja (MS. śṛjasva) TS. TB. MŚ.

vāyas poṣeṇa sanī śṛja (MG. śṛjasva) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. SMB. MG. In this and the prec. śṛjasva in the cadence is bad.

ti (MS. KS. pra) pariṇyāḥ (RV. ojanī, TS. ojāḥ) sṛjanti (MS. KS. sṛjām) rodaśi anu RV. TS. MS. KS.

pāvamānasya tāt stemona... viryena sṛje MS.; pāvamānena tāt stemona... viryena devaś tēv savitot sṛjatu... TS.

§75. su ‘praise’ (D. 257)

indrayanta (AB. olaḥ) stuta (AB. studhvam) AB. GB. Vait.

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

indro viḍe tām u stuhi (AA. stute) AA. Mahānāmnayaḥ. See §165.

§76. sū ‘stand’ (D. 257)

śīvā me saptarśīn (KS. MS. saptāṛṣī) upa tiṣṭhasva (Vait. MS. tiṣṭha) TS. Vait. KS. MŚ.

yāvac ca saptā sindhavo viṭasṭhīre (TS. oṭasthuḥ) TS. VS.: yāvat saptā sindhavo viṭasṭhīre AV.

yenaśa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU. bhūtaś tiṣṭhate hy) antarātmā TA. MahānU.

kuṭṛṇaḥbhūyaṁ tan yō gām vikṛntantam mānasā bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhate TB.; kuṭihde yō gām vikṛntantam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhāti VS.
caus. sthāpayya ‘place’ (cf. D. 257)
ā mālarā sthāpayase jīgatnū RV. AV.: āsthāpayata mālaraṁ jīgatnum
AV.

§77. hu ‘sacrifice’
pra tve havīnī jhure (KS. jhumas) samiddhe (MS. tve samiddhe jhure
havīnī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. But jhure may be passive,
with havīnī as subject; so Grassmann.
indrāya devekho jhutā (ApŚ. juṣatām; MŚ. jhutām) havī svāhā PB.
KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§78. hā ‘call’ (D. 261)
hwe nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. hrayāmi) sākran puruḥuṭam īndram RV.
AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.
	tam sarasvāntam avase huwema (AV. havāmahe; KS. johavāmi) RVKh.
AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: sarasvāntam avase johavāmi RV. The
AV. reading introduces a jagati pada into an otherwise triṣṭubh
stanz, while KS. is a bad triṣṭubh contaminated from the two
other readings. (Delete reference to KS. 19. 14d in Conc. under
sarasvāntam, and add bis to this reference under the other.)
agnim (MahānU. upram, AV. ukthair) huwema (AV. havāmahe) paramāt
sadhasṭḥāt AV. TA. MahānU. The AV. reading is metrically
bad.

ṛtasya patnām avase huwema (AV. havāmahe) AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. AŚ.
ŚŚ. The stanza is otherwise triṣṭubh.

prāṭarjitaṁ bhagam ugraṁ huwema (AV. havāmahe) RV. AV. VS. TB.
ApMB. N. As in prec., triṣṭubh stanza.

prālāh somam uta rudraṁ huwema (AV. havāmahe). RV. AV. VS. TB.
ApMB. Here, on the contrary, the rest of the stanza is jagati,
and AV. makes this pada fit its context metrically.

havante vājasātaye RV.: huweya vā RV. AV.: huwema vā RV. SV. MS.
KS.

§79. Interchanges between active and middle which occur only once
ār ‘move’ (D. 233): marya iva yuvatiḥīṁ sam ārāti (AV. īva yoṣāṁ
sam ārāṣe) RV. SV. AV. The AV. reading is bad in meter and
sense.
as ‘throw’ (D. 237): ayam yajamāno mrūḥa nyasyatām (AŚ. nyasyatu)
TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

ās + upa ‘revere’ (cf. D. 233): bhramaitad upāsvaiit (MahānU.
upāsvaiit) tapah TA. MahānU. But Poona ed. of TA. as MahānU.,
v. i. upāsvai? See §195.
i + adhi ‘reid’ (D. 237): adhihi bhoḥ AG. ŚG. GG. KhG. HG. GDh.
ApDh. RVPratiśakhyā 15. 2: adhiṣṭva bhoḥ MDh. AuśDh
i + palá 'flee': paláisyamáñaya sváhá TS.; paláisyate sváhá KS. Participles.
edh 'prosper' (D. 229): athisayati (TS. MS. TB. *syá) madhyam edhatám (Vait. *tu; AŚ. LŚ. ejatu; ŚŚ. ejati) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.: athisáyad madhyam edhatám KSA.
kar 'praise': sacitvar indraś cárkaśa (3d. sing. pres. intensive mid.) a RV.: sadá va indraś cárkaśad a SV. See Grassmann s. v. kár, and Oldenberg RVNoten 2. 325.
kalp, caus. kalpa 'shape' (cf. D. 234): yathāvaśan taneśi (AV. *vaḥ) kalpayaseva (AV. VS. kalpayáti) RV. AV. VS.
gar 'praise': marutám pitar uta tad grññamah KS.: marutám pítas tad aham grññam (MS. grne te) TS. MS.
gai 'sing' (D. 240): rājānam sañgāyata (PG. *goyetām) ŚG. PG.
ghūṣ 'sound': devaśrūtau deśeyā ghoṣethām (VS. ŚB. ghoṣatam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
cat, caus. 'drive off' (cf. D. 231): ghoṣenāmivånī catayata (PB. *mivān catayadhram) PB. TB. ApŚ.
ci 'observe': cañçūsa mi cikṣata (MS. *te) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ji 'conquer' (D. 241): ity amun smṛvānam aham (MS. ajayathāḥ, ŚB. ajayat) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
dh 'fly': parṇāvīr tva dīyāti (SV. *te) RV. SV.
dikṣ 'consecrate' (D. 234): agnir dikṣitāḥ prthivī dikṣā sat ma dikṣā dikṣayatu (JB. dikṣeta) tayā dikṣayā dikṣe JB. ApŚ. And others, see §160. The active is better; note the medio-passive dikṣe following in both texts.
duṣ 'shine': sam svāryeṇa rocate (SV. didyute) RV. SV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: sam svāryena didyutad udadhīr nidiḥ VS.
dhār, dhāraya 'hold': soma (MS. somā) indra varuṇo mitro agnis te deva dharmadhri dharmam dhārayantu (KS. *tām te ’smai vācām svamāntām) MS. KS.
dhār 'dare': nādhṛṣṇā sa dādhāyate (AA. dadharṣa; ŚŚ. dadharṣaya)y.... śavah AV. AV. ŚŚ. 'He is not to be dared against; his might dares.' See Whitney on AV. 6. 33. 2 and Keith on AA. 5. 2. 3. 1. ŚŚ. seems to intend a perfect from caus., in sense of primary.
naḥ 'perish': alakṣyī me nakṣayati (MahānU. *ta) TA. MahānU.: cf. alakṣyim me nakṣyatāh... RVKh. See under bhaj, below.
naḥ 'attain': madhvā yajñāṁ nakṣayati (VS. TS. nakṣase) prīñṇah (AV. prai°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
parc 'mix': više višam aprkthāh (and, aprāg api) AV. (both). See §36.

palāya 'see': see i + palā.

pū 'purify' (D. 234, 245): tat punidhva (and, punidhva ca) yava mama ViDh.: sarvam punatha me yavā BDh.: sarvam punatha (ViDh. punta) me pāpam BDh. ViDh.


majj 'dive' (D. 232): upamaṅkṣyati syā (ŚŚ. 'maṅkṣye 'ham') salilasya madhye ŚB. ŚŚ.: nimaṅkṣye 'hami salilasya madhye AB.

man 'think' (D. 234): tam manyeta (ViDh. vai manyet) pitararn mātaram ca SaṁhitopB. VāDh. ViDh. N.

ram 'rest' (D. 250): ita rama (SMB. ramasa) MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. SMB. HG.: ita ramatām VS. SB. HG. Note that HG. 1. 12. 2 has rama and ramatām side by side. VS. comm. ita bhavān rama-tām.

rā (ram) 'give': na pāpatsāya rāśiya (SV. raniśaṁ) RV. AV. SV. See §174.

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

ruh 'grow': vaya īvānu rohate (KS. 'ti) RV. KS. ApŚ. MS.: vaya īvānu rohate juṣanta yat RV.

rej 'tremble': arejatām (TB. arejayatān) rodaya pājasā girā RV. TB. See §241.


vaka 'grow': deva somaṁsa te lokas tasmīṁ cha ca vakaṁ pari ca vako (VSK. lokaṁ pari ca vako Śam ca vako; ŚBK. tasmīṁ cha ca vako ca vako sam ca vako) VS. VSK. ŚB. SBK. See §164.

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

vadh 'slay' (D. 232): indriyān me viṣyān mā nīr vadāth (MS. vadāṭa) TS. MS.

van 'win': dāivyā hotāro (TS. 'rā) vanuṣanta (TS. vanē) pūrve (KS. 'vanuṣan na etat) RV. TS. KS. Cf. dāivā hotāraṁ saniṣan na etat AV. vaś 'throw' (D. 252): pratipraṣṭhāthaḥ savanīyān nir vapa (MS. vapasa) ApŚ. MS.

vārdh 'grow' (D. 253): avārdhata (VSK. avārdhata) purodāśena (VSK. pūroč) VS. VSK. Cf. avārdhanta etc. in Cone.
valh 'ask a riddle': etad brahmann uparalhāmasi (AŚ. āpa°; LS. upabali-hāmahe) te tri VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LS.

śikṣa 'help': āndra yajrane prynate ca śikṣati (AV. grnate ca śikṣate) RV. AV. TB.

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

san 'be effective' (D. 233): aryo nākanta sanisanta (SV.† nas santu sanisantu) no dhiyāḥ RV. SV. See Oldenberg, Proleg. 72.

sar 'move' (caus.): tā ubhau (TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. tāu saha) caturāh padaḥ sāṁ prāsārayāna (TS. KSA. ApŚ. yāvah; MS. yāvah) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ.

sah 'be able': prā sūkṣate pratimāṇāṁ bhūri RV. AV.; prā sūkṣati pratimāṇāṁ prthivyāḥ AV.

sukratīśya 'have excellent wisdom' (denom.): vartir yajñāṁ pariyan sukṛativāsa (KS. °sa) RV. KS.

sev 'be devoted to': grāhah suparṇah kunapam ṇi ṣevati (TA. † ṣevase) MS. TA.

stan 'thunder' (D. 232): prā te dīvo na stanaṁyanti sūṣmāḥ (MS. yanta sūṣmāḥ) RV. TS. MS.

snā 'bathe', caus. (D. 232): prasānparantyārminām RV.; prasānapantarārmināh SV. Benfey, Transl. 270a, 'waves bathed' (soma). The SV. passage is thoroly secondary; its comm., as quoted by Benfey, suggests that ārminā stands for acc. sing. ārmin, the subject being preempted by mārṣārah. But it may be taken as an additional, asyndetic subject: 'the fingers (and) the waves wash (soma).'

Benfey's 'imperfect' is a slip for present.

svad 'taste' (D. 230): haryā te svadantām (MS. svadan, and once—erroneously?—svadāṁ; KS. asvadan) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

swap 'sleep' (D. 236): ārdhasati tiṣṭhan mā divā svāpēḥ Kauṣ.: mā divā svāṣupthāḥ (SMB. GG. HG. svāpēḥ) ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG.: mā svāṣupthāḥ ŚB. ApMB.: divā mā svāpēḥ AG.

kan 'slay' (D. 259): jaghanāṁ upa jighnate (MS. tu; p.p. tu) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

kā 'leave' (D. 234): nī vo jāmaya jihātā (ŚŚ. jihatāmi) ny ajāmayaḥ KB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

hi 'incest': ṛṭasya yonau (RV. yonā) mahiṣā ahīwan (RV. ahevata) RV. TS. KS. ApMB.
3. Interchange between active and passive

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

§81. The passive finite forms are originally medio-passive; their most conspicuous representatives, the present passive system, are specialized middles, and the remaining tenses, for the most part, are ordinary middles, not at all differentiated in form. ¹⁶ Hence, occasionally, a present middle construction interchanges with an active construction in a manner comparable with the variants of the present rubric; see above, §30. In a considerable number of cases, moreover, the passive version uses a past passive participle, with or without copula, for which see §245ff.; and a few similar cases will be found in the rubric Perfect Passive Participles interchanging with Moods, §143f.

§82. There are one or two cases of a present passive form in ya appearing with active endings (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§761b, 774):

\[ \text{yathā tevam agne samādhi samādhīyase} \] *(SMB.† se) SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.*

But SMB. has a v. l. se.

\[ \text{yat te kūraṃ... tat te śūdhyatu etc.}, \text{ see §71.} \]

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

\[ \text{mahe ca nā tevidrīvaḥ, parā śūkṣyaya deyām RV. 'not would I, even for a high price, sell thee, O (Indra) to whom belong the press-stones!':} \]

\[ \text{mahe ca na tevādrīvaḥ, parā śūkṣyaya diyāṣe SV., where ād and diyāṣe together make nonsense. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 278.} \]

§84. On the other hand, in

\[ \text{ād id ghrtena prthivī vy udyate (AV.† prthiviṃ vy uduḥ) RV. AV. MS.} \]

¹⁶ It is to be noted that the well-known 3d person in i (Whitney, *Grammar* §§842ff.), which is the only finite form outside of the present supposed to have exclusively passive function, is used at least once as a middle with active force, interchanging with a perfect active of the same meaning. See *śrīyaṃ tamaśo nir amoci* (munuca), §59. Cf. further Neisser, *BB.* 30, 305, and the variant á pham pham rīyāṇaṇa adāti etc., §84.
KS.: \( \text{ād it prthiśv ghrtaiv vy udyate TS.: cf. ghrtena dyāvāprthiśv vy undhi (KS. vyundān) RV. KS.} \)

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

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

\( \text{ā gharma agnim rťayann asādī (TA. asādī) RV. TA.: ā gharma agnir amṛto na asādī MS.} \)

We agree with Oldenberg, RVNoten on 5. 43. 7, in considering the TA. variant ‘meaningless’ for the RV., against Neisser (BB. 30. 305) who finds it important and would interpret asādī as a middle; cf. our footnote 10 above, which shows that the middle interpretation of the word is per se quite possible.

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

\( \text{rajāt hariśḥ ēśā (MS. rajatāḥ ēśā hariśār), yujo yuyjante (MS. yuņjan-} \)
\( \text{tu) karmabhiḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA.} \)

\( \text{yat svapne annam aśnāmi AV.: yad annam adyate nāktam (HG. sāyam)} \)
\( \text{ApŚ. HG.} \)

\( \text{strānti (RV.\textsuperscript{*} strā́ta, RV.\textsuperscript{*} AV. tiśtire) bākhir ānuṣak RV. (all three)} \)
\( \text{AV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. ApŚ. N. tiśtire is passive.} \)

\( \text{yenākṣā (ŚŚ. yenā kṣām; SMB. yenāksān; PG. yenāksye) abhyāṣīcyanta} \)
\( \text{(ŚŚ. SMB. abhyāṣiṣcatām, PG. 9tām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.} \)

See §332. Subject is Aśvins, except in AV., where the verse is addressed to them too, but turned into passive construction with subject aksāh.

\( \text{varca ā dhehi me tanvam (KS. dhāyi me tanāḥ) AV. KS.} \)

\( \text{satyam rte 'dhāyi (TB. dhāyi, but Poona ed. 'dhāyi here and in next; TS.} \)
\( \text{KSA. 'dhām) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.} \)

\( \text{ṛtam satye 'dhāyi (TB., see prec.; TS. KSA. 'dhām), same texts.} \)
\( \text{mayi dhāyi (MS. dhehi) suvīram MS. TB. TA.} \)

\( \text{abhīramantu bhavantā ViDh.: abhīrayatām (MS. 9thām) MS. ŠG.} \)
\( \text{YDh. BrhPṛDh.} \)

\( \text{ghṛtena dyāvāprthiśv pūryethām VS. ŚB.: ghṛtena dyāvāprthiśv ā pṛya-} \)
\( \text{thām (MS. MS. prva; LŚ. pṛṇāthām svāhā) TS. MS. KS. LŚ.} \)
\( \text{ApŚ. MS.} \)

\( \text{maiṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣāḥ TS. TB. ApŚ.: maiṣāṁ uc cheṣi kinh cana AV.:} \)
\( \text{maiṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣāḥ RV. SV. VS.: maiṣāṁ moći kaḥ cana AV.} \)
paramāṇa pāśunā kriyāse (MS. kriyasa) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṇa puṣyantiyās paramāṇa pāśunā kriyāmi TS.
pra viśe haviṅgi juhure (juhumas)... see §77. juhure either mid. or pass.
tat striyām anu sīcapate (ŚG. śīcchatu) AV. ŚG.
sahasā dharmam cara (GDh. dharmaḥ caryatām) GDh. NāradaDh.: saho-bhau caraṭām dharmam MDh.
asmin goṣṭha upa prīcata naḥ AV.: āsu goṣṭapa precatām RV. TB. LS.
The AV. is secondary in various ways; see Whitney on 9. 4. 23.
tan me 'rādhī (Kauś. rāddham) VS. TS. TA. Kauś.: tenārāśyam (ŚŚ. MS. GG. ०rāśyam) MS. ŚŚ. MS. GG. See §248.
dadato me mā kṛṣyī (GB. Vait. me mupadaśaḥ, MS. ०sat) TS. MS. KS. GB. TB. Vait. ApŚ.

§86. A couple of cases, finally, concern interchange of active and passive participles; as stated above, we shall deal later with the more numerous instances of interchange between participles and finite verbs:
tantum tavan (KS. talam) rajasa bhānum anū śiRV. TS. KS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. HG.
harṣamāṇāsō dhrṣitā (TB. ०ātā) marutvah RV. TB. N. dhrṣitā is an adverbial instrumental of the present participle.

4. Interchange between passive and middle

§87. This group exhibits interestingly a few cases in which the medio-passive value of ātmanepada forms, quite clear by themselves, is, as it were, glossed by corresponding passive forms. Thus, twice, the medio-passive amuktāḥ varies with amoci; or bhakṣyaṁaṇāḥ (bhakṣyamāṇāḥ) with bhaktāḥ. Note Delbrück’s remark on amoci, op. cit. 266, and, more generally, 263 ff. A few cases of this sort are unreliable on account of the phonetic uncertainty of y in combination with two other consonants, such as vrīcāntām and vrīcānyaṁ; the former of which may in reality be equal to vrīcānyaṁ; cf. §§27, 28.
mā prāṇaṁ pūrya vi rādhiṣṭa (TS. rādhī) TS. MS. KS.
amoci (AV, amuktāḥ) yakṣmād duritād uvarṣyai (AV, avadyāt) AV, TB.
ApMB.
Followed by:
druhāḥ pāśaṁ nīrṛtyai codamoci TB. ApMB.: druhaḥ pāśaṁ grahyāḥ
codamukthah AV. Cf. Delbrück, op. cit. 266. Both here and in the prec. Pp. hus anoci; but see §329.
sam bharih aktam (VS. SB. anktam) hariṣa ghrtena AV. VS. SB.: sam anktam ba² ha² ghr² TB. ApŚ. See §144.
vajino vajajita vajam...bhagam avajighrita ni mirjanaḥ (KS. bhāge nimirjalam; TS. bhāge ni mirjheam) VS. TS. KS. SB.: vajina vajajita vajam jite bhāspater bhāge nimirjyethām MS. The last phrase means: 'Be ye (ye two) cleansed,' or 'being cleansed' (mid. participle in VS. SB.), or 'let them be cleansed'. Only MS. has a definitely passive form; the rest have middles substantially in passive sense.

ā vṛṣeṣuntam (AV. vṛṣeṣuntam) aditalo durevah RV. AV. See §28.
ghṛtena dyāvāprthihi ā pṛyethām (MS. MŚ. pṛya; LŚ. pṛṇāthām svāhā) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: ghṛtena -dyāvāprthihi pāryethām VS. SB. The contrast between pṛyethām and pāryethām brings this variant in here; cf. §85.

svāhā marudbhīḥ (MS. MŚ. bhyaḥ) pariśrayasa (VS. SB. śriyasa) VS. MS. SB. MŚ. TA. KS.: marudbhīḥ pariśrayasa SB. 'Hail, be encompassed (encompass thyself) with (for) the Maruts.' na karmaṇā līpyate pāpakena: SB. TB. ByhU. BDh. 'he is not stained by evil action'; na karma līpyate nare VS. IśśU. 'action does not stick to a man.' The latter shows līpyate middle in form but almost transitive in meaning (governing nare).

Participles:
bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ (KS. ms. bhakṣa) VS. KS. Cf. bhakṣaḥ pitaḥ VSK.: bhakṣa ṣagatah TS. See §27.
jayaṇā (SV. yā jāta) pātadakṣesas RV. SV.
nirṛtyai parivividānam (TB. parivītām); and, āṛtyai parivītām (TB. parivividānam) VS. TB. Exchange between the two equivalent participles.

[samjihādyā svāhā TS. KSA. Conc. quotes samjihādyā for KSA.]
CHAPTER III. THE MOODS

Observations on the scope and character of modal interchanges

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

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

1. Present Indicative
2. Various Preterite Indicatives, notably Aorist; also predicative Past Passive Particles
3. Imperative (including those in lat)
4. Imperatival forms in si and (?) se:
5. Subjunctive
6. Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive forms
7. Injunctive
8. Optative
9. Precautive
10. Future
11. Desiderative
12. Infinitive

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

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

Interchange of moods in passages repeated in the same text

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

\[\text{\textit{\textit{ādītīpi}} nə \textit{\textit{nāti}} \textit{\textit{śa\r{m}a}} \textit{\textit{ya\n{\textit{s}at}} 1. 107. 2; 4. 54. 6;}}\]
\[\text{\textit{\textit{ādītīpi}} nə \textit{\textit{nāti}} \textit{\textit{śa\r{m}a}} \textit{\textit{yac\r{h}at\r{u} 10. 66. 3;}}\]

‘Aditi, together with the Ādityas, shall offer us protection.’ \textit{ya\n{\textit{s}at} is}\n
norist subjunctive, \textit{yac\r{h}at\r{u} present imperative; cf. the same relation between RV. 10. 128. 8a and AV. 5. 3. 8a, and see §106 for the frequent interchange between the stems \textit{\textit{y\r{c}h\r{h}}} and \textit{\textit{ya\n{s}i\r{m}}} in general. The motive of the variation is metrical. The first verse is \textit{\textit{tr\r{i}ś\r{u}kh}}, the second \textit{\textit{jāga\n{\textit{s}}}t}. To see any other reason for the change would be sheer hair-splitting; one sentence says exactly the same as the other.
§92. The same criterion governs the choice of kṛdhī, aorist imperative, and kāh, aorist injunctive in the two RV. pādas:

asmabhīṣam indra sarvah sugam kṛdhī 1. 102. 4,
asmabhīṣam mahi varimah sugam kāh 6. 44. 18.

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

vācaspātir vācam naḥ svadatu 15. 11,

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

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

swedā no vasi kṛdhī RV. 7. 32. 25,
swedā no vasi kara RV. 6. 48. 15.

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

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

jēṣat svarratī aphaḥ 1. 10. 8c,
jēṣat svarratī aphaḥ 8. 40. 10,
auda svarratī aphaḥ 8. 40. 11.

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

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

jyok pitre āśān,

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

Here may likewise be recorded abhi prayo nāsatyō vahanti (6. 63. 7 cœ) RV. 1. 118. 4, 6. 63. 7. For in pada a of 1. 118. 4 occurs the form vahanto, and it seems fairly clear that the following vahanti is a sort of stylistic dissimilation, and is secondary to vahanto of 6. 63. 7. See RVRep. 124.

AV. 11. 10. 14a sarve devā atyāyanti is repeated in the next verse,
15a, with atyāyanta; again, apparently, the change is for stylistic variety.

§95. Possibly of the same order may be the reason for the change in

svadhvārdhā kṛṣṇaḥ jātavedāḥ RV. 3. 6. 6; 7. 17. 3;

svadhvārdhā karaṇaḥ jātavedāḥ RV. 6. 10. 1; 7. 17. 4;

'Prepare, O Jātavedas (let J. prepare) effective sacrifices!' (Cf. other forms of the same pāda in other texts, §154.) If we assume that the variation originated in 7. 17. 3 and 4, the desire for variety may be sufficient to account for it; we can, at any rate, see no other reason. kṛṣṇa is pres. impv., karaṇa aor. subj. The 3d person subj. forms are just as good imperatives as true imperative forms. Consider the 3d person mixed subj.-impv. forms treated below, §173; and let us remember that the so-called 1st person imperatives are really subjunctives. In view of these facts, and of the enormous number of interchanges between the two moods (below, §§151ff.), we may confidently say that there is no real difference between subjunctive and imperative in the mantras, at least as far as principal clauses go.13

§96. In the next, a RV. repetition,

jyok paśyema sūryam uccaratām 10. 59. 6,

jyok paśyatā sūryam uccaratām 4. 25. 4,

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

§97. In AV. 6. 122. 5, 11. 1. 27 īndro marutvān sa dadātu lan me

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

13 The chief distinction between the two moods appears to be the exclusion of the 2d person imperative from dependent (except prohibitive) sentences. Cf. RV. 8. 103. 14 mādāyamā svadāpare, 'delight thyself with (thou) Svādāpare'; but 8. 65. 2 yad... mādāyāte svadāpare, 'when thou mayst delight thyself' etc.
RV. 10. 35. 13 viśe no devā aṣād gamantu, 'may all the gods come hither with help for us', is changed in 1. 89. 7 to viśe no devā aṣād gamana|
|tha. The patch-word tha helps the substituted subj. gaman (instead of mixed impv.-subj. gamantu) to make a jagnati pādu out of a triṣṭubh.

AV. 7. 60. 7 viśā rūpātī pasyāti, 'prosper ye in all forms', is adapted to the cosmogenic Rohita in 13. 2. 10 viśā rūpātī pasyāti, 'thou prosperest in all forms.' The Ppp. in the latter passage has prajāth sarvā|
|ni pasyāti, 'thou beholdest every way all creatures', a more appropriate saying for the solar Rohita, and probably the original one; the Śaunaka version has mechanically imitated 7. 60. 7 which floated thru the mind of its redactor.

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

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

yan mā somāsao mamadān yad uktā, ubhe bhāyetā rajātī apāre 4. 42. 6,
'When the soma libations and the songs of praise incite me, both boundless hemispheres (heaven and earth) are a fright.'

puraṇa sahasrā ni śāmi dākṣe, yan mā somāsā uktino amandīṣuḥ 10. 48. 4.

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

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

pra no yachātād avrkāṁ pṛthu chārīḥ 1. 48. 15,
prāśmai yachālam avrkāṁ pṛthu chārīḥ 8. 9. 1,
'Do thou furnish us (do ye two furnish him) broad protection against enemies.' (Cf. further RV. 8. 27. 4, yantā no avrkāṁ chārīḥ, with a yet different mood.) The difference is at most chronological; yachātād may be a more archaic form, and it occurs in an older part of RV.; see
Oldenberg, Proleg. 262, and RVRep. 82. Thus we may account for the variation between kṛdhi and kuru in SS, tato no abhayān kṛdhi 3. 20. 2 and... kuru 13. 2. 2. Here the mood is the same, but the archaic aor. impv. (inherited from RV. and kept in nearly all of the numerous reproductions of the pāda in other texts, see §210, a) is replaced by the commonplace pres. impv. kuru.

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

Instances of more than two modal varieties in the same passage

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

§103. In the formulaic prayer which says 'may I (thou, we, or he) live a hundred autumns!', there is a confluence of almost all modal varieties: subj. jivati, impv. jīva, mixed impv.-subj. jīvatu, opt. jīvema, subj. (or impv.) 1st pers. jīvāni and jīvān; and, finally, present indecl. jīvāmi. Their citations may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance; see e.g. jīvāti karadāh kalam. And compare with these the closely related triṣṭubh pāda, satam jīvantu (jīvānāh, jīvema, jīvāmi, ca īva) karadāh purācāh (suvaračāh), 'may they (we, I, thou) live a hundred numerous autumns' or 'a hundred autumns being in possession of glory.'

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

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

ito mukṣya māṃstha (ApS. mā pateḥ) VS. SB. ApS.: preto munca`s (AG. ŠG. SMB. MG. muncatu; PG.† muncatu; ApMB. munčati) māṃstha (ŠG. MG. SMB.† māṃstha, PG. mā pateḥ) RV. AV. AG. ŠG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. 'Hence, and not thence (not from my, or
her, husband) may I be loosened (I loosen, let him loosen, etc.).' Cf. in Conc. mṛtyor mukṣya māṁtāt (mā pātyah). See §312.

(b) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:
prapūtmanah bibharti pīnemānāh (TA.† mahāna bibhārat pīnemānaḥ)
AV. TA.: svarge loka pīnemāna bibhartu ApŚ. 'It supports (shall support) our great-grandfathers, swelling' or the like.

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

yajñasyayur anu sam varant (ĀŚ. tarantu) TA. ĀŚ.: yajñāyur anu sam varant TB. ApŚ. 'Let them (they do) follow along the life of the sacrifice!'

kṣeme tiṣṭhāhī (ŚG. tiṣṭha, PG. tiṣṭhātu, HG. tiṣṭhāti) pṛtham ukṣamānaḥ
AV. ŚG. PG. HG. 'May it, dripping ghee, stand (or, it stands... stand thou) in security.'

(c) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative:
tuṣr (ŚG. anyeṣu, read yeṣu with Oldenberg, ISI. 15. 73, note) aham sumanāḥ saṁ viśmi (ĀŚ. ni [text, 'ni'], MG. visānaṁ, ŚG. visēyaṁ) ĀŚ. ApŚ. SG. HG. ApMB. MG. (see Knauer's note on MG. 1. 14. 6).

'May (I) I (we) in this house live happily' or the like.

(d) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Preceptive:
surya bhrājīṣṭha bhrājīṣṭhas (with variants) team (MS. adds varcaseñān) deyeṣṭi asī (MS. edhi, TS. deyeṣu bhūyāḥ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. SB. SS. 'O brilliant sun, thou art (be thou) brilliant among the gods.'

ariṣṭān tad saha palyā dadhāmi (ApMB. kṛnomi) RV. ApMB.: arīṣṭān mā saha palyā dadhātu KŚ. MS. MG.: arīṣṭāhan saha palyā bhūyāsām VS. 'I make thee (he shall make me; may I be) free from harm, with thy (my) husband.'

(e) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Future:
yāvatnāṁ idam karom (ŚG. kariṣṭyāmi) bhūyāsāṁ uttarān (ŚG. vām) samāṁ kriyāsam MS. MS. SG.: yāvatnāṁ-yāvatnāṁ va aśam lakoṣyām utkriṣṭām bhūyāsāṁ uttarān samāṁ kriyāsam SMB.†

(f) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Imperative:
vācaspatiḥ samam apāt MS. TA. SS.... pibatu TA. SS.... pibati TA.
All in same context. 'The lord of speech has drunk (drinks, shall drink) the soma.'

sugā (TS. ApŚ. svagā) so devaḥ sadanā (TS. N. savam) akarma (MS.}
kṛṇomi, Kṛṣṇa. Apūṣ. Kauś. sađānāṁ santi, Kṛṣṇa. sađānedam astu) AV. VS. TS. MS. Kṛṣṇa. SB. Kṛṣṇa. Apūṣ. Kauś. N. 'We have made (I-make; let be) your seats easy of access for you, O gods.'

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

nir (Kṛṣṇa. nir druho nir, VS. SB. svāha nir) varunāsya pāhān muce (Kṛṣṇa. muktiya, MS. pāhād amukṣi) VS. MS. Kṛṣṇa. SB. 'I am (have been; may I be) released from Varuna's fetter.'

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

sālākṣamā (MS. Kṛṣṇa. 'ma) yad viṣṇupād VS. MS. Kṛṣṇa. SB. 'pam') bhavati (MS. Kṛṣṇa. bābhūra) RV. AV. VS. MS. Kṛṣṇa. SB.: viṣṇupād yat sālākṣamāṁ bhavathā TS. 'That whoso (what) is like should be different' or the like. See §330, end.

varunēṣṭi sapāmaha (MS. 'hāt; AV. yad úcima) AV. VS. TS. MS. Kṛṣṇa. SB. TB. Aś. ŚŚ.

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

kāmām (AV. PB. kāmā, Kṛṣṇa. kāma) samudρam a viśā (AV. viseda, Kṛṣṇa. PB. viśut) AV. Kṛṣṇa. PB. TB. TA. Aś. Apūṣ. 'Desire hath entered (shall enter) the ocean,' or, 'enter into the ocean desire.'

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

ny anujā ārakam abhito viviśe (AV. 'visanta, JB. viviśyaḥ) RV. AV. JB. Kṛṣṇa. AA. 'Others settled (may settle) about the sun.'

(l) Imperfect Indicative, Imperative, and Injunctive:

haryā te svedantāṁ (MS. svedan; Kṛṣṇa. asvedan) VS. TS. MS. Kṛṣṇa. SB. But svedan may be imperfect, like asvedan; see §8.

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

apaitu mṛtyur amṛtam na āgaṁ (PG. āgaṁ) TB. TAA. Apūṣ. PG. HG.: paraitu mṛtyur amṛtam na aitū (ŚŚ. SMB. amṛtam ma a gatī) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. 'Let death depart, immortality hath (shall) come to us (me).' As between āgaṁ and a gatī the mss. are, of course, indeterminate.

akṣan, aghat(lam), aghan, aghasan, sent, aghastām tam, ghast, ghasan, ghastu, and ghasantu: see Conc. under each word. All mean 'he has (they have) eaten' or 'shall eat.'

(a) Aorist Indicative, Imperative, and Future:

subhāukṛtaḥ subhātaṁ na kṛṇauta ŚŚ.: subhāukṛtaḥ stha subhātaṁ karigīvathā (and, akāṛṣa) Aś.

(o) Perfect Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:

madhu tvā (AV. me) madhula karotu (AV. karah, RV. cakāra, MS. kṛṇota) RV. AV. MS. TA. Apūṣ. 'May it, honeyed, make thee honey'; 'it, honeyed, has made etc.'; 'do thou, honeyed, make honey for me.'
(p) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Subjunctive-Imperative:

vācaspatīr na adya vājam svadatu VSK.: vācaspatīr vācam (VS. śB.; also vājam) nah svadatu (TS. KS.: vācam adya svadāti nah, TB,... svadāti te [but Poons ed. nah], MS... svadātu nah) VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. TB, SMB. 'May the Lord of Speech sweeten our (thy) speech (food).'

svadāti havyam madhunā ghrtena RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.: svadāti (MS. 'tu) havyam (VS. KS. yajñam) madhunā ghrtena VS. MS. KS. TB.

agnis tān (AŚ. tāl, for tāṇi) lokāt pra nudyā (AŚ. nudyā, SMB. nudyā) asmāt VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: agnis (ApŚ. agna) tān asmāt pra nūntu (ApŚ. nudama) lokāt (AV. pra dhāmāt yajñat) AV. ApŚ. MS. 'May Agni (O Agni) drive them away from this world.'

(q) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Injunctive:

viśeṣa deva prītanā abhīṣyā TB. ApŚ. HG.: viśeṣa ca deva (PG. devaḥ) prītanā abhīṣyāḥ (PG.: ṣyaḥ) KS. PG. 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts.' On abhīṣyāḥ see §337, end.

manḍūkyā tu sam gamah (Conc. gama, by error; TA. gamaya) RV. TA.: manḍūky apsu sam bhuvah AV.

(r) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

maḥyaṁ iṣu vaśam añiyāt ApMB.; maḥyaṁ punar udājatu HG.: maḥyaṁ nukteḥākhyāṁ ānayet PG.

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

etam jānātha (KS. jānīta, TB. jānītaḥ) parāme vyoman VS. KS. ŚB. TB.: jānīta smaṁnaṁ (TS. MS. jānīlāh enam) parāme vyoman AV. TS. MS. 'Acknowledge him in the highest heaven.' Cf. tam sā jānīta (VSK. 'thā) parāme vyoman AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MS., which introduces also the present indicative, if we may trust the VSK. reading.

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

chāndanaṁāñāṁ (with variants) sāmrājyaṁ gacha (VSK, gachatā; MS. gochet) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MS. 'Arrive (may he arrive) at the sovereignty of the meters' names', or the like.

desvaḥ nah sukṛta (VSK. mah sukṛtam) brūtāt (KS. brūtaḥ; PB. MS. brū yat) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MS.: desebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt (ŚB. with uha, voceh) VS. ŚB.: sukṛtam mā desvaḥ brūtāt TS. A 3d person form is impossible here; PB. comm. reads brūtāt, and probably MS. should be read so too. 'Declare us (me) righteous among (to) the gods.'

(u) Imperative, Optative, and Prepositive:

tasya na īṣṭasya prītasya draviśeḥgāmeḥ VS. 'Wealth of this en-
joyed sacrifice, come here to us!": tasay mā yaśīnasyeṣasya viśasya dravaśaḥgaṃpataḥ MS. (see §332): tasay meṣṭasya viśasya dravaśaḥ gaṃpataḥ (KS. dravaśaḥgaṃpataḥ; ApŚ. dravaśaḥgaṃpataḥ) TS. KS. ApŚ.: tasay yaśīnasyeṣasya viṣṭasya dravaśaḥ māyaḥkataḥ KS. (so read in both 5.4 and 32.4, with ms. at 32.4: v. Schroeder wrongly emends to dravaśaḥ ṣāya).

pari no heti rudrasya vṛjyaḥ (VSK. ṣat) RV. VSK.: pari no rudrasya hetir vṛjakta TS. KS.: pari no rudrasya hetir vṛjakta VS. MS. ‘May Rudra’s missile avoid us.’ Cf. pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛjakta AV. KS., and pari vo heti rudrasya vṛjyaḥ (TB. vṛjyaḥ) RV. TB. See RVRep. 573, where the pada pari ted etc., and the Concordance reference thereto, are to be deleted; add KS. 30.10 under pari vo rudrasya etc.

(y) Imperative, Injunctive, and Optative:
śarram ādyu geṣam (AV. aṭṭha, TA. niṣṭi, SB. iti) AV. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. Cf. soʾ aʾ así TB. ApŚ.

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

(x) Subjunctive, Injunctive, and Optative:
anu (MS. erroneously, nu; KB. ŚŚ. uṣa) vāṁ jihvā gṛham ā caranyat MS. KS. KB. ŚŚ.: prati te jihvā gṛham uc caranyat (TS. ṣat) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: prati vāṁ jihvā gṛham uc (AV. TS. also, a) caranyat (AV. ṣat, TS. ṣyel) AV. TS. MS. KS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ‘May your tongue move up to meet the ghee’, or the like.

kṣetrasya paṭṭi adhi no brvavāḥ (TS. brvavām, KS. adhi vacantāḥ naḥ) TS. MS. KS. ‘Ye two mistresses of the field, bless us!’ On the meaning of adhi-eac and adhi-brā, see Gehman, JAOS. 36, 213 ff.
yod adya homvare (ŚŚ. ṣravye), jihman cākṣuḥ parāparat (ŚŚ. ṣrati), aṣṭi (at punar ṛharatii (ApŚ. ṛra, SB. ṛhariyāt) SB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ‘That which, at the choice of the kṛt, may escape the crooked (faulty) eye, that may Agni bring back here.’

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

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

Present stem *yacha*-. Aorist stem *yank-<i>ādiyast</i> no *aditiḥ ṣarma yahat</i> (and, *yachatu*) RV. (both). *mātevām aditīḥ ṛṣma yacha* (SG. *aditiḥ ṛṣma yahat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. SG. ApMB. *uwēyāc no maktṣaḥ ṛṣma yahat* (AV. *yachatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS. *sa (AV. sa) nah ṛṣma trivātham ni yahat* (AV. *ni yahat*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here both are subjunctives.

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

utra trāṭā hivo *bhuvā* (SV. *bhuvo*) varāthyāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauk.
sanmiślo arugo bhava (SV. bhuvah) RV. SV.

tram bhavedhitapair (AV. bhūr abhīdhatīr) janānām AV. MS. KS.
sam astu tanve mama AV.: sam v astu tanve tava VS.: sam u te tanve (TS. tanväve) bhuvat TS. KSA.

[svēra eva anamścā bhavā naḥ; the Conc. quotation bhuvā for bhavā in ApMB. is to be deleted.]


§109. There are also cases in which the indicative of one tense interchanges with an oblique mood of another tense. Thus from mad 'rejoice', mamadan (pres. subj.): amandīṣah (aor. ind. §145, a); from van 'win,' vanute, vānate, and vanate (§117); from man 'think,' manganese: manai (aor. subj., §119).

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

Systematic classification of modal interchanges

§110. We turn now to a systematic account of the modal variations. As far as we can observe, the texts of different schools show no constitutional preference for any one mood as against any other. On the contrary, they all seem to show complete indifference of choice between them all. It is possible, of course, when a text substitutes e.g. imperative for subjunctive or preceptive for optative, that it approaches the passage from a slightly altered direction, or with a different quality of emotion. But it is commonly the same passage, in the same connection, uttered in the midst of the same real properties. At least the variants show a very strong tendency to regard the moods as interchangeable.
A good deal depends on the frequency of these interchanges; the more common they are, the greater the chance that they imply indifference to modal distinction, and nothing more. We may remember the numerous cases of interchange between active and middle voices, also for the most part bare of real distinction, which we have presented above.

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

I. Present Indicative in Interchange with Other Moods

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

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

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

§113. The hortative indicative is on the whole perhaps the commonest modal expression in the Veda. Its real interest for grammar is that it
varies impartially with pretty much all the oblique moods, showing indirectly that this most generalized kind of wish harbors no modal precision.

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

Present Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

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

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

- *kṣatrāṇām kṣatrapātir aṣi* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. edhī) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. 'Thou art (be thou) sovereign lord of sovereignties.' Prayer for a king at his coronation.
- *syonyā cāsi suṣadda cāsi* VS. ŚB. 'pleasant art thou and a fair seat'; *syonya ca me suṣadda caidhi* TB. ApŚ. 'be thou pleasant to me and a fair seat.' Addressed to earth.
- *[prṣṭhena dyāvāprthīn] (MS. adda āpraṇa) antarīkṣam ca vi bādhase (MS, bādhasa, TS. bādhalām) VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. 'With thy (its) back thou sunderest (sunder thou, let it sunder) heaven and earth and the atmosphere', or the like. Address to one of the altar-bricks.
ā vohātho (TS, VS, ŚB. vohātha) suruṇa mitra garman RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.
(jātavadoha) adhārāvaṇā janavathākh (KS. MS. jatathā) purogām
KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. To the fire-sticks; ‘Ye beget (beget ye)
(Agni) as leading-steer of sacrifices.’
abhī-praya nāṣatya vahantī (and, ’tu’) RV. (both). See §94.
sūmo vīraṁ karmayām daḍātī (TB. ’tu’) RV. VS. MS. TB.
śiṣam ki (KS, ku) ripram pravahantī (MS, ’tu’) dehi RV. AV. VS. MS.
KS. Cf. viśam asmat pra vahantā ripram TS.
dhanīh katro apakāman kṛṇotī (MS, ’tu’) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N.
‘The bow brings (shall bring) sorrow to the enemy.’
ā dēva pāṭā (MS, MG, pāti) savītā suratvaḥ RV. MS. KS. AB, KB, ŚB.
TB. MG. AŚ. ŠŚ.
edhante asītā jñātaya RV. AV. ApMB.; edhantāṁ jñātayo mama
SMB. PG. HG. MG. Both in wedding rites: ’(let) her (my)
relations thrive.’
vīśa rāpāṃ puṣyata (and, puṣyati) AV. (both). See §97.
ekā sati bahuḥhaya vy uchasi (MS, KS, ucha) TS. MS. KS. PG. The
stanzas is otherwise triṣṭubh; uchasi is thus inconsistent metrically.
‘The single, O Uṣas, shine (thou shinnest) forth in many places.’
bhūte karīmata asī (AV, ’mati bhasā) AV. TS. TB.
priya me hṛdo (MS, hito, v. 1. hulo) ’si (MS, bhasā) TS. MS,
agnayi te mahāyam varuṇo daḍātā (MS, ’ti) VS. MS. ŚB. ŠŚ.—The same
with bhavapataye, yamāya, rudraya,
trāmin devā amṛtā mādayantāṁ (RV, ’te) RV. AV. TA.
tiyaṅātā katavaraṇah AV. ’let them stop still, their glory shattered;’
tiyaṅātā katavartmanāḥ N. ’they stand still, their way blocked.’
tevas te dhāma puṣyati (AV, āryatva) RV. AV. SV. LS. MS. KS.
prāṇa yajñena kalpātās (MS, MS. ’te) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS.
—The same with oṣūr, caṇṣur, praśham, brahma, mano, yajña,
vāy, śrotā, and avar.
indrenā yaṣa pra menita (TB. saṇjā praṇiṭha, read with Poona ed.
praṃnṛṣha) bārūṇ AV. TB. Comm. of TB. nārakṛṣṇa (imprv.),
gharmaṣyakā savalīkāṁ ni yachati (MS. KS. ’te, PG. ’tu’) TS. MS.
KS. PG.
pleasatur jivadhanayāḥ pibantu (KSA. ’tī) RV. TS. KSA.
pra stotā yantu (SV, yantu) agnaye RV. SV.
pra evādheṣyai ca rātā prayaṣān (AV. caṛatu payasvān) AV. AŚ. ŠŚ.
pratikṣante (ApMB. ’tāṁ) āsauro devarāḥ (ApMB. āsauro devarāḥ)
ca AV. ApMB.
prati evasaram upa yati (AV, yātu) pitaye RV, AV.
MaŚ.

yajñaṃ hiwanṭy adṛśbhīḥ RV.: yajñāya sanu adraṣṭaḥ SV.
pṛṇāṃ vīcaṭy (SV, *ṭ) āsitam RV:* 7, 16, 11b. SV, MaŚ.
pundatī te pārṣurulam RV, VS, ŚB, KS: pundatī etc. TS, MaŚ, KS, TB, ApŚ, MaŚ.

brahma loka punāh naḥ (LŚ, mā; VS, KS, punātū mā; MaŚ, TB, punimāhe) RV, VS, MaŚ, KS, TB, ApŚ: idam brahma punimāhe TB. agne dakṣāḥ punāḥ naḥ (TB, mā; MaŚ, punimāhe) RV, MaŚ, TB. a pāyasyantu (N, *ti) bhūvanasya gopāḥ AV, TS, MaŚ, KS, ŚŚ, N. sa vah sarvāḥ saṁ ca rāti praṇāno AV: sarvāḥ sarva vi cara tu praśMS, svaḥṣuyāṃ (MaŚ, sadyaḥṣuyāṃ) indraṃbhīyaṃ... prabravini (ApŚ, also, prabrūṭāt) ApŚ (bis) MaŚ, KS: svaḥṣuyāṃ eva eṣāṃ... prabravini ĀŚ. It seems that prabrūṭāt is used as 1st person; cf. Whitney, Grammar §571b, quoting jāgraṛtāt AV. 4. 5. 7 as the 'only case' of tāt as 1st person.

ahāy anśai sūdina bhavati (TB, *tu) RV, TB.

īṣāṃ madantah pari gām nayyākrame (AV, nayyānāḥ) RV, AV, MG.
'Reveling in foods, lead (we lead) the cow about.'
asti hi śmā (TS, MaŚ, KS, astu sma) te śrīmāṃ aṣṭavyāḥ RV, VS, TS, MaŚ, KS, ŚB. 'For here, O strong (Indra), is (shall be) thy conciliation.'
On aṣṭavyāḥ see Neisser, Z. Woch. d. RV., s. v.


apaḥ samudraḥ divam ud vahanti (Kauś, *tu) AV, Kauś, indra labd yantu (ĀŚ, ŚŚ, yantu) rātāyaḥ SV, ĀŚ, ŚŚ.
abhi (AV, TB, upa) pra yantu (TB, AVPP, yantu) naro agnirūpāḥ RV, AV, AVPP, TB, N.
indrāraśnoḥ priyam apya eti (MaŚ, KSA, etu) pāṭhāḥ RV, VS, TS, MaŚ, KSA, ŚŚ.

īyam (AB, adda eva) pītyāḥ (AB, ĀŚ, ŚŚ, pātre) rāṣṭrīy eto (AB, ĀŚ, ŚŚ, eto) agrī AV, AB, GB, ĀŚ, ŚŚ.—AVPP agree with ĀŚ, ŚŚ,
gharman śriṇantu praghamati dhāsyave (ĀŚ, ŚŚ, śriṇantu praghamsya dhāseḥ) AV, ĀŚ, ŚŚ.
udāṣāntam dāpayatu praṇāno AV,: adīṣāntam dāpayati (TS, MS, *tu) praṇāna VS, TS, MaŚ, KS, ŚB,
etām sthāṇām pitaro dhārayantu (AV. "tī) te RV. AV. TA. 
vr̥ṣaṇum yantu (MS. yanti) janayāḥ supalīḥ VS. MS. KS. TB. 
indraujśakaraśvajāvāśvam tvam mahāvīṁ deseśādhi MS.: indraujśajāvāśvam (VS. SB. indraujśthīnujīghas; VSK. indraujśajāvāśvam; ĀŚ. indra ūṣākāṁ ājaśvina; Vnīt. [read] indra ūṣākāṁ ājaśvina) 
 tvam deseśādhi VS. VS. KS. TS. SB. ĀŚ. Vnīt.
tīro (RV. VS. SB. AG. antar) mṛtyum dadhakāṁ (TA. Ap Ś. *dadhmahe) 
'Let them block (we block, or hide, remove) death with a mountain.'
vi māṁsā paśasvaṁ ghrācīṁ AV.: vi māṁsā te paśasvāṁ devānāṁ 
TB. Ap Ś. 
śṛṇantu (TS. ŚvetU. "ti) viśe amṛtasya putrāḥ (AV. amṛtasa etat) 
RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ŚvetU. 
śṛṇantu (PB. "w) āpo adha (PB. "dhā) kṣarantāḥ RV. PB. 
śṛṇantu (M Ś. "tu) janitā mattnāṁ TB. Ap Ś. MS. 
sa no dehaḥ śubhayāḥ amṛtyaḥ samyūnaktu (MahānU. "ti) TA. MahānU. 
vi (MS. KS. prā) parjanyaḥ (RV. "yan) "yāḥ) sṛṇanti (MS. KS. 
sṛṇātām) rūdasī anu RV. TS. MS. KS. 
sa nasaparyāḥ saranī (MS. "tu; AV. "parṇah patantu) no narah RV. 
AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 
sa yajñīyo yajātu (AV. "ti) yajñīyo yātān RV. AV. 
sa no mahānām saṁ iṣo mahāntāṁ KS.: teṣāṁ iṣṭāṁ sam iṣā madanti 
RV. VS. TS. MS. N. In the same verse. 
sa virājam (KS. "jā) pary eti (MS. etu; KS. pari yāti) prajānānaṁ TS. MS. 
KS. Cf. annemi rājā pari yāti visāṁ VS. SB. 
sa smā kṛṇati (Ap Ś. "tu) kṣetram RV. Ap Ś. 
sanitā pākam ati (ŚŚ. adhi) dhāra eti (ŚŚ. emū) ĀŚ. SS. Ap Ś.: 
śrṇantu sarve anyśām vadanām AV. 
pāvamāṇasya teṣa stomaṇa... vṛṣṇenot vṛṇe MS.: pāvamāṇenu teṣa stomaṇa... 
...vṛṣṇena devas teṣa sarīlot vṛṣṇatu... (KS. vṛṣṇeṣodhārāṁ anu) 
TS. KS. 
ketuṇam dundubhir vāvadīti (AV. "tu) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. 
gṛ̤tapruṣaṁ teṣa sarīlo vahānti (ĀŚ. harito vahāntu) TB. ĀŚ. Ap Ś.: 
gṛ̤tapruṣo haritās teṣa vahāntu KŚ. 
gṛ̤ṭasyāṁ dāhre madhumat pavante (AV. "tām) RV. AV. VS. KS. Ap Ś. 
āpo śīruṇa jāgrata HG.: āpo deṣeṇa jāgratāḥ PG.: āpo haviṣṇu jāgrata 
Ap Ś.: āpo jāgrata MS. KS. MŚ. 
yamo daddāy (VS. SB. TA. and v. i. of AV., see Whitney on 18. 1. 55, 
"tu) arauṇog asmaī RV. AV. VS. SB. TA.: cf. addad idāni yamo 
(VS. KS. SB. addād yamo) vasānām prthivyāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. 
SB. TB. Cf. Oldenberg, Proleg. 311.
tato dadati (TB. and v. l. of MS. *tu) dāhīye sarvāni RV. AV. Arś. MS. TB.
tad aghit devo devēbhya satate (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. satāta) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But satate may be nor. subj.; see §§154, 191.
devō devan yojate (ApŚ. *ty) aghir arhan RV. ApŚ.
dhananā yanti (MS. KS. yantu) vṛṣṭayāh RV. TS. MS. KŚ. devo devānāh pavitraṁ asī TS. MS. KŚ.: devo devehīyaḥ pavasva VS. ŚB.
dharmena sadaṁ adati (SV. *tu) RV. SV.
tasāṁ śādṛṣṭāy satam ā juhota (TB. ApŚ. jhohomī) VS. VSK. MS. KŚ. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
tasmai sūryāya satam ā juhota (ApŚ. jhohomī) MS. KŚ. MŚ. ApŚ.
pātaḥ uanaktaḥ (AV. KŚ. *ti; TS. patha ānaktaḥ) madhā pṛthvena AV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ.
pātreva bhindan sata eṇ (AV. etu, v. l. eti) rākṣasah RV. AV. N.
hrdvā mātīn janaye (VS. KS. TB. *ya) cūram aghoṣye RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
pibanti (SV. *tu) varunah kave RV. SV.
madhā yajñam mimāṃsatam (and, *ti) RV. (both).
mayobhūr eṇo abhi vätārath (KSA. vātī urdh) RV. TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.
mayyan vātāḥ pavatāṁ (KS. *te) kāme asmi (AV. kāṃyāsma) RV. AV. TS. KŚ.
mitro nayatu (SV. *ti) videṇ RV. SV. AB. GB.
vaśja devanāṁ praty eṇi (MS. etu) sunnam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
yajo yujjante (MS. yujjantu) karṇabhiḥ VS. TS. MS. KŚ.
dupraṣa satā ma. pūrayaḥ ŚŚ.: dupraṣ eṣāḥ mā pūrayaḥ ...TS. AŚ.:
arpayō 'eśi sāyaprāḥ (ApŚ. corruptly, ēṣapati sāyaprāṇa) praṣyāḥ mā
paśubhir ā prya ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Thou art (ye aru; be ye) filler(s),
fill me up' etc.
ṛteṣaṣya māyavatāye (MS. *ya), satyena parivartaye (MS. *go) TB. ApŚ.
MŚ. 'By his holy order do I (thou) return' etc.
yamaṁ ha vaśja pachati (TA. *tu) RV. AV. TA.
relo dāhīye (RV. *ty) oṣadhiṣu garbhāḥ RV. TB. ApŚ.
strapanti (RV.* sṛṣṭi) barhir-ānugak RV. (both). SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
TB. ApŚ. N.
vā śloka etu (AV. etu; TS. ŚvetU. śloka yanti) pathyeva (KS. pathena)
sūrīḥ (AV. sūrīḥ, TS. ŚvetU. sūrīḥ, KS. sūrīḥ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
sed aghir aghitār atī asthe (TB. etu) anāṁ RV. AB. TB. AŚ.
an evam ivipra tasya madantu (KSA. "tu" RV, VS, TS, MS, KSA, adha smu (MS, smu) te vrjanam kriyam asti (MS, astu; KS, vrjanam astu kriyam) RV, SV, VS, TS, MS, KS, SB.
adha pra tvam na upa yantu (SV, pra vam upa yanti) dhidrayah RV, SV, aśīrṇā hum jaryayā (MS, Ks, jaryā) varnaṃ angasya TS, MS, KS, PG, jaryayati is hypermetric; 'imaging, thou makest (make thou) age every other thing.' To Uṣas.
agnis (ad vīśum (AV, mss. viśvād, so read with SPP. and Whitney Transl.) āpṛṇāt (AV, "tu" vīdān RV, AV, TS, MS, KS.
tevṛṣantau te vṛṣaṇtu I.Ś.: te vṛṣanti te vṛṣayanti AV, parameṣṭa paśuṇā kriyāva (MS, kriyāvā) VS, MS, KS, SB. Cf. tasyās 
te sahāraṣopan puṣyantād caraṃena paśuṇā kriyāmi TS, vīśvaratī bhūtaśādharavā (KS, MŚ, "ya dāwar" astu devah (TS, "dhearo 
si") TS, KS, ApŚ, MŚ, āśeśā bhaṣaṇavatāh (MS, "bam, TB, "tu") VS, MS, TB. 'The Aśvins, physicians, do aid', or, 'O Aśvins (and Sarusvatī, TB), physicians, aid ye!' rohante (AŚ, "tu" pāryād rukhā MS, KS, TA, AŚ, SS. Cf. līṣṭhanti sāruṣu gathā TS, somā arṣanti (SV, "tu" vīśvāve RV, SV. Cf. somo arṣati vi" RV, athāṣṇā madhyam ejatu (SS, "ti") AŚ, SS, I Ś.
(parī...) mahe kṣatrīya (and, krothrīya) dhūttana AV.; (parī...) mahe rāthrīya (and, krothrīya) dadhmasi HG. 'Wrap ye (we wrap): this man up unto great kingship (fame).'
kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunakta (VS, SB, "ti") VS, TS, KSA, SB, TB, ApŚ, kas tvā vi munificati sa tvā vimunificati (KSA, "tu" VS, KSA, SB, slenisyelīyām āno ihi tākaraṇya (KS, "tyām taskaraṇyāna ihi; TS, "tyām taskaraṇyāna epi") VS, TS, MS, KS, SB, snuḍā sapatnā (TB, comm. and Poona ed. text, "nāh") kvāśuro 'yam astu (AŚ, kvāśuro 'ham aṣṭi) TB, AŚ, Comm. on TB, yajamāṇāya sapatnāḥ snuvatvā smadhitāh santu, nyam in yajamāṇāḥ kvāśuro 'stū kvāśuvatvā vedā hūrātav(!).
See §304.
traya evam mahimānah sacante (ŚG. 3rdā) TS. MS. KS. ŚG. ApMB.
trīṣug (ĀŚ. tríṛud) gharma vi bhātu me (KS. gharmas sadam in me viṁbāti) KS. TB. TA. ĀŚ.: tiṣṭhīr gharma viṁbāti MS.; gharmas trīṣug vi rājate (SS. vacate) VS. SB. SS. 'The triple-shining hot drink shines (shall shine) for me', or the like.
asau yaja AS.: asau yajate... LS.
tha sārya ud etu te AV.: ut sāryo diva sti AV. And others, see Conc. anulbhayam yavatu (KS. yavati) jopayam apah RV. TS. KS. AB. ApŚ. evam yābbhau dadhhāmi (ApMB. dadhātu) te SB. BrūU. ŚG. ApMB. HG. And others; §302.
mahi no vātā tha sāntu bhūmau AV.: mihāni na vātā hi vātī bhūma RV. dīdhāpayata mākaram jīgatnam AV.: a mātārī dhōpayaas jīgatnā RV. rāyan dhālatam (and, dhatha, dhathana) vasumantam purukṣum (once, sataqṣum). RV. (quater). The ind. forms occur in relative clauses, but the impv. dhālatam twice in principal clauses. See RVRep. 149.
anu svadhā cikītān (KS. 3rdā) somo agnīḥ AV. KS. TB. te na ātmam jaṅgrati (KS. jāṅgṛta) AV. KS. 'They watch (watch ye) over ourselves.' Whitney considers emendation to jaṅgratu, which Ppp. reads.
āhau raṭayāḥ sāntu (MS. sante sam yajurbhīḥ) VS. MS. SB. TA. SS. LS.
save devā atyāhantī (and, 2ndā) AV. (both). See §94.
īga uṛje parate (MS. prīphā) VS. MS. SB. And others. See also, in Conc., adhyāyaḥ, adhāhyāyaḥ, vanaspatibhyāḥ, brahmaarcāṇyā, dyāvopīrīhīyaḥ, asmaś kṣatraṇa, asmaś brahmaṇe, asyai viśe, mahayām jyaṅghīyaḥ, etc., parasāte, and correspondents. [But I question any relation here. F.E.]
asṭāḥ sante (AV. santā) astau RVKh. AV. SS.
daksīṇala vrṣabha eśi havyaḥ (TS. edhi havyaḥ, MS. KS: vrṣabha havya edhi) AV. TS. MS. KS.
pīri nāh pāḥi (pāṭu; pari mā pāhi) viṣvalaḥ AV. (all): pari teva pāṃ sarvataḥ RVKh.
parīdahī nāyī ajinam (PG. 3rdāväjinām) dadhe 'ham (HG. dhatwāsmāv)
ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. 'Put on, vigorous, thou yonder, this skin', or, 'this skin I, vigorous, put on', or the like.
tā eva mā upa sarpatāh SV. JB.: evam anu sarpatā MS.
aniṃ anu vishatā (AG. bādhatām) AV. SS. AG.
jaṅgrāṇa upa jāṅgranāte (MS. 2ndā, p. p. 2ndā) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.
adharṣpadatam kṛutam (AV.* kṛuṣva, TS. krouṭe) ye pṛtyanavah AV.
(bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
devasya yanti utaya (KS. yantutaya) vi rajas RV. KS.
astra (ŚB. astra) jahima 'sivā ye asan VS. ŚB.; astra jahima (AV. jahita) ye asan aśvāḥ (AV, aśvāḥ, and asan aśvāḥ) RV. AV. (bis) TA. 
vā śivas akrayāti PG.: evam kṣāya kramayo a kramāyā ŚG.
pālam (TS. vītām) ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma TS. ŚŚ.: pālho ghṛtasya guhyayā (MS. KS. guhyāmi) nāma AV. MS. KS.
tataḥ (RV. atak, KS. tatra) caukṣiḥkam (RV. caukṣihe, MS. KS. caukrāthe) 
adhitam dittam ca RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
sū (KS. yā) no daddatu (KS. 'ti) śrayaṇam pitāyām (TS. pitāyām) TS. 
MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. It is significant that KS., in making the 
clause relative, substitutes an ind. for the impv. which is anomalous 
in relative clauses; see §122 f.
ayam (AŚ. 'ahum) sattrū (sattṛum) jayatu (AŚ. *jayām) jarkṣāṇah 
(AŚ. *jarkṣāṇah); followed in all texts by:
ayam (AŚ. 'ahum) vajam (VS. VSK. ŚB. vajām) jayatu (AŚ. *jayām) 
vajosālu VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis). The first 
person ind. form in AŚ. is a conscious vṛtā of the other.
antarā dyāvāpirthī vyanātā (MS. 'tu; KS. MS. add panthānāḥ) TS. KS. 
SMB. MS. PG. BDī.
tah savi dasāmi (KS. dasāti, AŚ, KŚ. tānām) hariyā (MS. manasi) 
ghṛtenā TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. AŚ. KŚ.
dirghādyutāya járaḍaśī fāmī (MG. astu) PG. MG. On MG, see §323. 
[śunyam id gavam anasya pra khudasi ŚŚ.: evaṃ id gavāṃ asti pra 
khuda AV. by R-Wh's emendation; but the ms. agree as to the 
verb forms with ŚŚ.] 
yato bhayam abhayam tan no astu (AV. ed. astā, by misprint; see Lanman 
ap. Whitney on 19. 3. 4) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS.]
[vaḥśehebhīr (MS. bah') viharan yāsi (TB; pahi, but comm. and Poona 
ed. text yāsi, so read) tantum RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.]
grāmān sajātayo yanti HG.; grāmāṇa sajātayo guchantī ApMB.† 
(Conc. quotes ApMB. as guchantu.)]

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

§117. This is a much rarer interchange than that between present 
indicative and imperative. It is quite impossible to feel any distinction 
between the two classes; we may conclude that, in this sphere of expression, 
impv. and subj. perform the same function, even if we suspect, as 
we do, that the impv. is the milder mood of the two. The following are 
instances of the 2d and 3d persons:
agnir no vanate (VSK. vanate; SV., TS. KS. vansate) ṛagyīm RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. 'Agni wins (shall win) wealth for us.' Here vanate is pres. ind., vansate aor. subj., while vanate is ambiguous, either the one or the other. Cf. Neisser, BB. 7. 223f.; Oldenberg, Proleg. 289; and above, §10, end.

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

uto prahām adivyā jayātī (AV. *diśā jayatī) RV. AV. (both). 'Moreover the superior gamester shall win (wins) the stake.' jayatī is metrically inferior.

trūsam vasānā sumanā asas (HG. asa) team AV. HG. 'O house, clothed in grass (i.e. thatched), be thou (thou art) well-disposed (towards us).'

rādhā na kām na yāsā (AV. nayāsā) ekajī team RV. AV. 'Thou, sole-born one, bringest (shalt bring) them under control, controlling.' Manyu 'wrath' is addressed.

adhirājo rājau rājāyatās (TS. 'ti; MS. 'yate) AV. TS. MS.

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

pra rūdhāsa codayāte (SV. rūdhāsai codayate) mahāvanā RV. SV.

rejate (SV. bhvasati te) svasāl pryātī cid ādivaḥ RV. SV. 'The very earth trembles (shall be afraid) before thy might, O possessor of the press-stone.'

yāh paśānām ṛpahe vācəs tāh kūrya agre ṛkro agre tāh prahiṇom ś (ApŚ. *hīna) ... MS. ApŚ. prahiṇaḥ is 2d sing. subj. with irregular (weak) stem; cf. Whitney, Grammar §701, end.

sah jānānamahī manasaḥ sam cikītṝe RV.: sam jānāmahai manasā sam cikītva AV.

§118. Rather more frequent are the interchanges between the first persons subj. and indic. This is obviously due to the fact that the 1st person subj. forms do duty as imperatives; at no period in the language is there any basis for distinguishing impv. and subj. in the 1st person. tayānaṇī (MS. teayajyey) kānam (ŚS. lokam) ahām jayāni (MS. jayāni) AS. † SS. ApŚ. MS. ApMB. 'Thru this (offering) may I win endless delight (heaven)', or, 'thru thee, Agni, I win delight.'
brahmâdham asturâta kṛṣṇe (KS. karane = "voi") AV, KS. 'I make (let me make) the charm my inner (defense).' See §26.

tendham asya brāhmaṇā ni varṣayāmi (TB. "ni; but comm. and Poona ed., text 'mi') jīvase TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'By that charm of his I (let me) return to life.' But ApŚ. and the comm. suggest that Poona ed. of TB. is right in reading an ādīc.

jagatayaṁ na (AS. erroneously, "tyena") viśeṣa ā vekayāmaḥ (MS. KS. "mi"; AS. "ni") TS. MS. KS. AS. 'With the jagatā (meter) we (I; may I) settle him among the clans.'

idam uham mūn kalīyayai kṛtyai sarvâya lokâyamāttrâya (ApŚ. lokâya) daikṣiṇām nayāni (ApŚ. "mi"; MŚ. dadāmi) KB. ŚŚ.

ApŚ. MŚ.: idam uham mūn kalīyayai kṛtyai tejasu yasate māttrâyaṁmānaṁ daikṣiṇām nayāni AS.

jīvam eva pratī tat te (MŚ. SMB. v; I. pratidätte) dadāmi (MŚ. dadāmi, SMB. dadāmi) TA. SMB. MŚ. But Jörgensen reads dadāmi in SMB.; his ms. vary.


tam te ś brahma prasūt te ś brahma viśayām ...

yaś uham ābhavedājanām yeda tasmāt ś brahma ābhavedājanām īśvāraṁ (SB. tasmāt ś brahma) SB. ApŚ. Acc. to Caland on ApŚ. 10. 2. 10, the HŚ. reads ābhavedāmi.

tau saha (VS. SB. tā ubhau) caturah padoh sam prasūtānaṁ (VS. SB. "va, MS. "vah) VS. TS. MS. KSA. SB. ApŚ. See comm. on TS. 7. 4. 19. 1 (note 9 in Weber).

see loke viśā (MS. viśā) te Ś TS. MS. ' (May) I enter into my own place here.' The TS. strangely accents the form viśā.

yasmad yoner uddvāha (KS. thā) yajñ (MS. KS. yajñ) tam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

ni sukhyānī śrījânahe (ŚŚ. "mahāi; MS. viśānānāh) AS. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. PG.

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

(o) na nayāmi AS.: (om) na nayāmi KS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I (am going to) ladle out.' And others, see Conc.

nihatām ni harāmi (VS. SB. "ni) te VS. VSK. TS. KS. SB.
dadāmīty (AŚ. dadāmtime) aqni naddati TB. AŚ. ‘I (am going to) give, saith Agni.’

manuṣ nu (MS. manuṣ nu, TS. mandūma) bahrūṣam ahm未经 ṣalād dhāmānि
kapat ca RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. ‘Of these brown (herbs)
I (am going to) declare the hundred powers and seven.’ See §§10.
191.

somaṁ te krīṇamy... TS. KS.: somarikrayin somaṁ te krīṇāni... MS.
etad (ŚŚ. idān) vāṁ tena prīṇāni (ŚŚ. ṣmi, ApŚ. ṣti, read ṣmi, Casland
on 2. 20. 6, n. 2) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Conc. quotes prīṇāti for TB.

Present Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

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

pra te diw vānān anākhanti vāṣmāḥ RV. TS. ‘your lightning (fires, O
Agni) thunder forth as if from heaven’; pra te diw vānān anākhanta
vāṣmāḥ MS. ‘may (your fires) thunder forth as if from heaven
with lightning.’

pari vājante (SV. ṣta) ṣanayo yathā patim RV. SV. AV. ‘They (shall)
embrace him as wives do their husbands.’

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

annādyāṇānnapatīyāḥ dādhat Kau.: annādam annādyāyādadhe (KS.
annādyāṇānnapatīyādadhe) TS. KS.: annādam aqnim annāpatīyā-
yādadhe MS.: annādam tvānnapatīyāyādadhe AŚ.; aqnim annādam
annādyāyādadhe VS.
Present Indicative and Optative (Pretcative) in principal clauses

§121. The optative, a rather indifferent wish mood, stands, perhaps, more in the center of the entire sphere of modality than any other mood. This accounts to some extent for its survival in the later language as the heir of most of the modi subjunctivi. It is, as we shall see (§169), on terms of lively reciprocity with the subj., being, however, rarer than the subj. in the metrical parts of the Veda. With the present ind. it alternates only in a moderate number of cases, especially as compared with the impv.; cf. our remarks on the latter mood above. The present makes here, as usual, the impression of greater certainty or insistence.

An occasional pretcative, interchanging with an indicative, is included at the end of the following list. Noticeable to begin with are half a dozen cases in which indicatives and optatives of the root hā 'call' interchange:

maruvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV, huwemahi) RV. SPV. 'Indra
with the Maruts do (would) we call unto alliance.'

lām (RV. omits) saravantam avase huwema (AV. havāmahe, RV. KS. johavim) RV. RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AS. SS.

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

ptasyā patnīn avase huwema (AV. havāmahe) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AS. SS.

prālarjitaṁ bhagam ugrāṁ huwema (AV. havāmahe) RV. AV. VS. TB.

ApMB. N.

prātha sōnam uta rudram huwema (AV. havāmahe) RV. AV. VS. TB.

ApMB;

In these it will be noted that AV. markedly prefers the form havāmahe.

The remaining cases are:

(assoed indro madesh ąd) grūbhām grūbhāti (RV. grūbhita) sānasim RV. SV. 'When exhilarated by this very (soma) Indra makes (shall
make) a victorious (rich) haul.' grūbhita may also be regarded as injunctive or augmentless pretcrite.

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS.† sanāmy agne) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'May I here gain substance, O Agni (KS., Agni's substance).'

The KS. variant is interesting; changing the voc. to a gen. it makes
it no longer a direct address to the god, and therefore less in tune
with the optative mood.

indravanto vanāmahe (PB. vanemahi) TS. PR.
Interchange between Present Indicative and various modal forms in dependent (mostly relative) clauses

§122. The same interchange between present indicatives and various moods occurs on a smaller scale in dependent clauses, most of which are relative. The indicative states the fact, the modal forms assume it with various kinds or degrees of potentiality. The difference is the same as in principal clauses: bluff assumption on the one hand, prayerful uncertainty on the other. The various moods all figure, but the subjunctive is here decidedly the most frequent (see Derrruck, A1Syntax 317ff.), approaching frequently a future value. Imperatives are rare, and 2d person imperatives seem not to occur at all; cf. the shift between mādayasva varṇare RV. 8. 103. 14, 'delight thyself in the house of Svarnara', with yad...mādayasva varṇare, RV. 8. 65. 2, 'when thou
delightest thyself in the house of Svarṇara'; see §95, note 11. Cf. further the variant sā no dadātu..., yā no dadāti..., §110, end.

Present Indicative and Imperative in dependent clauses

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

(ye)... swadānti (MS. TB. "tu; MS. p.p. "ti) devā ubhayāni havyā (TB. Poona ed. absurdly, havyāḥ) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. 'The gods who (shall) enjoy both sorts of oblations.'

