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Vedic Variants
By
Maurice Bloomfield
and
Franklin Edgerton

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

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PREFACE

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

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

Cordial thanks are again due to the Linguistic Society of America and to the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

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

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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

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

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

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

prā vācam (9. 35. 4a vājam) ādur īśyati RV. 9. 12. 6a, 35. 4a,
'Soma sends forth speech (substance).' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading vācam is the primary one (cf. RVRep. 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

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

prāo agāma (TA. prājja 'gāmā) vṛtaye hasāya RV. AV. TA.,
'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth.' For some reason prāo, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taitti-
ityaka the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading pra + añjas 'forward swiftly' (añjas, RV.). The commentator's prañjaḥ = prañcaḥ is negligible; TA. must have been familiar with añjas in the sense of 'swiftly'.

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with recon-
structing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These
secondary readings have their own right to exist; they are, as a rule, the
genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch
the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning,
where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or
apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with
what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus:

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

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

*a va sma durhaṅgataḥ (SV, durhrty) RV. SV.
Here the RV. has an obvious Prakritism which the SV. 'corrects' by
substituting the Sanskrit durhrty. This does not mean that the SV.
knows more Sanskrit than the RV.; the RV. itself knows the stem
durhrty- (1. 84. 16; 7. 59. 8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation.
On the other hand, in the variant:

etām sanhiṣṭya (MS, MŚ, *kasya or *kusya) juhūdhi MS. ApŚ. MŚ.,
who can decide definitely whether the a or u for r is purely phonetic
(Prakritic), or lexical? Böhtlingk in fact assumes an improbable
sanhiṣṭya from the root kus. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the
Veda signs of a Prakritic change of r to a, then the substitution of sacate
for srjate, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some
fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But
it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and
lexical shifts. Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

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

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

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

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

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

§9. With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between
§ and s; a much smaller number between § and $; and a very small number between s and y. The first two groups contain a considerable number of purely phonetic variants. Between $ and h occur only lexical variants and corruptions, not numerous, but not lacking in interest.

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

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

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

§13. The variations between r and ṣ or ṣr, more rarely r and ιr (ιr) or ur (ιr), mainly concern ablaut, and involve also dialectic and lexical shifts. The phenomena of ‘svāpṛsāraṇa’ show that the variations of va(ea) with u vowels, of ya(ya) with i vowels, and of ra(ra) with r are mainly morphological or lexical; on the other hand variations of ri(ṛ)
and *ru(rũ) with ṇ show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between aya and e, and ana and o.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

pikaḥ (KSA. piqah) kviśkā nilaśīrṇī te 'ryamaṇa (KSA. 'ryamṇaḥ) TS. KSA. No form but piPa is known outside of this KSA. passage.

citṛa etage (TB. etage) anumādyāsah RV. MS. TB. A pure Prakritis in TB.; the comm. does not explain the form. Cf. the next, in which MS. seems to have a hyper-Sanskritism, the reverse of this. dīśāṃ deny (MS. tevy) avatu no ghṛtāci TS. MS. All ms. and p.p. of MS. agree on tevy; if it means anything at all, it would seem to be a laletic (nursery) word for 'mother.' But it is doubtless merely a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism. Cf. mātyk (for māḍk) TA. 1. 5. 1, and §66.
khajāpa 'jopakāsinīḥ ApMB.: hajābojopakāsinī HG. Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure.

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

mā nāh kaścit prakīnān (ApŚ. praghān) ... KS. ApŚ.
śvāyim tāru (ApMB.+MG.+tāru) rītiye (RV.+rītiye) nādhamānān

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

asanāheyam [perhaps for asanākheyam?] parābhavan JB.: asanābhayam parā? AV. See §121.

grdhraḥ šitikasyā vārdhrāyasas te divyāḥ (KSA. vārhīnasas te 'dityāḥ)
TS. KSA. So the single ms. of KSA.; v. Schroeder emends to 
vārīhīژ); the form with ḥ for dh is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms. reading. See §122.

kakubham (VSK. TS. ApŚ. kakubhaṃ) rūpam rṣabhasya (KS. rūpam rṣaṇa?)
rocate ... VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. MŚ. The adjective 
kacubhaḥ (with regular ḥ according to Wackernagel’s law) occurs in 
RV., where kakubha is not known. See §120.

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

sahāryāio dyotatāṃ (TS. TB. dyotatāṃ, MS. riya jyotatāṃ) ... VS. TS.
MS. KS. SB. TB.

ava jāyām iva dhaneṇaḥ AV. Vait. ApMB.: ava dyām iva dhaneṇaḥ HG.

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

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

§26. The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf. Wackernagel I §135). Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of ch for ks, ts, ps (§§183–6); in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following:
achalābhīḥ (KSA. acharāḥ, MS. atsa rāḥ in p.p., in s.p. matsaraḥ; VS. rṣaṇāḥ) kapinījalān VS. TS. MS. KSA. The same word appears as rcharā in AV. 10. 9. 23. Either MS. or VS. (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations.

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

idhrmaśeṣa prakṣyayataḥ (ŚŚ. prakhyāḥ) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

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

saujāmim (SG. saujāmim; with both sc. tarpayāmi) AG. ŚG.—Cf. AV. 19. 34. 2a, jāṛṣyās tripaṇcāśāḥ (mess., wrongly emended in edition), for which read yāḥ (or yāḥ ca) kṛtyāḥ; or yā ṣṛṣyāḥ; see Whitney’s note to Transl., and our §192.

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

uc chaṇcassva (TA. chaṇcassva) pṛthivi mā ni bādhathāḥ (TA. vi bā-
dhīthāḥ) RV. AV. TA.

yatrad bāryāḥ (VS. vāryāḥ) sampatanti RV. SV. VS. TS. AG. Both b and v are found in the RV. in this word; it is not known which is original.

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

vi śrutaya (AŚ. visrutaya, ŚŚ. viśruṣa) yathā pathāḥ SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. And other cases of āru for srū (so that BR. even postulate a ‘root’ srū, ‘flow’). Here s is original and ś secondary. The contrary is the case in the next:

kukeṣu me (AV. sukeṣu te) harimāṇam RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

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

naimad devā ājñuvaṇ pūrem arṣāt (VS. arṣāt) VS. VSK. IsāU. The proper form is arṣāt; VS. comm. rēa gatau.
§32. There are very few variations between $s$ and $\varsigma$ (§294):

$ye \text{ vṛṣeṣu (KS. vaneṣu)} \, \text{śaspiñjardh (TS. saspi)}$ VS. TS. MS. KS.

Thought of the word sasya doubtless influenced TS., and cf. śaspa
for the other form (a kind of haplogy in each case); see §278.

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

$kāṣokāya svāhā TA. TAA.: \text{khakokāya svāhā MahānU.}$

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

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

$pūṣe \, \text{āghṛṇaye svāhā TA.: pūṣa \, āghṛṇaye (em.; mss. āghṛṇaye) svāhā MS. āghṛṇi is regular.}$

§36. Under presence or absence of $y$ we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological $y$ between two vowels as a ‘hiatus-tilger’ (§§338–44). To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse; but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of $v$, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff.):

$vaiśūnaram \, rta \, ā (TS. rāya) \, jālam \, agnim RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

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

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

$aŋne \, \text{xamr̥d \, iṣe \, rāye (ApŚ. raya)} \ldots \text{AŚ. ApŚ.: iṣe \, rāye ... VS. MS. SB.} \, \text{TB. (See §396.)} \, \text{While the two parallel stems rai and rayi are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to.}$

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

$\text{abhinne khilye (TB. khille) nidadhāti dasyum RV. AV. TB. This is a}$
purely phonetic, Prakritic variant; TB. can mean nothing but an equivalent of khyē (comm. khīṭbihūta).

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629–45). The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between r and a, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations:

ava ema durhanāyatāḥ (SV. durkhyā) RV. SV. The SV. restores Sanskrit vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV.

tejo yaśasvi stavirāma samiddham (ŚG. samiddham) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. Here ŚG. alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a v. l. samiddham (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with tejas?).

purarañḍaro gotrabhid (MS. ṣhṛḍ, TB. maghavān) vajñabāhuḥ VS. MS. KS. TB. A hyper-Sanskritism in MS; see §636.

tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS. MŚ. tvaṣṭṛa, ApŚ. tvaṣṭṛa) teva sapema VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.


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

trṣucacaso (MS. trīgua) juhvo nāgneḥ RV. MS. The adverb trṣu is the only possible form here; the variant of MS. is purely phonetic. bhṛmiṇ (TB. bhṛmiṇa) dhamanto apa gā avṛṣata RV. TB. The mss. of TB. seem to be unanimous on bhṛmiṇ, an otherwise unknown form.

pruṣā aṣrubhiḥ VS. MS.: aṣrubhiḥ pruṣavā (TS. prṣa) TS. KSA. The form pruṣā occurs a number of times in Tait. texts; it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for pruṣā.

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


§42. The familiar Prakritic reduction of ayā to e and ava to o is paralleled by our §§744–9, e.g.:
namah kiraśīlāya ca kṣayanāya (MS. kṣeyāya) ca VS. TS. MS. KS. kṣena is otherwise unknown.
to-to (MS. KS. MŚ. tava-tava, TS. ApŚ. to-to) ráyah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
§43. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally i, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or h, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics ( §§751–65):
tan nāh pārṣad (MS. pārīṣad) ati dvīṣaḥ TS. MS. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 57.
CHAPTER II. SURD AND SONANT MUTES

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

\( k \) and \( g \)

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

\textit{athāham anukāmini} (MS. ॐgāmīnī) TS. ApŚ. MS. How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV. I. 34, 5cd, \textit{yathā mān kāminy aṣo yathā maṇ nāpasā aṣaḥ}. Yet MS. (all mss.) is no doubt secondary.

\textit{gr̥natā nāḥ svitāye} AV.: \textit{kṛṣṇatā nāḥ svitām} (MS. KS. ॐam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ‘Sing for us unto well-being’; ‘make well being for us.’

The meter of AV. is easier, but the āprā hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf. Bloomfield, \textit{Atharvaveda} 54; Keith, \textit{HOS} 18. cxi) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be. The word \textit{gr̥natā} is preceded by \textit{gr̥nata} (other forms of \textit{gr̥n} in the other Śāmhitās); this suggests that \textit{gr̥natā} is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered.

\textit{mitrāvārunā śaradāhānām} (MS. ॐhu) cikīnū (MS. ciktām, KS. jīgatnā, AŚ. cikitam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. cikīnū of TS (presumably ‘intelligent’, tho not quoted in the lexicons) and jīgatnā of KS. (‘swift’) are both reasonable. See RV. 7. 65. 1, where jīgatnū is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuṇa (wrongly Oldenberg, \textit{Noten} 2. 50).
nāmaḥ kṛchrebhyah kṛchatapatibhyāḥ ca va namāḥ MŚ. KŚ.: nāma gṛtebhyaḥ gṛhapatibhyāḥ..., VS. TS. See §185.
tato na vicikitsa (VŚK. Ḡāṣ. vijugopata) VS. VŚK. Ḡāṣ.: na tato vijugopata KU.: na tadā vicikitsa ŚB. BṛhU. 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away.' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate. The Kāṇḍa recension of BṛhU. has jugopate. Cf. AV. 13. 2. 15b.
dhīṣyam vā sanca kara Janebhyaḥ MŚ.: tvad vidāsyān sanjagāra Janebhyaḥ TB.: adītsan vā sanjagāra Janebhyaḥ TA. Cf. dāṣyann adāṣyann uta san grāmī (TA. and AVVpp. uta vā kariṣyam) AV. TA.: adāṣyann agna uta san grāmī AV. In all these passages sam-gr seems to mean 'devour, eat', the doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV. 6. 71. 3 and 6. 119. 1). If 'devour' is right, sam-ca kara 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning.

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

ukhām (ApŚ. gurhām) sravantim agadām akarma (KŚ. ajanma) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'We have made the leaking ukhā diseaseless.' Tho ajanma may serve at a pinch, akarma seems to be the true reading; see VV I p. 211.

urvān gavyam pariṣadām no akraṇ AV.: ārvān gavyam pariṣadanto a āman RV. KŚ. 'The original RV., 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV., 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney).

vadhūr jāyna (AV. jīgāya, MŚ. KŚ. mināya) nava gajā (ŚG. nava ku) janītra AV. VS. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ApMB. ŚG. See Whitney on AV. 3. 10. 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of navajat; the European guesses are scarcely better. ŚG. tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand.

īmaṁ logām (TA. lokām) niḍādhan mo ahaṁ riṣam RV. AV. TA. 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury.' TA. lokām (after īmaṁ, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here. The comm. in fact interprets it as loṣṭam (= logam), etymologizing monstrously: (lokyate dṛṣyata iti loko loṣṭak!). Some ms. and the comm. of AV. read like TA., however.
parī āgāraṁ (AŚ. ākāraṁ) punah-punah AV, AŚ. ŚŚ. Only āgāraṁ makes sense; something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form'. The preceding (in AV, preceding but one) pāda is yadī (yadāṁ, leśū) kangā kangāt.

indrāpāyasya phalīgam. ApMB: indrāyayāsya sēpah amālm... HG.
The correct reading is certainly phalīgam.

mano jagāma dūrakaṁ (PB. dūragāḥ) RV, PB. The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where dūrakaṁ belongs with manas; dūragāḥ (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next pāda, tan ma āvardaya punah. This, according to the PB, comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet dūragāḥ does not fit at all). rājānaḥ satyan kṛṣṇānaḥ (AV. grhānāḥ, but PPP. kṛṣṇāno) RV, AV. Whitney, who reads 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better.

tasya rathargatiṣaṁ (MS. kṛṣṣṇa, KS. kṛṣṣa) ca rathauṣaḥ ca senāni-grāmānaya (TS. senām?) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The word ratha is a proper name, 'chariot-clever'; kṛṣṣa is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to kṛṣṇa, which does not fit.

abhr̥ gr̥ṣṭiṇāṁ (AV. v āpiṇām mss., R-Wh. vaśānām, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.; ApMB. and one ms. of HG. āpiṇām; HG. āpiṇām) abhiṣaṣṭipā u (HG. ApMB. pānā) AV. (bis) HG. ApMB.: bharā kṛṣṭiṇām (AV. gr, but PPP. kṛ) abhiṣaṣṭipāva (AV. pā u) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See Whitney on AV. 10. 24. 5; Roth, ZDMG 48. 110. The word must mean 'people'; 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyana's ludicrous attempt to justify it).

prāṇāṁ samkroāgaḥ MS.: samkroāga prāṇāḥ (VS. kroāgaḥ prāṇān) VS. TS.: sanāghopaṁ (ms. gopān) prāṇaṁ KSA. Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA, (ś for ś, loss of r) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant.

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

nikīrya tubhyam abhyā âmam Vait.: nikīrya tubhyam madhye ApŚ.: nigīrya tubhyam madhye MŚ.: nigīrya sarvā ādhiḥ KS. The passages are unintelligible; kīr, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with ni, which points, perhaps, to nigīrya 'swallowing down' (note madhye in MŚ.).
tena ṣamhanu kṛṣṇaśi AV.; tena sann anugṛhyāsti HG. The meaning of AV. is uncertain (perhaps corrupt; see Whitney’s note). The individually irreproachable words of HG. mouth over an uncomprehended text. Cf. §386.

arepasaḥ sacetasah (etc.) svasare manyumattamāś (SV. ApŚ. *mandaś) citre gauḥ (SV. citā gauḥ, ApŚ. cidākoh) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. cidākoh, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem *cidāku. is corrupt.

śakma yat te gauḥ MS. KS.: saqme (TS. samyat) te gauḥ VS. TS. SB. ‘What power of (over) the cow is thine’, MŚ. KS., perhaps correctly and originally. In VS. SB. saqme looks indeed like a Prakritism for śakma. But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf. however the adjective saqma, from root śak). It seems, rather, vaguely connected with sa and the root gam. VS. comm., followed by Griffith, saqme yajamāne (?) gauḥ gauḥ (very simple!). BR. read in TS. sampāṭte with one ms. (p.p. samyāt, te), but the comm., followed by Weber, ISt. 13. 107, takes samyāt as = samyak. So also Keith (‘to match thy cow’). BR. regard sampāṭte as = saqme, both meaning ‘Einswerden im Handel’; they render: ‘wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst’. They therefore derive saqma from sa and gam.

rudra yat te krāṣṭṛ (VS. KS. krūvī, VSK. krāvī, MS. MŚ. giri-) param nāma tasmaś (VS. MS. SB. tasmān) kutam asi VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. MŚ. These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible. The reading giri- is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra’s mountain habitat.

idam ahaṁ sarpaṇāṁ dandaśākānāṁ grīvā upa grahṇāmi (MŚ. mss. kṛṣṇām; Knauer conjectures kṛṣaṁ) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. ‘I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents.’ But kṛṣṇām is not kṛṣaṁ, and the MŚ. may have merely a corruption of TS., in spite of Knauer’s belief that the mantra was not taken from TS. Somewhat the reverse of this is found in pumān enami etc., §48.

Cf. also jāṛteyas tripaṇcākīḥ etc., §192.

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

invaḥ (MS. *gā) nakṣatram MS. KS. This name for the constellation Mrgaśīra is recorded in its g form only here, and in its k form according to BR. (V. 1144) only once more (TB. 1. 5. 1. 1). The priority of inaḥa, ‘pervading’, is hardly to be questioned, but MS. may have felt the word as a compound of ina plus ga, gā.
sā prasūrā (ŚG, suprasūrā) dhenukah (HG, gā) bhava AV. ŚG. HG. ApMB. dhenukah is a pet-word to dhenu ‘milk, cow’. In dhenukah there may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem go, ‘cow’, but the form is essentially Prakritic.

ākṣuḥ kāśṭham ivākaram (read 9ram with comm., Pp., Whitney, and Bloomfield) AV. 2. 14. 5b. All mss. gāsthām; kā is emendation. Pp. also (ms.) gā (em. Barret, JAOS 30. 193, kā); comm. gāsthām. pīkaḥ (KSA, pigah) keśvākā nīlāśīryāḥ te ‘ryamme (KSA, 9mūkha) TS. KSA. The word is always pīka, except here.

srkāhastā (TS. KS. srkāvanto, MS. sṛpavanto, one ms. sṛkā)” nīśaṅgīṇāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. The stem concerned is always sṛkā ‘spear’, except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation, perhaps based on these readings.

namah sṛkāyibhyo (TS. sṛkāsibhyo, MS. sṛgāyibhyo) jñāhāvādibhyo VS. TS. MS. KS. See preceding.

vināganiṇo (ŚB, gīna) devair imān yajamānānān samāgāyata ŚB. ApŚ. Also: vināganiṇāh purāṇair imām yajamānānān samāgāyata ApŚ.: vināganiṇāh purāṇair imām yajamānā h rājabhikāhān sadhukṛtābhāh samāgāyata ŚB. Cf. further KS. 20. 3. 2. Altho the compound vinā does not occur outside these passages, its meaning is plain (‘master of a band of lute-players’), and it seems that it must contain -gānaka, with suffixal ka. Perhaps the g is due to assimilation to the preceding g, or to sophistication from the root gā, ‘sing’ (so comm. on ŚB. and KS., both of which implausibly understand vinā-gānaka as meaning ‘a quantity of [various kinds of] lutes’); cf. Conc. under gāyatam . . .

puṇjikasthālā (KS, puṇjīga) ca kṛṣṭasthālā (VS. ŚB. kṛatu) cāpsarasau VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This name of an Apsaras appears in later literature, always with k.

pumān enait tanu ut kṛṣṭati RV.; pumān enad vayaty ut gṛṣṭati AV. See Whitney’s note on AV. 10. 7. 43. gṛṣṭati is doubtless a mere corruption, promoted by confusion with the root gṛth, gṛnth ‘tie’, which with ut is nearly synonymous with ut-kṛt. More or less the reverse of this shift is found above, §47, iḍam abām etc.

§49. In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence to support the greater originality of either k or g; the words are almost or quite abacē legōmena:

vinīyān kuhābhāyāṃ (KSA, gū) TS. KSA. A part of the horse’s body. For kū the TS. comm. says, hastoyor mañḌhavasaṁdhī (cf. viṣṇu-kū). The other form suggests perhaps guḥya, ‘pudenda’. Neither is recorded lexically.
pratikramanam kuśṭhābhyaṁ (KS. gu<sup>6</sup>) TS. KSA.: akramanam ku<sup>6</sup> MS.

Both otherwise unknown; like the preceding they designate a part of the horse's body. Bhāskara, hastaparāraṁhaṁ; Keith, 'the two centres of the loins'. Cf. kuṣṭhikā, 'dew-claw, spur', etc.

agnē kahya MS. KS. MS.: (agnē) gahya TS. Neither in lex., and neither interpretable. Keith, not plausibly, 'abyssal' (thinking of gāhya).

salilaḥ salīgaḥ sugaras te na ādityā haviṣo jūśāṇā vyantu svāhā MS. KS.: lekaḥ salekaḥ sulekas te na ādityā ājyam jūśāṇā vyantu TS. ApŚ. All isolated and uninterpretable.

grāmyamāṅgiradāsakau ApŚ.: grāmyam maṅgiradāsakau MS.: vyāgh- rauḥ maṅgiradāsa gauḥ Vait. In Vait. read maṅgiradāsagau, or possibly with Caland, dāsakau. Two proper names, Maṅgira or Maṅkira, and Dāsaka (or Dāś), are involved.

namo vah kīrīkebhīyo (MS. MS. namo gīrīkebhīyo) devānāṁ kṛdavae bhyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. MS. In such a formula, of the Śatarudriya, either epithet remains doubtful, tho gīrīka, of course, suggests 'mountain-born' like giriṣa etc. The possibility of different lexical interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably purely phonetic.

uruka urukanyā (ApŚ. uruga urugasya) te vācā vayah sam bhaktena gamemahi (MS. mahy agne gṛhapate) MS. ApŚ. Neither form is in the lex.; uruga may be felt as urū-ga, 'wide-going' (so Caland). Is uruka some bird of good omen?

vi te bhinaṁci takarīm (KS. rim, AVPPp. [Roth] tagarīm, AV. mehanam) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. There is no evidence as to the meaning of takari ("ri, tag") except the context and the variant mehanam; and none whatever as to its derivation or original form.

c and j

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

§61. Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between
the forms vācam and vājam. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV, itself:

pra vācam (vājam) indur īṣyatī RV. (both)

Here there seems reason to regard vācam as prior; see RV Rep. 410.

In the next following cases vācam is also original:

vācaspatīr no adya vājamsa vādatu VSK.; vācaspatīr vācānim (VS. *† 9.1, ŠB. *† 5. 1. 1. 16 vājām) nāh vādatu VS. KS. ŠB. SMB.: vācaspatīr vācam adya vādāti (MS. *tu) nāh (TB. te, Poona ed. nāh) TS. MS. KS. TB. The word vācaspatīr, with the preponderance of texts, shows that vājam is secondary.

pavitravantaḥ pari vācam (TA. vājām) ēsate RV. TA. N. The older vācam refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

premaṁ vājam vājāste avantu AV.: premāṁ vācam vāstāṁ avantu višve TS. MS. KS. In all texts the preceding pāda reads: marulāṁ manve adhi no (AV. me) bruantu. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV. 3. 14. 1. 29, 3. 10. 78, 1), who may well help the ēs of human priests. AV. is a banal recast.

vācam asme ni yachā devāyuvam VS. ŠB.: vājam asmin ni dhehi devāyuvam MS.: tapojāṁ vācam asme ni yachā devāyuvam TA. In MS. a specious lectio facilior; tapojām in TA., as well as the vāj rāgāṁ devayā vācas of RV. 5. 76. 1, prove that the other texts are right.

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

sā dikṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MS. vācam asmāt) TS. MS.: sā sannapaddhā sanuoḥ vājam emām (MG. sanuhi bhāgadheyam) AV.† MG. ‘Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from this),’ or the like. bhāgadheyam is a sort of synonym of vājam. In MS. asmāt refers to the girdle with which the Pratiprasthātī binds the woman as he recites this verse (iti pratiprasthātī yoktreṇa patnīni sanāvyayati); vācam is simple but secondary.

īndrāṁ vājam vi mucyadhvam TS. KS. TB.: īndrāya vācām vi mucyadhvam MS. MS. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is aṣṭijapata; cf. aṣṭijapatendrāṁ vājam VS. ŠB. As the interested person is a king, vājam is clearly required; vācam, ‘prayer’ or ‘Sarasvatī,’ is far-fetched. Cf. vājajic... and vāja-jītyāyai... in Conc.

asrēdhantā itana vājam acha RV.: udroghāvitā vācam acha AV. The
poor meter and general corruption of AV. (in which RV. 3. 14. 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible; see Whitney's note. Tho \textit{vīcam} would fit fairly well, RV. is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between \textit{vaccasā} and \textit{ōjasā};

\textit{sam eta vīśvā} (AV. \textit{viśva}) \textit{vaccasā} (SV. \textit{ōjasā}) \textit{patiśi divāh AV. SV.}—Ppp. evidently means to read \textit{ōjasā}; its text, as quoted by Roth, has \textit{vīśvā oham ā}. This supports SV., tho the otherwise corrupt \textit{Śaunakiya text} makes as good sense as its rivals: 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer),' See, however, above under \textit{vācam asme...} §51.

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

\textit{aviraṅhnir ud ajante} (ApMB, acante) \textit{āpah AV. ApMB}. 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons'; cf. \textit{vyuṅkat krāram ud acante āpah} ApMB. 1. 1. 7. Weber, \textit{Ind. Sl.} 5. 198, and Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 30 go the length of emending \textit{ajante} to \textit{acante}, which is doubtful practice (cf. §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with \textit{acante}, despite RV. 1. 95. 7 above.

\textit{samudrād udejani rāḥ} (ApŚ. \textit{udacan iva} \textit{srucā} MS. ApŚ. Here MS. is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root \textit{jan}, 'was born out of the ocean'.

§54. There are two cases in which derivatives of roots \textit{can} and \textit{jan} vary; it seems that they divide the honors of originality:

\textit{canīṣhad} (SV. \textit{jaś}) \textit{agne aṅgirah} RV. SV. Little can be done with the anomalous \textit{canīṣhad} (Whitney, \textit{Grammar}, §906b, Oldenberg, \textit{Noten}, on 8. 74. 11); less with \textit{janīṣhad}; tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.


The preponderance of texts favors \textit{jana}; there is no other criterion; both are reasonable enough.

§55. In two other individual cases the change is clearly from \textit{c} to \textit{j}, tho in both the forms with \textit{j} are tolerably defensible:
prāṇca aṇāma (TA. prāṇjo 'gāmā) nṛlaye hasāya RV. AV. TA. See §2.
dewebhias tvā deśyvayān (KS. devānyān) prapanci (so MS. by emendation,
ms. mostly pravāmi! ApŚ. pravāmi) yagāsāyāyuṣa MS. KS. ApŚ.
MŚ. pravāmi (all ms. of ApŚ.) is supported by Dhātup. and by
anavapṛṇa RV. 1. 152. 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p. 117
and doubtfully by Whitney (Roots) under pṛc. See however
Scheftelowitz, IF. 33. 136, and Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV. 1. 33 (root
*parsg). But the matter is uncertain; the forms with g, j may be
based on root pṛc, and due to proportional analogy with other
7-class roots in ū, which have k by internal sandhi in certain
forms (e.g., bhanākti; bhagā; bhanaṃj = pṛyakti; pṛṇa: pṛṇajmi).
—in this connexion also:
upa mā jaksur (!) upa mā manša KŚ. 13. 2. 19, where jaksur is either
misprint or Prakritic anomaly for caksur.
§56. In several cases the variation between e and i is in the redupli-
cation of roots in k and g, which latter it really concerns; see §45.
mitrāvaruṇa śaradābhām (MS. ṛhnā) cikīta (MS. cikittam, KS. jīgātmā,
AŚ. cikītṛam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
tato na cikītṛant (uṣūgupuṣa), etc.
dhīṣyam vā saṃcakara jānebhyaḥ, etc.
§57. The remaining cases are miscellaneous:
somaḥ sutāḥ pūgale aṭjyamānāḥ (SV. suta pṛyate pūyamānāḥ) RV. SV.
Here the original form of root aj (aṅj), ‘adorn’, is replaced in SV.
by pṛc, ‘praise’; a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency.
tev kartum api pṛjantī viśve (AV. *pṛūcanti bhārti) RV. AV. (both) SV.
TS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. ‘In thee they all set (mingle) their mind.’ The
combination api aprāk once more AV. 10. 4. 26, and nowhere else.
For api varj (original) see Bloomfield, JAOS. 35. 281.
agni vyacasa (RV. MS. yojasa) rōdṛṣ uvṛc RV. AV. MS. ‘O Agni,
sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth.’ AV.
has a contaminated lectio facili; cf. RV. 10. 111. 2 mahānti cit
saṃ viyāced rājaṇaśi, and the converse, RV. 8. 12. 24, na yam viśvki
rōdṛṣ; or 10. 112. 4, yasya... mahīnāma... ime mahi rōdṛṣ
viśvkiṭām.
dīvas (SV, dīvah) prṛṭham adhi tīṣṭhanti cetāsā (SV.† rohanti tejasā) RV.
SV. With metathesis of c(j) and t.
ud usriyāḥ srjate (TB. sacate) sūryāḥ sacā RV. SV. TB. See §3.
anāhanasyam vasanaḥ carisṛṣu (ApMB. HG. ja", PG. jirisṛṣu) ŚG.
PG. ApMB. HG. As an epithet of a garment, jirisṛṣu would mean
possibly ‘much worn’ or the like; as an epithet of the subject,
akam (PG.), possibly ‘attaining or destined for old age’. To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG.) jai results seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŠG. carīṣa (Oldenberg, ‘wallend’).

jāmīn (KS.†camī) mā hiṃsār amuyā (MS. anu yā) kāyānā KS. TB. ApŠ. MS.: mā jāmīn moṣīr amuyā kāyānām AV. — The KS. reading (of a single ms.) should certainly be corrected to jāmīn.

gharmas triṣṇu vi rājati (SS. rocate) VS. SB. SS. Hardly belongs here; rocate is a perfect synonym of rājati.

yuktās tīsro vibhrjah (comm. vibhrjah) sūryasya PB.: yanajmi tiśro vibṛcāḥ sūryasya te (MS. vibṛcāḥ sūryaḥ sava [or, savaḥ]) TS. ApŠ. MS. In PB. the comm. has two equally fatuous guesses on vibhrjah ‘dividers’ (of the sun). But there is little more sense in vibṛcāḥ, apparently ‘separators’ (of the sun); it seems to be applied collectively to prthivi, vāyu, and rāc. It can hardly mean ‘separate, distinct’ as BR. take it. Keith, doubtfully, ‘spaces’; Caland and Henry, Agnisūtana, 128, equally doubtfully, ‘epouses’.

gīrā ca (AV. vīrājaḥ) kruṣṭih sabhāra asaṃ nāh RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The AV. reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP.‘s mss. (and his oral reciters) and the comm. kruṣṭih for kru. Whitney adopts kru, which Ppp. also intends with its suniṣṭa (Barret, JAOS 30, 207). See §865.