[yāni (ApMB.* tāni) bhadrāṇi bijāny (HG. yāni prabhāṇi vṛtyāṇy)] prabhā janayanti (HG. ApMB.* "tu) nāḥ (AV. ca, ApMB.* nāv) AV. ApMB. (bis) HG. Only in HG. is the impv. found in a relative clause; ApMB. has tāni... janayantu nāv, but yāni... janayanti nāḥ. HG. may be a blend of these two. 'Which (these) excellent seeds (or the like) bull(e) (shall) produce for us.'

Present Indicatives and Subjunctives in dependent clauses

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

[yo no maruta abhi (AV. KS. yo no marto maruta; TS. yo no marto vasavo) durśrṇāyuḥ] tīrāḥ cītānā (KS. ms. cītā, em. by v. Schroeder to cītānā) vasavo jighāśati (TS. tīrāḥ sātyāni maruta jighāśati) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Whatever hostile mortal desires (shall desire) to slay us' etc. The stanzas is otherwise frīṣṭubh; TS. makes this pada metrically consistent with the rest.

yad aham dhanena prāpaṇāṁ carāṁi ApMB.: yad yo devāḥ prāpaṇāṁ carāṁi HG.: yena dhanena prāpaṇāṁ carāṁi AV.

agni vittād dhawipo yad yaśāna (TB. "nāḥ) RV. TB. 'O Agni, take note of the obligation which we (shall) offer thee.' See §25.

tam dūrṇa yam vayān dūrāvānā VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: dūrṇa tam yo 'svamān dūrāvāt VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: yam vayān dharāma tam dhrāva (KS. vayān dharāmasya tam ca dhrāva) MS. KS.: dhrāva dharāṇaṁ tam yo asmān dharātī MS. 'Injure him whom we (may) injure', '...who (shall) injure us', or the like.

yam dhīnas tam sa rchatu RV.: yam dhīnas tam rchatu AV.
yena yamanā (AV. yamanā yaṇa, TB. ApŚ. yamanā, om. yena) nidhīnā (AV. TS. TB. ApŚ. balinā) carāṁi (MS. MS. carvaḥ,
SMB:† carāṇi) AV. TS. MS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MS. SMB.  
devān yaśāṁyaṁ iha yān yaśāmahe (TS. havāmahe) TS. MS. KS.  
avasymlaysa nyañcetan yaṁ no asti (AV. asat) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.  
yas ādveda sa-vālitkh (MahānU. sa pituḥ) pitāsāt TA. MahānU.: yaṁ  
tāni veda sa pituṣ (VS. pituḥ) pitāsāt AV. VS.: yaṁ tā vijānti sa-  
pituṣ pitāsāt RV. AV. TA. N.  
gyathaṁ uttara 'sāni (HG. vadāmi) AV. HG. 'That I may be (speak)  
superior.'  
yo aghāyaḥ abhiāśaṁ AV.: yo māghāyaḥ abhiāśaṁ TB.  
yo na indra-carṇaṁ mitrāvaruṇaṁ abhiāśaṁ bhrātyaṁ... idam akāraṁ  
tam adharaṁ pādayāmi TS.: yo no mitrāvarunā abhiāśaṁ sapatna  
bhrātyaṁ... idam etc. MS. 'The rival who contends (shall contend)  
against us... him do I here lay low.'  
yo maṁśaṁ dhiś abhiāśad agnim sā ṛchatu MS.: agnim sa ṛchatu yo  
maṁśaṁ (KS.† agnim) dhiś abhiāśaṁ KS. ApŚ.: agnim sadiśam  
devaṁ... ṛchatu yo... bhiāśaṁ TB. The same with indraṁ,  
martakaṁ, mitrāvaruṇaṁ, and somaṁ.  
yaṁ saṁyaṁ 'naujāmaṁ TS.: yaṁ bhahe na 'naujāmaṁ MS.: yaṁ bhahe upajī-  
vanīyati ĀŚ.  
yathākam asya vīrasya (AV. eṣaṁ vīryam, cf. RV. 10.174.5c) vīryajāṇi  
janasya (ApMB. vīryajīṁ dhanasya) ca RV. AV. ApMB. 'That  
I (may) control (this man (these men) and his (their) folk (wealth),'  
rayāṁ yena sanāmahe (SV. *he). RV. SV.: 'Thru whom we (may)  
obtain wealth.'  
yena jayantī (TB. jayāṁ) na para jayante (TB. jayāsati) AV. TB.  
'(Indra) thru whom men conquer (thou mayst conquer), are (be) not  
conquered.'  
yena bhūyaśa caratī ayam, yuṣk ca pākyati sāryaḥ, tene te vapaṁy āyuṣे  
MG.: yena bhūyaśa caratī ayam, yuṣk ca pākyati sāryaṁ, tenasadgāyuṣe  
eṣaṇa ApMB.: 'With (the razor) by which he shall live on and long  
behold (be beheld by) the sun, with that I shear thee (shear thou  
him unto long life.' And others, see §§330, 337.  
(ksa tyāṁ nau sakhyā bodbhūvah) sacāvahe (MS. *hai, p.p. *he) yad  
avrkaṁ para cāt RV. MS. But sacāvahe may possibly be also subj.;  
see § 253. Cf. Dellerück, op. cit. 278.  
In one not certain case we find this interchange in an interrogative  
clause which gives the effect of a conditional clause:  
(apāṁ napād ābhemā kuvit sa) supekaṇaṁ karatī (KS. karoti; but v. l.  
karaṇa) jopād dhi RV. MS. KS. ApŚ. 'Will the Son of the Waters
... adorn (my songs), so as to enjoy them?' That is to say, 'if he will adorn them, he will enjoy them.' The present karoti is secondary, if not corrupt.

In a lest clause the same variation occurs (cf. Delbrück 316ff., 545): mā mā kāśīn (MS. kāṣīr) nāthito net (MS. na) tvā jahāni (MS. 'mi') AV.† KS. MS. 'Let him not, implored, abandon me, lest I (may) abandon thee!': mā na kāśīn metihito net tvā jahāna TB. ApŚ.; mā na hiṣād dhīneito dadhāmi (some ms. omit dadhāmi) na tvā jahāmī AS.

Present Indicative and Injunctive in dependent clauses

§125. The few cases noted of this interchange all show injunctive forms which are formally indistinguishable from imperatives; and of course, as usual, they might also be construed as augmentless preterites: (kīranyaṇya arasya) yam nirmanathata aśeṇā (SB, BrhU. yābhyaṃ nirmanathād anāśeṇā devau) RV, SB, BrhU, ApMB, HG, MG. 'The foetus which the Aśvins drill out with their golden drill', or 'the two golden drills with which the Aśvins shall drill out (the foetus)', etc.
yārajāna (TS. 'nani) sarathama yatha (MS. yāta) ugrā TSK, MS, KS. yāta: yātha may be merely phonetic; see §21.

udhe yat tvā bhāvato rodast anu (SV. tvā rodasti dhīneito anu) RV, SV.

Furthermore, some variants quoted under Present Indicative and Subjunctive have forms which might be considered 1st person Injunctive as well as Subjunctive; e.g. yam duṣṇau (duṣṣāna) etc.; see §124.

Present Indicative and Optative in dependent clause

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

II. Preterites in interchange with moods

§127. We have used the term 'temperamental' more than once in the preceding pages, to describe the uses of the categorical indicative that really carry within them modal values of various kinds and degrees. The Vedic poets show even greater keenness of feeling in their use of preterite indicatives where they really experience moods. Especially is this true of the aorist, which is typically used to denote an accom-
plished fact within the range of the speaker’s own knowledge, so that it is a favorite mode of confident assertion, especially of recent events (Delbrück, Alttempuslehre 6; Renou 28). Altho the imperfect, perfect, and past passive participle all appear commonly enough in interchange with moods, the aorist is the commonest of all. This kind of aorist, especially common in the literature of magic and conjuration, has been called with some propriety ‘prophetic aorist.’ So some texts say:

\[ \text{aṅgastra satyam upaṣām} \]  MS, KŚ. ‘I have speedily attained unto truth!’

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

\[ \text{aṅgastra satyam upa geṣām} \]  VS, TS, GB, SB, AŚ, ŚŚ, Vait. LS, SG: ‘May I speedily attain unto truth!’ And this variant is a valuable commentary on the aorist indicative of the other texts; it really means only that such is the speaker’s earnest and insistent desire. Or, again, one text says:

\[ \text{candramā nakṣataraī anvāvēt} \]  KŚ. (aor. indic.), ‘The moon with the constellations has helped thee along.’ Another text, using the imperative, says:

\[ \text{candramā nakṣataraī anvāvātu} \]  TB. ‘Let the moon with the constellations help thee along.’

§128. It is worth mentioning that sometimes the same text contains expressions with both verbal forms. Thus in the reciprocal ūkā formulas SB. 3, 4, 3, 9 and 3, 6, 3, 21 anvā me dīkṣāṁ dīkṣāpatīr manyatāṁ (amanāta), ‘the Lord of Consecration shall favor (has favored) my consecration.’ Or MS. 1, 2, 14 and 4, 13. 8 pythāṁ upareṇa drīhā and prs upareṇādṛhā, ‘steady thou (it has steadied) the earth with thy (its) base.’ These show more definitely how close to each other are the two types of expression.

§129. The considerable list which we have classed aspreterites with and without augment (§§206ff.) may also contain some cases in which the augmentless form is really modal, and thus belong here.

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

§130. Aorist Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

\[ \text{sā na āgān} \]  (AV. ātu; KŚ, seyam āgād) varcādā saṁvidānā AV, TS, KŚ, TB. ‘She hath come (let her come) to us endowed with luster.’

\[ \text{sūryāya caēṣa ērāham} \]  (VS, ēroha) VS, TS, MS, KŚ, SB, ApŚ, MS. ‘The eye of Śūrya I have mounted (mount thou).’
sam āpo adhibhir agnata VS, TS, SB, TB, SS, ApŚ. 'Waters have commingled with waters;' sam āpa oṣadhībhīr yachantām MS. 'Let waters commingle with plants.'

syonāṁ āsādāṁ suṣadāṁ āsādāṁ LŚ.; syonāṁ āśāda suṣadāṁ āśāda VS, TS, MS, KS, SB, TB, KŚ, ApŚ, MŚ. 'I have seated myself (sit thou) on a throne that is fair, (that is) a pleasant seat.' See Conc. under each half of the formula.

eṣvag tu kramatā (VS. SB. tu kramatā) VS. SB. ApŚ.
kucin te (SV. ca) varṣam adhi goṣu dāharam (SV. dhārāga) RV. SV.
ud asau sūrya-agāl RV. AV.: ud asau etu sūryāḥ TB.

agnir jnāvin māyāṁ jāyāṁ inām adāi Kauś. 'Agni who obtains people hath given me this woman to wife': agnir jnānaḥ sa me 'mām jāyāṁ dādātā SV. 'May Agni the begetter give me yonder woman to wife.' Similarly with pāyā jātāvin, and ravo vasvin (janinān.), a tehārāyaṁ antar abhaḥ (RV. AG. RVidh. edhi) RV. AV. VS. MS, KS. SB. TB. AG. RVidh. 'I have brought thee hither; thou hast entered (enter thou) within,'


akartāṁ aśvinā lakṣṇa AV.: kṛṣṇatām lakṣnāśvinā AV. The second precedes the first in the adjoining stanza; there is this time a clearly intended difference of meaning. 'O Ašvin, make (the Ašvins have made) the mark.' So also in the next.


dharmān vāyum a viva (SV. āruhah) RV. SV.
akarnaḥ pūrṣuḥ priyam RVKh.: karoṭu pūrṣuḥ priyam HG.: pūrṣu priyam kuru ApMB. 'I have made (let it make; make thou) me dear among the Pūrṇis.' See §302.
punah pṛāyaḥ punar ātmā na (MS. TB. ApŚ. HG. punar ākutām, TA. punar ākutām ma, MG. punar ākutāv) āgāt (VS. SB. āgan, AV.MG. aitu) AV. VS. VSK. MS. SB. TB. TA. ApŚ. HG. MG.

muḍha vy āsthāḥ abhayaṁ na aitu TB.: vy āsthāḥ muḍhā abhayaṁ te abhāt AV.

jānīṣa (TS. jānīṣvā, MS. 'ya) hi jengy agra ahnāṁ RV. TS. MS. KS.

'He has been (be thou) born, noble, at the break of days.'
anu ma idam vrataṁ vratapitar manyatāṁ MS.: anu me dīkṣān dīkṣāpati
manyaṭām (KS. "patayo manyadhvam; ŠB. "patir amanasta")... VS.
TS. KS. GB. ŠB. (bis) Vait.
idam varco (AS. rādha) aṃṇatā datam dātā (AV. dān) AV. MS. TB.
AS. a mā varco 'gīnā datam etu KS.
(yah kan ca lokam oṣān yajñān) tato me bhadram abhūt VS. ŠB.: (patra
kva ca yajñī 'pāt) tato mā dṛavīṇam aṣṭu ŠB.: tato mā dṛavīṇam aṣṭu
(AB. dāt(a) VS. AB. ŠB. ŠS. See Conc. under dīvam trīyam, antarkīram trīyam, and pṛthivīm trīyam, with their correspondents.
'(To whatsoever place the sacrifice has gone,) thence welfare has
come to me (thence let wealth reach me).'
indro vājam aṣṭiś VS. TB.: indra vājam jaya VS. MS. KS. ŠB.
annam me pūrya paṇi (and, pūryāyugṇaḥ) Kauś. (both): annam
me (no) budhyā (budhnya) paṇi tan me (no) goḍāyāmakaṇa punar
ōgamāt MS. ApŚ.: annam me (no) budhyāyugṇaḥ (budhnya) tan
me (no) punar deki MS. ApŚ.
suprattha (MS. 'athā) saṣṭhān me goḍya (MS. pāti, and 'jugṛpaḥ)
TB. ApŚ. MS. (bis): saṣṭhā saṣṭhān me pāti AV.
sarvam tām bhavasād (TS. ŠB. masnaad) kuru VS. TS. ŠB.: sarvāṁ tān
maṇḍava (MS.† mṛṣyad) kuru MS. KS.† TA.: sarvāṁ ni maṇḍava-
karmav AV. 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou'), or the like.
trīn samudrān samsārpat sāvṛgān (MS. "goṣ) VS. MS. ŠB.: samsāpa-
(KS. "pan) trīn samudrān sāvṛgān (ApŚ. sāvṛgāl lokān) KS. ApŚ.
pṛthivim upareṇa dhīha VS. MS.: pṛ. upareṇādṛhih (MS. TB. KS.
"hit) VS. MS. KS. (both) ŠB. TB.
varca ā dhehi me tanvaṃ (KS. ihāyī me tanuḥ) AV. KS. 'Set luster in
my body'; 'My body has been set in luster'.
mayi ihāyī (MS. dhehi) sūryaṃ MS. TB. TA.
payasanān (TS. TB. ApMB. "vah)agna ṣāramām AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
JB. ŠB. TB. 1Ś. ApMB.: payasanāagna ṣāhi RV.
tam (TS. KS. tan vah) suprīṭam shubhṛtam akarma (KS. abhūraṃ, VS.
bhṛta) VS. TS. KS. 'This (embryo) we (I) have made (maintained;
maintain ye) pleasant and well-maintained (for you),'
abhūṛ graṇīṃ (with variants) abhiśāṣṭipādā (AV. "pā u) AV. HG.
ApMB.: bhavā graṇīṃ (AV. ms. gr") abhiśāṣṭipādā (AV. "pā u)
AV. PG. ApMB. HG.
devaś te savitā hastam graṇāt AV.: savitā hastam agraḥit (ŚG. agraḥit)
AV. ŚG. SMB.: savitā te hastam agraḥit (AG. "bhūd asau; MG.
agraḥit) AG. APMB. HG. MG.
sakhāyaḥ saplapadā abhāma TB. ApŚ.: sakhaṇau saplapadād abhāva
ApMB. (corruptly, "dā bahāva") HG.: sakha saplapadā (ApMB.
"dā) bhava AG. ŚG. Kauś. APMB. SMB.

§131. Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses
jeṣṭhaḥ (and, jeṣṭaḥ, ajāth) saṃvatīr aṭṭha RV. (all). 'Thou shalt win (be shall win; thou hast won) the waters rich in light.' See RVRep. 39.

ṣādhuḥ kalāśaṅkī (ApMB. śrī, MG. kā); aṣṭha (AG. ApMB. ayaṇ; ŚG. gamaṇ, PG. ayaṇa, HG. ayaṇ̄a ṛva, MG. ayaṇ̄a) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. 'With mugs of sour milk they have (shall) come', or the like.

anyāvākṣaḥ (VS. anyā vakṣaḥ) vau sārgaṇī VS. TB. 'The other hath brought (shall bring) boons and treasure.'

yṛṇaṇa cakradād (and, cakradā) vane RV.; yṛṇa aśekradād vane SV. The RV. forms are counted as perfect subjunctives; see §272.
sakhāya it śiṣṭaṁahi (AV. SV. *he) RV. AV. SV. AA. ŚŚ. AŚ.

Aorist Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§132. If the injunctive forms varying with presents (above) and with other modal forms (below) are apt to be doubtful because also interpretable as augmentless preterites, this is a fortiori true of such as vary with augmented past forms. There is, indeed, really nothing that can decide in such a case, whether to regard the augmentless form as a preterite or an injunctive; since, as we have now abundantly seen, the 'true' preterites may be used just as well as modal forms in any situation. Hence, we have preferred to keep most such interchanges in one group, and have classified them below under augmented and augmentless preterites (§264ff.); in this place we add merely one or two instances chosen on more or less subjective grounds, which seem rather more likely than most to contain modal value:
anu (MS. adds māṁ, TA. vāṁ) dyāvāpṛtvī (MS. adds anu me) amāṇ-sātm (TA. also maṁś; MS. 'maṁśa', p.p. amaṁśa) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. (bis) ŚŚ. ŠŚ. 'Heaven and earth have favored (shall favor) me.' In adjoining passages in TA.
pāṇā mādhāt (AV. nā dhāt, MS. nā ādhāt) sukṛtaṁyā lāke AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Pūṣan hath placed (shall place) me in the world of pious deed.'

urdhva adhvaro aṣṭāt (VS. ŚB. 'dhara āṣṭāt, KS. 'dhware-sthāt, ApŚ. adhware-sthāt) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'The sacrifice has stood
straight': 'stand thou upright on the sacrifice.' On ApŚ.'s reading see §337.

pra lāry (TS. prālāry) agne prataram (TS. ąrām) na āyuh RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. 'O Agni, may our life be (our life has been) extended further.'

§133. Aorist Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses
devasya (devasyāham, VSK. devasya vayam) savitäh prasavasa (savo--) rūhegam (GB. rohegam, VSK. ruhema) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. GB. ŠB. TB. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ. MS. ... aruham VS. ŠB. ... aruhamā VSK.

āditya nāvam ārukaḥ (AV Ppp. āruham; SMB. ārokaṃ) AV. SMB.; sāya nāvam ārukaḥ AV.: inām nu nāvam (read, sunāvam?) āruham TS. KS. ApŚ.: sunāvam āruhegam VS, 'O sun, thou hast (I have) mounted the ship'; 'I have mounted (may I mount) this good ship.'

upākṣunā sam amṛtatām ānāt (AP MB. akyām) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ApŚ. AP MB. 'By the (soma) plant he hath reached (may I reach) immortality.'

abhūn mamā (KS. nu naḥ) sumatāv viśvavedāḥ TS. KS. PG. '(Agni) the all-possessing has become in a good humor towards me'; bhūyām te sumatāv viśvavedāḥ (so MS. intends, by its regular sandhi; text "da", followed by vowel) MS. 'May we be in thy favor, O all-possessing (Agni).'

Of the item bhūyām te sumatāv... in Cone.

tad asya priyam abhi pātho akyām (TB. asthām) RV. MS. AB. TB. AS. 'May I attain (I have reached) that dear place of his.' But Poona ed. of TB., text and comm., reads akyām.

grāvavedād (AP Ś. grāvā vaded) abhi somasyānām (APŚ. ąsanā) KS. APŚ. But von Schroeder reads in KS. grāvā vaded, with v. I. grāvavedād.

§134. Aorist Indicative and Future in principal clauses

agnin eva yonā (VSK. MS. KS. yonā) abhār (APŚ. yona bhāriṣgyata) ukhā VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. APŚ. 'The pot hath borne (shall bear) Agni in her own womb.'

paridhāsymai yasō dhāsyai PG.: paridhāsyai yasō dhāsyai MG.: paridām vāso adhithāḥ (HG. adhidhāḥ, AP MB. adhi dhā) svastaya AV. HG. AP MB. The forms -dhāsyai (-dhāsye) are uncertain; perhaps infinitives. See §177.

tvām eva pratyaṅgaram brahma vadiṣgyāmi (and, brahmāvadāpya) TA. TU. (both in each).
§135. Aorist Indicative and Desiderative in a principal clause

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

§136. Imperfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

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

prayasi ērāyō (SV. ārāyad) rayim RV. SV.

prayati naḥ (MS. ukā) ukipū naṁyam asmat (AV. asmat) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'The Aśvins swept (shall sweep) away death from him (us).' asmat may, of course, be augmentless imperfect, or injunctive.

tvām guṇo ērāyō ādyāyō TS. MS.: tvām vibh āryatāṁ rāgyaya AV. 'Thee the cows (clans) choose (shall choose) for kingship.'


saṁ devi (KS. devi) devyorvakaḥ pāśyasa (KS.  "orvakaḥkhyata) TS. KS. ApŚ.

vāpaṁ te agnir īśīto arohat (TS. īśīto 'va sarpatu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. vāy uchā (and, aucho) duhitār divah RV. SV. (both in both texts),

asmān rāya uta yajñāh (KS.† yajñāh) sahantām TS. KS. ApŚ.: asmān rāga mahāvānāṁ sahantām RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ŚŚ.: yajñān rāya uta yajñā asaścata MS.

dēnam ī (SV. PB. dēnam naṁ) pātaram janayantā (KS. *iu) deviḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. janayantā may be, less probably, injunctive.

dīkṣāpālāya vanatan (PB. *pākebhya 'vanatan) hi sakrā TB. AŚ. But see §266.

uṣyena vāyu udakenehi (SMB. GG. udakenaidhi, ApMB. vāyav udaken- ehi, MG. vāyur udakenet) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. 'With warm water come, O Vāyu (Vāyu came, or the like).' But the MG. reading is a more than dubious imperf.; if not merely corrupted, it is likely that it contains the particle id,

sarasvatiḥ (AV. *tyām) adhi manāv (AV. manāv, read manā; KS. manā; SMB. vanāva) acarākṣub (KS. acakṣub; SMB. carkdhā) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. 'This barley they have plowed (plow thou) on the Sarasvati (for Sarasvati) in behalf of Manu', or the like. But Jørgensen, text and comm., reads manāv
acarṣuḥ for SMB; and KS. has a v. l. manā acarṣuḥ. Probably these are the true readings.

§137. Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

ā vo rohito aśrṇod abhīdyavah (AV. 9taḥ śrṇavat sudānavah) AV. TB. 'Rohita listened (shall listen) to you, heavenly (liberal) ones.'

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

pibāl somam amaçaṇā (AV. somam mamadad) enam īṣṭayāḥ (AV. īṣṭe) AV. AS. SS. 'May he drink the soma, the sacrifices have exhilarated him (may it exhilarate him at the sacrifice).'

ayān (TB. āyān) arthāni kṛṇavān apānī RV. KS. TB. APŚ. The parallel kṛṇavān is a guarantee of the secondariness of āyān (or is the preverb ā contained in it?).

duṣaḥ ca viśdvan avṛṇod upa svāḥ RV.: tuvaḥ cid viśdvan arṇavat tapasvān AV. The latter is grossly corrupt.

yo mā ādātā sa id eva mātvā (ARŚ. NṛPU. māvat) ARŚ. TB. TA. TU. NṛPU. N. 'Who gives me, he verily shall help († has helped) me.' The form avāḥ or āvāḥ is very obscure and probably harbors a corruption. TB. comm. āvṛtati (apparently understanding it as a 3d sing. s-aor. of ā-ṛ); TA. comm. āvati, taking it from av, but without any suggestion as to how the form is understood. A 3d person seems required.

§138. Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause

apāḥ praśrayāṁ (SV. praśrayat, TB. praśrayam) sagarasya budhān RV. SV. TB. 'Let me send (he, or they, sent) forth (songs as) water from the basin of the ocean.' See §323. But praśrayam may be indicative.

§139. Perfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

ni homāram viśavidaṁ dādhidhe RV.: ni homāram gṛhapatiṁ dādhidhram SV. 'Ye have established (Agni) as all-wise hotar'; 'establish ye (perfect imperative) as hotar and house-lord.'

sa nah pīto (1) madhumān ā viśeḥa Kauś. (secondary), 'This honeyed food hath entered us'; sa nah pīto madhumān ā viśeḥa KS. 'O food, enter us here, honeyed': sa no mayohāḥ pīto āviśeṣa (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jörgensen] pītav Āvī, AS. pītav āviśeṣa) TS. TB. AS. SG. SMB. PG. See §69.
The text on the page discusses the use of the subjunctive in Sanskrit. It mentions that in some cases, the subjunctive is a perfect stem form, and provides examples to illustrate this point. It also notes that certain verbs, such as 'vak', can take the subjunctive form, and provides examples to show how this is used in different contexts. The text concludes by noting that the context in which the subjunctive is used can vary, and that certain forms, such as 'aśnava', may be used in different ways depending on the specific situation. Overall, the text provides a detailed explanation of the use of the subjunctive in Sanskrit, with numerous examples to illustrate the points made.
§141. Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause

kaṃbhikṣyāṁ bhūṛi vi śrūvam (PG, bhūṛi sukrau) TA. TU. PG.—TA. comm. śṛṅgāvam. 'May I hear (I have heard, or I hear) abundantly with my ears."

§142. Perfect Indicative and Optative in principal clauses

stotāram id didhiṣeya (SV. dadhiṣe) radāvaso RV. AV. SV. 'To the poet, verily, I should wish to share out wealth, O opener of wealth!' didhiṣeya is opt. of desiderative. The SV. form is very obscure: Benfey (Glossar, p. 101) follows the comm. in taking it as 1st person aor. subj., but it seems more likely to be felt as a perfect ind., to be sure of anomalous formation (presumably quasi-desiderative). Cf. ṣṛṣe of RV., treated by Whitney, Roots, as pres. ind. Both forms must in any case be 1st person.

parāvata (MS. 'ād) a jayantā (AV. jagamāt, TS. jagamā) parasyāḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. jagamāt is perfect opt.

indraṣya sukhyaṁ añnatavam aśyām (RV. ānaśā) RV. TB. ApŚ. 'Ye have obtained (may I obtain, aor. opt.) the friendship of Indra (and) immortality.' Different contexts; in RV. in a relative clause, address to the Aṅgirases.

Past Passive Participles interchanging with moods in principal clauses

§143. The same contrast, namely between more or less assumed confidence of statement and mere desire, is brought out by the interchange between a perfect passive participle, with or without copula, and a mood. The participle is thus pretty precisely in the place of the prophetic aorist. It is worth noting in this connection that the same participle also interchanges commonly with a present indicative (§240). For instance:
yunajmi ṣāvam antavikṣeyā (PB. yulē saito 'ntā') te (MS. tena) saha TS. PB. ApŚ. MS. 'I yoke (yoked is) the wind with atmosphere for thee (or, with this atmosphere).'

Here the participle states the fact as accomplished in the strained sense of the prophetic aorist, while the present indicative has future modality of a lighter quality, optative, or the like. In essence such interchanges belong, for the most part, in the same sphere as the group now dealt with. By the same token modal value lurks often in the passages of present and past indicatives interchanging, §§221ff.
§144. Following is the brief list of past participles exchanging with moods (see also §104, w); all the modal forms are imperatives but the last, an injunctive:

sandhūr akṣam (VS. SB. aṅkūs; TB. ApŚ. sam aṅkū; sandhūr)  
hāvīśa ghrtenā AV. VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'The barhīs has been anointed (shall anoint itself, i.e. be anointed, see §87) with obl.ation, with ghee.' And, in the same stanza:

sam devānā viśvedebhīr akṣam AV.: sam indreṇa viśvedebhīr devedhīr (VS. ŚB. indra viśvedebhīr) aṅkūmA VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Cf. pres.

teneṇhāva varāhava cedhā (HG. cendhā) AG. HG. 'By this (firewood) burn and grow, thou that art kindled (and kindle!).'

ghrtenā sitā madhunā samakītā (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. samāyataṁ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'With ghee, with honey, the furrow has been (shall be) anointed.'

tan me rādhyaṭām (TB.*) SMB.* samṛdhyaṭām; VS.* TS.* TA.* 'rāḍhi; Kauś.* samṛdhām, and rāḍhām) VS. TS. SB. TB. TA. ŚŚ. MS. Kauś. SMB. All texts have rāḍhyatām, besides the variants as quoted. 'May this succeed (this has succeeded) for me.'

tān sma mānuṣasāhṣaṭkṛtyāh AŚ.: etc mānuṣasāhṣaṭkṛtyāh Vait. 'Do not say rāṣṭ after these'; 'these are not followed by rāṣṭ.'

Interchange between Preterites and Modal forms in dependent and prohibitive clauses

§145. In quite a number of cases preterites of all sorts and modal forms interchange in dependent clauses. We have quoted above (§99) an example from the RV itself: yan ma somaṁ mamadān yad ukthā 4. 42. 6, yan ma somaṁ ukthino amadidā 4. 48. 4. The tense commonly remains unchanged, but sometimes, as in the case just quoted, it is shifted without any restriction. The present class of variants does not differ in any essential from the group of interchanges between presents and modal forms in dependent clauses, §§122ff. We have included here a few cases of interchange between augmented and augmentless preterite indicative forms; they differ from the similar cases quoted below §268 only in so far that, on subjective grounds, there seem to us to be reasons for finding injunctive force in the augmentless forms quoted here. But no clear line can be drawn between the two groups, and perhaps it would have been better not to try to separate them; at least each must be considered together with the other.

(a) Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive:
yar tvā karad evaṁ janānām AV. ‘who shall make thee chief bull of the people’; so tvākar evaṁ brāhmaṇ svānām TB. ‘he has made thee chief bull of thy kinmen.’

yan mā somāso mamadān yat uktā; and: yan mā somāsa uktāno amandaśu RV. (both). See §99.

(b) Aorist Indicative and Injunctive:

bhūyāsno bhūyāsas ye no bhūyasā larka MS. ‘be ye more, ye who have made us more’; bhūyāsno bhūyāsas ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣṭa Kauś. ‘may we be more, and likewise ye who shall make us more.’ But, of course, kārṣṭa may be a mere preterite in force.—The same with annātā bhū.

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

mṛtyoḥ padam (MG. padānī) yopayanto yat ātita (TA. aima; AV. yopayanto ātita; MG. lapayanto ātita) RV. AV. TA. MG. ‘When ye (we) came (come ye, AV.; when ye shall come? MG.) effacing the track of death.’ AV., which lacks the conjunction yad, has clearly imperative; MG. is probably corrupt in yad ātita, but ātita may be understood as injunctive, or even anomalously as imperative, cf. §123; probably, however, read ātad in MG., see §307.

(d) Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive:

(yam agne puruḥ mārtiṣyam) adā (TS. āvo) vājēṣu yam junāḥ RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. ‘The mortal whom thou, Agni, shalt (didst) protect in battles, shalt promote in contests.’ Note that all texts agree on junāḥ, which may be felt either as subj. or as augmentless imperfect.

[yad adbho hotreyre (ŚŚ. “vreyre”)] jaham caṅkṣṣah parāpatat (ŚŚ. “ūlit”) ŠŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ‘What today at the choice of hoṣ has escaped (may escape) the crooked (=faulty) eye.’

yad vāskandad dharvjo yatras-yatra Kauś. ‘or what part of the oblation has dropped anywhere’: yad vē skandād ājjasvata vājē TA. KS. ‘moreover what part of the butter shall drop, O Viṣṇu.’

ahā yad dyāno (AV. deēd) asunītam ayan (AV. dyān) RV. AV. ayan seems most simply to be taken as subjunctive, rather than augmentless imperfect to present ayaṭi.

[tāraḥ yad agne šaradās tvām ic] chucām ghṛtena bucaṃah saparyān (TB. yan) RV. TB. See §8.

(e) Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive:

śatam yo nāh bārado ’nayat (MS. nayut) KS. MS. ‘Who has brought (shall bring) us to a hundred autumns.’ Favorable to injunctive interpretation are the readings of the parallel texts. TS. has an adjective aijūtam for (a)nayut; the verb nēṣat occurs in the following
pāda, as it does also in SMB. PG. The Conc. reading for SMB is aūjāt, glossed aūjana; but Jörgensen's edition gives aūjāt, glossed aūjā (aau gatikṣepanayoh;...gamayate ity arthah). PG. has aūjā (Stenzler: 'der uns hundert Jahre schaffe'). All these parallels suggest that even KS. probably has distinctly modal force in its 'nayat; and the habits of Indian mss. compel us to consider the writing of asvagraha in its text of very dubious authority; possibly nayat, injunctive, may be even KS.'s real reading.

(f) Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive:
yat te grāvī tichiduh (MŚ. vichindat) soma rājan TB, Vait. MŚ, 'What with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off of thee, King Soma.' vichindat is apparently pres. subj. made irregularly from the weak stem, cf. Whitney, Grammar §637.
yat sāsahat (SV, sāsāñā, KS; sāsāñā) sudane koñcīd atriṣam RV, SV, KS. 'Which shall (has) overcome every demon in his home.'

Augmentless and Augmented Prohibitives with mā

§146. In a few cases prohibitives, normally augmentless aorists, vary with augmented forms of the same or a similar tense-system; there is no room for change of meaning. Cf. Whitney, Grammar §579c. The type of augmented prohibitive lasts into Pāli, or is resumed there secondarily; see Jātaka 439 (Fausboll IV. 1, line 15), mā mara kiñcī avaca, 'do not tell me anything.'
kraddhā ca no mā vṛṣṇamat VīDh, MDh, YDh, BrhPDh, AusDh.:
kraddhā me mā vṛṣṇat ApŚ.
gañān me mā vi tṛṣṇah (MŚ. gat) TS. MŚ.: gañān me mā vy atriṣaḥ
Vait.: 'Do not make thirsty (injure) my troops.'
mā naḥ param adharam mā rajo 'naikaḥ (MŚ. param adhavan mā rajo naika) TA. MŚ.: mā na aṣṭaḥ param aswara māṇadonaiḥ (corrupt) MS. Both editions of TA. agreeing on 'naika with asvagraha, but little importance is probably to be attached to this; cf. §265.
mā no rudā (MS. aṇāñ, p.p. aṇāṣ) nīrtīr mā no aṣṭā (MS. na aṣṭān, followed by m, p.p. aṣṭhān) MS. TA. Both forms are dubious, but TA. apparently understands an augmentless 3d sing. mid. of as 'throw' (comm. aṣṭu), while MS. seems to understand an augmented form of aśattain (or, in spite of the p.p., the prefix a may be contained).

§147. There is a single somewhat grotesque case of interchange between Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in prohibitive (mā) clause:
ma tvā ke cin ni (AV. ke cid vi) yaman viṁ (SV. ke cin ni yemur in, TA. ke cin yemur in. [v. 1, and comm., as SV.: so read or understand TA.]) na pāśinah RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. 'Let not any hold thee in cheek as fowlers a bird.' SV. and TA are corrupt. yemur really belongs to a parallel categorie construction with sin, rather than ma. See Oldenberg, Proleg. 283.

**INTERCHANGES BETWEEN THE MOODS PROPER**

§148. We now come to interchanges between the true or 'oblique' moods themselves, after sketching in the preceding pages their relation to the various indicatives. The reference-works on Sanskrit syntax define each mood by itself; they hardly attempt seriously to mark off the territory of one mood as compared with another. And this is wise. All the authorities recognize the freedom and indefiniteness of the use of moods. The impv., e.g., is a moderate mood of request; it includes not only command but instruction, advice, wish, and prayer, thus covering most of the sphere of the other moods. It would serve no useful purpose for us here to follow in the footsteps of the syntacticians and define precisely the uses of each modal category (see in general, and most conveniently, Delbrück, Vergl. Synt. d. idg. Sprachen 2. 346ff.). Rather do the following lists show the constancy of transition from one to another, than the peculiar function of any one of them. They represent links in a chain of modality which is scarcely broken by any peculiar use reserved for any one of them. We have also seen (§105) that tense-distinctions in the moods abound, but are totally without significance. Pres. subj. and aor. subj. are quite identical; preceptive (aor. opt.) has in the Veda purely optative value which does not in the least account for the aoristic element in its make-up. Even the prohibitive use of the injunctive with ma occasionally (the very rarely) yields to that of the imperative or even optative (§§150, 174, end). Nor is the preference for aorist, rather than present (imperfect), injunctive by any means a settled fact, as far as the Veda is concerned (§211). As far as we can observe, any one of the true moods may interchange with any other, certainly in principal sentences, but also to a considerable extent in subordinate clauses.

**III. IMPERATIVE IN EXCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS**

§149. The imperative, in addition to its very frequent reciprocity with indicatives (already treated), interchanges with subjunctive,
injunctive, optative, preceptive, future, and infinitive. This order is followed in the sequel. In addition, the class of mixed imperative-subjunctive forms, treated below (§173), contains cases which involve not only the proper subj., but also those mixed forms which are part impv. and part subj. And the second person modal forms in si and se (§§164f.), themselves classed as imperatives, alternate with regular impv. forms. Finally the impv. is used also, tho very rarely, as prohibitive with md, exchanging with prohibitive injunctives (§159).

§150. The impv. in tāt shows in these interchanges a character in no wise different from that of the ordinary impv. See the relation of RV. 1. 48. 15 to 8. 9. 1, described above, §100, and several examples under the heading 'Instances of more than two modal varieties', §104. Cf. also the section on Imperatives in tāt exchanging with other Imperatives, §254.

**Imperative and Subjunctive**

§151. It will be convenient to assort this large group into three subdivisions: Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person; without change of tense but with change of person; and with change of tense, with or without change of person.

§152. Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person

ādiyās tāt aṅgirasaś cinantu TB.: viśe deva aṅgirasaś cinavan KS. ApŚ. 'May the Ādityas (All-gods) and Aṅgirases pile (that).'

vedāṇaḥ pavātē (SV. pavatam) aśi vāram aśyam RV. SV. 'May the sweet (soona) strain itself thru the wool.'

sā dīkṣitē sanavo vājam aśme (MS. vacamu avamā) TS. MS.: sā samamādātā sanavo véjām aśman (MG. suṇuhi bhāgādhyam) AV. MG.

svāpiṇa nāt tōm (AV. erroneously, tōn) kṛṣṇāvad (TS. kṛṇotu) vīśakarmā (MS. tām vīśakarmā kṛṇotu) AV. TS. MS.

sa no mrḍātyātē RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.: te no mrḍāṇa śīrṣe AV. (vīkāra of the prec., used in same hymn); tā no mrḍāta (VSK. mṛḍā) śīrṣe RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.

vaiśeṣānarah pavātē nāḥ punātā AV.: vaiśeṣānarah pavayān nāḥ pavitraih TA.

te no rā cyn sarvairah ni yacān (HG. yachantu) AV. HG.

agnir āyām (RV. KS. haviḥ) samitē sūdayāti (AV. swadayatā) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ā siddāti (SV. 'atu) kalahaṃ devayur nāḥ (SV. deva induḥ) RV. SV.
sarvam punathā (V Dh. punita) me pāpam BDh. V Dh.
sarvasā punatha me yuvaḥ BDh.: tat punidhavaḥ (and, punidhavaḥ ca) yuvaḥ mama Vidh.

īśāparte (KS. 9lam) kṛṇavāthāvīr (VSK. SB. kṛṇavāthāvīr, TS. KS. TB, MŚ. kṛṇulād āvīr) asmāi (MŚ. asmāv) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. SB. MŚ.: īśāparte sma kṛṇulād āvīr asmāi AV.

punaḥ te prāṇa āyati (AŚ. 9tu, TS. dāyati) TS. TA. AŚ. brahmavedīṣam dyuṣāh abhisamapati AV.: brahmavedīṣam abhi tām lokatām dyuṣāh RV.

mama cillām cillānavahi HG.: mama cillām upāyaṁ AV. For other similar items see Conc.

tābhir vahāīnām (TA. vahemā; TB. APŚ. vahāsi mā, om. tābhīr; KS. tābhāīnā si! [read probably vahāsi mā]) suktāṁ yatva (RV. AV. 'tām u) lokāḥ (KS. lokāḥ, RV. AV. lokām) RV. AV. KS. TB. TA. APŚ.

śivah kṣaṇo bhavāī nahi TB. APŚ.: śivi ca me kṣaṇāv caidhi TB. APŚ. jārāṁ (AV. addd sa) gachāi (AV. PG. gachā) pari dhatvasā vonāḥ AV. PG. APMB. HG.

sa gharanāṁ ināi (AV. indhām) parame sadhashhub RV. AV.

idam me karnedāṁ vṛyāṁ putro 'nusamatanotu VSK. KŚ.: idam me 'yāṁ vṛyāṁ putro 'nusamatanatvā SB.

sapatikāyaṁ jāgratha PG.: pajamāmāya jāgrāta ApŚ.
niharām ca harāi (VSK. 9ram niharāv) me VS. VSK. SB.: niharām in ni me hara (TS. harā) TS. KS.

jyok pitṛor āstām (and, āstām) AV. 'Sit she long with her father.'

Both in the same hymn; a conscious credo.

usā no ahna a bhajād (and, ahna pari dadātu) AV. (both)
kṛṣṇād (and: kṛṣṇām, kṛṣṇām) brahmaṁ āvaśaṁ gamot (and: gamū, gamān) SB, (all). 'Let him (them) hear the holy words and come with aid.'

Here belongs also, presumably:

edhasa yamarājāsa AV.: edhasuṁ yamarājjye TA. The comm. on edhasuṁ says, edhasa varhadhasa (!). The Conc. suggests edhāse; both versions would then mean, 'thrive thou in the kingdom of Yama (among those whose king is Yama).'

**Imperative and Subjunctive, without change of tense but with change of person**

§153. The particular interest of this subdivision is that 2d person imperatives vary constantly with 3d person subjunctives. This alter-
nation goes back to RV: itself; see §§93, 95. Metrical convenience is often associated with the shift. A few examples of change of person also occur in the next subdivision.

yaṭhāniṣaṁ tavaṁ (AV, "tva") kalpayāva (AV, VS, "yāti") RV, AV, VS. "Fashion (or, may he fashion) the body (bodies) according to his will." The impv, kalpayātatu would be metrically inferior.

sa no vasūṇyā dhara (SV, bharāṭi) RV, SV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, "bring (let him bring) wealth to us." Cf. sa no viśūṇyā dhara RV. The impv, bharatatu would be hypermetric.

upasanyo namsayo yathācet (AV, bhavah) AV, TS, MS, "That he may be (be thou here) an object of attention and homage." pasmayāṇo vy asnavat (SV, "na vy asnuki") RV, SV.

śaṅrāya pathikārīr vahā (MS, vaha), VS, MS, KS, TB, tha sphāṭam sam vahān (and, vaha) AV, (both).

bodhā stotre savyo dadhat (ApŚ, vayoverdhā) RV, SV, ApŚ.: bodhāt stotirmair savyo dadhat MS. There is a v. i. bodhā in MS. See §§24, 341. āyur no dehi jivase ŚG.: āyur no viśvato dadhat AV.

tāṁ ādityaṁ anu madā (MS, madā) vanastacy avy RV, MS. See §315. The reading of MS. is uncertain; its p.p. has madā; if this is the true reading the variant belongs here, if madā is 1st pers. subj; but it may also be 2d sing. impv. (so RV, p.p.).

nigdān no āpā durmātin jahi (TS, hanat) VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB.

pibataṁ somayāṁ madhi RV, (quinquies) SV.: pibatī so ma RV, (semel) SV.

nāmedīhitām aṅhāra urasyaḥ (ŚŚ, aṅhāraḥ pāhi) RV, ŚŚ.

The following two contain corruptions:

yamasya loke adhīrayur āyat (TA, āya; MS, loke nīdirī, ajārīya) AV.

MS, TA, AV. has a clear subjunctive; TA.'s form may possibly be understood as a 2d impv., thematic; MS, is hopelessly corrupt.

adhau mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB.: adhau vadāsa vadā svāhā HG.

The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB., as Kirste says ad loc.

§154. Imperative and Subjunctives with change of tense

apeyāṁ rāty uchatu AV, "let this night fade away"; oped u hāsate tamaḥ RV, "now may darkness sink away),

tad agnir devo devebhya vanate (MS, ŚB, ŚŚ, vanutām) TS, MS, ŚB, TB.

AŚ, ŚŚ. But vanate may be pres. ind.; see §116, 191.

so 'dhārā kaṭati jātavedāḥ AB.: kṛṣṇu so adhārā (VS, TB, "ra") jātavedāḥ VS, MS, KS, TB, ApŚ. 'Let Jātavedas perform the
sacrifice. Cf. kṛṣṇaṁ tāv adhvārā jñātavedasya MŚ., and svadhvaṁ etc. in RV., §96.
prabudhe naḥ pūnas (KŚ. puras) kṛdhī (TS. pūnar dadaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ‘Make us again awake’, or the like.
sampriyāḥ (TA. yasya. prajayā) pāñcubhir bhuvat (MS. ApŚ. bhava) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.
nāravāksamā adite karmā yacha (ŚG. aditiḥ karma yaṁsat) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. SG. ApMB. sanmiślo arūpo bhava (SV. bhuvah) RV. SV.
sa naḥ pūrṣena sīvanat (AV. yachatu) AV. TS. KS. ApMB. ulla trātā śīvo bhavā (SV. bhuro) varūhyāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Kauś.
rayinī ca naḥ sarvāṁ (TS. rām) ni yachatu (AV. yachati) AV. TS. MS.: sa no rayinī sarvarām ni yachatu VS. VSK. SB.: sate rayinī caharām ni yaṁsat KS.
uruvaneśa na maḥiṣāḥ karmā yaṁsat (AV. yachatu) RV. AV. TS. KS. jayatābhāṣṭaṁ jayatābhāṣṭavyaḥ (text., corruptly, yā) AŚ.: jatābhāṣtá-
tvāṁ jatābhāṣṭavyaḥ KB. ŚŚ. gārhapatyā un na naṣat TA.: gārhapatyā un nintu MS.
avesam naḥ pitaṁ kruṇa (KS. kṛdhī; TB. ApŚ. karat) VS. 2. 20 (omitted in Conc.) TS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. The version with kruṇa is also found in TB. 1. 2. 1. 25d.
śārīgar na aditiḥ karmā yaṁsat (and, yachatu) RV. (both) āyur vīśāyuḥ purī pāṣati (AV. pātu) tvā RV. AV. TA.
sam astu tanaṁ maṁa AV.: śan v astu tanaṁ tava VS.: śan u te tane bhuvat TS. KSA.
[By a slip the Conc. quotes: svāpaṁ anamāṁ bhavā naḥ (Kauś. niṁcat na edhi) RV. TS. MS. Kauś, SMB, PG. ApMB. with bhuvat as ApMB.’s reading; but it has bhuvat like the rest.]

Imperative and Injunctive

§155. The opportunity for interchange between these moods is lessened by the fact that their forms are identical at many points of their respective paradigms. Of course this means that our grammatical classifications break down at this point. Despite this, the interchanges are not much less numerous than those between Imperative and Sub-
junctive. We present them in four groups: first, those which involve no change of tense or person; second, those which involve change of person; third, those with change of tense; fourth, prohibitive clauses with mi, a small group of exceptional interest, presenting a rivalry between
these two moods which begins (practically) in the later Vedic texts (cf. Whitney, Grammar §579c) and continues throughout classical Sanskrit.

Imperative and Injunctive without change of tense or person

§156. The interchanges in the 2d singular concern in most cases presence or absence of visarga (e.g. vaha: vahah) and in all (four) such instances happen to occur at the end of a pada; they may to some extent be due to phonetic indistinctness of h, see §25.

vīśauṃti (TA. dīvo vi') am aghāyata uruṣya (TA. yaḥ) RV. TA. 'Deliver him from every evil-doer (of the sky),' pra-pra yajñapatiḥ tira (TA. tirah) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AS. SS. ApŚ. Uncertain: Poona ed. of TA. reads tira in text and comm. recording tirah as v. l. in both. 'Promote farther and the patron of the sacrifice,' ni dūkāravase vaha (SS. vahāḥ) AV. SS. 'Bring to the far-famed.' sūryasya lapas tapa (MS. MS.† tapaḥ) MS. TA. ApŚ. MS. 'Heat the heat of the sun.' But perhaps the second tapaḥ is felt as a noun; for MS. accents it as well as the first tapaḥ, asmabhyaṁ indra varisah (AV. variyah) sugamā kṛdhī RV. AV.: asmabhyaṁ māsi varisah sugam kah RV. See §92. indra marutēn sa dādaṭu tan me (and, dādaṭ idam me) AV. (both). agnina nakṣanta (SV. tu) no girah RV. SV.

di no viṣea (MS. va) āskrā (TB. viṣvā āskrā) gamantu (MS. ta) devāḥ RV. MS. TB. AS.

ābher (SG. mātur) anyo 'pa (APMB. SG. †va) paddyāṭam (SG. ta) APŚ. SG. HG. APMB.

śrīr me bhajatu TA.: śrī me bhajata Mahānū. alakṣmī me naṣṣyatu (Mahānū. ta) TA. Mahānū. Cf. alakṣmīr me naṣṣyām RVKh.

ādiyā ruddā vasavo juṣanta (AV. 'tām) RV. AV., (ud u tvā visvā devā) aye bharantu (MS. also, bharanta) cittibhiḥ VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. SB.

vāyo ve (TS. APŚ. vihi; Kauś. text, erroneously, vāyave) stokānam (KS.† ve stokānam; VSK. adds juṣyāh) VS. VSK. TS. KS. 3. 6 (reference omitted in Conc.) SB. APŚ.

viṣvā devāḥ samanaso juṣanta (TS. bharantu) RV. TS.

ni vo jāmayo jihata (SS. †tām) ny ojāmanyah KB. AS. SS. 'May they who are related or not related stooe to you.' jihata is 3 pl. injunctive. But the long a, followed by a nasal consonant, tempts one to read *tām with SS.
arya nakanta (SV. nah santu) soniśanta (SV.† tu) no dhiyāḥ RV. SV.
See Oldenberg, Proleg. 72.

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

sam arīr (MS. KS, arīr) vidām (KS. vidāḥ) VS. MS. KS, ŚB. 'Let the
noble (or, do thou, noble) meet together.'
mahiyaṃ (in MS. this belongs to the prec. pūda) yajamāṇāya tiṣṭha
(MS. ed. tiṣṭhātu, but mss. tiṣṭhāt, so read) TS. MS.
arśa (SV. arśa) mātrasya varṇaṇasya dharmāṇāḥ RV. SV. Soma is subject
in both; change to direct address in SV.

§158. Imperative and Injunctive, with change of tense (in a few cases
also with change of person)

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau sukevāḥ TB. ApŚ. 'O sacrifice, found thyself
upon benevolence, well-disposed'; yajñaḥ praty uṣṭhit sumatau
maṁnām MS. 'May the sacrifice found itself upon benevolence
of thoughts.'

marutām (MS.† sapatnāhī ma") prasse (VS. ŚB. "vena") jaya (TS.*
jayata, TS.† TB. ApŚ. "jesam") VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.
'Conquer (may I conquer, rival-slaying) on the impulse of the
Maruta.'

sanyagr̥tur yajña (MS.† yajñam) yajñaṇapatau dādātu (MS. dāh) KS.
MŚ. 'May the sacrifice snuggly place life (place thou snuggly life,
sacrifice) in the patron of the sacrifice.'

The rest have no change of person:

tvāṁ bhavā'dhiṣṭatir (AV. bhūṛ abhīdhātir) janāṇām AV. MS. KS.
punar ma ātmā punar āyur āgāt (MG. āitu) TB. HG. MG. Cf. punar
manah...āgāt (āgān) in Con., and next.
punaḥ ca kṣuṇah punah śrōtram na āpan (VS. TA. SMB. āgaś) VS. VSK.
ŚB. TA. SMB. punaḥ ca kṣuṇah punar osura na āitu AV. Cf. prec.
amaiśam citam prabuddām (TS. KS. "dāh") vi nesat (KS. naśyat) RV.
AV. TS. KS. 'Among themselves let their plan thru thy wisdom
(or, the plan of the wise) fall thru.' AVPp. also has naśyat; the
two prec. pādas in AV. are "jagāt.
tasya no rāśva tasya no dhehi (AS. dāḥ) AV. AS.
prajāṁ asmaṁ dhehi VS.: prajāṁ me dāḥ VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA.
ojo maṁ dhehi VS. TB.: ojo me dāḥ AV. VS. Similarly in items be-
ginning saho, balam, āyur, śrōtram, kāṣṭhur, vācam, varco, tejo,
payo, rāyim.
agme rucaṁ pate...mayi rucaṁ dhāḥ (KS. dhehi; ApŚ. rucaṁ mayi dhāḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ.
ala u su madhu madhunabhī yodhi TŚ.: adah su madhu madhunabhī yodhāḥ RV. AV. SV. AA. MS. For yodhi see Whitney, Grammar §839; but the form is probably corrupt; see §25.
yaso bhagā ca mā vidat PG.: yaso bhagasya (read, bhagā ca) vindatu ArŚ.

§159. Imperative and Injunctive in Prohibitive clauses with mā
mā sarvend aksīnām atikramaḥ (GG. "krāma") GG. HG. 'Do not cross the right (foot) with the left.'
mā jñātāram mā pratishaṁ vidanta (AG;) vindantu) AV. AG. 'Let them find no acquaintance, no support.' It is significant that the late text AG. changes the inj. to impv.
mā somam pāt asomapaḥ KauŚ.: mā pāt (text, yatī) somam asomapah IŚ. 'Let the non-soma-drinker not drink the soma.'
mā nah soma hvarīte viharaścā MS. [so probably to be read, with Conc.; Knauer's text, harīvo (em. for mss. hvarīvo; Knauer in a private letter suggested 'read hvarīte, certainly') viharaścā (mss. vihara-dhva, one ms. "dhva"), 'do not, O soma, fail, having gone wrong'; mā no gharma vyathito vīyadhāt (TA. vīyatho nah) MS. TA. 'do not, O hot drink (let not the hot drink), when shaken, injure (shake) us.' Somewhat uncertain, because of the bad condition of MS.; see §332.

Imperative and Optative

§160. This class is smaller than the preceding and subdivision is unnecessary. There is but one case of change of tense, the first example; but change of person is frequent. A certain predilection for the imperative rather than the optative in the second person is noticeable.
areḍētā (KS. 5. 3 ahecōtā (by conjecture in ed., but read are° with v. Schroeder on 32. 3, n. 3) manasa devaṁ gachā (ApŚ. gamyā). MS. KS. (bis) ApŚ. 'With undisturbed mind go thou (may he go) to the gods.'
aṅgir dīkṣitaḥ prthivā dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu (JB. dīkṣeta) JB. ApŚ. 'The consecrated one is Agni, the consecration is earth; let that consecration consecrate me.' The same with vāyur dīkṣitaḥ, ādityo dīkṣitaḥ, prajāpatiḥ etc.; see ApŚ. 10. 10. 6.
araṅgār manasa taj jujeta (KS. jujethāḥ; TŚ. MS. jujasva) RV. VS. TŚ. MS. KS. ŚB.
pratistham gacha (GB. gachan) pratistham mā gamaya (GB. gamayet)  
AB. GB. Gastra on GB. p. 42 considers its reading corrupt and would read as AB.
svaryam arvanto jayema Vait.: svargān arvanto jayata SV. ŠŚ.: svagān(1)  
arṣ jayataḥ AŚ. (corrupt).
mitrāya harīm ghratavaj juhola (KS. 3vidhema) RV, KS. MŚ. N.  
satīyāya harīm ghratavaj juhola (TS. KS. 3vidhema) TS. KS. TB.  
ApŚ.

tasmā u harīm ghratavaj juhola (TS. ApMB. 3vidhema) TS. ŠŚ. SG.  
ApMB.: dhātra id bhavyaṃ ghrītavaj juhola AŚ.
chandonāmānām (with variants) sāmṛājyām gacha (VSK. gachatāś; MŚ.  
gachet) VS. VSK. TS. ŠB. MŚ.
bharatam uddharem anuṣīṇa (MŚ. uddharema vanuṣānti?) TB. ApŚ.  
MŚ. Sec §304.
uttame śāka sha madayaṇtām (MŚ. 4yadhavam) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.:  
śaṅkṣaya prsthē sam iṣā madema AV.
harīṇa no asya harīṣaṅ kṛṇotu (AV. harīṣo juṣeta, TS. harīṣaṅ ciketu, ŠŚ.  
harīṣaṅ kṛṇotu) AV. TS. MŚ. KS. AŚ. ŠŚ.
āyaḍatām (MŚ. āyajeṣṭām) ejjā iṣā VS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. AŚ. MŚ.  
āvyuṣam jāgṛtād aham AV.: aṣṭauṣam jāgriyād aham RVKh. So Conc.,  
following Aufrecht for RVKh.; but Scheftelowitz reports that his  
ms. reads jāgryāṇy, and he emends to jāgryām, which seems the  
only possible reading.

Imperative and Precative

§161. The precative is merely an aorist optative and does not differ,  
in the Veda, from the regular optative in any way. It interchanges  
with the imperative about a dozen times, with or without change of  
person:  
agni tejasvin tejasvi tvam deveṣu bhūyāḥ TS.: agha āyukkārasyasmānaś  
tvam tejasvin deveṣ evaḥ MS. 'O Agni...be thou brilliant among  
the gods.'
āyur dātra edhi VS. ŠB. ŠŚ. 'be thou life to the giver'; maya dātre bhūyāḥ  
MS. 'let there be delight to the giver.' Cf. next.
ayo dātre (KS. PB. add bhūyān; VSK. dātra edhi) maya mahyam (TB.  
TA. ApŚ. mahyam astu) pratigrahīte VSK. KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ.  
Cf. prece.

durmiitrās (3triyaś, 3tryaś) tasmāi santu (KS.* TB. TA. MahānU. BDh.  
bhūyāsura) yo 'smān (MŚ. āsmān) deveṣi VS. TS. MS. KS. (bı) ŠB.  
TB. TA. AŚ. ŠŚ. LS. MahānU. BDh.
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druhaḥ pāśā (TS. KS. pāśāḥ) prati sa (KS. sā) muṣṭa (AV. prati muṣcatām saḥ) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.
yo no deṣṭy adharaḥ saḥ padīṣṭa (MS. MS. śa padāyaṃ) RV. AV. MS. KS. (The ms. of KS. sas; ed. wrongly emends to sa.)
yena tvaṁ deva veda (ŚŚ. tvāṁ veda) deśebhyo veda bhavaḥ tena mahāyam (ŚŚ. tenāsmabhyaṁ) veda bhūyaḥ (VSK. bhava, ŚŚ. veda edhi) VS. VSK. SB. ŚŚ.
suyame me (ApŚ. me adya gṛhāc) bhūyaśtam VS. ApŚ.: suyame me 'dya-śtām MS.
bahīr me bhavata (TS. bhūyaśta) TS. KS.: bahīr bhavata MS.
yathendram daśār viśo maruto 'nuvarṭmāno 'bhavann (TS. 'nuvarṭmāna)
evam iṣṭa yuvādnam daśār ca viśo mānuṣī ca nuvarṭmāno bhavantu (VSK. bhūyaśaḥ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
bunam ma iṣṭam...bhūyaḥ MS.: evam ma iṣṭam astu...KS.
saṃjīvaḥ ('jīva-kā) naṁ stha tā iṣṭam (AŚ. iṣṭam amuṁ) saṃjīvaṇa MS. AŚ. ApŚ.: saṃjīvaḥ stha saṃjīvaṇaṃ AV.
sā me satyaśār deśevu bhūyaḥ (Vait. ॐ astu) TS. Vait.

\textit{Imperative and Future} \textcite{162}

§162. The future is, in general, more certain than any of the moods (Delbruck, \textit{AISyn}t. 289); but, whenever a future form deals with an event in the future that is not considered quite certain, the barrier between it and the moods falls. And, like other indicatives, it is used in the Veda of things which the poets represent as more certain than they really are, for tactical (magical) reasons. Only a couple of interchanges between it and the imperative have been noted; but compare below the interchanges of future with subjunctive, optative, and precative, vāg ārthiyam kariṣṭati (ApŚ. karotu) ŚŚ. ApŚ. ‘Speech will (shall) do the office of priest.’ Unmetrical; but ŚŚ. is made to simulate meter. rāyaḥ ca paṇam upasamāyayasya AV. HG. ApMB.: rāyaḥ ca putrān anuṣaṃśayasya PG.: rāyaḥ paṇam abhi saṃśayasya PG. MG. ‘Wrap thyself (I shall wrap myself) up in prosperity of wealth.’

§163. \textit{Imperative and Infinitive} \textcite{163}

dyumnaḥ (KS. also, Ṛ) vṛṇita pugyase (KS. varetā pugyatu) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ‘May he choose glory, that he may thrive (let him thrive).’
brähmanā́ns tarpayitvā iti sampreygati ApŚ. 4. 16. 17; brähmanā́ns
tarpayeti presyati MŚ. ‘He gives the order, Treat the brähmanas!’
This use of the infinitive in direct discourse (not immediately
depending on a verb of command, in which case the infin. would be
regular, see Delbrück, AIŚynt. 427; Speyer, Ved. u. Skt. Synt.
§217) seems to be peculiar to ApŚ., where it occurs at least twice
more: uccaiḥ samāhantavā iti sampreygati 1. 20. 1, ‘he gives the
order, Beat loudly together!’; and triṣṭ phālkaratvā iti sampreygati
1. 20. 11, ‘he gives the order, Thrice clean the grain.’ On the last the
comm. says phālkaratvām triṣṭ kartavyam ity arthaḥ. The iti
in such phrases seems to exclude the infinitive from direct govern-
ment by the verb of command. Nevertheless the infin. of com-
mand is doubtless the elliptical residue of an infin. dependent on a
verb of command [if it is not, after all, felt as governed by the
following sampreygati, despite the iti; such illogical mixture of
direct and indirect forms of speech is not unknown—F. E.]. For
the general and comparative aspects of the infin. as impv. see
Delbrück, Vergl. Synt. 2. 453ff.

IV. IMPERATIVE SECOND SINGULAR IN SI AND (?) SE

§164. In the Rigveda occur a number of modal forms restricted to the
2d singular; they are formed by adding si directly to the strong form
of the root without other stem or mood formative. See Whitney, Gram-
mar §624; Delbrück, Altindisches Verbum §30, Altindische Syntax 365;
Speyer, Ved. u. Skt. Synt. §188, n. 2; Neisser, BB. 7. 230 ff. Imperative
value is generally assigned to them, because they are frequently accom-
panied by other impv. forms in the same sentence. Now it is interesting
to note that our repetitions do in fact, in a case or two, substitute an
impv. form for such a form in si; and further that forms in si are not
entirely limited to passages occurring in the RV:

deva somaśa to lokas tasmiṁ chaṁ ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva (VSK. lokah
pari ca vakṣi śam ca vakṣi; ŚBK. tasmiṁ chaṁ pari ca vakṣi sam ca
vakṣi) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚBK. Cf. śam ca vakṣi pari ca vakṣi MS.TA.
ApŚ. ‘This is thy station, god Soma; in it thrive thou well and
thoroly.’ The verb concerned seems to be vakṣ ‘grow’, tho Mah-
dhara on VS. refers the form to vak ‘carry’. In either case we have
a modal 2d person in si, exchanging with an impv. in se, and that
in YV, texts only.
dhiydna (SV. no) vājāṁ upa mdesi (SV. māhi) šākṣataḥ RV. SV. Cf.
next.
stūta yāṇi (RV. yāhī) vaśān anu RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. 'Praised, O Indra, go after our desire.' In this and the prec., of course, the forms in si may be construed as indicative (so Keith on TS.). Yet the atmosphere of the passages, together with the unambiguous impv. of the variant forms, seems to suggest modal value.

sam indra no (no) manasā neṣi (AV. neṣa) gābhiḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AVPPp. reads neṣi, showing that neṣa (norr. impv.) is a somewhat precarious nonce-formation.

Of equal interest is the substitution in TS. of a form in si for a RV. injunctive; it is the more remarkable because it occurs in a subordinate clause (introduced by yad):

pūṭn yakṣad (TS. yakṣy) rīvṛdhaḥ RV. VS. TS. KS. 'When he shall (thou shalt) sacrifice to the fathers who prosper the rīta.'

§165. We append here a couple of cases in which forms in se interchange with imperatives in dhi (hi). It is possible that the se-forms are modal (imperative, or subjunctive?) middle forms corresponding to the actives in si, but the forms are isolated and ambiguous. Perhaps here belongs dhīṣe; see §219, viśā adhi kṛiyo etc.

indro vīdṛ tam u stūṣe (Mahānāṁnyaḥ: stuhī) AA. Mahānāṁnyaḥ.

'Indra finds, him do thou praise.' But stūṣe may mean 'I praise'; so Keith.

kṛṣṇa susasyām ut kṛṣe (KS. kṛdhī) MS. KS. MS. 'The furrow, well-grown with grain, draw thou up.' The verb is problematic in form and meaning; one is almost led to suspect that both kṛṣe and kṛdhī are from kṛṣ 'plow' (f).

V. SUBJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§166. The subjunctive exchanges with the indicative (§§117ff., 124, 131, 137, 140, 145, a, d, f), the imperative (§151ff.); and further with injunctive, optative, precative, future, and desiderative. The first persons, as already remarked, do duty also as imperatives; we treat them here rather than as impv. In principal clauses there is no perceptible difference between the subj. and its rival moods. In dependent clauses the 2d person impv. does not alternate with subj. (§95, note 11); but the ind., 3d person impv., inj. and opt. are fairly common and normal.

Subjunctive and Injunctive

§167. Alternation between these moods is not very rare, particularly in principal clauses; and there are a few cases of subordinate clauses which we have classified here. Included are some cases with coincident
change of tense and person; and there is a single instance of a prohibitive clause with ma. Some of the forms which we have classified as injunctives may, of course, be regarded perhaps equally well as preterite indicatives without augment; in that case they would belong in §§131, 137, 145.

tasmāi soma adhi bravat (KS. bravat) RV. AV. KS.
pra bravāsena (MS. braț, v. 1. braț) karadah katam VS. MS. TA. ApMB. HG. MG.

upā bravat (MS. bravat, p.p. bravat) subhagā yaṣṇe asmin RV. MS. 'May the blessed (Sarasvati) listen to us at this sacrifice.' bravat, if not merely a corruption, is a tentative and precarious formation modelled on forms like bravat in the two preceding cases; see §23 where such cases are considered from the phonetic point of view.

agnir kavyāni sīvaradā RV.: agnir kavyā sūpadati RV.
sāṃ uṛyam anyā rākṣat (TB.* rākṣat) VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Let one bring refreshment and food.'

prāśnam sādat (MS. sādat) pratiśṭā prthivyāh VS. MS. KS. TB.
yajamāṇāya vāryam ā evas kar asmai TA.: yajñapātaye vāryam ā evas kah MS.: yajñapātaye vasu vāryam āsamskarase ŚŚ.

pra śmakru (SV. śmakrubhir) dodhwasād ārdhvathā bhūt (SV. ārdhvadhit bhūt) RV. SV. So to be classed if bhvrat is a subjunctive from the root-aorist (a)bhūt. But augmented forms in -at occur (see Whitney, Roots), and both forms may be injunctive, or indeed preterite indic. Cf. next.

sa tvaśeṣhyāh pari dasadat (TA. dasadat) pitṛbhyaḥ RV. AV. TA. N. 'He shall hand thee over to these men.' Both forms ambiguous, somewhat as in the preceding.

§168. In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is much commoner than the injunctive (cf. §§124f.), but some cases of the latter seem to occur, besides those similar forms which we have preferred to regard as preterite indicatives exchanging with subjunctives (§145):
ayuṣmān (AV. 6mān) jaryadāṣṭir yathāsam (AV. 6sāṣṭa) RVKh. VS. AV.:...yathāṣṭa AV. AG. PG. ApMB. See Conc. for similar pādas. 'That I (he) may reach old age.' The pāda occurs in four different verses: one in RVKh. VS., two different ones in AV., and a fourth in the Grhya texts.

yad iti mām atimanyudhvaṃ HG.: yadi mām atimanyādhvai ApMB. 'When (if) you (thus) disdain me.'
yatra (SV. yatṛā) devā iti bravan (SV. bravan) RV. SV. 'Where people may say "gods".' Of course bravan may be considered indic.

The single case of a prohibitive with mā is:
sakhyāte mā yoṣam TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. 'May I not be separated from thy friendship': sakhyām te mā yoṣāh SMB. 'do not withhold thy friendship.'

Subjunctive and Optative

§169. This interchange is most frequent in first-person forms, where the subj. also does duty as impv. But the following examples include several of 3d person, and others, as well as one of 2d person, will be found among the interchanges of more than two modal forms, §104 above. Several cases occur in subordinate clauses. One case involves change of tense. See also §96 for a RV. case.

vidād (SV. vīdad) ārjanai bālakratur vidād (SV. vīdat) ipam RV. SV. 'May (Indra) the possessor of hundred-fold wisdom obtain food, obtain refreshment.'

imā nu kam bhuvaṇā sīṣadhāma (SV. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'dhema) RV. AV. SV. VS. AB. KB. GB. AA. TA. MŚ. ApŚ. AŚ. ŚŚ. Valt. 'Let us now bring success to these worlds.'

śṛṇuyāma (TA. ApMB. HG. śṛṇavāma) karadaḥ katam VS. MŚ. TA. PG. MG. ApMB. HG.

bhavāma (AV. bhavama) karadaḥ katam AV. TA. ApMB. HG.

vibhūṣā kāmaṁ (VS. vibhūṣā kāmaṁ) vy asnavai (MŚ. aśya) VS. MŚ. KS. TB.

athānām jarimā nayoḥ HG.: yathānām jarase nayoḥ AV.

In the last the subj. occurs in a subordinate clause, which is made a principal clause with the opt. form. In the following both forms occur in subordinate clauses:

(bhūmyā tretāya no brūhi) yataḥ khanema (TS. khanāma) tam vayam VS. TS. MŚ. KS.

yasyām ukantah praharāma (AV. ApMB. HG. 'rema) hepam (AV. kepah) RV. AV. PG. ApMB. HG. N. 'In whom (the bride) we may eagerly insert the member.'

yathā punān bhaved iha MŚ.: yatheha puruṣa 'eat (SMB. puruṣah syāt) VS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. SMB.

§170. Subjunctive and Precative

aham evolam sarvam asānī (ŚB. BrhU. 'vam bhūyanam) ŚB. BrhU. ChU. 'May I myself be (or become) this entire world.'
yan madhuno...tenāhāni madhuno...'sāni (HG. bhūyāsam) PG. ApMB. HG.

§171. Subjunctive and Future

varanō vārayātai (and, vārayiṣyate) AV. (both): 'the (amulet) made of varana-wood shall defend'; varanō (but Poona ed. with comm. varana) vārayāt TA.

bhavāi putrāyān mātā AV.: teśāṁ mātā bhaviyāsi SG.

agnau karisvāmi GG. BDh.: agnau karavāni ViDh. And others, see §41.

vācaspatē vāco vṛgyena jāmbhigatamadanyakṣaye (TA. 4yakṣaye, ŚŚ. 4yachase) MS. TA. ŚŚ. See §27.

pra ca havyāni vacyayāi TS.: pred u havyāni vocati RV. VS. KS. 'Thou shalt (he shall) announce the oblations.'

§172. Subjunctive and (Subjunctive of) Desiderative

brahma vā yaḥ kriyamatam nīnītā (AV. vā yo niṇītāt kriyamāṇam) RV. AV. 'Or whoso shall (seek to) blaspheme our holy charm as it is being performed.'

VI. MIXED IMPERATIVE-SUBJUNCTIVE FORMS

§173. Of all genuinely modal interrelations that between impv. and subj. is the most frequent. This intimacy between the two has gained formal expression in the Vedic language in occasional mixed imperative-subjunctive forms. Thus nudaṭi is a blend of nudatu, impv., and nudaṭi, subj. No less certainly karatu is a blend of subj. karatī and impv. karotu. The function of this blend corresponds to its form. Cf. Whitney, Grammar §§740, 752c. In §104, p, we have quoted several variants showing all three types, true subj., true impv., and mixed. Here we append others in which the mixed form varies with subjunctive alone:

sa druṣṭo mṛdayāti (MS.† 4tu; VSK. mṛlayāti) nah VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. 'May he, when seen, be gracious unto us.'

dīrgham āyuḥ karatī (TA. 4tu) jivase vah RV. TA.

viśe no deva avasa gamantu RV. VS. TS.: viśe no (KS. mā) devā avandesam aham iha RV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Since the thematic aorist agamat is rare and dubious in the Sanshitās, it is best to classify the Sanshitā form gamantu here, rather than as impv. to aor. agamat-a-t. Cf. however gamant sa (gamana)... in §174.
Moods

Ⅶ. Injunctive in interchange with other moods

§174. The injunctive alternates with indicative (§§120, 125, 132, 138, 141, 145, b, e), imperative (§§155ff.), subjunctive (§§167f.), and optative. There is one case of a prohibitive with mā in which one text anomalously replaces an inj. with an opt., cf. Whitney, Grammar §579b. Occasionally there is a shift of tense along with that of mood.