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. jatṛbhya, MS. cakṛbhya, p.p. vakṛbhyaḥ) āṭrībāḥ (MS. ṣaṃ) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KS. ApMB. The original is obscure enough; but MS. is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible. Note its loss of final h (§384).

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

vikāraśām namavī girbhir īde (ApMB. ṭte) RV. ApMB.

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

citrā etagvā (TB. eda’̄) anumādyāsah RV. MS. TB. The comm. on TB.
ignores the word. The etymology of etapa (AJP, 17. 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change.

pārāvataṅghīm (TB. odoğhīm) avase suvṛktibhih RV. MS. KS. TB. N. pārāvataṅghīm (sc. saraseatīm), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance', TB. comm. has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed pāra + avadagnīm, root doğh, something like 'reaching across' (pāra, 'further bank'),

sa in pāhi ya rījī tarudrah (VaradapU. tarudrah) RV. AB. GB. TB. NṛP. VaradapU. Perhaps vague popular etymology in tarudrah, as if 'tree-cleaving',

ime rāteur ime subhūtam (MS. sūdam!) akran TB. ApŚ. MS. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends subhūdam, for subhūtam, since it is followed immediately by:

ima udvāścārīryā (MS. inā uddhāścārīrī!) ime durbhūtam (MS. odam) akran TB. ApŚ. MS. Cf. prec.

agotām anapatyātam (vulgate with most ms. anapadyatām) AV. 4. 17. 6b. Some ms. and the comm. read anapatyatām, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with agotām. Cf. RV. 3. 54. 18 yugota no anapatyāni ... paśumān asu gātuḥ.

yadā rākṣītyau vadataḥ ApŚ.; yadā rāghaḥ varadāḥ Vait.; yad adyā- rādhyam vadantaḥ MS. See §§70, 272a. Vait. is thoroly Prakritic. §60. In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary t to secondary d: vayam hi vāṁ purutāsavo (AV. odam) aśvinā AV. AS. SS. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, kāru, but in juxtaposition to the word aśvinā) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV. 7. 73. 1 (purudanaḥ purutama)? Roth, ZDMG. 48. 107, and Whitney on AV. 7. 73. 1, consider the AV. form, 'having many houses', corrupt.

mā me hārdī teśa (MS. hārdīṃ dviṣā) vadhiḥ TS. MS. A replica of RV. 8. 79. Se mā no hārdī etc.; dviṣā is lect. fac.

sato vah pitaro deśma VS.: sado etc. ApŚ. SMB. GG. In VS. 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you.' The others with lect. fac., 'a seat, O Fathers' etc.; this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym gṛha in the preceding pāda: gṛhān naḥ pitaro datta. Cf. the next. mukhām sad asya kira it sutena (TB. sadana) VS. MS. KS. TB. The texts all intend sad asya (so MS. p.p. and VS. comm.); TB. comm. apparently reads sam asya. VS. comm. takes sutena from a stem
sata, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem sat (in sad) = sata, 'chändásah'. TB, sadena, taken by its comm. to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching sad-asya. Cf. pree.

śičā rutasya (VS. kīra ṛtasya, TS. and v.l. of MS. śicā rudrasya) bheṣajī (MS. eparator) VS. VS. KS. TS. MS. VS. See §684.

gāva upadekahatam (SV. upa vadāvate) RV. VS. VS. In SV. a form of upa-vad; in the others, of upa-av. VS. is uninterruptible; its verb is singular, but the subject can only be gāva.

swasāra āpo abhi gā udāsanam (SV. udāsanam) RV. SV. In SV. a form of ud-ā-sr (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, uta+asāran.

ya ātṛnatī (Vi DH. ātṛnatī, SāṁhitopB. ātṛnatī) avidathena (VāDH. avidathena) karṇau SāṁhitopB. VāDH. Vi DH. N. avidathena can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic vidatha is very questionable at this stage. The reading is simply Prakritie or corrupt.

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

agni tān vettha yadi te jāttavedaḥ HG. ApMB.: tavan vettha yati te jāttavedaḥ RV. VS. yadi, 'if', is lect. fac.

ā vāsā jāgataḥ (AG. jāgataṁ, PG. jāgadaiḥ) saha AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. jāgadaiḥ (comm. 'guards', anugati rakṣakaiḥ) is certainly poor and secondary. The comm. however is probably right in his context, as the next variant interestingly shows:

issāṇaṁ jāgataiḥ saha PG. issāṇa jāgatas patiḥ AV. TS. KS. ApMB. The context is different; the two pādas are hardly variants of each other. PG, comm. jāgadaiḥ, anucaraḥ. Cf. pree.

hitā na ājīvam pra patiṣṭhaḥ (AV. prapadāṭi pathiṣṭhaḥ) RV. AV. MG. In RV., 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying.' AV., doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV. version). vanā vanantā dhṛṣṭā (MS. mss. 8dā; one, dhṛṣṭā) vijāntah RV. TS. JB. SB. MS. The corruption of MS, mss. is due to thought of dhṛṣad, 'mill-stone'. RV. 8. 49 (Vāl. 1). 4 may have dhṛṣat in this sense. But see Oldenberg, Noten, on this passage.

amoci (AV. amukhatā) yakṣṇād durātād avartī (AV. avadyāt) AV. TB. ApMB. avarti 'distress' seems likely to be original.
à sutrāye (MS. KS. bhūyāgthadāne) sumatiṃ ṣrūṇānaḥ AV. MS. KS.; oṣiṣṭhadāne sumatiṃ ṣrūṇānaḥ TS. See §355.

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

§61. In the next group we find different division of the words; but the change is still from ā to ā (cf. §65):

pathā madhumadā bharan (MS. madhumad ābharan) VS. MS. TB.

Either reading is interpretable; in VS. TB. madhu² goes with pathā, in MS. with the object of ābharan. We judge that the former is probably original; cf. RV. 10. 24. 6 madhuman me parīyāṇah madhumat puṇar āyanaṃ.

yena bhūyāḥ carāty (MG. carāty) ayaṃ (AG. ca raṛyāṁ) AG. ApMB.

MG.: yena bhūrīḥ carā divām PG. The original form is that of ApMB. MG., of which AG. is a corruption. PG. changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, carā (VV I p. 235); this is connected with the further change that introduces divām.

tvām no devatātaye (AV. deva dātave) RV. AV. SV.—Ppp. reads devatātaye, indicating that AV. (Ś.) is secondary. It makes, however, a sort of crude sense: 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving,' arepāsah sacetasah . . . cīte goh (cita goh, cidākoh), see §47. Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (t-g, d-k).

jivann eva prati tāt te (so Jörgensen for SMB.; v. I. pratidatte) dudhāmi (SMB. dadāmi) TA. SMB.†: jivann eva pratidatte dadāmi MS.

The latter is corrupt.

§62. The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from ā to ā do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement. They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the ā forms represent a later or easier reading. Thus in the first case the ā is a palatalic blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables: ahā neta (GB. netā ar-, ŚŚ. ahād eu) sann avicētanāni AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ.: ahā ned asann apūrogaśāni (so divide) JB.—This is followed by:

jajñā (JB. Caland, yajñā) neta sann apurogaśāḥ (JB. Caland, avicētanāsah) AV. AB. GB. JB.: yajñād eu sann apurogaśāḥ ŚŚ. Gaastera reads GB. as: yajñā netar asann apuro²; and so in the prec., read in GB. netar asann. Weber, Ind. St. 9. 306, suggests correctly ned asann for AV, etc. The true form of the two pādas is: ahā ned asann av², yajñā ned asann apuro², 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader.' So
Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 24ff., who quotes JB. as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives. AV. and ŚŚ. are hopeless; but GB. (as read by Gastra) makes possible sense.

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

\[\text{pari doṣād udarpitah} \text{ KS.}: \text{pariṣṭoṣād tat arpitah} \text{ ApŚ.} \]

Proceeded in KS. by yo me ‘dyo payaso rasah; in ApŚ. by yan me ‘tra payasah. It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission. Caland adopts pari doṣād (‘without [parī; se. my] fault’) from KS., and reads udarpitah. We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ. to accord with it; pariṣṭoṣād, ‘thru excessive gratification’, tho a slipped lect. fac., is clearly what ApŚ. intended.

\[\text{godhāyasyaḥ evi dhanasair udardah} \text{ (TB. atardat) RV. AV. MS. TB.} \]

The antique and rare udardah (3d sing. imperf. intensive of dar) puzzles TB. sufficiently to provoke the synonym atardat.

\[\text{preṣya me hrdo} \text{ (MS. hito, v. I. huto) ‘ṣī} \text{ (MS.}^{+} \text{ bhava) TS. MS.} \]

The latter is simply a lect. fac.

\[\text{saptā rājana ya utābhāṣiktaḥ} \text{ KS. AA.}: \text{anu saptā rājana ya utābhāṣiktaḥ} \text{ TB.} \]

The TB. stumbles over udā, ‘with water’, and eases it up to the colorless adverb uta.

\[\text{yāś ca (AV. yā) devīr (SMB. devyo, PG. deviś) antān (AV. antān, PG. tantān) abhito ‘dadanta} \text{ (PG. SMB. tatantha) AV. PG. SMB. ApMB.}: \text{yāś ca gna devyo ‘ntān abhito ‘tatantha} \text{ (so em.; mss. tatantha) MG.} \]

The reading tatantha could only intend a monstrosely augmented form atatantha, because of the preceding abhito (note sandhi). Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 108, considers it obvious that tatantha is a corruption for ‘dadanta. In PG., however, the corruption has become infectious, because there antān is further changed to tantān under the influence of tatantha. The comm. on PG. (see note in Stenzler’s translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license. Cf. *VV I* p. 139f.

\[\text{yatṛādhi śūra utīto vībhāti} \text{ (TS. udītav vṛtī)} \text{ RV. VS. VSK. TS.}: \text{yasa} \text{ minn adhi vitataḥ śūra eti} \text{ MS. KS.} \]

Of course RV. is original; but vitataḥ is found also in the AV. version, yasyaśaṃ śūro vītalō māhitvā.

\[\text{vidad} \text{ yadi} \text{ (MS.}^{+} \text{ yadi, TB. ApŚ. yadi) saramā-ruṇṇam} \text{ (MS.}^{+} \text{ saramā-ruṇṇam) adre} \text{ RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.} \]

The original yadi (yadi), ‘when’, is corrupted into a fem. pple. yadi (TB. comm.
gachaniti) suggested by the final i of yadi, and supported by RV. 5. 45. 7 yatī saramā. Saramā, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler; cf. RV. 10. 108. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note gāt at the end of 3. 31. 6, the stanza here concerned. Caland in his Translation of ApŚ. unwisely abandons yatī for yadi.

yad vo deva atipādayāni (AŚ. *tāyāni) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. ati-pad and ati-pat are synonyms, *transgress*. TB. comm.: akaraṇam anyathā- karaṇam cātipattiḥ. There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the pad form (two texts confirm each other).

ūrdhva yasyāmatīr bhā (so divide) adidyutat (VSK. ati dyutal) savimani AV. SV. VS, VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The VSK. reading, if authentic, is secondary. See VV I p. 128.

śvetāya vaidārayā (PG. *darvāya, ApMB. HG. *darvāya, MG. vaita- havyāya) ... AG. ŚG. FG. ApMB. HG. MG. The epithet vaidāraya does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding.

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

durāc ca viśā aṃīpād apa māḥ RV.: turāc cid viśām arjunat tapasvān AV. † Whitney translates AV.: *may be, quick, rich in fervor, send all.* Since Ppp. agrees with RV., it is clear that AVŚ. is secondary. But turāc is lexically defensible.

tvam rājasyā pradīpāh (VS. VSK. pratīpat) sutānām RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. pratīpat is hardly intelligible; Mahidhara takes pratīpat sutānām as a compound, ignoring the accents: *draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight.*

hāriṇayā rāghusyaśādah (ApŚ. *syadah, two mss. *syadah) AV. ApŚ. Caland adopts the AV. reading; if ApŚ. really intended *tah, it simulates a pres. pple. form from a denominative *raghusya-.

agne (Poma ed. agre, but comm. agne) viśu pratīdayat (v. l. *yan; not in Poma ed.) TB.: agre viśu pratīdayat RV. Comm. on TB., goggly: pratīdayat, pratyekam eva prāptam āsit (as if prati, id, aya†).

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61):
satyā tā dharmāṇas puti ApŚ.: satyād ā dharmāṇas (ŚŚ. and mss. of MS.
Baliām śānto vitudasya (AG. vi tu tasya, v. 1. vidurasya) preṣāh (MahānU. AG. preṣṭhāḥ) TAA. MahānU. AG. The AG. attempts to rationalize the obscure vitudasya (said by TAA. comm. to be a name of Kālāgnirudrā), a āry.ʿāry, which it does not understand.

§66. The remarkable case of teṣā for devā deserves special emphasis; it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf. §21:
diśām deva (MS. teṣā) avantu no gṛhācāi TS. MS. AŚ.
In the pāda māṭrī kva caṇa vidyate, TA. 1. 5. 1d, the comm. (does not read māḍrī, as Conc. states, but) interprets māṭrī by māḍdrī; which seems the only possibility.

§67. A few other special cases with problems of their own:
piṭo (VS. MS. piṭō, KSA. bīdō) nyuṣkhā kākktas (MS. kaktuḥās, TS. KSA. kākṣā) te 'numatyas (KSA. iyāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
None of the forms piṭo etc. occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant; remotely possible is connexion with petu.
mayaṇḍā (MS. MŚ. mayāṇṭām) chandaḥ VS. TS. KS. MS. SB. MŚ. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahābhara, sukham dadāti; Keith, ‘delight-giving.’ This is probably right: mayaṇḍa for mayoda in deference to the prevailing type of lambic dipody compound with prior member in m. See Bloomfield, JAOS 21. 50ff., Wackernagel 2. 1, pp. 204ff.
pāriṣṭitāḥ kṛṣṇyasī ApMB.; pāriṣṭitāḥ kṛṣṇyasī HG.; pāriṣṭitāḥ kva gamisyasi PG. The true reading is that of PG., with ṅh, and neither t nor ḍ. See Stenzler’s translation (‘umpissē’). Comm. on ApMB. gets fairly close in general sense: chāṇḍasām dirghatvam, pāriṣṭitāḥ parībaddhāḥ.

[suṣadām id gacām uti prā khudā AV.; suṣatyaṃ id gaacam angasa pra khudasi ŚŚ. The AV. mss. read exactly as ŚŚ., except that they read gacām and pra śudasi. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth’s false emendation.]

§68. In a number of cases adverbs in t or ṅ interchange. In the first two cases the ṅ forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case:
ado (MŚ, ato, AV, ado yad) devi (AV, KS, devi) prathamānā prthāg yat (AV, *nā prurastāt) AV, KS. ApŚ, MŚ.

adaḥ su madhu madhunabhī yodhiḥ RV, AV, SV, AA. MŚ.: ata u gu madhu madhunabhī yodhih TS.

iti cid dhi (AV, *yaḍi cin nu) tva dhanā jayantam RV, AV. (both) grhā naḥ santu sarvadā (P.G. sarvatah) ApŚ, PG, HG.
dhātār āyantu sarvadā (TA, TU, sarvataḥ svāhā) TA, TU, Kauś., sama-sarvayantu sarvataḥ SMB.

tato na (KU, na tato, SB, BrhU, na tadā) vicikitsati (VSK, IśāU, KU, vijugupstade) VS, VSK, SB, BrhU, IśāU, KU. See §45. tato is certainly older.

pari krośatu sarvataḥ (HG, sarvadā) HG, ApMB.

p and b

§69. Here occur only a few stray variants:

phalīga (KSA. "gw") lokitīrti balakāti (VS, palu, KSA. balakṣe, em. by ed. to "kṣi") tathā śāsrayaḥ VS, TS, KSA. MŚ. balakṣa, of unknown etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here. The change to palu, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with palita; VS. comm. simply says that palu means balu.
avātirataḥ brasyasya (TB, prathaysia) keśaḥ RV, TB, Brsaya, name of a demon. TB. comm. takes its form also as the name of a demon; it is clearly a corruption of the RV. form. khajāpo 'jopakāśiniḥ' ApMB.: bajābojapakāśini HG. The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible.

tvā (pīde, bīde) ..., see §67.

There are also a number of cases in which b as reduplicating syllable of bh (in bhāhiti etc.) varies with p as reduplicating syllable of p (in pipārītī etc.); they are gathered in §112.

kh and gh

§70. Here again are only a few stray variants:

mā naḥ kaś cit prakāhān (ApŚ, praghān) mā prameśmahi KS. ApŚ, 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured.' Probably KS. is original; pru-kāhan BR. (Nachträge to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen'. praghān is felt as coming from root han; the problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning. Prakrit influence is likely.

sughāsi jagatichandāh TS.: sakhāsi (ŚŚ, adds pata) jagacchandāh ŚŚ. MŚ. Cf. sakhāsi āyatram chandah MŚ. (Bloomfield, JAOS, 18,
3ff.) It seems that sakhā is a sophisticated lect. fac.; it is clear that
saghā (stem sāgham, comm. 'vulture') is original; preceded in TS,
ŚŚ. by īṣeṇa 'si gāyatrachandah, and suparno 'si triṣṭupchandah
(ŚŚ. inserting pataḥ both times).

yadā rāghaṭi varadaḥ (ApŚ. rākhāṭyaḥ vadataḥ) Vait. ApŚ.: yad aḍyā-
vādyāṁ vadantaḥ MS. The form rāḥ appears to be a proper name,
not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible. BandhŚ. 16.
23 reads rākhandyaḥ (?), and one ms. of ApŚ. rākhāṇḍau.

th and dh

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

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

§73. We begin with cases in which RV. shows adhā, other texts aṭhā
(aṭhā); included is also one case of RV. viśadha, SV. viśathā:
vi bhānum viśadhatanat (SV. viśathā?) RV. SV,
adha jīvī (AV. aṭha jīvīr, mss. jīvīr; ApMB. aṭhā jīvī) vidathāṁ ā
vadāśī (RV. vadāthāḥ) RV. AV. APMB:
adā (SV. aṭhā) no viśvacaraṇe RV. SV,
adha (SV. aṭhā) te sakhye andhaso vi vo made RV. SV,
adā (SV. aṭhā) te sumnam imahe RV. AV. SV. TS,
adā (TS. MS. aṭhā) te syāma varuṇa priyāsaḥ RV. TS. MS. KS,
adā (TS. MS. aṭhā) kākakratva yāyam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB,
rudrasya muryā adhā (SV. aṭhā) stamāḥ RV. SV.

§74. Next, cases in which RV. (almost always in Books 1 and 10)
shows the more popular aṭha (aṭhā), while other texts have the archaizing
adhā (adhā). The latter occurs most frequently in AV. (of course
secondary; cf. the similar preference of AV. for the archaic kṛṣṇa- as against kara-, VV I p. 116ff.; one in SV. (ārdhavatḥ for RV.° thā), one or twice in other texts:
pra śmakru (SV. śmakrubhir) dodhuvad ārdhavatḥ bhūt (SV.°dāḥ bhūvat) RV. (10) SV.
athā (AV, adhā) nāḥ kāṁ yor arapu dadhāta (MS.°tana) RV. (10) AV. VS. MS. KS. N.: athāsmabhayaṁ kāṁ etc. TS.
athā (AV, adhā) pitṛn suvidatṛn upeti (AV. TA. apīhi, TS.° apīta) RV. (10) AV. TS. TA. Add to VV I §370.
athā (AV, adhā) mano tvasudeyāya kṛṣṇa (AV. kṛṣṇas) RV. (1) AV. Despite the grandiloquent adhā, AV. is secondary as shown by the meter.
athā (AV, adhā, MS. KS. tato) no vardhaya rayim (RV. JB. girāḥ) RV. (3) VS. TS. AV. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. JābU.
athā (AV, adhāḥ; comm. adha, but Ppp. adhaḥ, Barret, JAOŚ. 40. 161) sapatnā yā mama RV. (10) AV, ApMB.: adhā sapatnāṁ māmahān AV.
atoh (AV, adhā) rayam bhagavantaḥ syāma RV. (1) AV. KS. ApŚ. N.
atoh (AV, adhā, comm. aha) rayam aditya vrata tava RV. (1) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: athāditya vrata rayam tava ArŚ. SMB.
atoh (KS. adhā) somasya prayatī yuvabhiyām (KS. yuvā°, v. l. yuwa°) RV. (1) TS. KS. N.
atoh (MS. adhā) devināṁ apy etu pāthāḥ RV. (2) TS. MS.
§75. Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV. again prefers the dh form repeatedly, as against other texts with th:
adā jīvema ṣaradāṁ ṣatāṁ AV.: atho jīva saradāḥ satam VSK. And others; see Conc. under asau jīva.
adā (HG. atha) māsi punar ā yāta no grhān AV. HG.
adā (MS. MS. athā) poṣasya poṣeṇa VS. MS. KS. MS.
adā viśvāhārapa edhate grhe VS.: atha viśve arapā edhate grhaḥ TS.
atoh (VS. ŚB. adhā) sapatnāṁ (KS.°nāṁ, TS. twice °nāṁ, one 2nāṁ) indro me VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS.
atoh (VS. ŚB. adhā) sapatnāṁ indragni me VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS.
atoh jīvaḥ (KS. adhā viṣeṭal) pitum addhi pramuktah (so divide) TS. MS. KS.: athaitam pitum addhi prasūtaḥ VS. ŚB.
adāṣya madhyam edhatām KSA.: athāṣyā madhyam ejatu VS. IŚ.: athāṣyat (TS. MS. TB.°syā) madhyam edhatām (Vuit.°tu, AŚ. IŚ., ejatu, ŚŚ. ejati) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait, IŚ.

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

śāyām tanā (ApMB.† MG.† tānuṃ) rtiye (RV.† rtiye) nādhāmānām
(ApMB. nātha°, but many mss. nādhā°; MG. bādha°) RV. ApMB. MG.

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

avakro ṛithu (ApŚ. "vidhō"; Kauś. adds 'ham) bhūyāsum AŚ. ApŚ. MS. Kauś. That arithu (root nyath) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with avakro; arithu is clearly secondary.


ābhī (VS. TS. abhūr, NīlarU. kīvō) asya niṣaṅgathī (VS. 9dhīh, NīlarU. 9thī) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. Comm. on VS. 'sheath of a sword', but 'querier' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote niṣaṅgathī as meaning 'embracing' etc.; the other forms are āk.āy. Probably 9dhī is influenced by thought of root dhā (popular etymology), while 9ti is a mere corruption.

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

ākhuḥ kaśo māṇthālav (MS. māṇthālavas, VSK. māṇḍālavas) te pīṭṭvām VS. VSK. MS.: pāṅktraḥ (KSA. pāṅktah; but all mss. of both TS. and KSA. pāṅtra-) kaśo māṇthālavas (KSA.† ma°) te pīṭṭvām (KSA.† pīṭṭ°) TS. KSA. We may guess that the majority of
texts preserve the original th, but the forms occur nowhere else. Said to mean 'flying fox'.

\textit{indrāsvathuh} (VSK.  SQLiteDatabase, KS.)\footnote{This is a reference to a specific edition or version of the text.} TB. ApŚ. \textit{tam} kāvyair (TB. ApŚ. karmāyā) dānasaṁāhī RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The subject is the Aśvins; so that VSK. is hardly interpretable. See \textit{V V I} p. 282.

\textit{apa snehitir} (SV. ethitem) nrmanā adhata (SV. adhad rāḥ, KS.)\footnote{This is a reference to a specific edition or version of the text.} RV. AV. SV. KS.: \textit{upa} suhi tam nrmanām (Poona ed. suhī tam nrmanām) athadhrām TA. See §110.

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

\textit{apāma edhi mā mṛtha na indra SMB.: amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ, \textit{ma}) indra AŚ, SG.: anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma into Kauś.} The original (AŚ. SG.): 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra.' This SMB. converts into the unbelievable: 'be an off-warrior of disease, do not die for us, Indra.' At least the comm. takes it thus, seeing in mṛtha(h) a 2d sing. mid. of mṛ (one ms. reads mṛdhā); riṣāma of Kauś. confirms mṛdh us original. The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of sa mā mṛta (tam mā mṛdhah), which see in §98. On Kauś.'s reading see §344.

madhavyau stokās (MS. \textit{kā}; AV. mathavyān stokān) apa tāu (AV. yān) rādēha AV. TS. MS. Several mss. and the comm. on AV. read madhavyān, which Whitney properly recommends.

\textit{adhoraśa} (HG. atho)\footnote{This is a reference to a specific edition or version of the text.} ulumbalik (HG. ulumbalak) ApMB. HG. adho\footnote{This is a reference to a specific edition or version of the text.} = adhas is obviously correct; HG. mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning atho (= atha u), q. v. in Conc.

\textit{dirghāṁ anu praśīṁ} (KS. samṛtim) āyuṣे dhām (KS. tvā) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: \textit{dirghāṁ anu praśīṁ sanasprāśāṁ} MS. An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of dh to th (\textit{ṣe dhāṁ; śetām}).

\textit{ph} and \textit{bh}

§79. The instances are few and all concern questionable forms: \textit{phalāya}, and, \textit{phallāya} KhG.: \textit{bhalāya svāhā}, and, \textit{bhallāya svāhā} SMB. GG. The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight; their meanings are unknown. The form with single l and the variant with \textit{ph} make it questionable whether \textit{bhallā} is Prakrit for \textit{bhadra} (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form \textit{bhallāka} which is probably so to be explained (Weber, \textit{Ind. St.} 2.88).

\textit{kanātkaṁhām} (AŚ. pranākāphā) na ābhara TB. AŚ. See §151.

CHAPTER III. ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

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

\( k \) and \( kh \)

§81. Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms: \( gohya \ t\check{u}p\check{a}go\check{h}yo \ mar\ddot{u}ko \) (PG. \( \check{m}ay\ddot{u}kho \)) \( \check{m}anoh\ddot{h} \) (PG. SMB. Cf. \( gr\check{h}yo \) etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss. vary. The form \( \check{m}ay\ddot{u}kha \), 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. Ine. The lexicons report \( mar\ddot{u}ka \) in various meanings.

\( ka\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}ya \) (Mah\ddot{a}nU. \( \check{k}hak\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}ya \)) \( \ddot{s}v\ddot{a}h\ddot{a} \) TA. TAA. Mah\ddot{a}nU. The Mah\ddot{a}nU. form recurs in the Pur\ddot{a}\ddot{n}as; it is interpreted as \( kha-kha-p\ddot{u}k\ddot{a} \) (\!), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is \( \ddot{a}x.\dot{a}x.\dot{a}x. \), and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

\( g \) and \( kh \)

§82. Two variants between the synonymous stems \( su\ddot{k}ha \) and \( su\ddot{g}a \), to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form \( su\ddot{k}ha \) is later both times:

\( sug\ddot{a}m \) (VS. MS. \( \ddot{s}B. \) \( su\ddot{k}ha\ddot{m} \)) \( me\ddot{s}\ddot{y}a \) \( me\ddot{y}a \) (RV. \( me\ddot{y}o \)) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. \( \ddot{s}B. \) \( L\ddot{S} \).

\( sug\ddot{a}m \) (VS. MS. \( su\ddot{k}ha\ddot{m} \)) \( ca \) \( me \) \( k\ddot{a}yan\ddot{a}m \) \( ca \) \( me \) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

47
§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt; cf. yena mahānāgnyā jaghanam AV. Kauś., where apparently all mss. of both texts read so, but the emendation mahānāgnyā is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney.

yajñasya ghosad asī TS. TB. ApŚ.: gośad asī MS. KS. MS. TS. comm. ‘wealth’; Keith ‘substance’, remarking that ghosad is probably a corruption for gośad, which however is itself not clear.
yatheyam stri pautram ogham na rodāi AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: yawhedam stri pautram agama rudriyāya MG. See §801.
tāsām tāṇo bhagavah (MS. maghavan) VS. TS. MS. KS. The words are virtual synonyms.

apipkrod aṣṭake SG.: apipaghṛṭahute ApMB. Addressed to an aṣṭakā; same context; one must be a phonetic corruption of the other. ‘O cake-making A.’, or ‘O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations’.

c and ch

§84. Two variants, one an onomatopoetic word:

cece-cce chunaḥ srjā ... PG.: chad apei ... ApMB. Cf. the English ‘skat’;

karaḥbhāyām (PG. godānac) chubukād (ApMB. cu?) adhi RV. AV. ApMB. PG. A v. l. of AV, with its comm. cubukād; one ms. of ApMB. eibukād, which is the form found in later Sanskrit.

j and jh

§85. A single variant;
apām nāpyre jasaḥ (KSA. jhāsaḥ) TS. KSA. jasaḥ is otherwise not unknown (AV.), but jhāsa is regular in the later language. The word is of non-Aryan origin.