Injunctive and Optative

A mā prāṇena sāha varcasā gan (AV. gamet) AV. TS. MS. KS. ‘May he come to me along with life-breath and strength.’ AV. comm. also gan; MS. p.p. agan.

asyām rihād (ŚB. AS. rihed) dhātraṅgaṁ devaṅgamāyaṁ MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ‘May he succeed in this sacrifice that goes to the gods.’

tvaya (VSK. TS. KS. TB. omit) vayaṁ saṁghātam-saṁghātam (TS. TB. omit one saṁghātam; VSK. saṁghāte-saṁghāte) jēṣma (KS.† once saṁjñayema, once jñayema) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ‘(Thru thee) may we be victorious in every fight.’

gamat sa (and: gamema, sa gantā) gomati vraje RV. (all). ‘He (we) shall go to a stall rich in cattle.’ gamat is commonly taken as subjunctive of a root aorist; but in view of gamema, which can only be opt. of an a-aorist, we class it as inj. of that type.

tena vayaṁ gamema (TS. MS. KS. patema; VSK. tena gamema) bradhnaṁya viṣṭapam VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: tena geśma sukṛatasya lokam AV.

nediya it sṛnyāḥ (TS.† sṛnaḥ) pakśam eyaṁ RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

na pāpaṇāya rāṇya (SV. raṇisāṁ) RV. AV. SV. The SV. reading is doubtless an unsuccessful attempt to improve the meter.

pra tadd voce (TA. MahānU. voce) amṛtasya (VS. TA. MahānU. amṛtani nu) vidvān AV. VS. TA. MahānU. In AV., ‘may (the gandharva) knowing of the immortal proclaim that.’ TA. comm. provēcā (3d person!). The form voce seems well-nigh uninterpretable; the comm. seems to be thinking of the 3d sing. perf. mid. uce.
The single case of prohibitive with mā is:

mā teṣāmīr dhavanāyād (MS. dhavanāyād; TS. dhavanāyad; KSA. dhavanayed) dhāmaṇagandhiḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. 'Let not the fire, smoke-scented, make thee crackle', or the like. On dhavanāyād see §285.

VIII. OPTATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§175. The optative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 126, 133, 142), imperative (§160), subjunctive (§170), injunctive (§174), preceptive, and future.

Optative and Preceptive

The preceptive is itself only an aorist optative of specialized type. It interchanges mostly with the present optative, less often with the aorist optative. Some of the forms classed as preceptives are, of course, necessarily indistinguishable from regular aorist optatives; cf. Whitney, Grammar §§568, 921ff.; these interchanges might therefore be classed under §210, d.

tābhyaṁ (MS. KS. add rayaṁ) patema sukṛtām u lokam (Kauś. pathyaṁ sukṛtasya lokaṁ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. 'With these two (wings) may we fly to the world of the pious.'

trayaṁ vṛtram vadhyaṁ (VSK. badhyaṁ; VS. ŚB. badhel) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Thru thee may he slay Vṛtra.'

anu viraṁ anu puṣyaṁ (TB. ApŚ. rādhyāma) gobhik VS. TB. ApŚ. 'May we thrive with heroic sons and cattle.'

jñeyam ŚB.: jñeyāsam AV.

sam aham āyuṣaṁ sarvācaṁ sarvā prajayā (ŚŚ. adus, sam priyena dhāmaṇa) sarvā rāyas poṣena gniyā (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. gniṣṭya) VS. MS. KS. But, of course, gniṣṭya may be considered an īś-aorist.


suprajāḥ prajāyā bhūyāsam (ApMB. bhūyaṁ) VSK. TS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: suprajāḥ prajābhikṣu yādaṁ (VS. and ŚB. also yāma; ŚŚ. prajābhik bhūyāmāṁ) VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

priyo dātur daksināya śa syām AV.: priyo devādān daksināyaṁ dātur śa bhūyāsam VS.

bhūyāma te sumatva vājīna vayaṁ RV. SV.: bhūyāsma te sumatva vīśva-vedaṁ MS. (so read, for Conc. Ṛvedaḥ; the text has 'vedaḥ followed by a vowel, which by the peculiar sandhi of MS. means 'vedaḥ).

bhūyāsma (ŚB. KS. 'yāma) putraṁ paśubhik ŚB. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. BDh.
MOODS.

111

sahasrapoṣam vah puṣyāsam (KS. puṣyam; MS. vo 'stiya) TS. MS. KS. HG.: sahasrapoṣam puṣyam VS. ŚB.
dyāvārpaṭhīyor ahān devaajasayabhaya lokaya rdhyāsam (KS. devaajasayā prajaṇiṣeyam praṇaya paśubhīḥ; KS. Ś. devaajasayā prajaṇiṣeyā praṇaya paśubhīḥ) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Note the anomalous (thematic) aor. opt. prajaṇiṣeyam.

ariṣṭās tavo bhūyāsma LŚ.: ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā swārāḥ RV. AV. TS. KS.

a mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait. gamet) TS. Vait.: a mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt PB.
apī jāyeta sa 'smākam ViDh.: apanah sa kule bhūyāt MDh.
vāni te samadṛśi viśvam reta dheśīya (KS. dheśīya) MS. KS.: viśvasya te viśedvato vrṣṇīvyatataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu sanadṛśi viśvā relātāhi dheśīga TS.: vāni nāma samadṛśi viśvā vāmāni dhāṃkhi JB. All the verb-forms are ambiguous, and dhāṃkhi doubly so, since it might be injunctive; see Whitney, Grammar §837b.

Optative and Future

tau yunīta (AV. yokṣye) prathamau yoga āgata AV. SV. 'These two may he (I shall) first yoke up (employ) when the conjuncture arrives.' The AV. (vulgare) mss. all read yokṣe; Ppp. yokṣye.

IX. PRECATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§176. The precative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 133), imperative (§161), subjunctive (§169), optative (§175), and future. Two of the three forms here classed as precatives might, however, also be considered aor. optative.

Precative and Future

juṣṭām adya devebhyo vācaṁ udyāsām (ŚŚ. vācaṁ vadiṣyāmi) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Let me (I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods.' madhu vanīṣīya (ŚŚ. vanīṣye) AV. ŚŚ. 'May I (I shall) win honey.' Whitney would read vanīṣīya in AV. Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker, JAOS. 13, cviii.

madhu janīṣye (AV. janīṣya) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ.: madhu karīṣyāmi madhu janajīṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati JB.
X. FUTURE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§177. The future interchanges with aorist indicative (§134), imperative (§162), subjunctive (§171), optative (§175, end), preceptive (just above), and desiderative; and in one doubtful case we may have a future indicative exchanging with a future subjunctive. See also under Tense for interchange of future with other indicative tenses (§234); and see §248a for verbal nouns in tā, simulating the later periphrastic future, exchanging with various finite verb forms.

yat vādasyan samyagāra janēbhyaḥ TB.: adāsyann agra uta samgrñāmi AV.: adītan vā samyagāra janēbhyaḥ TA. 'If I promise, not intending to give, to people', or the like. Participles are here concerned.

paridāhāsyai yaśo dhāseyai (MG. paridāhāye yaśo dhāseye) PG. MG. If the PG. contains finite verb-forms, they must be future subjunctives (Whitney, Grammar §938). But Stenzler and Oldenberg follow the Hindu comm. in taking -dhāseyai as an infinitive (and yaśodāhāsyai as a compound). Cf. §134.

XI. DESIDERATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§178. The desiderative—by definition modal in force—exchanges with indicative aorist (§135) and future (§177); and it forms a subjunctive of its own which varies with another subjunctive (§172).

XII. INFUTITIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH IMPERATIVE

§178a. See §163.

SUMMARY OF MODAL INTERCHANGES IN DEPENDENT AND OTHER NON-CATEGORICAL CLAUSES

§179. Starting with the observation that the subjunctive is the favorite in relative clauses, we note (§122) that the 2d sing. impv. is certainly excluded from that construction. This does not apply to the other numbers of the 2d person impv., which are identical in form with injunctives, as may be seen from the example in §168, yad iti mām atimānayadhavam HG., yadi mām atimānayadhavai ApMB., 'when (if) you (thus) disdain me.' The true or exclusive imperative forms, not capable of confusion with either subj. or inj., are (in the active) the 2d and 3d singular and the 3d plural only. They occur, if only rarely, in prohibitive clauses (§159), and the third person also in relative clauses
We here use the term ‘relative’ in a broad sense to include clauses introduced by conjunctions derived from the stem ya-, as yādi, yathā, yad, yatra, yataḥ. Understood in this sense we find the following:

§180. Interchanges of moods in relative clauses

Present Indicative and Imperative, §123
Present Indicative and Subjunctive, §124
Present Indicative and Injunctive, §125
Present Indicative and Optative, §126
Preterite Indicatives and modal forms (mostly subjunctives), §145
Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168
Subjunctive and Optative, §169
Subjunctive and Desiderative Subjunctive, §172

§181. Interchanges of moods and tenses in prohibitive clauses with mā

Augmented and augmentless Preterites, §146
Perfect Indicative and Injunctive, §147
Imperative and Injunctive, §159
Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168
Injunctive and Optative, §174, end

Cf. also the interchange between present and sorist prohibitive
injunctives, §§209, 211.

§182. To show at a glance the possible variations in prohibitive clauses
with mā, we group examples of them here. The result is a mosaic of
unexpected modal variety:

क्रद्धादः का न मा व्यगमत: क्रद्धादः मा मा व्यागः, §146
gāṇaṁ me mā vi ṛṣṭaḥ (Ṣat): gāṇaṁ me mā vy āṛṣṭaḥ, §146
mā teśa ke cin nī (cīd vi) yaman vinā (ke cin ni yemur in; ke cin nyemur
in) na pāśīnah, §147
mā savvēna dukṣīṇam atikramīḥ (dṛṣṭāma), §159
mā jñātārah mā pratīṣṭhāḥ vidanta (vindantu), §159
mā naḥ soma ṣvarito vihvarasma: mā no gharma vyāthito vyayadhit (vyayatho
naḥ), §159
mā somaṁ pāv asomapaḥ: mā pāv somaṁ asomapaḥ, §159
sakhyat te mā yōṣāṁ: sakhyam te mā yōṣāḥ, §168
mā tādānir dhanayāḥ (dhanayād; dhanayyād; dhanayyed) dhūmāgandhiḥ,
§174, end
गṛहा मा बिब्हाता मा वेपाद्वात् (वेपाध्वम्), §211
mā teśa vrṣṭaḥ (Ṣau) sam bāḍhīṣṭa (bāḍhīṣṭam; bāḍhēthām), §211
§183. Interchange of moods in interrogative and lest-clauses

In one interrogative clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:
(apāṁ napād āṣuhemā kuviṭ sa) supeḥasās karati (karotī) jōṣīd dhi.

In one lest-clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:
ma ma hāsān (hāsār) nāṭhito net (na) tvā jahāni (cāmi).
CHAPTER IV. THE TENSES. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TENSES AND TENSE-SYSTEMS

§184. Tense interchange in the Vedic Variants may be treated, in its formal and functional aspects, under three heads:

1. Interchanges between different formations of the same tense. In general these are devoid of functional distinction. This is true alike of the present and the aorist systems. Except that the reduplicated aorist is associated with causative meaning (Whitney, Grammar §856)—and even this exception is by no means a hard and fast rule, as the variants show—the aorist, throughout the history of Sanskrit as of the other Indo-European languages, does not make any functional differentiation of its various formal types. Nor do our variants throw any light on the rare and precarious instances in which different present-systems from the same root are accompanied by genuine differences of meaning, as in the perfective bharati 'carry to'; imperfective bhārāti 'carry, wear'; see Bloomfield, JAOS. 11. cxxvi ff.; Delbrück, AISynt. 274ff. So far as the variants show, the interchanges between present systems are quite devoid of distinctions of meaning.

2. Interchanges between identical subordinate moods of different tenses, especially present and aorist. These, again, do not manifest the slightest difference in sense. Thus, patiṁ me kevalah kṛdhī (kuru), 'make him solely my husband.' We have encountered this tense variation as a very frequent accessory to modal variation in the chapter on moods; see above, §154, etc. The cases there presented included only those in which mood as well as tense was shifted, as in uruyacā no māhiṣah ērve yāṅsat (yachatu), §154, where an aorist subjunctive varies with a present imperative. In the present chapter we shall deal with instances in which the mood remains constant, while the tense changes.

3. True interchange of tense, that is to say, interchange in the indicative forms, which (at least in the Veda) do have more or less clearly recognizable differences of meaning. This involves interchanges between present, aorist, imperfect, and perfect, and to some extent future, altho in our view the Vedic use of the future makes it more a mood than a tense and we have accordingly treated it chiefly in the chapter on moods; but see below, §234.
We begin with the first of these classes, which involves two subdivisions: a. Interchange between the Present systems, and b. between the Aorist systems.

1. Interchanges between different formations of the same tense

a. Interchanges between different Present systems

§185. Interchanges between present systems are carried on in a fairly live fashion, and without the least distinction in meaning between the correspondents. To some extent they represent old-established correspondences, such as between the various nasal presents. This is in continuation of prehistoric conditions, largely dependent on the organic derivation of the various nasal classes from different types of 'dissyllabic roots' or bases. See Gustav Meyer, *Die mit nasalen gebildeten praeensstämmen* (Jena, 1873); de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes* 239ff.; Hirt, *Ablaut* 76ff. The nasal classes show also a considerable tendency to interchange with other present classes. Next in importance are the transitions from non-thematic to thematic conjugation, part of a wide movement throughout the history of Hindu speech. In a root or two (mṛṇ, ṭhū) the accented a-class interchanges with ungualted aya-presents, the latter being structurally or chronologically more archaic (havāmī = Avestan zbāvēmi). Intransitive ya-verbs show a somewhat marked tendency to replace other types in late texts; cf. Delbrück, *AISynt.* 277.

There are some interchanges which involve different phonetic treatment of one and the same root, producing the effect of different present systems, such as interchange between ramanātu and ranvatu, āruhi and ṛṣṇu, dhvarati and dhūrātī. Above all loom about forty interchanges between the stems kṛṇo- and karo-, involving tangled chronological conditions. And finally there are interchanges between any one and any other system. We shall treat these matters in the approximate order of their frequency or importance, beginning with kṛṇo: karo.

The stems kṛṇa (kṛṇu) and karo (kuru)

§186. Of these two stems, kṛṇo- is guaranteed as a prehistoric form by the Avestan korviuni. No less certainly is karo- of ancient organic structure (dissyllabic base *kerey), as is shown by -kār-min, kare-ara, and the analogous formation tarute. See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 16 clx = *BB.* 23. 110; Hirt, *Ablaut* 114. The early hieratic language adopted


kṛṇo-, whereas karo- seems likely to have been the true popular form at all times. In the prevailing hierarchy, parts of the RV. we find, accordingly, kṛṇo-. On the other hand, however, the AV., tho fundamentally and prevailingly popular, does not favor karo- as we should expect. Whitney's Index to the AV. shows that kṛṇo- is much the commoner stem; and this is perhaps made even more striking by the evidence of the variants, in which, even tho the other texts (largely popular) read karo-, the AV. overwhelmingly favors kṛṇo- (in 13 out of 14 cases; only one karo-). It is quite clear that in this respect, as in some others, AV., which shares many hieratic passages with RV., has come under the influence of its dictum. (It is to be noted, however, that of the passages among the variants showing kṛṇo- in AV., only one is borrowed from RV. Evidently AV. adopted the hieratic stem very definitely as its own. The passages are grouped just below.) Analogously, we find even in some very late texts that kṛṇo-forms are substituted for karo-forms of older texts, by conscious archaism. Thus Vait., certainly a late text but one with hieratic pretensions, employs the doubly archaic kṛṇuḥi (ojāvantam mām dyayantam manusyeyu kṛṇuhi, see §255), against kuru of other and older texts. So also the very late NilārU. revives kṛṇo- over the heads of all the YV. texts in: śivāṁ girītra (MS. girīṣa) lāṁ kuru (NilārU, kṛṇu) VS. TS. MS. KS. NilārU. On the whole both the later hieratic texts (YV., Brāhmaṇa, and Śrauta Sūtra), as well as the popular Gṛhya Sūtras, incline to karo-, but frequently and very inconsistently fall back into kṛṇo-. The edition of ApŚ. 7. 17. 6, 7 gives both forms in adjoining repetitions of the same formula, ardiyantam adharam karomi (7. 16. 7 kṛṇomi); the hieratic form here may be due to mere desire for stylistic variation. Just so in adjoining verses of the popular ApMB. we have first karomi, then kṛṇomi with further recasting of the phrase which suggests stylistic influence: syonāṁ te saha patyā karomi 1. 5. 16d, and arsiyāṁ tevā saha patyā kṛṇomi 1. 5. 17d. There are few Vedic texts of any size or importance so base but that they occasionally use kṛṇo- in place of karo-. Of those represented by more than one variant pāda, only TA., HG., and RVKh. lack kṛṇo-forms. The would-be hieratic (but late and secondary) Vait. poses with kṛṇo-forms three times against other texts with karo-, and without a single instance of the reverse.

§187. We seem to see traces of some school tendencies in this regard. Altho it would doubtless be rash to generalize confidently from these few instances, it seems hardly likely to be accidental that the Taittiriya school texts—TS., TB., TA., ApŚ., MahānU., HG., and ApMB.—
uniformly prefer the popular karo-. So does KS.; while contrariwise MS. and its Śrauta Sūtra, MS., show a majority for kṛṣṇa.

§188. The capricious interplay of hieratic and popular, old and new, is further tangled by half a dozen examples in which the arisists or aorists presents kṛdhi and kṛṣṇa interchange with corresponding forms of the bases kṛṣṇ- and karo-, §210, a.

§189. The distribution of the two stems in the interchanging variants is shown conveniently in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kṛṣṇ-</th>
<th>karo-</th>
<th></th>
<th>kṛṣṇ-</th>
<th>karo-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Vait.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ApŚ.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>MŚ.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>ŚG.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>SMB.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>GG.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kauś</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>PG.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>ApMB.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>HG.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠB</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>MahānU.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NīḷaṛU.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ŚvetU.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AŚ</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>RVKh.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŚŚ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BDh.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§190. The following list of about 40 passages is grouped so as to show first those which concern RV. and AV. by themselves:

Passages involving RV.
yadā kṛtāṁ kṛṣṇavo (TA. karo) jātavedah RV. AV. TA.
yasmīt kṛṣṇo (TS. karoti) brāhmaṇāḥ RV. VS. TS.
supūrṇāḥ suhagāṁ kuru (RV. kṛṣṇu; SMB. kṛdhi) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG.

Passages involving AV.
yadā kṛtāṁ kṛṣṇavo (TA. karo) jātavedah RV. AV. TA.
oigne medhāvināṁ kuru (AV. kṛṣṇu) AV. VS. RVKh.
anāgasaṁ brāhmaṇe (AV. &dā) tā karoṁi (AV. kṛṣṇom) AV. TB. HG. ApMB.
priyāṁ mā kuru (AV. kṛṣṇu) deveṣu (ApMB. mā deveṣu kuru) AV. RVKh. HG. ApMB.
priyam rājasu mā kuru (AV, kṛṣṇu) AV. RVKh. ApMB.: priyam mā kuru rājasu HG.
brahmāham antaraṁ kṛve (KS. karave, read "vai") AV. KS.
mām indra bhagināṁ kṛṣṇu AV.: mām agne bhagināṁ kuru ApMB.,
karomi (AV, kṛṣṇomi) te prajāpatyam AV. ApMB. HG.
kṛṣṇomi tuḥbhīyam sahapatnai vadhau AV.: ariṣṭāṁ tva saha patyā dadhāmi
caromi TS. TB. ApMB.
svasti na indro māghave kṛṣṇo AV.: svasti no māghavā karoti TS.
TA. MahānU.
yasya kurmo ṣrīhe haviṁ VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: yasya kurmo (AV. kṛṣṇo) ṣrīhe AV. TS.
kṛṣṇo (KS. kurvīṇo) anyān (TS. MS. KS. anyān, KS. "nyān") adharān
sapatnāṁ AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. KS.
dīrgham āyuḥ kṛṣṇo me (vām) AV. JB. Kauś. ApMB.: āyuṣmantam
carota mā (RVKh. karoto mā, KS. kṛṣṇa mā) RVKh. KS. TA.
BDh.
yābhyāṁ karmāṇi kurvate (SV. kṛṣnevate) AV. SV. This is the only
variant in which AV. shows a karo- form. It is also the only variant
in which SV. figures at all.

Passages involving all other texts
agnih praśāṁ bahulaṁ me karoto (MS. kṛṣṇu) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
ŚŚ. ApŚ.
agnih pravideṇ (MS. KS. "vān") iha tat kṛṣṇu (ApŚ.* karoto; KS. ApŚ.*
dadhātu) MS. KS. ApŚ. (bis).
achidram yajñāṁ bhūrikarmā karoto (KS. MS. bhūrireṭāḥ kṛṣṇu) KS.
TB. ApŚ. MS.
asya kurmo (RVKh. kulmo) harivo medināṁ teṛ RVKh. TS. TB.: iha
kṛṣṇo etc. KS.
ādityās tva kṛṣṇantu (KS. kṛṣvantu) jāyatena chandasa...VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB.

Similarly rudrās tva, vasavas tva, vīkeḥ teḥ devaḥ, etc.
tena suprajāsam kṛṣṇu (TA. kuru) TA. Vait.
tena mā vājināṁ kuru (Vait. kṛṣṇu) AŚ. Vait. LS.
sinevāṁ kṛṣṇu (KS. karoto) lām VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ukhāṁ kṛṣṇu (TS. KS. karoto) kākyā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
kṛṣṇu (KS. karoto) viśvacarṣanīḥ KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. SMB. PG.
apu dhautasya te...bhakṣāṁ kṛṣṇomi (PB. karomi) KS. PB.
syonāṁ te sadanaṁ karomi (MS. kṛṣṇomi) TB. ApŚ. MS.
so asmān (MS. asmān) adhipātin karotu TS. MS.: so āsmān adhipa tin kṛyotu SS.

saitīrō yād utra sukṛtaṇi kṛyavatāśmāsu tad yād duṣkṛtām anyatra tat
AB. AŚ.: yā duṣkṛtām karacet tasya duṣkṛtām Kauś.
yena striyam akṛṣtam (SS. striyāṛ akurutam) SS. SMB. GG.: yena striyam akṛṣtam PG.

yāsyām patighni tanūḥ...jāraṇhīṁ asyai lām kṛnomi ApMB.: yā te
patighnī tanur jāraṇhīṁ tv etāṁ karomi HG.: yā te patighnī...
tanur jāraṇhīṁ tata enāṁ karomi PG.: yā te patighny alakṣyī...jāraṇhīṁ lām karomi ŚG.

sa tvā manmanasāṁ karotu (ApMB. 5manasaḥ kṛyotu) PG. ApMB.
śivāṁ girītra (MS. girītra) lāṁ kura (NilarU. kṛyā VS. TS. MS. KS.
NilarU. ŚvetU.

varūṇi kṛvan (ApŚ. kṛvann asme; TB. kṛvann asmin, read asme with
comm. and Poona ed. text; MS. kuruva) naryā purūṇi TB. AŚ.
ApŚ. MS.

yasyāṁ kārmāṇi kurvate (ApŚ. kṛvate) KS. ApŚ.
madhu tvā madhulā karotu (MS. kṛyotu) MS. TA. ApŚ.
prajāh krvane jānayaṇi viruṣpaḥ MS.
ojasvantaṁ māṁ aṣuṣmantaṁ...manusyaśu kura (Vait. kṛyuḥi) TS. MS.
AŚ. Vait.

*Interchange between the various nasal classes*

§191. Here we have, first, interchanges between the no and na classes:
they involve the roots stabh and skabh (thrice), kṣi 'destroy' (twice), and
mi 'diminish' (once). The rest of the cases are stray examples of various
nasal formations; they chiefly concern transfer from non-thematic
nasal classes to thematic forms. In principle, of course, thematic verbs
of nasal classes are just as old as the non-thematic; but in Sanskrit
their appearance is sporadic only. The total of these cases is not suffi-
cient to permit deductions.

āgyam uktham avyathāya (KS. 5ya, TS. avyathayat) stabhnaṭa (MS.
6notu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with praṇgam uktham,
maraṇcāryam uktham, niśkepyam uktham, and vaisvadevāṃ nīrūte
ukthe, etc.

ut te stabhnaṇi (TA. tabhnomi) prthiṇiḥ teat pari RV. AV. TA. and
(pratikas) ŚG. AG. Kauś.

adhivana skabhita (VS. skabhivantaḥ) VS. TS.: adhivānaḥ skabhnu-
vanto...MS.
kṣiṇomi (AV. kṣiṇāmē) brahmavāṁśitrān AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TA. idam aham amam ānugyāyam... prakṣiṇāmi KS.; idam aham anugyāyam... prakṣiṇāmi MS.; idam aham anugyāyam... prakṣiṇāḥ prakṣiṇomi ApŚ.

pra smā mināty (ApŚ. prāsmā mināty) ajāraḥ RV. KS. ApŚ. भर्षस्तिः (TS. KS. ApŚ. ०tis tē) sunme ramgātu (TS. ApŚ. rvanvatu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ. MS. The 'root' ranē is best accounted for as ra-ne-(*rm-ne-). Whitney, Roots, regards it as a secondary formation from ran. This and the next belong equally in §196.

deva tenṣṭar vasu rana (TS. ranē, KS. ranā, MS. ranē) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

āpas teś sam arīṇan (MS. arīṇan) VS. MS. ŠB.: āpāḥ sam arīṇan TS. KS.

agner jihvām abhi (MS. jihvābhī; p.p. jihvām, abhi; AV. KS. jihvāyābhī) grñṭam (AV. grñṭa) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. grñṭam is 2d dual of nā-class, grñṭata 2d plural of accented a-class.

āṅgkvarāsvā āṅgkvarāsvau HG.: asāv abhyāṅgkvarāsva anāṅgka AŚ.: anāṅgka talāsau ApŚ.: anāṅgkavānulimpasea PG. The thematic present is practically unknown; see Whitney, Roots.

sā mā samiddhāyuṣa...samintām (! one ms. ०indhatām) TA.: sā mā samiddhā...samintiṣṭām MS. Here TA., most ms., has a regular non-thematic present from indh, the anomalous appearance of which doubtless causes the thematic variant ०indhatām. MS. has an aorist.

The roots ran, man and san may also be included here even tho the nasal is in their case radical; in this grouping we merely follow a custom which is not only well-established but eminently practical. They present, alongside of non-thematic (8th class) presents, certain forms which may be either thematic present indicatives, or aorist subjunctives:

* tad agnir devo devēdhyo vanate (MS. ŠB. ŠŚ. vanatām) TS. MS. ŠB. TB. AŚ. ŠŚ.

The question is, whether vanate is a pres. of the bhū-class or an aor. subj.; see §§ 116, 154, and the next.

agnir no vanate (VS. šK. vanite; SV. TS. KS. vanisate) rayim RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See under prec. The question there mooted is here further complicated by the indubitably aor. subj. vanisate.

manai (MS. manē) nu bahhrunām aham, šatam dhāmīṃ sapta ca RV. VS. MS. KS. ŠB. N. But manai is dubious as a pres. subj.; it is better taken as aorist, see §§10, 119.

ubhau lokau sanem (MS. sanomy) aham TB. TAA. ApŚ. MS.
Interchange of nasal with non-nasal classes

§192. This rubric is rendered somewhat uncertain in outline because a number of the non-nasal forms in question may be considered as aorists, especially in the case of modal forms. Thus, the SV. repeatedly reads *yūṅkṣva* for *yukṣva* of the rest; the latter is structurally ambiguous, tho usually treated as present, like *yūṅkṣva*. We have followed this custom, altho it seems to us that *yukṣva* might quite as well be treated as aorist. The fact is that, as we have repeatedly observed, our grammatical categories are more or less whited sepulchres, particularly as regards modal forms. The same considerations apply to some other forms classed here, notably to -viddhi: -vinda, where viddhi might be regarded as either perfect in form (yeda), or aorist (cf. vidanta: vindantu, §159), tho we group it as present:

indrānuvinda (AŚ, ʿviddhi) naś lāṇi TB. AŚ.

agnē *yukṣvā* (SV. PB. *yūṅkṣvā*) hi ye tava RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. SB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yukṣvā* (SV. *yūṅkṣvā*) madacyuṭā harti RV. AV. SV.

*yukṣvā* (SV. *yūṅkṣvā*) hi kēśinā harti RV. SV. VS. SB.

*yukṣvā* (SV. *yūṅkṣvā*) hi vājīnīvatī RV. SV.

*yukṣvā* (SV. *yūṅkṣvā*) hi svr̥trahanāma RV. SV. šŚ.

*yukṣvā* (and, *yūṅghāma*) hy arusī rathie RV. (both)

atha madasya (VS. madasya) juvjuṣāṇo andhasah RV. VS.

iṣā pīpihi (MS. pīpihi) MS. TA. ApŚ.: iṣa pīnasvā SV. SB. KS. Similiarly with ārje, kṣatāya, brahmaṇe, and others, see §270.

agnē bhṛmaṇa gr̥bhr̥ṣvā (MS. MŚ. gr̥bhr̥ṣvā, KS. gr̥hīṣvā) VS. MS. KS. SB. MŚ.

sukāmi damśvā (TS. TB. kam²; KS. 1 damśvā) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB.


Possibly here belongs:

kataro menim prati tam mucāte (Vait. muṇcāte) RV. Vait. But in §210, b, we have classified mucāte as aorist. See that section and the following for one or two other cases which might, less probably, be placed here.

And see further the interchanges between stems *tṛmṇa* and *tṛpya*, *manu* and *manyā*, *krṣṭi* and *kṛṣṇa*, §195.
Interchange between non-thematic and thematic presents

§193. This is one of the most extensive movements in the development of the present systems in their history throughout Hindu speech. Regularly the non-thematic form precedes the thematic form, structurally and chronologically. In the variants the priority of the non-thematic form may generally be assumed. Sometimes the thematic forms are nonce-formation, as when ghnata takes the place of huta, or in the grotesque bodha, ‘be’, which is coaxed out of bodhi in the example pitā no bodhi (bodha). At the head of our list come several cases in which dissyllabic non-thematic stems are replaced by thematic ones. Cf. also under nasal stems, §191.

kati kṛtaḥ prāṇati cāpānati ca (SB. prāṇiti cāp ca cānīti) GB. SB.
Better meter in SB.

yat prāṇiti (AV. prāṇati) ya uṣṇoty uktam RV. AV.
yac ca prāṇiti (AV. prāṇati) yac ca na AV. SB. TB. BrhU. (Correct Conc.)
ni śāṇihi (AV. abhi śāna) duritā bādhamānaḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

āpo grhēṣu jāgratai HG.: āpo deveṣu jāgratha PG.: āpo havihṣu jāgrīta
apū. āpo jāgrīta MS. KS. MŚ.

ved u rāja ḫaṇati (TB. ḫeti) carṣāvānām RV. MS. TB.

agni deśānām eva heḍa ikṣva (Apū. iyakṣva) KS. Apū.: eva deśānām yaja
heḍa agni AV. The problematic ikṣva is here appraised as root-
present; for iyakṣva see §236.
mahāśānto vi rapāṇante (SS. rapānte) AV. SS. For the ‘root’ rapś see
Bloomfield, IF. 25. 192ff.

prāṣṭāḥ pra suhi (KS. śāhi, MŚ. suva, Apū. suva pra suhi) AS. SS. KS.
Apū. MŚ. In Apū. compound of the other readings.
etān ghnataiśu grhvita ApūMB.: etān hataiśu badhṇita HG. See above.
pitā no bodhi (TA. bodha) VS. SB. TA. bodha is an extreme analogical
formation in the spirit of the a-conjugation. Comm. at TA. 4. 7.
4, foolishly, = bodhaya.
somo dadda (SMB. GG. PG. ‘dadda, HG. ‘dadda) gandharvo, gandharvo
dadda (SMB. PG. ‘dadda) agnaye (HG. gandharvo ‘gnaye ‘dadda) RV.
AV. SMB. GG. PG. ApūMB. HG. MG. But see §266; and cf. the
next four.
tad agnir agnaye ‘dadda (KS. MŚ. dadda) KS. Apū. MŚ.
indriyā va śiro ‘dadda (SS. śramo dadda) MS. MŚ. SS. SMB.
sā teṣeṣābhya pari ‘dadda (TA. dadda) pīṭbhyaḥ RV. AV. TA. N. CF.
the prec. three, next, and §§ 167, 11.
Vedic Variants I: The Verb

\[\text{datta asmanah} \text{(etc., §250, p. 165) \text{dravine}a bhadrəm AV. KS. AS. SMB.; \text{dadhatha} no dravinəh ya ca bhadrəm MS.}
\]
\[\text{ṣa} \text{ṃ vasiṭhām (MS. MŚ. vasiṭhām) svarvida (KS. ძdau) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. MŚ. And:}
\]
\[\text{vyacavati sa} \text{n vasiṭhām (MS. vasiṭhām) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. Stems vaste and vasate from vas 'clothe'. [So Bloomfield wrote; but the interpretation is very dubious. No -vesate 'clothes' is recorded. Keith on TS. seems to understand vas 'dwell', as if from a type *vaste, which is equally unknown from this root. Mahīdhara on VS., āchādayatam (apparently vas 'clothe'). The meaning is obscure. Possibly MS. understands a form of vas 'dwell' (vasate), and the others vas 'clothe' (vaste). F. E.]
\]
\[\text{[ye} \text{dadate (JUB. dadante) pa} \text{ṇica diśaḥ sadṛśīḥ AV. JUB. But here there is no real variant; all mss. of AV. read dadante, and Whitney's Transl. restores it to the text.]
\]

Interchange between a and aya formations

\[\text{§194. Aside from formations which may with more or less confidence be called causatives, and which we treat separately as such (§§237ff.), this type includes hardly anything but forms of the two roots mṛḍ 'pity' and hū 'call'. The popular (rather than 'late') form heyaṃ is shown to be prehistoric by Avestan *bayem; it is doubtless a mere accident that it alone survives as a present formation from this root in classical Sanskrit, while hued and hūva, both of which interchange with heya, become extinct. See Bloomfield, JAOS. 21. 48. In the following small list the verbs determine but rarely the relative chronology of the passages:}
\]
\[\text{apaseḍhan (SV, ṭ ḍhan) duritā soma mṛḍayā (SV. no mṛḍa) RV. SV.}
\]
\[\text{Here mṛḍa (should = mṛḍa, and hence metrically out of place) together with the patchword no are clearly inferior readings in SV.}
\]
\[\text{tayā no mṛḍa jiwas VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.: tayā no rudra mṛḍa } \text{yā TS. The parallel is only vague.}
\]
\[\text{sa naḥ prajāyaḥ hariyakṣa mṛḍaya (AV. KS. mṛḍa) RV. AV. TS. KS.}
\]
\[\text{te no mṛḍayaṭa (AV. mṛḍata) AV. TS. ApMB.}
\]
\[\text{te no mṛḍayantu (MS. mṛḍantu) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.}
\]
\[\text{tau no mṛḍayatām (MS. mṛḍatām) TS. MS. ApMB.}
\]
\[\text{hue nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. heyaṃ) šankram puruhitam śākram RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.}
\]
\[\text{parassatīṃ sukṛto ahavayanta (AV. havante) RV. AV. KS. Comm. on AV. ahavayanta.}
\]
[As to the variant quoted in Conc. as: apāṁ napātam aśvinā huve ḍhiyā (TS. aśvinā hrayantā) AV. TS., the word hrayantām is an error for hrayantam (ppl. of hi ‘impel’) in TS.]

In a single variation between parallel pādas in the Vālakhilya hymns the stems svada and svadayā interchange without difference in meaning; nevertheless, svadāya may be considered a causative, cf. §240:

eyaṁ te svadāyaṁ svadayantī dhenavah RV. (Vāl.): eyaṁ te svadāvaṁ svadayantī gārtayaṁ RV. (Vāl.)

Interchange between intransitive ya-stems and others

§195. The prevailing intransitive present formation in ya occasionally offers refuge to intransitives of other formation. One is inclined to regard the ya forms as generally secondary; cf. Delbrück, AI Synt. 277. The nasal formation tṛpya (Avestan ṭ raf-) is old, and manve is more organic than manye.

hutāḥutasya tṛpyatam (KS. ŚŚ. tṛpyatam) KS. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
tasya tṛpyatam aḥāḥahū ŚŚ.: tena tṛpyatam aḥahau TB. ApŚ.
anāgasa adham it samkṣayema TB: anāgasa yathā sadam it samkṣiyema Vait. The Conc. suggests reading sadam in TB.; but the comm. has adham, interpreting it by anantāram.

bhūmaitad upāswaitat (MahānU. upāswaitat) tapah TA. MahānU. But Poona ed. of TA. agrees with MahānU. (with v. l. upāsva").

manye vāṁ dyāvāṛthiṁ suhōjasau Arś.: manve vāṁ dyāvāṛṣṭiṁ AV. Vait.

tapate (or ātapatē, so KSA. acc. to v. Schroeder; TS. both, acc. to Weber; VS. tapate) evahā VS. TS. KSA. TA.

yat te krāaram...tat te svahyt(at (TS. ApŚ. tat ta etena svndhatām; MS. tad etena svndhastva) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ.

Here we may also place the somewhat anomalous hṛṇiya of SV.: mā hṛṇiṁ abhy asāna RV.: vajebhir mā hṛṇiyathāḥ SV. The alternative would be to regard hṛṇiya as a sort of denominative.

Different treatments of the same root which produce the effect of different present systems

§196. Here and there sundry morphological processes differentiate one and the same root in such a way as to leave behind two forms which may be regarded as two roots, but which in any case manifest themselves in different present formations. The Hindu lexicons postulate a root ṛṇu which is obviously nothing but an obscured and extended nu-presentation of the root ṛ (‘yera) ‘cover’. The archaic form ṛṇuḥī inter-
changes with the conventional vr̥ṇu in one case below. Similarly the roots dhvăr and dhūr̥ are intricate precipitates of a type dharu (cf. tv̥ṛ and īr̥; taru), as Bloomfield as shown in JAOS. 16 elxi = BB. 23. 109. Compare the relation of ramad̤tu: raṃvatu, and rama: ran̥ṣeva, above, §191.

taman dhūr̥va yan̥ vayaṁ dhūr̥vamah VS. TS. SB. TB.: yan̥ vayaṁ dhvavāna tam̥ dhvava (KS. vayaṁ dhvavanas tam ca dhūr̥va) MS. KS.
dhūr̥va tam̥ yo 'smān dhvavati VS. TS. SB. TB.: dhvava dhvarantam yo asmān dhvavār̥ MŚ.

abhya enaṁ bhūma āruṣhī (TA. bhūmi vr̥ṇu) RV. AV. TA.

**Accented and unaccented a-presents (1st and 6th class)**

§197. The most conspicuous are those from the root hūa ‘call.’ The presents hūva and ḥava interchange with each other, as well as with hūva (§194); the instances are gathered in §2 and are not repeated here. Most of the other cases, and indeed some of the hūva: ḥava cases, have phonetic aspects, concerning the phonetic variation of a:u before v; see §23, where are presented three such variants concerning brā (stems brava:bratea), and one concerning hnu (hnava:hnuva). The only other instance we have noted is:

(pra...) suvārahbhis tirati (SV. TS. tarati) vajabharmabhiḥ (SV. TS. karmabhiḥ) RV. SV. TS. KS. (Correct Conc.) Here pra tirati is superior to pra tarati, if for no other reason because pra tara- occurs but a single time in RV. (10. 53. 8), whereas pra tira- is common. For the stanza as a whole cf. Oldenberg, Proleg. 281.

**Reduplicated and other presents**

§198. In two pādas concerning the root vṛt, Kauṣ. has vartṣevas (a Rigvedic archaism; a-vṛtsēva and abhi-a-vṛtsēva both RV., see Grassmann) where other texts have vartseva:

agne bhyaḥaritinn abhi ma ni vartaseva (TS. abhi na a vartaseva; KS. abhi no ni vartaseva; MS. abhi māvartaseva; Kauṣ. abhi na a vartṣevas) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Kauṣ.
punar ārjā ni vartaseva (Kauṣ. ārjā vartṣevas) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauṣ.

The variant iyāna of SV. for iyāna may be classed as a reduplicated present middle participle; there seems no ground for calling it intensive (cf. Whitney, Roots, a.v.):

iyānā (SV. iyō) kṛṇo daśābhīṣaḥ sahasraḥ RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.
stotṝbhyo dhṛṣṇaḥ iyānā (SV. iyō) RV. AV. SV.
TENSES AND TENSE-SYSTEMS

The remaining cases concern modal forms of roots dā and dhā, reduplicated and unreduplicated. But the unreduplicated forms may, quite as well, be considered root-aorists (cf. §210, a):

\[\text{te no dhāntu (SV, dhatta) suvīryam RV, SV.}\]
\[\text{punar dātām (TA, dattā) asum adyeha bhādram RV, AV, TA, dattāh is unaccented in TA, and is surely to be read dattām; comm. dattau prayachatām (understanding perfect passive pple. with active meaning!).}\]
\[\text{devīr āpo apām napād...tam devebyo devatra (MS. devebyaḥ sukrapobhyo) dhatta (VS, SB, datta, MS, KS, dāta)...VS, TS, MS, KS, SB.}\]

b. Interchanges between different Aorist systems

§199. Considering the large number of available aorist systems, and their general equivalence in meaning, the number of interchanges between them is not large. The only one which can be differentiated as to meaning is the reduplicated aorist, with its well-known tendency to association with the causative. Even this difference appears but rarely among the variants, which in fact present only a few cases of reduplicated aorist forms exchanging with others; and those few are generally not distinguishable in meaning from their rivals. We may remember that other ‘causative’ forms are from the earliest period of the language frequently used in senses that are indistinguishable from transitive forms of the simple verb. And even intransitive reduplicated aorists are found; see the variant ārīdvā yasyāmatir bhā adityutat (atidyutat), below.

§200. Otherwise the variations are purely formal, without possible semantic bearings. The old non-thematic s-aorist (Whitney, Grammar §§888ff.) of the type askāṃsunam, askān, askān, results in 2d and 3d singular forms which often resemble those of the root-aorist; this has yielded a rather constant interchange between the forms askā̄n and askān; or compare again the threefold variation between ruk, rok, and ruk from ruc, below. These variations may be considered, at least in part, phonetic as much as morphological. Phonetic considerations are even more clearly involved in variations like acāṛgam: acāṛigam (see §286, a) which on their face are s and ı-aorists, but in large part are really cases of svarabhakti (Whitney, Grammar §230c). Phonetic, likewise, is the variant āprā(h); āprād, before dyāēa- (see §24). On the whole the list of aorist forms is very miscellaneous and presents a rather haphazard aspect. A number of the forms are more or less doubtful as to which aorist class they belong to, or whether they are properly called aorists.
at all. Attention will be called to such cases specifically. We number the various aorist types in accordance with Whitney.

§201. Reduplicated Aorists (Class 3) and others
ganān me mā vi táraḥ (MŚ. 'gānāt) TS. MŚ. 'do not (let him not) make my troops go thirsty'; ganā me mā vi tṛṣan VS. TS. ŚB. 'may my troops not go thirsty.' Here the proper causative sense of the 3d aor. is apparent, and varies with a non-causative 2d aor.
udgrābhena agrabhī (MS. ajigrabhat; KS. ajigrabham and aśgrābung) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 3 and 5 aor.; no difference of meaning; both active, 'he has (I have) lifted up.'
mā dyauṛprthi abhi koṭīḥ (TS. kūsaḥ; KS. kūcaḥ; MS. kūntīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 2, 3, and 5 aor.; all active, 'sorch'; no difference of meaning.
mainām arcīṣā mā tapasābhī (VS. KS. maināṁ tapasā mārcīṣābhī) koṭīḥ (KS. kōcaḥ; TS. kūsaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. As in prec.: 3 and 5 aor. (kōcaḥ is imperfect injunctive.)
amimadantā pitara yathābhāgam (Kauś. yathābhāgam yathālokam) avṛṣṭiṣata (AŚ. avṛṣṭiṣata; ŚŚ. avṛṣṭiṣata) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KṛG. Both the forms are somewhat problematic; most texts apparently have a 5 aor. from a denominative (tṛṣan), while ŚŚ. has a 3 aor. from the primary root ṛṣṇ; both must mean in the last analysis something like 'they eagerly obtained each his portion.' See §§243, 285.
yata ścutad agraṇā eva tat AŚ.: yata ścutad dhutam agraṇau lad astu KS.: yatra cuscūtad agraṇā evaita MŚ.: dyauṛ yataś cyutad agraṇā eva tat ApŚ. Both forms transitive, 'dropped'. But the MŚ. reading cuscūtad is a very doubtful emendation of corrupt mss.; in all probability ścutad is the real reading. See further §219, end. The 2 aor. aṣcūlat is quoted in Whitney's Roots only from Hindu grammarians.
ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) addīyutat (VSK. atīdyutat) savimani AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The VSK. reading is obviously secondary, and phonetic in character; but it is worth noting that the 3 aor. form is here (like the substituted 2 aor.) intransitive ('shone').

Sigmatic Aorists varying with non-sigmatic

§202. 1st and 4th Aorists
askan gām rṣabha yuvā KS.: askān rṣabha yuvā gāh TB. TA. ApŚ.
askann (ŚŚ. askān) adhitā prājāni ŚB. ŚŚ. KS.: askān ajani prājāni TB. TA. ApŚ.
askan parjanyaḥ prthivīṃ KS.: askān dyauḥ prthivīṃ TB. TA. ApŚ.
askān (GB. askan) somaḥ KS. GB.
brakman somo 'skan (KS. ApŚ. 'skān) KS. GB. Vait. ApŚ.
drapas te dyāṇa mā ṣkān (KS. ApŚ. ṣkān; MS. te divam mā ṣkān) VS.
MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

ahā kāraṇa (TB. ahā ca') payasā sametā (TB. sametā) TB. Vait.
ahaḥ is 3d person; 'he hath quitted his body' etc.
āprā (AV. *āprā) dyāśāḥprthivī antarikṣam RV. AV. (both) ArŚ. VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA. N.: āprā(h) is 3d sing.; the AV. form
is certainly secondary; it has phonetic aspects; see §24.
bhūyaṅsa bhūyāṣmā ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣṭa Kau.: 'bhūyaṅsa bhūyāṣa
ye no bhūyāso' kari MS. Same with aṃnāđa bhā'.
asmaddreṣaṁ sunihā mā parā dāh MS.: dviṣṭa sunīte mā parādāh TA.
The MS. form is best taken as an irregular 4 aor.; cf. Whitney,
Grammar §894,c, for the closest known parallels. dāh might also,
though less probably, be classed as 4 aor.
api panthām aganmahā (TS. ApŚ. agasmahā) RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ.

<r>
vṣena sam aganmahā (RV. agasmahā) RV. KS. IŚ.
adarkus (ŚŚ. adrākus) tvā śāsahastam AB. ŚŚ. adarkus is altogether
irregular, and its ending seems borrowed from adrākus.
mā bheḥ VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KS. ApŚ.: mā bhaiḥ MS. KS. MŚ. Best
taken as 1 and 4 aor.
mā bher mā roṇ (VSK. mo roṇ, TS. māro) mo ca naḥ (TS. mo eṣāḥ) kim
canāṃmat VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: mā bhair mā ruṇ mō ca (KS. raṇ
d‘aḥ kim canāṃmat MS. KS. ruṇ (rauk) is clearly 4 aor.; roṇ
and ruṇ seem both to be best classed as 1 aor.

§203. 1st and 5th Aorists
mā pṛṣan pāryaḥ vi rādhiṣṭa (TS. rādhi) TS. MS. KS. rādhī is of course
passive; see §87 and Whitney §843.
</r>

<r>īṣam ārjan sam agrāhah (TS. agrāhah) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Obvi-
ously agrāhah is a blend of agrābāh and agrābhit; see §262, d.</r>

§204. 2d and 4th Aorists
āpo malaṁ iva prāṇakṣiṭ (ApŚ. prāṇajan) AV. ApŚ.

§205. 3d and 6th (and, once, 7th) Aorists
bahu hāyaḥ (MS. ha vā agam) avarṣād (TS. avarṣād, KS. avarṣad) iti... TS.
MS. KS. But this variant is only very doubtfully placed here.
avrṣad (see Keith on TS. 2, 4, 7, 2) can only be an error for avarṣad,
which may perhaps better be regarded as imperfect than as 2 aor.
āditya nāvam ārūkṣaḥ (SMB. ārokiṣam) AV. SMB.: imāṃ su nāvam (read sunāvam) āruham TS. KS. Ap Ś. Cf. §§276, 133. ārūkṣaḥ is a regular 7 aor.; ārokiṣam may be considered 5 aor. with irregular guṇa-vowel.

§206. Interchanges of various Sigmatic Aorist forms

evṛtānāṁ vratapate (Kauś. ²patayo) vratam acārīṣam (MS. acāṛṣam) MS. TA. Kauś. See under next.

agne vratapate vratam acārīṣam (MS. and MS. v. 1. acāṛṣam) VS. TS. MS. KS.: ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MS. HG. 4 and 5 aorists. For other variants which simulate the same interchange, but are really cases of svarabhakti or the reverse in all probability, see §§286.

gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān (AV. ichāt; TB. achāt) RV. AV. KS. TB. achān is of course 4 aor. from chand (chad). AV. evidently intended achāt, like TB.; the form is anomalous (Whitney’s Translation adopts the RV. achān), but is doubtless felt also as a 4 aor. from the same root in its denasalized form.

mā no dyauṣpṛthivaḥ hādiṣethām (thematic stem from 5 aor., hādiṣa-, cf. janīṣeyam, Whitney, Grammar §907, end) MS. ‘be not angry with us, heaven and earth!’: mā dyauṣpṛthivaḥ hādiṣetām TA. ‘may h. and e. not be angry.’ See §332, end.


vardhiṣiṣmaiḥ ca vayam ② ca pyāṣiṣiṣmaiḥ (MS. MS. pyāṣiṣiṣmaiḥ ca) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MS. SG. HG. 5 and 6 aor.

vācam paśān mā nir mārjñē MS. MS.: vācam prāṇāṁ caktuḥ krotram praṇāṁ yonim mā nir mṛkṣām TS. 5 and 7 aor. Others, see §302.

§207. Interchanges of 1st and 2d aorists

kraddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ.: śraddhā ca no mā vyāgamat ViDh. MDh. YDh. BrhPDh. AuśDh.

ā mā prāṣyena saha varcasā gan (AV. gamet) AV. TS. MS. KS.

2. Interchanges between Identical Moods of Different Tenses

§208. The general aspects of this relation are discussed in §105, where it is shown that tense variation as an accessory to modal change plays no functional rôle whatever. The cases there referred to are properly a part of the present paragraph. The additional examples of interchange in the present rubric are between the same modal form in differ-
ent tenses; the value of such pairs is a fortiori identical. Modal forms from stems other than present or aorist are rare in all periods; so it happens that all the correspondences of this rubric are between present and aorist. Non-sigmatic aorists are, moreover, frequently indistinguishable from formally identical present system forms. This introduces into the group pairs which may be judged, and have been judged in grammars and lexicons, to be merely corresponding forms of different present systems, such as kṛdhi and kṛṣva in relation to kṛṣu (kuru) and kṛṣuṣva; or pātam to pibātam; or śrotā to kṛṣota. Contrariwise, some modal pairs rubricated as coming from two different present stems, such as yuksva:yuṅkṣva (§192), may be construed as aorists; such items should, perhaps, be listed in both places. We are inclined to regard the doubtful forms in such pairs as aorists, tho we have followed scholarly tradition in classing yuksva as present. See our discussion §10ff.

§209. In Classical Sanskrit the prohibitive with mā is regularly an augmentless aorist. In the Veda augmentless imperfects are commoner, and this has produced a group of variants in which augmentless forms of the two tenses vary with each other, in addition to the general instability of the prohibitive moods as summarized in §§181ff. The following two rubrics list the tense interchanges in connection with the same mood, first in categorical and then in prohibitive clauses.

§210. Interchanges of the same mood in different tenses in categorical clauses

(a) Imperatives

tato no abhayāṁ kṛdhi (ŚŚ. *kuru) RV. AV. SV. VS. AB. PB. TB. TA. AS. ŚŚ. (both) APŚ. MS. Mahānū.
suputrāṁ suḥhagāṁ kurū (RV. kṛṣu; SMB. kṛḍhi) RV. SMB. APMB. HG.
patim ekādāsāṁ kṛḍhi (SMB. HG. kuru) RV. SMB. APMB. HG. In same stanza as prec. Note that all texts vary the form, except HG. which has kuru both times.
patisaṁ ne kevalāṁ kuru (AV. APMB. kṛḍhi) RV. AV. APMB.
parācinā mukhā kṛḍhi (KS. kuru) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
vī jīhīṣva lokāṁ kṛṣu AV.: vī jīhīṣva lokāṁ kṛḍhi TA.
athā mano vasudeyōya kṛṣva RV.: adhā mano vasudeyōya kṛṣuṣva AV. (poor meter).
vivasva ṛṣiyāṣa te somapīthas tena (KS. tasmin) mandaseva...TS. KS.: vinasvam (VSK. *vān) ṛṣiyāṣa te somapīthas tasmin matsva VS. VSK. ŚB. Contrary to Whitney, Roots, we regard matsva as 4 aor. rather than present.
aśvinā gharmanā pātām (MS. pibatam) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. pātām may be present.
divān gacha svar vinda yajamāṇāya mahyam MS.: devān gacha svar vinda (ApŚ. vinda) etc. TB. ApŚ.
rayāṁ gṛvatsu didhiṛtam (and dhāraya) RV. (both). See RV Rep. 271, 528.
śṛṇa (VS. ŚB. śrotā) grāvāpo viduo nu (VS. ŚB. na) yajñam VS. TS. MS. KS.
devir āpaḥ sūdhā yūyāṁ devān yuyudāvam (KS. yūḍhvaṃ) MS. KS.
Cl. āpo devī h sūdhāyuvāḥ sūdhā yūyāṁ devān āḍhvaṃ TS.: devir āpaḥ sūdhā voḍhvaṃ supariviṣṭā deveṣu VS. ŚB.
tasmin (Vait. MS. tasmin) tad eno vasavo ni dhelana (Vait. dhattana) RV. TAA. Vait MS.
d a tevā vasavo rudrā ādityaḥ sadantu VS. ŚB.: vasānām rudrāṇām ādityaṇāṁ sadae iṣa TS. TB. ApŚ.
sā mā samiddhāyusāḥ samiṣṭāṁ (one ms. samiṣṭhatām) TA.: sā mā samiddhāḥ samiṣṭhitatām MS.
See also the doubtful cases rubricated in §198 as interchanges between root-presents (but possibly aorists) and reduplicating presents, datta: dāta, dhāntu: dhatta, dātam: dattam.
(b) Subjunctives
sa (AV. sā) naḥ śarma tricarūtham vi yaṁsat (AV. ni yachāt) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
kataro menim prati taṁ mucāte (Vait. muṇcāte) RV. Vait. muṇcāte is metrically inferior. But mucāte may, less probably, be regarded as present; §192.
(c) Indicatives
uc chaṇḍasaṛa (TA. chaṇḍasava) prthivī mā ni bādhatāḥ (TA. vi bādhitaḥ) RV. AV. TA.
(d) Optatives
yuyudām ito rapo apa śridhāḥ RV.: yuyātāṁ asmad rapo apa śridhāh TB. ApŚ.
pari vo heṭi rudrasya vṛjyāḥ (TB. vṛṣyā) RV. TB. Other versions of this ancient formula §104, u. The RV. form is archaic.
derasya (devasyāham) sarītuḥ savē (prasāve)...nākam ruheiṣam (GB. roheiṣam) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. GB. Vait. MS. ApŚ. LŚ. marto vṛūṭa (TS. vṛūṭa, KS. varet) sakhyam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
See next.
dyumnam (KS. * ne) vṛūṭa puṣyāṣe (KS. varet puṣyat) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. vṛūṭa might be called injunctive, but the parallels make it preferable to class it as optative.
§211. Prohibitive Injunctives (augmentless preterites)

Imperfect (one ‘pluperfect’) and aorist

grhā mā bibhita mā vepadhwam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. vepidhwam) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. SG. HG.
mā tev vrksah (TA. vrksau) sam bādhīṣṭa (TA. bādhīṣṭām, and bādhēthām)
AV. TA.
mainam agne vi daho mābhī śocah (AV. śūsucaḥ) RV. AV. TA. AS. In
a triṣṭubh stanza.
mainām arcīśā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS. mainām tapasā marcīśābhi)
śocah (KS. śocah; TS. śūsucaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS.
mā bhaiśīr (RVKh. AV. bibhe) na marīṣyasi RVKh. AV. SMB. GG.
ApMB.: na mar mā bibheḥ AV.
urdhas tiṣṭhan mā divā svapṣān Kauś.: mā divā susuptāḥ (SMB. GG.
HG. svapṣāḥ) ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG.: mā susuptāḥ ŚB. ApMB.
divā mā svapṣān AG. susuptāḥ is augmentless preterite perfect, or
pluperfect injunctive.

3. True Interchanges of Tense

Indicatives of Various Tenses Varying with Each Other (Also a
Few Participles)

§212. These may be called ‘true interchanges of tense’ in the sense
that, in the Veda at any rate, the several tense-forms are commonly un-
derstood to carry differences of function. To be sure, as between what
we call ‘present’ and ‘preterite’, for instance, or between the various types
which serve, or may serve, as preterites, the distinctions are not always
‘temporal’ in a narrow sense. And we shall find here again an elasticity
of function quite similar to that which we met in our study of the moods,
the conditioned, of course, by somewhat different circumstances. We
shall discuss the examples under three heads: a. Interchanges between
the Preterites, b. Interchanges between Present and the Preterites, and
c. Interchanges between Future and the other tenses. We may re-
mind the reader that the list of Interchanges between more than two
modal varieties (§104) contains several variants which should be added
to the following lists.

a. Interchanges between the Preterites

§213. The recent work of Renou (La Valeur du Parfait dans les hymnes
védiques, Paris, 1925) has absorbed and largely superseded most previous
work on the Vedic tenses. Chapter III of that book, more especially
pages 29–82, is devoted to a searching study of the preterite use of the
perfect and its relation to the corresponding uses of the imperfect and
aorist. The work is carried out with great learning, diligence, and acu-
men, and its results are not likely to be overthrown in any important
respects (cf. the review published in JAOS. 49. 64 ff.). Of special
interest to us are the remarks on page 41, towards the bottom, where,
referring to Bloomfield’s article ‘On the instability in the use of moods’,
AJP. 23. 1ff., Renou says: ‘la variation dans les temps n’est pas moins
manifeste.’ Such indeed seems from the variants to be the case. The
aorist was shown long ago by Delbrück AI Tempuslehre, 5ff.; Vgl. Synt. 2.
240 f. to be specially appropriate to facts falling within the experience
of the speaker, of which he knows personally; consequently, to recent
events, and facts about which special confidence exists or is claimed.
Hence what we have referred to as the ‘prophetic aorist’, which is a
special favorite, as we saw, in expressing as already accomplished things
which the speaker ardently desires (cf. Renou 26ff., calling attention to
its frequency in magic charms). Hence its variation with the modal
forms, described above, and with the present indicative, below. The
imperfect and perfect are often used more or less interchangeably refer-
ing to events of the remoter past (Renou 30 ff.); such difference as is
discernible between perfect and imperfect as narrative tenses appears
often in this, that the perfect expresses facts of greater permanence
(Renou 49) or importance (65), and is frequently used in standing
formulas (64), as distinguished from the normal imperfect of simple
narration. Meter often plays a part in the choice of tense-form (Renou
45 f.); thus in the RV. itself we find the variant

    asa trimā dhṛṣṭā (brhataḥ) sambaram bhīnat (7. 18. 20 bhet), 1. 54. 4
and 7. 18. 20,

where bhīnat, imperfect, and bhet, aorist, are merely jagati and tristubh
forms of precisely the same idea. It would be pedantry to try to find
any real difference here. Metrical convenience certainly plays a part
in a number of other variants, tho it is not always as clear as here.

§214. Even the ‘prophetic aorist’ is paralleled by equally ‘prophetic’
uses of the other preterites. One evidence of this is the general fact
that, as we saw (§§127 ff.), they vary with modal forms only less fre-
quently than the aorist. But further, the aorist appears in direct and
apparently unstrained exchange with other preterites, and that too
occasionally in places which seem to cry out for a ‘prophetic’ form.
Thus,
trīṇyāyuṇī te 'karam AV., 'I have made three lives for thee.' What could be more 'prophetic' than this aorist, more in keeping with the medicine man's confident blah of sorcerous intent? Yet, in a (doubtless later) form of the same pāda, JUB. reads

trīṇyāyuṇī me 'kṛṇoh, 'thou hast made three lives for me', with imperfect instead of aorist.

§215. Again, a formula where our sense demands a perfect, because it refers to Indra's mythic conquests, appears in the RV. itself with perfect and aorist interchanging:

ev āṣa (āna) indraḥ pṛtanāḥ своjāḥ, 'Indra hath conquered all battles, in his great strength.'

Can the aorist here possibly be justified as picturing the event as coming within the certain knowledge of the speaker? It seems doubtful. Compare also below, §219, yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (mumoca), where aorist and perfect interchange in a pāda for which the imperfect seems demanded by the usual rules.

§216. It is, of course, evident that the mere appearance of the same formula with now one preterite tense, now another, does not prove that both have precisely the same meaning. For it is not difficult to slip from one psychological attitude into another, while still envisaging the same event. And we shall show below (see, e.g., the pāda: rtaṣya yonau mahisā aśīvan etc., §217) that sometimes the alteration is eminently suited to a changed situation. Yet, when all is said and done, and when allowance has been made for the fact that the variants are far less numerous here than in the case of the moods, they seem to show conclusively that there is no very great wrench in substituting one preterite for another, and so furnish presumptive evidence in favor of great laxity in their use.—F. E.]

§217. Imperfect and Aorist

ava mnanā dkṛṣṭā (and, brhataḥ) ṣambaram bhīnat (and, bhet) RV. (both).

See above.

trīṇyāyuṇī te 'karam (JUB. me 'kṛṇoh) AV. JUB. See above.

tābhīṣaṇaṁ ava avindan (TB. saṁrabhdha avidata) ṣaḍ urvīḥ AV. TB. The TB. improves the meter.

avindac charyāvātavi (MS. "daṇ kār") MS. KS.: tad vidac charyāvātavi RV. AV. SV. TB.

akarat sūryavacasaam ApMB.: akrṇoh sūrayavacam RV. AV. JB.: avakṛṣṇaḥ sūrayavacam MG.

yadi vṛksād abhyaparat (HG. vṛksgrād abhyaparat) phalam (AV.
phalam tat) AV. HG.: (yadi vṛksād yady antarikṣāt) phalam abhyapaptat... ApMB.
apām stoko abhyapaptat rasena (ApMB. ²paptac chivena; HG. ²paitc chinvaya) AV. ApMB. HG.
ulākhalā (ApMB. avulā²; AV. vānaspatyā) grāvāna ghoṣam akṛata (MG. akurevata) AV. ApMB. HG. MG. akurevata is shown by the meter to be secondary; the MG. substitutes the ordinary narrative imperfect for the archaic aorist.
ṛtasya yanau (RV. yonā) mahīṣā ahinvan (RV. aheṣata) RV. TS. KS. ApMB. The aorist is 'the normal tense to describe the operations of the sacrifice' (Renou 31), and so is appropriate to this description of the soma-pressing in RV. 9. 86. 25d. In fact the YV. pāda is a blend of this pāda with RV. 10. 45. 3d: apām upasthe mahīṣā avardhan, and preserves the imperfect which is appropriate to that verse, in a mythic narrative relating to Agni.
pari sva svāno aksāh RV. (aksār, 3d sing. 4 aor.): pari sva svāno aksarat SV. The SV. has a later and simpler form, which also eases the meter. See next.
pavitre somo aksāh (SV. aksarat) RV. SV. As prec.
asapattā kilābhūvac (ApMB. ²bhavam) RV. ApMB. Cf. asapattanā kilābhūvac RV. In this and the next four variants phonetic considerations are involved, and help to explain the variation if they do not completely account for it; see §23.
tatra pūṣābhavat (SV. ²bhuvat) sacā RV. SV. KS.
nemik cakram ivābharat (SV. MS. ²bhuvat) RV. SV. TS. MS.
yat some-soma śbhavah (SV. śbhuvah) RV. SV.
yad dāre sann śbhavah (SV. ²bhuvah) RV. SV. MS. N.
apakṣyāṁ (and, adṛṣṭam) tvāvarohantam NilaR. (both). The second (aor.) is a conscious modification of the first (imperf.), several stanzas before it, with change of person and number. No more than stylistic reasons can have dictated the change (variety for its own sake, perhaps).
zavitā vṛ akalapajat ŚG.: sinicālā aciklapat AV. The imperfect is clearly secondary; cf. akarat: akṛṣaḥ above, to which this is quite similar.
yad vado apo (MS. MS. ²po) agaṇīgan (TS. KS. ApS. agamot) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApS. MS. The imperf. intensive is better than the aorist, as Keith observes on TS. 7. 4. 20. 1; mythic events are referred to.
Yo māدادā sa id eva māvah (ArS. NrpU. mavat) ArS. TB. TA. TU. NrpU. N. The comm. on TB. avah = āvahiti, evāvahiti, avah
seems indeed to be 4 sōr. 3d sing. of ā + vr. But Deussen, 60 Up. 240 and 765 'wer mich austeilt, der labt mich eben damit.'
[abhi tā varaśāśiṣćaṇa (KS. TB. śicām) AV. KS. TB. But the true AV. reading is śicān; see Whitney's note on 4. 8. 6.]

$§218$. Imperfect and Perfect

apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha (RV.* VS. ŚB. mahiṣa avardha) RV. (both) AV. SV. VS. ŚB. TA. 'In the lap of the waters the mighty one (Agni) throve (thrive); a statement of permanent truth; in the imperfect version Agni is the object, and the verb is narrative of mythical events, 'the mighty ones increased (Agni).'

vi yo mame rajāśi sukṛatīyāyā RV.: vi yo rajāṣey aminiśīva sukṛatūhv. RV. agnir holtā ni gāsādā yajyān RV. TS. MS. KS.: holtā mandro ni ya RV. MS. KS. TB.: agnir holtā ny asidā yajyān RV. MS. KS. AB. AS.

rūṇ holtā ny asidat (TS.† ni gāsādā) pila naḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. tvam ā tataṃthvor (ArŚ. tanor urv) antarikṣam RV. ArŚ. VS. MS. KS. TB. ny anyā arkaṁ abhito viviérc (AV. 'viśanta'; JB. viviśyuh) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

ya akṛṇntam avayān ya atamanā (AV. yā ā ca tattire) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: ya akṛntan ya ataman MG. Note the precisely parallel verbs, imperf. and perf., in AV., apparently the older form; in the others tense-assimilation.

anavaś te ratam aśvāya takṣān (SV. takṣaḥ) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. But takṣaḥ is regarded by some scholars as sorist; see Renou 56; Wackernagel, I. I, p. XV.

vi mamaraśa rohito viścarūpāḥ TB.: vi rohito amṛṣad viścarūpam AV. abhi pra nānaur (SV. nānaur) gīraḥ RV. SV. nānaur perf. (Whitney, Grammar §1018a); nānaur augmentless imperf. But see §23. ahaṁ viveca (KS. astabhnām) prthīvīṁ uta dyām AV. KS. yena tīvadhanat (KS. ma) TS. ApMB.* yan abadhnāta; MS. MG. yaj jagrantaḥ) savitā suksē̄ḥ (AV. 'vah; TS. ApMB.* suksē̄ḥ; MS. MG. satyadharma) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. Ab MB. MG.

praja ha tisro (AV. JB. tisro ha praja) aṭāyam āyuh (AV. āyan) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

kim eva vanāṁ ka u sa vyka śīt (RV. VS. āsa) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. Renou 43, and next. āpo bhadrā (MS. KS. devir) ghrtam īd āpa āsan (TS. āṣaḥ; MS. ghrtam-inēā ā ēpaḥ) AV. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec.

indrīvathuḥ (VSK. ępadhuh; KS.* TB. ApŠ. ępataḥ) kāvyair (TB. ApŠ. karmāṇā) daṇśanābhīḥ RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŠ.
yena devā amṛtaṃ avindan AV.: yena devāsō amṛtaśvam āṇaśuḥ RV.
āṣya made ahim āndro jāghāna RV.: āṣya made jarītaṃ āndro 'him ahaṃ
ŚŚ.

prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā AV, MS, KS, Kauś, SMB. GG, KhG.: yā
prathamā vyauchat TS, PG, HG.: arkanā putravāsasā (read, putra
uvāsa sā, see Jorgensen on SMB, 2, 8, 1) SMB, GG.
(devir devin āndraṃ sānghāte) vīdevī yāmāṇa vārādhiyaṃ (TB, vīdevī
yāmāṇa vārādhiyaṃ) VS, TB. If correct, vārādhiyaṃ would be a
none-blend of imperf. and perf.; but Poona ed. of TB, reads yā-
manān avaraṃ, and this is doubtless the true reading.

§219. Aorist and Perfect

vy ānaḍ (and, ēṣa) īndraḥ pṛtadāḥ svojāḥ RV, (both). See above, §215.
yena kṛavaṇasy āṇaśuḥ (SV, ēṣata) RV, SV. Reference is to ancient
events; the aor. is inappropriate.

visvam id dhītam (MS, dhītam) āṇaśuḥ (SV, ēṣata) RV, AV, SV, MS,
ApŚ. As prec,
narājacāse (VS, narāḥ) somapatthanaṃ ya ākuḥ (KS, āṇaśuḥ) VS, MS, KS,
TB. But ākuḥ may also, and perhaps preferably, be taken as per-
fect. The sense certainly does not suggest the aorist.

naro yath te dvādur daksīṇena TB.; naro yad va te hastayor adhukṣaṃ
Vait. Reference is to pressing of the soma, most naturally felt in
Vait, as that which has just taken place; the aor. is more appropriate.
yena sūryaṃ tamaso nir amoci (TA, munocca) MS, TA. ‘By which (Trita)
freed (of old) the sun from darkness.’ An instructive case. Accord-
ing to our feeling the imperfect would be required, since reference
is to a mythic event. Yet TA has the perfect, and MS, the (wholly
inappropriate) aorist!

na sīm adeva āpat (SV, āpa taḥ) RV, ŚŚ. ‘No godless man has (ever)
attained (or attains, sc. wealth).’ A most general statement, to
which it would seem that the perfect would be appropriate; yet it
is found only in the secondary SV., which may have been influ-
enced by a desire to improve the meter.

achidrēśijah kavayaḥ padānaḥ takṣiṣuḥ (so emended; ms, padāni takṣiṣvala)
KS., achedrā uśijah padānu takṣuḥ TS. Cf, the variant anavās te
etc., §218.

īṣam īṛjham abhim ita ādam (TS, ApŚ, ādade; MS, KS, MS, ādi) VS,
TS, MS, KS, ŚB, ApŚ, MS.
yad antariṃkṣaṃ lad u me (MS,† naḥ) pītabhiḥ (VSK, pītaśa) VS, VSK,
TS, MS, ŚB.
vrajaṁ gomantam uṣṭo vi vavruḥ (KS. uṣṭo apa vran) RV. AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ApMB. ‘The eager (fathers, of old) opened the stall of cows.’ Aorist seems out of place, unless KS. feels the act as brought down into the immediate past.
viśvā adhi śrīya dadhe RV.: ...‘dhita RV. KS. TB.: ...dhiṣe (present) RV. The aor. ‘dhita (10. 127. 1) has Night for subject; ‘she has (just now) assumed all glories.’ The perfect dadhe (2. 8. 5) is said of Agni, and is a general and more or less permanent statement; and substantially equivalent is the present of 10. 21. 3, of which the subject is also Agni. Is dhiṣe possibly modal? Cf. §165.
vāk pataṁśaya śrīrye TS.: vāk pataṁśga ośśiriyat (KS. ७गो ośśirayuh) AV. KS. See note in Whitney on AV, 6. 31. 3, and cf. Conc.
dyaur yatāc cyutad agnau eva tat ApŚ. (dyaur belongs to the prec. pāda, and probably yatā cyutad is the true reading): prthivyām acvacato-taitat TB. ApŚ.: yata cyutad (so read) agnau eva tat AŚ.: yata cyutad dhutam agnau tad astu KS.: yatra cuśutad agnau evaitat MS. (so emended; but a better emendation, quite as close to the mss., would be yatra cyutad). The aorist aśeṣutad is quoted only from grammarians in Whitney’s Roots.

§220. Pluperfect and other Preterites
pitūr ieva nāmāgrabhiṣam (bhaiṣam, nāma jagraṁba); pitūr nāmeva jagraṁba, see just above.
priyāṁ yamas tanam prārīcet (classed as anomalous plup.; AV. tan-\text{vaṁ ā riṃca}) RV. AV.
puṇsah kartuṁ mātary aśiśkta JB.: puṇsā kartrā mātari mā nipiśca (read nipiścata?) KBU. Acc. to Deussen, 60 Up. 25, three mss. of KBU. read mā aśiśkta.
indrāya susuṣwur (MS. KS. indrāyāsusuṣwur) madam VS. MS. KS. TB. But see §267.
ayam dhruvo rayināṁ ciketa yat (SV. ciketat ā) RV. SV. ciketad could, of course, be considered modal, but the sense of the passage suggests that it is better taken as augmentless plup. (cf. Whitney, Grammar §820).
yās ca (AV. yā) devir (SMB. dervyo) antān (AV. antān; PG. devis tantān) abhito ’dadanta (SMB. ’tatantha, PG. tatantha) AV. ApMB. SMB. PG. The form ’tatantha is a corruption, evidently felt as 3 plur.
plup. mid., for "ta (so Stönner; PG. comm. reads tatantha and takes it as 2 sing. perf. act., despite the impossible sandhi).

toyena jīvān vi sarśaṇa (so!) TA. vyā ca sarṣaṇa, comm. v. l. vyasasaraṇa
bhūmyām TA. MahānU. The text reading of TA. is a mere corruption; the variant, an anomalous augmented perfect. Hardly belongs here; see §267.

Cf. also the interchange between Present and Pluperfect, §233.

b. Interchanges between Present and the Preterites

§221. The entire business of tense in the mantras is emasculated, as it were, or at least confused, because these texts are in the main sentimental rather than narrative or historical. Legends and legendary allusions are, of course, narrative, implying some precision in time statements. They occur often enough in the mantras. Indra slew Vṛtra, or the Aśvins saved the son of Tugra from the machinations of his father, both in the past. In such cases present or future is unimaginable. But Indra also hath aided, did aid, aids, shall, and will aid him that calls upon him. We are again, a large part of the time, in the domain of modality, either belief, wish, or demand, rather than in the domain of genuinely statable fact. Fixation in point or quality of time becomes precarious, because the thing can be and is supposed to happen in any time. Some of the cases of interchange between present and perfect may concern the ‘old’ use of the perfect, to express something regarded as permanently established (Renou 7 and passim); this is specially suited to such psychological spheres. Thus in

agnīṃ narās triṣāṣṭhaṃ sam īdhir (SV. TS. īdhate) RV. SV. TS. KS. ‘men have kindled (i.e. regularly do kindle; or, SV. TS., simply kindle) Agni on his three seats’, the action described is applicable to any situation and time; RV. conceives it as a quasi-cosmic fact. But, as Renou has shown, even the perfect is normally a preterite tense in the RV., and it is doubtful to what extent we should allow its variation with the present to seduce us into assuming the old, non-preterite function for it. For the other preterites exchange about as commonly with the present as it does, and often it seems clear that whatever difference in meaning exists is purely sentimental, a matter of the way the poet looks at things, rather than factual. So that the line of demarcation between even such tenses as are ordinarily differentiated in Hindu speech is a good deal effaced. In the RV. itself we meet the pāda:

ud vān prakāśo madhumanta astuḥ (4. 45. 2 madhumanta irdate) RV. 4. 45. 2, 7, 60. 4, MS., ‘your honeyed steeds (O Aśvins) have started
up (rush forth)." We take it that what is really meant in both cases is, 'let them start or rush forth.' Similarly,

yam aichāma (ApŚ, iĉāmi) manasā so 'yam āgāt RV. ApŚ., whom we craved (I crave), he hath come.' The craving is good for all time;
a view which would see in the imperfect its regular sense of 'craved of old' is of course neither demonstrable nor refutable.

§222. In the sphere of charms and exorcisms especially, where desire hovers before the eye of the speaker, and all results are imaginary, the tenses indifferently lapse into moods, if sounded to the bottom. The formal tense distinction between the prophetic aorist and the present is merged into a substantially identical modal value for both, as in:

abadhīṃsā rākṣo 'badhīṃsāṃmun asau catā VS. etc., 'we have slain the demon, slain so-and-so, so-and-so is slain', and: idam aham rākṣo 'va bādhī VS. etc., 'I drive off this demon.' Both really mean that the speaker eagerly wants to accomplish the result stated. Naturally, therefore, all the preterites, as well as the present, freely interchange with moods, as we have seen above.

§223. For the rest, even in the quasi-narrative sphere of mythology the tenses intermingle because many myths are not sufficiently stable to keep them from doing so. Even the RV. is the final precipitate of ideas and compositions which had a long past; more so the other Vedic texts. Mythic ideas, such as the freeing of the light cows from the demonic Pani, are thrown forward into the present, as if to be performed over again at the moment, where they mean extracting daksīṇā-cows from grudging non-sacrificees. Many other mythic ideas refer not only to definite events in the past, but to habitual performances in harmony with the subject or character of the myth. Thus the pious, sacrificing sages of the Aṅgiras or Uṣij character figure primarily in the past, but easily reproduce themselves in the present:

sarvasvatin sukṛto ahrayanta (AV. havante) RV. AV. KS., 'the pious called (call) upon Sarasvati.' To be sure, AV. comm. reads ahrayanta.

tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta (v. l. and p. p. 8dṛṣyā) MS.: tām dhīrāsā anudṛṣyā (VSK. 8dīṣya) yajante (KS.: anudṛṣyāyajanta kavayaḥ) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: tām u dhīrāso anudṛṣyā yajante VS. SB.,

'her (earth) looking after (pointing to) the sages worship(ped).'

§224. Even an epithet like prathama is not sufficient to prevent this transfer to the present, if we may trust Knaur's quotation from an unedited part of MŚ.:

viśvasrjāḥ prathame (TB. ApŚ. 8māḥ) satrām āśata (MŚ. āsate) PB. TB.
ApŚ. MŚ., 'the all-creators of yore performed (perform) a sattrā-
session.'

§225. In these cases the presents are logically inferior; in two at least,
and probably in all three, they represent secondary readings. But
no great wrench is required in order to use them. Similarly in:
ośadhayaḥ sam ātante (VS. avadanta) RV. VS. VSK. TS., 'the plants
confer(red) together.'
yatrausadhiḥ samagnata RV. VS.: yad ośadhayaḥ saṅghachante (KS. sa-
magnata) TS. MS. KS. 'where (when) the plants have come (come)
together.'

These passages allude to slender, myth-like conceptions which may just
as well be conceived in the present as in the past.

§226. It may also be remembered that occasionally a present, at all
periods of the language, is 'historical', that is used of past events to add
liveliness to the narrative. All these considerations, together with the
instability of oral tradition, which at times doubtless introduces really
faulty variants, account sufficiently for the considerable number of inter-
changes between present and all sorts of preterites.

§227. We have alluded above to the special position of the perfect,
the use of which has recently been made the object of Renou's study.
We may conclude these introductory remarks by mentioning a few va-
riants in which perfect forms seem either certainly or very probably to
have no preterite value whatever:

ani sām ekaḥ pavir ā vavarta (TB. vavarti) RV. MS. TB. 'one wagon-tire
rolls after you two (Mitra and Varuṇa).' The present of TB., tho
secondary of course, is as it were an ancient commentary on vavarta,
prajah pūpoṣa purudhā vi rājati RV. VS.: prajah pīparī bahudhā vi
rājati SV. ArŚ. MS. KS. ApŚ. 'he prospers (furthers) our offspring
manifoldly' etc.

sani sūryeṇa vocate (SV. didyute, VS.* didyutat) RV. SV. VS. (both) MS.
ŚB. TA. Cf. Oldenberg, Proleg. 345. Of course didyutat may be
modal.

nindati tvo anu tvo gṛuti (MS. vavanda) MS. KS.: pīyati tvo anu tvo
gṛuti RV. VS. TS. ŚB. N. 'some blame, others praise.' Here the
perfect vavanda, replacing the present gṛuti and matching the pres-
ent nindati, can be put down with almost mathematical certainty
as non-preterite.

§228. The variants are divided into four groups: Present and Im-
perfect, Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect respectively. We have not
thought it worth while to burden our lists with such a ritual litany as
MS. 4. 9. 23–24, where, first, ritual situations are approached anticipatorily, with verbs in the present or future indicative, or in various moods; and then, after the completion of the rite, the same litany is repeated practically verbatim with change of the verbs to preterites; as e.g. 

\[\text{agni vratapate vratani caraśyāmi...acāṛṣam.}\]  
A close parallel to this passage in TA. 4. 41. 1–6.

§229. Present and Imperfect

\[\text{ulākhalā (ApMB. aul') grāvāṇo ghošam akṛata (MG. akurvata) ApMB.}\]  
HG. MG.:\[\text{ulākhalāh sampravadati grāvāṇah SMB.: vānaspatyā grāvāṇa ghošam akṛata AV.}\]  
Aorists also concerned here.

catuspadim anv eni (AV. aitād) vratena RV. AV. On the anomalous form aitād see Whitney-Lanman on AV. 18. 3. 40.

\[\text{yam aichāma (ApŚ. ichāmi) manasā so 'yam ētā RV. ApŚ.}\]  
sarasvatāṁ sukto ahrayanta (AV. havante) RV. AV. KS. But AV. comm. ahrayanta.

tāṁ dhirāṣaḥ kavyayo 'nudiśyaśya janta etc., see §223.

\[\text{prasmāpayanty ārmiṇaṁ (SV. ēyanta ārmayaḥ) RV. SV.}\]  
Note hiatus in SV.

\[\text{sam būhubhyāṁ dhamati (MS. ēyam adhamal) sam pataitraḥ RV. VS. MS.}\]  
MahānU. ŚvetU. And others, see §50.

\[\text{yat suṇvate yajamāṇaṁ śikṣam (and, śikṣathāḥ) RV. (both).}\]  
uro dā padbhir (Kauś. padbhir) āhate (Kauś. SMB. ēta; but Jorgensen ēte) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MS. Kauś. SMB.

\[\text{śrīnāṇa āpsu mrśyata (SV. vṛṣyate) RV. SV.}\]  
yāṁ nirmanthato aśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: yābhyaṁ nirmanthāṁ aśvinā devau ŚB. BrhU.

\[\text{uta gāva ivādānti (TB. ivēdān) RV. TB.}\]  
viśvasṛjāḥ prathame (TB. ApŚ. ēmāḥ) suttam āsata (MSŚ. ēsate) PB. TB. 
\[\text{ApŚ. MS.}\]  
\[\text{suraṁ mūtrāj janayanti (VS. ēta) retaḥ VS. TB.: surāyaṁ mūtrāj jana-}\]  
yanta (KS. ēta) retaḥ MS. KS.

\[\text{oṣadhayaṁ sam vadayante (VS. sam avadanta) RV. VS. VSK. TS.}\]  
gēvau te sāmanāv itaḥ (AV. aitām) RV. AV.

\[\text{asurās tvā nyakhanan AV.: nīcaśaṁ khananty asurāḥ AV.}\]  
andhena yat (TA. ēyā) tamasā prāvṛtāsit (TA. ēśi) AV. TA.

\[\text{sapta svastābhi sam navante (AV. navanta) RV. AV.}\]  
The AV. form may be considered injunctive.

\[\text{adhyātta (SS. ēte) devaratāḥ AB. SS.}\]  
rathitamaun rathinām āvha (KS. ēnāḥ hva) ātaye TS. MS. KS.
tam ahee (SV. u hvee) vaajasataye RV. SV. Phonetic corruption in SV.; see §23, end.


§230. Present and Aorist

udākhala grāvyo ghoṣam akrata, etc., see §229. ud vām pṛkṣāso etc., see §221.
yad ozadhayaḥ (RV. VS. yatrasūddhiḥ) samagnata (TS. MS. saṁgachante) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
dṛśāno rukma urṣyā (RV. KS. urṣyā, MS. urṣyā) vy adyaust (MS. vi bhāti) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.
gāyatena chandaśā prthivēm anu vi krame TS.: prthivyāṁ (KS. 'vām) visnur (MS. viṣṇuḥ prthivyāṁ) vyakratā na gāyatena chandaśa VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. And the same with tvaśthubhena...antarikṣam, and jāgatena...divam.
yad rāṣṭiyāḥ (and, аhnaḥ) kurute pāpam TAA.: yad rāṣṭiyā (MahānU. TA. v. l. rāṣṭiyā; also, аhnaḥ) pāpam akārṣam (TA. v. l. akārṣam) TA. MahānU. See §30.

prāṇasya brahmacārya asī (ApMB. asmi, HG. abhūr asau) AG. ApMB. HG. MG.

brahmacāryam āgām (MG. upemani; Kauś. text āgāṃ, unnotated in Conc., perhaps misprint) ŚB. Kauś. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. A metrical pāda is produced in MG. out of what is prose in the others; the context is different.
yadā tvam abhavasati PraśU.: yadda prāṇo abhyavasarṣit AV.

pra vā etendur indrasya niṣkṛtam AV.: pro ayāsid īndur indrasya niṣkṛtam RV. SV. PB.

grāhān āsīmi (LŚ. HG. ēmi; ApŚ. āgāṃ) manasaḥ modamānaḥ (AV. samanā vandamānaḥ; ApŚ. modamānaḥ swarcāḥ; LŚ. manasaḥ daiveṇa) AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŠG. HG.

samāchāraa āsata (SV. āsata) RV. SV.

abadhīśa rakṣo 'badhīśānām asau hataḥ (VSK. rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhīśānām abadhīśa) VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: avadhīśa rakṣah TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: īdam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

eye sarpaḥ...tebhya imāṁ balim āhārṣam AG.: ye pārthiye agrāḥ sarpaḥ tebhya imāṁ balīṁ harāmi HG.
rūpaṁ vo rūpenābhyām (KS. rūpenābhyaśā) vayast vayaḥ MS. KS. 
MŚ.: rūpena vo rūpaṁ abhy-āgām (TS. ApŚ. aimi) VS. VSK. TS. 
ŚB. ApŚ.

sam ākūṭr (RVKh. erroneously, ākūṭr) namānati (MS. anaśata) 
RVKh. AV. MS.

pra vānā ratha manojavā asarji (and, iyarti) RV. (both) 
samāsvaṛtati (MS. MŚ. samāvṛtat) prthihi VS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. 
MŚ.

deva madho vy aśnate (SV. aśata) RV. SV.

yasmād bhūtā (and, bhūto) niṣṭānasā MŚ.: yasmād bhūtā niṣṭānasā (TB. ApŚ. 
nayaśadaḥ; SS. nyasaṇa) AB. TB. AŚ. SS. ApŚ. ‘Thru fear of 
which thou sinkest down (hast [just now] sunk down).’

Participles:

trpat (SV. trmpat) somam apibad viṣṇunā sutaṁ yathāvāsat (SV.,† som) 
RV. AV. SV. TB.

§231. Present and Perfect

yasyāṁ karmāṇi kṛvate (ApŚ. kṛṇvate) KS. ApŚ.: yāni karmāṇi cakriṁ 
AV.

na hi te nāma jagrātā AV.: na hy asya (ApMB. anyai) nāma gṛbhayaṁi 
RV. ApMB.

catustriṃśat tāntavo ye vi tatiṁrē VS.: trayastraśat tāntavo ye vi tatiṁrē 
(MS. yaṁ vitānate; KS. AŚ. yān vitānate) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. SS. 
astra kṛvāṇāt dādhiṁ RV.: tatra kṛvāṇai kṛvati SV.

puruṣasur hi māghavan babhūcitha (RV. sanād asī) RV. SV.

caraly ananvṛtāḥ ApMB. HG.: yac cācārānanvṛtām ApŚ.: vicarany 
apalīsrātā ŚG. MDh. (Pres. pple. in the last.) The parallel verb 
in the preceding pāda is perfect in all; ApŚ. assimilates the tense 
in this pāda.

yasmād jātā na paraṁ naiva kiṁ ca naṁSA (VS. jātaṁ na purā kiṁ ca naṁsa) 
VS. TA.: yasmād jāto na paraṁ 'nyo (SS. anyo) asti JB. SS.: yasmād 
anyo na paraṁ asti jāaḥ PB.: yasmād anyan na param kiṁ ca naṁśti 
Vait.: yasmān na jātaḥ paraṁ anyo asti (NṛpU. 'stī) VS. TB. KŚ. 
Mahān U. N.: tasmād dhārayan na paraṁ kiṁ ca naṁsa RV. TB.: 
tasmād vai nānyat param asti tejaḥ AV.: yasmān nānyat param asti 
bhūtam AV.

ād iś prthihi gṛtāir vy udyate TS.: ād iś gṛtāna prthihi vy udyate (AV. 
prthihiṁ vy uduḥ) RV. AV. MS. KS. N.

ye prthihiṣā samāṣajmura iṣam ūrjaṁ vasānāḥ KS.: samāṣajmura 
ūrjanāṁ vasānāḥ (ApŚ. duhanāḥ) MS. ApŚ.
agnim naras triṣaḍhasthe sam idhīre (SV. TS. indhate) RV. SV. TS. KS. agnim indha (RV. idhe) evavsevahi RV. SV. anu vāṃ ekāḥ pāvīr ā vavarīta (TB. ४४) RV. MS. TB. nahi tad dṛṣyate divā (ApŚ. tad dadṛśe divā, HG. tad dīvā dadṛśe dīvāh) AV. ApŚ. HG.

manye (KS. mene) bhejāno aṃṛtasya tarihi AV. TS. MS. KS. yac chaṃ ca yo ca manur ayece (TS. ayece) pītā RV. TS. KS. The TS. reading is anomalous in form and meaning, and is obviously due to metrical considerations (better cadence).
yādi vāḥam aṃṛtadeva āṣa (AV. ४४ devo āṣmi) RV. AV, praṇāḥ pippati bahudhā (RV. VS. pūpoṣa purudhā) vi rājati RV. SV. ArŚ. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.
esu vānaspateṣu ye 'dhi tathuh AV.: esu vrksesu vānaspateṣu āsate ApMB.

piyati (MS. KS. nindati) tvo anu tvo gṛṇati (MS. varanda) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.
apān napālā pari tathur (ArŚ. ४४ tam upa yanty) āpāḥ RV. ArŚ. TS. MS. KS.
san tva tatakapuḥ (IŚ. ५ ५) Vait. IŚ. KS. If tatakapuḥ is entitled to standing, it is a nonce blend of perfect and present (tatakaputi). indrasya tva jaṭhare sādayāmi (AŚ. dadhami) ... VS. KB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. IŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.: brahmaṇa indrasya tva jaṭhare dadhuh MŚ.† See §315.
dāsyaṇaṁ adāśyaṇaṁ uta sam gṛṇāmi (TA. uta vā karisyante, and so AVPpp., Barret, JAOS. 30. 213) AV. TA.: adāśyaṇaṁ agna uta samgṛṇāmi AV.: aditvam vā samajagara janēbhyaḥ TA.: dhīpyaṁ vā samacakara janēbhyaḥ MS.: yay vādāsyant samajagārā janēbhyaḥ TB.

§323. Present and other Participles

Since Renou has shown (121–38) that participles in the Veda often appear to be independent of the finite stems with which they are formally connected, we list the participial variants in a separate list. The first six variants all occur in the same context; soma is referred to:
yamah sūyamānaḥ VS.: yamo bhūyataḥ TS. KS.
rudra āhutah TS.: rudro hūyamānaḥ VS. KS.
pitaro nārāśanāḥ sannāḥ (VS. sādyamānaḥ) VS. VS. VS. पित्रानि nār-

āśakāḥ TS.
vīṣṇuḥ kipivīṣṭā ४४ (VS. ४४) jāsannah VS.† VS. VSK.: kipivīṣṭā āsādīlah (KS.† ४७ viṣṭa ४४ āsādyamānaḥ) TS. KS.

asuraḥ kriyamāṇaḥ (KS. kriyāt, VS. panjamānaḥ) VS. TS. KS.
viśve devā ankuṣu nyuṭptāh (VSK. nyuṣyamānaṃ) VS. VSK.
uttīṣṭhānaḥ (ŚŚ. utthitaṁ) tretā bhavanā AB. ŚŚ.
jaññānah (SV. janayant) sūryam apiṇo arkaḥ RV. SV. See §238, end.
ativātraiv varṣan pārth ārṣī (MS. vavarṣāṃ pārta rācaḥ; KS. vavarṣāṃ pūta rāvaḥ) svāhā TS. MS. KS.
tepāno (SV. tapāno) deva rākṣasaḥ RV. SV.
samākuranāh (TB. samācakrāṇāḥ) prarūha ruhak ca AV. TB.
dhrṣiṇam (AV. ṛṇo, read ṛṇah acc. to Whitney; AA. dādhṛṣṭāṇ) dhrṣītām (AV. ṛṇah, Whitney em. ṛṇah) kavah AV. AA. ŚŚ.†
harṣamāṇāso dhrṣītā (TB. ṛṇatā) marutvāḥ RV. TB. N. dhrṣītā is an ad-
verbial instr. of the pres. act. pple.
[viśvasyāṁ viś prāviśivāvānam (KS. prāviśāṇam, quoted in Conc. as
prāviśāṇam) imahe TS. MS. KS. See §§99, 273.]

§233. Present and Pluperfect

§234. The future is rare in the Mantras, its place being taken by the
moods, especially the subjunctive. Its own modal value comes to the
fore notably in its interchanges with the moods (§177); and in the rare
instances where it interchanges with preterite indicative forms, it is
rather as a mood than as a tense (§134). For this reason the few scattering
finite futures varying with preterite tenses are treated above. Here
are gathered, first, a couple of variants between present and future
indicatives, and between present and future participles; and then a
group of variations between future participles on the one hand and aorist
and perfect participles on the other. Some of the future-aorist cases,
concerning sigmatic forms on either side, have obvious phonetic bearings
which have been dealt with in §§27f. The present-future cases need
no comment; since the present designates not a point of time but a
quality of action, it is always ready for use as a future. See also §104, e.

Below, in §248a, we shall find a few cases of verbal nouns in tar
(nominaive, lā) varying with finite verb-forms; attention may be called to
them here, because they are forerunners of the later periphrastic future
(Whitney §946).

(a) Present and Future
tebhyā iman balim harīṣyāmi tebhyā iman balim ahāṛṣam ApMB.:
tebhyo namo ʻstu balim ebhyo harāmi PG.: tebhyo balim puṣṭikāmo
harāmī (AG. dadāmī) TAA, MahānU. AG. Cf. balīm ebhyo harāmīnam PG.

agni vratapate vratam ālapṣye (KS. ālabhe) MS. KS. MŚ. Cf. agne vratapate vratam ārīṣyāmi VS. etc.; see Conc.

(b) Participles, Present and Future
agnim khananta (TS. khanisytanta) upasthe asyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.
bhūtam asi bhavad asi Kuś.: bhūtam asi bhavisyad asi ŚŚ. 8. 21. 3.

(c) Participles, Aorist and Future
ratho na vājam sanisya (SV. sanisanne) ayet RV. SV. See §28, and Bloomfield, SBE. 42. 418.

(d) Participles, Perfect and Future
(suvāgya indra stumasi tvā) sasvānaśa ca (SV. sanisyantaś cit) tuvindma vājam RV. SV. 'We praise thee, O Indra, strong in manhood, after we have pressed (the soma) and after we have gained (or, about to gain) booty,' vājam tvāgne jītvānśam sasvānaśam (and, jesyantar sanisyantam) sammārjni Vait. (both).
CHAPTER V. THE SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS

§235. Of the conjugations included by Whitney under this heading, one, the Passive, has been treated above in the chapter on Voice, where it naturally belongs. Another, the Desiderative, is patently a mood in function, and appears in the Variants only in a very few cases where it interchanges with other moods; it has been treated in that connexion (§178). This leaves the Intensive, Causative, and Denominative. The interchanges concerning them are not numerous, nor, with one or two exceptions, do they mark any very important conditions or tendencies in the language of the mantras.

1. INTENSIVE

§236. As the intensive is a fairly frequent form in the Veda, the natural affinity between such ideas as 'lead forth': 'drag out', 'call': 'clamor', 'kill': 'slaughter', etc., manifests itself in corresponding interchanges between intensive and primary verb. Occasionally the interchange is promoted by another, outside locution; thus in the example tan saraswantam avase huwema (havimaha, johavimi), we detect contamination with RV. 1. 34. 12 śryantā vāṃ avase johavim, or RV. 3. 62. 2 śalvatamam avase johaviti.—In two examples, the last of our list, the form of the intensive itself is varied.—Of course all intensive forms are reduplicated; most of the alternative forms in the list are not reduplicated, but in the first four they likewise show reduplication, paramāṇasya jaṅghnataḥ (SV. PB. jīghnataḥ) RV. SV. PB. indro vṛtrāyī jīghnate (ŚŚ. jaṅghanat) RV. AV. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. passage is in a different context.

āndrāḥ prāṇō añge-anige nidadhyat (TS. ni dedhyat; VSK. nidhitaḥ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §248.

sarasvatya (AV. “tyām) adhi mānā (KS. mānā, v. l. mānā; AV. erroneously mānāv; SMB. vānāv, corrected in Jørgensen to mānāv) acarkṛṣṭuḥ (KS. acakṛṣṭu, v. l. acakṛṣṭa; SMB. carkṛṣṭi, but Jørgensen acakṛṣṭuḥ) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. SMB. PG. See §136. Jørgensen assumes that acakṛṣṭuḥ is a phonetic variant of acakṛṣṭa, by dissimilation, referring to Wackernagel I §234 b.

tan saraswantam avase huwema (AV. havimaha, KS. johavimī) RVKh. AV. TS. etc., see §78.
ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yojita (HG. vāḍhwam) ApŚ. MS. HG.: mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yugdhvam AŚ.: mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyvata Kauś. dakṣiṇam (and, savyam) pādam avanenīje AB. SMB. GG.: imau pādāv avaniktau Kauś.

upaveṣopavidhi naḥ TB. ApŚ.: cf. veṣo 'sy upaveṣo dvijato gṛiva upa veṣopaviḍhī VSK.
yāṁ tvām añan (TS. KS. tvayam) svadhitis tejamanah (TS. KS. tetijanah; MS. tigmatejāḥ) RV. TS. MS. KS.
aeva devānāṁ yajya heda agne AV.: agne devānām aeva heda iyakṣa (KS. ikṣva) KS. ApŚ. Both iyakṣa and ikṣva are problematic, see §193. pra bādhamanā (RV. and p.p. of MS. prabhadaḥanā) rathyeva yāti RV. MS.

Variant forms of Intensive
ni galgaliti dhārakā VS. ŚŚ.: ni jalgaliti (KSA.† ed. jalgaliti by em., ms. jalgaliti) dhānīka TS. KSA. Cf. Whitney, Grammar 1002d; galgaliti is irregularly reduplicated.
kānkhunad āva sāpayaṇ TB.: canikhuddad yathāsapatam AŚ. Unintelligible stuff.

2. Causative

§237. The interchanges of the causative are grouped under four heads:
a. Perhaps the most frequent and typical are those in which a neuter verb with subject expressed or implied is transposed to causative verb with another subject. The nominative subject of the first form then becomes accusative object in the second form. Thus in one and the same text (AV.), vedir bhūmīr akalpata, 'the earth shaped itself into a vedi'; vedin bhūmīn kalpaṇyātā, 'he having shaped the earth into a vedi.' Or, in different texts, apāṁn sadhiśi sidā TS.: apāṁn tva sadhiśi (MS.† sadhrīṣu) sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.
b. In a few cases, not all of them clear in their bearings, the causative still has causative meaning, being thus distinguished from the primary verb; but the subject and object remain the same, so that there is a more or less definite variation in the sense of the passage.
c. In a considerable number of cases, perhaps nearly as many as in the first group, causative and primary appear indifferently with the same meaning; these are, in other words, early examples of the fading out of the distinctive causative meaning of verb-forms in aya, which in
the later language becomes so noticeable, and which led in the Pāli-Prakrit languages to the vast extension of the -paya- type, as a more clear and unmistakable causative formation.

d. Different forms of the causative.

a. Causatives and primary verbs with transfusion of construction, resulting in equivalence of meaning in both clauses

§238. There may be discovered in some of these cases a flavor of greater assurance or certainty in the causative form of expression, which would possibly bring these variants into the general sphere of modal variations. Nevertheless it seems to us that in general they are hardly more than mechanical equivalents. Besides the two cases mentioned above, we find:


sarire (MS. salīle) tvā sadane sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: salīle sadane śīda TS.

samudre tvā sadane sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: samudre sadane śīda TS. apāṁ tvā kṣaye sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: apāṁ kṣaye śīda TS.

apāṁ tvā gahman sādayāmi samudraseyodmān avataš chāyāyām MS. MŚ.: apāṁ tvodman sādayāmi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: apāṁ gam-bhan śīda VS. ŚB.

prthivyā mūrdhan śīda yajñīye loke KS.: prthivyās tvā mūrdhan sādayāmi yajñīye loke ApŚ.

um nambhaya prthivim TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. ‘split open the earth’: pra nabhavasya prthivi AV. ‘burst open, O earth!’ AVPpp. agrees with the others.

evam ahum āyuṣā medhayā varcasā...samedhiṣṭya SMB.: evam mām āyuṣa...samedhaya ApMB. HG. Cf. brahmaaracasaṇendmādyena samedhaya AG. HG. ‘May I prosper (make me to prosper) with life’ etc.

brahmaaracasaṇ māgamyat TS. ‘let holy splendor come to me’; brahma-aracasaṇ na gamayet Vait. ‘let him make holy splendor come to me.’

apa cakrā avrtsata KB. ŚŚ.: mā cakrā avrtsata MS.†: apa cakraṇī var-taya TB. ApŚ.

dṛṅhantām daivīr viśāḥ kalpaṇam manuṣyāḥ KS.†: kalpayataṁ daivēr viśāḥ kalpayataṁ mānuṣīḥ TB. ApŚ.

ṛṣayaḥ (sc. tṛpyantu) AG. ŚG.: (om) ṛṣīṇs tarpayāmi BDḥ. Also with nakṣatrāṇi, etc.
ognis trpyatu. SG.: (om) ognīṁ tarpayāmi BDh. brahmā (sc. trpyatu) AG. SG.: (om) brahmaṁ tarpayāmi BDh. Also with praṇāpātāḥ, viṣṇuḥ, vāyuḥ, etc.

sanjīvā (ApŚ. AŚ. *vika) nāma stha tā iṁāh (AŚ. iṁam amunā) sanjīvāyata MS. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ.: sanjīvā stha sanjīvāyāsam AV.

uttamāḥ nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. uttāname nāke) adhi rohayemam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. rohayainam; TA. rohemam) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The TA. version may be rendered at a pinch, ‘ascend thou this highest heaven.’ But the meter, and text-chronology, show that it is really a corruption, phonetic in character (aya, aye:).

jaśiṁaṁ (SV. janayan) sūryam apiṇu arkaṁ RV. SV. ‘Born, thou didst swell the sun (begetting the sun, thou didst swell him) with light.’

We may add one similar case in which the reduplicated (causative) sorasīt figures, cf. §201:
gajān me mā vi tīṣṭaḥ (MS. gat) TS. MS. ‘do not make my troops go thirsty’: gajān me mā vi ṭrjan VS. TS. ŚB. ‘may my troops not go thirsty.’

§239. b. Causative and primary verbs with corresponding change of meaning

te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛṣantu LŚ. ‘they (waters) shall flow, shall rain, shall perform’: te varṣanti te varṣayanti AV. ‘they rain, they cause to rain’.

maṇḍūkṛtaḥ su saṁgamaḥ (TA. gamaya) RV.† TA.: maṇḍūkṛ ṣpas kṣam bhūvaḥ AV. ‘Unite (thyself; or, unite it, e. the ominous funeral fire) with the female frog.’ Addressed to the water-plant (or plants) which are spoken of in the preceding pādas. The AV. has a mere corruption. TA. comm. reads maṇḍūkṛṣyau (=maṇḍūkṛaprasanayogatāḥ ṣpas) saṁgamaḥ (= iṁam preladeham pratyāya, which is unintelligent).

(cit dvāra mdhō jahi) kanikkuṇad iva sāpyan (AŚ. canik HUDad yath-āsapam) TB. AŚ. Dubious; TB. comm. connects kanikkuṇad with ḫan; cf. Whitney, Roots, a. v. khud.

āśram medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. abadhanāta) ŚB. ŚŚ. See §30.

Participles:

viṣṇuḥ śiṉiviṣṭa ārāṇ (VŚK. ārāṇ) dhānanah VS. VŚK.: śiṉiviṣṭa āśāditaḥ (KS. viṣṭa ārā āśāyāmanāḥ) TS. KS. Both forms may be rendered by the English ‘seated’; yet the sense is not quite the same, since dhānanah is neuter (intransitive), ‘having taken his seat’, while the other forms mean ‘having been (or being) seated, given a seat.’
c. Causative and primary verbs, both in the same sense

§240. The line between this and the last group is not always easy to draw, but in most of the following instances, at any rate, there seems to be no real difference in meaning between the causative verb-form and the non-causative, while in the preceding we seem to find at least a shade of difference. The meaning is, of course, always transitive, unless middle, and generally the primary verb is capable of an intransitive meaning too, which may often be suspected of being the older. Hence it is sometimes doubtful whether we should speak of 'causative in primary sense' or of 'primary in causative sense'. In the RV. itself we find such pairs as:

mādayatam (and, mandaśvā su) svānare, 'enjoy thyself at Svānara ('s sacrifice'); or,

mitro janān yātayati brūvān, 3. 59. 1, and janan ca mitro yātati brūvān, 7. 36. 2: 'calling himself Mitra, he orders (sets in order) the folk' (somewhat differently Geldner, Ved. St. 3. 15ff.). To find a difference in these cases would seem to us like hearing the grass grow. And, if possible even more surely, there cannot be the slightest difference in the following:

ud vandanam airayatan svār dṛṣe L. 112. 5; ud vandanam airatam dānsāmodhikā 1. 118. 6, 'ye (Aśvins) brought forth Vandanā etc.

In the Vālakhilya passages yam te svadāvan svadayanti dhenaḥ, and, yam te svadāvan svadayanti gūrtyah, the form svadayanti may not be causative; see §194.

§241. In the following list the approximation of the causative stem janaya to its primary correspondent is worthy of note. In the RV already it is practically impossible to differentiate these two forms in the active, as in 3. 31. 15, indro...ajanad...sūryam: 9. 110. 3, ajājano hi paramānā sūryam:

tādām svacīr ajanayat (MS. svār ajanana, KS; svacīr [ms. svacīr] ajanana) paśca-paścā TS. MS. KS. The TS. is poor metrically.

madhu janiṣṭa (AV. janiṣṭha) AV. TS. TA. SS. 'I shall (may I) generate honey': madhu kariṣṇam madhu janiṣṭhamadhu bhariṣṭati JB.

āpo asmān (MS. mā) mātaraḥ sundhatantu (AV. MS. KS. mādayantu; TS. ApŚ. sundhatantu) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. AŚ. ApŚ.
arejatām (TB. arejayatānī) rodasā pājasā girā RV. TB. The meter shows that TB. has a mere blunder, phonetic in character (hyper-Sanskritic aya for e, as a reaction against dialectic e for aya; our Phonetic Variants will show a considerable number of analogous cases). It is more or less the reverse of what has happened in the variant uttamāṃ nākam etc., §238.

ārdhāṃ enam (VS. ŚB. LŚ. also, ārdhām enam) uc chrayatāt (VS. ŚB. also, uc chrāpaya; MS. uṇ chrāpaya) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ. Both forms (in adjoining verses in VS. etc.) mean simply 'lift her (him) up.'

uttame nāko iha mādayantām (MS. 'yadhvam) TS. TB. ApŚ. MS.: nākasya prṛthe sam iṣā madena AV.

nāḍhrṣa ā ḍadhrṣate (AA. dadhrṣa; ŚŚ. dadhrṣayā) AV. AA. ŚŚ. See §140.

ud ḍharṣantām maghavan vājināni AV.: ud ḍharṣaya maghavann (AV. satanām) ḍyudhāni RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. See §30. This variant properly belongs here since the difference in meaning between the verbs is obviously due to the difference of voice, not to that between causative and primary.

prṛṇam me tarpayaṭa (ŚŚ. tṛmpa) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. satyena tvābhīḥgārayāmi (AŚ. 'bhiṣīgharmi) TS. MS. AŚ. MS. 'I sprinkle thee with truth.' Cf. satyābhīghṛtanī (KS. 'tām aṣi) satyena tvābhīghārayāmi MS. KS.

athaite dhīṣyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva HG.: atho yathem dhīṣyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva MG.: ime ye dhīṣyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām (read "ntām) AG.: punar agnayo dhīṣyā (ŚŚ. 'yāso) yathāsthānam kalpayantām (AV. yathāsthāma kalpayantān ihaiva; ŚŚ. yathāsthānam dhārayantar tām ihaiva) AV. ŚB. BrhU. ŚŚ. Cf. yathāsthānam kalpayaiḥvam ApŚ.

sūcbhīḥ śāmyantu (TS. KSA. śāmyantu; MS. śāmayantu) teś VS. TS. MS. KSA.

The meanings of the verbs are not quite clear, but both śāmyantu and śāmayantu seem to be euphemistic expressions for 'kill.' For śīmyantu see Keight on TS. 5. 2. 11. 1.

vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu AV.: 'Vaiśvānara the purifier shall purify me': vaiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraḥ TA. 'Vaiśvānara shall purify us with purifiers.'

[nama uccairghoṣāyākrandayate VS. TS.: nama ākrandayata uccair ghosāya MS. KS.† The Conc. quotes ākrandata for KS.]
d. Different forms of the Causative

§242. In a few cases the grade of the root varies between the guna and vṛddhi stages (Whitney, Grammar 1042e, g); and in one the stems sūdaya and sṛdaya interchange, but the ‘causative’ value is here somewhat dubious:

yavayārātīḥ VS. TS. ŚB.; yavayārātim (KS. and MS. p. p. yār) MS. KS. Kauś.

yavayāśmad dveṣam KS.; yavayāśmad dveṣah TS. VS. ŚB. Kauś.;

yavaya (v. l. yā) dveṣo asmat MS.; yavayāśmad aṅgā dveṣāniśi TS. vasiśpate ni ramaya (N. and 2 mss. of AV. rām) AV. N.; vasiśpate vi ramaya MS.

agnir havyām (RV. KS. harvīḥ) sāmitā sūdayāti (AV. sṛdayatatu) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The AV. reading is metrically poor.

[ tatra havyānī gāmaya (KS. Conr. gamaya; but von Schroeder reads gāṃ with one of three mss.) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.]

3. Denominative

§243. The variants under this head are few. Most of them concern different vocalism before the denominative sign ya: a-stems appearing with a or ā (Whitney §1059 a, b), and variations between i and i, zero and i, in this position. These changes were possibly rhythmic in origin; compare §§259ff. below, and see our volume on Phonetics, which will deal more systematically with such cases.

devān devayate (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. devā) yaja (MŚ. yajamānāya svāhā) RV. SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnē prehi prathamo devayatām (AV. devatānām; MS. KS. devayatām) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV. amitrā) RV. AV. TS. KS.
janiyanti nāve agravāḥ AV.; janiyanto na agravāḥ RV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

putriyantaḥ (AV. putriyanti) sudānavāḥ RV. AV. SV. In the same stanza as the prece; the i (i), in place of stem-final a (putra), is probably suggested by the i (i) of janīya- (stem jani, jani); cf. however Whitney §1059d.

devā deśevyā (MS. deśevu) adhvaryanto (KS. adhvariyanto) asthuh VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

apo vyānāh pavrte kaviyān (TS. kavyan) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

The remaining variants are unclassifiable. In the next following, both a- and aya-stems are best regarded as denominatives (dikṣā)—agnir dikṣātaḥ prthivī dikṣā sā ma dikṣā dikṣayatu (JB. dikṣeta)....JB. ApŚ. And others; see §§79, 160.
In a single case a sigmatic aorist from a denominative interchanges with a problematic reduplicated aorist made from a primary root: \( \text{amimadanta pitaro yathāhhāgam} \) (Kauś. \( ^{2} \text{gam yathālokam} \) \( \text{ādyāyāgata} \) (AŚ. \( ^{2} \text{yāgata}; \) ŚŚ. \( \text{avērgata} \) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. See §201, 285.

The stem \( \text{hrñya}, \) in \( \text{vājebhir mā hrñiyathāḥ} \) SV.: \( \text{mā hrñīthā ahhy asmān RV.} \), is considered a denominative by some authorities; but see §195.
CHAPTER VI. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

(In a broad sense, including participles, gerunds, etc.)

§244. We have previously dealt, as part of the chapter on modal variations, with a number of instances in which a perfect passive participle with or without copula interchanges with a modal form (§§143f.). Those cases are to be regarded as part of this chapter also. Additional interchange between finite verbs and verbal nouns is found on a considerable scale, and is here treated under three aspects. First, a finite form interchanges with a verbal noun without copula, most commonly a past participle, which performs the same function as a finite verb. Second, the finite form exchanges with a periphrastic combination of verbal noun plus copula or similar verbal form. Thirdly, in a combination of two coordinate finite verb forms, one exchanges with an attributive verbal noun which leans on the other verb in syntactic dependence.

1. Interchange between predicative finite verbs and independent predicative verbal nouns without copula

§245. Such cases are quite numerous. The older grammar was in the habit of defining this type of verbal noun as the elliptic residue of a combination of verbal noun and copula, the copula being ‘understood’ or ‘supplied’. These correspondences support the now generally accepted theory that the verbal nouns in question perform rather the function of predicate verbs, directly and of themselves. They are far more frequent than the cases in which the copula is expressed (see §2 below); the copula is quite superfluous and originally was, no doubt, expressed only for emphasis or for some special reason. A good example of the perfect equivalence of such finite verbs and verbal nouns, without copula, is seen in the opening pādas of RV. 10. 17. 12 and 13 respectively: yas te drīpea skandati yas te arsuh, and yas te drīpea skanno yas te ansuh.

§246. In many of these cases the finite verb is active, the participle passive. These belong not only in this group, but also in the larger class of Active and Passive; see §§80ff. We begin with them:

yuktās tīsro vimṛyāḥ sūryasya PB.; yunajmi tīsro vipṛcah sūryasya te (MŚ. tīsro vimṛtaḥ sūryaḥ savā [iti]) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.
yuksa víto 'antarikṣena te saha PB.: yunajmi vágum antarikṣena te (MŚ, lena) suha TS. ApŚ. MŚ.
manayinā kṛtam BDh.: manyur akārṣit TAA. MahānU. ApDh.
śirasā dhārayiyami (MahānU. dhāritā devi) TA. MahānU,
caritrāṇa te sūndhāmi VS. ŚB.: sūddhās caritraḥ TS. ApŚ.
stomaaya dhūmana nikhatā (KS. nyadāhān) purīṣayam MS. KS.
āpāma manasa VS. ŚB. KŚ. (VS. comm. prāplavantaḥ): āptam manah
TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
upasṛjāmi ApŚ. MŚ.: upasṛjāh ŚB.
yasmin devā adhi viśe niseduḥ (Mbh. viṣaktāḥ) RV. AV. TB. TA. Ma-
hato me pāṇmā AG. MG.: pāṇmā me hatah AG.: pāṃmānāh te 'pahān-
maḥ KŚ.: pāṃmānāh me hata (Kauś. 'pa jahi) MG. Kauś. And
others, see Conc. under pāṃmānām me.
āhatah (VS. ŚB. āhantā) yahbe padaḥ VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB.: āhatah
paso nivacalitā MS.
hatas te atriṇā krimih (GG. kṛt) SMB; GG. KhG.: atriṇā tā krama hant-
mi TA. ApŚ.: atriṇad vah krimayo hanmi AV. 'Slain is thy worm by
Atri', or, 'I slay thee (you), O worm(s), by (like) Atri.'
atkhaiṣāṁ bhinnakah kumbhaka SMB. 'then their receptacle has been
miserably smashed' (imprecatory, or perhaps contemptuous,
diminutive): bhinadāmi te kṣumbhama AV. (for which Ppś. has,
atho bhinadāmi tām kumbham).
ghanena hanmi vrśīkama RVKh. AV.: hataṁ vrśīka te viśam Mahābh.
apīṭha u prṣṭayaḥ: and, prṣṭir api śṛṇimasī AV. (both)
mithunam karnayoh kṛdhī (SMB. kṛtam) AV. SMB. 'Mark the pair (of
calves; or, the pair is marked) on the ears.'
śraddhāyāṁ prāne nieśyāṃrtaṁ hatam (TAA. nieśto 'mṛtaṁ jhumī)
TA. TAA. MahānU. BDh. VHDh.: amṛtaṁ ca prāne jhumī Prā-
nāg U. Also with apāne, udāne, vyāne, samāne; and the same with-
out the word śraddhāyāṁ, see Conc.
[yatra-yatra viḥṛto (KS. bibhrato) jñātavedāḥ AV. KS.: yatra-yatra jñā-
tavedah sambabhūtha (TB. Bibl. Ind. ed. "ea, Poona ed. correctly otha"
TB. ApŚ. But both AV. (most mss. bibhrto or bibhrato) and KS.
(v. 1. bibhrto) are very obscure; it is questionable whether the
variant belongs here.]
§247. In a smaller group the finite verb is middle (reflexive) with
active value. Again the interchange is in effect the same as between
active and passive, to be regarded in connexion with those treated in
§80ff.
teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh.: yeṣām apsu sadas (TS. ApMB. sadaḥ) kṛtam VS. TS. ŚB. Nilau. ApMB.: ye apsu gāḍānī (KṢ. 'psu sadaḥ?) cakrē MS. KS. 'Their (whose) seat was made in the waters': 'who made their (own) seats in the waters.'

tvām yajñēṣu īdyāḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: tvām yajñēṣu īdate RV.

antar dādhe parvataḥ HG. ApMB. 'I interpose with the mountains': antarḥitā girayah SG. 'the mountains have been interposed.'
antar dādha ṛtubhīḥ HG. ApMB.: antarḥitā ma ṛtavaḥ SG. As prec. rocata VADh.: rocitam MDh.
dakṣīṇam (and, savyān) pādam avanenēje AB. SMB. GG. KhG. 'I scrub the right (left) foot': imau pāḍāv avaniktau Kauṣ. (in different connection), 'these two feet have been washed.'

§248. In the majority of cases, however, the verbal remains upon the same plane with the finite verb, whether active or middle, that is, both predicates, whatever their forms, express the predicative idea in the same voice. The difference between this and the class just listed will be made clear by contrasting the variant teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam, etc., above, in which the middle with active meaning exchanges with a passive participle, with the following:
nānā hi vām devahitaṃ sadas (TB. ApŚ. sadaḥ) kṛtam (TB. ApŚ. sado mitam) VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: nānā hi devaik cakrpe sado vām KS. Here cakrpe (see Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins Circulars, December 1906, p. 10) is passive in force, like kṛtam: 'variously by the gods a seat has been made for you.'
puruṣa ha (TA. MahānU. hi) jātah (JUB. jatā) sa u garbe antah VS. TA. ŚvetU. MahānU. ŚirasU. JUB.: prathamo jātah etc. AV. 'he was the first born (of old), and he is yet within the womb.'
yo agnir agner adhyāyātata (TS. MS. KS. agnes tapaśo 'dhi jātah) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
yas ta atmā pākuṣu praviṣṭah TB. ApŚ. MS.: yas te prāṇaḥ pākuṣu praviṣṭah KṢ. VSK.: ya te tanāḥ pitṛṇo āviveṣa AV. Here the participle, tho passive in form, is active in meaning, since the verb is intransitive.
yā diveśa vajāsṛu yo mṛgeṣu AV.: vajāṇi yā āviveṣa yo mṛgeṣu MS. KS. ApŚ.
dikṣito 'yam asi āmnayāmanah MS. MS.: dikṣito 'yam brāhmanah ŚB.: adikṣiṣṭāyam brāhmanah TS. ApŚ.
aidra udāno aṅge-aṅge niḍalāh (VSK. nīḍīha) VS. VSK. ŚB.: aindro 'pāno (and, yeśa) aṅge-aṅge vibobhuvat (MS. 'ni bo'; KS. nīḍīhyat)
TS. MS. KS. This and the following item are full of morphological and etymological problems. Perhaps render: 'Udāna (etc.) from Indra has been sucked (?) into every limb.' On the active nīdīdhyaṭ cf. the next.

aindrā prāṇo aṅge-aṅge nīdīdhyaṭ (TS. ni dedhyat, VSK. nīdhitah) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. The active is anomalous; Muḥdhara, nīhitah; Keith, 'may... be set.' It seems that it cannot be transitive.

yatā (MS. *yatra) naḥ pūrve pitarah paretāḥ (RV. MS.* pareyūḥ) RV. AV. MS. (both): yenā te pūrve pitarah paretāḥ AV.

yasamd bāgā sanjñāaptāḥ (ApŚ. samajñāntāḥ) ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'from fear of which thou (the animal victim) hast been slain (from that make us exempt).'

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś. rāddham) VS. TS. TA. Kauś.: tenārātyam (ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. v. l. *rātsam, the correct reading) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. See §§28, 85. As to the latter form, this item belongs under the first group above.

ōṁ svadhyayatāṁ AG.: astu svadheti vaktayam Vait.: prakṛtebhyāḥ svadhyayatāṁ YDḥ.

ṛtubhiḥ prabhuh (KS. prabhavat) TS. KS.

-sanvatsarena pariḥbāḥ (KS. paryabhavat) TS. KS.

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. ucayate) RV. SV.

bāḥa rājanyah kṛtaḥ (AV. *nyaḥ 'bhave') RV. AV. VS. TA. VāDḥ.

tapasā ye svar yayuh (TA. suvar gatāḥ) RV. AV. TA.

-amṛtakāyā ghoṣayāḥ (SV. *yan) RV. SV. The subject is soma; there is no finite verb in the passage with the SV. reading (nom. sg. act. pple.). Cf. next.

bradhaḥ samiścīr uṣasah samairayat (AV. *yan) AV. SV. ApŚ. MS.

With the AV. reading there is no finite verb in the passage, and Whitney reads airayat with the rest; but cf. prec.

vācaspate 'cīrāyā vācācīrāyā juhā dīvi devaṛdham hotāṃ airayat (KS. *yan; TA. evayasa; ŚŚ. airayasa) svāhā (ŚŚ. omits) ŚB. TA. SS. KŚ.

svavakṣa (3 sg. perf. mid.) ṛavo astraḥ RV. AV.: svavakṣur (adj., desiderative) ugro astroḥ TB. ApŚ.

svāyā dūgdam apiban, and (next vs) va+ dūgdam pīrō, AV.

patnā yīyapanāye (ŚŚ. yīyapaṃyamānā) jaraḥ AŚ. ŚŚ.

varebhīr varān abhi śu pra sīdatāḥ (ApMB. 'ta) RV. ApMB. In RV. a gen. sg. pple., agreeing with Indra; varebhīr applies to the Maruts; is sīdata of ApMB. addressed to them?
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[sam agnis tapasāgata VS. MS. ŚB.; svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata TA. 4.
7. 2 and 5. 6. 6. So Poona ed. in both places. Conc. with Bibl.
Ind. ed. quotes gataḥ for 4. 7. 2; this is read by one ms. and comm.
in Poona ed.]

Anticipations of the Periphrastic Future in -tā

§248a. We group separately a few variants in which the verbal noun
which varies with a finite verb is the nominative of a nomen agentis in
-tar. These forms are, of course, interesting as precursors of the later
periphrastic future; cf. Whitney §946. They are found varying with
the present indicative, imperative (including that in tat), optative, and
injunctive (? subjunctive); the copula is not used with them:
yo dāusah sukṛto havam eti (TS. MS. KS. havam upa gantā) AV. TS.
MS. KS.

 somaḥ punānāḥ kalasēgu sīdāti (and, sattā) RV. (both)
yantā no avyakām chardīḥ; pra no yachatād (prāsmai yachatam) aerkām
prthu chardīḥ RV. (all)
gamat sa (gamema, sa gantā) gamati vraje RV. (all). On gamat,
commonly regarded as subj. but taken by us as a-aor. injunctive because
of gamema, see §174.

2. Interchange between finite form and periphrasis of verbal noun and
copulaic verb

§249. We have drawn attention above to the rarity of this con-
struction compared with the use of the verbal noun without copula as predi-
cate. In the first two of the following brief list we have variation be-
tween active and passive constructions, as in §246 above:

ahā yad enāh kṛtam asti kim cit (ŚŚ. enāh cakṛmeha kim cit; ApŚ. MŚ.
yam vai tvam ajanayad yam tvad adhijāyatām asau svāhā ŚŚ.; asmāt
tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad yam ajāyatāṃ pūnah VS. ŚŚ. TA. KS. Kar-
map.: asmād vai tvam ajāyatāḥ yam tvad adhi jāyatām asau (AG.
asau vārgyā lokāya) svāhā AG. KauŚ.: asmād vai tvam ajāyatāḥ eṣa
tvaj jāyatām JB.

kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣayam bhūt (SV. paricakṣi nāma) RV. SV. TS. MS. N.
dev devehyaḥ pavastra VS. ŚŚ.; devo devānām pavitrām asti TS. MS. KS.
vīkā rūpaṁ pari tā babhūva (AV. paribhūr jajāna) AV. VS. ŚŚ.
tayāham vardhāmāno bhūjāsām ṣāvyamānaḥ ca ApMB.; vardhīṣmahi
cā vaṃ cā pyāśīṣmahi (MS. MŚ. pyāśīṣmahi) VS. MS. ŚŚ.
TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SG. HG.
prathaseva VS. ŠB.; pratho 'si TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. 
sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham paśubhiś ca brāhmaṇavārvasena ca ruciṣīya (MS. tvam rucyā rocasa evam aham rucyā ruciṣīya) AV. MS. 
And similarly sa yathā tvam brāhjata etc., see §57. 
rociṣīyāham manusyeṣu TA.: surucitam mām devamanusyeṣu kuru MS. 
kuru is a sort of causative copula. 

3. Interchange between one of two coordinate verbs and a verbal noun dependent on the other verb 

§280. These cases are much commoner than either of the two preceding groups. The verbal noun, whether participle, gerund, or other non-finite form, takes the place of a finite form in cases where there is another finite verb upon which the verbal noun may lean as an attributive; and vice versa. Or, stated otherwise, two correlative finite verbs exchange with a finite verb and a dependent verbal noun. We might antecedently have expected that there would appear a tendency for later texts to tend to prefer the dependent verbal noun; but we are unable to discover any clear evidence for such a tendency among the variants. 
varcayā mukhat mā na āyuḥ pramoṣṭḥ HG. ‘make lustrous our face, do not steal our life’: śundhi śiro māṣyāyuḥ pra moṣṭḥ AG. PG. ApMB. MG. ‘purify his head, do not steal his life’: sūmbhan mukhaṁ mā na āyuḥ pra moṣṭḥ AV. ‘purifying our face, do not steal our life.’ In AV, Whitney proposes to read with one ms. and Ppp. sūmbhan; he calls sūmbhan unintelligible, but it seems to us interpretable as a gerund (Whitney, Grammar, §995). SPP: sūbahā. 

(maṇḍibhiḥ pavate pāreyah kavir, nybhir yataḥ pari kośān acikradat,) tritaśya nāma jānayam madhu kṣarad, (indraśya vāyoh sakhyāya kartave) RV. 8. 86. 20, ‘thru the wise (sacrificers) the sage of yore (Soma) purifies himself; held by men he hath shouted thru the vessels. Begetting the name of Trita he shall make flow honey in order to procure the friendship of Indra and Vāyu.’ In SV. 2. 172c the participle kṣaran, ‘flowing’, replaces the finite verb kṣarat, ‘shall make flow’; the construction is equally easy either way, because kṣaran leans on the finite verb of the first line. This type of interchange between RV. and SV. will be found several other times below. 

(a tvā yatso gamed a kumāra) a dhenaveḥ saiyam āsyandamānāḥ AV.: 

(enām kṣiṇuḥ krandaty a kumāra) a syandantāṁ dhenavo nityavatsah SG.: 

(a tvā šikur a krandata) a gāvo dhenavo vāsyamānāḥ PG.
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vajino vajajito 'dhvana skabhnusanto yojanā mimānāh kāṣṭhāṃ gacchata
VS. SB.: adhvānam skabhnusanto yojanā mimānāh kāṣṭhāṃ gacchata
MS.: vi yojanā mimādhvam adhvāna skabhnita kāṣṭhām gacchata
TS. Here two particles, dependent on a following finite verb, vary with two finite verbs correlative with the letter.

ghnanto (MS. ApŚ. ghnatā) vrtrāṇy aprati AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. The interchanging forms are preceded by finite verbs.

[īndra iva vrtrāṇa tiṇṭha (MS. dasyuhā bhava),] apha kṣetraṇī samjayan (MS. iva) MS. TB. ApŚ.

āyur dadhad yajñapātaś (MS. KS. iva) avivrutam RV. SV. ArŚ. VS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ.: āyur yajñapātaḥ adhāt (JB. ayām) AB. JB. SB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MS. Each is the 2d pada of its stanza, but the two stanzas are otherwise wholly different. However, each has a parallel finite verb in pada 5, on which the pple. dadhat depends.

pāri dvāvāpyathī sadya āyam (VS. itvā) AV. VS. Followed by (different) finite verbs.

tan tebhhih susūtihīr vajyanta, ājīm na jagnum gīrvāko āśabhā RV.;
tan tē gīrāh susūtayo vajyanyt, ājīm na gīrvavāko jīgīrā āśabhā SV.
anavahāyāsman (KS. adδs devi dakṣīne) devayānena pathā (TS. pathelā,
KS. pathyā yat) sukṛtaṁ loke sidata (KS. sida) TS. MS. KS.
varṣmna kṣetrasya (AV. rāṣṭrasya) kakubhi (TB. Poons ed. also iva
dut, but comm. and Bibl. Ind. ed. ibhi; comm. gloss uttamānag; MS.
kakubhiḥ; AV. kakudi) śiśriyānā (AV. TB. kṛayasa) AV. TS.
MS. TB. Followed in all by tato na ugro vi bhajā Vasūni.

vivekavacur abhi tan no grōtā, divyo gandhvaro rajaso vīmānāḥ, yad vā
ghā satyam uṭa yan na vidma, dhiya hinevāno dhiya in no avyāḥ RV.
TA.: virebhhih adhi tan no grōtāno, rajaso vīmāno, yad vā ghā satyam
uta yan na vidma, dhiya inavanāni dhiya in no avyāḥ MS. (apparent
defective and corrupt).

[upa no mitrāvarunān ihēvātām (MS. utā no mitrāvarunān iḥēvātām)]
anvādādyātmāh ita (MS. manmā didhyātā utā) nāh-sakhya MS.
TB. TA.

dāsyann adāsyann uṭa sāṃgrāmī (TA. uṭa vā kariṣyant) AV. TA.:
dhiṣyaṁ vā saṃcakara jānēbhyaḥ MS.: yad vādāsyant saṃjagārā
jānēbhyaḥ TB. Ppp. also reads vā kariṣyant for sāṃgrāmī of AV.
6. 71. 3. For others, see §231.

upasah kṛeyasth-kṛeyasthr dadhat (so read with Poons ed. of TB.) TB.
ApŚ.: uśām-uśān kṛeyasth dhehā asmāi AV. Joined in TB. ApŚ. to what in AV. is the next verse, ending: rājasyaṣam iṣam ěṣam asmāsū dhehi TB. ApŚ., aṣṭām ěṛjam rājasya asmāsū dhehi AV.
tirah purã cid arãvanã jagamâtan (SV. ʰvâna jagamyâh) RV. AV. SV. Preceded in RV. AV. by vauryām (SV. vauryah).


uparṣjan (AŚ. ʰjam; ŠG. upa srjams) dharûranâ mûtre (AB. AŚ. omit mûtre) dharûro mûtaram (AB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ. mûtaram dharûro; ApŚ. mûtarâ dharûro) dhaṣyam (followed by, raivas poṣam...asmāsu didharaï) VS. AB. ŠB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŠG. But the reading -srjans is doubtful; perhaps -srjans is to be read everywhere. ‘Loosening (I have loosened) the suckling (to his dam), the suckling as he milks his dam—may he maintain growth of wealth among us.’

[rhâd yas te sudāvare] dhîyâ martha kalâsâmate, [uṭi ya bhâta divo, devâ anâ na tarati] RV. ‘der mann gedeihet welcher dir dem reichen dienet andachtstevol; er durch des grossen himmels schutz durch-setzt den feind wie eine schlucht’ (Grassmann): [sa gâ yas te divo naro] dhîyâ marthaṃ tâmâtaḥ, [uṭi sa bhâto divo, devâ anâ na tarati] SV. (very corrupt; hardly deserves citation under this rubric; tâmâtaḥ gen. sg. pple. with marthaṃ).

sahasrapoṣam puvyanyā parameṇa pâsûna kriyusva (KS. kriyasya) MS. KS.: parameṇa paśûna kriyasya sahasrapoṣam puvyanyam VS. ŠB.: tasyâs te sahasrapoṣam puvyanyāḥ caramena paśûna kriyusmi TS. saka jaryânuva surpatu (ApMB. ʰjmyā niśkrâmya) HG. ApMB. Prec. by ejatu in both. For other forms of the variant see §329.

[hînedino vâcâṃ iṣyasi, paramāṇa vidharmâṇi] akṛtān devo na sūryah RV.: [jâjñâno vâcâṃ iṣyasi, paramāṇa vidharmâṇi] krandam devo na sūryah SV.

tā devir devretamān yajñām nayata (KS. krtvā, TS. MS. dhatta), followed by upahâtâḥ somaśya pibata, VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.


te (masc. plur.) no nakṣatre havam âgamîṣṭhâḥ (‘most coming’, followed by juṣṭantum) TB. 3. 1. 1. 6e: te (fem. dual) no nakṣatre havam âgametam (2 dual opt.) TB. 3. 1. 3. 1d.

svargâni (AŚ. text svâgāṇ; Vait. svargam) arranto jayata (AŚ. ʰtah; Vait. jayema) SV. AŚ. ŚS. Vait. Preceded by agman. AŚ.; if not corrupt, understands ‘ayataḥ as nom. plur. pple.; cf. §306.

avimuktaçakra (sec. fire) āsūram PG.: vierâçaçakra (sec. prajaḥ) āsinaḥ ApMB. HG. (here preceded by ēhuḥ).

ahā śârîram (TB. ahā charâram) payasa sameti (TB. sametaya) TB. Vait. Followed by bhavati.
Finite Verbs and Verbal Nouns

patyur anuvratā bhūtā AV.: agner anuvratā bhūtā TS. KS. TB. MS. ApMB.; mām anuvratā bhava HG. The first two versions are followed by finite verbs.

sarāḥ patatirīṣīṁ sthana (KS. stha) TS. MS. KS.: sarāḥ patatirīṣī bhūtā AV. (here followed by ehi): śrāvaḥ patatirīṣī sthana RV. VS.

abhyarṣan (SV. abhy arṣa) stotṛbhyo viravad yaśaḥ RV. SV. In both pavate precedes.

(a te yatante rathyo yathā prthak) chādadhāsya agne ajaraṇī (SV. ajarasya) dhakṣatāḥ (ApŚ. dhakṣyase) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See §27.

tīṣṭhan (GB. carate) āśino yadi vā svapann api ŚB. GB. Prec. in both by śrāvaḥ anyatra parivartamāṇāḥ (not 2nāḥ as Conc. reads).

(vi yat pavitraṁ dhisaṇā atanata) gharman ṣocantaḥ (AS. ṣocanta, SS. 2tamū) pravaṣeṣu (AS. SS. pravaṣeṣu) bhūrathah AB. AS. SS. We have no confidence in the edition of AS. on such a reading as ṣocanta.

abandh eke dadataḥ prayachanto, dātuṁ cec chikṣāṇ sa svarga eva AV. ‘some without relatives, giving, bestowing—if they be able to give, that is very heaven’ (Whitney): abandh eke dadataḥ prayachād, dātuṁ cec chaknauṁsah svarga esāṁ TA. Both forms are poor and probably corrupt. In TA. read dadataḥ with comm. and Poona ed. text; probably also chaknauṁ (or better 2vān) sa with Poona ed. text, which notes v. 1. chaknauṁsah; the comm. explains prayachāt as prayachanti, which suggests that prayachān is to be read with AVPPp.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: vicaranty apatiervatā ŠG. MDh. Both preceded by finite pralubhe or pralubheka.


yajāṇo (or yajā no, so Garbe’s ed. of ApŚ., followed by Caland’s Transl.; the others all yajāṇo; MS. p. p. yajānak; some mss. yajamāṇo; TB. comm. interprets as pple.) devān (MS. devo) ajarah suvīraḥ (associated with goḍāya nāḥ) MS. TB. AS. ApŚ. It is questionable whether yajā no has any standing.

datto (= datta u) asambahyan (KS. dattēyāsma, AS. dattēyāsma, SMB. dattēyāsma) dravīṇeḥa bhadrām AV. KS. AS. SMB.: dadaḥtha no dravīṇam yac ca bhadrām MS. Followed by sundry finite verbs.

sa tin eṣṭi janaṇyat (KS. eṣṭi janaṇyaṁ) tāstu garbham, sa tin śiṣu dhayati tam riḥanti RV. KS. The Conc. suggests emendation of KS. to -janaṇat; but von Schroeder keeps his text, which is no doubt interpretable if somewhat harsh.
śataḥ jñantu (AV, ०tāḥ) saradāḥ puruṣāḥ RV. AV, VS. ŚB. TB. TA.
ApŚ. ApMB. Followed by anlar (tiro) mṛtyum dadhatān (dādhamāhe)
purvaśena.
āprīṇanau vijahatā arāśiṁ (TB. ApŚ. saṁjñānaṁ vijahatām arāśiṁ), divi
(KS. diev) āryastī uttamām (TB. ApŚ. ājaram) ārābheteḥām (TB.
ApŚ. ॐtāṁ) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. vijahatā(u), dual pple.; ॐtām, 3 dual
impv.
prayām ajaryām naḥ kuru, rāyus poṣena saṁ vṛpa SMB.: prayām suś-
rāṁ (PG. suvīryāṁ) kṛtvā, viśvam (PG. dirgham) āyur ev aṁnau
(PG. ॐvai) TS. PG.
ahar-ahar (AV. TS. rātriṁ-rātriṁ; MS. KS. ŚB, ॐrātriṁ-rātriṁ) aprayā-
vāṁ bharaṇāṁ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: ahar-ahar bālim it te
haranteḥ AV.: vīśāhā te sadam id bharama AV. Followed by
finite verb.
(upakṣaryanti juhvo gṛtṛena) priyāṇy aṅgāni tava vārdhamantib (sc. śrucaḥ)
: abhiśaranti juhvo gṛtṛenāṁ parivṛṣṇi tava vārdhamanti (one
ms. ॐś, pointing also to ॐŚk) Vait.
va pūrvaśa janaṇaṁ (TA. ApŚ. ॐyaṁ) jantaṁ dhānam RV. PB. TA. ApŚ.
Followed by pary eti (parī yāti) in next pāda. The secondary char-
acter of jānti (so०) in TA. is emphasized by its retention of the
accent of jānti.
tat tvam ārohaṁ medhya bhava TA. (Poona ed. bhavam, but v. 1. and
comm. bhava), 'do thou, O spirit, ascend, become sacrificial': tad a roha
puruṣa medhya bhavan AV. 'ascend that, O man, becoming
sacrificial.' See Whitney's Tamil. and note. Most ms. do not
accent bhavan.
pratiṣṭhāṁ gacha (GB. gachan) pratiṣṭhāṁ mā gamaya (GB. ॐyet) AB.
GB. Gaastra considers GB. corrupt.
dyumnam vr̥ṣita pusyaśe (KS. sareta pusyaṭu) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB.: dyumne sareta pusyaṣu KS. Cf. §163. pusyaśe is infinitive.
tenedhyase vārdhavya ceddiḥa (HG. cendhi) AG. HG. The word
indhi (iddha) is better taken, with Oldenberg, as part of the follow-
ning phrase, vārdhaya cemān (in both).
abhiṁ ca sarvāṁ jambhaya, sarvāḥ ca yātudhānyo, 'dharāciḥ parā suva KS.:
avhāṁ ca sarvāṁ (TS. ॐvāṁ) jambhaya, sarvāḥ ca yātudhānāya (VS.
MS. ॐdhānyo, 'dharācī parā suva) VS. TS. MS.
dhātāṁ vātāgram anusamarcāntau (PB. abhisam०) TS. PB. TB. PG.
ApMB.: dhāntāt vātā gniṁ (ms. vātāgniṁ, both texts) abhi yeva sam
caranti MS. MG. The principal verb follows in the last pāda.
sāhyaṁ (RV. sāhāṁsō) dasyum avratam RV. SV. Preq. in both by 1
plur. finite verbs.
finite verbs and verbal nouns

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samānaṁ yonim anu saṁcarantī (AV. MS. "cāretē") RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Followed by caratah. The ed. of KS. reads "cāretē also, but the single ms. "carante, which as the editor observes might quite as well stand for "carantī.

ādityam garbham payasā sam āṅgdiḥ (TS. KS. samaṇjan) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by parārūḍgdiḥ.

ubhāyor lokayor rādhā (MŚ. rādhāmci) TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by (ati) tarāmī.

[punāno vāram pary ety (SV. vāram aty esy) avayam] śyena na yonim ghrītvantam āsadam (SV. "dat") RV. SV. ApŚ. āsadam is infin., 'to sit'; SV. makes it a finite verb, 'he has sat', which goes very ill with the 2d person esy which SV. substitutes for RV. eti. Compare the pāda śyena na yonim āsadaṁ, RV. etc., which seems to have influenced SV.

janiyanti nāv agravaḥ, putriyanti sudānaraḥ AV.: janiyanto ne agravaḥ, putriyantah sudānaraḥ RV. SV. (followed by haveṁhe).

[svaṁ śiśā pavasa rātim apāṁ (SV. apō)] jīnāś (SV. jīnva) gaviśāye dhiṣṭaye RV. SV.

jyok ca sūryaṁ drēśe (IŚ. drīṣyaṁ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. IŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

(parācīśā mūradevān chṛṣṭiḥ) parāśutrapah dibucattāh śṛṣṭiḥ (RV. "trpo abhibucatāṁ) RV. AV.

devā amūcanc (AV. muṇcanto) asṛjan vy (AV. nīr) enasaḥ AV. TB. HG. ApMB.

pugyema (AA. pugyanto) rayin dhūmahe ta (AA. tam) indra SV. AA. ŚŚ. Soc. Keith, AA. 285, note 7.

(yo ...) hṛdārāddyaḥ (KS. "yann) abhidāsad agne KS. TB. ApŚ. Caland on ApŚ. not unnaturally thinks of reading abhidāsad, to match arāddyaḥ; but KS. is against it.

marmarjayante (SV. marjayantī) divaṁ śīvaṁ RV. SV. Prec. by abhy anāṣaṭa.

mā mā (KS. māṁ) hiṁśaṁ svāṁ (KS. yat svāṁ) yonim āvīśaṛtau (KS. āvīśāthā) MS. KS.: mā mā hiṁśaṁ svāṁ (KS. tsvānt) yonim āvīśaṛtī (KS. TB. ApŚ. āvīṣan) VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

ut tiṣṭha (VS. ŚB. KS. utthāya) brhath (TA. brhan) bhava VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. KS. MŚ.

(yad āha krāṇaṁ vīvasvati) nābhā samādyai navaṁ (adha pra sū nā upa yauṁ ṛṣi)vai RV.: (yad āha krāṇaṁ vīvasvate) nābhā samādyai navaṁ (adha pra mūnam upa yauṁ ṛṣi)vai RV.

stūṣyam puruvarpasam rābhvaṁ RV. AV. N.: stūṣa varṣman puruwart-
mānām sanāthuṇam AV. stuzeyya is a gerundive formation, 'him that should be praised', dependent on a verb of the preē stanza. In the other form a different stanza precedes, and the finite stuze (which, as impv., transfusc the same idea into other words) is therefore substituted.

venas tat paśyat paramān guhā yat (VS. paśyan nihipan guhā yat; TA, MahānU. paśyan viśē bhavanānī videśān) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Here there is no verb on which the participle paśyan can depend, TA. comm. lamely supplies vartate.

[bradhaṃ samīcīr uṣaṃḥ samairayat (AV. uvaṃ) AV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Again there is no finite verb here on which the pple. might depend; and Whitney adopts the SV reading.]

[ariṣṭair naḥ pathābhīḥ pārayantā (GB. tu) RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. But GB. is merely corrupt. Gaastra reads with one ms. tu (dual pple.).]