ṭ and ṭh

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

kuṣṭhayā (MS. kuṣṭayā) te kṛiṇāṇi MS. ApŚ. Regular is kuṣṭhā, designation of a measure; kuṣṭā is not recorded lexically.
nadubhyām puṇjīṣtham (TB. ṭ’tam) VS. TB. Also:
namah puṇjīṣṭhebhya (TS. ṭebhya) niṣādebhyāk ca vo namah TS. KS.
namo nisādebhyyāḥ puṇḍirīhebhyyāḥ (MS. ṭebbhyaḥ) ca vo namah. VS. MS. The word puṇḍirīḥ or puṇḍirīḥ 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with ṭha, but there is no little fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies.

vaniṣṭum (AB. TB. AŚ. MS. ṭhum) aṣya nā raviṣṭa MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.† 5. 17. 9, MS. The regular form is vaniṣṭha, of unknown derivation. Knauer (on MS.) would emend MS. to ṭhum.

ahorāṭe āveṣṭīye (VS. ṣṭhīce) bhadrathavātare ca me yaṭṭiča eva kalpaṭam (VS.† kalpaṭam) VS. MS. (Add to VV I §357.) The proper form is āveṣṭīye, the latter part being a modulation of ṣṭhī-vaṁ, 'knee'.

kālāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona edd. ṣṭhā ṣṭha) visā pari no eva katu VS. MS. Aś. ṣa ṭa ṭa (p.p. vā, aṣṭā) dhanīṣṭa vairah (read [a-] vairah?) MS. As a missile (hellet) is the subject, the true reading contains apāṣṭha, 'bark'. The MS. is entirely corrupt. The Poona ed. of both TB. and TA. makes the pāda begin with the preceding word upāra.

anupāpara yaṭamāṇā yaṭi ṣṭha (AV. syha, TA. yatiṣṭha) RV. AV. TA. yatiṣṭha could only be an aorist; but as it retains a double accent (yadi-ṣṭha) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding yaṭamāṇā) for yaṭi ṣṭha, 'as many as ye be'.

rdhag ayā (TS. MS. KS. ayaḥ) rddhag udāsamiṣṭḥāḥ (MS. KS. ṣta) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: dhruvav ayā (AV. ayo) dhruvam utāsamiṣṭḥāḥ (AV. utā saviṣṭha) RV. AV. Here both forms are correct; there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p. 241). On the corrupt reading of AV. see §234. Cf. next.

diṣṭa (MS. ṣṭhaḥ, KS. ms.† aṣṭḥah, em. v. Schr. aṣṭha) pratiṣṭham ... TS. MS. KS. PG.: See VV I p. 238, and cf. prec.

vīṭy arṣa caanīṣṭhayā (SV. paniṣṭaye) RV. SV. If the SV. reading is tenable at all (paniṣṭaye, 'for praise') it points to a stem in ti, whereas RV. (of course original) has a superlative in ṣṭha.

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

§87. In the preceding ṣṭhu is the proper or at least the usual spelling. We now come to the cases where ṣṭhu seems proper. Both are dubious;
the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has \( t \) only in the p.p. of MS.: 
\[ \text{gaśṭim (ŚŚ. gaśṭhim) sahasrā navatim ca kaurama AV. AS. ŚŚ.} \] 
The combination gaśṭim sahasrā is very common; see e.g. Conc. thereunder. ŚŚ., if its reading has any real standing, has confused gaśṭi with the ordinal stem gaśṭha.

\[ \text{mā no aqṇim (p.p. aqṇiḥ) nirṛtir mā na aśṭān (p.p. aśṭān) MS.: mā no rudro nirṛtir mā no astā TA. See VV I p. 93. The forms are doubtful; read aśṭān?} \]

§88. The following is the sole variant between \( t \) and \( ṭh \) not preceded by \( s \). Nothing is known about the word kakuṭha or kakkaṭa except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal:

\[ \text{pito (piḍro, biḍro) ... kakuṭas (kakṭhas) ...}, \text{ see §67.} \]

\[ \text{t and ṭh} \]

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

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

\[ \text{āpura sta ... ŚŚ.: āpuryā sthā ... TS. AS. Add to VV I i.e.} \]

\[ \text{tan sma jāṇīta (VSK. "tha") parame vyoman AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MS.: jāṇīta smainām (TS. MS. jāṇītād enam) pa² vy² AV. TS, MS.: etan jāṇītha (TB. jāṇītāt, KS. jāṇīta) pa² vy² VS. KS, TB} \]
ŚB.: Note especially that VSK. jānītha is apparently a blend of jānīta and jānītha, tho jānītha is grammatically better than jānītha.

śevā no bhavata (ApŚ. ²tha) jīvase MS. ApŚ.

kuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. ²tha, MG. ²ntu) yajñīyāsah RV. TA. MG.

āsvā bhavata (AV. TS. KS. ²tha) vājināh AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.;

devā bhavata va⁵ RV.

tenā krīḍantaḥ (ŚG. kril?) carata (ŚG. ²tha) prīyena (AV. vaṣān anu) AV.

TS. ŚG. PG. ViDh. vaṣān anu in AV. is due to infection from RV.

1. 82. 3. 10. 142. 7.

deebhka bhavata (TB. ²tha) su-prāyanāh RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.

datto asmabhyaṁ (KS. dattaśma⁷, AŚ. dattāyāṣma⁷, SMB; dattāṣma⁷)
draviṣeḥa bhadrām AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.; dadhatha no draviṣeṁ

yac ca bhadrām MS.

ye 'tra pitarāḥ ... bhūyāṣṭa AV. ŚŚ.; ya etasmin loke ... bhūyāṣṭa TS.

TB. A primary ending on a preceptive form is absurd; yet all mss.
of AV. and ŚŚ. seem to agree on ²tha; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86.

ardāg udabhartata (AV. mss. ²tha) AV. ŚŚ. The AV. reading, augmented

but with ²tha, is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation, 

āsannā udabhīr yathā, has no standing.

auloba (HG. ²va) it tam upā krayathā (HG. ²ta) ApMB. HG. Several

mss. of ApMB. read ²ta; in such trash as this it makes little difference

what is read,

sapatrikāyāṁ jāgratāḥ PG.: yajamanāyā jāgraḥ ApŚ. See note in Stenzler's

translation of PG. 1. 16. 22.

indrenā yujā (TB. sayujā) pra mṛṣita (TB. ²tha [Bibl. Ind. prajjatha])

śatān AV. TB. Add to VV I §16.

payasseṭhī kṛṣṇāḥ (TS. ²thā) osadīhāḥ kīvāḥ (TS. omits kīvāḥ) AV.

TS. Followed by:

ūṣjām ca tatra sumatīṁ ca pinvata (TS. ²tha) AV.TS. (Add to VV I §18.)

The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in

both; yet both are inconsistent. Little weight is to be attached to

the Ppp. readings, quoted by Roth as having i thruout the stanza,
even in pāda d (yatā vārā marutāḥ siṃcathā madhū), where the

relative clause should ensure the th form (indicative; see VV I pp.

78ff.). Contrariwise, the AV. comm. reads pinvatha for ²ta, which

seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had th.

yad āmayati niṣ kṛthā (TS. MS. KS. kṛta) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. kṛthā,

tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from norists

like kṛtiḥ, is the older reading; kṛta lect. fac.
yāyam (MS. dīvo) vṛṣṭim varṣayāthā (MS. ṭā) purśīṇah RV. TS. MS. KS.—MS., which borrows dīvo vṛṣṭim from e.g. RV. 2. 27. 15b, is secondary also as regards ṭā.

ud varṣayāthā (MS. MŚ. ṭā, AV. KS. ṭa) marutaḥ samudrataḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ.

§91. About equally often second and third duals containing ṭh and t interchange (listed VV I pp. 24f.) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89). We begin with passages in which the ṭh forms seem to be the older; in the majority there is little to choose between them:
citrebhir abhrair upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. ṭa) ravaṃ RV.† MS. Followed by:
dyōṁ varṣayatho (MS. ṭa) asuvasya māyāyā RV. MS. See VV I p. 241. yav (MS. KS. ya) atmanav bibhaṭo (KS. ṭha, AV. viṣṭhā) yau ca rakṣatāh (AV. KS.† ṭha) AV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:
yau viśvasya paribhā (KS. viśvasyādhipā) babhūvathāh (TS.† tiḥ), same texts. See VV I p. 228. The unanimity of AV. and KS., partly supported by MS., perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original; we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS. 4. 7. 15. 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'.
tat satyaṁ yad viraṁ bibhraṭhaḥ (MS.† ṭaḥ); and, in same passage, viraṁ janayiṣyatathā (MS. ṭaḥ), te mat prāthal praṇaṇayanayetho (MS. ṭe), te mā praṇāte praṇaṇayiṣyatathā (MS. ṭaḥ) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 230.

gṛntena (Kauś. varṣayā) dyāvāprthiṣv prornvāthām (VS. TS. ApŚ. prornvāthām; MS. MŚ.† prornvātām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. Kauś. ApŚ. MŚ.: also see Conc. under svarge (?gena, sfvarage) loke (-na) prornvāthām etc. (only MS. ṭām; VS. VSK. TS. KSA. [†sāṃprornvātām] ŠB. TB. Vait. ṭhāṃ).
yā rājaṁ (MS. KS. ṭā) sarathāṁ yātha (MS. yāta) ugrā TS. MS. KS. jujetalḥ (and, ṭhām) yajñam īṣṭaye RV. (both). Add to VV I §21.
kāmaṁ duḥāṭāṁ iha sakvarbhīḥ AV.: rāṣtraṁ duḥāṭāṁ iha revāṭbhīḥ TB. See VV I pp. 25, 224.
purā gṛdhṛd ararūṣah pibāṭaḥ (TS. ṭaḥ) RV. MS. TB. Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the t forms are original.

kato (SV. TB. hatho) vrtrāṇy āryā (AV. TB. aprati) RV. SV. AV. TB.; followed by,
hato (SV, hatho) dāṣāni satpati RV. SV., and,
hato (SV, hatho) viśeṣa apa dvīṣah RV. SV. See VV I pp. 222, 232.
yajñāsya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. 9ya) abhūtām (MS. 1thām) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. And, in the same stanza:
divi (KS. dive) ṣṇotir ajaram (MS. KS. uttamam) ārūhetām (MS. KS.† 1thām), same texts. abhūthām is certainly wrong, and all texts have a 3d person in the 1st pāda of the verse. See VV I p. 235.

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other verbal endings containing t and th; or, in the last case, a verbal ending with th varying with a nominal ending with t:
abhairmantām (MS. 1thām!) MS. ŚG. YDh. BrhPDh. The MS. form, if correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly anomalous; see VV I §22.
yāḥ ca (yā) devir (devyo, devīs) antān (antā, lantān) abhilo 1dadanta (latahanta), etc.; see §63.
ubhāv indrā (SB. indro) udiṭhah sūryaḥ ca VS. ŚB. aya(h)sthūram (TS. 1nīv) udiṭa (TS. MS. KS. 1tau) sūryasya RV. TS. MS. KS. The old loc. sing. in 1tā is shifted in VS. ŚB. to a second person dual verb, udiṭhah.

§93. In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscurities:
asunītya (TA. 1thāya) vohhare AV. TA. The AV. comm. reads 1thāya, which is clearly original; 1tāya is infected by asunīti; cf. Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 56.
punah brahmāya (AV. brahmā) vasunīthā (AV. 1nità, KS. 1dhītam, 38. 12b1 1nītha, MS. 1dhīte) yajñāthā (AV. MS. KS. 1aga) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. All forms are rare and dubious. KapŚ. (v. Schr. on KS. 8. 14b) has vasudhītam or 1tim (so also v. i. of KS.). nirīthā (MS. 1to) yāḥ ca niśvānāḥ (AV, niśvārah) AV. MS. TA. nirūto in MS. is a secondary blend of nirīthā (old) and nirūti (common).
svasti naḥ putrakṛṣeṣu (MG. pathyakṛṣeṣu, but v. i. as RV.) yoneṣu RV. AB. MG. Note metathesis of t and th in MG.; if the reading is correct, it is a blunder due to pathyāṣu in the preceding.
ābhūr (MS. KS. abhūr, NilarU. śivo) aṣya niṣaṅgathih (VS. 1dhiḥ, NilarU. 1hī) VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU. The last has a corruption; see §77.
pakṣā (KSA. panthā) sasyam TS. KSA. Comm. on TS., pākaśīlam. KSA. corrupt, see Keith on TS. 7. 5. 20. 1.
stu 1ṣi janadāhāḥ TB. ApŚ. (IŚ. pratīka, stūṭā): tatho 1ṣi janadāhitāḥ
(PB. ॐyaḥ) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. ĀŚ. Is stuto leet. fac. for tutho of unknown meaning?

saimidiḥo agnir vṛṣṇārātīr (AV. ॐyaḥ rathiḥ, ŚŚ. ॐyaḥ rayir) dīvaḥ AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. From RV. 3. 3. 6, 4. 15. 2, 8. 75. 1 it is probable that rathiḥ is the true reading.

garbhaḥ ca sthātām garbhāḥ cārathām RV. Cone, would read cārutām (gen. pl. of cāruni); but cārūthām (gen. pl. of cārūtha) may stand (Oldenberg, Noten).

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

atto (MU. ato) annenaiva jivanti TA. TU. MU.

tato (AV. ArŚ. tathā) viśeṇa vyakrāmaḥ (AV. tathā vyakrāmad viwaṇ) RV. AV. ArŚ. VS. TA.

atto rājāṇ (AV. uṭa rājñām) uttamām mānavaṇām AV, TB.
atto pītā (MS. utāyaṇaḥ pītā) mahātām gārharāṇām AV. TS. MS. KS.

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

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

tābhyaḥ (MS. KS. add vuyāṇa) patema suktām u lokam (Kauś. patithāsma suktasaṇyā lokam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Dhātup. has a root path 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun path, paniḥ. Possibly Kauś. intends pathyāḥ (h) sma. In VV I p. 110 we have treated its form as a precative. It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the th.

hīra na ārūjanam pra patatt pathiṣṭhah (AV. padatt pathiṣṭhaḥ) RV. AV. MG. See §60.

samsrāvabhāgā (VS. ŚB. KS. samsrava, MS. bhāgāḥ, KS. Kauś. bhāgāḥ) aṣṭēṣā (Kauś. taviṣṭā) bhayantah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. taviṣṭā is a sophisticated assimilation to bhayantah.

aktani (MS. MŚ. aptubhi, KS. *arthaḥ) riḥanā vyantu (TS. TB. KhG.
viyantu) vayaḥ TS. MS. KS. (bis) TB. MS. GG. KhG.; viyantu vayo ‘ktam rihāyah’ VS. ŚB. KS. aktaṁ rihāyah, ‘licking the fat’, is certainly original; the KS. arthaṁ rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS. 31. 11 suggests emending artham to aktaṁ. On MS. see §152.

ahoh matātho pitā TA.; hatā matā hataḥ pitā SMB.; hato hatamātā kṛmīḥ AV. See §386.

aṭha ye kṣullaka-iva AV.; hataḥ kṛmīgaṁ kṣudrakaḥ SMB.; aṭha eṭhūrā aṭho kṣudraḥ TA. See ibid.

sarve rādhyaḥ othā (ŚŚ. ṣyaṁ tu) putrāḥ AB. ŚŚ.

grho hiranyaya mītaḥ (AŚ. grh ṣr miṁ hi) AV. KS. AŚ. Here all AV. mss. and comm. read mithāḥ, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption; RWH. read mithā with Ppp. and KS. AŚ.

parītaśat tad ārpiṭha ApŚ.: pari dosād ud ārpiṭhā KŚ. Read in both udārpiṭhā; see §63.

upa yajñam asthta (AV. comm. astṛta, MS. astu no) taisvadeśa RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MS.

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

bhūma ṛvaśṛdhe (SV. vaśṛte) śavaḥ RV. SV.

madanti devār amṛtā rāśrīdhe (Vait. Ṛrtah) Vait. ApŚ. MS. Caland on Vait. 13. 20 assumes that Ṛrtah (all mss.) is an error.

abhī rāṣṛīya varṣaya (AV. varṣhaya) RV. AV. The AV. is certainly poor, and Ppp. has varṣaya; see Whitney on 1.29. 1. Cf. next two.

yenendro abhivṛte (AV. ṛṛdhe) RV. AV. In same verse as prec.; same conditions. Cf. also next.

abhī soma avṛtataḥ (AV. ṛṛdot) RV. AV. In next verse to the prec. two; same conditions.

nivarto yo ny avṛtīdhe (ApMB. Ṛrtal) HG. ApMB. Oldenberg adopts Ṛrtal for HG.

pumānasam varṣdhatām (†text is right, despite Conc.) mayi ŚG.: pumān saṁvarṣatām mayi PG.: pumān garbhhas tavodare SMB. ‘Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me’; ‘let a male be in me’ or the like. SG. has a 3 dual active verb. See §840.

Note further the exchange between the old (RV.) adjectives rtārīdh
and dhrtavata (not concerning root vṛt) in: āvītta (āvinne) dpārthrthinī 
ṛśūrdhau (dhrtavate), and others, see §§466, 665.  
§98. The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious 
or corrupt:  
savatsarasasya dhāyasa (AV. VS. tejasā) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG. Syno- 
nyms.  
sa mā myā (MG. vṛtāt) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. tam mā myāhah ŚG.  
‘Let him not die’, or ‘do not fail him’; and §78, apāma edhi mā 
myāh na indra, etc. The MG. has a mere corruption, see §225, 
ābhur (ābhūr, śivo) asya nisāṅgadhīh (ōthī, ōtiḥ), see §77.  
vi te (PG. tāu te, HG. vidhe) krodham nayāmasi PG. HG. ApMB.  
Kirste suggests emending HG. to vi te, and this apparently Oldenberg  
assumes in his translation; vidhe may be somehow felt as from vi-dhā,  
but is really hopeless.  
yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV. pradhāv adhi) RV. AV. TA. Comm.  
on AV., followed by SPP. in text and by Whitney in his Translation,  
reads as RV. See Whitney’s note and Lamman, ap. Whitney,  
p. xcii.  
śrīyai (MG. śriye) purīya vettavai (MG. vedhavai) ApMB. MG. For  
the MG. Knauer suggests vedhavai, Conc. vettavai.  
sinanti pākaṃ ati (ŚŚ. tadhi) dhīra eti (ŚŚ. emi) AS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. adhi is  
very inferior in sense.  

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

Roots dā and dhā  

§100. They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any 
perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following:  
āyurdu asī ŚŚ.: āyurdhā asī TS. JB. AS.
āyurdā (MS. KS.  dhā) agne 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. SS. PG.
cakṣurdā (KS.  dhā) aṣi VS. KS. SB.
varcodā aṣi VS. SB. SS.: varcodhā aṣi AV. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB.
ApŚ. MS.
varcodā (MS.  dhā) agne 'si VS. TS. MS. SB. SS. PG.—All these formulas are followed by āyur (cakṣur, varco) me (mayi) dehi (dhehi), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent.

§101. There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal: dā does not govern the locative of the person, but only the dative. The root dhā, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of dā with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected:
*tokhām dadhātu (MS. dadhātu) hastayoḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. This is no real exception, first because a dative (tubhyam) in the preceding pāda is connected with the verb, the locative hastayoḥ being really epegegetic; but also and chiefly because the MS. reading is nonsense, since the preverb ā is joined with dā, which could only mean ‘take’, a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf. mā no andhe . . . , §105.

mayi puṣṭiṁ puṣṭiipaṭir (AV. puṣṭam puṣṭa*) dadhātu (AG. dadhātu) AV. MS. KS. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB. Here the isolated dadhātu in the late AG. is evidently an error.

[mayi rucam dāh (KS. dhēhi) MS. KS. Conc. dehi for KS.]

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

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

rayiṁ me dāḥ (AV. dhehi) AV. MS.
ojo dehi KS.: ojo dhatta TS. KŚ.: ojo mayi dēhei VS. TB.: ojo me dāḥ (svāhā) AV. VS. SB.
balam dehi KS.: balam dhatta TS. MŚ.: balam mayi dēhei (AV. me dāḥ svāhā) AV. VS. TB.
sahō mayi dēhei (AV. me dāḥ svāhā) AV. VS. TB.
prāṇaṁ dhehi (KS. dehi) KS. TA. ApŚ. See Conc. in the vicinity of these.
vācāṁ dhehi (MS. me dāḥ) MS. TA.
annaiṁ me dehi (PB.* dhehi) PB. (both) IŚ. Kauś.; cf. note on Kauś. 136. 4.
krotranī dhehi (TA. dhehi) KS. TA.: krotranī mayi (KSA. {mayi, not me) dhehi TS. KSA.: krotranī me dāḥ AV. MŚ.
caṅgur dehi (TA. dhehi) KS. TA.: caṅgur me dhehi (KS. KSA. dehi) VS. KS. KSA. ŚB.: caṅgur mayi dhehi TS.: caṅgur me dāḥ (svāhā) AV. MS.
tejo mayi (AŚ. me) dhehi (AŚ. dehi) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. IŚ. ŚG. ApMB.: tejo me dhāḥ (AŚ. dāḥ svāhā) TA. AŚ.
ūrjanāyī dehi VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. IŚ. APŚ. MŚ.: āurjanī me dhehi (PB. IŚ. dehi) VSK. TS. KS. PB. GB. TB. Vait. IŚ. KS. hṛddīṣyrk krutasyrk varcrodāḥ (MS. *dhā asī) MS. AŚ.

§104. Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority:
aśriḥ-pañam pradhāpya (TA. *dāpya) MS. TA.
apam oṣadhitānār gṛbhaṁ dhāḥ (MS. gṛbhaṁ me dāḥ) TS. MŚ. adhi dātre vocaḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: adhi dātre vocaḥ MS. KS.
cakṣurda varcāḥ varīvodāḥ TS.: varcāḥ varīvodāḥ MS.: varcāḥ varīvodāḥ (TA. varīvodā draviṇodāḥ) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.
bhūs (also, bhūvas, and svas) teṣyā dadhāmi (MG. te dadhāmi) ŚB. Bhū. PG. HG. MG.: bhūr bhūvas svāḥ sarvaṁ teṣyā dadhāmi (MG. svas te dadhāmi) ŚB. Bhū. PG. MG.
anādhṛṣṭāḥ śīdat vahaujaso (TS. KS. śīdat vahaujaso) maḥi kṣatraṁ (varcāḥ) kṣatriyaṁ dadhāti (KS. dadhāti) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. iyam vah sa ṣatyāṃ satyāvaṃ abhūd (MS. satyāvaṃ abhūd) yām āndraya samadhiḥvam (MS. *dadhāvam) TS. MS.: evaḥ vas sa ṣatyāṃ satyāvaṃ abhūd
yām indreya samadadham KŚ.: yām indreya samadhāṁ samadhatthāṁ (comm. and some mss. samadhāttāṁ) AV. Where the noun samadhā occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root dḥā; note that in MS. KŚ. it is replaced by samadhā; but even so, samadadham may perhaps be felt as from root dḥā (Wackernagel I p. 128).

āstṛto nāmāham ... ātmānam ni dadhe dyāvopthivibhāyām gopāthāya (KS. ... dyāvopthivypār ātmānam pari dade ...) AV. KŚ.

devar āpo apām napād ... deevbhīya devatva dhatta (VS. ŚB. dattā, KŚ. dāta) VS. TS. KŚ. ŚB. ... tāṁ deevbhīyaḥ śukrapebhīyaḥ dattu MS.

puṣṭapate caṅṣaye caṅṣuḥ smane smānaṁ ... dehy asmai MS.: puṣṭi-pataye (AŚ. *pate) puṣṭiḥ ... asmai punar dhehi (AŚ. dhehi or dehi svāhā) AŚ. ApŚ. For smane smānaṁ see Bloomfield, AJP 21.324.

agnir ānndato 'nnapatīr ... maṇi dadhātu (TB. yajamānāya dadātu) ŚB. TB. KŚ. Similarly nine other formulas with other gods.

[udgātaṃ devayojanam me dehi ŚB. ApŚ. (Conc. dhehi for ApŚ.'])]

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

rayām devi dadhātu me AV.: rāyo devi dadātu naḥ RV.

purumdhāḥ (SV. *dhāḥ) cāt takeva naraṁ dāt (SV. dhat) RV. SV.

dakṣaṁ dadhāsi (KŚ. dadāsi, r. l. dadhāsi) jīvāce RV. MS. KŚ. TB. ApŚ. asmahbhāṣām dattām (AV. dhättāṁ; but comm. dattāṁ) varuṇaḥ ca manyuḥ RV. AV.—Ppp. also dattāṁ.

vasudevyā (KS. *dhevyāya) vidhate vibhāti RV. KŚ. In RV. vasudeya occurs twice more, but no vasudheya.

tato no dehi jīvāce RV. TB. TA.: tasya no dhehi jīvāce AV. SV. Kauś. tīvra dadhur (KS. dadur) devatāṁ samrarāṇāṁ VS.† (so for Conc. RV.) 19. 81b, MS. KŚ. TB. The majority are probably original.

somāya rājñe paridhāvā (HG. *daṅga) u AV. HG. ApMB. As Kirste remarks, HG. is secondary or corrupt; the first pāda of the verse has paridhāvā in all texts.

mā no udehe tamasy antar ādati MS. (properly emended by Knauer to ādhati, cf. §101): mā sv (Poon ed. mo sv) asmāṁ tamasy antar-ādhati TA.: mo śvateśu asmāṁtarādhati MS.† (corrupt).

pratītyāyāpara śvā AV. 10. 1. 27; read pratītyāyāna, see Roth, ZDMG 48. 081, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations.
dhātā dadātu (ApŚ. dsadātu) sumanaṣṭamāṇaḥ AV. MS: KS. ApŚ. indriya ma indriyaṃ dattam ajāḥ AV.; asmin nara indriyaṃ dhattam 
ajāḥ TS. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. dhattam. 
āyur no dehi ā́́vase ŚG.: ā́úṣ (te (AV. ā́́yur no) viśvato dadhat AV. TS. 
rāyasy pōṣāṃ cikitūṣe (AV. agi, AŚ. yajātāne) dadhātu (ŚŚ. dadātu) AV. 
TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. 
īṣam uṣjāṁ yajātānaḥ dhehi (Vait. datte, AV. duḥrām) AV. VS. TS. 
MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. 
lokam asmāi yajātānaḥ dehi (MU. dhehi) TS. KSA. MU. 
vaśō āśūṣi dadhati (ŚB. KS. dadāti) sarusati ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KS. 
dadāti is a secondary adaptation to dadātu in the next pāda. 
asme dhehi (SV. dehi) jātavedo mahā śravāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 
kṛtvi (AV. kṛtvā) savarṇām adadur (AV. adadur) viśvasate RV. AV. N. 
The AV. is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong 
to call it a "corruption" (Whitney). 
dvebhyo (VS. devānāṁ) bhūgādā (TS. dhā) aśat VS. TS. MS. KS.† 
pra no (MS. KS. mā) brūtād bhūgadhān (ApŚ. dhāhā, MS. dhāhā, KS. 
dhavirdā) devatāsu (KS. tḥhyah) TS. MS. KS. APŚ. 
§106. In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring 
one reading or the other. In the following we find none, or so little as 
not to be worth noting: 
- dhātā dadātu (AV. dadāhātu) dasuṣe AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG. N. See next. 
dhātā viśād vāryā dadhātu AV.; dhātā dadātu dasuṣe vatsuni TS. MS. 
ApMB. In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of 
a derivative of the root dhā in the context may be noted. But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword. Does it 
indicate that the original verb was dhā, or rather that an original 
ād was attracted to it?
rayim no dehi ā́́vase ŚŚ.: rayim no dhehi yajñīyaṁ MS. Cf. ā́́yur no dehi 
ā́́vase, §105. 
medhām apnir dadātu me (SMB. dadāhātu te) SMB. APMB.; cf. medhām 
ta indro dadātu H.G., medhāṃ dhātā dadātu (RVKh. Scheidelowitz 
dadhātu) me RVKh. VS. 
tasmāi mā devāḥ parivatatthe sarve AV.; tasmāi no devāḥ paridatteha 
(KS. MS. dhātā, PG. dhateha) sarve (MS.† viśe) TS. KS. MS. 
SMB. PG. BDh. Comm. on AV. also ā́́datteha, called by Whitney a 
better reading; of this we are less sure.
tasya no rāsva tasya no dhēhi (AŚ. dāh) AV, AŚ.

jīvanī eva yatrī tat te dādāmi (SMB. dādāmi) TA, SMB. 1: jīvanī eva pratīdātē dādāmi MŚ.

udno (AV. ed. udhno, but mss. udno etc.; Whitney transl. reads udno).-dīvyaśya no dhātāh (TS. KS. dehi) AV. TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. dhāta, explaining by dhēhi (!).

mahī varcāḥ kṣatriyāḥ dādāth (KS. dadațh, TS. vanvānāh) TS. MS. KS.

§107. Leaving now the roots dā and dhā, we come to other d and dh variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss., certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form; in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root dabh. This (originally *dabh) produces both dhips and dīps, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (*dabh), is the usual form:
nindād yo asmān dīpsāc (VS. SB. dhīpsāc) ca VS. TS. MS. KS, SB. TA, dhipsāṃ vā sa取暖aka rājanābhayāḥ MŚ.: adītan vā sa取暖aka rājanābhayāḥ TA. Here dhips varies with the negative desiderative of dā (cf. §§180, 45).

yām te svadāvan svadayantī dhenaṇāḥ RV.: yām te svadāvan svadayantī gūrtyah RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter; see RVRep. on 8. 5. 7a and 8. 49. 5c.

sā brahmaṇāya vi dūnti rāṣṭram AV.: sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmaṇa-yāṣa av. Roots du and dhā.

rajasī (AV. ed. cm. rajasī) granther dānam (AŚ. dhānām) AV, AŚ. Vait. The emendation rajasī is very pat; the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and dhānām, like rajasī, is nonsense.

adhi kṣāmī (SV. asmin kṣaye) pratarasām didhyānāḥ (SV. *rām didhyānāh) RV. AV. SV. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 1 and Geldner, Gura-pūjākarmuḍi 20. SV. has an obvious lect. fac. infected by ideas such as RV. 5. 64. 5, sūditibhiḥ... sve kṣaye... vṛdhase, or RV. 5. 23. 4, esu kṣayeṣu... didhiḥ. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with didhyānāh).

yad banśiṣṭham nātividhe (TB. *vide) sudānā RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense; TB. comm. nātivaṃ sūryvāṃ. But the compound ati-vid is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms. of MS. has *vide.
indra dartâ (SV. dhartâ) purâm asi RV. SV. AV. The foolish antonym of SV. is disproved by RV. 1. 130. 10, 3. 45. 2, 6. 20. 3.

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

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


hotrāvidah (RV. vīda, TB. vṛdha) stomaṇtāsā arkaśī RV. AV. MS. TB.
On hotravid cf. RV. 5. 8. 3; hotrāvidh is not recorded.

indrārtubhir brahmaṇā śa vṛdhāsāh TB. ApŚ.: indra rśthubhir brahmaṇā samvidānāḥ SS.

§109. Remoter lexical variants are the following:

śyenāveṛīa dhrajato (MS. KS. dhraivato) aṅkasaṁ pars RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. dravataḥ is a banal easing up of the poetic dhraj-with śyena; cf. RV. 1. 165. 2.


āpo asmān (MS. mā) mātaraḥ kundhayantu (AV. MS. KS. sādayantu, TS. ApŚ. kundhantu) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AS. ApŚ. sūd7 is evidently secondary. Note that in AV. 20. 136. 16d the word kudilham of the vulgate is based on mss. readings sudam and šunam (Whitney, Index).

tam tvā bhrātarāh sūrīdhā (HG. suhṛdo, AV. sūrīdhā) vārdhamānam AV. ApMB. HG: sūrīdhā vārdhā, 'growing with good growth', is original. In HG, there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to bhrātarāh ('brothers, friends').

spardhante dhiyāh (TS. KSA. dīvah) sūrye na (SV. sūre na, TS. KSA. sūryena) vidāh RV. SV. TS. KSA. In RV., 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS. KSA., into 'The people of the
skye vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed).’ So at least the TS. comm., followed by Keith; this however implies emendation of the accent of divah to divah (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of ‘conflicting prayers’ (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff., or Johns Hopkins Circulars 25. 1ff.). The whole verse is obscure.

§110. The rest are obscure if not corrupt:
apâ snehîtīr (KS. ms. śnīhītī, em. v. Schroeder; SV. śnīhītīv) nṛmaṇā adhâta (SV. adhâd rāḥ [so divide], KS.† nṛmaṇām adaddrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: upa stūhi tam nṛmaṇām (Poon ed. stūki tam nṛmaṇām) athadātām TA.—KapâS. reads snehītī ṭṛmaṇām atthudrī. In RV. ‘He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies,’ Cf. 1. 74. 2. Benfey takes adhâd as sorist of dhā, and rāḥ as ‘riches.’ The TA. comm. understands stūhi as bhūmau prasravaya (root smu), and glosses athadātām by adhodraṇaśālam (v. l. atho7, as if athā = adhâs+drā). Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV.?
anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB.: anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣeyema Vait. Comm. on TB. adham id, anantaram eva; but no adverb adham is otherwise known. It seems to be a nonce-formation = adhâ by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as sadā: sadam = adhā: adham; note that the TB. comm. assigns to it the meaning of sadam, ‘always.’ Cf. VV I p. 195.
upâkṛtam saśmânam yad asthāt (MŚ. sadhasthāt, v. l. sad asthāt) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. If sadhasthāt is more than a blunder it must depend on upâkṛtam: ‘fetched from home’ or the like.
vāna vānanti dhṛṛdāt (MŚ. vāsa, dhṛṛdāt and dhṛṛdāt) rujantaḥ RV. TS. JB. SB. MŚ. See §60.
ud vairākam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: urdhvaṁ kham iva menire Mbh.
adā vīghtaḥ pītum addhi prasūtaḥ KS.: adomadām annanq addhi pra−
muktaḥ AV. And others, §§70. adomadām is obscure; we suspect that it contains adas (pronoun).
[lauā madaṇath sadhamādyeṣu (RVKh. VS. sadhamādeṣu) RVKh. VS. MŚ. KS. TB. And others; §325. Schefelowitz prints mādhyeṣu in RVKh.; but his ms. mādyeṣu.]

§111. Only in the synonymous roots gusp and golph. Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in gusp, but the

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

— mano yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ, gulphitam) MS. ApŚ.
yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ. gulphitam) hṛdi MS. ApŚ.
vigāne viṣeva guṣṭitam (some mss. and comm. gulphitam) AV.

p and bh

§112. These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings: most commonly the roots pr and bhr, in the meanings ‘preserve’ and ‘support’. In AV. 3. 5. 4c, там priyāsan bahu rocāmanāḥ, we must read hrirājan with Whitney.


utem (ŚŚ. uto) āśu mānan piparti (ŚŚ. bibharti) AV. AB. GB. ŠŚ. One ms. of ŠŚ. piparti, which should perhaps be read even in that text.
tam piprhi daśanāya ‘natar udare ŠG.: tam māta daśa māso bibhartu ApMB. HG.

sa teś vāstrāya sūhrtaṁ bibhartu AV. 13. 1. 1d; Ppp. according to Roth piparti for bi*, which must be secondary if Ppp. has sūhrtaṁ as indicated by Roth’s silence. This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV. 11. 5 (1d, 2e, 4d):
sa acāryam tapasā piparti (Ppp. bibharti),
sarvān sa devāṁ tapasā piparti (Ppp. bibharti), and
kramena lokāṁ tapasā piparti (Ppp. bibharti), all AV, and Ppp.

§113. There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots yūp and lubh, the former being original both times; see Bloomfield, *ATP* 12. 41ff.:

sanyopayanto duritāṁ viśvā RV. MG.: samlobhayanto duritā padāni AV. ayupitā (ApŚ, alubhitā, and once ayupitā by misprint, see Errata to Vol. 2) yonīḥ MS. ApŚ. MS.

§114. Finally two miscellaneous cases:

agnier jihvāsi suhūr (VSK. TS. TB. suhūr, KS. supūr) dvebhyaḥ (TS. TB. devānām) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚŚ. suhū, ‘calling enticingly,’ fits jihva best.
yā sarvasati naiśambhalyā (ApŚ. ṣhalyā, vv. ll. ṣphalyā, ṣbhalyā) . . .

TB. ApŚ. The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown. TB. comm. has a fatuous explanation.
ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115. That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to \( h \) is indicated e.g. by Wackernagel 1 §218. Nearly all our cases concern \( bh \) and \( h \); and a majority of these, again, the single root grah (grabh). Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, l. c., p. 252) is cheerfully neglected. The same school or the same text will use grabh in one place and grah in another, under like conditions. The popular texts, AV. and most of the Gṛhya Sūtras, seem to like grah a little better, but they are not consistent; they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language. Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS. and KS. RV. and other archaising texts—seemingly including VS., MS., ŚB. and ApMB.—and the RV. sūtras prefer grabh on the whole. But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

\( bh \) and \( h \)

§116. We begin with \( bh \) and \( h \), which includes grah: grabh and with it nearly all that may have historical significance. First, grah and grabh: grbhāmi (AV. HG. grbhāmi) te saubhagavatya (ApMB. HG. suprabhāsva) hastam RV. AV. AG. SG. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. jagrhmā (RV. jagrhmā, TB. jaygrhmā) te dākhṣiṇam indra hastam RV. SV. MS. TB. Svīdh. In VV I p. 252 we have suggested that the form jagrhmā (comm. vayan grhitavantah) may have been a 1st person subjunctive. [In the ms. of this section Bloomfield wrote: 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of \( m \) to \( n \) after the labial aspirate.' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form; jagrhmā (in which \( mā \) is the 1st plural ending) of RV. is stupidly altered to \( nā \) with thought of the present infix in forms like grbh-\( nā \)-ti.—F E.]

na hy asyā (ApMB. aṣya) nāma grbhāmi RV. ApMB.; nahi te nāma jagrāhā AV.

hiranyapāṇāḥ paśum āsu (SV. apṣu) grbhnot (AV.\( \uparrow \) grh\( \uparrow \)) RV. AV. SV. savitā (AG. ApMB. HG. MG. \( \ddot{a} \)ṭa te) hastam agrabhīt (AV. SMB. MG. \( \ddot{a} \)ḥ) AV. AG. SG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.; devas te savitā hastam grbnāta AV.

idam rādhaḥ prati grbhāhy (J.B. grbhāhy) aṅgirah AV. GB. JB. SS. bhagās te hastam agrabhīt (AV. \( \ddot{a} \)ḥ) AV. SG. ApMB.
agñiṣ (te) hastam agrabhīt (SMB, "ḥiṣ) SMB. ApMB. HG.  
ayam (ApMB. "mā te) hastam agrabhīt (SMB, "ḥiṣ) ŚG. SMB. ApMB.  
oṣadhyayah prati grhyātā (TS. KS. grhyātinim etam, MS. MS. grhyātīnīm etam) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS.  
nākaṁ grhbhnāṁ (TS. KS. grbh" sukṛtasya loke VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
agne brahma grhbhnīva (MS. MS. grhbhnīva, KS. grhbhnīva) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS.  
apo devir (VS. ŚB. deva) madhumatrī agrhrn (MS. KS. agrhrnām, VS. ŚB. agrhrnān) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.  
apo devir pratiagrhrhvita (TS. KS. ApŚ. "grhrhvita) bhasma, bhita VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.  
deva vah savitā hiranyapānān prati (MS. MS. "pānīr upa) grhrnta (VS. ŚB. pratiagrhrhvita . . .; VSK. "vah savitā pratiagrhrn̄ta . . .) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS.  
adiśe te (VS. MS. ŚB. "tīṣ te) bilam grhrnta (VS. MS. ŚB. grbh") . . .  
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ.  
tam vo grhrnty (MS. tam te grhrnty) uttamam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.  
prati grhrnti (MS. TB. "AŚ. grbh") mahate vīryāya (MS. KS. mahata indriyāya) MS. KS. TB. AŚ.—TB. Poona ed. text and comm.  
grbh".  
yasya yoniṁ patireto grhrnta (HG. prati reto grhrnta) ŚG. HG.: vy asya yoniṁ prati reto grhrnta ApMB.  
§117. The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically synonymous roots ṭhr and ḫr, without other motive than the close similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here.  
parāpura nipuro ye bharaṁ (MS. har" ) AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MS. SMB.  
rātrīṁ-rātrīm (VS. ŚB. " ahār-ahār, AV. TS. rātrīṁ-rātrīm) aprayaevi̓ bharaṁ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (both): ahār-ahār balim it te harantah AV.  
karma varmedam ā bhara ApMB.: karma varnmauṭād ā hara AV.  
vīṣṇuḥ saṁbhṛtyāmah VS.: vīṣṇuḥ upaśuḥṛtyāmah VS.  
prāndāpāntāh yam balam aharant (ApMB. abhar") SMB. ApMB.  
(Other forms, see Coné.)  
§118. Next come a number of shifts between the participles -hita (-dhita) and -bhita (-ḥita, cf. preceding): The quasi-Prakritic as regards both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approximate synonyma. Cf. also -dhita: -bhita, §175:  
kiranye 'smin samāhitaḥ (HG, samāḥṛtāḥ) RVKh. HG. ApMB. Schef- 
telowitz reads ḫṛtāḥ in RVKh.
devir devavah samāhytāh (TB: “bhṛtāh”) SV, TB: devair deviḥ samāhytāh RVKh. But Schefetlowitz, here also, reads “bhṛtāh” for RVKh; if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone. gaṇhārvaśa dhāma vīṁśḥtām guhā sat VS: gaṇaḥ nāma nibhiḥ guhāsā ṭa MahānU. And others; §855.


yaḥ agne pūreṇa probhṛtām (AŚ, prahitaḥ; MS, nibhiḥ) padam hi te TB. ApŚ, AŚ, MS.

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

agnir jīhāśī suhūr (subhūr, supūr) devebhyaḥ (devānām), see §114.
ekāyā ca daśabhīś ca svaṁhāte (AV. cā suhūte) AV, VS, MS, ŚB, TA, AŚ, ŚŚ. According to Roth Ppp. has cā bhūte, evidently intending cā svabhāte, which is presumably original. Vāyu is addressed.

ātvā subhavaḥ (AB, AŚ, suhava) sāryāya AB, KB, ŚB, AŚ, ŚŚ.

samudrāṁ na sāhavam (AV, subhavaśa, TB. Poona ed. subhuvam) taśtiḥvāśaṁ AV, TB. ApŚ: mahiśān naḥ subhevaṁ taśtiḥvāśaṁ MS—AVPpp. reads as MS. except sāhavas, for which Barret, JAOS 35. 46, reads subhuvas. The root hu may be concerned here, despite TB. comm. (sukhenaḥvātum śakyam).

suhūtakṛtah stha ... AŚ: subhūtakṛta stha ApŚ: subhūtakṛtaḥ subhūtām nah kṛṣṇata ŚŚ.

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

apāṁ gambhān sīda VS, ŚB. KŚ: apāṁ gambhāram gacha KS. ApŚ: apāṁ te dhvman sūdayimī ... MS, MS.

§121. Miscellaneous cases:
brāhmaṇeṣhhyo hṛi śuvānta (TA: ‘bhyanu”) TA, MāhānU, hi: (a)hi, asvabhavyam (JB, asvahyam, perhaps for asvākhhyayam) parabhavam AV, JB.

abhī dyumnām (RV, VS, sumnām) devabhaktam yaviṣṭha (MS, KS, devahitaḥ yaviṣṭha) RV, VS, TS, MS, KS, ApMB.
§122. Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhi: hi; participle *hita: dhita*), partly on lexical changes:

*ṛṇḥ* (MS. ṛṇa) pāhi kṛṇudhi (SV. *ḥti*) giruh RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. 


uṇeṇa vāya (ApMB. vāyav) udakeneti (SMB. GG. *naiḍhi, MG. vāyur udakenet) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. *ihī: edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary.

ṇapaste soma ḍhitah (ApMB. ṛḍhitah) RV. AV. ApMB. MG. Note the archaism in ApMB.

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūṇy anṛdhuh (TS. anṛhuḥ, MS. anasaḥ) AV. TS. MS. Whitney (Roots) rubricates anṛhuḥ under arh. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of anṛdhuh; see Whitney’s note in AV. 2. 35. 1 and Keith on TS. 3. 2. 8. 3.

grāhva śitikakṣi vārdrāṇasas te dīryaḥ (KSA. ms. vārdrāṇasas te *dīryaḥ*) 

TS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends to vārdhra, questionably; see Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 28, and above §23.

harṣamāṇaś ca dhṛṣṭā (TB. *śatā) marutaḥ RV. TB. N.: harṣamāṇa ĥṛṣṭaś ca marutaḥ AV. Three mss. of AV. ĥṛṣṭaśa: Ppp. ms. ṭaramāṇaś ca ṭatā, for which Barret, JAOS 35. 50f., reads ṭhrata. The form ĥṛṣṭā is obviously suggested by the preceding ĥaraṣa.

usrā (VSK. KS. usrā) etam dhūṛṣāhau (VSK. MS. *vaḥau, KS. *bādha*) 

... VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MS.

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


aṅghārīr (ŚS. anhārīr, all mss.) aṣi bambahārīḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. 

ŚS. LŚ. The word is obscure, but ŚS. looks like a phonetic reduction.

somaṁ te kṛṣṇāmy ārjavanantam payasvantam ṛṇyāvantam abhimāṁśāham
(KS. viryāvantam bahvarghāh sobhamānam) TS. KS.: somavikrayin soman te kriyāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu sobhamānam MS. tam gheh agnir vṛdhaṅvati RV. TS.: tum hed agnir vidhāvatī MS. Particles gha and ha.

vīraṁ hi (read aviraghni?) vīravatāḥ suśevā MG.: aviragho (ApMB.†

*nī) vīravatāḥ (ŚG. virataraḥ, HG. 6tamah) suśrīṇ (HG. suśevān)
AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

kh and h

§124. Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of a frog. With this cf. asambhavam (JB. asam-

heyam) parābhavan AV. JB., where asamheyam may be for asamkkhy-
eyam; see §121.

khanvakhaśi khaimakhāśi madhye tadurī AV.; haimahāḥ haimahāḥ
KS. Cf. haimahāḥ idam madhye ... ŚŚ. LS. ApŚ.
CHAPTER IV. INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

1. GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

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

k and ŭ

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

samānāṃ ceto abhisamanviadvam (TB. kēto abhisamāṭvadadham) AV. TB.
ā no agne sucetunā (TB. Aps. suketeunā) RV. SV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Aps.

The s-stem ketas is āk. lex̣̣, and is doubtless due to confusion between cetas and kētā, both of which are historically regular. TB. comm. sakasāsasthānam, the meaning of the Classical kēta (perhaps from ci, 'pile', rather than cit). The form -ketu of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than -cetu, patterned after the prevalent c forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel 1 p. 146, and further Oldenberg on RV. 5. 66. 4; Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV., s. v. ketunā. Yet the reading suketeunā is evidently secondary.

kokāl (TS. sōcāl) prthivyā uśa vā divas pari VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. sōcāl is āk. lex̣̣ and analogical.
INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

kanikhunad īva sāpayan: TB.; canikhunad yathāsopam AŚ. c- is again analogical; for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p. 147. yatrāntān (VS. ApMB. ənān) vṛthā nihittān parāke (SMB. parācah) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. parā(ə)c- and its extension parāk-a-.

nū cīt (SV. nakh) sa dabhyaṭe janaḥ RV. SV. cīt is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem ka-; but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred.

atha adhvikartanam (ApMB. əcartanam) RV. AV. ApMB. Here the two roots are unrelated: kṛt ‘cut’ and cṛt ‘tie’. In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p. 145). The primary reading of this variant was ‘cutting off’; the secondary, ‘untying’, ima udvāśikāraṇa... TB. ApŚ.: ima uddhāśicāraṇa... MŚ. See §59.

The MŚ. reading is secondary and poor; it is felt as containing root cār, as against the original kṛ.

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

indrasya (MŚ. MŚ. indraẏa) tvā bhāgan somena tanacmi (VSK. tanakmi, MŚ. MŚ. somenātanacmi) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: somena tvā tanacmīndraẏa dadhī TS. TB. ApŚ.

g and c

§128. An isolated case concerning unrelated words; the majority reading with c is presumably original:

na vai śvetasyādhyācārā (HG. əbhyācāreṇa, MG. əbhyaçāre, AG. śvetā əcāhyācāre) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

k and ch

§128a. An isolated lexical variant:

chaviṇ (KSA. kaviṇ) chavyā TS. KSA. The latter is doubtless original; assimilation to the next word in TS., resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem.

kh and ch

§129. Two variants contain forms of khid and chid, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7. 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wbch. Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between kh and ch. See his references §131b, end, and cf. Günert, Reimwortbildungen 23, 32.
§130. The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit j (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff.) is such that j from IE palatal g should properly never vary with g, whereas j of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE e, e, i, i, y. Nevertheless j from palatal g produces analogically some g forms (Wack. §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually m and n) is regularly treated as j (Wack. §130e). The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all.

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

mitravartanapok te vṛṣastrob prakīṛṭa yunajmi (VSK. "gmi")... VS.
VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. ApŚ. MSa.
agniḥ yunajmi (VSK. "gmi") āvasā ghrtena VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. KŚ. ApŚ. MSa.
ogniṣomabhātī vinjāṁ ni yunajmi (VSK. "gmi") VS. VSK. ŠB.
vainām te vājēdyāyai (TS. sapatnasāñ; KS. vājin vājayatyāyai) sam mārjmi (VSK. "gmi") VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŠB.
vainām te vājēdyāyai (TS. sapatnasāñ; KS. vājin vājayatyāyai) sam mārjmi (VSK. "gmi") VS. VSK. TS. KS. Corresponding formulas of other schools all with mārjmi; see Conc. under vāji tevā. upa tevā kāmaṁ mahaḥ sarṣyamahe RV. AV.: upa tevā kāma imahe sarṣyamahe SV.

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

hināno mānasā yugā (SV. yujā) RV. SV.
dāvinaṁ mānasā yugā RV. SV. VS. TS. ŠB.: vīrāga mānasā yugā KS.;
dāvinaḥ mānasā yujā MS. The SV. form of the first variant may be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem yuj. In this case both are phonetically normal, as the RV. has a neutral plural of yuga (cf. Wackernagel I §128a, d). In the second case also MS. may have an adverbial instrumental,

distāya rājjusarjam (TB. "sargam") VS. TB.
prajāpate viśnusaj (MS. "ṣr̥"; mss. mostly ṣt̥k, one sṛj) jīvadhanyah
MS. TB. AŚ,† 2. 14, 12c [also in Conc. under idāṁ no deva pratiharya]
havyam, read AŚ. 2. 14. 12d] ApŚ.—The śv. leś. raiju* seems to mean ‘rope-maker’ (TB. comm. raijānāṁ sraṣṭāram), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an a-stem. Since a-stems from roots in velar j tend to have g (Wackernagel §128a), the root srj is carried away with the rest; cf. the familiar nomen actionis sarqa. The ‘historically correct’ sarja, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On srj: srg see Wackernagel I pp. 173f., 329. In the second variant srj before j might stand for srj; cf. below, §142, brahman tvam asi viśvasīt (*srk).

§133. Once an intensive reduplication varies between g and j; cf. the same with k and c, §126, karikkuṇad etc.;
ni galgaliti dhārakā VS. SB.; ni jalguliti (KSA.† mss. jalgalāti, ed. em. jalgaliti) dhāṃkā TS. KSA.

§134. The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin: ṭraṇyāmasy aprataḥ HG.; prasāryāmasy aprataḥ PG. ApMB.; pra-
śayāmy asyāgranah MG. Verb forms of pra-gāti and pra-jān, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG.; see Kirste’s note.
sadā yācann ahaṁ girā (SV. jyā) RV. SV. N. Comm. on SV, reads
girā with RV. Since jyā is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form (*potential optative') of root ji, with loss of final m, for *jyāṁ =
*jyām. Very dubious.
apa (AV. avā) śveta padā jahi AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: apaḥ
(most mss. apaḥ śvetapada ḍaḥi (so all mss.) MG. See §817.
punar brahmāṇo (AV. brahmā) vasunīthā (*nītī, *dītam, *dīte) yatānāh
(AV. MS. KŚ.† agne) AV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. (his) SB. See §93.

2. GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135. A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in k and ū;
ṭekaš ca sasaramaṇākaś ca HG.: tekaš ca sasaramaṇākaś ca ApMB.
See §165.

3. GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136. The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting,
but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To
some extent they concern final consonants; in one of these cases the
ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really
one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in
character; often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing
in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.
§137. We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *skabh*; see Bloomfield, *IF* 4, 74ff.; Güntert, *Reimwörterbildung* 26ff. Among the variants, RV. always has *stabh*, while AV. prefers *skabh*:

*jagātā sīndhumā dīvy aṣtabhāyat* (AV. *aska*) RV. AV.
*mahān makhī aṣtabhāyad* (AV. KS.† *aska*) *vi jālaḥ* AV. TS. KS. AB. AŚ.
*yan kramātī avasā aṣtabhāne* (AV. *avataśaska*) RV. AV. VS. VSK.

TS.: *ya ime dyāśaprthivī aṣtabhāne* MS. KS. AVPP. (Barret, *JAOS* 35. 44f.)

*vy aṣtabhnu* (VS. SB. *aska*, MS. *aska*, KS. aśna, TS. aṣka, TA. *aṣabhād*; rodasti *vįṣṇav* (*'n'a, *'nur*) ete RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA.

divāṃ skabhāna: KS.: dyāṃ stabhāna KS.

§138. There are few other cases in which \( k \) and \( t \), not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion:

*stuti kāram vaiṛṣṇam apratiṣṭham* (TB. aprāṭitam) MS. TB. The Bibl.

Ind. ed. of TB. has aprāṭitam, but comm. and Poona ed. text correctly, aprāṭitam, 'invincible'. MS. has a mere blunder.

avānyāṁ tantūṁ kirato dhatto anyān TB.: prānyā tantūṁ tirate dhatte anyā AV. See Whitney on AV. 10. 7. 42.

*pura jatrūbhya* (TA. APMB. jāṭrūbhya, MS. cakrbhya, p.p. vaktṛbhyaḥ!)
*dṛḍāḥ* (MS. *do*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KS. APMB. See §57.

*ugro* (HG. *حرية, MG. ārṇa*) *virājann* (MG. *jaṃ*) apa (MG. *upa-*)
*ṣedhā* (AV. *vṛkṣa*) *ṣatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. APMB. HG. MG.

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

*vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svana* TB.: *sāṃ te rāṣṭram anākta* payasā
gṛṭena AV. For vi-unattu cf. RV. 1. 164. 47, 5. 83. 8; for sam-anākta, RV. 10. 88. 4, 118. 4. The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic.

devaś nyupāt (KS. nutā, AV. uktā) nyasarpo mahīnā (AV. *tvam*) AV.

KS. APŚ. MS. 'Cast forth (KS. impelled, AV. spoken!) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness).’ Ppp. reads mahīnā, and also *ṣṛṣṭā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean.

anyām icaḥ pṛṣṭadām vyaktām (APMB. *vittām*) RV. APMB.: *javām
erc pṛṣṭadāh nyaktām* (read *tām*) AV. Here the assimilated form of APMB. (with samprasāraṇa) is clearly secondary.
savrā̄n it tāk anus vidur vasīṣṭhāh RV.; savram uktam anusidur vasīṣṭhāh JB. A more drastic reconstruction or Verbalmhornung in JB.

iha prasattō (AV. prasaktō, TB. prasapto) vi cayat kṛtaṁ nāh RV. AV. MS. TB. prasapto (comm. prakarṣena samāgataṁ san, as if from pra-sṛp with Prakritic a for t) has no standing. AV., tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached'; RV. probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later prasanna.

viviktyai (TB. vivityai, read with Poona ed. vivityai) ksattāram VS. TB. viviktyai, 'for discernment', is certainly original. TB. comm. viṣeṣā-lābhaḥbhīṃāṇāya: but the form of root vid is isolated if vi be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication.

dhātuḥ kakataḥ (KSA. kakataḥ) TS. KS. Original form unknown; VS. 24. 32 has kakata).

avimuktacakra (v. l. 56ā) āśrān PG.: vivṛttacakra āśrāṇ HOG. ApMB.

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

ṝṣayam prṭsu (SV. prkṣu) sāsahim RV. AV. SV. Here only prṭsu, 'in battles', can be meant; 'in delights' (root prc) is silly.

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

yad dītsasi (SV. yac chikṣasi) stivation māvate vasu RV. SV. In this case the two forms are practically synonyms; dikṣeyam and dītsėyam together in RV. 8. 14. 2; a similar passage RV. 1. 81. 2.

agnih (AV. agnēḥ) srucdo adhvareṣu prayatsu (AV. prayakṣu) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prayatyo adhvara, familiar formula in RV. at the ends of pādas (RVRep. 660). Wackernagel I §152a, note, erroneously suggests that prayatsu may be for prayatṣu = prayakṣu (pra-yaj), but the form does not really construe. The hymn AV. 5. 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, Atharvaveda 54), does not call for any serious treatment of prayakṣu (the p.p. leaves it undivided); it is, like most of the SV. readings with ks for ts, a phonetic blunder for prayatṣu.
āvilsī (MS. āyukṣī) sarvā ogadhāh RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots ā-vid: ā-yuj.
prāmāṇa ava prtanāsu pra vikṣu (TB. yutṣu) RV. TB. Here, of course, 
ks is original; yutṣu is suggested by prtanāsu.
§141. There is also one isolated anomaly in which kn is substituted 
for tn, somewhat as in the preceding. Here too kn seems to be a 
phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound 
combinations:
lādānā (TB.† 'knā) satrum (TB. ōān) na kīlā vivitse (TB. Conc. vivitse, 
read vivitse with Poona ed. text and comm.) RV. TB. lādiknā is 
repeated in the comm. (Poona ed.), which glosses lādṛān! It 
seems that it must mean simply lādānā.
§142. Finally, a few cases of interchange between k and t final. 
All concern the ends of pādas. Two concern adverbial forms in -k 
from aic stems; a third is simply a matter of external sandhi;
anaṁtvaṁ no adharāt (KS. ṛtak, VSK. me ṭadhārak) AV, VSK. KS. 
Equivalent adverbs, one abl. of adhara, the other acc. neut. of 
adharānc. The same pair sonantized, below, §145, ottārād adharād 
(‘rāg) ā purastāt.
tad viptro abhrāt udak (ŚŚ. u tat) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.
brahmaṇaḥ (MahānU. brahmaṇa) team asi viśvasṛ (MahānU. Ṙṛk) TA. 
MahānU. There is a v. I. Ṙṛk in TA; and as the next sentence 
begins with t, the variant may be graphic. Possibly, however, 
sṛt may be for sṛt by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel r.; 
cf. Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment 
of this root in general, §149a, a. [Delete brahma team asi etc. in 
Conc.]
samyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ. *MS. sam it, KS. *sari) sarvanta sarito na 
dhenaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. KS. ApŚ. MS. See §830. 
sarvasat vē ma passing abhiṣgaṇ (TB. ApŚ. abhiṣgaṇ) RV. AV. VS. MS. 
KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Altho TB. comm. fatuously glosses by bhīṣ-
ajjatu, abhiṣgaṇ (abhi + iṣṇāmi) is doubtless an independent lexical 
word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of k:t enters as a 
factor. While abhiṣgaṇ is āx.āy., the word, as well as the treatment 
of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary.
Note also: yādo bhagāt ca mā riṣat MG. 1. 9. 27c, where Knauer reports 
that practically all his mss. point to riṣak as the true reading; of course 
it must mean the same as riṣat. Cf. Wackernagel I §260a, β, small 
print; §277a.
Cf. also AV. 1. 18. 2a: nīr aranīṁ savītā sāvīṣat padoh; so the vulgate;
but all mss. sāviṣat, retained by SPP. and approved by Whitney; see Whitney, Grammar 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm. and Pp. both have sāviṣat. The same form occurs in the VS. version of the following; on the subject of final k: see most recently Renou, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger 163n.; Oertel, ibid. 137; and our §272a, na me lad etc.; our §145; and abhisiyak for ०त, PG. 3. 1. 3b (VV I p. 242, infra).

tasyāṁ no devāḥ (MS. tasyāṁ devāḥ) savitā dharmāṁ (VS.† VSK.† TS.† ŠB.† dharma) sāviṣat (VSK. sak) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

The next is an error of the Conc.:

[triyrd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt TB. ApŚ.: triyrd bhuvanāṁ yad rathavṛk
KS. Conc., but read rathavṛt; text Ṛṛj jīvo—]

kh and t

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

parī satyasya dharmanā (PG. sakhyasya dharmanāḥ) AŚ. PG.

g and d

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

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

yad annam admī (PrāṇāgU. aqā) bahudhā virūpam (etc., §619) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

na vai gāvo maṅgārasya (KS. maṅgārasya) KS. Vait. MS. Proper names, of unknown etymology.

rudras (MS. ugras) tanticaro vṛṛt TB. ApŚ. MS. GG. KhG. marudbhīr ugrā ahaṁyamāṇāḥ AV.: marudbhī rudrāḥ samajñatābhī

TS. Whitney considers ugrā a corruption for rudrā.

āsmin (KS. ā śim) ugrā (MS. ā samudrā) acucyavah TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

In an obscure ritual verse; MS. doubtless a lect. fac.
§145. In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings); as under k:ṭ (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence; it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, adharāt and ṛāk, which we met in §142, first variant:

ottarād adharād (TB. ṛāg) ā purastāt RV. MS. KS. TB.

niyudbhir (AV. viyuḥbhir) vāyav (AV. VSK. MS. vāya) ṭha ṭā vi muṇca (ŚŚ. muniḥca) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. [Add to VV I §§25 and 156.] Also:

prayuḥbhyā (TB. prayud”) unmatam VS. TB. In the first of these two viyuḥbhir is untenable, because the niyutāḥ are technically the span of Vāyu (Bṛhaddevatā 4. 140). In the second, prayuḥbhyā of VS. is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahidhara; Griffith, ‘for Motives’). Comm. on TB. glosses prayud” by prakāraṇa yodhḍhāsvabhāyaḥ, as if from pra-yutāḥ. At TB. 3. 7. 9. 1, AŚ. 12. 3. 2 occurs prayutāḥ, which TB. comm. glosses prakāraṇa somaṁ mārayantah (adopted by Böhtlingk, ‘durcheinander mangelnd’). This idea fits unmatam ‘mad’, thus favoring the TB. reading. But PB. 1. 2. 5 reads marutā for prayute in the corresponding passage; Caland gives up prayutāḥ.