[daṃśanāhīr aśvinā pārayantā (TB. tām) RV. TB. Poona ed. also tām; but comm. tā, dual pple., which is the only possible form, a plural verb being uninterpretable.]
CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN EQUIVALENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

§251. The variants avail themselves freely of the possibilities of equivalent personal verb endings. The ranging of these interchanges covers nearly all the grammatical territory concerning this matter. We deal with them as follows:

1. r-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without r.

2. Subjunctive endings in ai and s, ti and t, te and tai, sahe and vahai, mahe and mahai.

3. Imperatives in tät interchanging with other imperatives.

4. Presence or absence of imperative 2d singular dhi (hi), and interchange between dhi and hi.

5. Second plural active endings with or without final na.

6. Endings in a sometimes rhythmically lengthened to ăna.

7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings.

1. r-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without r

§252. There are two variations between ram and ran with wavering chronological indications (RV. adṛśram, AV. adṛśran; but also RV. asrgran, SV. asṛgram). On the other hand, as between 3 plural middle perfects in re and rīre, (Whitney, Grammar §550d) the more archaic forms in re, duduhre and dadyāre, belong to RV., duduhāre and dadyāre to later texts. Unexpectedly, archaising r-endings replace the normal 3 sing. imperfect middle adhatta (RV. AV.) in adhadrāḥ (SV.), adadrām (KS.), and athadrām (TA., corrupt). Very anomalously the form adṛśran seems to be used as an active in several YV. texts, only TS. NīlarU. having the regular adṛśan. And the 3 plural present middle duhate varies with duhrate, not only once in the RV. itself, but also once between RV. and AV., the AV. showing the more archaising duhrate: ghṛtam duhrata (and, duhata) ākiraṃ RV. (both). See RVRep. 137, 562, and next.

te dakṣiṇāṃ duhate (AV. te duhrate dakṣiṇāṃ) saptamītaram RV. AV.

See prec.

asṛgran (SV. *ram) devavātaye RV. SV.
adārān (AV.* ArS. MS. KS. MŚ. *rann) aśya ketaṁ RV. AV. (both) ArS. VS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApS. MS. KS. 

trīr asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV. Svidh. *hrire) RV. SV. Svidh. Here the SV. smooths out, secondarily no doubt, the meter in an otherwise jagati stanza; cf. Oldenberg, Proleg. 287.

śṛṅgāresca chṛṅgūvāṁ saṁ dadrāre (TB. ApS. *śīre) RV. KB. TB. ApS. Here the stanza is triṣṭubh.

śerāte (AB. šere) 'sya sarve pāpmānaḥ AB. ŚŚ. On these forms see Whitney, Grammar §§550d, 629. The AB., in an anuṣṭubh stanza, has better meter; Hillebrandt suggests deletion of 'sya in ŚŚ.

apaṃnehitir (SV. enihihim) nṛmāṇā adhāta (SV. adhadṛāḥ, KS. adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: upa stūhi (Poona ed. sruhi) tam nṛmāṇā adhadṛām TA. In RV., 'the hero-minded (god) has driven away the enemies.' The r-forms of even SV. and KS. are highly problematic; as to TA., the only certain thing about it is that it is badly corrupted, and this applies to more than the one word adhadṛām (the comm. has a v. I. athodrām; its gloss is adhadravanāśīlam!).

ulainam gopa adārān (TS. adṛṣan) VS. TS. MS. KS.: uta te gopa adṛṣan NilAvU. The anomalous adārān is obviously felt as 3 plural with active meaning; Mahābhārata, pāśyanti. It might, perhaps, be included under variations between active and middle without change of meaning, §387. This variant is followed in VS. TS. by: adārān (TS. adṛṣann) udahāryāḥ VS. TS.

2. Subjunctive endings in si and s, ti and t, te and tai, vaihe and vahal, mahe and mahai

§253. These optional endings of the subjunctive interchange, in general without chronological indications; but metrical criteria are sometimes involved, since the shorter endings s and t help to produce shorter lines. As to the i and ai endings the phonetic relations between these two sounds must be considered, as set forth in §26; and furthermore some of the e-forms may be considered indicative, cf. §§118, 124:

yathā nāḥ subhaśiṣasi (AV. smanā asaḥ) RV. AV. TA.

yathā nāḥ suphalāśiṣasi (AV. suphalā bhūvaḥ) RV. AV. TA.

subheṣajan yathāṣati (AV. *śi; LŚ. *sat) AV. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. (the last secondary and metrically poor).

viprā gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA. *jat) AA. ŚŚ.: viprāya gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣate SV.

sa no nediṣṭham havanāṇy āgamat (and once, havanāni joṣat) KS. (ter):

sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS. havanā jujoṣa) TS. MS.: sa no viśvāni havanāni joṣat VS. ŚB.
teṣāṁ yo ajyānim (‘jyānim) ajītim āvahāt TS. SMB.† (in Jørgensen as TS.) PG. BDh.: teṣāṁ ajyānim (MŚ. *nāṁ) yataṃ na āvahāt (AV. yatam vaḥāt) AV. KS. MŚ.
anu nau śūra maṅsate (TS. *tai) RV. TS. KSA.
yā na uṇu uṣaṭi viśrayātē (AV. *ṭi; ApMB. HG. viśrayātai) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.
pari śvaṭāte (AV. *tai) lībujeva evrṣam RV. AV. N.
pra yaḥ satrāci (TB. sa vāci) manasā yajāte (TB. *tai) RV. TB. (net tvā... ) dadhāyā yad avrakṣam paryāṅkhayātai TA.: (net tvā... ) dadhṛya yad avrakṣam paryāṅkhayātai (AV. yad avrakṣam paryāṅkhayātai) RV. AV. See §234c, 27.

yam jīvaṃ aññavānāhāi (MS. *he) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
yāyā gā ākārāmahe (SV. *hai) RV. SV.
kva tyāṇi nau sakhyā bahūruka) sacāvahe (MS. *hai) yad avrakṣam purā cit RV. MS. But in §124 we have treated sacāvahē as indicative.

3. Imperatives in tāt exchanging with other imperatives

§254. On this interchange see §150. It begins in the RV. itself, in the first of the following list, where there is reason to regard the form in tāt as the older, see §100:

pra no yachatād avrkaṃ prthu charāḥ RV. 1. 48. 15: prāsmati yachatām avrkaṃ prthu charāḥ RV. 8. 9. 1
visuṣcān (VSK. *nā) vyasyatām (VSK. *tāt) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. ārdhvāṃ enām (or, ārdhvam enam) uc chrayātāt (VS.*SB.* MŚ. chṛṇāyá) VS. (both) TS. MS. KSA. SB. (both) TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ.
nir anhāsaḥ pīptā (TB. *tān) nir avadyāt RV. VS. MS. TB. Is TB. (both editions, text and comm.) reliable? Comm. pīptāt pālayata. punar māvaiśtatād (MS. *tān) raśīḥ VS. TS. SB. ApŚ. MŚ.
sā (HG. su) mām avśataś iha (MG. aviṣatām ihaiva) ApMB. HG. MG.: sā medhā viśataḥ u mām RVKh. 10. 151. 3d (correct reference in cone.) For RVKh. Scheftelowitz reads exactly as ApMB. chandodāmānām (with variantis) sāmrājyān gachā (VSK. gachatā, MŚ. gachā) VS. VSK. TS. SB. MŚ.
etah jāṇātha (TB. jāṇitāt, KS. jāṇīta) parame vyoman VS. KS. SB. TB.: jāṇita smainān (TS. MŚ. jāṇitād enam) parame vyoman AV. TS. MŚ. See §104, 8.

iṣṭāpūnre kṛnavāthāvīr (VSK. SB. kṛnavāthāvīr; TS. SB. MŚ. kṛṇatād āvīr) asmai (MŚ. asmat) VS. VSK. TS. SB. TB. MŚ.: iṣṭāpūrtaṁ (AV. *taṁ sma) kṛṇatād āvīr (AV. kṛṇatād āvīr) asmai AV. KS. The patchword sma in AV. suggests that its reading is likely to be secondary.
4. Presence or absence of imperative 2 sing. ending dhi (hi), and interchange between dhi and hi

§255. As a matter of grammatical genesis the forms with dhi or hi should be anterior to those without ending, and dhi anterior to hi; and the first and fourth examples agree with this. But in the third, kṛṇuhī of Vait. is hyper-archaic as regards the stem kṛṇu- §186. And in the second, tanaḥī of LŚ is for similar reasons unusable for chronological deductions. On this whole matter see most recently Bloch, MSL 23. 176; he regards hi (rather than dhi) as the regular ending with polysyllabic bases, and explains śṛṇudhi (as in our fourth example) as due to the analogy of śṛṇudhi from a monosyllabic base.

abhī enam bhūma śṛṇuhi (TA. bhūmi vṛṇu) RV. AV. TA;
asā (asā) anu mā tana (LŚ. tanaḥi [printed in text as tana hi] jyotiṣā)
MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
ojasvantaṁ mām āyuṃṣantam varasvantaṁ (MS. mām sahasvantaṁ)
manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait. āyuṃṣantam manusyeṣu kṛṇuhi) TS. MS.
AŚ. Vait.
nṛṇaḥ (MS. nṛṇa) pahi śṛṇudhi (SV."hi") gīraḥ RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

5. Second plural endings with or without na

§256. The endings tana and thana contain an extra syllable, as compared with ta and tha. The longer forms are suitable for even syllable cadences (\(\ldots\) \(\ldots\)), iambic dipody), the shorter forms for the corresponding catalectic cadence (\(\ldots\) \(\ldots\)). The RV. itself uses this correspondence to construct otherwise identical jagati and triṣṭubh pādas: asmaiḥyam śarma bahuṁ vi yantana 5. 55. 9, and ...yanta 6. 51. 5.;
adhi storasya sakhyasya gātana 5. 55. 9, and ...gāta 10. 78. 8.

See RV Rep. 530, 563, where these appear among similar metrical and grammatical devices for procuring practically identical or very similar pairs of jagati and triṣṭubh lines. At times the use of the shorter form is accompanied by the introduction of a patch-word as metrical compensation, or the longer form replaces such a patch-word, as in:
tīgmāyudhāya bharaṭā śṛṇotu naḥ (TB. śṛṇotana) RV. TB. N.

These differences may suggest critical conclusions, as in: paretana (TS. KS. ApŚ. paretā) pitarah somyasah (TS. ApŚ. somyāḥ) TS. MS. KS.
AŚ. ApŚ., which doubtless read originally paretana pitarah somyāsah.
We group the passages as much as possible with such considerations in mind:

§257. Passages without patch-word, and otherwise essentially identical:

\[ \text{tad asme kam. yor arapo dadhātana RV. 10. 37. 11d: athā naḥ kam yor} \]
\[ \text{arapo dadhāta (MS. "tana) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: athā naḥ kam} \]
\[ \text{yor arapo dadhāta AV.: athāsmabhyan kam yor arapo dadhāta TS.} \]

In MS. the p.p. reads dadhāta; the longer form disturbs the meter of the (triṣṭubh) stanza. Yet, most interestingly, one AV. ms. also has dadhātana. This reading is obviously due to the influence of RV. 10. 37. 11d, which occurs in a jagatī stanza, and where "tana is therefore in order.

pāretana (pāretā) etc., see above; the two RV. repetitions quoted above are likewise not repeated here.

\[ \text{athā rayin sarvavirān dadhātana RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: rayin ca naḥ} \]
\[ \text{sarvavirān dadhāta AV. 18. 3. 14d, 44d. All texts except AV. 18.} \]
\[ \text{3. 14 have the pāda in an entirely jagatī stanza, where dadhātana} \]
\[ \text{is therefore appropriate; and so the AV. comm. reads on 18. 3. 44.} \]
\[ \text{AV. 18. 3. 14 is triṣṭubh, and so has properly dadhāta.} \]

\[ \text{amī ye vieratā (MS. "tāḥ, KS. "tās) sthāna (MS. sthā) AV. MS. KS.} \]
\[ \text{The form sthā is metrically poor.} \]

\[ \text{sarāḥ patatriṇīḥ sthāna (KS. sthā) TS. MS. KS.: stṛāḥ patatriṇī sthāna} \]
\[ \text{RV. VS. Again the short form is inferior, and clearly secondary.} \]

\[ \text{svāvāśā nā āgata MS.: anāmīla upetana AV.} \]

\[ \text{ye ke ca bhrālavāḥ sthāna (ŚŚ. sthāḥ) AB. ŚŚ.} \]
\[ \text{The form of ŚŚ. 15. 26c is difficult. Tho it is written sthā and followed by a vowel, Hille-} \]
\[ \text{brandt (Index) understands it (doubtfully) as = sthā + ā (rather} \]
\[ \text{than sthāh as given by Cone.). It is in any case secondary.} \]

§258. Passages in which the short form is filled out with a patch-word:

\[ \text{srucā juhula no (ŚŚ. juhutanaḥ) haviḥ TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ,} \]
\[ \text{ramadhevān mā bibhita maṭ (Kauś. bibhutana) AV. Kauś.} \]
\[ \text{grhā mā bibhita mā vepadhvaṃ (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. vepiḍhvam) VS. LŚ. ApŚ,} \]
\[ \text{ŚG. HG. Cf. grhā māsmad bibhutana AV. HG.} \]
\[ \text{tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ (TB. śṛṇotana) RV. TB. N. See §365.} \]

Here, of course, the shorter form, in -ṭu, not -ta, is not the equivalent of the longer one; the variant is quoted as showing a similar trend.
6. Endings in -a sometimes rhythmically lengthened to -ā

§259. These cases do not concern primarily the Verb Variants, but rather the Phonetic Variants; and we shall reserve a full treatment of them for that section of our work, contenting ourselves here with a very brief summary and a bare list of the instances. The forms in ā are not regarded by the texts themselves as variant endings, but merely as phonetic forms of the endings in short a, on a level with the alterations required by sandhi. This is evidenced by the facts that all the padapāthas regularly substitute the form in short ā for ā; that the ā is not allowed to stand at the end of a pāda; and that in TS. it is not allowed at the end of a kavīkā (cf. Wackernagel I. §265a, note). For this last reason, in two variant pādas, where all other texts have final ā, the TS. has short a, for the sole reason that the word in question happens to come at the end of that purely mechanical division of its text:

vīrebhir aśaiv maghavā bhave (TS. bhava) naḥ RV, VS. TS. MS. KS.
byhaspate pari diyā (TS. diya) rathena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

There is among the variants one case where some texts have the ā at the end of a pāda, namely:

vanaspate va srjā (KS. srjā) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Here KS. alone has the short ā which is required at the end of a pāda. The case is however peculiar, and it is by no means certain that AV. means to end the pāda here. Indeed, all the mes., both editions, and the Anukramaṇī add to this pāda the next following word, vṛddhayah; after which the text proceeds, tmanā devebhya aghir havayāh taṃitā svadāyatā. Whatever may have been the real intent of AV., there is no doubt that the YV. texts end the pāda with srjā. However, the whole stanza is a bungling reminiscence of RV. 3. 4. 10ab, vanaspate va srjopa devān, aghir havāh taṃitā svadāyātā (in the last pāda the YV. texts agree with RV.). And there is obviously a connection between the ā of srjā and the fact that in the oldest form (in RV.) the word did not end the pāda; as indeed it does not, according to the unanimous tradition, in AV.

§260. The lengthening of the final a is rhythmic, not metrical. See Wackernagel I. §266a. The poets, to be sure, make free use of the license to lengthen the final a in syllables where the meter requires ā long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements, but of sentence rhythm. It occurred, originally, in places where the next word began with a single consonant, so that the syllable would be otherwise short (be it remembered that it never occurred before a pause!), and regularly where the following syllable was short; perhaps in the beginning when the preceding syllable was also short. That is, it was due to
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avoidance of a succession of short syllables unrelieved by a long. In the variants clear traces of this fact will appear; we shall show, in our section on Phonetics, that the following word almost invariably begins with a single consonant, and that the following syllable is usually short. The preceding syllable, however, is short only about half the time, among the cases occurring in the variants. That it is not a matter of metrical requirements is shown by the fact that the lengthening occurs most often (among the variants) in syllables where metrical length is not required; it is much commoner in the first part of the pāda than in the cadence.

§ 261. All these matters will be duly set forth, along with other precisely similar cases of rhythmically lengthened final a in other than verb forms, in our section on Phonetics. The variant pādas which show it in verbal endings are the following, in addition to the above. The reader may be reminded of the somewhat similar variations between long and short vowels in the interior of causative (§ 242) and denominative stems (§ 243) and in reduplicating syllables (§ 271); these are probably also rhythmic in character. F. E.]

tam a pṛṣṇa (TB. pṛṣṇa) vasupala vasānām RV. TB.
ā juhotā (TB. ApŚ. 8tā) duvasyata RV. SB. TB. (ApŚ. Pratika)
prāṇa ogyāna (TA. prāṇa 'gāṇa) nṛtaye hāṣya RV. AV. TA.
apo devir upa srjā (MS. srjā) madhumatiḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
aṅga purifyadyāhīpā bhava (TS. bhava) tnam nāh VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
ādītan vā (MS. dhipyam vā; TB. yad viśaya) sanjñāgara (TB. 8jā-
gāra; MS. 8cakara) janēbhyaḥ MS. TB. TA.
saptā yonin (KS. yonin) a pṛyaśea (TS. KS. TB. 8snā) ghrtena VS. TS.
MS. KS. SB. TB.

varivasuva mahāmaha (SV. 8syā mahoumā) RV. SV.
indā somam imam pība RV. ŚŚ. indra somam pība imam RV. AV. SV.
MS. The p.p. of both RV. and MS. pība, not pīdh; see Oldenberg,
RV Notes, on 8. 17. 1.

vayam rāṣṭre jagṛyāma (MS. KS. 8ma; TS. and MS. p.p. jagṛyāma)
purohitāh VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
vidma te svapna janiṛtam AV.: vidma (text 8ma; read 8ma?) te svapna
(pratika) Kauś.

vidma te nāma (AV. vidma te dhāma) paramam guhā yat RV. AV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. SB. ApMB.

hinva (Vait. 8vā) me yādra (KS. yādṛṣṭa) hariyō AV. TA.
VS. MS. SB. TA. It is not likely to be accidental that TA. only text which has a short syllable following, lengthens the final ā.
idam me prāvatā vacaḥ RV. VS. TS. KS. TB.: oṣadhayaḥ prāvatā vācāṃ me MS.: aṣṭa avata viryam Kauś.
juhata (AV. "tā") pra ca tiṣṭhata RV. AV. VS. TA.
utt tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. "tā") pra taratā sukhāyah RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś.
parī u ṣu pra dhanva (AV. "ṛtā") vājasātaye RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. yaṃmād yone rūdrāḥ (KS. "thā") yajye (MS. KS. yajā) tam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ud śrayathā (MS. MŚ. "ṛtā, AV. KS. "ra") marutaḥ samudrataḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. and pratīka MŚ.
dyunantam kuṣṭam ā bharaḥ (SV. bhara) śvarvidam RV. SV.
vahā (TB. N. vaha) devatā didhiṣo (MS. dadhiṣo, but most ms. ādi?) havantī MS. KS. TB. N.
janīṣṭa (TS. janīṣṭā, MS. "śva") hi jeyo agre abhāṃ RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.
ramayuta (KS. "ṛtā") marutaḥ ṭyena ṭyinam (MŚ. marutaḥ pretam vājinam) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Three mss. of KS. also read ramayata.
pretā jayatā naraḥ RV. AV. SV. VS.: upa pretā jayatā naraḥ TS.
yatra naḥ cakrā (KS. Conc. cakra, with one ms., but ed. cakrā) jarasam tanunām RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG,

7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

§262. Here are grouped various sporadic cases of interchanges concerning endings.

(a) Preessives 3d singular in yās and yāt.
See Whitney, Grammar §838.
parī no heīt rudrasya ṭṛjñāḥ (VSī. "yātī") RV. VSī.: parī no heīt rudrasya ṭṛjñāḥ (TB. ṭṛjñātī) RV. TB. See §104, u, and RVRep. 573.
indras te soma sutasya peyāḥ (SV. peyā) RV. SV.
narāśaṅgo gṛḍhatā no avyāḥ (RV. avyāḥ) RV. MS. TB.
dhiya kineṇo dhiya in no avyāḥ (TA. avyāḥ) RV. TA.: dhiya invāno dhiya in no avyāḥ MS.

(b) s-aorist 3d singular in older and later forms.
The older non-thematic type of conjugation of s-aorists calls for a 3d singular active ending s, for st; and after a consonant even the s is lost (Whitney, Grammar §888). This form exchanges twice with 3d singulars of the later type in st. With these may be compared the forms which we have classified §202 as root-aorists from roots in ā (ahāt, aprā) which vary with s-aorists from the same roots (ahās, aprās, 3d sing.); the t-forms may also be considered as belonging in this category.
agnis te tanvam māti dhāk TS. TB. ApŚ.: agnīs te tejo mā prati dhākṣīt JB.

yan me 'dya retaḥ prthivim askāntiti (TA. askān) ŚB. TA. Brhū.

(c) Confusion of 1st plural maś and ma.

Aside from cases which may be considered different tenses, we find the following small group, on which cf. Whitney, Grammar §§548a, 636d, 795a. They have of course a phonetic aspect; the final visarga was lightly pronounced, see §25 above. It is noteworthy that all occur at the end of pādas, or practically so (followed by a particle of interjection only).

tasmin vayam upahātus tava smaḥ (MŚ. sma) TB. MŚ.
abhiratāḥ smaḥ (YDh. sma ha) VīDh. YDh. BrhPdḥ.
srīrātāḥ smaḥ (ŚG. sma bhō) ŚG. PG.
pratī bhāgaṁ na didhima (SV. smaḥ) RV. AV. SV. VS. N. Whitney,

Roots, v. v. dhī, regards both forms as 1 plur. perfect.

śānam te śukrumo (KS. sma) vayam KS. ApŚ.

anyavatavya (TA. anyad vṛta) sācīma (RV. saścīr, TA. saścīmaḥ) RV.
VS. MS. ŚB. TA. 1st plural perfect of sac. But in TA. saścīma
should be read, with Poona ed. text and comm. (v. 1. one smaḥ).

(d) 1st singularpreterite active in am, exchanging with m.

In a case or two the preterite 1st singular active ending am is replaced by m, preceded by another vowel (that of the 2d and 3d persons), by analogy with the 2d and 3d persons. Thus, we have in the RV. itself this repeated pāda:

vadhitā vrtraṁ vajroṇa mandasīnāḥ 4. 17. 3; vadhitī etc., 10. 28. 7,
where vadhitī is certainly made in direct imitation of vadhitā; see RVRep.
220, 564. Cf. also:

teṣām vace apāvadhāt (TS. TB. dhūṁ, MS. dhāḥ) saṁh VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB. As (a)vadhitā is a blend of avadhām and uvadhāt, so agrabhitūm in
the following is a blend of agrabham and agrabhitū, and abhūm of abhūvam
and abhūtāt.

(ī) īrjat sam agrabham (TS. bhūm) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

abhyaśikṣī vibhūtām (MS. v. l. bhūt; ApŚ. bhūvam) MS. ApŚ.: abhūṣika
rājabhūvam (v. l. bhūvam) MS. Cf. Whitney, Grammar §830a.

The MŚ passage is quoted on Knauer's authority from unedited mss.

(e) Subjunctive sign a interchanging with a in non-thematic forms.
The forms with short a are, of course, morphologically at least, the
primary ones; see Whitney, Grammar §§560c, 701.

yathā jyok sumanā asat (ApMB. asā) ApMB. HG.
yathāso mitravardhanāḥ AV. KS. yathāsa rāṣṭravardhanāḥ TB. (no need to read yathāso as suggested in Conc.)
yat sanavathā (MS. KS. vāthāḥ) pāruṣam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
īṣṭāpārte kṛnavāthāvir (VSK. SB. vāthāvir; TS. TB. MS. kṛnavād āvir)
asmai (MS. asmāt) VS. VSK. TS. TB. SB. MŚ.
punās te pṛāṇa āyati (so TS.; TA. āyitī; AS. āyāt) TS. TA. AS.
(f) Sporadic and doubtful interchanges of babhūtha and babhūva

trāṁ hi hotā prathamo babhūtha (MS. SMB. MG. babhūva; and so 2 mss. of Kauś.) TS. KS. MS. Kauś. SMB. MG. Comm. at SMB. babhūva, babhūtha.

patyur janitvam abhi saṁ babhūtha (TA. vā) RV. AV. TA. 'Thou hast entered into the relation of wife to husband.' The comm. on TA., which reads babhūva in both edd., glosses sāmyak prāṇābhū. These two cases suggest interesting reflections on commentators' psychology, but they are not really as bad as they look; babhūva is probably due to a blend construction, with thought of bhavān or bhavāt understood. Such constructions are not unknown in the later language. See Bloomfield, JAOS 43. 297, and below, §332.—A third interchange between babhūtha and babhūva is rectified in the Poona ed. of TB., see §342.

(g) The endings masi and mas.

A single time, in late texts, these interchange, the form in masi being apparently the original, or certainly metrically superior:
yatra vayam vadāmasi (HG. mhaḥ) ApMB. HG.

(h) 3d plural uḥ for uḥ:

upo ha yad vidathāṁ vājino guḥ (TB. gāḥ) RV. MS. TB. 3d plural root-
aor. of gā; TB. (both edd.) anomalous; comm. uchhanto varānte.

(i) iṃ for ire in 3d plur. perfect middle (passive).

tāḥ pṛācyā (Vait. rāḥ; MS. pṛācīr) uṣjīgāhīre (KS. hāre; Vait. sam-
jīgāre, all mss.) KS. Vait. MS. pṛācīr cōążgāhīre ApŚ.

(k) Preterit 2d plural with primary tha for secondary ta.
ye 'tra pitarah...bhūyāṣṭā AV. SS.: ya etasmān lokē...bhūyāṣta TS.

TB. The form in tha is of course wholly anomalous, but appears to be read by all mss. of both AV. and SS.; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86, and §17.
CHAPTER VIII. MATTERS PERTAINING TO AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION

§263. This chapter is concerned with two topics: presence or absence of augment in preterite forms, and various changes in the form of reduplication.

PRETERITES WITH AND WITHOUT AUGMENT

§264. Augmentless forms are ambiguous, being either preterites or injunctives; the functional relation of augmentless forms to corresponding augmented forms is therefore indeterminate. This uncertainty is increased by the frequent correspondence otherwise between preterites and all sorts of definite modal forms which we have met as one of the established features of the variants. Just as those correspondences take place both in principal clauses (§§130 ff.) and in dependent clauses (§145), so the interchanges between augmented and augmentless preterites may be conveniently divided into the same two groups. The following list rests on the assumption that both are preterites. But in the circumstances of Vedic diction there is nothing to prevent one or another of them from harboring interchange between preterite and modal (injunctive) force. Thus,

bhargo me vocah; bhargam me vocah,
might be respectively, 'thou hast bespoken for me luster', and, 'bespeak for me luster'. Such a case would then have to be transferred to the rubric Aorist and Injunctive, §132. And, conversely, various of the forms which we have tentatively grouped under Preterites and Injunctives might perhaps equally well be placed here. See also §146 for a few cases of augmented and augmentless prohibitives.

§265. When the word preceding the variant verb-form ends in e or o, we must further remember that the following augment a is usually (and especially in late texts) represented, if at all, only by the avagraha in our manuscript tradition; and the presence or absence of this avagraha in our edited texts is often a matter of editing only, since the manuscripts are apt to be very undependable. Thus, in the above-mentioned example bhargo me vocah, the Conc. records MS. 5. 2. 15. 2 as vocah, and Knauer's text reads so; but his note tells us that his mss. omit the avagraha, both here and generally. In such cases, therefore, little im-
portance is to be attached to this seeming variation. Hence we have
separated in the following list the cases in which the verb is preceded by
ε or o from the rest.

Preterites with or without augment in principal clauses

§266. a. Preceded by a word ending in ε or o.

Indra ya tvā srmo 'dadat (SG. śrama dādat) MS. MŚ. SG. SMB. Cf.

§193. Oldenberg regards dādat as modal, which is of course possible.

Tad agnir agnaye 'dadat (KS. MŚ. dādat) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Again dādat
may be modal.

Somā dādat (SMB. GG. PG. 'dādat, HG. 'dādat) Gandharvāya, gan-

dhārva dādat (SMB. 'dādat) agnaye (HG. Gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadat)

RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. See the preceding
two items.

Bhargo me 'vocah (PB. text vocah, comm. avocah = uktavān asi; on MŚ.
see above) PB. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: bhargam me vocah ŚŚ. Also with
bhudram, bhūtiḥ, yaśo, etc.

Ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS. TS. TB. 'yāt) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.
TB.: ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi MŚ. KS. Here both forms
seem to be preterites, 'I have (thou hast) sacrificed away'; no modal
force is likely.

(Agni ca visno tata uttamam maho) dīkṣāpālābhyo vanatāṁ (AS. dīkṣā-
pālāya vanatāṁ) hi bakrā TB. AS. So the Bhil. Ind. ed. of TB. reads,
in text and comm.; but the comm. treats (a)vanatāṁ as modal; and
the Poona ed., text and comm., reads vanatāṁ. Probably no real
variant.

[satyam re (and, ṛtam satye) dhāyi (ApŚ. 'dhāyī; TS. KSA. 'dhām) TS.
Both forms preterites, but probably no augmentless form involved.]

§267. b. Not preceded by ε or o.

Agharman agnim tayam asadī (TA. 'dīt) RV. TA.: agharman agnim arīro
na sādī MŚ.

Uktham avacindraya ŚŚ.: uktham vācindraya TS. AB. GB. AS. Vait.

ApŚ. MŚ.: ukthyan vācindraya śravate te AŚ.

Pitūr iva nāmāgrabhīṣam (ApMB. 'bhāṣam; PG. nāma jagrabham) PG.
ApMB. HG.: pitur nāmeva jagrabha RVKh. Stenzler renders
PG. 1. 13. 1 'möge ich den Namen eines Vaters erlangen.' But
three preterites besides jagrabham make the construction of the
latter (pluperfect; cf. Whitney, Grammar §818a) as preterite more
likely. See §§200, 219f.
turīyendamanvata (ŚŚ. turīyena manvata) nāma dhenaḥ AV. ŚŚ. utem anānāmuh (KB. ŚB. KŚ. ŚŚ. uteva navānāmuh) TS. MS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MS.

ayāṁ punāṇa uṣaso virocayat (SV. uṣaso arocayat) RV. SV. The RV. form is clearly preterite; cf. the parallel abhavat in the next pāda. pary abhūd (RV. uṣarbhud bhūd) atithir jātavedāḥ RV. MS.

indrāya susuvur (MS. KS. indrāyāsusuvur) madam VS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. §220. The form asusuvuh, strictly speaking pluperfect, is really nothing more than an augmented perfect, doubtless secondary to susuvuh; MS. p.p. indrāya susuvuh.—Yet more anomalous is the next:

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (TA. vyasarjarja) bhūmyām TA. Mahān U. The TA. has a monstrosity; see §220.

grāhā ajāgupatam yuvam AŚ.; grāhā (MS. grāhā) juçupatam yuvam MS. MS. Both versions are indicative, being contrasted with grāhā gopāyataṁ yuvam, see Conc.

§268. Preterites with or without augment in dependent clauses.

īyam eva sā yā prathamād vyuḥchat (ŚG. vyuḥchat) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

ārdhvā yasyātmār bhā adidyutat (VSK. atidyutat) savēmanā AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The variation is really phonetic (t: d, surd: sonant).

(yam...) svādhya (TB. svādhya) vidathe apsu ājianan (TB. apsv ājianan) RV. TB.

anādā yadi ājianad (SV. yad ājianad) adhā ca nu (SV. adhā cid d) RV. SV.

yad enaṁ dyaur ajanayat (RV. janayat) suretāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. Clearly the RV. form is archaic; see Oldenberg, Proleg. 306, 313.

yenāpāṃśatān (SMB. v. l. *ṣataṁ) surām ŚŚ. SMB.; yenāvamśatāṁ surām PG. In a series of preterite formulas. PG. comm. explains the lack of augment as Vedie license.

yame īva yatanāne yad aitam (TA. etam; but Poona ed. aitam) RV. AV. AB. KB. TA. AŚ. ‘When like two twins in step ye went.’ Probably no real variant.

INTERCHANGES CONCERNING REDUPLICATION

§269. Many of these concern the quantity of the reduplicating vowel, and belong to the class of Rhythmic Changes in Quantity (cf. §§259–261);
they belong really to the section on Phonetics. Obscuration of the original principles of the rhythmic change has resulted in great irregularity, however.

§270. In a series of formulas piṣṭhi of MS. exchanges with piṣṭhī of TA. (and ApŚ.); we thus have forms presenting the aspect of a double or compensating rhythmic shift of quantity. [It seems to me likely that MS. understands piṣṭhī as 'drink!', root pā, while piṣṭhī certainly means 'swell!', root pṛṣī. F. E.]

subhūṣṭya piṣṭhī (TA. piṣṭhī) MS. TA. And so with brahmaśaracāśya; īṣe; ārje; astay više (TA. omits these) mahaya jyaisthyāya; asmāi (TA. omits) brahmaṇe, and kṣatrāya. ApŚ. also has īṣe, and ārje, piṣṭhī. See §192.

§271. The next group certainly contains cases of rhythmic lengthening, sometimes with metrical bearings, but primarily phonetic in character:
ugrāḥṣegov ajigrabhat MS.; ...ajigrabham, and ajigrbham, KS. piyapsyata (AŚ. yi) iva te manah (AŚ. mukham) AŚ. ŚŚ. imam agne camasaṁ mā vi jihvarah (TA. jti) RV. AV. TA. AG.
gṛhān ajūgupalam yuvam AŚ.; gṛhān (MS. gṛhāṁ) jugupalām yuvam MS. MŚ.

prajāṁ me (ApŚ. also, no) naryājjugupah (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. l. jājugupah) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Also:

paśāṁ me (nah) sahasyājugupah (ApŚ. jājugupah) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. And similar formulas in the same passage.

kucanto aham vaiṛdhānta (AV. vā) indram RV. AV. KS. Whitney, Grammar §786a.

trīta enam (read, trīta enam) manuṣyeṣu māmrje AV.; trīta etan manuṣyeṣu māmrje TB. The AV. form is the more usual, but that of TB. is metrically better. See Whitney, l. e.

§272. There is, next, a small group showing confusion between the reduplicating vowels ē (characteristic of the present) and a (perfect), which marks a certain blurring of the regular tense distinction between these types. Cf. the item in the Conc.: hastagrābhasya didhisos (AV. dadhisos) ... RV. AV. TA.

pra bhānauḥ-sīsrate (SV. sarate) nākam acha RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS.

Here sarate is anomalous; cf. Oldenberg, Proleg. 281.

vrṣāva cakraīd (and, cakraīd) vane RV.; vṛṣo acikradad vane SV. The forms cakraīd ("das") are counted perfect subjunctives; Whitney, Grammar §810.

tāḥ prācyā (Vait. yah; MŚ. cīr) uṣjīgūhīre (KS. ire; Vait. samjīgātre)
KŚ. Vait. MS.: prāctā cojajāhīre ApŚ. Perfect forms; i is anomalous.

§273. The rest are odds and ends which concern reduplication in various ways; they are mostly problematic. There are a couple of apparent perfect active participles with unreduplicated stems, one obviously due to haplography, the other perhaps corrupt:
viṣāṁ vavarjuṣṭāṁ (AV. viṣāṁ avarjā) RV. AV. See Whitney on AV. 7. 50. 2.

Once the reduplicated sāsrjmahe exchanges with sānjarjmahe, the preposition sam replacing the reduplicating syllable sa:
agni sāsrjmahe (MS. sanjar) giraḥ RV. SV. MS. KS.

The remaining cases are not only anomalous but textually dubious:
sam tvā tatakṣuḥ (LŚ. tatakṣat) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. See §231, end. We have little confidence in the edited text of LŚ.
(devīr dvāra indram saṅghāte) viḍvīr yāmān avardhayan (TB. viḍvīr yāmān tvaradhayan) VS. TB. See §218, end; read probably avardhayan in TB.
[jajanaṭ (TB. prajanaṭ; but Poona ed. correctly jajanaṭ) indram indriyāya svahā (MS. om.) MS. TB. TA. ŚŚ.]
CHAPTER IX. VARIATIONS IN GRADE OR QUANTITY OF STEMS AND ALLIED MATTERS

§274. The matters included in this chapter are more or less homogeneous in that they all deal with verbal stems or bases which present, in alternative readings, both quantitatively fuller and less full forms. We have found it convenient to subdivide them as follows, without very much regard for conventional grammatical categories, but so as to bring together forms which seem to us really to belong together:

1. Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak.
2. Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including ū-stems).
3. Strong and weak Perfect forms.
4. Interchanges between strong and weak stems in ū (rū, arū), and other variants of ū.
5. Interchanges between radical short and long ū before ū.
6. Other long and short ū and ū in radical syllables.
8. Presence or absence of intermediate ū.
9. Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms.

1. Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak

§275. As compared with the almost complete rigidity of Classical Sanskrit in regard to the separation of strong and weak stems in non-thematic presents, the Vedic language shows remarkable fluidity on this point; see Bloomfield’s article ‘On certain irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives’, AJP 5. 16ff. This is particularly the case in the 5th and 9th classes; and it usually manifests itself in encroachment of the strong stem on the weak. The variants, at least, show no case of the converse spread of the weak stem at the expense of the strong; whereas they repeatedly show the normal kṛṣṇa or punāhi or the like replaced by kṛṣṇa or punāhi. In one formula, barhi strūhi or strūhi, ApŚ. shows both forms. Of course the strong forms are to be regarded, at least morphologically, as secondary, and due to analogical spread from forms where the strong stem is regular. But it frequently happens that the chronology of the variants runs counter to this; that is, an older text
has the ‘secondary’ or analogical form, which is replaced by the regular form in a later text. Meter sometimes seems to have been concerned in the choice of the irregular form.

\textit{nu: no}

\textit{kr̥ṇata (AV. kr̥ṇuta) dhūmaṁ vr̥ṣaṇam (AV. ⁴ṇah) sakṛhavāḥ RV. AV. urvī rodayati varivas (TS. KS. ⁴vah) kr̥ṇotam (KS. kr̥ṇutam) TS. MS. KS.}

Here KS. is metrically inferior; we may guess that metrical considerations dictated the use of the analogical kr̥ṇotam.

\textit{sunotā ā ca dhāvataḥ RV. sunotā ca dhāvata AV. Cf. sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV. The form sunotā is well-known in RV.}

\textit{yunakta śrī vi yugā tanudhwas (AV. TS. MS. KS. tanota) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.}

\textit{nī: nā, and analogous forms}

\textit{jātvavedah punthi (MS. punāhi)nā RV. VS. MS. KS.}

\textit{pavitrēṇa punḥi (MS. punāhi)nā VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚŚ.}

\textit{punthēndrāya (SV. VS. punāhi) pātāv RV. SV. VS. Vait.}

\textit{asmān punthi cakṣase AV.: māṁ punhi (MS. punāhi) viśvataḥ RV. VS. MS. KS.}


\textit{svistām agne abhi tat prṛṇāḥ (PG. prṛṇi; KS. tadd graṅghī) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.}

\textit{vivasvadvēte abhi no graṅghī (TS. graṅghī) TS. MS. KS. AS.}

\textit{etāḥ jānāthā (KS. jānā, TB. jānītā) parame vyomaṁ VS. KS. ŚB. TB.}

In one case the root ḫa, whose present inflection is analogous to that of the 9th class (cf. Whitney, Grammar 601a), presents a similar variation:

\textit{atrā jāhama (AV. jahita) ye asan aśeśāḥ (AV. aśivāḥ, and asan dureśāḥ) RV. AV. (bis) TA.: atra (ŚB. aṭra) jahmo 'śivā ye asan VS. ŚB.}

2. Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including r-stems)

§276. Owing to the considerable mix-up between the various aorist systems, there is sporadic interchange between their stem-grades; a stem-grade appropriate to one formation is analogically transferred to another. In some cases there is doubt as to which aorist formation we are dealing with, and the variation in the form of the stem is itself often taken as evidence for the fact that different formations are concerned; it is, indeed, not infrequently the only such evidence available. See §§202 ff. for such examples. But the line between them and the class now under consideration is by no means always clear. Thus, in the first
example, it is customary to regard bheḥ and bhāḥ as respectively 1st and 4th aorists, and we have so treated them above; while rok and ruk are placed in this group as being both, apparently, root-aorists.

mā bheḥ mā rok (VSK. rok; TS. māro) mā ca naḥ (TS. mā yām) kim canāmānā VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.; mā bhāir mā rok mo ca (KS. rauḥ mā) naḥ kim canāmānā MS. KS.

§277. Similarly in several cases of s-aorists active, the vṛddhi vowel alternates with the guṇa (Whitney, Grammar §887a); sometimes one, sometimes the other form seems original:

abhyarākṣīd (AŚ. rākṣīd) āsmākaṃ putar āgamāt (AŚ. āyanāt) MS. AŚ. āṣam ārjam anyā vakṣat (TB. vakṣit) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N. See §167.

pra sakṣati pratimānām prthivyāḥ AV.; pra sakṣate pratimānāṁ bhūri RV. AV. N.

ud akramād dāraviṇo dāvyo anvā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.; ud akramād (pratika) ApŚ.

mā (VS. ŚB. add vayaṁ) rāyaspoṣena vi yauṣma VS. MS. ŚB.; māham raḥ vi yosaṁ TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

ithaiva saṁ mā vi yauṣṭam (ApMB. yostam) RV. AV. ApMB.

§278. In two cases the disyllabic stems grabhāi and ṣarāi interchange with their reduced forms grabhā and ṣarī; see Whitney, Grammar §904b; Bloomfield, ZDMG 48, 574ff.

pitur ivā nāmāgrahīṣam (ApMB. grahāṣam; PG. nāma jagrabham) PG. ApMB. HG.: pitur nāmeva jagrabha RVKH.

indrā enam (TB. ApŚ. enaṁ) parāśarīt AV. TB. ApŚ.: cf. indro vo 'dya paraśarait AV. But for this last SPP, with most mss. and Ppp. reads 'ṣarīt, the regular form.

§279. In a similar manner the 1st singular middle forms of the s and iṣ aorists show variation between reduced vowel and guṇa, in four variants. These forms may also be considered precatives; see Whitney, Grammar §§567a, 568, 923.

sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'vy evaham pakubhit ca brāhmaṇavaranca ca ruṣṭīya (MS. tvam rucyā rocasa enam ahum rucyā rociṣṭya) AV. MS. The MS. has the regular form; Whitney, Grammar §899b; cf. §907, where these forms are called precatives.

vāmī te sandrī śivam reta dhiṣīya (KS. dhiṣṭa) MS. KS.: śivavasya te viṣṭātato yātāvātāh tavāgne vāmī anu sandrī śivā retāṇā ti dhiṣīya TS. The i-form is regular; Whitney, Grammar §879b, cf. §884.

somasyaḥāṃ devayajayaḥ sureṭā (MS. viśva) reta dhiṣīya (MS. dheṣīya) TS. ApŚ. MS.: somo retodḥāś laṣyāḥāṃ devayajayaḥ suretoddhā reto dhiṣīya KS.
The root sah 'be strong', exhibits interchange between a and ś in the radical syllable twice in the perfect, as well as once in the aorist (see the item pra sākṣati or sākṣate, etc., under the preceding rubric). Long ś appears in other forms of this root, as is well known (sāhati, sāhyāna, sādha, sādhvat, sādhra, see Whitney's *Roots* s. v.); in some of these (the last three, at least) 'compensatory lengthening' has operated; possibly the other instances are analogical extensions from such forms.

3. Strong and weak Perfect forms.

§280. The root sah 'be strong', exhibits interchange between a and ś in the radical syllable twice in the perfect, as well as once in the aorist (see the item pra sākṣati or sākṣate, etc., under the preceding rubric). Long ś appears in other forms of this root, as is well known (sāhati, sāhyāna, sādha, sādhvat, sādhra, see Whitney's *Roots* s. v.); in some of these (the last three, at least) 'compensatory lengthening' has operated; possibly the other instances are analogical extensions from such forms.

bīheda valam (AV. AŚ. balam, but SPP. valam for AV.) bhṛgur na sasanē (AV. sasūhe) AV. SV. AŚ. SŚ.

yat sasahat (SV. sasāhā; KS.† sasāhat) sudane kāṁ cid atrīṇam RV. SV. KS.

Otherwise there are only sporadic interchanges:

krūram ānaśa (KS.† ApŚ. ānāśa) martaḥ (KS.† martaḥ) AV. KS. ApŚ.

Both are in reality variant 'strong' forms of the tangled root aś, aṅś, naś.

nirjāganvān (TS. *jagmivān*) tamaso jyotipagāt RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Alternative perfect participles; Whitney §805a.

svām cāgne tanvān (TA. tanuvān) piprâyava (AV. piprávā) RV. AV. TA. MahānU. Both forms are anomalous; they are classed as perfect imperatives. Whitney on AV. 6. 110, 1 I would read piprâyava, but we do not see that this is a particularly better form than the other.

ād īd antā addadhranta pūrve KS.: yadeś antā addadhranta (TS. addadhr- hanta) pūrve RV. VS. TS. MS. Pluperfects.

4. Interchanges between strong and weak stems in r (ra, ari), and other variants of r.

§281. Here we group a few cases, mostly aorists (and therefore belonging also with No. 2, §§276 ff. above), in which we suspect that the variation between strong and weak r-forms is more due to phonetic change or corruption. The three cases of śṛbh: grābh are part of a tendency to reduce r + vowel to r; they will be treated along with similar cases outside the verbal conjugation in the chapter on Saṃprasārana in our section on Phonetics. The solitary case of jāgrāya for the more
normal jāgaritāya is best accounted for as due to the same tendency. In the sixth example, bhartam: bhṛtam, we have root-aorist forms, analogous to rūk: rōk above (§276). Somewhat similar to the variation between ṛ and ra, ari, is that between ṛ and ri in two variants presently to be quoted, viz. vayam rāśre jāgriyāma (jāgriyāma) etc., and āpāpriyān (āpāpriyān) etc., §287.

agrbhit VSK.: agrabhiti VS. AS. ŚŚ. agrabhīṣata VS.: agrabhīṣata KS.
udgrābhenod agrabhiti (MS. ajīgrabhat; KS. ajūgrabham, and ajīrbham) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
jāgaritāya (KSA. jāgṛtāya) svahā TS. KSA.
śītas tvam śīto 'ham ApŚ.: śītās tvan śīto 'ham KS. Apparently pples. from monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms of the same base.
bhartam (VS. ŚB. bhṛtam) aṃnīṃ purūsyam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Whitney, Grammar §831a.

5. Interchanges between radical short and long i before y

§282. Before suffixal y, final radical i appears alternatively as ī in a couple of variants:
sarvāṇ patho anṛśa ā kṣayema (AV. kṣi') AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The ī is bad metrically as well as formally.
yūpāyocechṛiyamāñyānubrāhi (MS. ecchṛiya') ApŚ. MŚ. But most mss. of MŚ. read 'cchṛiya', and as this is (before the ya of the passive) the grammatically regular form, it should probably be read.

§283. Somewhat similar to these variants, which are really phonetic in character and will be dealt with in our Phonetics section, are the two variants showing i or ī in denominative stems (§243; janiyanti and janiyanto...), putriyanti and putriyantaḥ...); and likewise, from another standpoint, the variant vayam rāśre jāgriyāma (jāgriyāma) etc., §287, where influence of the following y may be suspected in the form with ri for ṛ.

6. Other long and short i and u in radical syllables

§284. A miscellaneous list, as follows:
advāmba (VS. ŚB. KS. av) rudrāma adimahi (VS. ŚB. KS. adī), and so v. l. of MS. KS. MŚ., with MS. p. p.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist from dā 'share'. The meter favors ī.
prāti śma (SV. śma) deva riṣatlāḥ (SV. riś', and so RV. p. p.) RV. SV. MŚ. KS. TB.
vājino vājījito vājam vāśrūṅsā (KS. jigīrāṇsā; TS. sāśrūṅsā vājam jigīrāṇsā)... VS. TS. KS. SB. Roots ji and jīd, jī? Cf. next.
ajītāḥ (TA. ajītāḥ; ApMB. and one ms. of HG. ajītā) syādā sāradāh śatam TA. ApMB. HG. Cf. pree. TA. comm. paraphrases by ajītāḥ.
samīṅgayati (SB. samīṅ) sāratah RV. SB. BrhU. The true reading of BrhU. is that of SB.; "ṅ" is Boehtlingk's emendation.
prathāstah pra suhi (KS. sāhi; MS. suva; Ap. suva pra suhi) AŚ. SS. KS. Ap. MS. suhi looks like a blend of sāhi and suva.
mā hindiṣyur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB. ūk) AV. ApMB.

7. Long and short 'intermediate i'

§285. There are a few cases of unstable quantity in the i which may be called, broadly speaking, the Sanskrit representitive of the schwa-vowel in the second syllable of dissyllabic (set) roots; we include here i and ī before the s of the aorist, since that originally belonged in this category. Among the latter, it is noteworthy that we find both instances of 3d singular forms with short ī where it should be long, and plural or dual forms with long ī where it should be short. The cases are very few in number, and probably analogical in both instances.
suṣami śamīṣa (TS. TB. śamīṣa; KS. śamīṣa) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB.

sa idam devebhyo havīh (havyāṁ) śamīṣa (TS. TB. omit) suṣami śamīṣa (TS. TB. śamīṣa) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB.: devebhyo havīṁ śamīṣa MS.
amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś. ęgūṁ yathālokaṁ) āversāyāṣata (AŚ. āversāyāṣata; SS. avēryāṣata) VS. VSK. SB. AŚ. SS. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. See §§201, 243.
tato no mitrāvarṇāyāviṣṭam TB.: tena no mitrāvarṇāyā (MS. ęd) avēṣṭam RV. MS. avēṣṭam doubtless analogous to avēti.
mā tvāngir dhanaṇāyā (TS. ęid, KSA. ęd, MS. dhanaṇāyā) dhūmacandhāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §174; Whitney, Grammar §1048; and cf. indro vājam ajayit, TS. 1. 7. 8. 1, TB.

8. Presence or absence of 'intermediate i'

§286. The principal group under this head consists of aorist forms in -ṛ- or -ṛṣ-, from roots in ṛ. Only the first two variants concern a root (car) which regularly forms both s and ś aorists; on these see §206. Otherwise the variants are apparently rather phonetic than morphological in character; they concern svaraḥkāti, on which cf. Wackernagel
1. §§49–53; they will be dealt with in our chapter on Insertion and Expulsion of Vowels, in the section of this work on Phonetics. They are of two sorts. Some concern roots which form aorists of the simple type (Whitney’s 4th aorist), in which an i is alternately inserted before the s. The others concern roots of the is type (Whitney’s 5th aorist), from which the i is sometimes dropped by a kind of ‘hyper-Sanskritism’; the pronunciation -ris- seems to have been sometimes felt as dialectic and vulgar, and is occasionally ‘restored’ to -ry- by late texts in forms where -ris- is the only historically correct form, as in the Kauś reading tārṣat for tāriṣat, below. There are thus three divisions of these variations between -ry- and -ris-:

(a) From roots which form aorists in both s and is:

agnor vratahe vratahe acāriṣam (MS. and MŚ. v. l. acārṣam) VS. TS. MS. KS.† SB. SS. ApŚ. MS. HG.

vratahe vratahe (Kauś. 2patayo) vratahe acāriṣam (MS. acārṣam) MS. TA. Kauś.

(b) From roots regularly forming only s aorist:

dakṣaṁ te bhadram abhārṣam RV.; dakṣaṁ ta ugram abhārīṣam AV. Most mss. of AV. agree on abhārṣam, tho the comm. reads abhārṣam, which the meter supports. No is aorist of bhr is recorded.

diteḥ putrāṁ aditer akārṣam (MS. akārṣam) AV. MS. The verse is otherwise jagati, so that probably akārṣam is to be read in AV. with many mss. and SPP.; Ppp., however, has akārṣam, and if akārṣam is the true reading it is a matter of phonetics rather than morphology; no 5th aorist from kṛ is recorded.

yad rātriṣa (MahānU. and v. l. of TA. 2tryā) pāram akārṣam (TA. v. l. akārṣam, not recorded in Poona ed.) TA. MahānU. Cf. prec. The meter supports the regular form akārṣam.

tan naḥ parṣaṇ (MS. parṣad) ati divaḥ TS. MS. KS. TB. (Read parṣaṇa twice in MS.; in 2. 7. 12e von Schroeder reads parṣad against all his avhikī mss. Ace, to his note l. e. Kaps. also has parṣad.) The form parṣaṇ is metrically inferior and formally unprecedented (RV. has pārṣaṇ).

(c) From roots regularly forming only is aorist:

pra na (SV. MS. PB. na) dyaṇaḥ tāriṣat (Kauś. tāṛṣat) RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N. The isolated form of Kauś. (all mss.) can only be an ignorant attempt to ‘correct’ the supposedly dialectic pronunciation with i. This is shown not only by the meter, but by the fact that a 4th aorist from
the dissyllabic root \( \text{tr} \) is monstrous and unheard of. Cf. Wackernagel, 1. §53c. end.

\( \text{āchetā te (TB. ApŚ. *ro) mā riṣam (KS. riṣat; MS. māṛṣam) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS.} \) In MS. also māṛṣam should be read, with all Knauer's mss. But the form is monstrous. Strictly speaking it is a 2d (thematic) aorist, from the root riṣ, the s as well as the i being radical. But it belongs here as being an instance of hyper-Sanskritic pronunciation or riṣ for riṣ.

§287. There remain only a few cases, more or less dubious in character, which present the aspect of alternative loss or insertion of an 'intermediate i' in other cases than when preceded by \( \text{r} \) and followed by \( \text{s} \):

\( \text{puru tuv dāśvān (SV. dāśivān) voce RV. SV. N. Cf. Whitney, Grammar §803a.} \) \( \text{dāśvān} \) is frequently trisyllabic in RV.; Grassmann and Oldenberg assume that the \( \text{v} \) is vocalic. The SV. here presents a secondary attempt to improve the meter.

\( \text{āpaprīvān (MS. *prīvan, but p. p. *prīvān) rodaēt antarīkṣam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. These may be regarded as from by-forms of the same root, āpaprīvān is connected with prā, while the dubious nonco-} \)

form of MS., if correct, harks back to pr, which has no perfect active. The variation, if real, resembles the cases of Saṃprāśaṇa mentioned §281.

\( \text{vayam rāṣṭre jāgrīṣāna (KS. MS. *mā; TS. and p. p. of MS. jāgrīṣāna)} \)

\( \text{purohitaḥ VS. VŚK. TS. MS. KS.} \) The regular form of the opt. of jāgr is jāgrīṣāna. This recalls not only the Saṃprāśaṇa variants, like the preceding item, but also (since the following sound \( \text{y} \) may be suspected of being concerned in the insertion of the vowel \( \text{i} \)) the variants mentioned under 5, §§282f.

\( \text{[utkrāṃṣyate (KSA. utkrāṃṣyate) svāhā TS. KSA. So Conc., but the sole ms. of KSA. reads utkrāṃṣyate, which von Schroeder properly emends to utkrāṃṣyate.]} \)

9. Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms

§288. Three cases which fall in nowhere else:

\( \text{madhū yazāṁ niṣyati (VS. TS. niṣyase) prīṇānaḥ (AV. prāś) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Ppp. has prīṇānaḥ with the rest.} \)

\( \text{agni yat te tejas tena tam atējasam kṛyau (KS. taṁ prati tiṣyaṇādi; MS. ApŚ. taṁ prati tiṣyaṇādi) . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. The strange} \)

\( \text{tiṣyaṇādi of KS. 6. 9 (p. 59, l. 20) is supported by the present prati-} \)

\( \text{tyakti, KS. 7. 6 (p. 68, l. 11). It is an adventurous formation, on} \)
the pattern, say, of \textit{vidh: vyadh}; possibly, however, a thought of the root \textit{tyaj} may have helped to form it.

\textit{ajjapata} (TS. TB. \textit{ajjipata}) \textit{vanaspatayah} TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. Reduplicated (causative) aorists from the root \textit{ji} 'conquer'; both, but especially \textit{ajjapata}, are highly anomalous.

Cf. also the variant causative stems listed §242, and denominatives, §243.
CHAPTER X. PERSON AND NUMBER

Introductory remarks

§289. The very numerous variations in person and number of verb forms are superficially quite different in character from the other verbal variants. Yet fundamentally they resemble them more than appears at first sight. Like the rest, broadly speaking, they mark and illustrate temperamental fluidity, or shifts in psychological attitude. Thus, to begin with, an activity to be performed or a result to be obtained by the ritual action of a priest or sacrificer may be expressed by a verb in either first, second, or third person, and either singular or plural number. For many variants alternatively conceive the result accomplished, or the action performed, either by the priest or sacrificer (who may be identified with the speaker, the verb being in the first person, or addressed in the second person as being an associate of the speaker), or by some natural or supernatural potency, agency, or implement, in which power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which may be addressed in the second person or spoken of in the third. For instance, as the priest cleans various sacrificial implements, he says, addressing the implement: ‘do not wipe off (from me) speech or cattle!, vacam paśān mā nīr mārjāh MS. MŚ. But other texts, in precisely similar contexts, say: ‘may it not wipe off’, or ‘may I not (by this action) wipe off’, etc.: rūpād varṇām mā nirnārkṣat MŚ.: vacam prājan. . . mā nir nṛkṣam TS.: rūpām varṇām paśānām mā nirnārkṣam ApŚ. The real meaning is essentially identical in all. A very considerable proportion of the variations between first person verbs, on the one hand, and second or third (or both) on the other, belong to this category in which the matter is credited now to the medicine-man or priest himself, now to an agency or potency, whether human, divine, or merely instrumental, which is associated with him and thru which he operates. See §§302, 304, 312.

§290. As between first and second person, another important group contains variations in which the subject of the verb is really the same in either case, namely the priest or priests and his or their associates, who may be spoken of indifferently in the first or second person. See §307. Thus, in mitrāya (satāya) havyām āhṛtavaj juhota (‘vad vidhema), ‘to Mitra (the true one) offer ye (let us offer) oblation with ghee’, it makes not the slightest real difference whether the persons who are to offer
oblation are called 'we' or 'ye'; both forms of the pada occur in precisely the same stanza. Moreover, either or both of the verbs may in such cases be either singular or plural: I or 'we', 'thou' or 'ye.' Indeed, nearly all variations between first person singular and first person plural are cases of precisely this sort; see the long list in §345, of which the following may serve as an example: yad dhistabhga cakrapa (AV. cakrat) kubikanti AV. MS. TB. TA., 'if I (we) have committed sins with the two hands.' In such cases it is often impossible to say whether the plural expression really thinks of a group of individuals of whom the speaker is one, or whether it is 'editorial', referring really to none but the speaker himself. In many cases, undoubtedly, the latter is true; nor is it at all necessary to suppose then that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in the plural form, altho such may occasionally be the case. See §344 for a few instances where first plural verbs are certainly used referring to the single speaker alone; e.g. satam jivem (PG, co jivam) saradah puricch PG. MG., which is spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil: 'may we (which means 'I', as in PG.) live a hundred numerous autumns!' Even MG. has first singular verbs in the rest of the stanza where this pada occurs.—For a few similar cases of second person singular and plural, referring to associates of the priestly speaker, see §347; and for mixed cases (first singular and second plural, or vice versa) see §307, end; e.g. tasmad indraya sutam a juheta (juhomi), 'to him, Indra, offer ye (I offer) the pressed drink.'

§291. Another class of variations, involving both person and number, consists of generalizing statements, in which the subject is really indefinite, 'people' in general, 'one' (French on, German man). Such expressions are usually third person, most commonly plural, but sometimes also singular, as in: brahmajayeyam iti (AV. jayeti) ced avoca (AV. cat) RV. AV., 'if they (indefinite) have (one has) said, she is a brahman's wife!' See §359 for others of this type. Such generalizing third persons also vary with 1st or 2d person forms, which are sometimes definite (as are some of the third person singulars which vary with indefinite third plurals), but sometimes also indefinite. Thus we have a 1st plural indefinite varying with a 3d plural, also indefinite, in: yathâ kalam yathâ kapam yatha saam samayamasi (AV. yatharham samayamant), evâ duisampiya sarvan âypte (AV. apriye, or dvesate) samayamasi RV. AV. (bis), 'as we (= people in general; or, they) load up... a debt, so all the bad-dreaming we load up on (Trita) Ayya (or, the enemy).' And even a singular form, 1st person as well as third, may be used in this indefinite sense: tam tvâ bhaga sarva ij jobhâmi (RV. VS.
"It) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB., 'on thee, Bhaga, every one calls lustily'; or, 'on thee, Bhaga, do every I call'. Whitney on AV. 3. 10. 5 renders mechanically 'do I call, entire'; but obviously it can only mean 'do I and every one like me call', or the like; the surrounding pādas have 1st person verbs, and have influenced this. The TB. comm. glosses johavīmi by āhavaṇi, which is by no means as foolish as it might seem at first sight; indeed, it may be called rather exceptionally acute.—On the other hand it is commoner for definite 1st or 2d person forms to exchange with indefinite 3d persons, whether singular or (more often) plural, as in: vacāhāya āśā (SV. asmai) sthavirāya tākṣam (SV. tākṣuḥ) RV. SV., 'I (they = people in general) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (for this mighty one).' Or, 2d person: yenendrāya samabharah (MS. KS. "ran) payāṇi AV. TS. MS. KS., 'by which thou (= Agni) didst (or, they, indefinite, did) collect milk for Indra.' See §§314, 360.

§292. Among the variations concerning Person, interchanges between 1st and 2d person are relatively rare; those between 1st and 3d are somewhat commoner; but by far the most numerous are those between 2d and 3d. The great majority of these last do not present any very startling features. Most commonly they simply concern shifts from direct address to a person or thing to indirect reference, in contexts where both are equally suitable. See §§327 ff. Not infrequently an entire stanza, containing several clauses, and several verb-forms, is remodelled in this way, so that we have a series of 2d person verbs varying with a series of 3d persons, as in:

navo-navo bhavati (AV. JUB. "esi) jāyamānah, ahuṁ ketur uṣasām ety (AV.† esy) agram (TS. agre), bhāguṁ devebhya vidadhāty (AV. "esy) āyan, pra candramās tārate (TS. "ti; AV.† "mas tārāse) dīrgam āyuḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.; first pāda also TB. AS. HG. BDh. JUB. VHDh.; 'Ever new he becomes (thou becomest) born, as banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at the head of the dawns, arriving he shares (thou sharpest) out fortune to the gods, the moon lengthens (thou, O moon, lengthenest) out long life.'

§293. It will be noted that, consistently with the verbs, the subject here shifts from nominative to vocative when 2d person replaces 3d; and that the change is made with all verbs in the stanza. In the majority of cases the syntax is thus consistent in both 2d and 3d person passages. There remain, however, a good many passages where the change results in more or less inconsistency. Not seldom we find a third person verb with vocative subject. This occurs three times in the same stanza in the PG. version of the following:
yena striyaṃ (PG. śtriyaṃ) akrutatam (PG. *tāṃ; ŚŚ. striyāś akurtatam),
yenāṃśatam (PG. *caṃśatāṃ) surām, yenākṣān (ŚŚ. *kṣān, PG. *kṣyāc) abhyasaṇṇatam (PG. *tāṃ), yad vāṃ tad aśvinā yaśaḥ ŚŚ. PG. SMB.
Here the direct address to the Aśvins (note the 2d person pronoun vāṃ, showing that aśvinā can only be vocative) in the fourth pāda makes the 3d person verbs unconstruable by strict syntax. Naturally there is a temptation to emend in such cases. But the thrice repeated 3d person forms of PG. seem to prove that such a temptation should not be yielded to lightly. Stenzler quite properly keeps the 3d persons in his text of PG., altho he translates them as if they were 2d persons. Thecomm. supplies bhavantaḥ as subject. Harsh as the construction seems to us, it was clearly the reading intended; and it is supported by many similar cases, listed §332. In the same pages we find also cases of the converse condition, namely, 2d person verbs with nominative subjects, as in:

tā enaḥ pravidhāṇau krpaṇatam MS.: tāv idam pāsūn kṛpāṇatāḥ pravidhāṇau TB.
Here only the TB. is syntactically consistent; not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects of kṛpāṇatām in the preceding, are nominative in MS.

§294. A milder form of inconsistency is found in the long list of passages found §333ff., where we find no internal inconsistency of the type just mentioned, as between subject and verb within the same clause, but rather a shift from direct address to third-person reference (or vice versa) in parallel and adjoining passages. This produces an effect of more or less harshness. It is not always, to our feeling, so intolerable as it seems in the SV. reading of the following:
yat saṃḥ sānum āruhaḥ (SV. sānā āruhaḥ) RV. SV.
This is followed by the pāda: bhūry aspaṭa karīvaṃ. 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor.' The SV. appears to say, 'When thou (Indra) didst mount from peak to peak and he (Indra) beheld much labor'; unless, indeed, we may suppose that SV. understands āruhaḥ as an anomalous verbal noun or adjective, depending on the subject of aspaṭa ('when, mounting etc., he beheld etc.'). But the occurrence of very many other cases where the parallelism is broken almost or quite as harshly justifies us in supposing that the shift in person was not too much for SV. to tolerate.

§295. Attention may be called here to a curious detail which crops out among the variants between 2d and 3d person. When the SV. repeats a RV. mantra containing a verb of which the subject is Soma, it shows a marked tendency to replace a third-person indirect reference
by a second-person direct address to Soma. For example, this occurs in each of the four pādus of the following stanza, the subject being appropriately made vocative instead of the nominative of the RV.:

_agre śindhūnām pavamāno arṣatī (SV. "si", agre vāco aśrito goṣu ga-
chati (SV. "si"), agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam (SV. "se mahad dhan-
am), svāyudhah sotṛbhīḥ pūyate ṛṣṭa (SV. "bhiḥ soma sūyase) RV. SV.
And so in practically every case found among the Variants as between RV. and SV. in which the subject of the verb is Soma. In seven other cases besides the stanza just quoted the accompanying text is syntactically consistent in both cases; these are listed §328. But in another half-dozen cases, listed §334, the second-person forms of SV. are more or less inconsistent with the context, which presents parallel third-person verbs even in SV. The reverse change of 2d to 3d person in verbs of which Soma is the subject is extremely rare in SV., and due to special reasons; see §335.

§296. Among the variants concerning number, perhaps the most interesting are those in which a verb with singular subject is made dual or plural by a simple process of multiplication of the subject, or by inclusion within the subject of another entity or entities; or vice versa in either case. The instances of the first type are grouped in §348ff. They call for no comment; the following will serve as an example:

śūndhantāṁ lokāḥ pīṭrādananāḥ VS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: śūndhantāṁ
lokāḥ pīṭrādananāḥ TS. ApŚ., ‘let the worlds (or, world) where the fathers
sit be purified.’

For the second type see §§353 ff.; the cases are somewhat less numerous, but still common enough; for example:

āśidantu (SV. āśidatu) barhiṣi mitro (TB. adds varaṇo) aryamā RV.
SV. VS. TB.
Followed by: pṛatārayāṇaḥ adhvaram. The real subject in RV. is the
gods in general; mitro aryamā are merely examples; Sāyaṇa, yo mitro
deva yaḥ cāryamā ye cānye pṛatārayāṇaḥ...devāḥ etc. The plural is
here the original form, and the alteration is a case of subtraction or
division rather than addition or multiplication of the subject. Both SV.
and TB. were troubled by the seeming disagreement between verb and
subject (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the construc-
tion; SV. by making the verb singular, agreeing with the nearer sub-
ject, mitro; and TB. by inserting varaṇo and thus providing three sub-
jects instead of two for the plural verb, in defiance of the meter.

§297. Of great interest, tho of equally great rarity, are the cases
(§358) in which a grammatically plural or dual subject (either a plural
tantum, or more than one noun felt as constituting a single unit) is alternatively construed with a singular verb, because the subject is thought of collectively as a unit:

\[ \text{drupadād eva muṇcatām (TB. ātu, so read with Poona ed.) AV. TB.} \]

The subject is found in the preceding pāda, \( bhūtām mā tasmād bhavyām ca; \) 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post.'

It would be mechanical and false to explain the singular verb of TB. as agreeing with the nearer subject bhavyam, as under the type mentioned last. Rather, the two subjects are felt in TB. as forming a single unitary concept.

§298. There remain, finally, a rather considerable number of shifts in either person or number, or both, which are due to real syntactic reconstructions of the passage involving change of subject. Either the mantra may be applied in a different connexion, with a different subject for the verb; or the context may remain the same, but owing to an internal reconstruction the subject may be different and may require a different person or number. The following examples may serve to illustrate these two types; as between second and third person, and between the various numbers, they are hardly capable of further subdivision, and will be found grouped in §§338–41, 361–71. Most of the variants between first and second person, and between first and third, naturally involve change of subject; in so far as they include recognizable groupings, attention has already been called to them.

§299. First, cases in which the formula appears in different contexts. The first example is a pāda occurring in the RV. itself in no less than four different stanzas, three of which are repeated in other texts; in three of the four the verb is second person, the varying subject being directly addressed in each; while in the fourth the subject is referred to indirectly and the verb is therefore third person. The anomalous form (bhūti) of this last version shows that it is a secondary adaptation of one of the others:

\begin{align*}
\text{asanākam evāt rhātānām (AV. tanūnām) RV, AV. SV, VS. TS.} \\
\text{MS. KS.: asanākam bodhy avē raē RV.: asē bodhy avē tanūnām RV. MS.} \\
\text{TB. TA, MahānU.: asē bhūti avē taē RV. AV. TA.; 'be thou (let him be) \\
\text{sider of our chariots (our persons)}!'}
\end{align*}

Or, a case in which all three numbers, as well as second and third persons, appear, each form being appropriate to its special context:

\begin{align*}
\text{sunotā ā ca dhāvatī RV., 'he presses and adds water'; sunula ā ca} \\
\text{dhāvatāh RV., 'they two press and add water'; sunotā ca dhāvala AV.} \\
\text{'press ye (plural) and add water'}
\end{align*}
§300. Secondly, cases in which the context is essentially the same, but an internal reconstruction furnishes the verb with a different subject, requiring different person or number or both:

ahar no atyayaparath MahānU. SMB., ‘the day has brought us across’; ahar mātyaparah AV., ‘thou (O sun) hast brought me across the day.’

pibāt somān mamādād (AŚ. ŠŚ. somam amadānan) enam īṣe (AŚ. ŠŚ. īṣayah) AV. AŚ. ŠŚ., ‘let him drink the soma, let it exhilarate him at the sacrifice (or, the sacrifices exhilarated him).’

ghṛtena dyāvāṟṇathī ā prāṇāṁ (MS. MŚ. prṛṇa; LŚ. prināṭham) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ‘O heaven and earth, be filled (gratified) with ghee’, or, ‘fill (O post) heaven and earth with ghee.’

niṣkam eva prati muñcata (‘tām) AV. (both). ‘Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace’, or ‘let him fasten on himself like a necklace.’ Here, and not infrequently, a change of voice goes with the change of person and number; see §30. Somewhat similarly, but without a change of voice, the verb is used in a different meaning in the following:

indrāṁ samatsu bhūṣata SV.; indraṁ samatsu bhūṣatu RV. AV. Preceded by: ā no viśvāsu haryah (SV. ‘yam). ‘Let Indra associate himself with us (SV., praise ye Indra), (Indra) who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict.’

§301. After these preliminary remarks, we now proceed to list the variants concerning Person and Number. As usual throughout this work, we have followed the lines of practical convenience in classifying them, without being too much bound by formal and external schemes. Thus, in the case of the Person variants, we have found it practicable to divide them first into the four natural groups of those which show (1) all three persons, (2) first and second persons, (3) first and third, and (4) second and third. Cross-references from one group to another will enable the reader to bring together such subdivisions of each group as belong together. But as regards the Number variants, such a primary division has seemed to us inadvisable, and our first division has been psychological rather than formal. We begin with variations between first and second persons singular and plural as referring to the priests and their associates. Next come cases in which the same subject appears as singular, dual, or plural, with accompanying change in number of the verb; and following this, those in which a more inclusive subject varies with a less inclusive one (§296). After this we place the very few variations in which a singular verb goes with a subject felt as collective, the formally dual or plural; and next the cases of generalizing plural and singular. Then come the variations in number due to change of subject
within the same context; then those due to change of subject involved in a change of context; and finally a few cases which seem to involve errors and corruptions with which little or nothing can be done. Within each of these groups, however, we have separated the variants which occur into the natural formal subdivisions of singular and plural, dual and each of the other numbers, and variations of all three numbers. Occasionally, and in so far as it seems desirable, we have also recognized accompanying changes of person in our subdivisions.

A. VARIANTS CONCERNING PERSON

1. Variants between all three Persons

§302. (a) Most of these are of the sort mentioned in §289 above. Namely, they concern cases in which a result is conceived as accomplished either by the priest or sacrificer (first person), or alternatively by some god, potency, agency, or implement, in which magic power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which is either addressed (in second person), or merely referred to (in third person). The considerable number of such variants, swelled by a still larger number in which only first and second persons appear (§304), or only first and third (§312), illustrates very interestingly this aspect of Vedic sacrificial psychology. Thus:

_śeṣāḥ vaca upāvadhit_ (TS. TB. *dāhīm; MS. *dāhī) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. Preceded in all by: _yā te agne 'yāśayā ('yāśayā)...
tanār... 'That... form of thine, O Agni... has driven away harsh words'; or, '... (by it) I have driven away' or 'thou hast driven away' etc. Also: _ugram vaca etc., see Conc._

Here the real agency is the same in either case; the practitioner operates thru an implement or a force which he controls, and it makes no difference whether the activity is attributed to the one or the other. Similarly:

_rācām paśun mā nir māriḥ MS. MS.: vācaṁ prāyaṁ... mā nir mṛkṣam_ TS.: _rūpād varṇam mā nirṛkṣat MS.: rūpaṁ varṇaṁ paśunāṁ mā nirṛkṣaṁ ApŚ._ And other similar formulas in the same context. [tan mā hiranyasarcasam (RVKh. tena māṁ sûryatvaccam) karotu (RVKh. akaram) pūrusu priyaṁ (ApMB. pūruṣu priyaṁ kuru) ApMB. HG. RVKh. 'O name,) make me here of golden luster, beloved among the Pārus!' or, 'let it (the name) make me' etc., or, 'by it (the name) I have made myself sun-colored' etc.

and (in different but related context) evāṁ tāṁ (ApMB. āvāṁ) garbham ādheki (ApMB. ādhatwa) RVKh. ApMB. MG., eva ādheki te garbham AV. 'Thus I fix (let him fix) the germ for thee,' or, 'fix thou this germ.' In the second version of ApMB., but only there, the woman is addressed: 'Receive thou the germ!' Note the middle voice, and see §30. In all the others the subject is either the practitioner (1st person) or some divine or magical potency (addressed in RVKh. MG., referred to in 3d person in the first version of ApMB.).

mā devśāṁ mithuyā karma (TS. mithuyā kar; MS. yūyupāma; AS. momutad; AVPpp. yuyanad, for miśo karma) bhāgam (AVPpp. TS. MS. AS. bhāgadheym) AV, AVPpp. TS. MS. TB. AS. So to be read; see Whitney on AV. 4. 39. 9. 'May we (he; mayst thou) not cheat the share of the gods' or the like. TS. kar is 2d person, with subject Agni who is addressed in the preceding pāda. Agni is also the subject of the 3d person forms of AVPpp. AS., which have 3d person references to him in the preceding pāda.

pari śāḥ pāḥī (also pātu, and pari mā pāḥī) viśataḥ AV. (all): pari teś pāmi sarvataḥ RVKh. 'Protect us (me; let him protect us; I protect thee) on all sides.' In several different contexts.

brahma tena puniḥi śāh (IŚ. mā; KS. VS. punātā mā; MS. TB. punimāhe) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. IŚ.: idam brahma punimāhe TB.: 'The charm (O Agni, that is in thy light), by that purify us (me; may we be purified).' The first person is here due to shift to middle (passive) value, see §30. The subject of the 3d person in VS. KS. can only be Agni, tho the vocative remains in these texts; VS. comm.

bhavān punātu. Cf. §332.

§303. (b) The rest are of different sorts, and can hardly be classified except as viśārāma of one another adapted to different situations; the real, as well as the grammatical, subject is generally different, and to a large extent the formulas are used in different contexts. At most two of the three persons may refer to the same subject, as in the 1st and 2d person forms of the following, where the same individual speaks in one form of the variant and is addressed in the other (cf. §308):

śatam jīvātu (AV.* *taḥ, TB.* ApŚ.* MG. jīvama, AV.* SMB. PG.* ApMB.* HG. ca jīva, PG.* ca jīvāmi) saradāḥ purāch (swaracāḥ) RV. AV. VS. SB. TB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Somewhat complicated are the variations of this oft-repeated pāda, occurring in several texts more than once. It occurs in three stanzas, at least, which may be considered quite distinct from one
another. In one all texts read īṁantu and purūcaḥ except AV. which has the correlative participle īṁantaḥ. A second, reading īśvem and purūcaḥ, is found only in TB. ApŚ. The remaining occurrences seem all to concern variant forms of what is essentially the same stanza, sometimes two forms of it occurring in juxtaposition in the same text (as in ApMB. 2. 2. 7 and 8). It is used variously; at the marriage ceremony, at the upanayana, at the ceremony marking the close of studentship; and the verb is always 2d person (addressed to the bride or to the brahmacārīn) except in PG. 2. 6. 20 and MG. 1. 9. 27, where it is put into the mouth of the brahmacārīn; see §308.

uttame nāka tha mādayāntām (MŚ. 3yadhvam) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: nākusaḥ prṣṭhe sam īśa madema AV. Same context. In all but AV. the subject is devāḥ in the preceding (voc. in MŚ., nom. in TS. TB. ApŚ., see §329). In AV. it is replaced by devaḥ, the subject being 'we': 'let (the gods) revel (O gods, revel ye) here in the highest heaven', or 'may we revel together (with the gods) with food on the back of heaven'.

viśvam āyuḥ vy āśnavaḥ RV. TS. MS. TB. Kaṇ.: ...āṣnavai (AV. 3vām) AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.: ...āṣnutah RH.: ...āṣnutam (AV. 3tām) RV. AV. APMB. In several different contexts, which account fully for the variations of both person and number.

suprajah prajāyā bhūyāsan (APMB. 3bhūyās) ... VSK. TS. ApŚ. HG. APMB.: suprajāḥ prajābiḥ (h) svāṁ (VS. SB. also svāma) ... VS. VSK. SB. AS. SS.: supoṣaḥ poṣatḥ ... suprajāḥ prajāyā svāṁ JB.: supoṣaḥ poṣatḥ svāt ... MS. KS. TB. MS. In several different contexts.

yad vo 'suddhāḥ (VSK. 3ah) parā jaghnur (VSK. jaghānaitad) idam vas tac chunḍhāmi VS. VSK. SB.: yad aśuddhāḥ parājaghnāna tad va etena śundhantām KS.: yad vo 'suddha ślebhē taṁ śundhadhvam MS. See §30.

mitrasya na cakṣusā sarvāyi bhūtāni samikṣaṇāṁ; mitrasyāhāni cakṣusā ... samikṣa; mitrasya cakṣusā samikṣāmahe VS. (all, in same passage; the subject of samikṣāmahe is reprocxal and includes sar- vāyi bhūtāni): mitrasya vaś cakṣusā samikṣāmahe, and samikṣadh- ram MS. (in same passage). And others; see Conc. under mitrasya vaś, mitrasya tā. 

tenā śāyusāyusmāntam karomi TS. PG. APMB.: tasyāyam (and, teṣāṁ aṣaṁ) āyusāyusmān astu aṣaṁ KS.: tenāyusāyusmān edhi MS.
2. Variants between First and Second Person

§304. (a) We find under this head, first, a considerable group of the type described above in §§289, 302, in which the action or result is conceived as brought about sometimes by the priest or sacrificer (first person), sometimes by a divine or natural or supernatural agency or implement, which is addressed in the second person. Thus:

ṛtenāya nivartaye (MŚ. "ya", satyena parivartaye (MŚ. "ya") TB. ApŚ.
MŚ. 'By his divine order do I (thou, addressing the razor) return, by his truth do I (thou) move about.' Spoken in the shaving ceremony, while wielding the razor.

The potency address or referred to is not always clearly indicated; we have seen this illustrated in some of the similar variants of all three persons, and shall find the same in not a few of the following ones, as for instance in this:

(pari...) make ḫatraṇya (also: śratrāya) dhattana AV.: (pari...) make rāṣṭrāya (also: śratrāya) dadhmasti HG. 'Wrap ye (we wrap) [him] unto great kingship' or the like. In AV. apparently address to undefined gods.

vi mimiṣṭa payasvatīṁ ghṛtācīṁ AV.: vi mime tuḍ payasvatīṁ devānāṁ TB. ApŚ. 'Measure thou (Rohita seems to be address) the milk-rich, ghee-full(cow)', or 'I measure thee out; the milk-rich (cow) of the gods.'

paya divy antarikṣe payo dhāḥ (TS. dhām) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Milk do thou place (se. for me; acc. to VS, comm. Agni is address) in the sky, in the air', or, 'may I place' etc.

ava devaiṛ devakṛtam eno 'yakṣī (TS. KS. TB. 'yāt) VS. TS. KS. SB. TB.:...yāśīyam VS. SB. LŚ.: ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣī MS. 'I have (thou—[O bath]—hast) removed by sacrifice the god-wrought sin by the gods.' Similarly (but in different context): ava devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne (KS. yaje hedyāṁ; MS. yaje hedyāṁ) AV. KS. MS.: ava devān yaje hedyān TB. ApŚ.: agne devānāṁ ava heḍa iyakaṣṇa (KS. ikṣya) KS. ApŚ. 'remove thou (I remove) by sacrifice the anger of the gods, O Agni', or the like.

vācaṁ te mā hīnsāyam KS.: vācaṁ asya mā hīnasḥ MS. And so with cakṣuḥ, caritrān, śrotān, and others. At the slaughtering of an animal: 'may I not harm thy voice etc.', or 'harm not his voice etc.', addressing the animal, or the instrument of slaughter.

garbhān (sc. prāṇāmi) Vait.: garbhān prāṇīḥ ApŚ. 'I gratify (or, gratify thou—address to the spoon or the remnants eaten from it) the embryos.'
ava bādhe pṛtanyataḥ (ApŚ. 90a) MS. ApŚ.: ava bādhava pṛtanyataḥ PG.

yāḥ patañām rūbhe vācus tāh sūryo ugra tukro ugra tāh prahīnāmi (ApŚ. 'hīnā). ... MS. ApŚ. ‘These I send forth’, or ‘these send thou forth’ (addressed to the sun?’ see Caland on ApŚ. 10.12.4).

apāraram adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyā devayajana (ApŚ. adeyayajano) jahī KS. ApŚ.: apāraram pṛthivyai devayajanaṁ badhyāsam VS. ŚB. ‘Drive away (I would drive away) Arāra’ etc.

bucin te (SV. ca) varṇam adhi goṣṭa didharam (SV. dhārāya) RV. SV. In SV. addressed to Soma, who is addressed in the preceding in RV. also.

sarvam tam bhāsmaḥ (TS. ŚB. maṣmaḥ) kuru VS. TS. ŚB.; sarvāḥ tān maṣmaḥ (MS.† maṣmāḥ) kuru MS. KS.†. TA. sarvāh ni maṣmaḥ-karam AV. ‘Every one I have smashed (smash thou),’ or the like.

manasaspata imam deva yajñam (KS. devayajñam svāhā vāci) svāhā vāte dhāḥ VS. KS. ŚB.: manasaspata imam no divi dēveṣu yajñam, svāhā divi svāhā pṛthivyāṁ svāhāntarikṣe svāhā vāte dhāṁ svāhā AV.: manasaspata imam no deva dēveṣu yajñam svāhā vāci svāhā vāte dhāḥ TS.: manasaspate sudhāv imam yajñam divi dēveṣu vāte dhāḥ svāhā MS. The AV. version is harsher; the voc. manasaspate requires a 2d person verb, which has to be supplied in AV.

stotaram id didhiṣeya (SV. dadhiṣe) rudāsaso RV. SV. Similar to prece.; here SV. has a lectio facilior.

With change of number as well as person:

prā tad (KS. mā) muṇḍami (RV.* prā no muṇḍatam) varuṇasya pāḥī RV. (both) AV. AŚ. KS. AG. ApMB. Dual addressed to Soma-Rudra.

tam (TS. KS. addi raḥ) supṛtāṁ suḥsṛṣṭam akarma (KS. abhāṣam; VS. 7tam bibhita) VS. TS. KS. ‘This (embryo) we (I) have made pleasant, well-maintained for you’, or ‘maintain ye’ etc.

nīḥ kramyādaṁ sudāma (MS. nudasas) AV. MS.: nīs kramyādaṁ sudhā VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. In AV., ‘we drive out the flesh-eating (fire)’; in YV. addressed to Agni. Different contexts.

bharatam uddharem anuṣiṣṭa (MS. uddharem vanuṣiṣṭi? doubtful text) TB. ApŚ. MS. Addressed to the cake (puroṣā) at the darbapūrṇamāsa. TB. comm. understands uddhara in (= imam), and Caland on ApŚ. follows him; bharatam means the yajñamāra according to comm., according to Caland possibly Agni. Both variants are doubtful.

tayā mā saṁjñānasi HG. ApMB.: tayā mām indra saṁ srja RVKh. ‘With it (lakṣmī) we unite me’, or ‘with it unite me, O Indra.’
tābhir a vartaya punah TS. ApMB.: tābhya enā ni vartaya RV,†: tābhyaś
tvā vartayāmasi KS. 'By (from) them bring them (we bring thee)
back.'

§305. Sometimes the change between first and second person accom-
panies, and is conditioned by, a change between active and middle or
passive voice, or between causative and primary verb-forms. These
will be found easily from the lists recorded above in §§30, 83ff., 238f.;
it is hardly necessary to repeat them here; as examples we may quote:
agni dakṣāniḥ puṇḍhi nah (TB. mā; MS. puṇmahe) RV. MS. TB. 'O
Agni, purify us (me; may be become pure) by thy power!
sanjiśvā (AŚ.* ApŚ, *vika) nāma stha tā iman (AŚ. imam amum) sanjīva-
yata MS. AŚ. ApŚ.: sanjiśvā stha samjīvyātam ĀV. 'Ye are enliv-
ing (by name), do ye make this man live', or 'may I live'.

§306. In some other cases we find essentially the same psychology,
but with a slightly different turn in formal expression; as when a phrase
of MS.,

bhuṣāṇo bhūyatā ye no bhūyaso 'karta, 'be ye more, who have made
us more',
is (as it were) glossed by the variant of Kauś.,
bhūṣāṇo bhūyasma ye ca no bhūyasah kārta, 'may we be more, and
likewise ye who have made us more.' (Also the same texts with an-
nāda bhūyatā etc.)
The real point is, 'may we be more!' in both cases alike; but this is
definitely stated in only one form of the variant, while in the other
(MS.) the desired result is nominally wished upon the agency used.
Cf. with 1st and 3d persons, §313 below. Similarly in the next subject
and indirect object exchange places, without real difference of meaning:
trīṇy āyuiṣṭi te 'karam (JUB. "ṣi me 'kroh") ĀV. JUB. Addressed to
an amulet. 'Three lives have I made for thee', or 'thou
made for me'; the last is, of course, the real intention even in ĀV.
divya nāvam āruṣaḥ (SMB. āroṣam) ĀV. SMB.: imam su nāvant
āruham TS. KS. ApŚ.: nīrya nāvam āruṣaḥ ĀV.: sunnāvam ārū-
heyam VS. 'O Sun, I have mounted (may I mount; mount thou
fairly upon a ship', or the like.
The isolated ĀV. reading (even Ppp. has 1st person forms both times)
is curious, and can hardly mean anything fundamentally different from
the others; it is explained by the other variants in this section. The
comm. on ĀV. optionally allows the 2d person to be interpreted as 1st
person (!).
sandān nāvagām (ApŚ. *gāta) MS. ApŚ. MS. 'May I not go (go ye
not) to those that are sunk.' Addressed to the sacrificial posts.
sūryasya vaikṣur āruham (VS. āroha) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS.
'I have mounted (mount thou) the eye of the sun.'
payasvān. (śvān) agna āyamam (RV. śpāhī) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. 'With milk, O Agni, I have come (come thou).' The context is the same, and the 'milk' is in either case for the benefit of the speaker.
deva tvāṣṭar vasu rama (TS. raṇa, KS. raṇa, MS. raṇa) VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB.
svargān (AŚ. corruptly svagān; Vait. svargam) arvanto jayata (Vait.
jayema; AŚ. jayataḥ [!] SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. 'Conquer ye, swift (steeds, vājino, pāda a) heaven!' or 'may we swiftly conquer heaven!' Vait, is obviously secondary but probably gives the real sense of the other, original reading. On AŚ. see §250. In AŚ. follows an alternative form of the pāda, svargān arvato jayati, which the comm. says is designed to indicate that either arvanto or arvato may be read; he does not notice the difference in the last word. In fact, jayati and (dual) jayataḥ are equally unconstruable.

§307. (b) We come next to a quite different group of first and second person variants, namely those in which both forms alike refer really to the same individuals, viz. the priests or their associates, including the yajamāna with whom they frequently and naturally identify themselves in speech. See §290 above. As is well known, the ritualists may say either 'we' or 'you', about equally well, in speaking of themselves and their fellows. Singular forms, especially of the first person, are also not rare; cf. below, §§344ff., 347, for variants between first singular and plural, and second singular and plural, in this sense. In this place we list such of these variants as concern either person alone, or both person and number, beginning with those between first and second person plural:
mitrāya (TS. KS.* TB. ApŚ. satyāya) havyām gṛtavaj juhota (TS. KS.
śad vidhema) RV. TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. N. See §290. The next is really a mere vikāra of this:
tasmā u havyām gṛtavad vidhema (ŚŚ. SG. *vaj juhota) TS. ŚŚ. ŚG.
ApMB.: dhātra id dhavyān gṛtavaj juhota AŚ. Dhātar is meant by tasmai.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, syām asur ubhayor) gṛheṣu AV.
KS. ApŚ.: athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu MS. 'Then may we be (be ye) fragrant in the house.' AV. has different context from the others.

atra (ŚB. atra) jahāmo 'śivā ye asan VS. ŚB.: atra jahāna (AV. jahīla) ye
asann abevah (AV. akrivah, and asan durevah) RV. AV. (bis) TA.

'Here (may) we quit (quit ye) those that may be unpropitious.'
mrtvah padam (MG. padani) yopayanto yad atita (TA. aina; AV. yopayanta eta; MG. lopayante yad eta) RV. AV. TA. MG. (Read probably etad in MG.)

yathā me bhūrayo 'sata AV.: yathāsāma jīvaloke bhūrayaḥ TA. The AV. form is very doubtful; ms. 'sataḥ; both edd. 'sataḥ; comm. also 'sata, glossing eyata, as if the form were asatha, 2d plural subj.
pāmānaṁ te 'pahanmaḥ KŚ.: pāmānaṁ me hala (Kauś. 'pa jahi) MG. Kauś.

anaśvāham anv ārabhāmahe VS. VSK. TA.: anaśvāham plavam anv ārabhadham AV. MG. In different contexts.

iṣam madantaḥ pari pāṁ nayadhvaṁ (AV. nayāmoh) RV. AV. MG.

First and second person singular:
hṛdā mātīṁ janaye (VS. KS. TB. 'ya) cārūṃ agnaye RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'I produce (produce thou) with the heart a lovely hymn to Agni.'

tenā te vapāmy āyuṣe MG.: tenāsyāyuṣe vasa ApMB. See §124. The first form is addressed to the boy who is shaved, the second to the officiating priest who shaves. This might be classed with the following subdivision.

sakhyaṁ te mā yōṣāḥ TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: sakhyaṁ te mā yōṣāḥ SMB. See §168. A reciprocal relation is here expressed in both cases: 'may I not be separated from thy friendship', or 'do not withhold thy friendship (from me).'

īndro vide tam u stūṣe (Mahānāmmyah stūhi) AA. Mahānāmmyah. See §165. To be classed here if stūṣe is first person, as Keith takes it.

With change of number:
tasmā inārīya sutam a juhota (TB. ApŚ. juhomi) VS. VSK. MS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MS. Followed by:
tasmīrīrīya sutam a juhota (ApŚ. juhomi) MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. viśnūn devāṁs tarpayata (BDh. tarpayāmi) TB. BDh.

Somewhat similar is the following variant between first dual and second singular:

§308. (c) We come next to a group in which the same person is the
subject of both 1st and 2d personal forms, but in one he is represented as speaking, while in the other he is spoken to. We have met this type already, §303; and a similar interchange is found between 1st and 3d persons, below, §316f. Thus:
paridam vajy ajinaṃ (PG. dman vajinam) dadhe 'ham (HG. ajinam dhatvedvau) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. 'I put (put thou) on this skin with vigor' or the like. In HG. spoken by the guru to his pupil; in the others, by the pupil himself.
prāṇasya brahmacāryasi (ApMB. asmi; HG. abhūr asaṃu) AG. HG. ApMB. MG. Exactly like preceding; here spoken by the pupil only in ApMB.
marutām (MS. sapatnahā ma) prasadā jeśam (MS. jaya) TS. MS. TB. ApŚ. 'On the impulse of the Maruts may I conquer (conquer thou).' The subject is the king at the rājasūya, who speaks in TS. etc., while in MS. he is spoken to. In a way this might be classed with the preceding group, the king being the yañamāna; cf. the variant tena te vapūmy āyuṣe, tenuṣyāyuṣe vapa, quoted above, which may be said equally to belong here. Other forms, see §§158, 370.
syanām āśadām āśadām āśadām IŚ.; syaṇām āśīda āśadām āśīda VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. 'I have sat (sit thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat.' Apparently addressed to, or spoken by, the king at the rājasūya.
śatam jivāmi (MG. jivema, AV. ApMB. HG. ca jīva) saradāh purūcāh AV. ApMB. PG. HG. MG. (and others similar, see §303); followed directly in PG. MG. and once in AV. by the following, which occurs in a similar context in the others also:
rājaḥ ca poṣam upasānyayayaśva AV. HG. ApMB.; rayin ca putrān anusānyayayaśva PG.; rājas poṣam abhi sānyayāyāye PG. MG. In the PG. MG. form of these two pādas, the graduate brahman-pupil speaks in person; in the others he is addressed.
samitam samīkal pethām VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS. MG. sam ayaśa sat kalpāsahai ApMB. Here a formula belonging originally to the brahman sphere (addressed to two fires, cf. Keith on TS. 4. 2. 5. 1) is secondarily applied in two grhya texts, MG. and ApMB. In the former it is addressed without change to the bride and groom by the officiating priest in the marriage rite, while in ApMB. it is spoken by the bridegroom, of himself and the bride.
sanāhaya (KS. ñhyā) suktāya kam TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. ApMB.; sanāhayaṃ śrīmātāya kam AV. The bride (AV. ApMB.) or the sacrificer's wife (the others) speaks or is addressed: 'I gird myself (gird thyself) unto goodness (immortality).' On KS., see §30.
§309. (d) Of the few remaining first and second person variants little need be said. For the most part they are simply cases in which a phrase is adapted to a wholly new context, and provided therefore with a wholly different subject. In the first pair of variants we have in one form a deliberate vikāra of the other, in adjoining passages:

ati dhanveva tān ihi RV. AV. SV. VS.: dadhanveva tā ihi, followed by: nidhanveva tān ihi TA. 1. 12. 2d (both). And in the same stanza:

yahi (TA. also yami) mayūravomabhī RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. The second version (in 1st person) of TA. is deliberately modelled on the first (in 2d person). Note the anomalous form ihi, for emi (which the meter forbids), under the influence of ihi.

No less surely, in the following variant, is the MS. form secondarily adapted from the original (as in RV.) to fit its wholly new context; while TA., altho it has the same new context as MS., retains or restores the original form of the verb as in the different context of RV.:

atārśma (MS. "ṣaṇa) tamasas pāram asya RV. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. In MS. TA. the preceding pāda is: vimucyadhvam aghnyā (TA. "nigā) devaśīnāh: 'be released, O cattle, going to the gods, ye (TA. we, under the influence of the original form) have crossed to the farther shore of this darkness.' In RV. KS. the context is wholly different.

§310. In the next we are reminded of the cases listed in the preceding subdivision; but here the subject is changed, the context being a different one; a god speaks of himself in one variant, while two gods are addressed in the other. See on this point Bloomfield's important observation, RVRep. 384: 'We may perhaps accept it as a general principle, that in hymns in which a god speaks for himself, repeated pādas, which are otherwise attributed by the poets to a god in the 2d or 3d person, are secondary and epigonal.' If this is so, the 1st person form in the following would be secondary:

yat sunvate yaçaṁanāya kīṣyathāh (kīṣvam) RV. (both).

§311. Of the rest it is unnecessary to speak in detail; they contain changes of person to suit very miscellaneous contexts:

vajro 'śi (MS. hāsmi) sapataṁhā Kauś. MŚ.

sūryasyāṅvṛtam anuvārtte (SMB. GG. anuvārttasvāsam) AV. VS. KS. ŚB. SMB. GG.

indraśya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśvām (RV. ānaka) RV. TB. ApŚ. 2d pl. perf. in RV.

sajātanāṁ madhyamastha ecchi (AV. madhyameṣṭhaḥ; MS. KS. "meṣṭhe-

yāya) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: saṁ madhyameṣṭha yathāsāni AV.
3. Variants between First and Third Person

§312. (a) Here again we find a considerable number of cases in which the statement of something effected by the speaker (expressed in 1st person) varies with a statement of the same thing as effected by the potency on which he relies, which in this case is expressed in the third person, the potency being not addressed directly; cf. above, §§289, 302, 304.

udgṛbheno'd agrabhīt (MS. aṣīgrabhat; KS. aṣīgrabham, and aṣīgrbham)
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'With elevation he (Indra) has elevated me', or 'I have elevated myself'. The context is the same, and Indra's instrumentality is implied also in KS.

tāh sāh tānomi (TS. MS. ApŚ. dadhāmi; KS. dadhātu) havīā (MS. manasa) ghrītena TS. MS. KS. AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. 'These (offerings) I unite (let him, in KS. Višvakarman, unite) with obliteration, with ghee.'
The passages are similar, tho not exactly identical, and 1st or 3d would go well enough in all.

tau yuṣṭā (AV. yokṣye) prathamau yoga ḍgate AV. SV. 'Them (Indra's arms) let him (I shall) yoke first' etc.

preto muṇcāmi (AG. ŚG. SMB. MG. muṇcātu, PG. muṇcatu, ApMB. muṇcātī) nāmutah (ŚG. MG. SMB,† māmutah; PG. mā pateḥ)
RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. Two different contexts: one in RV. AV. ApMB., followed by:

subaddhām amutas karam (ApMB. karat) RV. AV. APMB. 'I release (he, i.e. some god, shall release) her (the bride) from here, not from there; I have (he has) made her well-fastened there.'

In the other (GS.) texts, the subject of the verb is Aryaman or Pūṣan, previously mentioned; so, perhaps, ApMB. is to be interpreted. A related but still different formula, ito mukṣya māmutah (ApŚ. mā pateḥ) VS. ŚB. ApŚ., is spoken (in a different context) by the bride herself; hence medio-passive, see §30.

idam asmākaṁ bhūte bhogāya bhūyāt (MS. bhūyāsām) KS. ApŚ. MS. 'May this be (may I be here) for enjoyment and feasting unto us.'

MŚ. doubtless secondary.

ahū tvā sarcaśētecam (AV. *sōścān, read *sīcān, see Whitney on 4. 8. 6) AV. KS. TB. Followed in AV. by āpo dīvyah payaswathē, in KS. TB. by dīreyena (KS. yaḍēya) payasā saha; Ppp. agrees with TB. The preceding stanza ends in all: abhiṣiṅcāmi varcasā; perhaps KS. TB. have altered the original under the influence of this, but the Ppp. version makes it doubtful whether the AVŚ. can contain the original form of the pāda. 'I have (the waters have) poured out upon thee' etc.
nir mā muñcāmi ṣapathāt I.Ś. ApŚ.: muñcāntu mā ṣapathiṣṭ RV, AV, VS. 'Let (the herbs) free me from the (effect) of the curse': 'I free myself from the curse.'
mama vratē te ṛḍyaṃ (AG. ŚG. vrate ṛḍyaṃ te) dadhāmi (SMB. MG. dadhātu) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG. 'In my power I set (let him, se. some god, set) thy heart.' See Conc. for other, vaguer, parallels.
nāḍāyāṇnaptāyāḥ dadhat Kauś.: nāṇādam nāṇādyāṇnaptāyādhe (KS. nāṇādyāṇnaptāyādhe) TS. KS.: nāṇādam agnim nāṇānyāṇnaptāyādhe MS.: nāṇādaṃ tvānnapatyāyādhe AŚ.: agnim nāṇādam nāṇādyāṇnaptāyādhe VS. The subject in Kauś. is apparently Aditi, who is addressed in the others also; they all have 1st person verbs, of which the priestly speaker is of course the subject.
pāśāmaṇaṣya tvā stomena... vīryenot srjē MS.: pāśāmaṇena tvā stomena... vīryena devas tvā savitot srjatu... (KS. vīryenoddhāram asau) TS KS.

bṛhati te rathāntarēṇa... vīryenodhāre (KS. vīryenotārēṃ asau) MS. KS.: bṛhadāṇāntarēṇa tvā stomena... savitot srjatu... TS. 

prajām asyai jāradasīṁ kṛnotu (and, kṛnomi) SMB. (both). Subject of kṛnotu is Agni.

eṣa pūryo nāṇamāvibāṣat (SV. ājijīṣam) AV, SV. Subject of the 3d person is the sun; Conc. suggests that SV. should read ājijīṣat, and this would certainly be simpler.

sam ākālir namāmaṇi (MS. anaṁṇaṇa) RVKh, AV, MS.
garbham sraṇam ati ṣadām aṣah (AŚ. akarma) TB. ApŚ. AŚ.: ukhaṁ (ApŚ. garbhāni) sraṇam ati ṣadām akarma (KŚ. agnami) KŚ. MS. ApŚ. Followed in next pāda by a series of names of gods, in most texts in the nominative (e.g. agnir hota pṛthivy antarikṣaṃ AŚ. ApŚ.*; agnir indras tvāṣaḥ bṛhaspatih TB. ApŚ.*). aṣah is 3d sing., the subject being the following agnir (not all the following nouns collectively, as TB. comm. says). The reading with akarma may be rendered: 'We have made whole the slipping embryo (fire-pot; or, her that drops the embryo),—(and also) Agni, Indra, etc. (have made it, or her, whole). Caland on ApŚ. 9, 18. 12 assumes, apparently, that akarma corruptly represents a 3d person, but this is neither necessary nor likely.

rūpād varṇan (ApŚ. rūpaṃ varṇan paśuṇāṁ) mā nirmyakṣat (ApŚ. ćṣam); [see §302:] followed by:
vātī te satpatnasaṁhahi sam māṛṣṭi (ApŚ. māṛṣṭi) ApŚ. MS. After these two formulas comes the command: iti sammāṛṣṭi, in MS. 1. 2. 5. 7; see Knauer's note. Knauer speaks of 'stellvertretende Spruchrecita-
tion'; that is, he supposes that the formulas are recited by another priest than the one who does the cleansing. The simple command iti saṁmārṣṭi seems to make this improbable, and we prefer to think that it is spoken by the same priest, but that, as in so many other similar formulas, he attributes the effect to the instrument of cleansing, instead of to himself. 'It shall not wipe off' etc. So in the following, where MS. (altho its ms. vary, and in one case they read 1st person) seems to have regularly had a 3d person (or at least so Knauer thinks):

agni vājajīd... saṁ mārṣmi... VS. SB. TB. ApŚ. Vait.: ājīn trāyne... saṁmārṣṭi MS. (two formulas, see Conc.) In one case all MS. mes. agree on Ṛmārṣṭi.

§313. As in the case of 1st and 2d persons (§306), this group is swelled by some cases in which the activity or result is, in one variant, nominally attributed to the instrumental potency rather than the speaker:

so 'mṛtalavam uśya (VSK. abhyāt) VS. VSK. MS. SB. SS. 'May I (he) attain immortality.' The subject in VSK. is apparently understood as Yama..

upānānān sam amrītalavam ānat (ApMB. abhyām) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ApMB. MahānU. 'Thru soma it gained (may I gain) immortality.' The original subject is āmīr madhumān; the ApMB. has a facile and slipsided alteration.

pañca (AV. trīṇi) padāni rupe (AV. rūpo) anu aroham (AV. haṭ), catuṣpadīm anu emi (AV. aitad) vratena; aksrama prati mima etām (AV. mīṃste arkam), rāṣṭya nābhās adhi (AV. abhi) sam punāmi (AV. iti) RV. AV. An obscure verse in an obscure hymn, used in RV. in the haurīdhāna, in AV. in the funeral rites; see Oldenberg, RV. Noten, ad 10. 13. 3. In RV. the subject is probably the holar (Oldenberg), at any rate the same as in the first-person verbi of the preceding verse; in AV. it is probably Yama as in the following verse:

gāyatraṇa chandasā prthiviṁ anu eva krame TŚ.: prthiryaṁ (KS. iti) vīṣyār (MS. vīṣyāḥ prthiryaṁ) vyakrāṇēta gāyatraṇa chandasā VS. MS. KS. SB. SS. And the same with triṣṭabhena... antarikṣam etc., and gāyalena... ājīnam etc.

Here would belong the following, if the TA. version were to be accepted as a 1st person form:

pra tad vocēd amṛtasya (VS. amṛtaṁ nu; TA. MahānU, vocē amṛtaṁ nu) videṇā AV. VS. TA. MahānU. In AV. 'may he (Gandharva), knowing of the immortal, proclaim.' On vocē see §174. It seems that only a 3d person form can be intended here; so the TA. comm., provēca, evidently thinking of ०ce, 3d sing. perfect middle.
§314. (b) We referred above (§291) to the fact that third personal forms, either plural or (less often) singular, are frequently used in a generalizing sense, equivalent to French on, German man; and to the further fact that first person plurals sometimes vary with them in this same sense (and even, once, a first person singular). In the first cases about to be presented both 1st and 3d persons seem to be generalizing or indefinite:

\[yathā kālaṁ yathā kāpaṁ\] yatha ṛṇaṁ samnayāmasya (AV, yathāṁ ṛṇaṁ samnayānti), [eva ṅaṣṭaṁyaṁ sarvam āptye (AV, apriye, or dviṣate) samnayāmasya] RV. AV. (bis). See §291.

[yat kim cedam varuṇa daieye jane] abhidroham manusyaṁ carāmasya (AV, caranti) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ‘Whatever here, O Varuṇa, men (we humans) practise that is hostile to the god-folk.’ AV. is less appropriate metrically.

\[yāṁ (PG, yā; KS, MG, ye) tvā (PG, tāṁ) rātry (PG, MG, ṛātīṁ) upāsate (AV, PG, upāsmahe; SMB, rāṭri yajāmahe) AV. TS. KS. SMB. PG. MG. Preceded by samvatsarasyā pratimāṁ (PG, *ma). ‘Thee whom, O night, we (they; both indefinite) revere as the image of the year’, or the like.

Perhaps here belongs the following:

pra tvē haviṁsi juhure (KS, juhumasi) samiddhe (MS, tee samiddhe juhure haviṁsi) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The form juhure (see §77) may be taken as middle with indefinite subject, ‘they offer oblations in thee when kindled’ (so Keith on TS.), or as passive with haviṁsi as subject, ‘oblations are offered’; much less likely as a 1st sing. with Ludwig. The KS. reading, ‘we offer oblations’, favors the first interpretation.

And, once at least, even singular forms are used in the same way: \[tāṁ tvē bhaga sarva uḥ johāvimi\] (RV. VS. *ti) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. See §291.

§315. The rest are generalizing only in the 3d person form, while the 1st person (always singular) is perfectly definite. In the first couple of variants the indefinite 3d person is singular, in all the rest plural:

\[tāṁ ṛṣitaṁ anu madā (MS, madāt) svastaye RV. MS. If madā is 1st singular subjunctive: ‘I will (one shall) revel (?) revel thou) to the Ādityas unto welfare.’ But MS. p.p. reads mada (2d sing. impv.), ‘revel thou’, which would make this variant belong in §307, or §261, according as RV. madā be taken as 1st or 2d person.

\[yadi jágraṇa yadi svapann\] eva enasyo ‘karam, [bhutaṁ mā tasmād bhavyah ca drupalād eva maṅcatām] AV.: [yadi diva yadi naktam] eva enasyo
'karat, [bhūtaṁ...muṇcatu] (so read with Poona ed.) TB. 'If waking or sleeping I, sinful, have committed sin (if by night or day a sinful person has committed sin), may what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a log.' TB. comm. kṛtavān asmi for akarat! Note also mā in TB.; there is no doubt that TB. like AV. really means to refer to the speaker’s own sin. But by a touch of sly squeamishness the TB. dodges the incriminating first-person verb, and speaks of himself as if he didn’t know who was meant, ‘some one or other’!

yat te (KS. te) krudhāḥ parvapā (KS. ms. evāṇa, 3d person, which may be kept!; AV. krudhāḥ pracakruḥ) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. ‘If I, angry (if an angry man, or angry men) have thrown thee out.’ na vi jānām (AB. jānānti) yatarat (AV. rā) parastāt AV. AB. JB. ‘I (they = people in general) do not know which is superior.’ (In AV. different context from the others.)
apāṁ rasam udayaṇām (TA. osan) KS. TA. Comm. on TA. sarve lokā udgataḥ.

prāktā apācin anayaṁ lad enām AV.: prācin avācin ava yann ariṣṭyai TA. The 3d plural of TA. can only be indefinite; comm. nayam avaimo jānīmah!

vacāney āśū (SV. asmai) sthāvīrya taksam (SV. takruḥ) RV. SV. ‘I (they) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (or, for this mighty one).’
atrā te rūpam uttamam apaśyam (VSK. o yan) RV. VS. VSK. TS. KSA. ‘Here I (they = people) have beheld thy highest form.’ To the sacrificial horse in YV. In the stanza before this:
śiro apaśyam (VSK. o yan) pathibhiḥ sugebhiḥ, same texts.—But the VSK. reading is suspicious here, since if Weber’s ed. can be trusted, it reads 1st person ajānāṁ like all the others in the first pāda of the same stanza. Furthermore Weber records no variant for VSK. on apaśyam in the preceding, precisely similar stanza (atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam).

yan tev somanāṭitrpaṇa (TS. o pam; MŚ. opan) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. And, in same stanza:
yan tev somenāmimadām (MŚ. o dan) TS. MŚ.
ghṛtam mimikṣe (TA. kośe) ghṛtam asya yoniḥ RV. VS. TA. MahānU.
sam u vāṁ (vo) yajñam mahayam (o yan) namobhiḥ RV. (both). Grassmann, ‘man schmücket’ for mahayan.
apo devī (VS. ŚB. deva) madhumātī aprbhānām (TS. ApŚ. aprhānan, VS. ŚB. aprbhānan) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. ‘I (they) have taken
the sweet divine waters; the subject is indefinite in TS. ApŚ.; in VS. SB. it is made definite, ‘the gods have taken the sweet waters.’

*indrasya tvā jaṭhare sādayāmi (AŚ. dadhāmi)... VSK. KB. GB. AŚ. SS. LŚ. ApŚ. KauŚ: brahmaṇa indrasya tvā (Conc. omits tvā) jaṭhare dadhuḥ MŚ. As one eats (prāśnāti), he says: ‘I place (they, indef., have placed) thee in the belly of (Brahman, of) Indra.’ The parallel formulas are all 1st singular even in MŚ., and this is certainly an easier reading; one wonders how the 3d plural indefinite crept in to MŚ.

ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam (RV.* atakṣiṣuḥ) RV. (both) TB. The 3d plural is of substantially the same character as the preceding, even tho a subject (āyarsa) is here expressed in the preceding pāda.

The first person has priority; see RVRep. 133f.

§316. (c) In a number of cases first and third person forms are used referring, in one way or another, to the same individual as subject. Some of these remind us of the subdivision (b) under First and Second Person variants (§307), in that the subject is both times an associate in the ritual performance, a priest or the yajamāna, who either speaks or is indirectly referred to, as: nusā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text, 9nāḥ) svāturo 'yam astu (AŚ. 'ham asmi) TB. AŚ. See §116. The subject is the yajamāna both times.

sarve vratā varuṇasyābhūvan (MS. bhūma) TS. MS. KS. TB. Spoken by the yajamāna at the rājasūya. ‘They (we) all have become the hosts of Varuṇa.’ In either case the associates of the yajamāna are meant.

havante rājasūyāt RV.; huveṣa va RV. SV. MS. KS.: huveṣa va RV. AV. The contexts are different (see RVRep. 255f.), but the variant may properly be classified here, since in the 3d person form the subject, janāsōḥ or kanvōḥ, is really identical with the speaker and his associates.

§317. Again, there are cases reminding us of subdivision (c) under First and Second Persons (§308), in that the change is conditioned by the fact that the same person speaks himself in one variant, while in the other he is spoken of:

anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim ākāe MŚ. (spoken by the yajamāna):
anuvatsarīnaḥ svastim ākāste TB. ApŚ. (said of the yajamāna by the hotar). The same with parivatsarīnām etc., saṅvatsarīnām etc.

§318. As will be seen from this illustration the dividing line between these different types is not clear. The majority of the variants in this
subdivision are perhaps best described by saying that in one form a statement is couched in more or less general terms, the subject being not clearly identified with the speaker, while in the other (with first person) this identification is definitely made. In a way, therefore, these cases resemble those listed under the preceding sub-section, §315. The difference, which is not by any means sharp or clear, is that in the cases listed here the subject of the third person form is not so indefinite as in those mentioned above; it could not be rendered by German man or French on, since in fact a subject is expressed, or at least very clearly understood. But this subject is clearly identified with the speaker only in the first-person form of the variant. Thus:

śīnantī pākam ati (ŚŚ. adhi) dhīra eti (ŚŚ. emi) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ.; followed in the first two by:

yūtya panthām ane emi (ApŚ. eti) hotā AŚ. ApŚ. 'They (letters) bind the simple, the wise passes over them (I, being wise, pass etc.); along the path of holy order goes (I go as) the hōtar.' Spoken by the hōtar.

āchētā te (to) mā riṣam (KS riṣat; MS. māriṣam) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. 'Let (me) your cutter not suffer harm.' Even in the 3d person form the subject is really identical with the speaker.

yad devayantam avatāh kādāhīḥ, pari grhaṁ sam omanā vām (TB. pari-ghraṁsam omanā vām) vayo gāt (TB. gām) RV.MS. TB. N. 'When you (Aśvins) aid the pious man mightily, then he (I) shall go to refreshment, passing over heat by your aid', or the like. TB. is badly corrupted, and the comm.'s explanations are mostly worthless, but his gacatu for gām is at least interesting, and not far wrong. The speaker identifies himself with the 'pious man'; as to gām TB., while undoubtedly secondary, need not be considered corrupt.

yaṁ sarve 'nujīvāna TS.: yaṁ bhaḥavo 'nujīvān MS.: yaṁ bhaḥavo upajīvānti AŚ. 'On whom many (we all) may depend.'

tīro (RV. VS. ŚB. AG. antar) mṛtyum tadadāthā (TA. ApŚ. 'dādhamāhe) parvatena RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. (bis) AG. ApMB. 'Let them block (hide, or remove; or, 'we hide') death by a mountain.' After the funeral, the living are separated from the dead by a barrier; the subject of tadadāthā is 'the living'.

§319. If the first-person form is textually sound, the following belongs here; the verb occurs in a relative clause, in one form of which the subject is identified with the speaker, and the verb put in the first person; presumably even the other form really refers to the speaker or his associates:
ma yah somam imam pivät (KŚ. pivä; KS. somam piväd imam) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. See §331.

§320. Once a speaker is represented as quoting some one else's words about himself; in the included quotation the subject of the verb, referring to the speaker of the main clause, should logically be third-person, but in justified half the texts it is made first person, by a natural laxity:

abhya aṣṭāṁ (MS. MŚ. aṣṭāṁ; TS. KS. ApŚ. aṣṭād) viśvēḥ prānā
arātih AV. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ. 'I have (he has; referring to the speaker) conquered all battles and hostilities' [thus spake Agni, etc., sc. of me].

§321. In a way the converse of this is found in the next variant, in which in one out of three texts the speaker is made to refer to himself in the third person, because the poet thinks of him in the third person:

upamāṅkṣyaṁ stā (ŚŚ. upamāṅkṣya 'ham; AB. nimaṅkṣya 'ham) saṅkalasya
madhye AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'I shall (she, the earth, will) plunge into the middle of the ocean.' The earth is the speaker.

§322. In a still more strange passage both forms refer to the same subject, so far as we can see, which ought to be first person; no justification for the third person is apparent:

praśāpatēḥ praśā abhūma (KS. abhūvaṁ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Preceded or followed in all by: swar devā (TS. TB. devāṁ) agāna (MS. agāma); and, amṛtā abhūma. 'We have gone to heaven as gods (or, to the gods); we (KS. they) have become creatures of Praśāpati; we have become immortal.' In KS, as in most texts, this is the order, with first-person expressions flanking the variant formula on either side. Unless 'the gods' is felt as the subject in KS, which seems unlikely, we cannot explain the 3rd person.

§323. (d) The remaining cases concern miscellaneous changes of subject, either in the same context (in about half the cases, those which are listed first), or conditioned by a change of context; a few definite uhas or viśāras are included towards the end; and the section concludes with a few corruptions or errors. First, change of subject in what remains essentially the same context:

viśvāvasum namasā gūbhir iṣe (ApMB. īṣe) RV. ApMB. 'I worship (she, the bride, worships) Viśvāvasu with homage and songs.' The gandharva Viśvāvasu is banished from the bride. All mss. of ApMB. agree, see Winternitz, Introduction, p. xix.

dirghāṅkṛtya jaraḍaśīr asmi (MG. astu) PG. MG. In MG. jaraḍaśīr is understood as a tatpurusa, while in PG. it is a bahuvrihi; both mean the same thing: 'I am one that attains old age unto long life,' or, 'let there be (for me) attainment of old age' etc.
abhām mama (KS. nu naḥ; MS. bhūyāsma te) sumatau viśvedāh (MS.† "dā; so text intends with its reading "dā, followed by initial vowel"
TS, MS. KS. PG. 'Viśvavedas is in good-will towards me (us)',
or, 'may we be in thy good-will, O Viśvavedas.'
nahi te nāma jagrāha AV.: nahi asya (ApMB. asya) nāma grbhnāmi
RV. ApMB. See Whitney on AV. 3. 18. 3.
vandavārā vandamānā viśāṣṭu SV.: vande dārūḥ (read vandārū, or
vandār-vāt?) vandamānā vivakmi RV. See Bloomfield, Johns Hop-
kins Circulars, 1906, p. 1062; Ludwig, 4. 367; Oldenberg, RVNoten,
on 7. 6. 1.

apah pravayam (SV. prairayat, TB. prairayan) sagarasya budhnāt RV.
SV. TB. Preceded in all by: indrāya giro anisītasargāḥ. Only
the RV. version is really sensible; the others are careless distortions.
Benfey is forced to take the preceding pāda as a separate sentence,
making Indra the subject of praiyahat. TB. comm. gives giro
as the subject and apah as the object of prairayan. Cf. §138.
yad aṁnāt (and, rātriyāt) kurute pāpam TAA. (followed by: tad aṁnāt,
or rātriyāt, pratimucyate): yad aṁnā (and, rātrā) pāpam akārīgam
TA. MahānU. The form kurute is evidently felt as passive:
'What sin is done (I have done) by day', etc.

o cit sakhāyan sakhī āvṛtyām RV. AV. (Yami speaks to Yama): a
tvā sakhāyaḥ sakhī āvṛtyaḥ SV. (unintelligent revamping of
the same pāda; Benfey, 'dich möchten Freunde zu Freundschaft
gewinnen').

havyā te svadantar (MS. svadan, and once svadā; KS. asvadan) VS. TS.
MS. ŚB. 'Let thy oblations taste sweet' or the like. If svadām
is right, it must be transitive, 'I have enjoyed thy oblations.' But
probably svadān should be read.

§324. In some of the above it will be noticed that number as well as
person varies in one form of the variant. Likewise the now following
list of variants, in which change of subject is conditioned by a change
of context, contains cases with change of both person and number.

[apa dvēṣo apa heva] 'nyavratosya (TA. anyad vratosya) saścīma (RV.
saścīre; TA. saścimāḥ, but read *ma with Poona ed.) RV. VS. MS.
ŚB. TA. In a different context in RV. from the others.

āyuṣmvān (*mān, *mān) jaradāṣṭir yathāṣat (RVKh. VS. *sam; AV. also
*sām) AV. (both) RVKh. VS. AG. PG. ApMB. Used in no less than
four different stanzas; two in AV., one in RVKh. VS., and one in
the GS. texts.

yatra devaṁ sahāmādām mademu (AV. madanti) AV. MS. TB. In
three different contexts; no two alike. But AV. comm. reads madema.

ariṣṭān ter soha padayā dadhātī (ApMB. kṣṇomi) RV. ApMB.: ariṣṭān ma soha padayā dadhātī KŚ. MS. MG.: ariṣṭāhām soha padayā bhūyā-sam VS. Similar stanzas, but extensively recast, 'I set thee (let him set me; may I be) uninjured with thy (my) husband.' In the last two forms the woman speaks.

saṁjñānate manasaṁ saṁ cikite RV.: saṁjñānāmahai manasaṁ saṁ cikite Av.

savarman āyuṛ vy ānase (MS. aśnavai) MS. TB. ApŚ.: viśvam āyuṛ vy aśnavai (AV. mss. *vat) AV. VS. KS. TB.; dirgham āyuṛ vy aśnavai PG. The vulgate text of AV. emends to *vam, unnecessarily; subject is sabhā. The context is different from the rest.

Deliberate ūhas or vikāras:

ayaṁ (AŚ. *aham) sātraṁ jayatu (AŚ. * jayāmi) jāhīṣṭaṁ (AŚ. * jāhīṣṭaṁ), ayaṁ (AŚ. * ahām) vājaṁ (VS. VSK. ŚB. vājān) jayatu (AŚ. * jayāmi) vājaṁtāu VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis).

In AŚ. 2. 11. 8c we have a vikāra of the other passage.

dīyaṇa dhāmāśāste (and, śa, āśāe) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
adān (and, apāyam) tvāvaroḥantam NilarU. (both). The first is a vikāra of the other.

tan tva paramesṭhānā pari rohita (pary aührung, pary ahām) ... dadhātu (da-
dhāmī) AV. 13. 1. 17d. 18d, 19d.

jyotise tāntava dīṣṭam āśāe (KS. 7. 2 १०१०) KS. 7. 2, 9 (so, correct Conc.)

If these are the correct readings, we have another case of śā. But the sole ms. used by the ed. for 7.2 reads āśāste also in 7.9; if corrupt in one passage, it is likely to be corrupt in the other too. The better reading seems to be āśāe; probably read so both times, with ms. D on 7.9 and KapŚ. (see editor's note).

gomat sa (gamema; sa yantā) gomati vroje RV. (all).

jyok paśyema (RV. also paśyat, and paśyema na, omitting jyok) sūryam uccarantam RV. (all) AV.

§325. Corruptions or errors:

idam vāṁ tena priṇāmi ŚŚ.: etad vāṁ tena priṇāti TB. ApŚ. So Conc., and so Garbe reads in ApŚ. But TB. (both edd.) has priṇāni, and this is to be read also in ApŚ., see Caland on 2. 20. 6, note 2.

vājino me yajñāṁ vahān (MS. text vahāni, followed by ūti; probably read vahān with v. 1.) MS. KS. MS.

rāyas poshyoterje (MS. erroneously *jet) MS. MS.

tām te vācam āśya ādāte (read ādāte) ... PG. 3. 13. 6 (see Stenzler's critical note): ā te vācam āśya (āśyaṁ) dade HG. ApMB.
sthāmy āśāḥ atīṣṭhipam AV.; sthāmi vṛkkāv atīṣṭhipan AV. vulgate, misprint for "pam," see Whitney on 7. 96. 1.
Under: prāṇena vaca manasā bībharmi, Conc. quotes TB. 2. 5. 8. 7 as reading bībharti; this is an error; there is no variant.

4. Variants between Second and Third Person

§326. These are much more numerous than those between first and either second or third person. Nor are they by any means lacking in interest. But little comment is needed on most of them. The great majority are simply cases in which the same subject is alternatively addressed in second person or indirectly referred to in third; and the most interesting feature of this large class is that sometimes one or the other form is inconsistent with its context. This inconsistency may be of two kinds: either the subject of the second person may be a nominative or that of the third person a vocative; or parallel expressions in the surrounding context may be of the opposite type (direct address by the side of third-personal reference) in one form. Examples of all these types have been quoted above, §293f.; they will form the basis of the following classification. We shall conclude with the smaller, but still not inconsiderable, number of cases in which the change of person is associated with a real change of subject, either in the same context, or owing to the use of the phrase in a different context.

§327. (a) First, then, variations between direct address and third-personal indirect reference to the same subject, in which there is no inconsistency with the context in either variant. The subject, if expressed, is nominative with the 3d person and vocative with the 2d; and if there are parallel expressions associated, they present no inconsistencies. In not a few instances, as we shall presently see, a whole stanza, containing several parallel verbs, is recast, each verb being changed from 2d to 3d person or vice versa.

§328. Attention must first be called to the little group of cases in which Soma is referred to in the 3d person in RV., but directly addressed in the 2d person in a repetition in SV.; see §295, and for cases in which the context is inconsistent, §334.

core sūdhānāṁ pavamāna arṣati (SV. "sī"), agre vaco agrīyo gosu gachati (SV. "si"), agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam (SV. "se mahad dhanam), svāyudhāḥ votbhīḥ pūjate vṛṣā (SV. "bhīḥ soma sāyase) RV. SV.

Here an entire stanza is recast; note that the nominative subject of RV. becomes a vocative in SV.

[ayā somaḥ (SV. soma) sukrīyavā] mahaś cid abhy avardhata (SV. ma-
hānt sann abhy avardhathāh), mandāna ud (SV. id) vṛṣayate (SV. ॐse) RV. SV.
te no dhāntu (SV. dhatta) suvṛtyam RV. SV. There is no expressed subject, nor other finite verb, in the stanza; Soma is understood as subject.
pavitrre pari śicyate (SV. ॐse), krandan devān ajiyāna (SV. ॐnaḥ) RV. SV. 
The (unexpressed) subject is Soma.
pavamāno vy aśnavata (SV. ॐna vy aśnau) RV. SV.
nadayām eti (SV. esī) prthivim uta dyām; and, in same stanza: pra-
ćetasayān arṣati (SV. pracodayān arṣati) vācām ेmām RV.. SV.
In this and the rest the unexpressed subject is Soma.
vajān abhi pra gāhate (SV. ॐse) RV. SV.
harīh san yonim āsadat (SV. ॐdaḥ) RV. SV.
§329. The rest are miscellaneous, and need no subdivision. At the
beginning of the list are placed a number of instances of entire stanzas,
or series of formulas, varying in this way:
navo-navo bhavati (AV. JUB. ॐse) jāyamānāḥ, ahāṁ ketur uṣhasām ety
(AV.† esī) agram (TS. agre), hāgamā devebhyo vidadhātī (AV. ॐsy)
āyan, pra candramās tīrate (TS. ॐti; AV.† ॐmas tīrase) dirghamān
āyuh RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.; the first pāda also TB. AS. HG.
BDh. JUB. VHDh.
ihi (AV. etu) tisrah parāvatah, ihi (AV. etu) paśca janān ati, ihi (AV.
etu) tisro ‘ti rocanāḥ (AV. ॐnā, despite gender of tisro) RV. (first
two pādas only) AV. TB. ApŚ. Address to, or said of, a rival.
ye rātrim (KS. ॐim) anutiṣṭhanti (KS.† ॐatha), ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati (KS.
ॐgrītha), paśān ye sarvan rakṣanti (KS. ॐatha), te na ātmasu jāgrati
(KS.† jāgrā) AV. KS.
amoci (AV. anukthā) yaksmaud duritād avartyai (AV. avadyāt), druḥaḥ
pāśān nirṛtyai codamoci (AV. pāśā dṛghātye codamukthāḥ), ahā
avartim (AV. arātim) avidat (AV. ॐdaḥ) syonam, apy aḥbūd (AV.
abhūr) bhādre sukṛtasya loke AV. TB. ApMB. The two verse-
halves are secondarily separated in AV. but obviously belong to-
tgether, see Whitney on AV. 2. 10. 2. The verb aḥāna(s) may be
either 2d or 3d person, and this ambiguity may be responsible for
the alteration in the others. Probably AV. with its second persons
is secondary (ahāḥ seemed to call for them!), for Pp. has all verbs
in the same form as TB. ApMB. (Barret, JAOS. 30. 193).
yad osarpat (KS. ॐpas) tat surpir abhavat (KS. ॐvah, MS. omits); yan
navam ait (KS. ait) tan navantam abhavat (KS. ॐvah); yad aghriyata
(KS. ॐthās, TS. adhiriyata) tad ghṛtam abhavat (KS. ॐvah, MS. omits)
TS. MS. KS. The butter is referred to or addresst.
hato (SV. TB. hatho) vṛatr̥ṇy āryā (AV. TB. apratī) RV. AV. SV. TB.: followed in RV. SV. by:

hato (SV. hatho) dāstāni satapati, hato (SV. hatho) viśā apa dvīṣā RV. SV.

In SV. the entire stanza is changed to a direct address. The first pāda is used in AV. TB. in a different stanza, addressed however to the same gods (Indra and Agni), who are directly addressed in the 2d person; as Whitney remarks, only hato (as in TB.) is construable; yet all AV. mss., followed by both edd., read hato. This AV. reading belongs to §332 below. It seems clear that it is a very ancient perversion, due to recollection of the Rigvedic form of the pāda.

pitṛṇ yakṣad (TS. yakṣy) rtaṇāhaḥ; preceded by, yo agnih (TS. yād agne)

karyāśāhanah (TS. oṇa; RV. kṛṣṇa3), and followed by:

pred u (TS. pra ca) kavarti vocati (TS. vāyānir) RV. VS. TS. KS.

uttante nāka iha mādayantām (MS. 6yadhvan) TS. TB. ApŚ. MS. See above, §303.

akartām aśvinā lakṣmaṇa AV.: kṛṣṇaṁ lakṣmaṇāvān ā ā V. See §130.

agnīr me hotā sa mopaḥsavatām SB.: agne grhapata upa mā kṛṣṇaṁ


agniṇāṁni saniḥātām TA.: agne aśvinā saniḥāvāna TA. ApŚ.

iha rama MS. AB. AS. ApŚ.: iha ramaḥ† HG. 1. 12. 2 (not rama; construe as noun): iha ramaṭām VS. SB. HG. Used in various connexions, but in VS. and MS. in precisely the same set of formulas. The immediately preceding formula in both is addressed to gods, referring (in 3d person) to the sacrificial horse; but just before this the horse is directly addressed in a series of formulas; hence it is easy for MS. to address iha rama directly to the horse; no harshness is felt. VS., however, is equally natural in referring to the horse in the third person; the prayer in iha ramaṭām may quite as well be addressed to the gods just mentioned. Mahādhara, however, thinks the horse must be addressed, and supplies bharāṁ with ramaṭām.—There seems to be nothing inconsistent with the person in the other texts.

dyāṁ (VSK. divam) agreṇāśprkṣḍa antarikṣaṁ madhyenāprāḥ prthiḥvām

upareṇādṛṣṭiḥ VS. VSK. (for which read in Conc. 3āśprkṣḍ) KS.

SB. (address in all to the yūpo); deva vanaṣputir (sc. yūpo) vṛṣṇapraṇa
gṛ̤ntaniṅg dyāṁ agreṇāśprkṣad antarikṣaṁ madhyenāprāḥ

prthiḥvām upareṇādṛṣṭiḥ MS. KS. TB. Note that aprās may be either 2d or 3d person, and that KS. has both forms of the variant.

uṣo dāṭrē (PB. uṣa, read uṣa, dāṭrē) na punar yatīva RV. PB.

sītego na kṣām aṣy eṣi prthīvīm (AV. eṣi prthīvīṃ) RV. AV. In a riddle-some verse, the meaning of which is equally obscure in either form; there is nothing inconsistent with either person in the context.

svargena lokena saṃprorūvāthāṃ Vait.; svargo (TS. TB. svargo) lōke prorūvāthām (TS. KSA.† TB. saṃpror); VSK. TS. TB. *ṛṣyāḥ; MS. *tām) VS. VSK. TS. KSA. MS. TB. ŚB. Address to (in MS. said of)

the queen and the horse in the āśvamedha.

ghṛtena (Kau. vapaḍa) dyāvōprthiśi prorūvāthāṃ (VS. TS. ApŚ. prorūvātham; MS. MS. prorūvātām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS. Kau. The subject, dyāvōprthiśi, is nom. in MS. MS. saṃ arīr (KS. KS. arīr) vidām (KS. vidāḥ) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The formula is obscure; see Eggeling on ŚB. 3. 9. 4. 21. No basis for preference as to person.

kurvato me mā kṣēṣṭa (GB. Vait. kṣēṣṭhāḥ) MS. GB. Vait.... mopadasaṭ TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. And: sadato me mā ḭāyī (GB. me mopadasaḥ, MS. *sat), same texts.

aśvinā pibataṁ (VS. KS. *tām) madhu (TB. ApŚ. sutam) RV. VS. TB. ApŚ. MS. and (pratīka) KS. aśvinā nom. or voc.

ity adaraḥ (ŚB. *dā) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS. The subject is the yajamāna, who is praised either in direct address or indirect reference by singers: 'Thus thou didst (he did) give!' Similarly: ity ayajathāḥ (ŚB. *ta), and: ity ayudhyathāḥ (ŚB. and, as quoted in Conc., MS. *ta), and: ity aṃsaḥ samgrāmam ahaṃ (MS. ajayathāḥ, ŚB. ajayat), same texts. [I question the quotation from MS. 9. 2. 2 ayudhyata, since it is inconsistent with all the others; it was furnish by Knauer from ms. for the Conc., and has not been published even yet. F. E.]

idam viṣtena saugareṇa rākṣa (MS. rākṣatu) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Subject in prec. pāda, indra (MS. indraḥ) stotena... Note that indra before st- might be understood as = indraḥ. The MS. makes this single pāda (in a triṣṭubh verse) jagati, and is clearly secondary.

devā deveṣu krayantām (TB. krayadhvanām), prathamā deitiṣeṣu krayantāḥ (TB. krayadhvanām), deitiṣye tritiṣeṣu krayantām (TB. *dheam) KS. TB. Subj. devaḥ, voc. or nom.

no asmin ramate jine (AV. ramase patau) RV. AV. ApMB. Subject is a rival wife.

mahyaṁ (this goes with prec. pāda in MS.) yajamāṇāya tiṣṭha (MS. tiṣṭhatu, mss. tiṣṭhat) TS. MS.
yato na punar ēyasi (AV. *ti) AV. TB. ApŚ. Address to, or spoken of, a rival. AVPpp. agrees with TB. ApŚ.

śakṣyam eva gūhati (ŚŚ. *si) AV. ĢŚ. And (prec. vs.):
tiṣṭhantam ava gūhati AV. tiṣṭhann evāvaśūhāsi ĢŚ. (but here the mss. of AV. have gūhasi). Unintelligible stuff.

sāṁ revatir jagatibhiḥ prayaṃtāṁ sāṁ (VŚK. om. pp′ sāṁ) madhumātr
madhumātibhiḥ prayaṃtāṁ VS. VŚK. ĢŚ. ĢŚ.: sāṁ revatir jagatibhi madhumātr madhumātibhiḥ stṛyadhvam TS. TB. The adjectives are nomis. even in TS. TB., but no noun subject is express, so that this cannot be called a syntactic inconsistency.

yadā prāṇo abhyavarṣīt AV.: yadā tvaṃ abhīvarṣasi PraśU. team refers to práṇa; the stanza is identical.

kāmarś duḥkātām iha sakvaribhīḥ AV.: rāṣṭram duḥkāthām iha revatiibhiḥ TB. The subject, dyāvapttvī, is nom. in AV., despite which most of its mss. read duḥkāthām (but Ppp. *tām). In TB. it is made voc.

gāṁ copasaṣṭāṁ vihāraṁ cāntareṇa mā samacārīṣaṇa APŚ. (followed by iti samprasyata): vihāram ca gaṁ copasaṣṭāṁ ancāntareṇa mā samacārīṣaṇa ĢŚ. (followed by iti bṛāya). (He orders, or he shall say): “Do not (they, the people, shall not) step between the cow... and the vihāra.”

agnir ēyus... tenāyugāyusmān edhi MS.: agnir ēyusmān... tasyāyam ēyugāyusmān asta asau KS. And others, see Conc.

agne vihi AB. ĢŚ. ĢŚ. MS.: agnir ṛaṭā ved... TB. ĢŚ. ĢŚ.
agniṣ tāṁ asmāt pra ṣunottu lokāt MS.: agniṣ tāṁ (VS. tāṁ; ĢŚ. tāl) lokāt pra ṣudāt (ĢŚ. ṣudāt; SMB. ṣudāte) asmāt VS. ĢŚ. ĢŚ.

ApŚ. SMB.: agne tāṁ asmāt pra ṣudava lokāt APŚ.

athaṃ viśvāḥ pratanā jaṭayāi (RV.* "ti) RV. (both) SV. AB. TB. The subject is Indra both times, tho the context varies; jaṭayāi is probably secondary. See RVRep. 397.

aditiḥ kesāṁ vapaṭu AG. MG. APMB.: aditiḥ śmaṭu vapaṭu AV. MG.: adite kesāṁ (and, kesāmaṭu) vapa PG.

antar mahanā ca rātī (and, "si) rocanena RV. (both). Agni is the subject both times, tho the context varies.


abhi prayaṃśu sudhītāni hi khyāḥ (and, khyāt) RV. (both). Agni is the subject both times.

ararū (MS. ararū te) dyām mā paptā MS. KS. APŚ.: araro divāṁ mā paptā VS. ĢŚ. Vait.
avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB. ApŚ.: 'vasānam me 'vasānapatir vindat MŚ.

ādṛjat (RV. *'jaḥ) sartase sapta sindhān RV. (both) AV. JUB.
aryo (SV. PB. *yaṁ) vāram vi dhāvati (RV. *sī) RV. (both) SV. PB.: aryo vāram vi pavamāna dhāvati (subject is here rasa) RV.
abhināv eha gachatam RV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: ...gachatam (TS. TB. *tam, in the same stanza) RV. TS. TB. N. The subject is nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d.

asmabhyaṁ citram eṛṣaṇam rayin dhāḥ RV. SV. MS. TB.: ...dhat (but so only p.p. in MS., its sanhitā mss. dhāḥ) MS. TB. Indra is the subject in both, but the stanzas are otherwise different; in the first direct address, in the second indirect reference. The sanhitā mss. of MS. were influenced by recollection of the other form of the pada.

kṣeme tiṣṭhāti (ŚG. tiṣṭha, PG. tiṣṭhatu, HG. tiṣṭhāti) ghrtam ukṣamaṇā AV. ŚG. PG. HG. The subject is a house (śālā), which is directly addressed in the sequel even in AV. Nevertheless the 3d person is logical and natural, since the house is indirectly referred to in the preceding.

(prṣṭhena dyāvāpṛthīv (MS. adäs āpṛṇa)] antarikṣam ca vi bādhase (MS. bādhaśva, TS. bāḍhatām) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §116. Addressed to, or said of, one of the altar-bricks. The preceding contains an address to Indra-Agni; the sudden shift to a direct address to the brick may have seemed harsh to the redactor of TS., hence his (evidently secondary) change to third person.

āsmāsu nṛṁṣaṁ dhāḥ MS. TA. ŚŚ.: āsmāsu nṛṁṣaṁ dhāḥ KB. Same context, but KB's version is fragmentary; it contains nothing inconsistent with the 2d person.

svatam cārdo devarī svadatānavam TS. ApŚ.: svaṭam sad dhāvir āpo devīḥ svadantu MS.: āpo devīḥ svadantu (VŚK. sad') svaṭam cārdo devāvahī VS. VŚK. ŚB. Subject āpo devīḥ, voc. or nom.

āyāti varādā devī TAA. TA. MahāṇU.: āyāhi viraje devi MG.

(abaddham mano...) dikṣe mā mā hāṣīḥ (KS. hāṣī) TS. KS. BDh.: (adabdham cakṣur...) dikṣen (sc. dikṣā-ḥid) mā mā hāṣīḥ satapā MŚ. The KS. reading, with voc. subject and 3d person verb, belongs in the next subdivision, but is doubtless corrupt; read probably dikṣen in KS. Cf. however Keith's AA. 237, note.

(indraḥ, SV. indra...) kratam puntā (SV. *sa) ukthyaṁ RV. SV.
indro vājam ajayit TS. TB.: indra vājam jaya VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
vedic variants I: the verb

usṣṇena vāya udakenēhi (SMB. GG. udakenaih; ApMB. vāyav udakenēhi, MG. vāyur udakenet) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. On the very dubious form of MG. see §136.
apātam āśvinā gharman VS. SB. SS. LS.: gharman apātam āśvinā (accented in MS! but not in TA.; TA. adds hārdīvānam) MS.TA.
Ap.Ś.: āśvinā gharman pātam hārdīvānam (MS. pibatam hārdīnem, TA. pātam hārdīvānam, LS. pātam aharyānam) VS. MS. SB. TA. SS. LS. Ap.Ś. (in the last āśvinā is voc. in all; this precedes the other form of the variant in all). The MS. form of the first-quoted formula is inconsistent (if not corrupt) and belongs in the next subdivision.
devaṁ ā sādayād (TB. Ap.Ś. 'yā) iha RV. VS. KS. TB. Ap.Ś. Agni is the subject in both, but the contexts are otherwise different.
nyṛṇā punāno arṣəti RV. SV.: nyṛṇā vāsino (SV. punāno) arṣəti RV. SV. Subject is Soma Pavamāna both times. Contrast §328.
punāno vācam iṣyati (and, 'si) RV. (both). As in preceding,
sāvitrīṁ bho anu brahma AG. ŚG. ApG. MG.: sāvitrīṁ me bhavān anu brahma GG.
madhe āyāh nakṣati (VS. TS. nakṣase) prīnāh (AV. prati) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by narīkasno agniḥ (VS. TS. KS. agne). All are consistent except KS., which belongs with the next subdivision.
syuṭa devebhīr amṛtenagāḥ (MS. KS. 'gat) TS. MS. KS. Ap.Ś. The stanza is radically reconstructed, tho fundamentally the same.
prthivi mātar ma mā kiṃśī...VS. TS. SB. SS.: mā māṁ mātā prthiṁ kiṃśī TS. MS.
bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi Kauś.: bhavān bhikṣām dadātu AG.
yudhendo mahan vārīva cakāra RV. AV.: yudhā devebhīyo vārīva cakartha RV. AV. The subject of cakartha is Indra in one (and that probably the older one) of the two occurrences in RV., see RV Rep. 87.
svayāṁ pibantu (TS. juhūdvaṁ) madhuno gṛhtasya VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
śrṣṭu (RV. 'rako ca) no damyebhīr anikaih RV. (both) AB. See RV Rep. 110.
rājā paviṭraraθo vājama aruhaḥ (and, 'hat); followed by:
sahasrabṛṣṭi jayasi (and, 'ti) śravo brhat RV. (both). Subject is Soma Pavamāna.
yathāgnir ākṣītō 'nupadasta evam mahyaṁ pitre 'kṣītō 'nupadasta (HG. 'taḥ) svadhā bhava (HG. bhavatām) ApMB. HG. And the same
with yathā vāyu..., yathādītyo... Subject is ārmiḥ (waters offered to the manes), either directly addressed or indirectly referred to.

viśvedevaso adhi vocata naḥ (TS. me) RV. TS.: viśve devā abhi rakṣantu (KS. anu tiṣṭhatu) meha AV. KS.† 'O All-gods, bless us (me)', or 'let the All-gods protect (attend) us.' The All-gods are not otherwise mentioned in the stanza; nevertheless the direct address to them seems rather harsh; hence, no doubt, the change to 3d person in AV. KS.; and hence, perhaps, Keith's presumably accidental translation (of TS. 4. 7. 14. 2d) as 3d person ('may the all-gods befriend me'; 'befriend' is not a happy rendering of adhi-vocata).

vy antarikṣam atirāḥ RV. AV.: ... atirat RV. AV. SV. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. Subject is Indra; in different stanzas, both consistent.

ṣyeno na vanṣu śidati RV. SV.: ṣyeno na vikṣu śidati RV. SV.: ṣyeno na vanṣu kalaśeṣu śidasi RV. Soma-Pavamāna is the subject in all: sam devi (KS. devi) devaṇarvāyaḥ paśyasa (KS. aroṇaśākyya) TS. KS. ApŚ.

sa yajñam pāхи (ŚŚ. pātu) sa (AŚ. om.) yajñapatiḥ pāḥi (ŚŚ. omits) sa mān pāḥi (ŚŚ. pātu) TB. GB. AŚ. Vait. SS. ApŚ.