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

mayun (also gauram, garayam, meṣāṁ, marabhah) te ṭug rchatu (KS. te kṣut) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS. actually reads kṣut, before a following sonant.

triṣuq (AŚ. ṛruḍ) gharmo viḥātā u me (KS. gharma sūlam in me viḥātī) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. ṛruḍ here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

yamasya dūtāḥ ca vāy viḥāvati MS.: yamasya dūtāḥ svapād viḥāvati TA. The subject is grīhrāh ‘vulture’; TA. is correct, and MS. an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of g(k) and d(l) have a share.

dadṛṣu (TA. dadhad) viḍhakṣyan (AV. ṛṣyam) paryaṅkhaṭaye (TA. ṛṭai, AV. paryaṅkhaṭāi) RV. AV. TA. Roots ṛṣṭ and ṛṭā. 
§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain; it is obvious that MS. (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to su-vāc ‘beautiful-voiced’:

\[\text{svāṇa nabhṛd... MS.} \quad \text{MS.: svāṇa nabhṛd... KS.: svāṇa bhrājāṅghāre... VS. TS. ŠB.: svāṇa bhr̥u̯... TA.}\]

\text{amāsi saraṇā (AŚ, saraṇā) aśi praviṣṭaḥ AŚ. Kauś. The original is saraṇā (saraṇa ‘turned in all directions’); AŚ. secondary.}

Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest:

\[\text{grāme vidhuram (HG. vikhuram) ichanāt swāḥa HG. ApMB. Both in wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted.}\]

\[\text{aghadviśā devajātā AV. Kauś.: athareyugā devajātā ApŚ. The latter is a mere corruption.}\]

\[\text{deva purāscara saṅghitāsam te AŚ. TA. ApŚ: devapurasā carama pīhyāsam te MS. The former is original: ‘may I be able to carry thee’. MS. has a slipshod substitute,}\]

\[\text{yad aprhiyata (KS. ‘yathās’) tad gṛtam (KS. adds abhava) MS. KS: yad adhriyata tad gṛtam abhavaat TS. As Keith says, the TS. etymology is not too bad for a Brāhmaṇa; but the other is certainly original.}\]

4. GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

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

\[\text{anuṣṭup (TB. anuṣṭuk) paṅktiyai (MS. paṅktaye) TB. ApŚ. MS.}\]

\[\text{anuṣṭup (TS. anuṣṭuk) paṅktiyā saha VS. TS. MS. KSA,}\]

\[\text{triṣṭub (TS. triṣṭug) graśiṃū VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.}\]

§149. The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird; AV. 11. 2. 25 adds purikaya (comm. pulli). It may be noted that most forms contain both \(p\) and \(k\) somewhere in the word. The original form cannot be determined:
mitrāya kulīpayān (MS. pulīkayān) VS. MS.
nākro mukarāh kulīpaysa (TS. kulīkayas, MS. pulīkayas, KSA. pulī-
rayas) te kūpārasya (KSA. kūvarasya) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
kuṅkā devajāṃbihāyāh VS.: devānāṃ patnībhāyāh pulīkāh MS.

§150. Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is
impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence
of nicumpuṇa in RV. decides. It may be onomatopoetic:
avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa (TS. TB. ApŚ. nicaṅkua, MS. KS. MS. nicaṅ-
kua) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApŚ. N.
nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. nicaṅkua, MS. KS. nicaṅkunāh)
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. In same passage as preceding;
nom. changed to voc. in TS. TB. by form-assimilation to the
adjoining formula.

§151. Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with
more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following; lexical con-
siderations enter in faintly with some of them:
Kaṅkāikāyāh (AŚ. praudākāyāh) na abhara TB. AŚ. Note the dental
n in AŚ., despite preceding r. Comm. on TB, desperately, kana-
kasad bhāsamānām rūpavatīṁ kanyāṁ. Both forms are hopeless.
bajābojopakāśini HG.: khaśjo soppakāśiniḥ ApMB. Again both are
hopeless.
kuṭanānām (VS. ŚB. kūkānanāmā, MS. piṭanānām) tvā patmann ā
dhūnomi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: kolānāsu (sc. te śukra śukram ā dhūnomi)
TS. An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoetic, epithet of
waters.
bāṁ te (AV.* bāṁ u, TA. bāṁ u te, KS. MS. bāṁ nāh) sante anūpyāh
(TA. anukyāh) AV. KS. TA. MS. anukyāḥ might be considered a
purely phonetic variant; it should be remembered that Tait.
texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of
labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean
about the same as anūpyāh, from anūpa; so comm., anūpayāh
bhavā anukyāā āpaḥ. Formally, however, anukyā is imaginable from
the stem anu‘nca ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately
‘helping’); and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been
at work in TA.
ŚG. PG. MG.: agnau lajān āvapanti SMB. HG. kulpāy may
conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait, preference for
gutturals, cf. the precc. and §148.
vanakraksām (SV. prikṣaṇ) udāprutam RV. SV. 'Sounding in (vessels
of wood'. The onomatopoetic root kraka also in krakṣaṁāṇa, awakraṅgin. SV. *praṅsa has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm., followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from pra-kiśi 'abide'.

aṁśuṁ (Av. aṁśu) babhast (ApŚ. gahā) haritobhir āsabhiḥ AV. KS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. stanza is otherwise corrupt, and gahā is unintelligible. Caland gives up the verse.

grivāyām (KS. grivāsu) baddho apiṅkāṣa āsan(#MS. aipakṣa āsan) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. N. Original is apiṅkāṣa, a certain part of the body. MS. (p.p. api- pakṣuh) may have been influenced by thought of pakṣa (cf. Keith on TS. 1. 7. 8. 3).

vīśvalopa vīśvedāraya trāsan jihomī TS. GB. Vait.: vīśloka vīśvedāyeye tvā savājihomī svarā MŚ. vīśloka is perhaps a sort of lect. inac., but vīśvalopa is itself not clear; cf. Keith on TS. 3. 3. 8. 2.

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

yad adya dugdham prāvāmin asṛupā (TB. ApŚ. asaktā, MŚ. abhaktā) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In MŚ., as in AB. AŚ., the parallel following pāda contains asṛpad; in TB. ApŚ., asarad.

iha prasatto (AV. prasakto, TB. prasaplo) vi cayat kṛtaṁ nāh RV. AV. MS. TB. See §139.

krāṇa (SV. prāṇa) śikvar mahānām RV. SV. And:

krāṇa (SV. prāṇa, AV. prāṇaḥ) sindhūnāṁ kulasāṁ acīkradat (RV. avīnaṣat) RV. SV. AV. The SV. is really inexplicable; AV. attempts to rationalize it. Cf. Oldenberg, Proleg. 279. On the much discussed krāṇa see last RVRep. 136.

devaṁ nyaptaā (KS. nulā, AV. ukta) vyasarpō mahāvā (AV. *tvama) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §139.

aktam (MS. MŚ. aptubhi, KS. *arthan) rāhāya vyantu (vyantu) sayah TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. GG. KhG. And others, see §96. The stem aptyu (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small'. It is hard to apply this meaning here; perhaps adverbially, 'daintily', asmin goshe karīṇīh (Kaus. *vah, MS. purīṇīh) AV. MŚ. Kaus. The riming synonyms karīṇa and purīṇa; cf. Bloxmal, AJP 16. 409ff. Different context, hence different gender, in Kaus.

kriyanta (TB. priyā ta [so divide]) ā barhīh (TB. Cone. *his, Poona ed. *kih) śida RV. AV. KS. TB. Preceded by inā brahma brahma-
vāhāh (TB.† 9ha). 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB., are pleasing to thee); sit upon the barhīs.' [pra. so agne tavātībhīh] suvirabhīs †tirata (SV. TS. tarati) vājabharmabhīh (SV. TS. 9karmabhīh) RV. SV. TS. KS.
sugandhim (AV. subandhi) pativedanam AV. VS. SB. APŚ.: sugandhim puṣṭivardhanam (KS. rayiposaṇam) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TAA. Vait, LŚ. N. The AV. changes sugandhim by adaptation to the meaning of pati-vedanam (pati suggests bandhu).

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

indro yajave prāta (AV. gr) ca kiṣati (AV. 9te) RV. AV. TB.
sviṣṭam aṅga abhi tat prāta (PG. prāta, KS. tad prāta) KS. TB. APŚ.
PG. HG.
iṣṭam viṭām (AV. pārtam) abhipārtam (AV. 9pārtam) vāṣṭṛtyatam RV. AV.
VS. TS. MS. KSA. [Delete in Conc. reference to AV. under iṣṭam
viṭām . . .]

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

samanu drapam (AV. bhakṣam) avṛṣṭa pūṣā (AV. sakrah) AV. TS. MS. KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit; it is hard to
see any reason for preference.

ḥrṣu kraṭun varuno (MS. 9ram) ṛkṣev (RV. ṛkse, MS. ṛkṣev) agnim
RV. VS. †TS. †MS. KS. SB.†
5. PALATALS AND DENTALS

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

c and t

§155. Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots car and tar:

*yaññasyāyur anu sam caranti (A Ś. tarantu) TS. A Ś. Cf. yaññayur anusāncarān TB. Ap Ś.

na tād (AV. nainam) rakteśaś na piśācāḥ caranti (VS. caś taranti, AV. cāh sahante) RV Kh. AV. VS. But Scheftelowitz reads RV Kh. as VS.

achinnam tantum anu sam tirema (TA. carema) AV. TA. Comm. on AV. car*.

śamyāḥ praratām (Vait. tāḥ iwa (M Ś. praratām iha) Vait. KS. Ap Ś. M Ś.

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

*śa kiṃtāt (SV. 3āi; TB. Ap Ś. 3āi) mayas karat apa srīdhaḥ RV. SV. TB. Ap Ś. The TB. Ap Ś. reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in -āci, fem. to -āne (like pra cī); so, perhaps, the comm. understood it (anīṣṭasamanaprāpikā tatt). But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following i-vowel. Cf. next.

arciṣṭāriyo nudatām prati caḥ AV.: arciṣṭā satṛn dahanāṃ pratiṣṭyā AG

Here in the secondary AG. we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding.

sahityāsādh ... TS. M Ś. KS; sa cetasāu ... AV. See §305. Here we suspect that AV. is secondary, with palatalization of ty to c.

agre (TB. agne, Poona ed. agre) yaññasya cetatah (RV. śocataḥ) RV. KS. TB.

vidyām yām u ca (Ś Ś. uta) vidmasti AB. Ś Ś.

jaṅdāḥ vīraṣṭir (HG. vicāṣṭir) ... HG. Ap MB. And others, see §634. Oldenberg on HG. assumes vīraṣṭi, ‘thirst’.

dīvo vābbhiṣṭām anu yo vicaṣṭe M Ś.: devānām vīṣṭām (Ap Ś. niṣṭām) anu yo vīrasthe VSK. TB. KS. Ap Ś.

vācaṁ (RV. AV. vācaṁ) viṣṇuṁ sarasaṭ̄āṁ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.;
viṣṇuṁ vācaṁ sarasaṭ̄āṁ KS. vācaṁ is secondarily suggested by sarasaṭ̄āṁ; note that KS. places it next to that word. AV. comm. also has vācaṁ.

śraddhe kam indra carato vitaturam (TB. vīcara) RV. TB. The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding car-alo. Comm. regards it as an intensive formation from root tear! (vīkṣṣena
tvarā yathā bhavati tathā).

yuktaś tisra vimṛjaḥ sūryasya PB.: yunajmi tisro vīpṛcaḥ sūryasya te (MS. vimṛjaḥ sūryah savas, or savah) TS. ApŚ. MS. Here j as well as c is involved, cf. next. See §57.

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

śakalī prajānām kāviṣṭāḥ vratam (ApŚ. kāviṣṭāḥ vratam) anugeṣaṁ svadhā PB. ApŚ. vratam hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary, tato yajñas tāyate viśvadāniṁ KS. MS.: tato yajño jāyate viśvadāniḥ TB. ApŚ. yajñas tāyate is standard, cf. e.g. RV. 7. 10. 2. 9. 102. 7, 10. 90. 15. It is interesting that Knaur reports all ms. but one of MS. as reading tāyate, a middle stage leading to the lect. fac. jāyate.

devā no yajñam rūthaḥ (TB. ApŚ. rūthā) nayantu VS. TB. ApŚ. yajñam rūthaḥ is supported by RV. 1. 170. 5. 8. 44. 8; but in RV. 2. 3. 7 the two points of view blend in ṛja yakṣatāḥ . . . yajantāv rūthāḥ. They are in fact nearly synonymous.

sam bākubhyām dharmā (etc., §853) sam patatraḥ (KS. yajatraḥ)
RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

c and d

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

somāya vaca ucyatam (SV. ucyate) RV. SV.

girā-girā ca daksaye (KS. kakṣaye) RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. PB. ApŚ.
sudā (MS. laṣya) paśyanti sārayah RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NṛpU. and other Up. One ms. of KS. has sadyā!

ajaiṣmādyaśanāma ca (AV. 9sanāmādyā) RV. AV. ca and adya.
§159. Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of dy and jy in the roots dyjut, jyut (Wackernagel, I §140a). It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which jyâm and jman are displaced by dyâm, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence:

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS. TB. dīpyatām, MS. rīyo jyotatām) aprayuyan VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB.


upa jman upa vetaśe VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.: upa dyām upa vetasam AV. Vait. Kauś. The absurd AV. reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism; see Whitney’s note.

pavamānaḥ so adya nāh RV. VS.: pavṛ varjanāha (svārṛ) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. HG. BDh. In a secondary lect. fac., dy becomes j.

imām (MS. imām ca, VS. TS. ŚŚ. ya imām) yajñam svadhāya (KS. AŚ. ya ca, MS. sudhāya) dadante (AŚ. yajante, ŚŚ. bhañjante) VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

daiyāya dhārtre jostre (MS. dhātre deṣṭre) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Note the palatal diphthong after d, which is however doubtless secondary.

uccairāji pītanāpaḥ (HG. sāhaṁ; ApMB. vādī pītanāji) RVKh. HG. ApMB. If ApMB. is correct (v. l. vāśi is recorded) it is a hyper-Sanskritic absurdity; no form of root ved can be concerned here.

prati śma (AV. śma) vakṣasa dāha (AV. jāhi) RV. AV.

ichanto parīdāktān APMB.: iṣpantāḥ parīdāktān HG. See critical notes on HG. 2. 3. 7. Both forms seem uninterpretable. Oldenberg on HG., ‘visiting those who wake (?)’, apparently understanding jāgaṁ.

erum tundānā (TS. penerima tuñjānā) patyeva jīvā AV. TS. Roots tuj and tud are practically synonyms. See Whitney on AV. 6. 22. 3. Keith on TS. 3. 1. 11. 8, and cf. Oldenberg, Noten on RV. 1. 45. 4. The AV. comm. reads tuñjānā.

mā na āyuḥ param avaran mānadoṇaḥ MS.: mā naḥ param adharam (MS. ādhanam) mā raṇe ‘naiḥ (MS. naiḥ) TA. MS. See §836.

§160. Only lexical variants:

mātā yad vīrac ādhanad dhaniṣṭhā (MS. jajana jajniṣṭham) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS. to suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-
lative janīṣṭha is not otherwise recorded: ‘when the mother has borne a most prolific son’. Cf. the following similar variant.

osadhibhyah paśūbhya me dhanāya (TS. paśave no janāya) TS. KS. ApŚ† MS.

athāya madhyam ejatu VS. LŚ.: athāsyai (TS. MS. TB. ṣeyā) madhyam edhatām (Vait. ṛtu, AŚ. LŚ. ejatu, SS. ejati) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. SS. Vait.: adhāsyā madhyam edhatām KSA.

y and d

§161. This seems a natural place to append two variants between y and d, in the first of which y seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (yaṃo seems to make better sense). The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between j and d on the one hand, and between j and y (below, §§192f.) on the other.

sūyasini manave (RV. TA. manuṣe, KS. mānuṣe) dāsasyā (TA. ṣye; TS. MS. KS. yaśasye) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

diùo (TB. yaṃo) yaṃasya daksināḥ (TB. ṣyām) TB. AŚ. Note that d is followed by t.

6. PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162. Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies. We do not include here cases like kākup (TS. kākuc) chandāḥ, where the TS. reading represents t in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178:

tasyās te sahasrapoṣam purṣantārā caramenā paśūnā kriyāmi; TS.: paramenā paśūnā kriyāse (MS. kriyasa) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Corruption in TS.; see Keith. Yet carama is not far from parama in meaning.

vāty arṣa caṇiṣṭhayā (SV. paṇiṣṭaye) RV. SV. See §86.

vāyośāvitra (MS. vāyośāvitrōbhyaṃ) āgodbhyāṁ caruḥ (MS. paṭaḥ) TS. MS. KSA.

7. LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163. In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring r, r (l, l) or ṣ, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145–7). There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid. §148a; cf. especially §133, note); and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid. §156a). In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence. Namely: dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the
influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen §§218-25); some dialects show the reverse tendency. Especially a becomes u in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds. Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies. We include also the nasals u and n, except when n is conditioned by the normal rules for linguialization of u (on which see §§945-54).

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

avaṭasya (SV. avaṭasya) visarjane RV. SV.

iṣṭāḥśvam avaṭam RV.: niṣṭāḥśvam avaṭam TS. ApŚ.

gāva upāsatvam (SV. upa vadēcete) RV. SV. VS.

§165. Next, some demonic names in the Grhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable; it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously:

(tekaś ca sasaramatāṇikaś ca HG.; tekaś ca sasaramaṭāṇikaś ca ApMB.

manthākako (HG. manṭhākako) ha vah pītā HG. ApMB.

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

aḍaṃṛḍā yanyudhāh KS.: aṭabṛḍā (MS. āmrḍā, KapŚ. ālamṛḍā) āyur-

yudhāh (TS. yanyudhāḥ; MS. vo yudhāḥ) VS. TS. MS. See §241.

Cf. also aḥar (MS. vahad, v. i. vahat, p. p. vahat) divābhīr (MS. divābhīr) aṭābhrī VS. MS. ṢB. TA. ṢŚ. ṢŚ. See §§272, 272a.

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

ṝ ṣa me satyāśir devān gamyāj juṣṭaj juṣṭātārā pavyāt panyātārā (KS. panyāt panyātārā) MS. KS. ApŚ. Cf. Durga on N. 6. 8 (Roth's Erläuterungen 76 foot).

§166. These are the only clear cases of ‘spontaneous’ linguialization.
The curious form *pañbhis* which varies twice with *padbhis* has been explained in this way; this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr. plural. Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 11. 350ff.; *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff.; Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63. 300ff.; Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1. 228ff.:  
uro vā *pañdhīr* (Kauś. *padbhīr*) ahatē (Kauś. SMB. *śta*, but Jörgensen *śte*) TS. ŚŚ. KS. MS. Kauś. SMB.  
*padbhīś* (ApŚ. *padbhīś*) caturbhīś akramit AV. ApŚ. One ms. at AV.  
3. 7. 3 also *padbhis*; but Ppp. *pad*.  
§167. In the case of one word the ‘correct’ form requires a lingual (final of root *vah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual; see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS. has *dīya-vāt* and *tāyra-vāt* in the same passage where *pañṭha-vāt* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*:  
*pañṭhavāt* (TS. *vāt*) *vayav* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.  
*pañṭhavāt* (TS. *vāt*) *ca me* *pañṭHAVH ca me* (MS. omits me, twice) VS.  
TS. MS. KS.  
§168. Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ś*; in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*:  
*grha* mā *bibhitā mā vepadham* (IŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepidham*) VS. IŚ. ApŚ.  
ŚG. HG. *vepidham* is an *ś*-aorist, *vepadham* present.  
Purovāta (KS. *śto*) jīva rāvāt (KS. *rāvāt*) svāhā MS. KS.: *purovāta* vṛyoḥ jīvar ārt swāḥa TS. ApŚ. And similarly other formulas, beginning *tapatī* etc.; all in TS. 2. 4. 7. 2, MS. 2. 4. 7, KS. 11. 9; all containing the sacrificial exclamations rāvāt etc. in the same forms. A natural assumption would be that the lingual *t* in MS. is due to an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS. (which divides badly, jīvar-ārt for jīva-rāvāt); the dental *t* of KS. might be due to dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf. §632. The words are mere interjections and any form would pass.  
Vikirīḍa (VS. *śtra*, KS. *śāta*) viloḥita VS. TS. KS.: *vyaṅgṛṣa vilohita* MS.  
Obscure epithets of Rudra; cf. TB. *ati-kirīḍa*. The original presence of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS. and MS.  
The dental of TS. may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.  
§169. Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere
corruptions. First, the ritualistic root ै and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms. Twice the SV, substitutes the more banal ैन् ‘kindle’ (Agni is the object both times) for ै ‘revere’:

agnim ैदिता (SV. ैन्धित) मयत ह र्व, SV.

yam ैसम (SV. ैसम) ैद अन्या ैदले (SV. ैन्धले) RV. SV.

The same ै figures along with the similar ै (and adjective ै़िद) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies:

ैग्म अनिकान वैदितान सहस्वत AV.: ैग्म अगुद्धम वैदितान (KS.
ैैठम िदितान) सहस्वत TS. MS. KS. In AV. वैदितान ‘found’, is evidently a poor reading for वैदितान; certainly KS. वैदितान is equally secondary.

ैधिय वैदित (VS, VSK. ैधित, KS. ैदित, MS. ैदित, MS. ैदित) satt (MS. KS. MS. omit) वैदितयम (MS. KS. वैदितयं) VS, VSK. TS. MS. KS, SB. ApS. MS. वैदित or ैदित ‘firm’; ैदित ‘pleasant’; ैदित ‘revered’. KS. is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondary. KapS. has वैदितयम.

§170. The rest are sporadic:

परिनो हेतु रुद्रस्या विज्य (VS. ैपट) RV, VSK.; परिनो हेतु रुद्रस्या विज्य स्या RV. हेतु and हेद्म are quasi-synonyms, See the list of very similar formulas, RVRep. 573.


याज्ञाम (KS. याज्ञाम) याज्ञाम प्रति देवयाद्ध्व (KS. ै$\ddash$ ै$\ddash$ विद्यय) VSK, TS. KS, SS, KS. MS. The stem देव-याज (in sandhi ैय) varies with the denominative participle देवयत, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary.

सरसवत्याम (AV. ैय) आदि मनुष (KS. मनुष, v. ै, मनुष; AV. मनुष; SMB. Conc. सरसवत्याम. Jörgensen मनुष) acarkṣub (KS. SMB. Jörgensen, acarkṣub, SMB. Conc. carkṛtī, KS. v. ै. acarkṣub) AV. KS. TB. ApS. MS. SMB. PG. The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc. of मनुष, ‘on behalf of Manu’); but the AV. (loc. of मनुष) is capable of interpretation (‘over a luckstone’).

आैधाया सहमान्याया वेदहाय (TB. मधुसे) RV. TB, N.

गृहमु दुहाने विशेषत ग्राह्य (TB. ApMB. ग्राह्य, AVPP. ग्राह्य) RV. AV. VS, TB. APMB. See §198.

पिठ भद्वायत आैपम (TS.: भद्वायत भद्वायत भद्वायत भद्वायत) MahānU. See §838.

नवास वरंति स्वस्थ स्वान (VS. TS. SB.: नव वियंति स्वस्थ Vayū ) विन्य MS. KS.

मा नो गुरीह (p.p. गुरीह) निर्तिर मा नो आतल (p.p. आतल) MS.: मा नो उद्रो निर्तिर मा वो नाल TA. See §87.
In ŚŚ. 17. 12. 1 sārā vinudya santriṣyaḥ (cf. critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals.

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

dh and bh

§172. We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions abhi and adhi. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too:
bhadrad abhi (AV. Kauś. adhi) kreyah prehi AV. TS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Apś. MŚ. Kauś.
swapnāh swapnābhikaraṇa RVKh.: swapna swapnābhikaraṇena AV.
brahmādhiguptaḥ (PG. brahmābhīḥ?) svārā kṣarōṇi (PG. surakṣitāḥ syāṁ) wāhā AG. PG.: brahmābhigārtaṁ svarākṣānaḥ MG. See Stenzler’s Translation of AG. 2. 4. 14 (p. 73, n. 2), and the critical note on MG. 2. 8. 6.
tayor devā adhisamavesantaḥ Apś.: tasyāṁ devā adhi samavesantaḥ TS. TB.:
yasyāṁ (v. 1. aṣyāṁ) devā abhi samavesantaḥ MŚ.
vīrātavār abhi tan no gṛṇātu RV. TA.: vīrebhir adhi tan no gṛṇāno etc.
MS.
samānamūrdhār abhi (PG. adhi) lokam ekam TS. MS. KS. PG.: ti ekamūrdhār abhi lokam ekam AV.
trīye tādhāmāny abhy (VS. dhāmān adhy) avrayanta VS. TA. Mahān U.
īdāi (PG. imāni) tām adhitīṣṭhami (PG. MG. abhiḥ?) ŚŚ. AG. MG. PG.
ṛtasya nābhāv adhi (AV. abhiḥ) sami punāmi (AV. punāti) RV. AV.
na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG. śvetaś cābhjyāgāre, HG. śvetasyābhjyācāreṇa, MG. śvetasyābhjyācāreṇa) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.
mā rudriyaśo abhi gur udhaṃānaḥ (MS. abhi gubadhānāḥ) MS. TA.:
mā no rudrāso adhitu vadhe nu (mss. nuk) MŚ.
adhi skanda vīrasyaśa AV.; abhi kranda vīlayase ŚG.
ṛṣiṇāṁ putro adhīrāja eṣaḥ (AŚ. averāja eṣaḥ; AV. abhiśāstipā u; VS.
§173. As the roots skabh and slabh were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots sudh and sudh, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV. seems to prefer sudh (five times); Whitney's Index Verborum confirms this tendency:

tenā mā sāha suṇadhata (AV. suñbhan) RV. AV. See VV I p. 239.
suñbhantaṁ lokāḥ pitṛṣadānaḥ AV.: suṇadhantaṁ etc. VS. MS. KS. SB. MS.: suṇadhataṁ lokāḥ pitṛṣadānaḥ TS. ApŚ.
suñbhāṁ mukhaṁ mā na duṣgha pra moṣīḥ AV.: suṇdhīṁ (sundhi) śīro māṣgāyūḥ pra moṣīḥ AG, PG, ApMB, MG.
āpaḥ suñbhantu (AV. riśe suñbhan) maṁnaṁ AV. VS. KS. SB. TB. anāḥ suñbhāvatā (SV. suñbhyāvatā) pathā RV. SV.

§174. An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where sīd, instead of sudh, varies with sudh; this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of sudh and sudh, the latter being replaced by sīd:
aśūṣubhanta (TS, TB. asūṣudanta) yajñīyā tena TS. MS. KS. TB.

§175. In the remaining variants between dh and bh lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles dhita and bhrta, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of kita and bhṛta, §118:
sa tvā raṣṭṛaṁ suṣṭitaṁ bhratuṭ (Pp. pīparu) AV.: sa no raṣṭṛaṁ suṣṭhitāṁ dadhatu TB.
garba iṣu (SV. KU., Poley's ed., iṣet) suṣṭita garbangiṣṭhī (RV. suṣṭhitā garbangiṣṭu) RV. SV. KU.

§176. Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants:
dhartāraḥ (ApMB. hāraḥ) te (MG. te subhage) mekhale mā riṣāma SMB. ApMB. MG.

bhaktimahi (TS. MS. KS. Vait. dhakṣimahi) prajāṁ isam RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.
anādrṣṭā apasya vasāṁ AV. VS. MS. KS. SB.: anābhrṣṭā apasyavo vasāṁ TS. Both mean 'undefeated'.
sam bāhūḥyāṁ dhāmati (AV. bharati, TS. TA. namati, KS. namate, MS. bhāyāṁ adhamati) sam palatraiḥ (KS. yajatraiḥ) RV. AV.-VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU, ŚvetU.
nikīrīya (MŚ. KŚ. nigrīya) tubhyam madhye (MŚ. madheah, Vait. tubhyam abhya āsam, KŚ. eavā aðhāh) KŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.
avikṣohāya (KŚ. ðhodhāya) paridhiṇ dadhāmi KŚ. TB. ApŚ. ‘For non-disturbance’; ‘for non-hunger’. KŚ. makes inferior sense.
amhā sthāndho vo bhakṣiya VS. ŚB. KŚ.: ambhā (TS. ŚŚ. ambha) sthāṁbhā vo bha° TS. MŚ. KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. andhāh (soma-) juice; ambhā ‘waters’.

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177. There are a few sporadic cases of bh and d, t, and dh and p: vi senābhir dayamāno (SV. bha°) vi rādhasā RV. SV. bhayamāno is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra. Benfer renders ‘furcibbar’, which it cannot mean.
bhūryān (MŚ. v. 1. tūrnyān) devasa iha suśriyam dadhāh RV. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§178. Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of kakup (representing stem kakubh) and kakuc, kakut, kakud, kakun, all by regular sandhi for kakud. Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS. and TB. use kakubh only before vocalic endings (cf. Weber, IndSt. 13. 100, Keith, HOS 18. p. xxxviii):
kakup (and, trikakup) chandah VS. MS. KŚ. ŚB.: kakuc (and, trikakuc) chandah TS.
kakup (TB. kakuc) chanda thendriyam VS. MS. KŚ. TB. apāṃ napād aśuḥeman ya ārmīḥ kakudmān ... (MS. ārmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakubheān ... , KŚ. ārmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakudmān ... ) TS. MS. KŚ.: deviṅ ēpo ... yo vā ārmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakunmān ... VS. VSK. ŚB. bhṛtya uṣṇāḥ kakup (TS. kakut) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

d and b

§179. A single variant between dulā and bulā, both obscure; applied to fire-bricks:
ambā ca bulā ca ... MS. MŚ.: ambā dulā ... TS.; cf. ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā TB. 3. 1. 4. 1.