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau kuśevāḥ TB. ApŚ.: yajñah pray u ṣṭhāt sumatau maṁnāṁ MŚ. See §158.

mātevāmaḥ aditiḥ kārma yacha (ŚŚ. aditiḥ karma yāntat) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.

sahāvaitu jārayunā ŚŚ. BrhU.: saha jārayunā sarpatu (ApMB. guṇa niśkramya) HG. ApMB.: sahaśehi jārayunā RV.: sākanā jārayunā pata AV. The contexts are all similar, and each is internally consistent.

indriyam me viryan may nir vadhīḥ (MŚ. vadhīṣṭa) TS. MŚ. The subject is soma in either case. The variant belongs here if vadhīḥ is 2d person as assumed by Keith on TS. 3. 1. 8. 3; but since MŚ. has a 3d person, vadhīḥ may also be 3d person as assumed by Caland and Henry, L'Agnostoma 153 (Keith's objection, I. e., is not valid).

yathācāsam tanam (AV. vaḥ) kalpayāti (RV. yasaṇa) RV. AV. VS. Context contains evaṇā, nom. (in apposition to subject), even in RV.; this is doubtless responsible for the lectio faellior of AV. VS.; no subject is formally expressed in RV.

vājino vājajīto vājam sarījanto (TS. ApŚ. add, vājan ārjasanto) brhaspater bhāgam asaṅghrata VS. TS. SB. ApŚ.: vājino vājajītaṃ vājam jiśev bhṛhaspater bhāgam asaṅghratan (KS. tām) MŚ. KS. MŚ. The same noun forms, alternatively taken as noms. or voces. So also in next.
Vedica vājajito vājam sasrvaśko (KS. jīvāṇa; TS. sarvāṇo vājam jīvāṇa) bhṛhaspater bhāgaṃ avavijhitato ni mṛjānāḥ (KS. bhāge ni mṛjātām; TS. bhāge ni mṛṣṭhvaṃ) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: vājinau vājañatau vājanā jītvā bhṛhaspater bhāge nīmṛjethāṃ MS. MŚ.

arām aśvāya pāyati (SV. ṭa) RV. SV. Subject is the n. pr. Śrutakakṣa in next pāda, nom. in RV., voc. in SV. Note plural verb despite singular subject in SV.

asme dhārayatan (MŚ. tām) rayim RV. MŚ.: asmaḥ dhārayatan rayim AV. Subject agniṣoma, originally voc., felt as nom. in MŚ.


ṛtunā soman pibatam (KS. ṭu, MŚ. ṭām) KS. MŚ. ApŚ. Subject Aśvinus in ApŚ. MŚ. (nom. or voc.); in KS, a priest.

mā mā hāśin (MŚ. hāsir) nāthito net (MŚ. na) tvā jahāmī (KS. ṭi) AV. KS. MŚ.: mā no hāsin metthito net tvā jahāma TB. APŚ.: mā no hīnāśi dhiṁśito na tvā jahāmī AŚ. The subject, in prec., is nom. in all; but the rest of the verse, including the latter part of this variant (note tvā), is thrown into a direct address in 2d person, and MŚ. assimilates its hāśi to this, instead of hāstī. Neither form can therefore be called inconsistent with the context.

asau yaju AŚ.: asau yajate... LŚ.

bhuvad viśvam abhy ādevam ojasa RV.: bhuv viśvam abhy ādevam ojasa SV. Subject is Indra. Preceded by direct address in 2d person, but followed by reference in 3d person; thus neither form is inconsistent with surroundings.

aśvinā bhīṣajōvataḥ (MS. ṭam; TB. ṭa) VS. MS. TB. See §116.

yā (AV. TS. yā) ātmaved bhīrto (KS. ṭo; AV. viṣaṭhō) yau ca rakṣataḥ (KS. AV. ṭhah) AV. MS. KS. Followed in same texts by:

yau viśasya pariḥhā (KS. viśasyādhipā) babhasathūh (TS. ṭuh). These are pādas b and c of a verse in which the subjects, Vāyu and Savitar, are in all texts referred to in 3d person in a, and directly address in d. Therefore no text is completely consistent in the verse; and the variant pādas are in every case consistent with a part of the context.

buddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. ṭha, MG. ṭatu) yajñiyāsah RV. TA. MG. Also in pāda a MG. recasts the expression to make the verb 3d person instead of 2d; it is internally consistent, although secondary and poor.

īnam no yajñaṁ vihare juṣawa (AV. ṣrṇatu) RVKh. AV. TS. KS. TB.
The AV. is consistent with the prec. half verse (3d person); the others, with the following pāda (direct address in all). Subject Indra.

rāyas poṣāh (KS. tvāṣṭāh poṣāya) viṣyatu (AV. MS. KS. viṣyā) nabhān asmē (AV. aṣya) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The subject, Tvāṣṭar, is nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d. On the dual form of the variant (viṣyātān) see §36S.

§330. With accompanying change in number:

prathamam artiṁ yuṣṭu nah MG.: pra sa (read su) mṛtyuṁ yuyotana HG.: pra sumartyaṁ (ApMB. su mṛtyuṁ) yuyotana SMB. ApMB. The subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere.

tena brahmāno vapaṭedam aṣya (ŚG. adyn) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB.: tena brahmāno vapaṭa MG: tenāsyāyaṁ vapa ApMB. 'By that (razor), O priests, shave his (head) here' or 'by that let the priest shave (him)', or (a kind of uḥa in ApMB.) 'by that shave thou his (head) unto long life.'

atra rayiṣṭhāṁ anu sāṁbhavaratāṁ (AŚ. saṁbhavatāṁ, MS. saṁbharetām) TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MS. In TB. ApŚ. address to god Agni (2d sing.); in AŚ. MS. subject is two fires (3d dual).

rājanaṁ saṃgāyata (PG. yeṭām) ŚG. PG. Stenzler renders PG. as a direct address, as if yeṭām were the reading, tho he quotes no such reading. There seems to be no reason why the two lute-players should not be referred to in the 3d person: 'let them sing of the king.' In ŚG. a plurality of lute-players is directly address.

salakṣmā (MS. KS. "ma) yad viṣurāpā (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. "pam) bhavāti (MS. KS. babhāva) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.; viṣurāpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha TS. See §104, h. In the YV. texts used of the animal victim, who is addressed in the sequel; hence the change to 2d person in TS., which is however evidently secondary.

anu ma idāṁ vatam vratapatī manyatāṁ MS.: anu me dīkṣāṁ dīkṣāpatī manyatām (KS. "patayo manyadhivam; ŚB. "patir amañṣa)...VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. (bis) Vait. See §130.

§331. There are a few variants in which a verb in a relative clause is alternatively made 3d person, because of the relative pronoun serving as subject, tho the person referred to is still directly address. This psychological shift is familiar in other languages:

eyā tirakaṁ nipadyase (AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. "te) ŚB. BrhU. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. ApMB. HG. The same person is directly address in all: 'thou who liest (lies) down across...'
ya ājagnā (N. "muh) savanemā (TS. KS. savanedām; N. savanam idam; VS. MS. ŚB. ya ājagnemām savanam) juṣṭāḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. 'O gods) who have come' etc.; gods are directly adressed in all. Only N. makes verb 3d person, because of the relative.

ya uṣi manasā dāram PG.: ya eti pradīṣāh sarvāḥ ApMB. The subject is addressed in the 2d person (pronoun te) in the sequel even in ApMB.; the third person is due to the relative. 'Who goest (or, if thou goest) to all directions (to a distance with thy mind)' is the real meaning of both.

ya rājaṇā (TS. "nām) saratham yātha (MS. yāta) ugrā TS. MS. KS. 'O Mitra-Varna,) who go, two kings, mighty, against the (warrior) with his chariot (or, who go, mighty, against the king with his chariot)’—[do ye free us from sin],

Possibly the following also belongs here:

mā yaḥ somat imam pibāt (KS. nibā; KS. somat pibād imam) KS. TB. KS. ApŚ. See §319. The next pāda begins with s; possibly pibāt (if not even pibād) is to be read in KS. If the text is correct, of course pibāt is 1st person, not 2d.

§332. (b) There remain a number of cases of this same sort in which one form of the variant is more or less inconsistent with its own context. Thus, first, there are cases in which third-person verbs are used altho the subject is vocative, or is referred to with second-person pronouns, pointing to direct address. These cases, naturally, tempt to emendation; but probably the temptation should usually be resisted, as it certainly should in the following verse of PG. Such third-person verbs occur no less than three times in it, and are translated by Stenzler as second-persons, altho he very properly did not venture to emend his text in view of the insistent tradition. The comm. supplies bhavantu; and this familiar classical third-personal expression for what is really a direct address is, no doubt, influential in many of these expressions in later texts. Cf. bhavitā bhikṣāṁ dehi (bhavāṁ bhikṣāṁ dadātu), §329.

yena striyam (PG. striyam) akṛṇutam (PG. tām; ŚŚ. striyāv akṛnutam), yenāpāṁrṣītam (PG. vamṛṣītām) surām, yenākṣān (ŚŚ. kṣāṁ, PG. kṣāv) abhyasiṇcālam (PG. tām), yad vām tad aśvinā yaśaḥ, ŚŚ. PG. SMB. The first pāda also GG. (reading as SMB.); the third also AV., reading yenākṣāḥ abhyasīcyanta (the dice are made the subject of the now passive verb). See §293.

Or, conversely, one form of the variant has a 2d person verb with a nominative subject, as:
tā enam prāvidēśau krapayatam MS.: tāv enam pukum krapayatāṁ prāvidēśau TB. Not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects in the prec., are nom. in MS.

mā no gharma vyathito vyayadhāt (TA. vyayatho naḥ) MS. TA.: mā naḥ soma kvarito viśvarasu MŚ. (so read, see §150); followed in same verse by:

me svatvam asmāṁ tarādhāt (so read with p.p.) MS.: mā sv (Poona ed. mo sv) asmāṁs tamasy antar ādāh TA.: mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāh (mes. ādā) MŚ. In view of the voc. gharma (soma), it would appear that MŚ. MŚ. must understand the subject to be indefinite; but it can hardly be anything else than the gharma. The formula is a praṇayaścīta spoken upon ominous performance of the gharma or soma-offering.

adabāho gopāḥ (KS.† gopāḥ) pari pāhi nas tvam (KS. pari pāti viśvataḥ) RV. TS. KS.: tvaṁ no gopāḥ pari pāhi viśvataḥ AV. The subject (in prec. pāda) is agne RV. AV., agra TS. KS.; TS. is inconsistent (2d person with subject nom.).

agra dād (TS. dā) dravismā viśapeṇāḥ RV. TS. The subject being agrī, TS. is inconsistent; but note the following dr-, and cf. §24.

srjā dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV.: srjā vi dhārā ava dānavān han RV. N. The subject is indra, voc., even in SV., and the prec. parallel verbs are 2d person.

kaḍā sutāṁ tṛṣaṇa oka ā gamaḥ (SV. gamat) RV. SV. AV. The subject is the voc. indra, followed by se- and perhaps felt as nom. (for āndraḥ) in SV? Benfer boldly translates 3d person verb with voc. subject.

devebhya havyāṁ (MS. MŚ. MG. havya) rahaṁ prajānān RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. Vait. MŚ. Kauś. MG.: devebhya havyāṁ raha nah (Kauś. omits nah) prajānān TB. AŚ. ŠŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. There are three different contexts here, one with the second variant, and two with the first. All are consistent with their contexts except that MŚ. alone has the form rahaṁ with a preceding voc. subject.

patyur janitevam abhi saṁ babhūtha (TA. babhūva) RV. AV. TA. See §262, 1. The subject is tvam, and TA. comm. glosses babhūva with a 2d person.

piṭā mātariśāchidrā padā dhāḥ (KS. AŚ. dhā) TS. KS. AB. AŚ. 5. 9. 1.
In TS. AB. nom. subject with 2d person verb; KS. AŚ. are consistent.
vy astabhnā (VS. ŚB. aska, MS. uṣka, KS. uṣa, TS. askabhnād, TA. uṣ(ahbh)na) rodasī viṣṇav (VS. MS. KS. viṣṇa, TS. viṣṇu) etc. followed by:
dādhartha (TS. dādhāra) prthiśva abhitō mayūkhaī RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The pre. half verse is address to Heaven and Earth; hence, no doubt, TS. changes these pādas to a 3d person reference to Viṣṇu, which seems less harsh than a direct address to him. TA. has a blend, being internally inconsistent, or at least harsh; despite the voc. subject and the 2d person verb retained in pāda d, it joins TS. in having a 3d person verb in pāda e.
tasya na iśasya pritasya dṛaviṇahāgāmeḥ, etc. (see § 104, u). Here all forms of the variant are self-consistent (nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d) except MS., which has dṛaviṇahāmyat; its p.p. reads dṛaviṇa (accented!); is this form possibly felt as a nom. pl. neuter, with sing. verb? The following parallel formulas in MS. have 3d person verbs with nom. subjects.
yamasya dātaḥ ca vāg viḍhāvati (TA. dātaḥ svapād viḍhāvasi); followed by:
grdhraḥ suparnah kuṇapati niṣeṣati (TA.† niṣeṣave) MS. TA. The TA. comm. regards the grdhra as address, despite the nom. form.
[vīṃsasya devi mṛcayasya (ŚS. mṛcayasya) janmano] na yā roṣati na grah-bhata (ŚS. grahaḥ) AB. AS. SS. 'The goddess of the imperishable (?) kind, who shall not be angry, shall not (or, do not) seize us.' Keith takes grahath as part of the relative clause, which leaves no main verb in the passage; it seems better to regard grahath as the main verb, with subject devi. It may be that the original reading was devi (voc.), followed by grahath, and that grahath is due to secondary form assimilation to roṣati, whose 3d personal form is justified by the relative (cf. §331). As it stands, SS. is inconsistent, since the only possible subject for its 2d person verb is nominative.
aṭāṣṭruḥ svaṇā no astu TS. MS. AS.: aṭāṣṭruḥ suhavo na edhi KS. The subjects (a series of nouns, in the preceding) are all nouns.; KS. is harsh.

yajamāṇāya dṛaviṇāḥ dadhātu (VS. ŚB. KS.∗ dadhāta) AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS. The subject is nominative, and parallel clause 3d person, in all. On the plural see § 355.
hato (SV. TB. hatho) vrtrāṇy āryā (AV. TB. aprati) RV. AV. SV. TB. The AV. variant is inconsistent as between subject and person of the verb; see §329.

sa no mayobhāḥ pito (pitar) āveśa (āveṣa; MS. pitar āveśa) TS. TB.
AŚ. MŚ. ŠG. SMB. PG: sa nah pito madhumāt ā vireśa Kauś. Voc. with 2d person verb in all but MŚ. Kauś.; in MŚ. nom. with 3d person (equally consistent); in Kauś., however, if the text is right, we have voc. with 3d person verb! See §69.

madheṇa yajñam nakṣati ("ce) priyānāh (pratī) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See § 329. KS. is inconsistent.

imau ṣīryani (TB. rayini) yajamanāya dhātam (TB. dhātam) MS. TB. The 2d person of TB. is inconsistent with its nom. subject, aśēna (accented). The comm. finds no difficulty in ignoring the accent and taking it as voc. But in the next pāda occurs a parallel verb rakṣatām, with the same subject. Even this does not disturb the comm., who calmly interprets it as if it were 2d person (sāreto bhayaḥ palaśatām). In truth, of course, it is rather dhātam which must be an error for 3d person pādaṃ.

karmac dharmantā svite dadhāta (MŚ. "tu") KS. MŚ.: karmac varṣāṃ svitāṃ (ŠG. sukṛtam) no astu (AV. svite no dadhāta) AV. TS. ŠG. SMB. In AV. KS. the six season-names which precede are directly addressed in 2d person, tho they are nom. in form, not voc. Doubtless for this reason MŚ. substitutes a 3d person, and since the 3d plural would not fit metrically, makes it singular, agreeing with the nearest of the six subjects; see § 355. The other texts dodge the difficulty by making svitāṃ the subject of a copulaic verb, astu.

devaḥ nāh sukṛto (VSK. deveṣu mā sukṛtam) brāttāt (KS. brāṭa; PB. MŚ. brāyāt) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: devebhyaḥ mā sukṛtam brāttāt (ŠB. with ūha, vocē) VS. ŠB.: sukṛtam mā deveṣu brāttāt TS. A 2d person is required, and PB. comm. reads brāttāt; probably MŚ. (in an unpublished part of the text) is likewise to be read brāttāt.

vider (VS. KS. ŠB. rided) agnir (VSK. ŠBK. agner; MS. MŚ. agne) nābho nāma VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ŠBK. MŚ. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 12. 1, note 2. The TS. is inconsistent (2d person verb with nom. subject). The others all rectify the syntax by one change or another.

mā no dyāvāprthiś hiṃṣetāṃ MS.: mā dyāvāprthiś hiṃṣetāṃ TA. In MS. as well as TA. dyāvāprthiś is nom. (accented); and the preceding parallel pāda is in the 3d person.

akarat sūryavarsacam ApMB.: akṛtoḥ sūryavacacem RV. AV. JB.; avakṛto sūryavacacem MG. The subject, in the preceding pāda, is īndra (voc.) in all but MG.; even ApMB. 1. 1. 9 reads so, despite 3d person verb, cf. Winternitz, Introduction, p. xvi. And indeed even MG., tho it makes the subject nom., īndras, to agree with the 3d
person verb, still retains the voc. epithet *satakrato in pāda b, agreeing with it! Only RV. AV. JB. are really grammatical.

*brahma tena punih nāḥ (mā; punātu mā; punimāhe), idam brahma punimāhe, see §302.

(abaddham mano . . .) dikṣe mā mā hāsāḥ (KŚ. hāsit, corrupt?) TS. KŚ. BDh.: (adabdham cakṣur . . .) dikṣen mā mā hāsit . . . MS. The KŚ. is inconsistent.

§333. (c) In a very large number of other cases, while there is no inconsistency between the case of the subject and the person of the verb, we note more or less inconsistency between the person of the verb and the surrounding context, in one form of the variant. (See §294.) That is, for instance, in a passage containing several parallel verbs with the same subject, one is suddenly shifted from 2d to 3d person, or vice versa. Or, a 3d person verb is found when in an adjoining passage direct address to the subject is indicated by a 2d person pronoun; or the like. The result is a more or less harsh anacolouthon. This condition is not by any means always secondary; indeed, it happens very frequently that the anacoloutic syntax appears to characterize the older form of the variant, and a later text smooths it out by a change of person in one verb.

§334. In half a dozen cases, however, of verbs of which Soma is the subject, and which in the RV. are third person, and occur in the context of other (parallel) third-person expressions, the SV. changes the 3d person to 2d, producing a direct address to Soma which is inconsistent with the context (cf. above §§295, 328):

adhi tríṣṭha uṣaso vi rājati (SV. "si) RV. SV. The subject, soma, is spoken of in the 3d person in the preceding even in SV.

aprīryam dharuṇam vāṣy arṣati (SV. "si) RV. SV. The subject, soma, is referred to in the 3d person in the prep. pāda.

punāṇo vāraṇ pary ety (SV. vāram ety esy) anyayam RV. SV. ApŚ.

The subject, soma, is referred to in 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse.

viśed yad rūpā pariṣṭy (SV. "sy) rūvakhiḥ RV. SV. Otherwise 3d person in the verse.

vṛthā pādāṇi kruṇate (SV. "se) nadiśa d (RV,† once omits d) RV. (bis) SV. Otherwise 3d persons in the verse.

arṣaṇ (SV. arṣā) mitrasya varuṇasya dharmāṇa RV. SV. Parallel verb in the preceding is 3d person in both.

§335. In two cases, however, the reverse change takes place in SV. In verbs of which Soma is the subject; there are special reasons for both.
vr̥ṇo acikradad vane SV. 2. 430b, 480b: vr̥ṇa vapa cakradad (9. 107. 22b cakrado) vane RV. 9, 7, 3b, 9, 107. 22b. In SV. 2. 430b = RV. 9, 107. 22b Soma is addressed in the latter part of the stanza; yet he is here referred to in the 3d person in SV., probably under the influence of the parallel passage 2. 480b = RV. 9, 7, 3b, which has 3d person in both texts.

pr̥ṣṭheṣv eṣayā (SV. aśrayad) raṇī RV. SV. Here RV. is inconsistent; the subject, Soma, is the subject of a 3d person verb in the next pāda. In SV. this is smoothed out.

§336. We may note that it is only Soma for which SV. seems to feel this urge towards direct address; e.g., in the following, where the Maruts are the subject, RV. changes secondarily a 2d person address to a 3d person reference, despite direct address to the Maruts in the preceding: viśe pibata (SV. pibanta) kāminah RV. SV.

§337. The long list of remaining cases is as follows:

yat sānoḥ sānunā āruhaḥ (SV. sāne āruhaḥ) RV. SV. The subject is Indra, who is otherwise spoken of in the 3d person even in SV.; the next pāda is bhāry aspaṣṭa kareṣam. 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor.' A 2d person verb here is intolerably harsh; one is tempted to guess that SV. felt āruhaḥ as a verbal noun, dependent on aspaṣṭa (I). This would perhaps be no worse than other forms of which SV. is guilty. But probably it merely shifts to direct address to Indra; see §294.

yena bhūyaḥ (PG. bhūriṣ) carati ayam (AG. ca rāṣṭryam, MG. carathy ayam, PG. ca divam), jyok ca paśyati (PG. "sti; MG. "yati) sūryam (MG. "yah) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. The subject is the boy in the shaving rite (except that MG. makes it sūryah in the 2d pāda; perhaps also in the first? doubtful); he is addrest in the 2d person in the rest of the verse in AG. PG. MG., spoken of in the 3d in ApMB. As to persons, PG. and ApMB. are consistent; AG. flagrantly inconsistent; MG. patches together a makeshift reading, keeping 3d person but changing the subject.

yaṁasa yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. "yav) abhūtam (MS. "thām); and (in same verse) divi (KS. dive) jyotir ajaram (MS. KS. uttamam) &rabhētām (MS. KS. "thām) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. In prec. pāda both MS. and KS. have the 3d person gachhitām; both are therefore inconsistent. On abhūthām (middle!) see §§21, 56.

antak carati (MahānU. PrāṇāgU. "sti) bhūtesu TA. TAA. MahānU. PrāṇāgU. I.VyāsaDh. ŚaṅkhaDh. The subject (paramātmad, TA. comm.) is addrest in the second person in the 2d half of the verse.
sāmpriyaḥ paśubhir bhava (TB. ApŚ. bhuvat) MS. TB. ApŚ.; sāmpriyaḥ praJayāḥ paśubhir bhuvat TA. The subject (Agni) is referred to in the 3d person even in MS. in the preceding.

viśvo (TS. viśve) rāga iṣudhyati (TS.°st) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Both variations in TS. are corrupt; see Keith (p. 21, n. 3), who translates the RV. reading. As K. remarks, the 2d person is apparently intended to match pusyase in the next line; but this is an infinitive, not a finite form.

mā no hṛṣṭām atithīr (SV. hṛṣṭhā atithin) vasur agnīḥ RV. SV. The subject can only be Agni in SV., which seems to understand the last two words as a separate sentence: ‘Be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni!); Agni is good.’

ārdhavo adhvare asthāt (VS. ŚB. ‘ādhvār aṣṭhāt, KS. ‘ādhvaṛ sthāḥ, ApŚ. adhvare sthāt) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. ‘The offering has stood upright’, or (KS.) ‘thou (Agni) hast stood upright at the offering’, or (ApŚ.) ‘he (Agni, who is directly addrest in both the preceding and following) has stood’ etc. Caland assumes ‘sthāḥ as the true reading of ApŚ.

sā naḥ payasvati duḥām (TS. PG. dhukṣeṣa; MS. duke; SMB. duhā?) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. PG. The subject (ekāṣṭākā) is spoken of in the 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse even in TS. PG., which here address it directly. For the doubtful reading of MS. SMB, see §104, b.

subheṣajain yathāsati (AV. °si; LŚ. yathāsat) AV. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. Different contexts; but, as Whitney remarks ad loc., the 3d person would suit better in AV.

tat satyaṁ yad vīrāṁ bōhṛthāḥ (MS.°tah); vīrāṁ janayaṁyaṁyaḥ (MS.°tah); te mat prājāḥ prajayāyaṁyaṁ (MS.°te); te mā prajāte prajayāyaṁyaṁyaḥ (MS.°taḥ prajayāḥ paśubhiḥ) TB. ApŚ. MS. Preceded, even in MS., by a direct address in 2d person.

(īndrā ca naḥ kumāraṁ) imaṁ yajñam mimikṣatam (SS.°tam) TB. SS. Followed by: garbham (SS.°tan) dhattam evastaye, so that SS. is inconsistent. Its reading is evidently a reminiscence of the form of the pāda which occurs elsewhere, in a different context, with mimikṣatam; see §341.

arakaṁ maṇasaṁ taṁ jujeta (TS. MS. jujasa; KS. jujethāḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §160. In the following 2 pādas Agni is referred to in 3d person.

imaṁ yajñam abhi graṁta viśve RV. VS.; idam no havir abhi graṁtum viśve AV. The subject is the pīṭras, who are addrest in the next line in the 2d person even in AV., and AV. comm. reads graṁta here.
nātārīd (TB, "rir") asya samptiṁ vadhānām (TB, "ba") RV. TB. The parallel verbs are all 3d person; TB, comm. glosses na prāptavān. niśdāna no apa durmatiṁ jahi (TS. hanat) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The subject is understood as Agni. The first part of the verse refers to him in 3d person and is directly address to plants; the majority of the texts change to a 2d person address to Agni, while TS. alone, more consistently but presumably secondarily, continues the indirect reference.

parśvata ā jagantā (AV. jagamyāt; TS. jagāmā) parasyāḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. MS. KS. Subject Indra, who in the following is address in 2d person in all.

pitaraḥ pitāmahāḥ pare 'vare tatās tatāmahā iha māvata (PG. māvanītā) TS. PG. The last of a series of similar formulas; the preceding ones are 3d person in both texts.

purā gṛdhraḥ avaraṇāḥ pibātāḥ (TB, pibātāḥ) RV. MS. TB. In the following TB. also has 3d person verb.

prāḍāva (SMB, prāḍāva) pitībyāh avadhyā te aṅgau RV. AV. VS. TS. ApŚ. SMB. Subject Agni, address in 2d person thruout the verse in most texts, but in SMB. only in the last pāda; in this (the 3d) pāda, and in the 1st (which is a different one from that of the other texts), it has 3d person forms; in the 2d pāda the form is ambiguous (either 2d or 3d).

mā mā hinaḥ (VS.† KS. ŚB. hinaḥ) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Prec. by mā te hinaḥ (KS. ms. hinaḥ). In the Tait. school texts the verb-form is mechanically assimilated to the preceding; just as in the one ms. of KS. the form of the prec. verb is assimilated to the following (properly emended by von Schroeder, since the object te makes 2d person verb obviously impossible). Subject kṛṣṇājīna (Mahādhāra on VS.).

yathā jyok sumandā asāh (HG. asat) ApMB. HG. The prec. formula addresses the boy in 2d person even in HG.

jad uśadhas tiṣṭhā (KS. "thād) draviṇeha dhaktā RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. In KS. inconsistent with context; see §24.

vākpa vācaṁ me pāhi (MS. pātu) TS. MS. AB. AŚ. And the same with krotrapāḥ krotram, cakṣuspaḥ etc. vākpaḥ is nom., which makes 3d person at least easier; and the prec. is a 3d person statement in TS. viśvasād id iṣudhyate (TB. "se) RV. TB. Followed by:

devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (RV. ohiṣe and ohiṣe) RV. (bis) SV. TB. On the relation of the RV. forms see RVRep. 131f. The SV. occurrences repeat RV. 8. 19. 1 (which has ohiṣe) but seem influenced by RV.
1. 128. 6 (ohise). TB. repeats RV. 1. 128. 6 but makes it more natural; ohise (p.p. ő őhise) is surrounded by 3d person verbs referring to the same subject (Agni), so that attempts have even been made to explain ohise as an infinitive (see RVRep. loc. cit., and Oldenberg's RVNoten ad loc.). In TB. the whole passage is made a direct address to Agni—a much easier reading.

śarva varūtham āśadat suah (TS. āśadah suvaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. In TS. the verb is assimilated to the person of the 2d half-verse, where Agni is directly address in all. Tho more consistent, it is doubtless secondary.

jayanta upasprāṣat HG.: jayantopa sprā ApMB. Only HG. is consistent with parallel formulas in the context, which even in ApMB, are 3d person.

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (AV. bhaveka) AV. TS. MS. Subject is a king, equated with Indra; in 1st half verse all texts refer to him in 3d person; here AV. changes to direct address (AV. 3. 4. 1 has the same pāda in a different context.)

anu (AV.*prati) dyaśoṣṭhāmi tatantha (AV.*viveka, AV.*TS.*TB. tatāna) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. Occurs in two different verses; one (A) is address to Soma, with verbs in 2d person; the other (B) refers to Agni, with verbs in 3d person. Only A occurs in RV., only B in AV. TB.; both occur in VS. TS. MS. KS., but VS. MS. KS. read in B the 2d person form taken from, and appropriate to, A, while only TS. keeps the distinct forms appropriate to each.

andhena yat (TA. yā) tamasaḥ prāverāṣit (TA. ṣāsi) AV. TA. The subject (acc. to both comm's. a cow, but see Whitney's note on AV. 18. 3. 3) is referred to in the 1st half verse in 3d person in both texts.

āśa (MS. KS. āṣṭāh) pratiṣṭhām avidad dhi (MS. avido hi, KS. avido nu) gādham TS. MS. KS. PG. So the Cone. The subject, Viśvavedas, is referred to in the prec. pāda in the 3d person in TS. KS. (while in MS. he is directly address). If, as we believe, the Cone. presents the true text of KS., it alone of the texts is inconsistent with its surroundings. The matter is, however, not certain. The single ms. of KS. is quoted as reading āṣṭāh and avida, which seem most likely to represent āṣṭāh and avida; but von Schroeder (doubtless for the sake of consistency with the context) emends, overboldly as it seems, to āṣta and avida.

gāpān me mā ni śrīpaḥ (MS. śat) TS. MS. 'Do not (let him not) make my troops thirsty.' Only the 2d person is proper, referring to Indra,
to whom the whole verse is address. Knauer on MŚ. 2. 4. 1. 35b defends "yat of all his mss. by supposing it to refer to Vāyu, understood. In the same context: gaṇān me mā vy arīśaḥ Vait. In different contexts: gaṇā me mā vi ṭṛṣaṇ VS. TB. ŠB.; gaṇāir ma mā vi ṭṛṣaṇa MS. 'Let not my troops be thirsty' or 'make me not thirsty with my troops'; shift between causative and simple verbs, with consequent inversion of subject and object.

abhi no viro āvatī kṣameta RV. TB.: tvam no viro āvatī kṣamethāḥ AB. In a repetition of the RV. stanza, in which the subject (Rudra) is address with 2d person verbs in the preceding pādas, AB. makes this pāda consistent with them.

d yantu pītaro manojaivasah ApŚ.: etā pītaro manojaivas, and: āganta pītaro manojaivas MŚ. (in same śūtra): paretana (TS. KS. ApŚ. paretā) pītarah somyānah (TS. ApŚ. somyāḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. (in different context from the above in ApŚ., but in the same context, separated by one śūtra, from etā etc. in MŚ.; in the next śūtra but one MŚ. has a 3d person reference to the same subject, sundhantāṁ pītaraḥ, thus shifting from 2d to 3d person).

ṛtāṁ (TB. ṛtāṁ) anyo vidadhāy jāyate punaḥ (AV. jāyaśa navah) RV. AV. MS. TB. Preceded by the correlate: vīśvānyo bhuvand vicaśte (so AV., the others similarly). Said of the sun and moon respectively.

The change to direct address in AV. is harsh and is pretty surely a mere corruption; the comm. reads jāyate.

tena mā saha śundhata (AV. śumbhantu) RV. AV. The waters seem to be addressed in RV.; they are referred to in 3d person in the preceding. The AV. reading is uncertain; SPP. adopts śumbhātu, and so Whitmy’s Translation; see §360.

divo jyote (and, jyotīr) vivasna āditya...āsuvadhvam KS.: devajūte vivasvann āditya...āsuvadhvam MŚ.: vivasvān aditir devajūtis... vīyantu TS. Two parallel pādas preceding have vyantu with nom. subject in MS. KS. also.

yo devānāṁ carati prāṇathena VS. MS. KS. ŠB.: devānāṁ yaḥ carati prāḥ TS. Here, paradoxically, it is the 2d person of most texts which is inconsistent with the 2d (not 3d) person verb of the preceding line; for the subjects of the two must be different, being masc. and fem. respectively. Doubtless this is the reason for TS’s change to 3d person here, and for its further change in the next pāda (devī for deva), which makes the entire stanza address to the feminine entity mentioned in the first half. TS. is, of course, secondary.

yaśmād bhūta udvāśīṣṭa (and, udavēṣṭa) MŚ.: yaśmād bhūṣavāśīṣṭāḥ
(and, bhūṣaṇepiṣṭhāḥ) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Surrounding and parallel formulas (addressed to the animal victim) are 2d person even in MS.

āśvināv eha gachatām (TS. TB. "tam) RV. TS. TB. N. āśvinār is voc. in TS. TB., āśvināv nom. in RV. The same pada with "tam (and āśvināv) in RV. and other texts, in a direct address to the Aśvins, who are here (in RV.) referred to in the 3d person, the stanza being address to a priest (the adhvaryu according to comm. on RV., the hotar according to that on TB.). The preceding pada in TB. as well as RV. is: prātaryujā (= āśvinau) vi bodhaya. TS. changes this to "yujau vi mucyethām, making it also a direct address to the Aśvins. TB. is inconsistent in that the first pada is address to a priest and refers to the Aśvins in 3d person, while the second addresses them directly. TS. by its further change in the first pada restores consistency. No doubt the 2d person form of the second pada is due to influence of the other form of the variant with gachatām, in a different stanza in RV.

īṣati agra āsit (KS. TA. ApŚ. āśiḥ) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MS. In two different stanzas (used in similar connexions), one in KS. ApŚ., the other in the remaining texts. The KS. ApŚ. stanza is consistently in the 2d person, according to ApŚ. address partly to a lump of earth, partly to pebbles. The other stanza likewise refers to a lump of earth, which is address directly in the next pada in MS. at any rate (with vocative devī), and according to Mahidhara also in VS.; M. thus interprets the pronoun te, as referring to the earth; with āśit Mahidhara supplies bhavatt, taking the whole as direct address. There is, then, inconsistency between the two padas in VS. MS. In TA., which has the same context as VS. MS., this inconsistency is removed by changing āśit into a 2d person.

īṣam tokāya no dadhat (KS. dadhaḥ) RV. SV. KS., and AVPpp. in its version of AV. 7. 20. 2, see Whitney's note on this. The RV. SV. passage is not pertinent since dadhat is a participle; the context is different. But both KS. and AVPpp. have finite verb forms; the stanza in them is otherwise a direct address, and AVPpp. is therefore inconsistent. In both the next pada reads:

pra ṭa (MS. na) āyuripī tārīṣat (AVPpp. MS. KS. msr. "sat) AVPpp. VS. TS. KS. ŚŚ. N. See preceding. (In all but AVPpp. KS. MS. the preceding pada is different.) This pada, with tārīṣat, is found repeatedly in other contexts (see Conc.), in most of which the 3d person is appropriate. Doubtless the reading with tārīṣat here
(and probably in AV. 4. 10. 6c, where a 2d person also seems required) is due to contamination with that form of the phrase.

rdháy aya (TS. MS. KS. ayaś) rdháy utáśamisíthah (MS. KS. *samiśta) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. N.: dhruvam aya dhruvam utáśamisíthah RV.: dhruvam ayo dhruvam utá swiśthā AV. The forms aya(s) and ayāq are both 2d persons; but because the latter looks more like a 3d person, MS. KS. secondarily make the following verb 3d person, despite direct address in the preceding and following pādas. On the corrupt version of AV, see Whitney on 7. 97. 1.

citrebhir abhrir uta tiśthatha (MS. *to) ravan RV.† MS. Followed by:
dyām varṣayatho (MS. *to) asurasya māyagā RV. MS. The preceding pādas speak of the subject (mitrāvaruṇau) in the 3d person; hence the change to 3d person in MS., which makes the syntax smoother. Nevertheless MS. p.p. reads varṣayathaḥ.
dhartā divo rajasa vibhāti dhartā (TA. dīva vibhāsi rajasah; VS. SB. dīva vibhāti tapasas prthivyām) VS. MS. SB. TA. The context has a parallel verb yacha.

dhruvaidhi posṣā (PG. *ye) maṇī RVKh. ŠG. PG. ApMB.: mameyam astu posṣā AV. The AV. is inconsistent, for the woman referred to by iyam is addressed in 2d person in the rest of the stanza.

arēdatā (ahe2, see §160) manaśa devān gacha (ApŠ. ganiyāt) MS. KS. ApŠ. Parallel verbs are 3d person in all.

janiṣṭa (TS. *svā, MS. *sva) hi jenyo agré ahanām RV. TS. MS. KS. The subject is Agni, referred to in 3d person by all in the sequel.

pratiśṭhān gacha (GB. gachan) pratiśṭhān mā gamaya (GB. *yet) AB. GB. Direct address in the preceding in both. Gāsstra considers GB. corrupt.

aryo aya yuvatībhī sam arṣati (AV. aya yosāḥ sam arṣase) RV. SV. AV. Parallel verbs in the preceding are 3d person in all.
namo viśakarmāne sa u pātu asmān TS. MS.: viśakarmā namas te pāhy asmān AV. Preceding parallel is 3d person in AV.
munca tu (KS. muninamatu) yajñaḥ (ApŠ. yajño; KS. adds munca) yajñapatiṁ anāsah svihā MS. KS. ApŠ. 3d person forms are used in parallel formulas in KS.

meṣa aya vai sam ca vi corv acyase AV.: meṣa iva yad upa ca vi ca carvati (ApŠ. erroneously, carvar) KS. ApŠ. 3d person forms in the rest of AV.; but the stanza is very obscure.
vaptā (ApMB. vapāra; HG. MG. vaptar) vapasi (PG. *ti) keśaṃkrau (AG. PG. MG. keśan) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The fourth pāda has 2d person verb in all; the 3d person of PG. is evidently due
to the nom. *vaptā, felt as subject, tho in the original form (AV.) it is merely appositional to the subject. Note that HG. MG. also feel this as inconsistent, and try to smooth out the syntax by the converse change of *vaptā to voc. *vapta; while ApMB: has an instrumental *vaptra.

*sam gachatām (RV. *gachaeva) tanā (TA. tanwā) suvarcāḥ (RV. *TA. jātavedah) RV. (bis) AV. (bis) TA. In AV. 18. 3. 58 is repeated RV. 10. 14. 8, with change in this pāda of gachaeva to gachatām, which is inconsistent with the rest of the stanza in which the dead man is directly addressed. The change is obviously due to the influence of the very similar pāda RV. 10. 16. 5d = AV. 18. 2. 10d (this also in TA.), which has, consistently, gachatām. Note that conversely AV. substitutes suvarcāḥ of 18. 3. 58d = RV. 10. 14. 8d for jātavedah of RV. 10. 16. 5d, thus making the two pādas exactly alike.

See Winternitz, p. xx of ApMB. Introduction; hathah is senseless.
sarvam tad asmān mā hīnāḥ (HG. hīnāḥ) ApŚ. HG. Parallel verbs are 3d person; there is no doubt of the inferiority of ApŚ., which Caland translates by a 3d person.

chandōnāmnāṁ (with variants) sāmrājyaṁ gacha (VSK. gachatāt; MŚ. gachet) VS. VSK. TS. SB. MŚ. The subject is Soma, who is addrest directly in the preceding formulas.

trīn samudrān samārsṛpat svargān (MŚ. *gah) VS. MS. SB.: saṁsārpa (KS. *pan) trīn samudrān svargān (ApŚ. svarṇād lokān) KS. ApŚ.
The subject is addrest in 2d person (gacha) in the last part of the stanza in all, and ApŚ., secondarily no doubt, makes saṁsārpa consistent with this. Mahādhanā on VS. understands even saṁsārpa as direct address (he kūrma yo bhavaṇ... saṁsārpat), but the only express subject is nom. in all (apān paṭir tvābha iṣṭakānāṁ).

vīśvā tvāva prītān abhiṣaya TB. ApŚ. HG.: vīśvā ca deva (PG. devāḥ) prītān abhiṣayaḥ (PG. tīryak) KS. PG. ‘O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts.’ abhiṣayak for abhiṣyat, 3d sing. injunctive; see Stenzler’s Critical Note on PG. 3. 1. 3b. The ‘god’ is Agni, who is addrest directly in the preceding pāda even in PG. (svaṁgam agne abhi tat prṛthi).

§338. (d) We come next to a group of variants in which the change of person is due to a change of subject, while the general context remains essentially the same. Thus:

tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsit (AŚ. santam mā pra hāsit) TB. AŚ.
ApŚ.: tiro me yañña āyur mā pra hāśih (one ms. hāśit) MŚ.†. The subject of the 2d person forms is Agni, who is addrest in the prec.; that of the 3d persons is āyuḥ.

kāman (AV. PB. kāmaḥ, KS. kāmas) samudram ā viṣa (AV. viṣeṣa; KS. PB. viṣat) AV. KS. PB. T.B. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. 'Desire has entered the ocean' or 'enter thou the ocean (of) desire' (TA. comm.: he dakuṣaṁ samudrāsamaṁ kāman praviṣa).

ārdhra adhvaro asthat ētc., see §337.

ahar no atyāpiṣarat MahānU. SMB.; ahar mātyāpiṣarāḥ AV. 'The day has brought us across'; 'thou (sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pra yanī rāye niniṣati RV.: pra yo rāye niniṣati N. 'Whom thou (Agni) wilt lead to wealth': 'who will lead (thee, Agni) to wealth.'

mā kīśih puruṣāṁ jayaṭ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU.: mā kīṇhit puruṣāṁ mana NīlarU. The entire verse is addrest to Rudra, who is the grammatical subject of this verb except in NīlarU., where the subject is his weapon.

rārātām ud ievāviṣati (HG. "ie") HG. ApMB. Prec. by: yat ta etam mukhe 'matam (HG. matam). 'If thou shootest up this thought in thy face'; 'if this bad thought...shoots up...'

devi vāg yat ta vāco...jasmin mā dhāḥ (KB. ŚŚ. no adya dhat) TS. KB. GB. PB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KS. The subject in KB. ŚŚ. is Vācaspati, mentioned in the prec.

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhā divi devārdhāni (ŚŚ. erroneously, devā vṛddhān) hūtrām aiyarat (KS. aiyaraṇ, TA. caryasa, ŚŚ. aiyarasas) suhā (ŚŚ. omita) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. KS. The passage is troublesome; see Eggeling's note in SBE. 44. 122. Sāyana interprets aiyarat as equivalent to a 2d person, and refers the whole passage to Vācaspati; if he is right, this variant would belong with those listed in §332. But Eggeling translates aiyarat as a 3d person, referring, apparently, to the yajamāna; the formula is used under certain conditions at his consecration (dākṣa); and this seems likely to be correct. The 2d person form of the variant is, of course, addrest to Vācaspati.

yo devayaṁāṁ panāhī tene yañño devāṁ apy etu (KS. tene devāṁ gaccha) TS. KS. Subject in KS. is idā.

āyur dātra edhi VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: maya dātra bhūyat MS.: vayo dātre (VSK. dātra edhi; KS. PB. dātre bhūyān) maya mahyāṁ (TB. TA. ApŚ. mahyaṁ astu) pratigrāhatre VSK. KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. 'Be thou (potency addrest) life (or the like) to the giver' etc., or, 'may there
be strength (or the like) to the giver' etc. The meaning, of course, is virtually the same. Cf. next.

śāntir no astu MS.: śāntir me astu śāntiḥ TA.: sa ma śāntir edhi VS. Mahidhara on VS.: ma, mām prati, edhi, astu, puruṣasyatvayāyah (text by error, 'svatyamaḥ'). But this is, of course, a pedantic and unnecessary assumption; the 2d person is of the same sort as in the preceding variant.

dyaur vaḥ pitā pītraṇe (TA. pītraṇe) chām bhavāti (TA. āsi) AV. TA. In AV. the subject is dyaur; in TA. the comm. takes it as the yajamāna, no doubt correctly; but the entire stanza is obscure.

viśasmai bhūtāyadhvaro 'esi (ApŚ. 'ro astu devaḥ, KS. MS. bhūtāya dhravo astu devaḥ) TS. KS. ApŚ. MS. The subject in TS. is Soma, in the others yajña; all refer to yajña in the 3d person in the preceding.

sūryaṁ (TA. adds te) caṣṭu gachatu (AV. caṣṭu gacha) vālam atma (AV. atmanā) RV. AV. TA. 'Let thy eye go (or, go with thy eye) to the sun' etc. In the following pādas the dead man is addressed with gacha in all; AV. makes this pāda consistent with them; but the others are not syntactically inconsistent, since caṣṭu is the grammatical subject in them.

sūryasya raśmīṇ anv ātātana (MS. atantaka) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MS. Preceded by yad agne pūrṇam prabhṛtam (prahitaṁ, vihitam) padam hi te. In MS. the subject is Agni; in the others, his padam.

viśṭakṛd īndrāya devebhuna bhava MS. KS. ApŚ.: viśṭakṛd devebhun īndra ājyena haviśā bhūt sevāḥ VS. SB. The subject in most texts is Agni; in VS. SB. it is (obviously secondarily) changed to Indra.

samyag āyur yajña (MS.† yajñaṁ) yajnopatātad dadhātu (MS. dhāḥ) KS. MS. See §158.

yat te krūram...tat te śudhyatu (TS. ApŚ. tat ta etena śundhatām; MS. tad etena śundhasva) VS. TS. MS. SB. ApŚ. 'Let that of thee become pure (by this)', or, 'as to that become thou pure by this.'

§339. We think it unnecessary to list here cases in which the change of person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a shift of voice, as between active and middle or passive; such a shift naturally involves very often a change of person, and the instances can easily be found from the lists in §§30, 83 ff.; to these should be added the variant: tās tvā devī (devyo) jarse ('sā) saṁ vyayantu (vyayaseva), §70.

§340. For cases of this sort in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §365; and for a couple of cases in which a 2d person singular of direct address varies with an indefinite 3d plural, see §360.
§341. (c) We come now to cases in which the 2d and 3d persons appear in different contexts, with different subjects, each appropriate and consistent. We may begin with a pāda which occurs in the RV. itself in no less than four different verses:

asmākaṁ edhy avitā rathānām (AV. tanūnām) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: asmākaṁ bodhy av rá RV.: av bodhy av tanūnām RV. MS. TB. TA. MahānU.: av bhūte av to RV. AV. TA. The last, with its anomalous form bhūte, is obviously a secondary adaptation to a new context with change of person.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB.: adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā HG.† (corrupt; read as ApMB., as Kirste and Oldenberg both assume): adho vadādharo vada HG. The last, which is the only genuine variant, is a conscious imitation of the other, with change of person to suit different context.

te devaśo (TS. deva) yajyam imas jyādham (AV. jyāntām) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.: te devaśa hāvīr idam jyādham AV. It is the last-quoted form of AV. which appears in the same context with the others; AV. 7. 28. 1, which reads jyāntām, is in a wholly different context.

trptā mā tarpayata (MG. mām tarpayantu) KS. MG. Contexts only vaguely similar.

antāk carasy (MS. ty) anarāce AV. MS. Different contexts.

adhaśpadam kṛṇām (AV. kṛṇya; TS. kṛṇate) ye pṛtanyavah AV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

bodhāt stonair vayo dadhat MS.: bodhā stotre vayo dadhat (ApŚ. voyovr-dhah) RV. SV. ApŚ. See §§24, 153. The contexts are different, and MS. is interpretable as it stands; but it has a v. l. bodhā.

mā nāh prajām rīrīga (TB. 3. 1. 1. 3 rīrīga) mola vidrān RV. VS. ŠB. TB. (bis). TA. TAA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. MG. N. One case in TB. uses the pāda in a quite different context, found nowhere else; the person of the verb is consistent with its surroundings.

san me bhūyāh (Kauś. ेyā) TS. MS. KS. AS. ŠŚ. ApŚ. MS. Kauś. Different contexts.

sammedhāram anāsa urusyāt (ŚŚ. anhasa pāhi) RV. ŠŚ.


āyur no dehi jīvase ŠG.: cf. āyus te (AV. āyur no) viśvato dadhat AV. etc. Hardly comparable.

nyaṇā uttānām ane eti (and, esti) bhūmin RV. (both). Subjects Indra: Agni.
agni rakṣasi sedhati RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: apa raṅgaḥ sedhasi (PrāṇāgU. cālatat) AV. PrāṇāgU.

jeṣṭha (and, jeṣṭa, ajaṭa) svaratāḥ aphaḥ RV. (all). Indra is the subject each time, but the contexts are different. See RVRep. 39. ajaṭaḥ is 2d person. The original is jeṣṭha, RV. i. 10. 8.

abhya arṣantī (and, arṣa) sukṣutām RV. (both): abhya arṣa sukṣutām garjant rakṣaṁ RV. VS. KS. ApŚ. The addition in the latter indicates that it is secondary; but it is consistent with its context.

asmā bhavatu nas (AV. te) tanuḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: asmeva tvaṁ sthirā (MG. ApMB. sthiro) bhava AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Cf. also asmā bhava paraśur bhava; see Conc. The AV. context is related to that of the GS. texts, and Ppp. reads asmeva tvaṁ sthiro bhava; the vulgate AV. has an interesting contamination with the fundamentally unrelated passage of RV. etc.

ā baraḥṣa śatānam suṇat RV.: śatānam barhīr ā suṇat RV. Subjects Āśvins: Night and Dawn.

ado giriḥhyo adhi yat pradhāvati TB.: ado yad avadhāvati AV.: aṁti ye ke sarayakā avadhāvati HG. ApMB. (see Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxvi; he supposes that avadhāvati is intended, while Kirste and Oldenberg assume avadhāvanti for HG.): asaṇ yo vascarpati VS. TS. MS. KS. Four different contexts with different subjects.

imaṁ yajñaṁ mimikṣatām (TB. *ītam) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ. Quite different context in TB. ŚŚ. from the others; see §337.

juṣṭhaṁ (und, *tām) yajñaṁ istaye RV. In three different contexts, two with direct address, one 3d person; different subjects each time.

punar no naṣṭam ākṛṣṭe (RV. AV. ajaṭu) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

yat sim aṣa caśmya tat eva mṛḍatu (and, mṛḍa) RV. (both).

viśvaṃ ā bhāṣi (RV.* bhāṭi) rocanam (AV.* rocana) RV. (tris) AV. (bis) ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. Subjects Uṣas, Sūrya, and Indra.

viśe ṣaṁ adhi śriyo dadhe RV.: . . . ṭhita RV. KS. TB.: . . . dhise RV.

viśe devāsa iha vīrayaḥdvaṁ (AV. mādayadvam; VS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. mādayantām) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. ApMB.: viśe devā iha mādayantām (KS. vīrayaḥdvaṁ) TS. KS. TB. Two different contexts, with appropriate persons of verbs in each.

sam ṣūryena rocate RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: . . . rocate RV. AV. Subjects Soma Pavamāna; Uṣas.
vi mucyantām uṣṭiyāh VS. ŚB.; vi mucyadhvam aghnyā (TA. ApŚ. aghnia) devayānāh VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MS. Hardly variants of each other.

sa cakārā rasam viṣam AV.: sā cakathārasam viṣam AV.
sajatānām asad (AV. asa) vaśi AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS.
sadyo jajñāno havyo babhūtha (and, babhūsa) RV. (both). Subjects Agni: Indra.

sa viśe bhūva abhavaḥ RV. AV.: sa viśe bhūva (AV. sa idam viśe) abhavaḥ sa abhavat AV. TS. TB.

śrīvini (RV. śrīvīta) bākhir āmuṣak RV. (both) SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. N.

više viṣam aprkīhāh (and, aprāg api) AV. (both).

madhu tvā (AV. me) madhulā karotu (AV. karah, RV. cakāra, MS. kṛṇotu) RV. AV. MS. TA. ApŚ.

sa no vasāny ā bhara (SV. bharat) RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Different context in SV.

avīṣam naḥ pittuṃ kṛṇu (KS. kṛdhī; TB. ApŚ. karat) VS. 2.20 (omitted in Cone.) TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. In the last two texts the context is different.

For other cases in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §371.

§342. (f) Finally, some instances which include either gross corruptions or errors of various kinds. Others, involving number as well as person, will be found below, §372.

śhava kṣema edhi mā prahāśīr mām amum (ApŚ. prahāśīn māmum) āmuṣyāyām (ĀŚ. mā prahāśīr amum māmuṣyāyām) MS. AS. APś. MS. The true reading of ApŚ. can hardly be anything but prahāśīr, as Caland assumes.

yatru-yatra jātavedah saṁbhāhātha (TB. bhūva; but Poona ed. text and comm. correctly bhau) TB. ApŚ.: yatra-yatra vibhirlo (KS. bibhirato) jātavedah AV. KS. See §262, f.

saṁjñānāņeṣu vai brāyāt AB.: saṁjñānāņeṣu vai brāyāḥ ŚŚ. Several mss. of ŚŚ. read brāyāt. But Aufrecht 387, conjectures brāyāh for AB., and this is approved by Keith, HOS. 25.307, who so translates. mā trā vṛkṣāh (TA. vṛkṣau) saṁ bādhiṣṭa (TA. once tām, once bādheṭhām) AV. TA. The form bādheṭhām can hardly be anything but a corruption for tām; vṛkṣāu is accented, and a 3d person is required; comm. saṁbādhitau mā kurutām. But perhaps this might be placed in §332.
aśīrān (TB,† asīlān) cūt kṛṣṇhā supraṭākam RV. AV. TB. Conc. quotes kṛṣṇyāti for TB; Bibl. Ind. ed. reads in fact kṛṣṇhāt, but its comm. and Poona ed. text have the correct kṛṣṇhā. teṣām yo ajyānim (PG. "jya") ajyānim ā vahāt (SMB. Conc. ajyānim āvahāh, but Jürgensen as the others) TS. SMB. PG. BDh. nicarto yo ny avīṛtāt (HG. avīṛdhaḥ) ApMB. HG. The HG. form is corrupt; Oldenberg adopts avīṛtāt.

madhye poṣasya tīṃpatām (MG. pūyasatām) ŠG. MG.: madhye-poṣasya tīṃpatām AG. For poṣasya read poṣasya (Stenzler, Transl.) yamasya loke adhirajjura āyat (TA. aya; MS. loke nidhir ajarāya) AV. MS. TA. See §153. TA. is probably corrupt; MS. is still worse; adhāro mad asau vadhāt svāhā ApMB.: adhāro vadhāt vadhā svāhā HG. The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB., see §153.


nir ā yachasi madhyame AV. ŚŚ. The vulgate of AV. reads yachati, by Roth's emendation.

B. VARIANTS CONCERNING NUMBER

§343. We have explained above (§§289-301, especially 301) the principles of classification adopted for the Number variants, and quoted examples of the principal types. We now proceed to give the lists in full, beginning with—

1. First Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates

§344. In many—possibly even in most—of these (see §290) the first person plural is only formally plural, and actually refers to a single person, the speaker, alone. That is, we have a kind of 'editorial we'. It is not necessary to suppose that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in such cases, tho one or the other may at times be suspected. We begin with a few cases where the 'editorial we' seems particularly clear; but in general we have made no attempt to sift out such instances from the general run of variants in which the priest says 'I' or 'we' in referring to himself and his associates. For it seems to us practically impossible to do so in the large majority of instances. This lies in the very nature of the case; there is as a rule nothing to show whether the priestly 'we' means the speaker alone, or includes others of his class.
But in the first three variants, at least, it seems clear that it means the single speaker:

idan votyāmo bhok AG.; om aham votyāmi bhok SG.; idam votyācah HG. In AG. SG. alike spoken by the brahman-pupil when about to leave his teacher on a journey. In HG. spoken by the teacher at the upanayana; the dual includes the boy.

brahmacaryam āgam (MG. upemasi; Kauś. textā āgam, misprint?) SB. Kauś. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. Again spoken by the brahmacārin. The reason for MG's secondary reading is clearly metrical; MG. makes a verse of the passage which in the others is prose.

śatam ca jīvāmi (MG. śatam jīvama) saradaḥ purācch PG. MG. In the same verse, spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil; MG. otherwise has 1st singular verbs. For other forms of the variant see Conc. and §103. The other texts which show plural verb (jīvantu) have a different context.

Once this 'editorial we' varies with a definite first-person dual:

puṇḍāṁ bahūnāṁ mātara syāna (HG. 9ro syāna) ApMB. MG. In a verse spoken by wife to husband; the dual includes the two spouses, while the plural is evidently 'editorial'.

§345. The remaining long list is as follows:

yad aham dhanena (AV. yena dhanena, HG. yad vo devāh) prapaṇāṁ (ApMB. 9vanā) carāmi (HG. 9ma) AV. ApMB. HG.
vairūpe sāmann iha (MS. adhi; KS. vairūpeyā sāmnā) tac chakeyam (TS. chakema; MS. tañ ṭakeyam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by:

jagatyaśnam (AŚ. 9yenam) viśvā devaśāyāmi (AŚ. 9ni; TS. 9mah), same texts.

ma ma (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. no) hāsin (MS. hāṣīr, AŚ. hinaśa) nāhitō (TB. ApŚ. methito, AŚ. āhinisito dadhāmi, some ms. omit dadhāmi) net (AŚ. MS. ma) tei jahāmi (AV. KS. 9ni, TB. ApŚ. 9ma) AV. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MS.

idan pitṛbhyaḥ pra bharāmi (TA. bharema) bariḥ AV. TA. Followed by:

jīvaṁ devēbhya uttaram strṇāmi AV.: devēbhya jīvantu uttaram bharema TA. TA. spolls the meter.

eyaḥ dhaṣṭāḥyām ca kara (AV. caṣṭma) kūbhisāmi AV. MS. TB. TA.

yam aichāna (ApŚ. ičāmi) manasā so 'yam āgāt RV. ApŚ.

sāvanena (TB. sāvanena) vo hariṣa ājumā (TB. yajāmaḥ) RV. AV. MS. TB.

emaṁ panthām arukṣāma AV.: sugaṁ panthānam arukṣam ApMB.
tena te pari dadhmäs (PG. daiddhmy áyuse) AV. PG. Different contents, only vaguely paralleled.

bhúpate bhuvanapate... te vṛṣṇahe (MŚ. vṛṣe) TB. Vait. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. pragyáṃasy agrataḥ PG. ApMB.: pragyámy anyagrataḥ MG. Note the metathesis of the syllable sya!

apaśyam yuvatiṁ niyamānāṁ AV.: apaśyāma yuā ācāranāṁ TA.

achídah prajaya bhūyāsam Apś. ApMB. HG.: cf. ariṣṭā asmākan virāh (santu), ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsam, etc., see Conc. Hardly true variants.
tasya doham aśīmāḥ (KS. aśiṣa; AŚ. aśiṣa te) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

lām adya gāthām gātyāmī (MG. *mah) PG. MG.

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. yaje hi) TS. MŚ. But most mss. of MŚ. read yajēha (yajā iha), which would make yajā a 2d person address to Agni like anu manyasva.

asmīn sahasrān puṣyāsam (KauŚ. puṣyāsma) ŚB. BrhU. KauŚ.

ugrāṁ saḥodāṁ iha lam ṣuṣṭaṁ (MŚ. ṣuṣṭe) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. Bad meter in MS.

ud asthaṁ amṛtaṁ anu VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApMB.: ud asthāmāṃsrī vayam (HG. abhīma) AV. HG.
gātrāṇāṁ te gṛtrabhājo bhūyāsam (KS. *bhāg bhūyāsam) TS. KS. Prose. prchāmi (LŚ. *mas) te və param antāṁ prthivyāh,

prchāmi (LŚ. *mo) yatra (TS. KSA. TB. tev, AV. viśvasya) bhūvanasya nābhīḥ (AV. TS. KSA. TB. *im),

prchāmi (LŚ. *mas) tev (AV. omita) vṛṣpo avasya retah,

prchāmi (LŚ. *mo) vācāḥ paramah nyomā: RV. AV. VS. TS. KSA. TB. LŚ., and the first pūda in ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait., brahman prasthāyāmāḥ (GB. ŚB. KS. ŚŚ. *mi) TS. KB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

brahmān apan prāṇēyāmī AŚ. Vait. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: brahman pranae-
yāmāḥ KB.

yasmaı ca tev khāṇāmy akham (KauŚ. khāṇāmasi) VS. KauŚ.: yasmay cāham khānāmi vah RV. VS. TS.

vācaḥ satyaṁ aśīmāḥ (VS. ŚB. aśiṣa) RVKh. VS. ŚB. TB. Bad meter in VS. ŚB.
vaśetrātya pratid vedaṁaḥ (AV. "mi") AV. TA. BDh.
añgam indraṁ (TB. aṅgam indra) vṛtraṁā hůe 'ham (TB. vān; MS.
'hamān hůema) AV. MS. TB.
etām yuvānai pațiṁ (TS. pārī) vo dadāmi TS. ŠG. PG. VīDh.; etām vo
yuvānai pratī dadhno atra AV.
sugā (TS. ApŚ. sūga) vo devāḥ sadanā (TS. N. *nam) akarna (MS.
krṣomi; KS. Kauś. ApŚ. sadanāni satu) AV. VS. TS. MS. ŠB. KS.
Kauś. ApŚ. N.; sugā vo devās sadanedam astu KS.
jitā (TB. ApŚ. jīto) jvāntār ṛṣa vah sadema (TB. ApŚ. sadeyam) AV. KS.
TB. MS. ApŚ.
tāṁ (RV. omit) sarva-vatam avasa hůema (AV. havāmahe; RV. KS.
jovāmi) RV. RVKhra. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŠŚ.
byhaspatiṁ vah... havāmahe GB. Vait.; byhaspatiṁ vikṣen devāḥ aham
hůe RV. It is doubtful whether these are really related.
marudāṁ pītas tad aham gruṁi (MS. gṛye te; KS. pīlar uta tad gṛṁmaḥ)
TS. MS. KS.
mā (VS. ŠB. add vayaṁ) rājasposeva vi yauṣa VS. MS. ŠB.; māhaṁ
rā vi yostam TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.
mitrasya (MS. adda vā) cakṣuṣā samīkṣaṁahe VS. MS.; cf. mitrasyāhāṁ
cakṣuṣā... samīkṣe, etc., see Conc. and §303.
ruḍraṣṭa stūnāv havaṁ gṛjāmasi (and, vināsē) RV. (both). The change
is metrical; triṣṭubh and jagati verses.
vājasyedam (AV. VS. ŠB. vājasya nū) prasava ābhūva (AV. "ve sam
bābhūvaha) AV. VS. VŚK. TS. MS. ŠB.
vīśvar vīśvāngasah saha sam bhaveva (MS. bhaveva) AV. MS.
saṁ jyotiśābhūma (TS. būram) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ŠŚ.; saṁ sūryasya
jyotiśābhūma AV. In most texts, but not in TS, juxtaposed with
formulas containing 1st plural expressions.
tasmin pāśān pratiṁcāma etān MS. KS.: yam dvīṣmas tasmin prati-
ṁcāmaṁ pāśām TS. ApŚ.
suprajāḥ prajāyā (prajābhī) bhūyāsam (syām; syāma; bhūyāś) ... See
Conc.; an intricate tangle of formulas; it is doubtful to what extent
they are variants of each other. The plur. syāma only in VS.
ŠB., which elsewhere have the sing. form too; VŚK. has sing. in
the passage corresponding to the plur. of VS.
yam tvā somamātyāma (TS. *pam; MS. *pan) VS. TS. ŠB. MS.
enānyo karam (TB. karaṇ) AV. TB. (see §315): enānei (TS. KS.*
TB.* ena) cakrāma vayaṁ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* TB.* And others,
see Conc. In adjoining stanzas of AV.
hůema vājasyataye RV. RV. MS. KS.: hůe ya vā RV. AV. Cf. havante
vā", §316.
anu tvənrərəbhəamahe AV.: anu tvə rəbhə AV. etc. (see Conc.). The latter is prose; the former is made metrical.

ava (RV. abhi; MS. āvaḥ; VS. ŠB. vəcāḥ) soman nəyəmasi (RV. mṛśəməsi; VS. ŠB. ava nəyəmi) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

āganta pītarəh pətəmən aham yușməbhər bhùyəsəni... TS.: āganta pītarəh... supətərəo vəyən yușməbhər bhùyəsənə MŠ.

tənə te pori dadəmsi AV.: tən (ApŠ.* təns) te paridadəmy aham (TA. omits aham) TA. ApŠ. In different contexts.

təbəš chidəraṃ api dadəmo yəd atərə MŠ. As.: təzəm chidəraṃ prəti dadəmo yəd atə KS.: təzəm chinnəm sam etəd (ŚŚ, sam imən; TS. prəty etəd) dadəməni VS. TS. ŚŚ.

devaʃəama (VS. MS. KS. MŠ. devaʃə vəyənə) savətəh prəsəve (səve)... təzəm (VS. MS. KS. MŠ. təzəma) VS. VS. VS. TA. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. ApŠ. MŠ.

devaʃəama (VS. devaʃə vəyənə) savətəh səve... aruham (VS. aruθəma...) VS. VS. VS. ŠB. Other texts have ruheγəm; see §133.


jaŋrəma (RV. əbhrə, TB. əbhrə) te dəkərəm ində kəstəm RV. SV. MS. TB. The TB. form may be felt as 1st person sing. (subj.), but see Ludwig on RV. 10. 47. 1.

[agnə vrətapəte vrətam acəriṣəm; for this Conc. quotes KS. as acərışəma, by error.]

§346. In the following, one form or the other is more or less at variance with the context. This does not necessarily mean that the consistent form is more original:

śivəm prəjəbhəo hərisəntəm... aŋəm... kəhanəmaḥ (TS. KS. əmt) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. A parallel formula just before this has kəhanəm in all texts.

idəm bəryo (AV. idəm uc chəryo) vəsənəm əgəm (ApMB. əgənna devəh; ApŠ. ənaṃ yəd əgəm) AV. ApŠ. ApMB. Even in ApMB. ( tho it has a different context) first-singular verbs occur in the preceding line of the stanza.

yaŋ cəhəm əno viŋənəc kəkəra... VS. ŚŚ.: yac cəhəm əno vədyənəsaŋ... cəkəma... MahənU. The latter is obviously and flagrantly inconsistent with its context. The comm. lamely supplies a separate verb, aŋərəṣəm, with aham.
indrasya manmahe šeśvad id asya manmahe AV.; indrasya manve prathamasya pracetavan TŚ. MS. KŚ. In the following pāda all have the sing. pronoun 'me'.
tam tevā juṣṭāma...VS. MS. KŚ. SB.: tam tevā juṣṭe...TS. ApŚ. The preceding and parallel formula is 1st sing. in all; presumably TŚ. has secondarily changed this to be consistent with it.
anāhomuce prā bharemā (AV. bhare) manṣām AV. TS. MS. KŚ. Haplography naturally suggests itself to us, as it did to Lanman ap. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3; the meter, and the Ppp. reading bharemā, seem to confirm the suggestion. Yet the curious fact is to be noted that at the end of the next pāda MS. has the singular participle āryānaḥ as in AV. (while yet reading bharemā); TS. KŚ. consistently show plural participles.
śarman (MS. *māks) te syāma (VS. tava syāma śarmane; TS. tava syāṁ śarman) trivarātha udbhau (TS. udbhit) VS. TS. MS. KŚ. TA. Note that VS. is hypermetric; TS., with the same order and non-enclitic tava for te, corrects the meter with its syām; it is however clearly secondary; plural pronouns referring to 'us' occur in all texts in the preceding pāda.
adveγe (MS. 'gye) dyaśāprhitā huvema (MS. hwe) RV. VS. MS. The MS. reading is not only bad metrically but inconsistent with the pronoun asme in the next pāda.
edho 'sy edhiṣmahi (AV. 'ṣiya) AV. VS. etc. etc. Not only in AV., but also in several texts showing plural verb, the same verse contains the phrase tejo mayi dhṛṣṭi, with sing. pronoun.
narsān āgniṛ (AV. śivān āgni) apruṣato hve vah (MS. hwe; AV. havimahe) AV. TS. MS. AB. The AV. is inconsistent with mayi of the next pāda; but it probably has the original reading, 'corrected' in the others. We infer this from the bad meter of MS. and the fact that TS. AB. use the 'patch-word' vah to correct the meter. eutarmāṇam adhi nāvam ruhena (KS. ruheyam) RV. TS. MS. KŚ. The KŚ. reading is inconsistent with tarema of the preceding pāda. But to call it 'absurd' and 'a mere blunder' (Keith on TS. 1. 2. 2. 2) is an exaggeration. Keith would probably not have used such strong language if he had seen the evidence of the Variants as to the frequency of such things.
tam vah supriṣṭam subkṛtam acakarna (KS. abhāṛgam) TS. KŚ. In the next formula KŚ. also has naḥ.
vāṃte saṇḍīśi viśvan reto dheṣṭya (KS. dhīṣyā) MS. KŚ.: viśvasya te viśvedatvaṃ vyaptiśvataḥ tavāgne vāṃtā anu saṇḍīśi viśvā reṭāheī
dhiṣṭya TS.: vānī nāma sahāṛśī viśvā vāmāni dhīmati JB. The last is inconsistent.

For a few similar variants between first plural and second singular, see §307, end.

2. Second Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates.

§347. As we found above (§307, cf. §290) the 2d person varying with the first in reference to the yajamāna or priest, the participant in or beneficiary of the rite, so we have here a few cases of 2d person verbs, singular and plural, used variously in reference to such persons. But the instances are very rare compared to the corresponding ones in the first person.

tad anu preta sukrāṁ u lokam VS. ŚB.: tam anu prehi sukrāsyā lokam TS. KS. Mahābhāraṇa says, he rūpājaḥ. In TS. KS. presumably the yajamāna is meant.

yamam rājānam haviṣa dvāraṣya (TA. ०ayate; AV. saparyata) RV. AV. MS. TA. The priest here addresses either himself or an associate: Sāyaṇa, he madiyāntarātman yajamāna va. The plural of TA. AV. is a lect. fac.

ut srjata (SMB. GG. srjā) gām IŚ. SMB. GG.: om utṣrjata (MG. ०tu) TA. ŚŚ. AG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. (But Jörgensen reads in SMB. with comm.—his text mss. omit the formula—om ut srjata!) The object (generally understood) is the cow at the Arghya rite. 'Let it loose!' is spoken by the recipient if he does not wish it killed. Addrest to the person(s) holding the cow, or the giver of it.—Some texts have in the same context various forms of the following variant (meaning 'do it!', i.e. 'kill the cow', if he wishes it killed). But the word occurs also in various other connexions; om kuruta: kuru: kuruta: kurusva: kurudhnam. See Conc. Only in part belonging to related contexts and variants of one another; see under prec.

pāparānāṁ me hata (Kauś. 'pa jaḥi) MG. Kauś.

abhī (AV. pariḥ) srīḥi pari dhehi vividh AV. TB. ApŚ.: paśīḥa pari-dhāttāyānim TB. ApŚ.: srīta barhiḥ pari dhatta vedim KS. MS. The second occurrence of TB. ApŚ. is in a different verse, but one modelled on the other and in the same vicinity. The comm. on AV. and also that on TB. (both times) regard darbha-grass (sing. or plur.) as address. But ApŚ. introduces the formula with saṃpreṣyati, indicating that it is a command to an associate priest. The
ApŚ. comm. remarks that, since no other priest than the ādhevaryu (who speaks here) ‘strews’, the adhevaryu addresses himself with this command! (cf. Sāyaṇa on yamahī rājīnaṁ etc. above). That priests, or at least a priest, and not darbha-grass, are addresed seems clear from the KS. MŚ. variant, where ārhiḥ is the object. agnīḥ jyotiṣmatāḥ kuruta (MŚ. kuru) ApŚ. MŚ. ‘Light the fires!’ Addresed to priest(s) or attendant(s), not clearly specified.

3. Subject pluralized or dualized, varying with the same subject in the singular

§348. We have referred (§296) to the variants in which a singular verb with singular subject is, as it were, multiplied to a dual or plural. They fall naturally into two groups. The first, with which we are here concerned, includes those in which the same subject, in the same or at least a very similar context, and without the inclusion of any different entity, is pluralized or dualized, the number of the verb changing with it. The second group (§§353 ff.), in which the dual or plural is formed by the inclusion of another entity or entities than the singular subject, will be treated in the next subdivision. Instances of the converse, that is substitution of a singular for plural in the like circumstances, are equally common and are included in the list which follows. We begin with cases of

§349. Singular and Plural.

vi pariṇayaṁ (TS. 2yāḥ) sṛjantī (MS. KS. pra pariṇayaḥ sṛjalāṁ) rodasi anu RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts; in the others, Parjanya, singular or plural. The RV. form in relation to the others belongs in §361 below, q.v.

agnī gṛhapata upa mā hevayasa KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: agnaya upāhavyadhvam Vālt.; cf. agnir me hoti sa mopahavyatām SB. ‘O Agni house-lord (or, O Fires), invite me.’

ārava ‘dhipatir āsit TS.: ārava dhipataya āsan VS. SB.; rtavo ‘dhipa-
taya āsan MS. KS. ‘The season(s, or the like) was (were) over-
lord(s).’

dviṣan me bahu śocatu TB. ApŚ.: dviṣantas tapyantāṁ bahu MŚ. In the
preceding pāda all texts refer to a singular ‘hater’.

upahūṭopahavyasa; upahūṭā upahavyadhvam MŚ. (both)
estabhām asṛjya MŚ.: ekaśabhāk pāsavo ‘asṛjata VS. TS. KS. SB.

Here the singular is really a collective and means the same as the plural: ‘one-hoofed (animals) were created.’

dhiṣāṇā te vā devr viśvedevya-vatthi (MS. MŚ. dhiṣāṇā te vā devr viśvedeva-
Vedic Variants I: The Verb

vati) abhîndhatâm (MS. once abhînddhâm, once abhîndhâtâm) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. and (pratika) MŚ. Since a dual form cannot be construed, it seems that the form abhîndhâtâm (if not corrupt) is a bastard subjunctive-imperative blend, intended to be 3d singular (like abhînddhâm, the proper form).

manojavâ tvâ pîthrîh (KS. pitaro) dakṣînataḥ pâtu (KS. pântu) VS. TS. KS. ŠB.: manojavaso vah. pîthrîh dakṣînata upa dadhâtâm TA.: pitaras tvâ manojavâ dakṣînataḥ pântu MS. In the same passage, The form manojavâs is plural in MS. KS., singular in the others.

kundhantâm lokâh pitrâdananâh VS. MS. KS. ŠB. MŚ.: kundhatâm lokâh pitrâdananâh TS. ApŚ. ‘Let the world(s) where the fathers sit be purified.’

dûrâh rohanût puśpiṇât (AV. rohatu puśpiṇâ) RV. AV. ‘Let flowering dûrâ-plant(s) grow.’ Some mss. of AV., followed by comm. and SPP., read as RV., and Whitney reports Ppp. likewise.

mihân na vâlo vi ha vâti bhûma AV. malmâ no vâtâ iha vântu bhûmau AV.

indraghoṣas (KS. ७यस) tvâ vasubhîh (KS, 1 vasavâh) purastât pâtu (KS. pântu) VS. TS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ.

mâ te riṣâṇn upasaṭâro agne AV.: mâ ca riṣad upasaṭâ te agne VS. TS. MS. KS.

imam yajñam asat yâ (AŚ. no) ghṛtâci (TS. avantu no ghṛtâciḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Subject is the śakrâ-verse(s), singular or (TS.) plural.

kunâh kînâśâ abhi (AV. anu) yantu (MS. kînâśo abhy etu) vâhasî (AV. TS. vâhân) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

vâk patamgu aśiṛiyat (KS. ७gâ aśiṛrayuh) AV. KS. The same pâda is read: vâk patamgûya dhâyate (TS. śîrîye, MS. hâyate), with middle or passive verb and different subject, in RV. AV. SV. ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. ŠB.

anavahayâmnân (KS.adds devi dakṣîye) devayânena pathâ (TS. pathêta, KS. pathâ yatî) sukṛtâm loke siddata (KS. sîda) TS. MS. KS. Plural in TS. MS. because the dakṣînâs there addrest are plural; in KS. they are considered collectively, or (better) as a personified abstraction, and hence singular. In the same context, and due to the same circumstances:

asmâdrâ (TS. asmaddârâ; MS. ŠŚ. add madhumâr, KS. madhumatt) devatrâ pachata (KS. gacha; TS. adds madhumattâ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ŠŚ. ApŚ. And:

praddârâm â vîsata (KS. vîsa) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ŠŚ.
Quite similar to the preceding three variants is the group of the next three; all in the same passage in the YV. Samhitās:
raudraṇātikena pāñcā māghe (VS. pāñcā māgnayaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: Followed by:
pīpyṛa mā (KS. māgne) TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: pīpyṛa māgnayaḥ (PB. ŚŚ. mā) VS. PB. AS. ŚŚ. Vait. And:
na mā hiṁṣāḥ (hiṁśāśa), see Conc. (This last occurs very frequently, and in other connexions.) In these three cases either various altar-fires are address, or Fire collectively; or the same personified, as Agni(s).

yad akuddhiḥ parājaghāna... KS.: yad vo 'suddhāḥ parā jaghnur (VSK. 'suddhāḥ parā jaghānayati)... VS. VSK. ŚB. See §30.
pracetaś tvā rudraś paścāt paśu VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: pracetaś (here felt as plural) vo rudraś paścāt upa dādiḥatam TA.: rudrās tvā pracetaśaḥ paścāt paśu MŚ.
yat paśur māyum akṛta TS. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG.: yad vaṣā māyum akṛta Kauś. In Kauś. vaṣā(h) is plural; all mss. akṛta.
yo no divaṁyantu anū tān rābhavā VS.: yo no deveṣi tanān rābhavā MŚ.: yo no deveṣi anū tam rābhavā (read rābhavā?) ApŚ.
varūtrayo janayās tvā... pacantūkhe TS.: varūtrī (and, vacu) tvā... pacantūkhe MŚ.: janayās tvā... pacantūkhe VS. MŚ. KS. ŚB.
vī śloka etu (AV. eti; TS. ŚvetU. śloka yuntu) pathyeva (KS. pathyeva) sūreṇ (AV. sūreṇ, TS. ŚvetU. sūraḥ, KS. sūraḥ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
anu me dikṣāṁ dikṣāpatiṁ manyanto (KS. 'putayo manyadhvam, ŚB.* patiṁ amaṁśata) ... VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. (bha) Vait.
ā me graho bhavati (KSA. graha bhavati) ā pururuk TS. KSA.
abhy arṣati (and, arṣanti) suṣṭutāṃ; pavamānā abhy arṣanti suṣṭutāṃ RV. (all). Subject is Soma Pavamāna, sing. or plur.; see RV Rep. 437.
aṣīd me bhāgavo 'janīṣṭhā maitrāvarṇaḥ MŚ.: aṣīd me bhāgavo 'janīṣṭhā maitrāvarṇaḥ MŚ. And, in same passage, ārjā me bhāgavo saha janīṣṭhā (MŚ. bhāgavantaḥ saha-janīṣṭhā) MŚ. MŚ.: jñātān me vinda (MŚ. vinda); saṁvedām me vinda (MŚ. vinda) MŚ. MŚ.: punyā punyāṁ (and, 'yāṁ) asū, and: citrā ciraṁ (and, 'rāṁ) asū MŚ., punyāḥ (and, citrā) punyān ('yā, and citrān, citrā) asūram MŚ.

praṭhamam artim asyatāḥ naḥ MG.: pra sa (read su) mṛtyum, mṛtyotana HG.: pra samartayam (ApMB. su mṛtyum) mṛtyotana SMB. ApMB.
Subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere.

tenau yantu yajamānah svastī MS.: tenaitu yajamānah svastī (KS.* ApŚ. svastyā) TS. KS. ApŚ. The real motive for MS's change may have been metrical; the plural may be understood as one of respect; but for plurality and duality of yajamānas see in Conc. under aṅgim adya hataṁ (avṛćitām).

dyugmatyā ('tya) rco mā qāta (Vait. māpagāya; Kauś. mā sati) ... TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Kauś. One or more priests are addrest. Caland on Vait. would read *gyaṭa, presumably because the surrounding parallel phrases are plural; but the sing. is supported by Kauś.

ud rathānām (AV. ārānāṁ) jayatāṁ yantu ghoshā (AV. TS. *tām etu ghosāḥ) RV. AV. VS. SV. TS.

upaitu māṁ devaṅkaḥ RVKh. Rvidh.: upa yantu māṁ devaṅkaḥ MG. nīṣāṅgīna upa śṛṣṭa HG.; nīṣāṅgīna upa śṛṣṭa ApMB. Rudra is meant, and is referred to in the singular in other formulas in the context of HG.; we may understand the plural to refer to the Rudras, or Rudra's 'hosts'.

pavantām āntarīkṣyā RV. SV.; pavatām a*RV. And:

parante vāre avyāye RV. SV.; parate vē a RV. The subject is soma, singular or plural. The plural occurrences are found in the midst of trcas with singular soma referred to; see Bloomfield, RV Rep. 427.

atko (TS. MS. atko) yugaṁ stha (MS. KS. tvam asī) nīṣkṛtiḥ (TS. sank², MS. sankṛtiḥ, KS. nīṣkṛtiḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Addrest to herbs, or (MS. KS.) to an herb; but the singular reading is inconsistent with the rest of the verse, both prec. and following pādas, where even MS. KS. have plur.

trāyatāṁ marutāṁ goaḥ RV.: trāyantāṁ marutāṁ gaṇāḥ AV.

bhaga(s) stha bhagasya vo lapṣya KS. ApŚ.: bhago *ei bhō la* MŚ. Addressed to cakes, one of which is taken by each of the participants in the rite. Plur. thinks of the plurality of cakes; sing. thinks of each person addressing his own cake. 'Ye are (thou art) luck' etc.

idā (p.p. idāḥ; MS. idāḥ; KS. idā) stha ... TS. MS. KS.: iḷāsi ŚŚ.

§350. Singular, Dual, and Plural.


§351. Singular and Dual.

tutra raygēkām anu sambharaṇām (AŚ. sambhavatām, MŚ. sambharetām) TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ. See §330.
nílaloḥitaṁ bhavaṁ (ApMB, śte bhavataḥ) RV. AV. ApMB. The bridal garment, which is made dual (i.e. of two pieces) in ApMB., 'becomes blue-red.'

vivekārnākaṁ tanūpā asi ŚB.; vivekārmanau tanūpau me sthāḥ ŚŚ.
Followed in both by a series of formulas addressed to two sacred fires; in ŚŚ. this formula is assimilated to them, víṣṇaṣ being made an epithet of the fires.

vaiṣṇor manasā pāte sthāḥ (Kauś. also, pālam asi) MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. Kauś. (both). GG, KhG. Strainers are referred to; two are mentioned in Kauś. in the sūtra just preceding the one which has the singular form.

mā tvā vṛkṣau (TA. vṛkṣau) sam bādhīṣṭa (TA. ćām, and bādhīṣṭaṁ) AV. TA. (bis). The TA. refers to two pieces of wood.


ahorātras (KS. TA. ćārāp) te kalpantāṁ VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: ahorātre te (TB. me) kalpetāṁ MS. TB. 'Days-and-nights' or 'day-and-night'. rajñanān sanātana (PG. ćāyetām) ŚG. PG. Subject, lute-players, two in PG., more than two in ŚG., who are commanded to 'sing of the king'.

agnor jihvāṁ abhi (MS. jihvābhī, p.p. jihvā, abhi; AV. KS. jihvāyābhī) grātām (AV. grātā) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The subject is certain 'divine kūṭas', plural in AV., dual in the others; according to Mahādhara on VS. they are Agni and Vāyu, acc. to Griffith on VS., Agni with Āditya or Varuna, or Agni celestial and terrestrial. The AV. comm. is missing; Griffith on AV. understands 'priests of the gods'; Ludwig omits the verse in his translation, and Weber omits the entire hymn.

sāṁprca (śaḥ, śas) sthā sam mā bhadreṇa prākta VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS.: sāṁprcau sthāḥ sam mā bhadreṇa prāktam VS. ŚB. And, in same passage;

vīrca (śaḥ, śas) sthā vi mā (MS. omits mā) pāpmaṇā (VSK. pāpena) prākta; vīrcau sthā vi mā pāpmaṇā prāktaṁ, same texts. VSK. has plural in place of the dual of VS. Addrest to grahas, in the dual passage only two in VS. ŚB. (somāṣūgrahau, comm.); but in the preceding part of the formula a plurality of them is addrest in these texts also.

vājino vājajito vājam sarisvanā etc., and; vājinau vājajitau vājam jīvā etc.; also:
véjino véjajito véjahn sasvänso etc., and: véjinau véjajitau véjahn jīvā etc., both VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. For the various readings see §329. Either two horses of the racing team, or the entire team, are alternatively addressed or referred to in this ritual formula.

agnim adya hotāram (avṛśītām, and avṛṇata... ) ŚŚ.; see Conc. under this item.

4. Subject pluralized or dualized by the inclusion of a different entity or entities from that designated in the singular form.

§353. Here the dual or plural goes with a subject which includes both the subject of the singular form and some other entity or entities, referred to in the context. It differs from the preceding class in that the 'multiplication' is accomplished by including a disparate person or thing. As before, the process works both ways; sometimes addition or multiplication, sometimes subtraction or division. Very frequently this manifests itself in the following way: a series of coordinate nouns is the joint subject of a plural verb, while in another form of the same formula the verb is made singular, agreeing nominally with the nearest subject alone. There is, of course, no real difference in the sense in such cases. All three numbers occur in the first variant, which is somewhat complicated:

§354. Singular, Dual and Plural

indraṁ karmasu āvatam (MS. VS. * ‘ia) RV. AV. VS. (both) MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: indraṁ karmasv āvatu MS.: īndra karmasu no ’vatu VS. KS.: indraḥ karmasu no ’vatu TB. (see below). All in essentially the same stanza, with sometimes extensive modifications. The original (RV.) subject is the Aśvins, who are meant by the dual verb. The plural includes Sarasvatī, named (in this version) in the preceding pāda, or Sarasvatī and Indra, in the variant reading īndra (voc.). In the singular form the subject is Sarvasvaratī alone, as nearest subject (MS.). The TB., if the reading were correct, would be interpretable with Indra as subject, but the Poona ed. text and comm., and the comm. of the Bibl. Ind. ed., read īndra... ’vata, like the second version of VS. KS.

§355. Singular and Plural

āśāntu (SV. āśāatu) bharīṣi mitro (TB. adds varūṇa) āryaṁ RV. SV. VS. TB. Followed by prātaryāṇaḥ adhearam. The real subject in RV. is the gods in general; mitro āryaṁ are merely examples (Sāyana: yo mitro devo yaṁ cāryaṁ ye cānye prātaryāṇah... devīs etc.). But both SV. and TB. were troubled by the seeming disagreement (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the
construction—SV, by making the verb singular (agreeing with the nearer subject, mitro), TB, by inserting varunā and thus providing three subjects.

mā so riṣat (Kauś. te riṣan) khanitā RV. VS, TS. Kauś. The rest of the verse reads in Kauś.: yosmai ca tvā khanāmasi, dvīpāc catuṣpad asmākaṁ mā riṣad deny oṣadhe. The plural in a is awkward, but is evidently conditioned by thought of the other subjects in b, c: 'may they (all) not be harmed, (namely) thy digger, he for whom we dig thee, our bipeds and quadrupeds' etc. Perversely, Kauś. has a singular in d (mā riṣad deny oṣadhe) where a plural would be simpler; it is to be explained as a collective, see under §358. The others have a different pāda d.

saneutsaraḥ ca kalpatām (most mss. of TA. kalpanām) TA. MahānU. Preceded by ardhamās māsa śtavaḥ. The TA. comm. knew both readings; after explaining kalpatām, with subject sameutsaraḥ, he goes on: kalpanām iti bahuvacanapatāthe sarve 'pi kālavisesāh... iti yajyam.—The formulas sameutsaro me kalpatām and sameutsaras te kā (see Conc.) have no real connexion with this one.

apān garbhān vy adadhat (MS, 9duh) purutrā VS. TS. MS, KS. The subject in VS, TS. KS is pīṭa, mentioned in the prec. pāda; in MS, it either includes the three personages mentioned in pādas a–c (Viśvakarman, gandharva, and pīṭr), or possibly it is a generalizing plural (cf. §359).

ṝtan mā muṣcatānhasah TB.: kṝtan nah pāhī anhasah (TA. enasah) MS. TA. In the prec. two pādas first dvāvāprthīt are addrest, then sarvasvātī. The verb agrees with the nearer subject in MS, TA., while in TB, it includes both.

davitā varca ̄dadhat (MG, 9duh) TB. MG. Preceded by: tūbhyaṁ indro (MG. adds varunā) byhaspatāh. In MG. the subject is made to include the gods mentioned in the prec. pāda, while in TB, it agrees with dvāvā alone.

rucaṁ no dhatta (MS. dhehi) byhaspatē VS. TS. MS, KS. Preceded by: indrāṇī tābhīḥ sarvābhīḥ. The plural verb includes indrāṇi as well as byhaspatē as subject.

ūrdhvāyaṅ ādiśa (ŚŚ. ādiśa saka; TS. AŚ. ārdhvāyām ādiś) yajñāh sameutsaro (TS. ŚŚ. add yajñapatrī; AŚ. rāh. prajāpātīr) mārjayantām (MS. AŚ. rāyaṁ) TS, MS, KS. AŚ. SS.—KS. is unsyntactical in that it has a plural verb with only two subjects. In MS, AŚ. the verb is made singular, agreeing with the nearest subject only.
yajamānaya dhrvinaḥ dadhātu (VS. ŚB. KS.† dadhāta) AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. A long series of gods named in the preceding; in the majority of texts the verb is sing. agreeing with only the last. On the change of person see §332.

kraddha praṇā (read praṇā?) ca medhā ca tīlaḥ kāntiṁ kurvantu svadhā MahāU.: kraddhamedhe praṇā tu jātavedāḥ saṇidadātu svadhā TAA. In the latter the verb agrees with praṇā, the nearer subject.

sūryaḥ (also, somaḥ) pavitraṁ sa mā punātu ApŚ.: vāyuḥ somaḥ sūrya indraḥ pavitraṁ te mā punantu N.

kotā yakṣah aśvinau (śnā) sarvasvaṁ indraṁ surāṁśaṁ somānaṁ pibatu madanāṁ vyantu (KS. indraṁ sutrāmandhaḥ somānaṁ surāṁśaṁ jusaṁnaṁ vyantu pibantu somānaḥ surāṁśaḥ; AŚ. indraṁ ... [as KS.] ... pibantu madantu somān etc.) MS. KS. AŚ. In MS. subject of pibatu is Indra alone (the last-mentioned god; he is moreover the soma-drinker par excellence), while all the gods named are the subjects of the other verbs in MS., and in KS. AŚ. of pibantu likewise.

dīrgam āyuḥ kṛṣṇotu me etc.; see §365.

śaśrād dhemantāḥ swile dadhāta (śtu), etc., see §332.

§356. Singular and Dual
taeṣa nāmaṁ vrscāmi (MŚ. vrscāvo) yo 'smān (MŚ. asmān) dveṣṣi...

ApŚ. MŚ. 'By its name I (we two, i.e. I and the fireplace addressed) cleave him who hates us.'

yena yamaṇya (AV. yamaṇya yena, ApŚ. TB. omit yena) niṣṭhitā (balinā) ca ṛṭvānī (MS. MŚ. ṛṭvānāḥ; SMB.† ṛṭvaṇī) AV. TS. MS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. 'With what treasure (tribute) of Yama I (we two) go about.' The dual cunningly draws the god Agni (addressed in the context) into partnership with the sinner!


sam yujyāva (TS. bābhūva) sanibhyā ā RV. TS.: sam sanuyāva varīṣā, ā KSA. Preceded in all by: aham ca teśa ca vrīhāna. The dual is the natural form; TS. (excluding teśa from the subject) is bizarre.

avānyāṁ tattāṁ kīrata dhatte anyān TB.: prāṇāṁ tattāṁ tirate dhatte anyā AV. Inclusive dual in TB.; two separate singulat, each with subject anyā, in AV. That is, two separate actions are performed by the members of the pair, one apiece, in AV.; both actions are done by both together in TB.
sanijñāne rodau samāhāvatuḥ TB. ApŚ.: samānaṃ yonīṃ abhisam-
babhūra MŚ. Preceded by yad idam (MŚ. ado) diwā yad adah (MŚ. idam) prthivyāḥ. In MŚ. the real sense implies a dual subject, but the verb agrees syntactically with the nearer of the two; note that it has no dual noun referring to the subject, as have the others.
saha dharmanān cara (GDh. dharmanāv caryatām) GDh. NāradāDh.: sahohau caratām dharman MDh.
ayād (ŚŚ. ayād) agnir (MŚ. ayāṣṭām agnivarṇaḥ) agneḥ priyā dhanāmī MS. KS. SB. TB. SS. MŚ. And, in the same passage: ayāt (MŚ. ayāṣṭām) somasya... ayād (ayāṣṭām) devānām... yakṣād agner hotoḥ (yakṣeto 'gnivarṇayor hotoḥ).... yakṣat svan mahimānāh (yakṣataḥ svau mahimānau); āyajatām (āyajeyatām) ejyā Ṛbhr; kṛnotu so adhvarṇān ('ṛū) jātavedāḥ (kṛṇatām tāv adhvar jātavedāsau); jujatām (jujetām) hauḥ. Duals all in MŚ.; singulars (subject Agni) in various of the others, see Conc.
mā mā (KS. mām; AB. mainam) hiṃśitaṃ svan (AB. svām; KS. yat svan) yonīṃ aviṣantaḥ (KS. aviṣāthah) MS. KS. AB.: mā mā hiṃśitaṃ svan (KS. svan) yonīṃ aviṣantaḥ (KS. TB. ApŚ. aviṣān) VS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. The dual is addressed to soma and surī together (both are mentioned in the preceding); the singular to surī and soma, respectively, alone.

§357. Dual and Plural
akvinaḥ bhīṣajaśvataḥ (MS. ²tam; TB. ²ta) VS. MS. TB. 'O Aśvins, physicians, aid', or, 'let the Aśvins' etc. In TB. the plural is due to the inclusion of Sarasvatī (mentioned in the preceding) along with the Aśvins in the subject.
vi sakhyāni vajjānāe (ŚŚ. ²mahāi; MŚ. viṣjāvahai) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MS. PG. The formula is used in dissolving the ritual bond between yajamāna and priests, and dual pronouns occur in the preceding; the dual of MŚ. is therefore quite rational. But the other texts think of the plurality of priests, together with the yajamāna, agniṣomau tam apa nudatām (Conc. quotes ²tam)... VS. SB.: agnir agniṣomau tam apanudantu...ŚŚ. Very simple case of 'addition' to the subject.
[āyuṣkṛtān āyuṣpatiḥ swadāvanto] gopā me stān, gopāyatān māmā, ātmasa-
dau me stān mā mā hiṃśitaṃ AV. 5. 9. 8: [āyuṣṭad āyuṣpatiḥ (ms. ²nīḥ; read āyuṣkṛtān āyuṣpatiḥ?) swadāvoc] gopā naḥ stha...KS. 37. 15: [āyuṣkṛtān āyuṣpatiḥ swadāvo (so text, and so Caland interprets, not as voc. swadhavo)] goptryo me stha, gopāyata mā, rakṣata mātmasedo me stha ApŚ. 6. 21. 1. The dual verbs of AV. are apparently
addrest to the svadhāvantau (note masculine predicates). KS. has plural with masc. predicates, the masc. being really common gender, inclusive of āyukpatī, fem.; ApŚ. has fem. plural, presumably including the sing. āyukṛd (understood as fem.?) and the dual fem. āyukpatī as subjects; if Garbe and Caland are right in dividing svadhā va, ApŚ. has no unmistakably masc. subject.

5. Singular verb used alternatively with plural or dual subject felt collectively

§358. As we mentioned above, §297, a plural or dual verb, justified by strict grammar, may be replaced by a singular verb because the subject is felt collectively as a unit. In the first instance the plural is a plurale tantum, āpah ‘waters’, which is unquestionably construed with a singular verb here:

āpo ‘mṛtāṁ sūha (Prāṅgū. “tam asi) Kauś. Prāṅgū. ‘O waters, ye are (thou art) nectar!’ We believe the context makes it clear that Prāṅgū. really feels āpah as a collective singular in sense; to explain the form asi as accented to the number of the predicate noun amṛtāṁ would be, in our opinion, a mechanical and uninspired interpretation of the passage.

Singular and Dual:

drupadād eva muṇcatām (TB. “tu, so read with Poona ed.) AV. TB. Preceded by bhūtān mā tasmād bhavyān ca: ‘May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post.’ The singular in TB. might, possibly, be explained as under (e), that is as agreeing with the nearer of the two subjects alone; but this seems to us false and mechanical. Rather, the two subjects are taken together as forming a single unitary concept.

See also the Kauś. reading, 33.9d, quoted under mā tā rīṣat etc., §355.

6. Generalising forms, with subject indefinite

§359. We saw above (§291), that the commonest Vedie form used to express an indefinite subject (French on, German man) is the third plural. This varies frequently with a third singular, which is often likewise indefinite, but sometimes has a definite subject. Indefinite third person forms, either singular or more often plural, likewise vary with first and second person, generally with definite subjects. Such variations between first and third person have been listed above §314 f.; the rarer cases of third plural varying with second singular, with one somewhat similar case of second plural and indefinite third singular, are
listed below. The great majority of cases concern only third person forms, in which the 3d plural is indefinite, while the third singular is either definite or indefinite:

agnaye sam anamad prthivyai sam anamad... TS. KSA.: prthivyam agnaye sam anaman sof urhnot AV. (And the like with antarik-siyam sam etc., see Conc.; and others.) To Agni, to the earth, one (they) made obeisance; he (it) throwe'. Both singular and plural are indefinite. In the sequel of the same formula, however, TS. has a definite 3d singular, with subject Agni, while the 3d plural of AV. is still indefinite:

yathāgni prthivyāi sam anamad... TS.: yathā prthivyām agnaye sam anamann AV. 'As Agni made obeisance to the earth', or, 'as on the earth they made obeisance to Agni'.

na yac chūḍeṣu alapsata (SS. alipsata) AB. SS. 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among sauvras.' 3d plural or.: 3d sing. desiderative; both indefinite. See §135.

swasti nāḥ pūrṇamukhaḥ pari krāmatu (HG. 'mukham pari krāmatu) ApMB. HG. As the priest (only one, even in HG.) walks around (cows etc. used in the ritual) he says: 'With luck may one (they) walk around full-faced (or, around our full face?).' The plural, at least, seems to be generalizing and indefinite in character.

nābhi prāṇot (MŚ. 'nayur) nirṛtis parācaih (AŚ. MŚ. parāstāt) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: na tat prāṇot nirṛtis parācaih (KŚ. nirṛtis parāstāt) KŚ. ApŚ. The isolated reading of MŚ. is probably a mere blunder; the passage is otherwise corrupt in the MŚ. mss., see Knauer's note. But it can at a pinch be interpreted as generalizing, 'they' = 'people', 'man'.

brahmajāyeyam iti (AV. 'jaṭeyi) ced avocan (AV. 'cat) RV. AV. Both sing. and plur. are indefinite: 'if they have (one has) said, She is a brahman's wife.'

yat te prideṇā cichidūḥ (MŚ. eichindat) soma rājan TB. Vait. MŚ. Both sing. and plur. generalizing: 'what with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off, O King Soma.'

yat te grāḍi bāhuṣyata acucyavāḥ (Vait. acucyot) TB. Vait. In a stanza which immediately follows the preceding. The plural of TB. is really uninterpretable (comm. acyavat); it must be rendered: 'what of thee (soma) the press-stone, arm-dropped, has let fall.' But it seems to be felt vaguely as a generalizing plural, no doubt in mechanical imitation of the plural verb in the preceding and similar passage, just quoted.
yebhir vācaṁ puṣkalebhir avyayan (TB. "yat") KS. TB. The plur. is certainly generalizing, and acc. to TB. comm. also the sing. (sārva jantuḥ is supplied as subject), altho it might be understood as having sūrya of the prec. pāda as subject; cf. next.

yebhir vācaṁ viśvarūpebhir avyayan (TB. "rāpām samavyayat") KS. TB. In the same passage as the prec. Again the plur. is certainly generalizing, and the sing. may be considered so with as much right as in the prec., altho this time TB. comm. supplies Prajāpaṭi from the prec. pāda.

rāguḥ maśar ātīt tena vyayanta (KSA. "jata")...VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. And the same with agnīḥ, and with adityaḥ (sūryaḥ). Both forms are generalizing: 'therewith they (= people; or, one) sacrificed.'

tasāṁ svasūr ajanayat (MS. swar ajanan, KS.† swasūr [ms. swasūr] ajanan) paṇca-paṇca TS. MS. KS. In TS. the subject is dhāt of preceding pāda; in the others there is no definite subject (generalizing plural).

purutā te manutāḥ (AV. vanutāḥ) viśhitam jaqat RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. The subject in AV. can only be indefinite, 'they', if the reading is correct; the comm. reads vanutāḥ. In the others jaqat is the subject.

ya īndreṣa sarathāṃ yāti devaḥ AV.: yenendrasya rathaṁ sambabhūruḥ MS. KS. ApŚ. In the latter the subject is indefinite; in AV. it is yaḥ = Agni (who is referred to by yena in the others).

§300. For variations between indefinite 3d plural and definite 1st singular, see §315 above. In a few cases we find the same indefinite 3d plural varying with a definite 2d singular; and once or twice, in the first two variants, a somewhat similar variation between a generalizing 3d singular (subject once a relative pronoun used as indefinite) varying with a definite 2d plural:

sahito ro yaḥ atra suktān kṛṣṇavahāmā ++ tadb yad duṣkṛtam aṁyatra tat AB. AS.: yo duṣkṛtam karvat tasya duṣkṛtam Kanūk.

tenā na saha kundhata (AV. vulgate kumbhatu, but SPP. kumbhata, adopted by Whitney on 18. 3. 56) RV. AV. In RV. apparently the waters are addrest; in AV. the plural form (which is read by some mss.) might also refer to them (and then concerns §337); the singular, if correct, can only be indefinite (Whitney, 'one').

yenendrāya samabhārāḥ (MS. KS. "ran) payāṃśi AV. TS. MS. KS. In AV. TS. the subject is Agni; in MS. KS. indefinite. 'By which thou didst (they did) collect milk for Indra.'
nayanta garbham vanānī dhiyan dhuh RV: nayantam ārbbhīr vanā dhiyan dhūḥ SV. The subject in RV. is indefinite 3d plural; in SV, it is Agni, to whom the hymn is addressed. See Oldenberg, RVNoten, on 10. 46. 5.

yena jayanti (TB. jayāsi) na para jayante (TB. jayōsai) AV. TB. ‘By whom people conquer (thou shalt conquer), not be conquered.’

rayan (SV. raṇa) gāye na yavase RV. SV. ‘May they (indefinite, Ludwig ‘man’; in SV, ‘do thou’) rejoice as cows do in pasture.’ Subject Soma in SV.

sāravatād (‘hyām) adhi manāv (with variants) acarkṣuh (acarūkṣuḥ) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Ms. SMB. PG. See §§136, 236. The SMB. is quoted in the Conc., following the older edition, as sa’ adhi varṇāna carkṛdhī; the only possible subject of the 2d person verb would be Indra, who is mentioned (not address) in the sequel. But the true reading is no doubt manāv acarūkṣuḥ, as given by Jörgensen.

7. Change of Number due to Change of Subject, in the same context

§361. In many cases the shift in verbal number is due to a rearrangement of the syntax of the passage, involving a change of subject. Cf. above, §§ 323, 338. Naturally, there is often a change of person as well as number. We begin with cases in which number alone is changed; and first cases of

Third Person, Singular and Plural
brahma devō avardhan (MS. devan, KS. devāī, MS. KS. avārdhāt) VS. MS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. ‘The gods have increased brahman’, or, ‘brahman has increased the gods.’
catuṣṭomam adadhād (TS. ‘ṣṭoṃ abhavat) ya turīyat TS. MS. KS.: agnīsomav adadhur ya turīyāt AV. Subject in AV. must be ōṣṭoḥ in the sequel if the text is correct; but Whitney on 8. 9. 14 would emend to adadhād.
apām upatśe mahiṣo varadhā (RV.* VS. ŚB. mahiṣā avardhan) RV. (both) AV. SV. VS. ŚB. TA. varadhā, intrans., subject Agni, who is the object of averdhan (trans., subject mahiṣā).
tayā devāh sutam a babhūvaḥ TS. KSA. TB.: sā na asmin suta a babhūva VS. MS. See Keith on TS. 4. 1. 2. 1, note 6.

yathāmiṣām (AV. yathāiṣām, SV. yathāteṣām, VS. yathāmī) anyo anyam na jānāt (VS. jānan) RVKh. AV. SV. VS. The plural in VS. is due to the fact that amī is made the subject. ‘So that one of them may not know another’, or, ‘so that they may not know one the other.’
ekapadi dvipadi... bhuvanam prathatam svaha TS.: ekapadam dvipadam tripadam catuspadam bhuvanam prathantam KS.: ekapadhim... catuspadhim aṣṭapadhim bhuvanam prathantam VS. SB. The TS. form is intrans., 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds'; the others have a trans. verb with indefinite subject, 'let them spread her out' etc. This might be grouped under the preceding subdivision, but for the change of subject.

aśvan medhyaṃ abandhayaḥ (ŚŚ. abadhinatu) ŚB. ŚŚ. See §30, end.
tābhāḥ samrabdhānu avv avindan (TB. samrabdhāna aavidai) yaṣ urṣaḥ AV. TB. In AV. yaṣ urṣaḥ is the subject; in TB. it is made the object, the subject being samrabdhāna (= Rohita).

anvētāśit tvayi (MS. anvētānot tavā) tantum etam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The subject is somewhat obscure in both cases; Mahīdhara on VS. understands tvayah, despite singular verb! MS. seems to take the subject to be pitarah in the preceding pāda (the others have pitarā or āvān).
apochatu (AV. → chantu) mithunā yā kimidinā (AV. ye kimidinah) RV. AV. In RV. the subject of the (transitive) verb is doubtless Indra, who is mentioned in the preceding verse; 'let him shine away the paired kimidinā.' In AV. the verb is intransitive, and the subject kimidinah: 'let the kimidinās fade away.'

aṭhyam yanti śavaśā gṛtāśāh KS.: aṭhyam eti śavaśa gṛtena (AV. gṛtā cit) AV. TS. VS. MS. Keith on TS. 4. 1. 8. 1 not unfairly calls the KS. reading 'absurd'; but the psychology of it is plain; it is thinking of srucāḥ in the next line. In the others the subject is Agni.

āvir bhuvad (ArŚ. bhuvam) arunīr yasvād goḥ (ArŚ. gauḥ) RV. ArŚ. The subject is changed from arunīḥ (singular in RV.) to gauḥ, no doubt because ArŚ. feels arunīḥ to be a plural adjective,
pibāḥ yamam mamadāt (AS. ŚŚ. yamam amadan) enam iṣṭe (AS. ŚŚ. iṣṭayah) AV. AS. ŚŚ. 'May it (sema) exhilarate him at the sacrifice; may the sacrifices exhilarate him.'

aryamṛgo agnīḥ pary etu pūṣan (ApMB. pari yantu kaśipram) AV. ApMB. The subject is the bride in AV., the kinsfolk (or priests?) in ApMB.

āpo malam ieva pṛāṇaḥkṣit (ApŚ. pṛāṇyan) AV. ApŚ. Subject is a plant in AV.; in ApŚ. waters, the verb being drawn into the simile.

tam rakṣadhvan mā va dabhah TS.: tam rakṣava, mā va dabhan MS. 1. 2. 15: 22. 12; VS. 5. 39; KS. 3.1 (in Conc. quoted under the two parts separately; but this is the true parallel to the TS. passage, instead of tāṃ rakṣadhvaṃ mā va dabhah, to which Conc. gives a
cross-reference but which is an unrelated passage). rakṣasa is addrest to Savitar, rakṣadhevan to the gods in general (cf. Keith on TS. 1.3. 4. 2). ūnam refers to soma, which in TS. is made the subject of dabhāt, 'may it not fail you'; the others understand dabhā- in a different sense: 'may they (indefinite; acc. to Mahidhara, the asuras) not injure thee (Savitar).'

niṣkṛtāh sa (TS. *kṛto *yam; KS. MŚ. *kṛtās te) yañ̄niyaṁ bhūgam etu (KS. MŚ. bhūgam yantu) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. The subject varies from the paśupati to cattle.

vi parjanyaṁ (TS. *yāh) sṛjāṇi (MS. KS. pra parjanyaṁ sṛjāṇi) rodasī anu RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts; in the others Parjanya, sing. or (TS.) plural (cf. §349).

śūro aktuṣe ā yaman (SV. yamata) RV. SV. Preceded by: mā na indrāḥ bhīśaṁ. RV.: 'O Indra, let not (evil) intentions aim at us in the light of the sun (or, intentions of the sun by night)'; cf. Neisser, Zum Wbch. des RV. s.v. aktu; Oldenberg, RV. Noten 2.144. In SV. śūro is evidently conceived as nom. subject of yamata, presumably with adīṣḥ object.

§362. Second Person, Singular and Plural
evo ṣva asman muṇcatā ṣva anahāḥ RV. MS. KS. ApŚ.: eva ṣva anahāḥ pra muṇcatā ṣva anahāḥ TS. The Vasus are addrest, even in TS., in the preceding half verse; TS. here changes rather lamely to an address to Agni, who is addrest in the following pāda.

ihehāsāṁ kṛṇuḥ (TS. MS. KS. TB. kṛṇuta) bhojanānī RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. Subject in RV. is doubtless Indra, to whom the hymn is addrest, but no subject is mentioned in this verse (Mahidhara on VS. understands Soma); several texts make the verb plural, referring presumably to gods in general.

annam pājo ṛeto asmāsi (ŠB. 'asmāsi) dhatta (MS. ApŚ. dhehi) VS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. ÍŚ. ApŚ. All texts have adjoining formulae where Agni is spoken of in the third person; in this, MS. ApŚ. obviously regard Agni as addrest directly, while the other (and presumably more original) reading addresses it to some plural concept (TB. comm. gods, VS. comm. priests).

sah pra cyadhevan upa (TS. anu) sako pra yāta VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.: agne cyawasa sam anu pra yāhi MS. Followed by:

agni (MS. āvij) pathā devayānān kroudhavan (MS. * krousva) VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŠB.: agne pathāh kalpaḥ devayānān AV. In MS. both forms are consistent with the context, since they are addrest (in adjoining stanzas) to Agni and to devāḥ respectively.
In the others only AV. is grammatically ‘correct’, since no other subject is named along with Agni and the plural is irrational; Mahiḍhara on VS. blithely takes kṛṣṇḍhaṃ as meaning kṛṣṇa; but two other plural imperatives occur in the preceding in all YV. texts, and they, like kṛṣṇḍhaṃ, are evidently addrest to the gods in general.

revati predhā yajñāpatim āviṣa MS. Kś. revati yajamāne priyāṃ dhā āviṣa VS. ŚB. revattē yajñāpatim priyadhāśīyata TS. ApŚ. Acc. to the Tait. ritual texts (see Keith 45 n. 5), addrest to the vapiṣṭra-
vṛṇas, the two darbha-stalks and the plakṣa-twig, but acc. to TS. comm., to the members of the sacrificial animal. Acc. to VS. comm., Vāc is addrest.

vratam kṛṣṇa (VSK. adds: vratam kṛṣṇa vratam kṛṣṇa) VS. VSK. TS. Kś. ŚB. Kś. ApŚ. Acc. to Mahiḍhara on VS. 4. 11 and Kś., the formula vratam kṛṣṇa, ‘prepare the fast-food’, is to be repeated thrice. The comm. on Kś. says it is addrest to the adheṇyā etc., i.e. the adheṇyā and his assistants. The three-fold repetition is actually found in VSK., but the second time with singular instead of plural; we may no doubt assume that this form (if textually sound) was addrest to a single priest (the adheṇyā)?

anulbanam vayata (Kś. vayasi) jogwāṃ apaḥ RV. TS. Kś. AB. ApŚ. On this obscure verse see Edgerton, AJP. 40, 188, 192. Four other parallel verbs, before and after this one in the same stanza, are all singular, addrest to Agni. The subject of vayata is doubtful. Kś. makes it consistent with the others, of course secondarily.

ā mātarā sthāpayase jīgamā RV. AV.: ā sthāpayata mātaram jīgamah AV. Followed by:

ata inoṣi karnavā purūṣi RV. AV.: ata invata karnavāni bhūri AV. In an obscure hymn to Indra, who is the subject in RV.; in one AV. passage there is a sudden change of subject (to whom?) in the second half of the stanza, the first half of which is still addrest to Indra, here also.

§363. Singular and Dual
dhātām rāyan sahaevān (ApMB. dāsāvān) vacasyave RV. ApMB.: rāyaṁ dhehī sarvāvān vacasyām AV. Dual addrest to the Aśvins, who are addrest in the next pādās also in AV. The singular must be understood as addrest to the bride, but it is not unfairly described as ‘senseless’ (Whitney).

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādātaḥ AV.: yad aṣṭarádor uparyāya (so Conc., but Kś. ed. “drūr upa”, see note in text; ApŚ. aṣṭarāpara-
sya) khādāti KS. ApŚ. In AV. the subject is apparently the two arānis; in the others it must be Agni, but the passage is so obscure that Caland in his translation of ApŚ. makes no attempt to render it.

atha jīvṛ (ApMB. athā jīvṛi; RV. adhā jīvṛi) vidatham ā vadāsi (RV. vadāthāḥ) RV. AV. ApMB. (The true AV. reading seems to be jīvṛi, see Whitney's note.) In RV. addrest to the married couple, altho in the preceding pāda the bride alone is addrest. For this reason, doubtless, the later texts also address this pāda to the bride, by assimilation to the preceding.

ptunā somanī pibatam (KS. "tu; MŚ. "tām) KS. MŚ. ApŚ. Subject Aśvins in ApŚ. MŚ. (akānādha-vargā MŚ.); an unnamed priest in KS.

ghṛtena dyāvāprthiti a prothām (MŚ. MŚ. prna; LŚ. prīṇāthām svāhā) TS. MŚ. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'With ghee be filled (gratified), O heaven and earth!', or, 'fill heaven and earth with ghee' (addrest to the post).

varṇasya skambhasarjanam asi (KS. "ny asi; VS. ŚB. "ni sthāḥ) VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. MahānU. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 8. 2, note 7.

§364. Dual and Plural

tāv ērā upa sarpatāḥ SV. JB.: emām anu sarpatā MS. In SV. said of a pair of horses.

yenāśā (ŚŚ. yenā kyām; SMB. yenāksān; PG. yenāksyūr) abhyāṣicyanta (ŚŚ. SMB. "śiṇcatam, PG. "tām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. In AV. the expression is made passive, with akṣā(h) as subject; see §§332, 293.

§365. Singular and Plural, with accompanying Change of Person

We list here only variants in which 2d and 3d person forms, singular and plural, interchange. A few stray cases of 1st person interchanging with 2d and 3d, with shift of number, will be found above, §§302, 304, 312, 323.

svar (TS. suwar) na saukram uṣasa vi dhīgyaḥ (RV. "tah) RV. TS. MS. 'Like bright heaven the dawns have shone forth (or, make thou the dawns to shine forth).'

ā tvā vasavā rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu VS. ŚB.: vasānām rudraṇām ādityānām sadān sadā śīdā (KS. sadānam asi; MS. sado 'ei śručān yonīh) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

paktaudanasya sukṛtām etu lokam AV.: (in next stanza) imanī pakte sukṛtām etu lokam AV. Subject of etu is the grains composing the porridge (odana); that of etu is pakta, the cooker of the odana. Conscious vikāra.
vedic variants 1: the verb

**Hṛdaya antaraṃ taj jujoṣat (TA. tād yuyota) RV. KS. TA.** 'Let (our song) be within (Parjanya’s) heart; may he enjoy it.' TA. comm. regards yuyota as addressed to the priests: ‘unite it (viz. our song, to Parjanya’s heart).’ But the reading is hardly more than a corruption; it has phonetic aspects (jīy).

deṣeṣu naḥ suktro (mā suktam) brātāt (brāta, brāyāt), and others; see §104, t. The 3rd person brāyāt is probably corrupt.

yāś ca (yaḥ) devī (devya) antān (with variants) abhito ‘daulanta (tatanta); see §220. The form tatanta is corrupt, and may not even be intended for a 2d person.

niṣkam ēva prati muñcata (?tam) AV. (both). ‘Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace’, or, ‘let him fasten on himself’ etc.

indraṁ samatsam bhūṣata SV.: indvraḥ samatsam bhūṣatu RV. AV. Proceeded by ā no viśeṣau hanyah (SV. 4. yam). ‘Let Indra associate himself with us (SV. praise ye Indra),—who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict.’

salaksna (MS. KS. 4. na) yad viṣurūpaṁ (RV. AV. 4. pā) bhavati (MS. KS. babhūva) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: viṣurūpaḥ yat salaksmaṇa bhavathā TS. In RV. AV. of Yama (and Yami); in YV. different context, and scarcely interpretable; ‘when what is (ye that are) different become(s) similar.’

tigmapyudhāya bharatā kṣnotu naḥ (TB. śṛṇotana) RV. TB. N. ‘Bring ye (a hymn) to him of sharp weapons; may he hear us (hear ye)!” In TB. the verb is assimilated mechanically to bharatā; its secondariness is attested by the strong form of the stem.

ā se yonau niṣidatu (KS. 4. ta) RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. ‘May he (the god) sit (or, sit ye—priests) in his (your) own home.’

indraya derebhyo juhutā (MS. 4. tām; ApŚ. juṣṭānā) havih svāhā PB, KS. ApŚ. MS.

indraya pathibhir vahān (MS. vaha) VS. MS. KS. TB. Original subject is Aśvins and Sarasvatī; in MS. awkwardly changed to a priest.

yānti subhā rīṇān apah RV.: subhā yāśi rīṇān apah AV. Subject Maruta in RV., in AV. Rohita.

ud dharṣaya maṭhavān (AV. satvanām) āyudhāni RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.; ud dharṣantān maṭhavān rājānāi AV. ‘Let the energies be aroused, O Maghavan!’ or, ‘arouse the weapons, O M. (the weapons of the warriors).’

tās tvā denv (SMB. MG. devya) jaraṣe (SMB. HG. 4. sā) saṁ vyayantu (PG. 4. yasava) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.: tās tvā jaraṣe saṁ vyayantu AV. ‘Let these (goddesses) wrap thee up unto (with) old age’; or, ‘wrap thyself up’ etc.
kāvā nāh kaśitamā dhava (TA. also bhasantu) AV. AA. TA. (both).
AŚ. LŚ. TA. by an addition in one form of the variant introduces a
different subject; see Whitney on AV. 7. 68. 3.
svadābhīr yajñāṁ sukṛtaṁ juśase (TB. yajñāṁ prayataṁ juśantāṁ)
RV. VS. TB. In the original the subject is Agni; in TB, it is made
the pītra, obviously because in Brāhmaṇa times svadā belongs
particularly to them.
dirgham āyuḥ kṛṇatu me (AV.* ApMB. vām) AV. JB. Kauś. ApMB.;
āyuṁantāṁ karo mā (RVKh. karo mām; KS. kṛṇa mā)
RVKh. KS. TA. BDḥ.: sarvatā āyuḥ dādātu me ApŚ. Occurs in
several contexts in AV.; one of these (7. 33. 1) is the same which
occurs in all the other texts except Kauś. and ApMB.; the others are
quite different. In the one verse found in the majority of texts,
this pāda is found at the end; in the prec. various gods (last, Agni)
are invoked in the 3d person for blessings on ‘me’ (‘you’ KS. ApŚ.);
here Agni alone is invoked, likewise in the 3d person, in all but
KS. TA. BDḥ., where we have instead a 2d person address to
the plurality of gods mentioned before. Note that the strong stem-
forms karo and kṛṇa are poor. This variant might be classed
in §355.

8. Change of Number due to Change of Context, with different Subject

§366. In a large number of cases, as in the case of variations in
Person, the shift of number is due to the use of the formula in a different
context, involving change of the verb’s subject. In some cases, as in
the preceding subdivision, both person and number are changed; we
list these cases at the end of this subdivision in so far as they concern
shifts between second and third persons along with shift of number. A
few cases of the same sort showing first person in variation with second
or third, and accompanying shift of number, will be found among the
Person variants, above, §§303, 304, 310, 324. Included are some
ritualistic ukas and vikāras.

§367. Singular, Dual, and Plural
akṣans tān VS. KS. TB.: aghastāṁ tān MS. TB.: aghat tam VS. All
aorists from root ghas. Contexts are different tho related, and
with different subjects. See also under akṣan in Conc.
taya devatāyāgirasaśvad dhrvaḥ sida VS. TS. etc. (see Conc.):... dhrvah
sida VS. ŚB. TA.:... dhrve svadatam VS. ...dhrvah sidaa TS.
Also: tene brahmaṇaḥ... dhrvaḥ sidaa (and,... dhrvaḥ sida) KS.
(both); tene chandasaḥ... and tenarpīṇa... see Conc.
sā no mṛdūṭīṃśe RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.: tā no mṛdūta
(VSK. mṛḍī) idrīśe RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.: te no mṛdūnte
idrīśe AV. The last is a viṅgāra of the singular form, used in the same
hymn in AV.

maho ḫyāyo ’krta (’krata, ’kratām): all three in MS. (4, 13. 9: 212. 4–9),
TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Viṅgāras; same formula modulated with different
subjects. Cf. akṛata, and akṛatām, AŚ. In the same connexion,
avṛdhata (’dhanta, ’dhetām). The formula begins aṅgir (indrāgni,
devā ājyapā, etc.) idau hāvīr (also ājyaṃ, etc.) ajuṣṭa (’janta,
’getām).

idam vastraśī bhoḥ etc., see §344.

āsadyāmin barhiṣi mādayadhyam RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB.:
...mādayasva RV. ...’gethām RV. AV. The three RV.
occurrences concern different subjects, Viśve devāḥ, Sarasvatī, and Indra-
Varuṇa respectively. On the AV. occurrences (two of which repeat
RV. 10. 17. 8, which has mādayasva, but awkwardly substitute
mādayadhyam, changing the subject to pītarah) see RV Rep. 298.

sakhāyaṃ saṣṭapadā abhāma TB. ApŚ.: sakhāyau saṣṭapadār abhūva
(ApMB.† ’pada bahūva, see Winternitz, p. xvii.) ApMB. HG.:
sakhā saṣṭapadī (ApMB. ’dā) bhava AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. APMB.
MG. The singular and dual are used in the wedding-rites, address
to bride alone, or spoken by the groom of himself and the bride.
The plural form is said by the yajamāna as the adheyyu steps in
the seventh footstep of the soma-purchase cow; it is followed by
parallel formulas in the 1st person sing., as sakhyayā te gameyam,
‘may I go to thy (= the cow’s) friendship.’ In our pāda we might
expect a dual, including cow and yajamāna, ‘we have become friends
with seven steps’; but it may be the ordinary plural referring to the
yajamāna alone (§ 344), or, perhaps better, it may include the whole
sacriﬁcial entourage; note that the actual stepping is done not by
the yajamāna who speaks, but by the adheyyu. On the change of
person see § 307.

gopaikara (MS. gopaika; AV. gopaikara) mā AV. VS. MS. Vait. ApŚ.
Different contexts; hardly proper variants.

preman sunvantān yajamānam avatu (’tām, ’ntu) ŚŚ. (all.) And:
śravād (’van, śrutām) bhrahmāya ācasā gamat (’an, gamām) ŚŚ. (all.)
Viṅgāras, with subjects Indra, dyāvāptśhīvī, Rībhās.

§368. Singular and Dual

tasmān naḥ pāhy (Kauś. pātam) ankasāḥ RV. Kauś.
prāṇāya me varcoda varcase parasva VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. prāṇāparābhyaṁ me varcodaṁ parasthāṁ MŚ. In MŚ. address to Upāṇu and Antarvāma cups, in the others to Upāṇu alone.

ā no yātm (jāhy) upaśrutī RV. (both). Address to the Aśvins or to Indra.

viḍhṛti cāi TA. ŚŚ.: viḍhṛtī sthāḥ MS. Different contexts.

diśā ca gnaś ca rājathāḥ (rājasī) RV. (both.) See RVRep. 59.

rayāṁ āvatsī didhṛtām (dhāraya) RV. (both.) See RVRep. 271, 528.

raṇaspoṣam yajamanēṣu dhatam (āhehi; dhāraya) RV. (all.)

sutiṇāṁ pātīm arthatāḥ (arhasi) RV. (both): somānāṁ pāṁ arhatāḥ RV. SV. See RVRep. 137.

mā mā samā tāptam (ApŚ. tāptāḥ) VS. TS. KS. TB. PB. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.: mā modostām (ŚŚ. modostāḥ) MS. ŚŚ. This contexts are quite different and the formulas are only in part related to each other. E.g. in TS. Indra-Viśṇu are the subject, in ŚŚ. two fires, in ApŚ. Agni, in ŚŚ. prthīvi.

viṣurūpe anāhī dyairu śvaṁ (TA. śva sthāḥ) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (three). N. In one TA. passage address to dyāśāpyathāri, in the rest to a single deity. Followed in same passage by:

śvā śvā śvā avasī svadhāvaḥ (SV. śvan; TA. avathaḥ svadhāvantau), same texts.

apriyaḥ prati muṇica lat (Kauś.1 muṇcatam) AV. Kauś. In Kauś. address to the Aśvins; in AV. probably to an amulet. Cf. apriyaḥ prati muṇcatam, §30.

pā indra (and, pātam narā) pratibhrātasya madhavaḥ RV. (both). Dual address to Indra-Vāyu.

āre bādhethām (MS.1 KS.1 bādhava) nirṛtiṁ parācāh RV. TS. MS. (both) KS. (both): bādhava (AV. bādhethām) dāre (AV. dāre, TS. dēṣo) paṁ paṁ RV. AV. TS. There are three different contexts; the sign, is addressed to Varuṇa, the dual to Soma-Rudra or Mitra-Varuṇa. In some cases this is followed by:

kṛtāṁ cād enaḥ pra mumugdhyā (AV. TS.1 mumuktam) asmat (KS. asmāt) RV. AV. TS. (both) MS. KS. See preceding.

āmodroḥ pātām (KS. pāhi) MS. KS. (both): te mā pātām āśa yajñasvadrcāh VS. TS. SB. The sing. form of KS. is a vikāra of the other (in close proximity).

rāyas poṣam (KS. tvāṣṭaḥ poṣāya) vi ṣyatū (AV. MS. KS. yya) nābhīm asme (AV. asya) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: r. p. vi ṣyatām n. a. RV. MS. TB. Subject of the dual is Soma-Pūșan; of the sing. Tvaṣṭar (nom. or voc., see §329, end).

asmān su jīgyuṣas kṛḍhi (kṛtam) RV. (both). Subjects Indra: Indra-Varuṇa.

aṁe (AV. asyai) rāyim sarvaśāraṁ ni yachatam (AV. *yacha) RV. AV. (both)

bādhataṁ (TB. etāṁ) deveo abhayam (AV. * adds naḥ) kṛṇotu (TB. kṛṇotum) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Subjects Indra: Tisya and Bṛhaspati.

§369. Dual and Plural

sumunyā saunmīṁ summe mā dhattam TS. TB. ApŚ.: sumne sthaḥ summe mā dhattam VS. ŚB.: sumnāyinā (KS. *yavak) sumnāya sumnāṁ (KS. sumnāyan) dhattā MS. KS. The plural occurs in a different context from the dual.

anu teś viśve devā avantu (KS. viśve avantu devāḥ) KS. TB.: anu mirām mirāsarvānām āhavatām AA.

kāṁśānto... AB. ApŚ. *kāṁśānto, kāṁśānto... AB. 3. 12. 1. GB. Vait. And other forms, see Conc. Sacrificial exclamations, based upon verb-forms (dual referring to hotar and adheṣyān, plural to priests as a group?).

le māvantu AV. TS. PG.: te (and, tau) māvatām AV. (in same hymn; vikāras). See further in Conc. under tāni no 'vantu'.

pra ṇa sparāṅkāhī vāibhis kirelo ('tam) RV. (both.) Maruts: Indra-Varuṇa.

rāyim dhattām (dhattha; dhattho) vasumantam paruksam (kataqvinam) RV. (all.) See RVRep. 149.

karma ca stho varma ca sthaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: karma ca sthā varma ca sthā KS. ApŚ. Quite different contexts and subjects.

sapatnāṁ sahiṣṭimahi AV. 3. 6. 4d; sā' sahiṣṭihā AV. 19. 32. 5d; sapatnām me sahāvahāi RV. AV. 3. 18. 5d. ApMB. So the AV. vulgate; but sahiṣṭihā is an emendation (see Whitney's note); the mss. of 19. 32. 5 read *mahī. This stanza is a repetition, with modifications to suit the new context, of 3. 18. 5; the dual is there proper, as the subject is ubhe sahāvadhā of pāda c, referring to the amulet and the speaker of the charm (there a woman; in 19. 32. 5 changed to
ubhau sahasvantau because the speaker is a man). The dual is equally required by the sense in 19.32.5. Yet the vulgate Atharvan reading here is clearly sahiṣṭimahi (all mss. and comm., altho Ppp. has the correct *vahi, Barret, JAOS. 46.42), which should be retained; obviously the entire pūda 3.6.4d, which belongs to a quite different context where the plural is required, has been mechanically imported without change into 19.32.5.

etā asaḍan sukṛtasya loke TS. TB. pratikas, etā asaḍan, and (uha) etā asaḍatām, ApŚ.

§370. Singular and Plural

marutāṁ prasāve (VS. ŚŚ. 97vena) jaya (TS. jayata) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. In TS. address to the horses, in the others to the chariot.

Different contexts.

tasmā u rādhakṛṣṇa prāshotam (AV. kṛṣṇah suprābhatam) RV. AV. anu mā rāhahdhaam (ŚŚ. rābhasva) KS. ApŚ. ŚŚ. Hardly to be called variants; different contexts.

indrasya bhāga stha AV.: i bhāga 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. MS. Also devasya savitur bhāga etc. and others.

dvīṣataṁ (AV. duritāt) pāve anhasāḥ RV. AV.; duritāt pānte anhasāḥ (IŚ. viśvataḥ) AV. IŚ. Two different contexts; verb appropriate in both. In AV. we may suspect a mutual rapprochement in phraseology.

edāṁ bharī niṣīda (AŚ. ŚŚ. śīda nāh) RV. VS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different contexts.

cakṣur me tarpyata (PG. tarpaya) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. PG. Applied to a different context in PG. Similarly with śrotāṁ, apānaṁ, prāṇāpāṇau, etc.; and likewise:

prasāṁ me tarpyata (ŚŚ. tṛṃpa) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. śŚ. mohayitē nिपdyaṭe (RVKh. prapadyante) RV. 10. 162. 6b (correct ref.), - AV. RVKh. MG.

viṣvābhjyo mā naśtrābhhyah (VS. ŚŚ. bhyaas; MS. dāśtrābhhyas) pāhi (TS. TB. pāta; PG. paripāḥi sarvataḥ) VS. TS. MS. ŚŚ. TB. TA. PG. In TS. address to the arrows used in the rājasūya; in VS. acc. to Mahādhara to mahāvīradasaṇabhūmi.

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ. dhehi) AV. AŚ.: varco mayi dhehi etc., see Conc.

Numerous items in different contexts; hardly to be considered variants.

apo (TS. udno) dattodāhīṁ bhīnta (or bhīnta) VS. TS. MS. KS.: udno dehy udādhiṁ bhīnti KS.† There are two different contexts, both of which occur in TS. MS. KS. In one the plural is appropriate,
gods being the subject. In the other (TS. 4. 7. 13. 2, MS. 2. 12.3, KS. 18. 15) only a singular is appropriate, the subject required being Agni, altho KS. is the only text that has the proper sing. form. Apparently MS. TS. copied mechanically from the other passage where the plur. is required. VS. has the formula only in this latter (properly sing.) context, but nevertheless has like TS. MS. plur. forms, blandly interpreted by Mahādhara as singulars (datta dheki, bhintta bhinddhi)—At the end of the same passages occurs the following formula:

**tato no (KS. mā) vṛṣṭyāvata (VS.† and KS. once, "āva") VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MS.** Again KS. varies consistently according to the subject, and is this time joined by VS. (not noted in Conc.), leaving only Tait. and Maitr. texts with inconsistent plurals where singulars are required.

**yāṁ indreyā (AV. adds sanadhāṁ) samadadhvam (TS. samadhadhvam, AV. samadhattāḥ) AV. TS. MS. KS. (so correct Conc.); see also Conc. under iṣavaḥ saḥ...; eṣa vas saḥ... The contexts are different, and both verbs are appropriate.**

**āyyu (TB.* āyantu) āryān upa no jujōh (TB.* oḥh) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both). Different contexts; subjects Indra: Ādityas, apa jahi (hata) pariham ChU. (both). Addrest to singular and plural deities respectively.**

**āyur me yacha (ApŚ.* yachata) MS. KS. ApŚ. (both) MS.**

**ārjami no dhehi (MS. KS. each once, dhatta) dvipade catuṣpade VS. TS. MS. KS. SB, TB. AG. SG. ApMB. PrāṇāgU. Occurs frequently, in several different contexts; sing. number is appropriate in all but one which is addrest to aṇṇāyaḥ, plur., the prec. pāda being: te virājām (KS. samrājam) abhisāmyantu sace (correct Conc. for MS.), MS. 1. 6. 2d.: 88. 2 and 89. 7, KS. 7. 14d. Here KS., and once MS., have the correct form dhatta. In MS. 88. 2 the sanhitā ms. have incorrectly dheki (note that this form of the variant occurs, in another context which requires the singular, in the same section of MS. 86. 19); the p.p. dhatte (!), pointing to the correct dhatta, which should probably be read here.**

**yasyaṣuṭadhik prasarpatha RV. VS.: yasyāṇjana prasarpasī AV. Followed in same verse by:**

**tato yakṣamā vi bāḍhadhee (AV. bāḍhase) RV. AV. VS.**

**tatremām yajñām yajamānam ca dhehi (MS. 5. 2. 16. 14d dhatta, correct Conc.) Vaīt. KS. MS. (both) ApŚ. Kaūs. In one of the two**
occurrences in MS. the verb is made plural because several priests are addressed; in the others only one is addressed.

mayi rasasa (I.Ś. ramadhram) SMB. GG. I.Ś. Hardly to be considered variants.

karaś AŚ.: karan (ūka of karaś) AŚ.

gāttum vittā gāttum ihi MS. ApŚ.: devā gāttwido gāttum vittā (VSK. *tum ītva) gāttum īta AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. In the sing. form secondarily addressed to the animal as it is slaughtered.

tasyānāṃ bhājayahe mā TB.: tasya bhājayateha nah RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. ApMB. The plural is addressed to waters,

eyām abhyaghāyanī AV.: yo asmān abhyaghāyati AV.

mama cītām upāyasi AV.: mama cītām cītānāvēhi HG.: mama cītām ana cītābhīr eto AV. Hardly variants.

praṇaya Vait. MS.: praṇayata AŚ. To plurality of priests in AŚ. Hardly variants?

mā me praṇayā (correct Conc.) ...prasṛpa mottṛpa (also, *pata, *pata) TA. 1. 14. 2-4 (each thrice). Modulations of the same formula with different subjects.

yukṣa (yuṣgdham) hy aruṣ rathe RV. (both). Subject Agni: Maruts. rayāṃ ca nah saravīram ni yachata MS. KS. AŚ. SMB.:... ni yacho AV. (see Conc. for other sing. parallels). As between singular and plural, quite different contexts and subjects.

rāṣtram anuṣmayi datta VS. TS. MS. SB. ApŚ. MS.: rāṃ amē dehi VS. SB. The latter in stanza preceding the former; modulation with change of subject.

śarṇa yacha catuspadē AV.: śarṇa yachata dvipade catuspadē RV.

sindhor ārmanā vy akṣara (SV. *rat) RV. SV. Different contexts; subject in RV. indavaḥ, in SV. ayam (= somah) sa yah.

sukṛtām loke sādata (AV. sīda) AV. TS. MS. Subjects daśīṇāh: odanah.

svadantu (svadāti, *tu) havyaṃ (yajñam) maḥānaṃ ghṛtena. Different contexts and subjects; plural form RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.; sing. VS. MS. KS. TB. The form svadātu, MS. only, seems to be a blend of the other two.


vāsā vāpaṇī puyaṣṭa (*yasti) AV. (both).

lokām me yajānānāya vinda (and, uhā, vinda) ChU. (both). Subjects Agni or Vāyu: Ādityas.
yajñam naḥ pātu (TB. pāntu) rajāsah (TB. vasavah) parasmat (TB. Ags. purastat) MS. KS. TB. Ags.
aṅga ājñasya vyāntu saujhak; āgnaṃ də vetu vauc; āgnindājñasya vyāntu
vauc; āgnir də vetu vauc, all ŚB. 2. 2. 3. 19.
apāṃ osadhinām rasa stha TS. TB. (not MS.): apāṁ puspaṁ asy
osadhinām rasaḥ... PB. TB. LŚ. Ags.
apaśa stā ma... pārayata SS.: āpryā stā ma... pārayata TS. As.;
āprno 'si samaprṇah (Ags. corruptly, āprṇosv samaprṇa)... ā ṣrṇa
SS. Ags. Four quite different contexts with different subjects.
imam me agadaṁ kṛta (AV. kṛśita) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. To
one or more herbs; different contexts.
krutum punāta (and, punata) ānuyak RV. (both). 3d sg. and pl. impf.
mid.
divas (SV. divah) prṛtāhṇy āruhaṃ (AV. *hat) AV. (both) SV. Subjects
Aṅgirāsaśas: Aṅga.
§371. Change of Person (between 2d and 3d) with Change of Number
(a) Singular, Dual, and Plural
sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV.; sunutä ā ca dhāvitaḥ RV.; sunotā ca dhāvata
AV. Cf. RVRep. 315. Verbs are all appropriate to the respective
contexts.
(b) Singular and Dual
chintyam kāro api prṛtāḥ śṛṇitaḥ AV.: prṛṣṭir vo 'pi śṛṇyatu yādudhānāḥ
AV. Subjects are Aśvins and Rudra; hardly comparable.
pibhāḥ samyam madhu RV. (quinquies) SV.: pibatī so ma RV.
(semel) SV.
madhēśa yajñam mimikṣatam (and, *t) RV. (both).
śāṁ no bhūtāṁ devipade Śāṁ catuspade RV. MS. KS.: śāṁ no bhava etc.,
śāṁ na edhi etc., śāṁ no astu etc.; in many texts and different
connexions, see Conc.
(c) Dual and Plural
madhye divah svadhyā mādayante (RV. * yetha) RV. (both) AV. VS.
See RVRep. 118.
ye kālālaṁ tarpayatho (and, tarpayanti) ye ghrtena AV. (both). Subjects
Heaven and Earth: Maruts.
indraavatā (SS. *t) hāvī idam jyuṣṭhāṃ TB. Ags. SS.: indracanto ha
i jyuṣṭam TB. Ags. Viāra; subjects śunīśtāu: pītarah.
(d) Singular and Plural
ganāṁ me mā vi śṛṣṭaḥ (MS. *sat) TS. MS.: ganāṁ me mā vy arisṛṣṭaḥ
Vait.: ganā me mā vi itṛṣan VS. TS. ŚB.: ganair mā mā vi śṛṣṭa
MS. See §337.
rāya ca poṣair abhī nah sacādevam (and, sacatām) AV. (both).

juṣṭaṃ havyam āhitam RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: juṣṭaṃ...TS. MS. KŚ. The last occurs in the same stanza as in RV. 3. 22. 4 = VS. 20. 90, both of which read juṣṭaṃ yajñam adṛtah. Contamination between the two pādas is obvious.

svāṁ yonin api gachata (TB. ApŚ.ś tu) TB. ApŚ. (both) AŚ. ApMB. HG.

iḥa sphātiṃ sam ā vahān (vahā) AV. (both). The second is a vikāra of the first.

drāc cid dveṣaḥ sanitar yuyota (RV.ś tu) RV. (both) AV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. N.: drāc cid dveṣa vṛṣaṇo yuyota RV.

iṣam ātyaṃ yajamanādyā dhehi (Vait. daltā; AV. duhrām) AV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. Vait. Three different contexts, in AV., Vait., and YV. texts respectively.

mamimitrān vi vidhyata (and, ś tu) AV. (both). Cf. also: anītrān no vi vidhyatām AV.

viśeṇā puṣjantī vāryam RV. AV.; vi puṣyasi vā RV. AV. SV. See RVRep. 99.

svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (MG. ś tu nah) RV. KS. AB. MG. Knauer assumes that maruto is understood as a nom. sing. and made the subject of dadhātā (perhaps for māruto). Certainly no 3d person is construable; Knauer’s suggestion is hardly more than one of despair. But all his mss. read thus, and the Baroda ed. (GOS. 35; 1926) agrees.

9. Corruptions and Errors

§372. The following are merely corruptions or errors of one kind or another. Some involve variants of person as well as number.

(a) Singular and Dual

antās tiṣṭhatu (MG. ś to) me mano mṛtasya ketuḥ SMB. HG. MG. All mss. of MG. read ś to, and the Baroda ed. agrees. The form cannot be interpreted grammatically. It must be either a phonetic variant (u:u) or a mere corruption. See Knauer’s note.

śrotāya me varcōdā (TS. 2 dou) varcace (MŚ. omits) pavasva (TS. pavethām) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MS. So the Conc. wrongly supplies in TS. 3. 2. 3. 2, after the abbreviation śrotāya which is all that the text reads. It is addressed to a soma-eup (graḥa), and clearly a singular expression, not a dual, is understood. No variant exists. Similarly under aṅgebhya me.

(b) Dual and Plural
supippalā oṣadhiḥ kartanāsmē (AV. kartam asmai; VSK. kartam asme) AV. VS. VSK. MS. Subject is Śunāśā (dual). Mahidhara can find nothing to say except that the plural form kartana is used in the sense of the dual. It is, indeed, hard to imagine who else may be included in the subject (gods in general?).

viśvaḥ pinvathah (TB. 2tha) maśarasya dhenāh RV. MS. TB. The TB. form is to be taken as intending pinvathah, dual (sandhi before s+cons.).

apsarasān anu dattām ṛṇāṃ nah (TB. TA. ṛṇāni) AV. TB. TA.: apsarasām anudattāṇāmi MS. The MS. reading is badly corrupt; anudatta is uninterpretable; p.p. anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni, which is just as bad.

indravathuh (VSK. 2dhuh; KS. 2 TB. ApŚ. 2tan) kāyair (TB. ApŚ. karnayā) dānaṇābhikā RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. ApŚ. The VSK. reading is only a corruption, phonetic in character (sonant for surd); and yet a 3d person (dual?) seems required in all texts; see Oldenberg, RVNolen, on 10. 131. 5.

(c) Singular and Plural

punāḥ kartur mātary āśisikta JB.: punāḥ kartrā māturi mā ni śīṃca KBU. The Conc. says 'read śīṃcata' for KBU. In any case a 2d plural form must be read; according to Deussen, 60 Up. 25, three ms. read mā āśisikta, nearly as in JB.

mātā jaghanyā sarpati (HG. gachanti; read gachati, Kirste) ApMB. HG. pibā somam ināra mandatu (Svidh. erroneously mandantu) tā RV. AV. SV. TS. AB. KB. PB. AA. ĀŚ. ŠŚ. Vait. Svidh.

kastacjyutī (SV. 2tan) janayanta (SV. 2tyata) prahastam RV. SV. KS. KB. ApŚ. MS. N. Subject is nara, in preceding pāda; unless this is felt in SV. as singular, from the later stem naraḥ, the verb-form is uninterpretable. Benfey translates as plural, regarding the form as anomalous.

aram asēdaṃ gāyati (SV. 2ta) RV. SV. Subject is the n. pr. Śrutakakṣa in the next pāda (nom. in RV., voc. in SV.). The plural verb in SV. is anomalous; it is perhaps vaguely felt as including the associates of Ś. (cf. §§333 ff.), or as a plural of respect (? unlikely).

agnihotreṇaṃ kavir ajyātāv iterators (AŚ. 2vīryaḥanta) maho āyōḥ 'kṛta TS. AŚ. Read in both texts (with TB. Poona ed.) agnir hotreṇadān...vīryaḥta...AŚ. is doubly corrupt. In the same passage, just before this, the same formula with deva ajyāpāḥ as subject; read in AŚ. (1. 9. 5) maho āyōḥ 'kṛta (text 'kṛta; this section is listed as a separate formula in Conc., see §367).
tank te duścakṣā māva khyat TS. 3. 2. 10. 2 (so Con∞., but the reading is khyat, followed by m-, hence n by sandhi): duścakṣās te māva kṣat (khyat, kṣat) MS. KS.

sarasaṭyā ("tyām) adhi manāś (with variants) acarkṛṣuh (KS. acakṛś; SMB. carkṛdhī, but Jörgensen acakṛṣuḥ) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. See §§136, 236.

adārasṛd bhavata (AV. "tu) deva soma AV. TB. ApŚ. bhavata is apparently assimilated mechanically to mr̥ḍata of the next pāda, of which maruto is the subject. Here soma is addressed, and the subject is adārasṛd; bhavata makes no sense; Cāland renders bhavatu in ApŚ. Yet bhavata is read in both edd. of TB., and was clearly the Tait. school reading. TB. comm. fatuously makes bhavata equivalent to bhava.

ā pitarām vaiśvānaram avase kah (PB. kuḥ; comm. kah = kuru) PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Perhaps only a misprint in PB.

dvodasaṇya randhayah (SV. "yan) RV. SV. Tho Benfey keeps randhayan in his text, he translates 'du übergabst', as if "yah; so the comm., samhitavān asi; randhayan is hopeless (perhaps felt as nom. sg. pple.?)

svasti caratād iha (SMB. ayam; MG. caratā diṣṭaḥ) Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Spoken by the guru at the upanayana; caratād is 3d person; subject is the boy. In MG. caratā is only a corruption, phonetic in character; note the following ṭ-, and compare the extensive section on 'False Divisions' which will appear in our volume on Phonetics.
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