Another lexical variant:
§180. These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies:

tivo rajānīsī asprātāḥ (SV. asrītāḥ) RV. SV. Both mean 'unconquerable'. The RV. version occurs also with accusative asprātam, 8. 82. 9b. ye cīt pārva rtaśāpah (AV. *sāṭah) RV. AV. Cf. RV. 1. 179. 2a, ye cīt idhi pūrva rtaśāpah śasan, which confirms the RV. reading, if confirmation was necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of AV. ('won by rta', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the rta').

matarāśaḥ prasupāḥ (SV. *taḥ) sākam trate RV. SV. Epithets of Soma. The SV. rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand (comm. prakarṣeṇa sūtāḥ [!], abhīṣutāḥ). Benfey, 'zeugend' = prasup(a(t), but the comm. is right to the extent of connecting SV.'s word with su 'press'. The RV. reading is obscure; cf. Oldenberg, Noten on 9. 69. 6 (suggesting a derivative of sup = swap).

carṇīḥ santrane (TA. sanpāraṇo) bhava VS. TA. Practically synonyms; both 'rescuing'.

devaiv nṣyptā (KS. mūtā, AV. uktā) vyasarpa maḥīva (AV, ?team) AV. KS. ApŚ. MS. See §139.

yat ṇuṣreyan marcayātā (MG. varlayatā) supeṣād (AV. MG. suṣejasā) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Nearly synonyms. See §156.

upa (MS. utā) no mārītvarūndv iḥāvatam (MS. *nā iḥāvatam) MS. TB. TA.

mitro (VS. vipro) hābāna sapratāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

sucetasā (VSK. *sa; delete 'MS.' in Conc.) arepasa VS. VSK. ŚB.; sucetasā sucetasā TB.: samokasau sucetasā arepasaau MS.; samokasā (KS. *sa) arepasaau TS. KS. Kauś. The TB. has a lect. fac. to match samokasau which immediately precedes sucetasau (comm. ekakarmaprasāratacau bhūtād).

yo gopā api (TB. ApŚ. gopāyata) taṁ hvue RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. The denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula 'understood.'

sūvaman somapītaṃsu (TS. sumatsītaṃsu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: sūvaman somasatsū AV.—Ppp. (Roth) sūvaman (intending sūvaman) somapītasalam. For sūvaman, Whitney 'well-lying', but
it is a mere corruption. Whitney and Keith regard the TS. reading as the correct one; in that case the reading "pītāru" would contain dissimulation. But it is improbable that the isolated TS. has the original reading. With Mahidhara, somaśi may be taken as 'soma-drinker'; and somasa as 'soma-winner' (cf. pāśu-ś, priya-ś, both RV.); both would refer to the yajamāna, and the epd. would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the yajamāna' (or perhaps AV. 'having a soma-winning handle').

dhīpṣyān vā saṁcakara jānebhyaḥ MS.: adītasa vā saṁjagara jānebhyaḥ TA. 'Intending to deceive': 'not intending to give'. Others, §45. āsannīṣṭaḥ kṛtvaseṣa mayobhān RV. AV. TS. KSA. MS. N.: āsann ēsām aprasavāḥ mayobhān SV. The latter is wholly secondary; see §820.

ṛṣaṇa no nanyan evsamānāḥ AV.: nena na ṛṣaṇa it samānāḥ TA.: nem na ṛṣaṇa ṛṣaṇāṁ śpanānāḥ MS. In AV. dosid of a + ṛdh; but comm. ecchamānāḥ, which suggests that TA. intends iccha (phonetic confusion of ts and ch). MS. has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of ps and ch.

tato na (na tato, na tadd) vicikṣiṣṭaḥ (vijugupsate) VS. VSK. SB. BrhU. KU. IsāU. See §45. Here the variation between ts and ps is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic ch; see §182.

u and m

§181. There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals. Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings mi and ni; these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124; to §119 should be added the following, omitted there:

pratilāmīti (AŚ. nīti, TS. KSA. TB. pra sulāmīti) te pītā VS. TS. MS. KSA. SB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language.

The rest are scattering:

agdhaḥ eko 'hutād ek̐aḥ samasaṇād ek̐aḥ TS.: adhved eko 'dīhād eko ... samasaṇād ek̐aḥ MS. TS., 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith). Knauer takes the MS. form as sana + a-sana + ad. Both uncertain. Assimilation or dissimulation may be concerned.

mademendraṇā (MS. maden°) yajamānāḥ svarkāh VS. MS. KS. SB. TB. Von Schroeder emends KS. to maden°, without justification; the opt. madema is probably the original form. The other, with instr.
sg. modena, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence. Assimilation or dissimilation in MS.?

kad va ṛtaṁ kad anṛtam (SV, amṛtam) RV, SV. See Benfey’s note in his translation of SV., which is obviously secondary.


abhimaṁ (TS. 2māṁ, MS, MS. v. 1. 2mān) mahinā (VS. MŚ. v. 1. 2mā) divam (MS. divah) VS. TS, MS. TA. ApŚ. MS. In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses ‘this heaven by his greatness’; in the secondary VS. mahinā (nec. to Mahidhara, Agni’s ‘greatness’) is made the subject.

jāmiṁ (KS. ṭam) mā hiṁsir amuyā (MŚ. anu yā) sayānā KS. TB. MŚ.; mā jāmiṁ moṣṭir amuyā sayānam AV. The MŚ. is clearly secondary.

akṣāṇāṁ vagnum (MS. ṭagnum, AV. gaṇam, read gatnum) etc., AV. MS, TB. TA. See §832.

pītva putram jārase nayemam (MS. mā emam) MS. KS. ApMB, HG. See §835.

nen na ṛṇān... TA.; nem na ṛṇān... MS. See §180. Particles ṛd and ṛn.

būro nṛṣālā savasak (SV. MS. ēru°) cakānah (SV. ca ṭkāme) RV. SV. TS. MS.
CHAPTER V. INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182. Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126–34, 154–61) contain some similar phenomena; and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between c and t (§156), and still more those between d and j (§159) and d and y (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between j and y (below, §192). Also the exchange between ks and ts (§140), ks and ps (§153a), and ts and ps (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with ch, as in the next following sections.

1. ch varying with kṣ, ts, ps

§183. These changes are distinctly Prakritic; cf. above, §26; and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions; when kṣ etc. are secondarily substituted for ch, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss., so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss. we may mention etatsandha for etac chandah MS. 3, p. 22, n. 3; dechala for dvatsata, ibid. 1, p. 18, n. 7; itsata for ichata Kauś. 73. 15; patsah for pacchah Kauś. 82. 29. See further BR., s. vv. kaputsala, uccādāna etc. The pāda parivādaṁ parikṣavam, AV. Nakṣ., is read parivāvan in many AV. mss.; see Lanman’s note ap. Whitney; and the Berlin ed. reads uchantūnā maruto ghytena in 3. 12. 4, with all of R-Wh.’s mss. and most of SPP.’s, the SPP. reads (correctly) ukaṇtāṇā with three mss. and comm. (Ppp., Barret JAOS 32. 366, has ukaṇtāṇā, emended by Barret to ukaṇtāṇa). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda tena yo ‘smai samrātātai, TA. 2. 4. 1c, the mss. at MS. 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly samrātām, which von Schroeder emends to the TA. reading.—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield’s generally accepted etymology of RV. kṣu, as for *pau (pāu), IF 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

§184. Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one
might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss., concern ƙƙ and ch:

vīcaspate vāco vīryeṇa saṁbhūtataramāyākṣa (TA. ƙyākyāṣe, SS. ƙyākhāṣe) MS. TA. SS. Tho ƙyākhāṣe, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from ƙ-yaj 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption. See VV I p. 29.

somī ghoṣeṇa yachatu (SV. vakṣatu) RV. SV. The preposition ƙ, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs; ƙ-yam and ƙ-vak are here synonyms, 'bring hither'. SV. is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology.

tāh paṣāṇu yachatu (AV. paṣābhi vakṣatu) RV. AV. amu-yam 'guide'; ƙabhi- racks 'protect'. Quasi-synonyms; but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV. is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics. The RV. original is much more neat and pointed.

achalābhi (KSA. acharabhī, MS. atsarabhī in p.p., matsarabhī in s.p., VS. rksalabhī) kapiṇjālān VS. MS. TS. KSA. In AV. 10. 9. 23 occurs the form ƙcharā, with v. 1. ƙteṣā, which is supported by Pp. The word is a name for a part of the horse's body; its original form is quite unknown. Note that ƙs as well as ƙƙ and ch occurs. Either ƙs or ƙƙ, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic. See Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 29f.

§185. For ƙs and ch, besides the variant last quoted, we find:
namāḥ kṛchrebhāḥ kṛchrapatibhayaśca vo namāḥ MS. KS.: namo gṛtebhiva gṛtapatibhayaś ca vo namāḥ VS. TS. See §45.

In AV. 19.34. 2a the mss. read mostly jāgrityas tripāṭācāśī (v. 1. ƙ grō; Berlin ed. ūkṣikṛtyās, certainly wrongly). For this Pp. reads (with slight corruption, Barret, JAOS 44. 262) ƙyāḥ kṛchrbā. For the true Śaunakya reading see §192.

§186. For ps and ch we have noted only this:
chanto ṭaridākṛtān ApMB.; ṭpsantāḥ paridākṛtān HG. The two words are of course perfect synonyms. One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems ƙcha- and ƙpsa- by Goldschmidt, Göt. Nachr. 1874. 525, note.

2. ṭy exchanging with ƙ-c or ƙ(ɦ) plus sibilant

§187. In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in -ṣya varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or ɦ, the last
syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction ca, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant). All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions. Either reading may be at times the older.

§188. We quote first the cases containing the conjunction ca, varying with -syā:

*stomo yajñaś ca* (TB. yajñasya) rādhya havismatā (TB. śatā) RV. TB.
The TB. awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhya* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it; comm., yajñena tvam āradhanyā.—Here the nominative is the original form; in the next two it is secondary to the genitive:

*nā vai śvetasyādyācāre* (AG. śvetas cābhyyāgūre, HG. śvetasyābhyyācārena, MG. śvetasyābhyyācāre) AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In AG. the epithet śveta is attracted to the noun akīr in the next pāda. Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG. makes good sense; a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes.

*ubhāv īndrā* (ŚB. īndro) udīthaḥ sūryas ca VS. ŚB.: aya(h)yāshuṇam (TS. *yāre*) udītā (TS. MS. KS. *tou*) sūryasya RV. TS. MS. KS. The Con省内 unjustly stigmatizes īndro of ŚB. as an error; it is a nom. sing., replacing the elliptic dual īndrā (= Indra and Sūrya) of VS. to match the complementary nom. sing. sūryas which follows; cf. Edgerton, KZ 43, 110ff.

*yad uttaradrāv upasā ca khādataḥ* AV.: yad apsaradrāv upasāya (ApŚ. apsarāparasya) khādati KS. ApŚ.

§189. In the rest the genitive -syā varies with a nominative in h followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant; again the movement may be in either direction:

dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoḥ (AV. supratikāḥ sasūnūḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The AV. secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding. Agni is meant both times. See Whitney on AV. 5. 27. 1.

*dhiyā martaḥ śatamate* (SV. martaḥ śatamate) RV. SV. The SV. has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza; see VV I p. 164.

*yaso bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. riṣat, mss. mostly riṣak) PG. MG.: *yaso bhagaśya vindatu* ArŚ. Con省内 suggests bhagaś ca for ArŚ. No doubt PG. is original ('let glory and fortune find me'). But ArŚ makes *yaso* object; and since bhagaś cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive: 'let him find glory of fortune'.
vibhṛṣaya dhāraya kaviḥ RV.; vibhaḥ sa dhāraya sutah SV. In SV. the stem vibhaḥ is attracted into agreement with the epithet sutah, for RV. kaviḥ, which is a synonym of vibhaḥ and which SV. contains in the preceding pāda.

somah sutasya madhyah RV.; somah sutah sa madhumān SV. Like the prec.; the genitives are (so naturally!) made to agree with somah.

yunajmi tisro vibhaḥ sūryasya te (MŚ. viṁsah sūryah eave, or savah) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: yuktās tisra viṁsah sūryasya PB.—MŚ. is clearly corrupt.

mānasya patni śarāṇaḥ syonāḥ AV.: mā uṇāḥ sapataḥ śarāṇaḥ syonā HG. The latter is hopelessly corrupt; Oldenberg follows AV. in translating.

3. Interchanges of kṣ, kṣ, and khy

§190. The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between kḥ and ṛ, kṣ, is treated by Waerker Nagel 1 §118. Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination khy in variation with kṣ or kś. For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root khyā ‘see’, which regularly in MŚ., and once in KŚ., is spelled kṣ; cf. von Schroeder, Introduction to MS., p. XLIII. In fact the mss. vary greatly; but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition. This writing is also known to the grammarians.

anukhyāte (KS. ṛkṣatre) nīmah KS. GB. Vait, KŚ. The kṣ of KŚ. (both mss.) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written -khyā-

ev akhyān (MS. akṣan) mahīsah divam (AV.* TS. mahīsah s(u)caḥ) RV. AV. (bis) SV. ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The mss. of MŚ. vary; p.p. akhyāt. AVPP agrees with RV.

indrā pīhuścā marudah pari khyāt (MS. kṣan) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. All mss. of MS. here kṣyān; p.p. khyān.

āv āgnir uṣasān agrah akhyāt (MS. MŚ. akṣat) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. All mss. of MS. akṣat or akṣyat; p.p. akhyāt. But most mss. of MŚ. akṣat.

vikhyāya (MS. vikśaya) caukṣuṣā tvam VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

śvar abhiśvakhyām (MS. MŚ. ṛṣan) yvyōt varṇāṇaram MS. KS. MS.: śvar (KṛG. sur) abhiśvahyām KS. ApŚ. GG. KṛG.

ṇcakṣāyaṁ tvā deva soma sucaśa ava khyēṣam (MS. kṣeyam) TS. MS. ducakṣās te nāvākṣat (KS. text with one ms. ṛkṣat, v. 1. ṛkhyat) MS. KS.: tam te ducakṣās māvā khyāt TS.† (so read). Whatever be the writing of KS., the meaning can only be that of ava-khyā.
§191. In the following the reverse condition is found; the readings with khy are secondary to ks:
yas te agne sumatiṁ marto aksat (AV. akhyat, v. l. aksat) RV. AV. If akhyat is the true reading, it makes quite good sense (‘has seen’, for the original ‘has attained’, a more recondite and difficult form).
viśvākṣaṁi (MahānU. ḫhyāṁ) viśvasanābhuvam TA. MahānU. No doubt viśvākṣaṁi ‘having eyes all over’ is the original; but viśvākhyāṁ is felt as a synonym, ‘all-seeing’.

idhmasyeva prakṣāyataḥ (ŚŚ. prakhyā) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Both TB. and TA. comms. derive from root kṣi with intransitive meaning(!), ‘of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)’; and similarly Caland on ApŚ. Better from pra-kṣā (kṣat) ‘burning up’. In any case the ŚŚ. (all mss.) form shows phonetic decay; it makes no independent sense.

4. j and y exchanging

§192. The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b; and above, our §§156, 159, 161. The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss.; e.g. in AV. 3. 11. 6 several mss. read javam for yavam, and the comm. evidently had this reading before him. Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts. But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case:

uto (ŚŚ. and GB. Gaastra, uṭa) padyaḥbir yavistḥah (AB. jaṭ) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. The Berlin ed. of AV. also reads javistḥah, against all mss. There is no doubt that this is the ‘correct’ form; the word can only mean ‘swiftest’. But only AB. reads so in the mss., while not only AV. and its Brāhmaṇa, GB., but the independent ŚŚ., have the ‘corrupt’ reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss., regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology. Similarly in the next:

jaynā (yajnā) netasann (read, ned asann; GB. Gaastra netar asann) apanvavāsad (vaicetanāśah); yajnād eta san asura; see §62. Again there is no doubt that yajnā is the ‘correct’ reading, but j for y occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts.

tato ha jajñē (MŚ. tato ‘ham yajñē) bhuvanasya gopāḥ (MŚ. gopāt) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: te ha jajñē bhu’ gopāḥ PB. Here the reverse change has occurred; MŚ. is clearly secondary.
The text is not clear due to the layout and formatting issues. It appears to be discussing Sanskrit and related language matters, possibly examining vowel changes and other phonological phenomena. The section number and specific references (e.g., RV, KS, ApŚ) suggest it is discussing the Vedas and related Sanskrit literature. The text also includes references to the work of Jörgensen and Whitney.

Key points:
- Discussion of Sanskrit and related languages, focusing on vowel changes and palatal phenomena.
- References to specific texts (e.g., RV, KS, ApŚ) and linguistic scholars (e.g., Jörgensen).
- The text seems to be part of a larger work on Sanskrit linguistics, possibly a book or a conference paper.
abhya arṣata (AV. Vait. Kauś. arcaṭa) susūṭutih gavam ājim RV. AV. VS. KS. Vait. ApŚ. Kauś. For the favorite formula abhy-aro with susūṭutih see RVRep. 523ff. The AV. variant is a lect. fac. (root stu suggests the synonym are).

§195. The rest concern ś:
pratyaḥ janān samcukoḥāntakāle N. in Durga (Roth, Erläuterungen 12, n. 4); pratyaḥ janāḥ tiṃḥati sarvatomukhaḥ (ŚvetU. and ŚīrasU.* tiṃḥati samcukocāntakāle) VS. ŚvetU. ŚīrasU. Dhātup. has a root kuś 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected.
ayasmayām viśrā (KS. viśrā, v. l. *drā) bandham etam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: ayaśmayān vi diṇā bandhapāṇān AV. The original viśrā means 'loosen thou'. KS. seems felt as 2 plur. from vi-śṛ 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural.
vikṣaya devī mrcaṣaya (ŚŚ. mrśa) janmanah AB. ĀŚ. ŚŚ. mrcaṣaya is rendered 'perishable'; perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious'. ŚŚ's mrś may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form.
prthiyadhā samprcaḥ (MS. MSŚ. *caś, VS. ŚB. sanisprṣas) pāhi VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MSŚ. Also: divaḥ sanisprṣas (MS. samprcaus) pāhi VS. MS. ŚB. The two words are synonyms.
śvītra (MS. citra) rakṣītā AV. MS. TS. ApMB. Also: śvītra (MS, citra) dīlimānm VS. MS. Again the two words are synonyms. Some AV. mss. have citra in the first variant; Ppp. ms. sattro, Barret JAm 32. 370 em. śvītra.
yat kṣureṇa marcaṣaya (MG. vartayata) suteṣāṇ (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. supekaśa) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.
agre (TB. agne, Poona ed. agre) yaṣṇasya cetaḥ AV. (RV. ṣocataḥ) RV. KS. TB.
ārdhecaitaḥ (MS. KS. *śrtiḥaḥ) krayadhvaṃ (VS. text ṣṭvaḥ, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm., which glosses sevadhvaṃ; ŚB. correctly kṛaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Assimilation to krayadhvaṃ in MS, KS.
mrṣe (SV. mrṣyase) parvase mātī RV. SV. The change from (pari-) mṛṣ 'thou dost embrace', to mrṣyase 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following parvase, or by recollection of mrṣyase soma sātaye RV. 9. 56. 3.
chhiṣpu chhiṣṣate ŚŚ.: aśīṣṭu chhiṣṣate AV. (mss.; R-Wh. em. aśīṣṭikṣum chhiṣṣate). Unknown words.
tanuśāḥ (TB. Conc. tanuśāḥ, Poona ed. text and comm. ṭānuṇapāc) ca saraṃatī VS. KS. TB. The TB. (which obviously reads tanu-
napāc) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

### 6. Miscellaneous

§196. Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which ḷ and ḷ vary, in the other ḳṣ and ḷj:


\textit{āyurda} (āuyumān) \textit{deva} (agne) \textit{jarasaḥ} (havṣo, havṣa) \textit{vṛṇānah} (etc.), see §854.

\textit{diṣṭah koṣṭha} \textit{samukṣitaḥ} MS.: \textit{diṣṭah koṣṭha} (AV. devakoṣṭha) \textit{samukṣitaḥ} AV. TS. KS. The MS. reading is a rimming corruption.
CHAPTER VI. LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197. The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on b and v is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects; and the interchanges of v and m also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in v and m, are also concerned; and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between v, b, and p.

$p$ (once, \(ph\)) and \(v\)

§198. Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which \(p\) is the more original; they are listed in the following:

\[yasa \ tani (TA. MahanU. tad) veda sa \ pilu (AV. sa pilu, most mss. pilu, TA. savitu) pitasat AV. VS. TA. MahanU.: yasa tā vijanāt su pilu (TA. savitu) pitasat RV. AV. TA. N. ‘He shall be Savitar’s father’ is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of ‘he shall be the father’s father’; cf. Bergaigne 2. 104, 108.

\[abhishosar avasparat (SV. avasvarat) RV. SV. “Fight away”: ‘sound away’; in either case ‘protect’ (SV. comm. pālayatu). But avar-spār, and not avar-spār, is elsewhere used in this sense; see e.g. RV. 10. 39. 6. 8. 66. 14.

\[rṣaya gopri tapasah paraspi (SMB. \#vi, MG. tarutri) SMB. ApMB. MG. paraspi (‘protectress (of tapas)’ paraspi (also in some mss. of ApMB.) may be a case of dissimilation from initial \(p\) (comm. utsṛṣ(transanarūpa).

\[spārha (TB. svārüh) yasa śriyo drśe RV. KS. TB. And:

\[spārho (TB. svāruho) deva niyuteśa RV. SV. VS. TB. The TB. reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical, Comm., wobbingly, once susṣṭu ratham ārūdhāḥ, once saṃśāda eva pāruñāhāḥ.

\[hiranyaparṇa sakuna PG.: hiranyavarṇah sakunah MU.: hiranyapakṣah sakunih HG. Practically synonyms. Contrast darbhaḥ stṛṣāla etc. under §200.

\[jāmin rīvā māva patsi lokāt AV.: jāmin itvā mā vivitsi lokān TA. The AV. original: ‘may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven’. Poona ed. of TA. reads jāmi mitvā mā vivitsi lokā (v. I. lokān).
Its comm. regards the second person as addressed to the yajamāna (gloss, lapsyasi). But neither reading of TA. really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of p to preceding v. nākro makāraḥ kulipayasya (TS. kulikayas, MS. pulikayasy, KSA. pulkayasya) te 'kūkpārya' (KSA.† kūkarasya) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests kūvarasya; certainly rightly. tāśāra and kūpāra are quoted lexic ally as equivalents for akūpāra 'ocean'.

nāpa vrījāte na gamālo antam AV.: nāvaprījāte na gamāle antam TB. ava-prj is the original; it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving. Note apa: ava also (§201).

yatrāśprkṣa (HG. yatārā vrkṣas) tanuvaṁ (AV. tanavo, HG. tanuvati) yatra vāsah (AV. yac ca vāsah) AV. ApMB. HG. 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment.' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, yadi vrkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam.

yamasya dūtāḥ ce vāg vidhāvati MS.: yamasya dūtāḥ śākādvidhāvasi TA. See §145.

yunajmi tīsro viśreṇh sūryasya te (MS. tisro viertah sūryah sarah, or save) TS. ApŚ. MS. See §57.

ajāivah paśupā vājapastyah (TB. 2vastyaḥ) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB., vastyaṁ grhaṁ (=pastyaṁ, see RV Rep. 58). This, and the lexical statements that vastya means 'house', may be based on corruptions of pastya, but thoughts of the root vas 'dwell' doubtless helped.

yat paśur (Kauś. yad vaśā) māyam akṛta (Kauś. akṛata) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. SMB. GG. Kauś. A synonym is substituted in Kauś. sarpadevajānabhyaḥ (AŚ. sarvam) svāhā AŚ. AG. Tho the context is different, AŚ. looks suspiciously like a lect. fac.

kuṭāpȧśhādyā (read, 9ṭhā gha, with both Poona edd.) visā pari no vrṇaktu TB. TA.: sarā vāṣṭād dhaviśa vāryah MS. See §86.

gṛṭam duhānā viṣṇataḥ prapitāḥ (TB. ApMB. prapīnah, AVPpp. pravīnah) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. Barret. JAOS 35. 88, would keep pravīnah; but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption.

§199. The one case of phv concerns a senseless substitution of savam for sapham, some sort of implement;

īśāṁ kṛgalyāṁ savam MS.; īśāṁ kṛgalyāṁ sapham ApŚ. Tho corrupt in savam, MS. seems to be correct in kṛgalyām (cf. kṛgata, RV.), for which ApŚ. has a Prakritic ār. lēy,
§200. The v reading seems to be original in the following:

vrṣṭiṁ (SV.* pr*) divaḥ parisava RV. SV. (bis). vrṣṭiṁ can mean nothing but ‘rain’, as Benfey translates; perhaps the root prus (which also appears as prṣ, §680) may have infected the word.

mahyam datvā vrajata (TAA, prajātuṁ) brahma lokam AV, TAA. The TAA. reading, at best a poor infinitive from praja-ṇa, is an untranslatable corruption. Comm. takes it for prajātan by Vedic license! yathāpāḥ prasyaṁ yanti TA. TU. Kauś.: yathā yanti prapadaḥ SMB. See §60.

īheḥ vah svatavaṣaḥ (TA. svatapasaḥ) RV. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. Significant of the growth in importance of tapas, which here crowds out svatvaṁ, a standard epithet of the Maruts.

tee kratum api vrṣṭiṁ viśe (AV. api prīcaṇti bhūrī) RV. AV. SV. VS. AA. ApŚ. MS. See §57.

dīvamsaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyaśaṁ (AV. payasaṁ, KS. VS. TS. śB. vaṣa, MS. TS. śB. vaṣaṁ) bhṛtanam RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. śB. AŚ. Suparn. There is no point in calling the eagle ‘milky’; but Pp. agrees on payaśaṁ (twice). Once the AV. comm. has the hardihood to say that payaśaṁ is for vaṛ by Vedic license.

payaśaṁ māmakaṁ va caḥ (AV. payaḥ) RV. AV. (bis) KS. In AV. assimilation to preceding payaśaṁ, obviously secondarily. But TS. TB. MS. have a further alteration: pavaśad virudhāṁ payaḥ.

amba niśpa (TS. ApŚ. niśpa, KS. KapŚ. niśpa, MS. niśpa, p.p. niḥ, smara) VS. TS. MS. KS. śB. ApŚ. The majority (in which we count MS. with m) points to v rather than p; but the word is obscure in all forms.

svaṁparapakṣya (MahānU. suparṇaḥ) dhīmahi TA. MahānU. ‘Golden-winged’ is doubtless original; see under next.

darbhāḥ strīṣata haritaiḥ suparṇaiḥ (KS. āsvaṁpanaḥ) KS. MS. āśvādaniṁ haritaṁ hiranyapam AV.: āśvādaniṁ haritaṁ svaṁparapam TB. ApŚ. svaṁparā- is certainly original, as AV. shows; cf. preceding. and, for the reverse change, hiranyaparna sukunene etc. §198.

parīḍaṁ pariṣṭham (ms. mostly pariṣṭham) AV. Nāk.: parīṣṭaṁ pariṣṭham ApMB. The variant word must mean ‘sneezing’, see Lanman ap. Whitney. The ApMB. can hardly be anything but a corruption; one ms. has śam.

tvam rājāśi pradvah (VS. VSK. pratipāt) sudānāṁ RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. See §64.

tam ajarebhīr evaṁhī saṁva (ApŚ. tapa) svaiḥ RV. KS. ApŚ. Followed by: tapa tapaṁ tapaṁ tapaṁ RV. KS., tapa tapaṁ tapaṁ tapaṁ tapaṁ
ApŚ., which has clearly changed tava under the influence of this pāda. Caland understands tava as a voc., 'O Brennender.'

sa bhūmim viśvato (ArŚ. sarvato) viśvā (VS. sarvata spṛśvā) RV. AV. ArŚ. VS. TA. Comm. on VS. vāpya 'pervading', which is not far from viśvā 'encompassing'.

anupauhvat (ApMB. anu po 'head') anupaḥvayet (ApMB. anuḥvayah) HG. ApMB. In ApMB. po intends vo (pronoun); HG. is corrupt and obscure. See §732. There is no real variant here, both forms having p.

āṇjanena sarpiśa sam viśantu (AV. spṛśantām, Ppp. [acc. to Roth] viśānta, TA. mṛśantām) RV. AV. TA.

jñasvānāsaḥ papisvānāsa ca viśve VS, etc.; the text of VS. is misprinted as papipānāsā; corrected, p. XXII.]

§201. In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions apa and ava. So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general; nāpa vṛṣijāte (nāvaprjyāte) ... see §198.

ava (AV. apa) taṣya balam tira RV. AV. Note that RV. has only ava-ṛ, never apa-ṛ.


dviṣantāṁ mē vābāḍhasa (Poona ed. 3dhāsa, but v. l. and comm. 2awa) TA.: dviṣantam apa bāḍhasa SMB. If the Poona ed. text is right, this should be added to VV I §152.

dhātā samudro apa (AG. 2va) kantu pāpam AG. PG.

yat tatrārino apa tat suvāmi AV.: yad tatrārino ava tat suvāmi TA.

idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāṇaṇaya pāpāṁnam ava (ApMB. apa) gūḥāmi HG. ApMB.

yat avāmṛksue (ApŚ. apā²) chalakeh KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yenaḥmṛkhatāṁ (SMB. v. l. mṛśatām) surāṁ SS. SMB.: yenāvamṛkha-

tāṁ surāṁ PG.

apa (AV. ava) kṣeta padā jahi AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: apaḥ kṣetrapad āgati MG.


sarvān ava yajāmahe KS.† TB. TA. ApŚ.: sarvān apa yajāmasi KauŚ. ava-yaj is more archaic.

indur inām avāgāt (KS. avāgan, MŚ. upāgāt, v. l. apāgāt) KS. PB. TB. SS. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
ava dikṣām asṛkṣata (ApMB adāśtha) svāhā AV. ApMB. iyam apa (v. l. ava) dikṣām ayaṣṭa SMB.
apa kṣudham nuditām arātīm TB. ava sedim tṛṣṇām kṣudham jahi Kauś.

§202. To these obviously belong two interchanges of avāṇe and apāṇe, both of which are contrasted with prāṇe, which makes it certain that apāṇe is intended; and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB. in the first case;
apāpaco (TB. vertisement abhibhute nudasva RV. AV. AB. GB. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. apāpaco, clearly correctly.
āyuś ca prāyuś ca . . . prāṇ căpāṇ (ApŚ. cāvāṇ) ca MS. ApŚ.

p and m

§203. The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots tap and tam.
A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them.

§204. The roots tap and tam are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that tap occurs exclusively in RV. texts, tam in Tait. texts:
tapasas (TB. tamasas) tan mahinājāyataikam RV. TB.
mā tamo (AŚ. tapo) mā yajñas tamat (AŚ. tapat); followed by:
mā yajamānas tamat (AŚ. yajñapathis tapat) TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

§205. The rest are sporadic:
kṣumāsi VS.: kṣupāsi VSK. An arrow is addressed obscurely. Comm. on VS. ‘shaker’, thinking of the Dhātup. root kṣmā(ī), perhaps confused with kṣubh-. Is VSK. influenced partly by kṣip?
amba nispara (nismara, etc.), see §200.
yuktās tīrō vīmṛjāḥ . . . yunajmi tīrō vipṛcāḥ (viṛtāḥ) . . . , see §57.
nāmo ‘gnaye prthiviṅkṣite (ChU. MU. prthivīir) lokasṛpte (MU. 5mṛte, ChU. 5kṣite) TS. KSA. ApŚ. ChU. MU. And similarly nāmō vāyave ‘ntarikṣajkṣite . . . nama ādityāya (nāmah sūryāya, nama ādityabhyaś) . . . , each time with MU. alone reading lokasṛte. All in the same passage. There is no doubt that lokasṛpte is original; Deussen renders MU. ‘Weltgewährer’, seemingly having 5sṛpte in mind.
ādhjanena sarpiṇa sam viṣanta (AV. sprṣantām, Ppp. [Roth] viṣanta, TA. mṛṣantām) RV. AV. TA.
apāma edhi mā mṛthā na īndra SMB.: amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ. ūma) īndra AŚ. ŠG. See §78.
viṣvā sprdhoh (AV. mṛdho) abhimātir āyema RV. AV. TA.
§206. This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original b and original v; see Wackernagel I §161. The mss. are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions vi and asa, or the roots vid and vad, or the noun viśa, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with b. On the other hand there is scarcely any original b which is not occasionally written v (pūvāmī, for instance, for pibāmī). This elusive theme (cf. Grassmann, KZ 12. 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

§207. Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are:

carnaudādhus (TB. bādhus) tamo apsu antah RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
The original avādhus = ava + adhus 'they have put away'. TB.
understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from bādh 'they have overcome'. Poona ed. of TB. has indeed avādhus in its text, but the comm. even there has abādhus, glossing vināśanaṁantah.
derim aham nirṛtim bādhamānah (TS. vandamānah) TS. KS. ApŚ.
'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS. doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS.; but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.
yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS. bibhrato) jātavadah AV. KS.: yatra-yatra jāta-
vedah sanabhāthah (TB. sanabbhāva, but Poona ed. text and comm.
ātha) TB. ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV.
(19. 3. 1) supports bi-, not vi-; mss. almost all bibhṛto or bibhṛato,
 tho the comm. reads vi-, and so both editions. All three mss. of
KS. bi- (vv. II. bibhṛto and bibhyato). In spite of all this, it seems
hardly possible to construe anything but vi-bhṛto (note that the
accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf. next.

alandrāso yuvalayo vibhṛtram (TB. Conc. vibhariram, Poona ed. text
and comm. bibh) RV. TB. Cf. preceding; here we have adjective
epithets of Agni (TB. comm. poṣakam, understanding a redupli-
cated form of bhr).
sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB. padā babhūva) ApMB. HG. The
absurd form of most ApMB, mss. is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, Introd., xvi.

usrā (MŚ. usrāḥ) etam dhārvāhau (KS. dhārbādhāḥ) ... VSK. KS. MŚ.

Others, §122.

yāv (MS. yāv) ātmavad bhūrto (KS.† "tho, AV. viṣatho) yau ca rakhātah (AV. KS. "thah) AV, TS. MS. KS.

[tujo tujo vanām (ŚŚ. text, balanī) sahah AA. ŚŚ.: tujo janā (ArŚ. jane) vanām sah AV. ArŚ. This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since balanī is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ.]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with b, now with v, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original b and original v, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially b is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain v.

Original v

§209. We begin with forms in which v is certainly or probably original. There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root vadh or badh, of which the former seems older (badh not in RV.) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional b-forms met with from AV. on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root badh (and perhaps of bandh). In several variants, VS. texts (particularly VSK.) seem to favor badh; but contrary instances occur:

dviṣato badho (MŚ. vadho) 'si VS. KS. MŚ.
mā tā samudra ud vadhīn (VSK. badhīn) mā suparṇā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

trayaṣam vytram vadhīyāḥ (VSK. ba*, VS. ŚB. badhet) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā me ḍiksāṁ mā tapo nir vadhīṣṭa (KS. ba*) TS. KS. MŚ.

abadhīṣṭa rakṣo 'badhīṣṭāmam asau hataḥ (VSK. rakṣo 'muṣya te ḍī badhīṣṭām abadhīṣṭa) VS. VSK. ŚB. KS.: abadhīṣṭa rakṣāḥ TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
virān mā no rudra bhāmīto (SMB, ŚvetU. *minī, Jörgensen *mīto for SMB.,) vadhīḥ (TAA. SMB. badhīḥ; but Poona ed. of TAA. and Jörgensen's of SMB. both vā) RV. TS. MS. KS. TAA. ŚvetU. SMB.: mā no virān rudra bhāmīna vadhī VS.
avartyai badhāyopamaṇthitāram (TB. avartyai āvadhā) VS. TB. (so Poona ed.)
nātārīd (TB. *rār) asya samśtiṁ vadhānām (TB, ba, but Poona ed. va) RV. TB.
ayanāṁ mā vindhīr (TAA. vibā, but Poona ed. text and comm. viva?) vikramama TA. TAA.
Cf. also the following, in which MS. is surely corrupt (see §260). Apparently MS. MŚ, understand forms of vadh, badh, while TA. has a form of vṛdh:-
mā rudriyāśo abhi gur vṛdhānā (MS. abhi gubhādānā) MS. TA.: mā no ruddrāśa adhi gur vadhē nu (ms. nuḥ) MŚ.

§210. Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV. on (under the influence of bala 'strength?'). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV., the word is probably connected with root ṣṛ.
indro valam (MS. balam) raksiśāram duḥhānām RV. AV. MS.
teṣāṁ valasya (ĀŚ. balasya) gomataḥ RV. t1. 11. 5, SV. ĀŚ.
bibheda valam (AV. ĀŚ. balam but many AV. ms. valam) bhṛgur na sasāhe (AV. sasāhe) AV. SV. ĀŚ. sŚ.
ud valasyābhīnat (but all ms. *nas, which read) teacam ApŚ.: ud balasyābhī nas (read balasyābhīnas) teacam MŚ. The form abhinās is for abhināt, 2d person imperf., with s for t by analogy with 2d persons in s. This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262; but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being abhinās.

yo gā udājaḥ apa (MS. api) hi valam (MS. balam) vah RV. MS.
indro yad abhinād valam (GB: balam, but Gaśtra valam with most of his ms.) RV. AV. SV. AB. GB.
sa bibheda balam (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. valam) mūyam (MS. madyam) VS. MS. KS. TB.

§211. There is no doubt that the words for fat, pīnas etc., have original r, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of v in Sanskrit. Nevertheless there are a few b forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity:
pīvṛ kṛtā udārathī RV. KS.: pībaspākam udārathīn AV. In AV.
Shankar Pandit prints pībaspākam (comm. pībaspākam, explained
as ‘fat-cooking’), and declares this to be the unanimous reading
of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney’s mss. Ppp.
has pīvassākam (Barret, JAOS 30. 191, em. pīvāsāpākam) udāhṛtam.
Cf. Whitney on AV. 4. 7. 3, 3. 17. 3, and Index Verborum of AV.
under pīv and pīvā.

prapharvyāṁ ca pīvarīṁ VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, VāDh.: pīvarīṁ ca
prapharvyāṁ AV. (comm. pīva; Ppp. according to Roth reads like
VS, etc. except prapharvyāṁ).

nāva māṁsa na pīvaisy AV.: nāva māṁsaṇa pīvaisy PG.—SPP. with some
mss. and comm. reads pīcasi in AV.; so also Ppp. (Barret, JAOS
26. 205). PG., tho with correct v, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc.
sing. fem. of pīvan).

§212. In the root ṛḥ or bhṛ ‘tear’, the original consonant is uncertain.
It has no known etymology, and both b and ṛ are traditionally recorded
in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards ṛ as original, on not very substantial
grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other
root bhṛ ‘be great’ etc., has helped the variation in spelling (cf. §215).
Later, bhṛ seems to be commoner in the sense of ‘tear’. The two
variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modula-
tions of the same formula in the same passage. In them ṛḥ is the real
reading of all texts; Weber erroneously prints bhṛ- in TS. against nearly
all his mss.

ādityās tā pra bhṛhantu (most mss. ṛḥ) . . . TS.: viśeṣḥyaḥ tād devēḥyaḥ
pra ṛḥāmi . . . KS.: ādityāḥyaḥ tā pra ṛḥāmi . . . MS. Add to
VVI §312.

rāvasas tā pra ṛḥhantu (TS, ed. bhṛ, most mss. ṛḥ) gayatrēṇa chan-
dasaḥ TS. ApŚ.

§213. There are five examples, mostly dubious, of vandhura (vandhur):
bandhura; RV. always spells the word with ṛ. Connexion with root
bandh is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, RVRep. 236, analyzes the
word as van + ḍhura (ḍhur) ‘board at the head of the wagon pole’:
trivandhura (TB. triban; Poona ed. trivan, comm. triban) manasi
yātu yuktah RV. TB. (in Conc. by error, TS) MS.

ā yāhy arvīṇ upa vandhureṣṭāḥ (GB. AA. ban; but Gaustra and Keith
in both van) RV. AB. KB. GB. AA. ŚŚ.

pra nāmaḥ pūrṇavandhura (VS. ŚB. LŚ. 2ban) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB, LŚ.
ratham hiranyavandhuram (TA. sahasraban; but Poona ed. text and
comm. 2van, with v. 1. 2ban) RV. TA.

trivandhureṇa (KS. triban) triṣṭā rathena RV. KS.
§214. In the following isolated cases r is also probably original: vahishehbir (MS. ba\(^r\)) viharan yasti (TB. pahi, but comm. and Poona ed. text, yasti) tantum RV. MS. KS. TB. AS. ApŚ. The word can only mean 'swiftest', root vah.

etad brahmam upavalhamasi (AS. apa\(^r\), LŚ. upabalihāmahe) teś VS. AS. SS. LŚ. The root is vah, apparently always except here in LŚ. It is perhaps a form of vr̥h, §212.

capram (TB. Poona ed. capram) na pāyur bhīṣag asya válah (KS. vārah, TB. bālah, Poona ed. vālah) VS. MS. KS. TB. The word means 'sieve' and is regularly vál, or in the older language vāra. The converse of this in the variant kūrku ro bālabandhanah (vāla\(^r\)) where properly bāla 'child'; §215.

Original b

§215. In the following the b form is certainly or probably original. The VS. texts seem to show a tendency towards r, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for b in forms of vadh (§209). First, three cases in which etymology proves b the older:

savitr̥prasūtā bhṛhaspataye (PB. LŚ.\(^r\) vr̥h\(^r\)) stuta GB. PB. Vait. LŚ.

Twice in LŚ., once printed vr\(^r\) and once br\(^r\), but comm. both times vr\(^r\) which must be correct (since quoted from PB. which has vr\(^r\)).—

On the other root vr̥h, 'tear', see §212.

kūrkuro bālabandhanah (ApMB. vāla\(^r\)) PG. ApMB. Both must intend bāla, 'child', probably connected with Russian balovat 'spoil' (treat as a child).

ya ababbhāva (PB. ava\(^r\)) bhuanāni viśvā (PB. viśvā!, comm. viśvāni) VS. JB. PB. SS. Vait. Tho PB. comm. repeats the incredible ababbhāva, it is doubtless corrupt.

§216. In the following b forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown:

yat dhasiḥbhīṣān caṛma (MS. TB. TA. cakara) kilibśati (TA. kilō, but Poona ed. kilō\(^r\)) AV. MS. TB. TA.

viśvasād devakilibśat AV. MS.: sarvasād devakilibśat (VS. "kīlo\(^r\), LŚ. eva kilō\(^r\)) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.

kṛte yonaś (KS. kṛto yonir) vapaṭhe bājam (VS. SB. vijam) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

basto (VS. rasto) vayaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ.

dhamantī bākuram (JB. vā\(^r\)) dṛtim RV. JB.
Original b or v uncertain

§217. In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of b or v. The VS. texts again seem to favor v. First, three cases of padbīṣa or *vīśa 'fetter'. It is always spelled with b in RV., which is not favorable to its connexion with Lutin vincio (Wackernagel I §161); cf. Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 30, and on the false form *vīśaḥ, JAOS 51. 170:

atho (LŚ. ApŚ. nir mā) yamasya padbīṣaḥ (VS. *vīśāḥ, LŚ. tā padvīśāḥ) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

sandānam arvantaḥ padbīṣam (VS. MS. *vīṣam) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. yac ca padbīṣam (VS. MS. *vīṣam) arvataḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Here the sole ms. of KŚ. has *vīṣam.

§218. Two variants contain the word bāṇya or vāṇya 'arrow', both Rigvedic. In later Sanskrit the v form is commoner:

yatra bāṇaḥ (VS. vāṇaḥ) sampatati RV. SV. VS. TS. AG. 
vīṇalo vāṇarāni (TS. dē, MS. bāṇavaṇi. KŚ. bāṇavaṇi, NilarU. vāṇavāni) uṣa VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU.

§219. The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin:

māgadhah punācaλ kītavah kībō ... (VSK. punācaλ kītave ...)

te prājāpatyāḥ VS. VSK. kībā appears to be commoner,

dīghaḥ vadvab (KSA. vadvab) TS. KSA. bādabō and vā are also found.

drvāsi VS.: dvāsi KŚ.: druvāsi VSK. An arrow is addressed; said to mean 'piercing' (root dṛ).

kṣatrasyalbham (VS. TB. *vam, but TB. Poona ed. *bham) asi VS. TS. MS. KŚ. SB. TB. ApŚ. MS. Both common; RV. knows only b (once).

vīśvarūpāḥ kātalir (KŚ. kātal) agniāțitah TS. KŚ. PG. b is commoner.


subrāṇa (HG. suvīśyaḥ) ṣṛjā-ṣṛjā (ApMB. adds ṣunaka); and,


aulaba (HG. *vṛ) ti tam uśā hevyatha (HG. *ta) HG. ApMB. In same context as the preceding.

bh and v

§220. These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving abhi and vi, in most, probably all, of which the abhi forms are prior:

vīśaṃ ghanabhīcāt (MS. *nā vīcāt) RV. MS. TB.: vīśaṅgo
bhuvanā visaṭe AV. Cf. abhi yo viśrā bhuvanāni caṣṭe RV., and
abhi viśrāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe RV.
devānām viṣṭhām (ApŚ.† niṣṭhām) anu yo vi tathā VSK. TB. KS. ApŚ.;
divo viśrāhiṇḍhām anu yo vi caṣṭe MS.
mandrābhāhāth (MS. mandrā vibhāth) ketur... TS. TB. ApŚ. MS.
asrīnukho rudhireṇabhāhaktaḥ (TA. əvyaktaḥ) MS. TA. abhyaktah
‘smeared’, is clearly original. TA. comm. understands a-vyaktah
(not ə-), explaining śṛjātir itī niścetum aśakāyāh.
§221. The participles abhṛtām and āvṛtām exchange in two pādas
of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both; secondary
texts variously assimilate each to the other; see Whitney on AV. 6, 125, 2:
vanaśpatibhyah pary abhṛtām (MS. āvṛtām) saḥah RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.
KSA.
apām ajnānām purā gobbhir āvṛtām (AV. abhṛtām), same texts. SPP.
with some mss. and comm. āvṛtām for AV.
§222. The rest are sporadic;
yamir yamasya bībhṛyād (AV. vīrhād) ajāmi RV. AV. vīrhād is unintelli-
gible; it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it
makes good sense. See Whitney’s note.
ye no dvēṣty anu tām rābhāva AV.: yo no dvēṣṭi tanāṁ rābhāva MS.:
yo no dvēṣṭy anu tan rācāsa ApŚ. See AJP 27. 413; Caland on
ApŚ. 7. 17. 2.
adṛhathāh šākarābhīs trviṣṭapi (MS. trāḥṛṣṭībhiḥ) KS. ApŚ. MS.
The original means ‘Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with
pebbles’. The MS. assimilates the last word in meaning to šākarābhiḥ, ‘thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed
pebbles’.
bhānsa (ApMB. dhuānsa) vi vṛhāmi te RV. AV. ApMB. Cf. §176;
dhuva” has a sort of assonance to bha”.

v and m, phonetic changes

§223. This theme is important both for text-variation, and for
the history of Indian dialects. Much is here added to Bloomfield’s
paper JAOS 13. xevii ff., and it may be remarked that grammatical
treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the
degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note.
§224. The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that
they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first. They
are, to be sure, often mere corruptions; but even these contribute their
mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds. First, with original ā:

uc candraśva (TA. chmanā) prthivī mā ni bādhathāḥ (TA. vi bādhithāḥ) RV. AV. TA. And:

ucchāvānānā (TA. ucca-manā) prthivī su tiśhatu (TA. hi tiśhastī) RV. AV. TA. (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332.) See Waackernagel I §177.

suśīman somasatsaru AV.; suśevam somapitsaru (TS. sumatitsaru) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. Attempts are made to explain suśīman as su-sīman, or from root śi with suffix ma; but while some such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is essentially phonetic.

jhog jīvam suravārā vayaṁ tama MG. (all mss.): agne sakhye mā riśāmā vayaṁ tava RV. AV. SV. MS. SMB. HG. ApMB.: mā riśāmā vayaṁ tava Vait. GB. AVPp. (Barret, JAOS 26, 278). The formula vayaṁ tava ‘we belong to thee’ seems to have been mispronounced in MG.; was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible *vayaṁtama (as if superlative to vayaṁ)?

ā tvam (GB. ātman; Gāstra ā tvam with v. l. ātman; LŚ. ā svam) ṣindāya ṣyāvasva VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. (Probably ā tvam is to be read in LŚ.; its edition is very untrustworthy.) The converse corruption in Kauś. 65. 15, where four of seven mss. read devā tvā for devātma.

anamīcāsa idāya (MS. anamimāsā idāya, but p.p. ćvāsaḥ, idāya) mad-antaḥ RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. anamīcāsa, if correct, might perhaps be a case of assimilation; but it may be only a misprint which escaped the editor’s attention. The pratīka occurs as anamīcāsah later in MS. 4. 12. 6 (197. 8).

ni dārāvrasava vaha (ŚŚ. maḥah, all mss.; ed. em. vahah) AV. ŚŚ.

§225. On the other hand the m forms are original in the following, the e forms being often mere corruptions; cf. JB. pratitan devēkhyo jūṭam ha vijayasthāt, where haḥyam asthāt is pretty certainly intended: ā galdā dhamaṁvām MS. N.; ā galdā dhamaṁvām ApŚ. dhamaṁ ‘vein’ is correct; indeed the whole pāda is corrupt in ApŚ., see §144. Possibly thought of dhav(hu) = dvā ‘run’ may have flitted thru the mind of the ApŚ. redactor.

agne yātī dātyam mā riśañyāḥ (TB. dātyam vāriṣṇyah) RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. vāriṣṇyo mā riśañā (=vāriṣṇyah!)

punar datām (TA. dattām) aṣam adyeha bhadram RV. AV. TA. ‘Let them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life.’ The
preceding pāda is tāv asmabhyaṁ dhṛaye vāryāya; perhaps TA's dattā is contaminated by the preceding tāv. The comm. at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv. act. = dattāṁ (dattau prayachatām). There is no accent on dattāṁ.

su mā mṛtyu (MG. mṛtā, one ms. mṛtam) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. tan mā mṛdihaḥ ŚG. mṛta is required: 'may he not die'.
sarasvatā adhi manāś (KS. mānā, SMB. Conc. vanāvā, Jörgensen manāś) acārkrṣuḥ (acākrṣuḥ, cārkrṣiḥ, see §170) KS. TB. ApŚ.: sarasvatāyā adhi maṇdāv acārkrṣuḥ AV. The mss. of SMB, which read vanās have simply a phonetic corruption.

byhaspatīś tu (TS. KS. ApŚ. "tīv tuā) sumne ramatū (TS. ApŚ. raṇeatu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS. And:
deva tvaṣṭar vau rama (TS. raṇe, MS. raṇe) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Here the verb stem raṇa of the Tait, school is based on the adjective raṇa, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds m and v. Comm. on TS. 1. 3. 7. 1, raṇa raṇaṇiṇāṁ kuru. See VV I p. 121.

v and m, lexical variants

§226. Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic. That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic pādas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in RVRep. 553ff. Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between m and v, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole.

§227. Thus the roots man and van, and derivatives, interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV. itself:

śiddhau manuṣo yathā RV.; śiddanto vanuṣo yathā RV. SV. LŚ. In RVRep. 60ff, the first form is taken to be original. The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, m is again prior:

manuvad (TB; vanuvad) deva dhīmahi pracetāsām RV. TB.
etat tattā (LŚ, etat tān) pratimavāno (AŚ, "vanvāno asmi (AŚ, LŚ, asmin) VS. AŚ, ŚS, Vait. LŚ, 'Thinking in reply': 'offering, presenting in return'.

purātā te manutāṁ (AV, vanutāṁ) viśthitam jagat RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KŚA. N. 'Take note of': 'acquire'; jagat is subject in RV. etc., object in AV. See VV I p. 266.
suvīśasya manānahe (SV. va") RV. SV. 'Have in mind, purpose' : 'desire'.
ūrjum bhrkrod vaswanīth (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ.* vaḥ sumanāḥ, ApŚ.* vaḥ swanīth, ApŚ.* vasmanāḥ) sumedhāḥ AV. VS. KŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. 'Winning wealth' or 'very acquisitive': 'well-minded' or 'minded to wealth'. Note three different readings in ApŚ. AVPpp. has vasumanāṭḥ. Epithet of an owner of a house; all epithets fit well enough, but the readings with man may be assimilated in meaning to the following sumedhāḥ.

§228. In three cases, somewhat dubious forms in ā́rm- and ā́re-(ure-) interchange; perhaps this is partly a matter of genuine phonetics, and not lexical; cf. ārmila, in the Rāmāyaṇa personified as sister of Sītā, probably connected with Vedic ārura 'field of grain', which is associated with sītā 'furrow' among the geniuses of the field PG. 2. 17. 9; see JAOS 13 p. xcvii:

namu ā́rmāya (MS. namā ā́rmāya) ca sūryāya (TS. MS. sūrmāya) ca VS. TS. MS.: namas sūrmāya coryāya ca KS. Mahīdhara on VS. derives from ā́rurī 'earth' with ā by Vedic license, or alternatively from ā́ruca 'submarine fire'. Keith adopts the first interpretation. Neither is plausible, and ā́rmāya is probably the true form; ā́rīya possibly merely a phonetic equivalent.

ulusāṁ juśāvā madhunantam ā́ruca (KS. MS. ā́rmim, VS. ārvan, VSK. śca šatadhāram ārvan) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MS. The combination ārmī madhunat 'honeyed flood' is frequent: RV. 4. 57. 2. 58. 1. 7. 47. 2. 96. 5. The vocative ā́ruca in TS. is, as Keith remarks, probably incorrect (he renders 'ocean'). This vocative seems further corrupted into the common adjective ārvan in VS. VSK.

rudrīyām ā́rmāyāṁ (ApŚ. ā́rmāyāṁ, ŚŚ. omāyāṁ) svādītyā adityaye svāmānehasah (ApŚ. adityaye 'nehasah, ŚŚ. adityā anehasah) ŠB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŠB., 'in the vastness of the Rudras'; ŚŚ., 'in the favor of the Rudras'. ApŚ. seems secondarily to blend the forms of the other two; ārmāya 'night' (RV.) gives no chance for intelligent interpretation.

§229. In two variations of the roots mand 'rejoice' and vand 'extol', each is once prior:
mandadvīrāyendave RV.: vandadvīrāyendave SV.
maghavan vandishmant (TS. MS. KS. LŚ. mand) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. LŚ.

§230. The noun medhā (medhas) 'hymn' and its derivative adjective medhya, vary with vedhā (vedhas) 'pious', or with vedha 'well-known': vedhām avāsata (SV. medhām āś) śrīye RV. SV.†
avocāma kaveṣe medhyāya RV, VS. TS. MS.; pra vedhāse kaveṣe medhyāya
(TB. Ap. MS. medhyāya) RV, KS. TB. Ap. MS.; śrutakarnāya
kaveṣe medhyāya AV. KS. Ap.

§231. Somewhat similarly, the word medin ‘ally’ is replaced by a
slouenly vedin, if Scheftelowitz’s ms. of RVKh. is to be trusted (note
also the corruption kṝṇo for kṝmō in the ms. of AVPpp.);
ayya (KS. and RVKh. Scheftelowitz, ita) kūrmo (RVKh. kulmo,
Scheft. em. kūrmo; KS. kṝmō; AVPpp.ms. kṝṇo, for kṝmō) harīvo
medinām (RVKh. Scheft. vedinān) tad RVKh. TS. KS. TB. AVPpp.
(Barret, JAOS 37. 263 f.); asmākiṃ abhūt haryāvina medī AV.
Cf. §263.

§232. The words mayas and vagas, practically synonyms, exchange
in two associated formulas;
haçu dātra edhi vaya (VSK. šŚ. maya) mahyam pratigrāhitrī (ŚŚ.
śṝṅjñate) VS. VSK. šŚ. šŚ. And, in same passage;
prānu dātra edhi vayo (VSK. šŚ. maya) mahyam pratigrāhitrī (ŚŚ.
śṝṅjñate) VS. VSK. šŚ. šŚ. In two accompanying formulas all
texts read maya; VS. šŚ. vary the expression with vaya.

§233. In two cases the syllables sama are changed to savā on faint
lexical suggestions issuing from the root su in the context:
sahasrasamam prasutena yantah PB. TB. Ap.; sahasrasavaprasavena
yantah MS.
tasā u aḍaṇ samanā (SV. savane) sitavi bhara RV. AV. SV.

§234. The rest are sporadic:
śṝṅjñā apru mṝṭjakal (SV. vr̄ṣjñate) RV. SV. Subject is somāḥ; ‘are
purified in the waters’. It is hard to see other than phonetic
reasons for the SV. alteration of this pāda, which occurs twice in
RV. Possibly, however, SV. means ‘are worked, operated’,
assimilating the idea to the sphere of the bhris; cf. Bloomfield,
JAOS 35. 273 ff.
ačā ma (SV. Svidh. va) indraṁ matayah sarvidah (SV. saryuṇah)
RV. AV. SV. GB. AŚ. ŠŚ. Vait. Svidh. Change of person as in
indra vaḥ (AV. me) śarma yachatu RV. AV. SV. VS. TS., or in the
persons of the verb, VV I §290, 307. For others of this sort see
our future volume on Pronouns.
amba nippara (nisvara, nisvāra, nismāra) VS. TS. MS. KS. šŚ. Ap.;
see §200.
ṛdhag aya (TS. MS. KS. aya) rṛdhag utāśamiṣṭhāḥ (MS. KS. ṛṣṭa) VS.
TS. MS. KS. šŚ. N.; dhruvam aya (AV. aya) dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ
(AV. utā śeṣṭha) RV. AV. The AV. is clearly a phonetic variant
or corruption (comm. and Ppp. utāśamiṣṭhāḥ). See §86.
yat kṣureṇa marcayātā (MG. varlayātā) sutejasā (AG. PG. ApMB. HG. supeṣasā) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. ‘Injuring’: ‘moving’. In AVPpp. we find varcayātā, a sort of raz media, perhaps with thought of vācas, but really of course corrupt.

yuktās tiṣrā vimṛjāḥ ...: yunajmā tiṣrā viṛṇaḥ (vimṛṇaḥ) ... , see §57.

§235. In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words. In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter; the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge:

ā raśmīn (RV. raśmīn) deva yamase (TB. yuvase) svāsvān (RV. TB. svāsvāh) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Tho TB. is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others; comm. raśmīn praghānā śayuvasā śāyāga miśārākurā.

drapasā caśakanda prthivīṁ anu dyām (RV. prthamān anu dyān) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Interesting case of the spread of dyu in the sense of ‘heaven’, producing its opposite prthīvi in all later texts against RV.

kauberakā visvāsāsah HG.: miśvāsāsāsah kauberakāḥ ApMB. (probably original).

avimuktācakro (v. l. 6ra) āśīrān PG.: viśvācakro āśīnāḥ HG. ApMB. sa mē mukhān pra mārkyate (ApMB. veṣekātā) PG. ApMB. ‘He will cleanse (enter) my mouth.’ Probably PG. is original.

āśīkajena sarpiṇā sam viṣantu (AV. sprāṇām, TA. mṛṣām) RV. AV. TA.—Ppp. (Roth) viṣanta.

adharo mad asau vaddā svāhā ApMB.: adharo vad asau vaddā svāhā HG.: adho vaddāhara vadda HG. ApMB. certainly original; the first form of HG. unquestionably intends the same, and vad is a corruption or phonetic variant for mad.

viṃṣyāsī (KS. mitro) kanāṅkā (VS. ŚB. nakāh) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: viṃṣyāka kanāṅkāsī (VSĪK. nakāsī) VSĪK. TS. ApŚ. Secondary change in KS.

anu tvā harīna viṣā (ApŚ. viṣāh) AV. ApŚ. aṣādīyā yahamānāya vedhase (TB. mūdhise) RV. TB. N.

mitro (VS. viṣro) baḥāra saṃprathāh RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. pra hānsāras tṛpalan manyum (SV. há vagum) acha RV. SV.

kalpantāṁ te (TA. me) diśāḥ sarvāḥ (TA. bāgmāh) VS. ŚB. TA. (both)

§236. Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words. Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense:
udem anamnamuh TS. MS. AB. AS. ApS. MS; udeva namnamuh KB. SB, SS, KS.

athem ava sya (AV. athemam asya) vara a prthivyaha AV. TS. AS. SS, MS.
The original is ava sya 'set free'; AV. secondarily brings in the familiar notion of iyam...prthivi (in genitive form).
turi-svayasa (TS. JB. tuvi-smayasa) suya/aṁ ghṛtasrijam RV. TS. JB, SB, MS. The RV. supports its reading by numerous instances of turi-śaṃ (=-i, =as), whereas tuvi- does not occur in compounds.
viṣvaridāṁ (AV. viś dorsal avīśam-invām (AV. avīśa-vinnāṁ) RV.
AV. The AV. change is due to preceding viśva-vīda; see Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield 128.
manmā didhyāṁ utā naḥ sakhyā MS.; avamdidhiyathāṁ iha naḥ sakhyā
TB. See the context, quoted VV.I p. 163; note that the preceding pāda ends in m.
dāme-dame susūtīr (AV. KS, tyā, TS, τύς, MS, τί) vārdhānā (AV.
nau, AS, SS, vāṁ vāṁ) AV. TS. MS, KS, AS, SS. The sūtra
texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense:
'good praise (is) going to you two in every house',
ḥarālam uddharem anuṛṣiçe (MS, uddharem vanugant) TB, APŚ, MS.
The TB. comm. says that im (in uddhara-im) is for imam: chāndaso
yam mavarnalopah. The corrupt MS. reading then seems to
have a phonetic substitution of v for m.
vaso virājo ṛṣabho maṁnāṁ AV.: pīḍa virājaṁ ṛṣabho raviṁ TB.
See §359.

v and m in inflectional endings

§237. Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange
between acc. sing. and nom.-acc. dual; between nom.-acc. dual and gen.
plur.; between 1st person dual and plural, and so on. Similar cases
occur among corruptions of the mas.; thus in Kauś. 60. 19 two mss.
read manvantām for manvantāv; and in Kauś. 71. 1 all mss. anśo rōjā
vibhajatīmāṁ agnī, where the ed. emends imāṁ to imāv.
ṛtena (MG. rten 'ea) sthānām (APMB, HG, sthānāv, MG. sthānā) adhi
roha vaṁśā (MG, vaṁśah) AV, AG, APMB, HG, MG, Kauś. Roth
quotes Ppp. as sthānā dhi.
aya(h)sthānām (TS. nāv) udita (MS. TS, KS, ταυ) sūryasya RV. TS.
MS, KS. For the VS. SB. form see §188.
putraḥ pitarāv (AV. ṛam) anātta pūṣā RV. AV. The original dual
refers to the Aśvins; AV. has a stupid simplification.
vena striyam (PG, kriyām, SS, striyāv) akṛṣutam (PG, ṛum, SS, akuru-
tam) SS, PG, SMB, GG. The SS. is secondary and poor.
apsaraśāv anu dattāṃ ryan yat (TB. TA. ryanī) AV. TB. TA.: apaśara-
sāṃ unudattāṃrāṇī MS. (p.p. anu, dattāṃ, ryanī). MS. is hope-
less; see VV I p. 282.

idam rattyāvaḥ (AG. rattyāmo bhok) AG. HG. See VV I p. 249; others
on the same page and on pp. 263, 276.
adhrṣṭam dhṛṣṭavojaśam (SV. dhṛṣṭwum ofasā) RV. AV. SV. 'Having
terrible strength': 'terrible in strength'.

v and m in noun-suffixes

§ 238. On this subject cf. Bender, Suffixes mant and vant, Baltimore,
1910. The variation between mant and vant is there shown to depend
on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants.
If that vowel was an a-vowel, the v form is regular; otherwise the m
form. In prehistoric times perhaps the m form occurred only after
u-vowels; cf. Sturtevant, AJP 50. 300ff., TAPA 60. 33ff. The differ-
ence between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only
preceding i-vowels; and Bender's work shows that after them v is much
commoner than after u-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's
position. In any case the original conditions are, of course, much
confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the
earliest texts. Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which
an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later.
The same conditions appear to apply to other m and v suffixes that are
found with mant and vant. Variants occur in the readings of individual
mss.; thus at AV. 19. 42. 3 sutrāme for sutrāne, and at Kauś. 89.1
four out of seven mss. manvahhi for manmabhhi. We shall return to
this subject in our volume on Noun Formation.

§ 239. We begin with variations of mant and vant (or, once, vin;
once, varī):

udyan nakṣatram arcisat (TB. *mat) RV. SV. TB. Note that RV,
also knows arcimāt.

tapur gayastu carur agṇivān (AV. KS. *mān) iva RV. AV. KS. N.
agnivān is read by AVPpp.; agnimānt not in RV. This may
perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory.
pūṣā jñātimān . . . ŠG.; pūṣā jātiein (read jātāṃ) . . . Kauś.
trīṣyasya sāvanasya yohumato (Apś. *yarbhū) . . . bhṛhaspativasāto (KS.
*mato) . . . KS. Apś. MS. The majority show yat after i,
indram ādityavantaṃ . . . rājavarantam bhṛhaspatimantam (AŚ. *vantam)
vāsuvadyavantam avaha KB. AŚ. ŠŚ. Here only AŚ. has vant,
and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmaṇa text has mant; vanī may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in ranti. But cf. next.

\[\text{taeva adhvaryo (ŚŚ, } ^{\text{vay}}\text{) ... vājvate brhaspativate (ŚŚ, } ^{\text{māte}}\text{) viśvade-}\
\[\text{vyāvate AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here again we might suggest the surrounding}\
\[\text{ranti forms as source of brhaspati-vate; but this time the older}\
\[\text{Brāhmaṇa text reads -vate. Note that AŚ. belongs to the school}\
\[\text{of AB., and ŚŚ. to that of KB. (cf. prec); the two schools seem to}\
\[\text{have affected different forms.}

puspārāṭhi (TS. ViDh. puspā) prasūvarāṭhi (AV. KS. } ^{\text{sūmatīḥ}}\text{, TS.}\
\[^{\text{sūvāṭhi}}\text{) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ViDh. The original form has}\
\[\text{suffixal rati, fem. of rati; according to any theory it must be judged}\
\[\text{as unhistoric. It is replaced in later texts by the more regular}\
\[\text{mati, or in TS. by the still irregular rati, which looks like a blend}\
\[\text{of the other two.}

apāṁ nāpād ... kakudmān (MS. kakudbān) ... TS. MS. KS.: devī}\
\[\text{Āpa ... kakunmān ... VS. VSK. ŚB. See §178.}\


tevām cakṣur dadihre codayamavati (RV, } ^{\text{māti}}\text{) RV. TB. ApŚ. Psycholog-}\
\[\text{ically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here; codaya-}\
\[\text{mati in RV. is a compound with the noun māti: ‘they made (the,}\
\[\text{Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion’. Later texts conceive}\
\[\text{the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the r form required}\
\[\text{after an a-vowel. TB. comm., accordingly, vidhāyakavāṇāyukte}\
\[\text{(karmani).}

§240. The rest concern man and rati or related suffixal forms:

nṛsādā (SV. } ^{\text{mā}}\text{) sīdād apāṁ upāsāte (SV. apāṁ evārte) RV. SV. sadman}\
\[\text{(also RV.) is in the mind of SV.}

kṣūpaśava denāya svādāvāne (TB. } ^{\text{mēc}}\text{) RV. TB. N. The otherwise}\
\[\text{unquoted form of TB. plays upon dhāman (sva-dhāman: svadhā-}\
\[\text{rati).}

āḍityānām putoṇav (PB. } ^{\text{mām}}\text{) ṛhi (KSA.† ehi) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB.}\
\[ŚB. TB. MS. ApMB. Both forms are Rigvedic; cf. next.


karin prakārī viśmane (AV. viśvanno) na viśdā RV. AV. Assimilation}\
\[\text{to viśdā in AV.}

mitajnāvo sarimān (TB. } ^{\text{cann}}\text{, but Poona ed. mitajnāvo sarimān) } ^{\text{phīvargāḥ}}\text{ RV. MS. TB. sarivān is not recorded, unless here.}
Vedic Variants II: Phonetics

varṣmā (VS. varṣimā) ca me drāghimā (TS. drāghuyā, KS. drāghvā, MS. drāghmā, KapŚ. drāghimā) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS. The curious TS. form seems to contain in its u a relic of suffixal r.  
[āpataye tvā pariṇataye grhṇām] tanūnapre (KS. adds śakmane) sākvarāya śakvana (KS. śakmann) ojīsthāya VS. KS. ŠB.; tanūnapre śakmane sākvarāya śakmanā ojīsthāya MS.; tanū śākvarāya śakmann ojīsthāya VSK. In KS. the stem śakman is first used as an adjective ‘strong’, then as a noun ‘strength’.

abhikhyā bhāsa bhṛata suṣukvaniḥ RV.: dṛṣe (MS. dṛṣa) ca bhāsa bhṛata suṣukvaniḥ (KS. ʾvabhiḥ, MS. suṣikmanā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. The MS. form owes its i to dissimilation or thought of the word śīkvan ‘able’ (RV.); the change to m may be due to the feeling that m should occur after a non-a vowel.

avasyayam aśitam deva vasma (TB. ApŚ. vasaḥ) RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. explains vasaḥ as ace. sing. of an agent noun, vāsyaśtram uchiṣṭakam. The form is very difficult, but one may think of vasaḥ as voc. of a stem vasaṇ ‘wealthy’, agreeing with deva, in which case the accent in TB. must be deleted.

prathamaṇyā janaṇe bhuvaneṣṭhāḥ (ŚŚ. bhūma neṣṭhāḥ, AŚ. ed. bhūmaneṣṭhāḥ) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Pp. has bhūmā. The ŚŚ. reading makes good sense: ‘thou shalt lead the world’. AVŚ. has bhūvaneṣṭhāḥ.

§241. The few variations of m and b are related to those of m and v thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of b and v. A large number of interchanges between mahat and bhṛat are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical; see, provisionally, the Conc. under these words.

parā dehi sāmulyam (ApMB. sābalyam) RV. AV. ApMB. The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone sāmulyam, which at least suggests samala ‘stain’. Apparently ApMB. is influenced by sabaṇa ‘spotted’. See §607.

asambhādham badhyato (many AV. miss. maḥ) mānavānām (Pp. ṭeyu) AV. Kauś.: asambhādāḥ ya madhyato mānavabhyāḥ MS. Sense and text tradition require madhyato. The form baḥ is probably due to assimilation to the preceding bādhāṃ (so Whitney); it is in any case a corruption. This is immediately followed by: yasyā udvataḥ pravatāḥ samāṁ bahu (MS. mahat) AV. MS. Synonyms; cf. bhṛat: mahat, referred to above. But the occurrence of b for m twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments.
aイルmrdä yavyudhāh KS.; aイルmrädä (MS. "mrädä; KapS. īlamrädä) āyuryudhāh (TS. yavyudhāh, MS. vo yudhāh) VS. TS. MS. The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure; Mahādhara on VS. desperately, 'bringers of food' (bhṛtah!).

anuṣṭub ("tum) mitrasya, see §412.

§242. The equally small group of m and bh variants is in general purely lexical:
indrä ukthebhīr mandiśṭhāḥ (ŚŚ. bhand⁵) SV. ŚŚ. Cf. next; the roots are quasi-synonyms.
dīvās (dīvā) prṛṭhaṁ (PB. prṛṭhe) bhandamānāḥ (PB. mand⁶) sumanmahāḥ RV. PB. TA. Aps. Cf. prec.
tāsām tiśāno bhagavāh (MS. maghavan) VS. TS. MS. KS. Practically synonyms.
sarvām tām (AV. sarvān ni, MS. KS. TA. sarvān sān) maymāsā (TS. SB. maymāsā, MS. tṛṣmṛṣē, v. t. mṛṣmṛṣā, VS. hāyamāsā) kuru (AV. -karaṁ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. The onomatopoetic word found in various forms in the others is made into hāyamāsā, as if 'to ashes', in VS.
saritā bhṛtyām (KS. ms.† manyām) TS. KS.; von Schroeder emends to bhṛtyām.
aciṣyāma (p.p. ami, for abhi, ayāma) evṛjane viśva uśi MS.: abhi ayāma evṛjane sarvavirāh RV. KS. Corruption if not misprint.
yuktās tiśro vimṛjāh (vibhrjāh) ...; and others, see §57.
§243. Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on \( y \) and \( r \), however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between \( r \) and \( l \) is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning \( l \) and \( d \) which we add at the end of the chapter.

\( y \) and \( r \)

§244. Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption:

\( \text{dviṣas laradhya} (\text{ApŚ. } \hat{\text{o}}\text{yat}) \text{ p̣rayaḥ na ṭyase } (\text{SV. ṭrāse}) \text{ RV. SV. KS. } \text{AB.} \)

\( \text{ApŚ.}: \text{ dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveteye } \text{AV. } \text{Roots } \text{ir} \text{ and } \text{i (intensive), both } \text{'go'}. \)

\( \text{kṣaṇḍikera } (\text{PG. } \text{kṣaṇḍikeya}) \text{ ulukhalah } \text{PG. } \text{HG.}: \text{ sāṇḍerathā } \text{sāṇḍikera ulukhalah } \text{ApMB. } \text{Fanciful names of demons.} \)

\( \text{vāyosāvitra } (\text{MS. } \text{vāyusavitṛbhām}) \text{ ugamugbhyaṃ } \text{cariḥ } (\text{MS. payaḥ}) \text{ TS. } \text{MS. } \text{KSA.} \)

\( \text{saṃvatsarāya paryāpiṇiṃ } (\text{TB. } \text{paryāpiṇiṃ}) \text{ VS. } \text{TB. } \text{Fanciful epithets} \text{ of doubtful meaning.} \)

\( \text{ṣuḥsvinaḥ kṛtsu } \text{kāmā } (\text{ApMB. } \text{kāmān}) \text{ ayaṇisāta } (\text{AV. ayaṇisata}) \text{ RV. } \text{AV.} \)

\( \text{ApMB. } \text{ni-yaṃ } \text{‘settle’, and } \text{ni-ram } \text{‘rest’,} \)

\( \text{prāṇasya vidvān samare na dhiraḥ } \text{TS. MS.}: \text{ yaṃnasya vidvān samaye na dhiraḥ } \text{AV.} \text{ Both samara and samaye mean something like ‘juncture’}. \)

\( \text{apo } (\text{RV. } \text{AŚ. } \text{āpo}) \text{ adyāne } \text{acārīṣam } \text{RV. } \text{VS. MS. } \text{KS. } \text{SB. } \text{AŚ. } \text{IŚ. } \text{MS.} \text{ ApMB. MG.}: \text{ apo anv acārīṣam } (\text{JB. } \text{acārīṣam}) \text{ TS. } \text{TB. } \text{JB. ApŚ.}: \text{ apo divya } \text{acārīṣam AV. } \text{anu-car ‘follow after’: cāya ‘fear, revere’.} \)

\( \text{vasūni cāyr } (\text{SMB. } \text{cārye, ApMB. } \text{cāryo, HG. } \text{cāyyo}) \text{ vi bhajāsi (SMB. bhṛjāsi, HG. bhajā sa) jīvan AV. SMB. ApMB. HG.} \text{ Störner on SMB. understands ca cārye, ‘O lady’. Is HG. Prakritic for ca cārya? (cf. Pali ayyo.) One ms. of ApMB. also cāyya. All very doubtful.} \)

\( \text{yusyedam ā rajo yujah AV. AŚ.}: \text{ yasṛedam ā rajaḥ AA.}: \text{ yasṛedam oja} \)

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Obscure in all. SS's arojah looks as if blended of 
āra-ja and ya-number, whereas AA seems to have lost (haplographically) 
two syllables, āra (jo-yu) jah. Or SS. may be regarded as showing a 
sort of metathesis of r; ya-number vaguely = ā(y)u-ja.

gohya ṣupagohya marūko (PG, ma-yukho) manohāḥ PG. SMB. See §81.
śadh ya-cann ahān girō (SV. jya) RV. SV. N. See §134.
rudra yat te kriyu (kri, kri, giri-) ... see §47.
tām puṣānu yachatu (AV. puṣāhi raksatu) RV. AV. See §184.
antah kubhrāvatā (SV. śundhyaivatā) pathā RV. SV. See §173.
viṣye viṣye viṣye viṣapet (p.p. vi-kṣepe) MS.: viṣye viṣapet viṣhame MS.
(Read viṣapet in MS.) According to Knauer (note on MS.) these 
words are vocatives of cow-names. No etymology for *viṣya or
*viṣā suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow.
vanishya hriyayā (AV. *udarād) adhi RV. AV. (both) ApMB.
agor arir (SV. nāgo rayi) a ciketa RV. SV. Wholly different words and
constructions.
yena bhūyat ca ārty (MG. ca rātī, PG. bhūri ca 
divam) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. bhūyaś and bhūriś are different suffixal
formations from the same root.
kañca ā (TA. *vām) anyad yañataṃ (TA. *raj) ā (TA. *vām) anyat
RV. SV. TA. MS. KŚ. AB. KB. TA. (both) AŚ. Svidh. N. The
Poona ed. of TA. reads yañataṃ for raj, but with v. l. raj, which
the comm. also reads; he has a labored and worthless explanation.

y and l

§245. Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants
concerning the roots yup on the one hand, and lubh or lup on the other.
The two instances of yup: lubh have been quoted in §113, which see.
The other is:
mṛtyuḥ padam (MG. padān) yopayanto (AV. ṭa, MG. lopayante) yad
(AV. omits) etā (RV. aita, TA. aina) RV. AV. TA. MG.

y and v

§246. Both y and v appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional
elements; among these must be included cases in which the y and v
represent the vowels i and u under conditions required by morphology.
There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call
purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not
infrequently either the y or v form of a given variant is suffixal or in-
flexional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous
variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds \( y \) and \( v \) must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing \( y \), such as \( yin \), exchanges with one in \( v \), such as \( vin \) (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen §254.

§247. We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both \( y \) and \( v \) forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal \( yin \) and \( vin \), found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV. texts, and that too so that the \( v \) forms occur only in Taïtirïya texts, the \( y \) forms in those of other YV. schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait. texts to prefer \( v \) in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel \( u \) in place of \( i \) (§622). The relation between \( yin \) and \( vin \) seems to be this. The \( yin \) forms contain really suffixal \( in \), added to stems in \( a \) (all the variants noted concern such stems). The \( y \) bridges euphonically the gap between \( a \) and \( i \) (cf. §§338ff.), precisely as e.g. in aorist passives from roots ending in \( a \) (adhyāti etc.). The \( vin \) of Tait. texts is best explained as a blend of \( vant \) or \( van \) with this in; e.g. svadhā-vin, product of svadhā-vant (RV.), and svadhā-van with svadhā-y-in. It is therefore likely that these \( vin \) forms are secondary to those in \( yin \). See Whitney, Grammar §§258a, 1230e; Brugmann, Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen, BKSGW 65 (1913), part 3, pp. 211ff.; Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the \( y \) and \( v \) forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note \( yāyin, śhāyin, rṣvadhā-ḥāyin, \) in addition to Whitney’s list §1230e:

* nama iṣumadbhyo dhauṇāyibhyaś (TS. *vibhyaś) ca to namaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.

* namaḥ svruyibhya (TS. *vibhya, MS. svṛayi) jīghaṁsadbhyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.

* name ruḍrāyātayine (TS. *vīne) VS. TS. MS. KS.

* pītāmahēbbhyaḥ swadhāyibhyah (TB. ApŚ. *vibhyah) svadhā namaḥ VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Also with pītṛbhyaḥ and pṛapitāmahēbbhyaḥ.

* urjaśvatiḥ svadhāyinīḥ (TS. *vinīḥ) TS. KS.

§248. Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous
cases in which \( y \) and \( v \) are in some sense suffixal; it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait. texts seem to prefer the \( v \) forms, although instances of the contrary are not lacking:

arunagamaja jagmaye (TB. ApŚ. jagmave) RV. SV. TB. Ap., Note stem jagmu, otherwise unknown, in Tait. texts, for regular jagmi. duvasavaye (TA. duvasvate) tvā rāgya svəhā MS. TA. Stems duvasyu and duvasvant; but MS. has v. l. duvasvate.

ojasvinī nāmāsi TS. ApMB.: ojasvī nāmāsi MS. Again Tait. texts with \( v \).

atharya pitum me pahi VS. ŚŚ.; atharva pitum me gopāya (AŚ. ṭpahi) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. atharva looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by atharvan, for atharya (cf. RV. athari, atharyu), epithet of Fire. Note \( v \) in Tait. texts (to be sure also in AŚ.).

tapatvai svəhā TS.: tapatvai svəhā KSA. TA. Stems tapatvatu (RV.) and tapatt. Poona ed. of TA. tapatvai, v. l. tapatvai.

ye te agne medayo (KŚ. "ro) ya inducāḥ TS. KS. Here TS. has the regular i-stem medī, while KS. substitutes an otherwise unknown medu.

puṅse putrāya vettavai (ŚB. [so, for Conc. ŚG.,] BrhU. vittaye, MG. kartavai, KS,< and v. l. of MG. kartav) KS. ŚB. TB. BrhU. ApŚ.

ApMB.

tvaṁ no devatātaye (AV. deva dataye) RV. AV. N. See §61.

śrūḍhi śruta śraddhayām (AV. śraddhayām) te vadāmi RV. AV. The anomalous RV. form is, as it were, explained in AV.

viśvacarṣayiḥ sakūriḥ sāhācān (AV. sāhāyān) RV. AV. MS. Again AV. eliminates a rare hieratic form.

svā tanār baladevyāya mehi (AV. baladācā na chī) RV. AV. "Come to me unto strength-giving" (RV. p.p. mā, ṣ, ihi): 'come to us, giving strength'.

namo hṛdayāyā (KS. hṛdayāyā) ca nīveṣṣyāyā (KS. nīveṣyāyā) ca TS. KŚ.: namo nīveṣṣyāyā (p.p. niṣ) ca hṛdyāya ca MS.: namo hṛdayāyā ca nīveṣṣyāyā ca VS. Anomalous forms seemingly from hṛd and hṛdaya (but cf. §658), or from hṛda (Keith, 'of the lake'). Stem hṛdaya quoted Pāṇ. 6. 1. 83, Vārtt. 2, Pat.

iṣṭā manusyaḥ (AV. mss. manusyaḥ) iha cetayānī RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. The mss. reading of AV. is supported by APPr. 4.65 (comm. manusyaḥavat) and adopted by Whitney. The APR. comm. looks in the right direction; it is a blend of manusyaḥ and manusya-.
namah sūtāyāhanṭyayai (TS. 'hantāya, MS. KS. 'hantāya) VS, TS, MS. KS. a-hanti, 'not smitting': a-hantya = a-hantva 'not to be smitten', arāyo āsmān abhiduchunāyate TB. AS. ApŚ.: arāvā yo no abhi duchu-nāyate RV. TAA. Vait. MS. The stem a-rāy-a (rai) is bahuvrihi, a-rā-van karmadhāraya. Caland would read arāvā yo 'āsmā in ApŚ.; it seems indeed that the syllable yo is inherited from the RV. form of the pāda.

vasuranyo (MahānU. 'nyo) vibhūr asī TA. MahānU. ranyā is from root ran; as to ranāa we must remember the quasi-root rany (see last variant in §225). Both comms. have fatuous explanations; that on MahānU. divides vasur anyo (=stūtyah!).

etena tvam atra śrṣṣayān (MS. tvam śṛṣṣayān, Conc., but Van Gelder's ed., 0, 1, 2, śṛṣṣayān) edhi KS. ApŚ. MS. The KS. ApŚ. reading alone makes sense: 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy head'. The MS. form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a phonetic variant for śṛṣṣ.

unnetar un non (read no) nayonnetar vaso abhy an nayā nāh AS.: unnetar vasīyo na un nayābhi (KS. vasyo 'bhy an nayā nāh) MS. KS. ApŚ. The AS. form may be felt as acc. pl. of Vasu (n. pr.), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for vasyo (vasīyo): 'lead us unto welfare'.

§249. In a little group of three cases, AV. substitutes the more popular varīyāḥ for varivāḥ, of which the u is certainly connected with the u of ury:

asmabhyaṃ indra varivāḥ (AV. varīyāḥ) sugam kṛdhī RV. AV.: asma-bhyāmaḥ mahī varivāḥ sugam kah RV.

sakhā sakhībhyaḥ varivāḥ (AV. *varīyāḥ) kṛṣṇatu RV. AV. (both) TS. KS. GB. Here Ppp. has varivāḥ; one ms. of GB. varīyāḥ, which, it seems, ought to be read in GB. in accord with AV., unless GB. quoted from Ppp.

tesā no atā varivāḥ (AV. varīyāḥ) kṛṣṇatu AV, TS.

§250. In another small group the y is definitely part of a case-ending, while the v remains suffixal or is a stem final:

yābhir indro vārdhē viryāya (AV. viryāyaṇ) RV. AV. N. 'Increased unto heroism'; 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism', gārhapatyāḥ (ŚŚ. *tyāḥ) prajiyaḥ (VSK. prajiyaṇ) vasuvitamaḥ VS. VSK. SB. AS. SS. Objective gen. varying with possessive adjective, prajanam vai pratiṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās (MahānU. sādhuprajāyās) tantuṃ taneṇāḥ . . . TA. MahānU. But most mss. of MahānU. agree with TA.; the ed. follows one ms. and the comm.
namah ṣaṃgava (TS, v. ṣaṃgāya) ca paśupataye ca VS, TS, MS, KS. Waackernagel, II, 1 p. 315, plausibly takes ṣaṃgāya for ṣaṃgayāya. sa ghā (TB, sadyā, read sa ghā with Poona ed.) no desāh savitā sahāva (TB, savāya) RV, MS, SB, TB, AŚ, ŚŚ.

§251. In alternating verbal endings the same change between y and v occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations; see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here:

pra stoma yanty (SV, yante) agnaye RV, SV.

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted:
brahmaitad upāsvaitat (MahānU, syaītāt) tapāh TA. MahānU. The reading of TA. is uncertain; see VV I pp. 45, 125.

[madhye pōsasya (AG, 3va) tṛṃṣaṭām (MG, pūṣṣṭām, AG, tīṣṭhātām) AG, ŚG. MG. For pōsaya read 3va with Stenzler’s Translation.]

And in different present stem-formations of verbs:
mane (ArŚ, manye) vāh dyāvāprthivī (ArŚ. adds subḥojaiva) AV. ArŚ. Vait. See VV I p. 125.

§252. We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds y and v is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms tyam (tyai) and tvam:

tam u tvam (SV, tava tyan) māyāyāvadhiḥ RV, SV.
tvam (KS, tyam) ṭya agne agnindā RV, TS, MS, KS. AB. KB. JB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.

īmam u (MS, u, p.p. u[n]) gu tvam asmākam (TA. ĀpŚ. tyam asmābyam) RV, SV, MS, TA. ĀpŚ. MS.

§253. Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root i ‘go’ in variation with ar. They tend to confirm the use of ar as a verb of motion; see Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV 123ff.: āpo agre viśvam āvam AV.: āpo ha yad bhātīr (TS, MS, KS, yan mahātīr) viśvam (TA, garbham) āyan RV. VS, VSK. TS, MS, KS. TA. ‘Went (rushed?) into the all’; AV. is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal ‘helped all’.

atī setum durāgyam (SV, durāgyam) RV, SV. The derivation of the RV. form is uncertain, see Oldenberg, Notes on 9. 41. 2. The SV. form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root i (‘hard to cross’).
ayebhyah (TB. ave) kilavam VS. TB. aya ‘dice-throws’ is of course original; note that ae- occurs in a Tait. text (see §247); is it a mere phonetic variant for ay-? (comm. ‘to helpers’). Tho aya may not be derived from root ṯ, the variant belongs to this group.

§254. Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant. In the instances first mentioned the v (or, once, the y) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable):

ṛṣāṇām putro abhiṣastipā u (VS. ŚB. 2pāvā; TB. 2pā ayam) AV. VS. ŚB. TB.

tanūpādinas (AV. tanūpā ye nas) tanvas lapojāḥ (AV. tanūjāḥ) AV. AB. AŚ, tanūpāvan = tanūpā,

swarvaj (AV. war yaj) jyotir abhayah swasti RV. AV. KB. TB.

satyam (SV. ApŚ, so taun) vrṣaṇa vrṣed aśi RV. SV. ApŚ. The RV. original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas.

utānī naśrād yajate vi caevah (TB. vicēyah) RV. MS. TB. N. The original has vi-ca-avah; vicēyah (comm. viśesena pājāyuktah) is αγ.λεγ., corrupt, and untranslatable. See Kaegi, Festgruss Roth 159, 165.

yena bhāyaś-caratī (MG. caratī) ayam (AG. ca rātryān, PG. bhūrīs carā divam) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. Tho the PG. reading is clearly secondary.

nāvās caranti svusica iyānāḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: nāvo vi yanti susico na vānīh MS. KS. The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough; VS. etc. may have a lect. fac.

pitā bhāsvati anāpamā TA.: pitābhā syāt tanūpamā MahānU. See §838.

praty eva (ŚŚ. pro teva) grhāyata AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

§255. The rest we shall not attempt to classify; note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal y or v (tho not both):

ghṛtami ghṛtayone (MS. ghṛtavane) pīva AV. VS. VSK. TB. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ‘Home of ghee’: ‘rich in ghee’; ghṛtavani is a secondary blend of the common epithets ghṛta-ranti and ghṛta-yoni (both RV.),

anuvāṣi (VS. anuvā, MS. anuvāya, GB.† Vait.† ahnānsi, em. Vait. ed. to anuvāsi) rātrīyai (VS. rātryā, MS. KS.† Vait.† rātryai) teś (VS. MS. omit) rātrim (VS. MS. KS.† rātrim) jīnea VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait. (pratīka in GB.) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants. The lexicons take them as containing the
roots vā and yā. But note that MS. presupposes a stem anuva, with short a.

trātāram indram akṣar avadhyam (VSK. ayudhyam) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Synonyms; note the u, preserving a trace of original v. Something like the reverse process in Pāli āvudha = Skt. āyudha.

dviti (MS. āvyuki) sarvā osadhi RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots ā-vid- ā-yuj. Other interchanges of vi: yu in §805.

nādyā śatriṇa naṇu (ŚB.† na nu) purā vivitse (ŚB. yuyutse) RV. ŚB. Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (vi: yu).

rāyah sāyana rathya vayusvataḥ (TB. vayusvataḥ) RV. MS. TB. The startling change in TB. is probably suggested by su-yamasya in the prec. pāda. Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

sāngayī (MS. ŚB. gavī, TB. gaye) jiradānā (ŚB. jiradānā) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. gava ‘chattele’s: go ‘cow’.

somī ghoṣena yachatu (SV. vaksatu) RV. SV. Substantially synonyms.

sparidhante dhīyaḥ (TS. KSA. divi) sūrya na (SV. sūre na, TS. KSA.† sūryena) viśah RV. SV. TS. KSA. See §109.

saravatīvai yasobhaginyai (KS. veśabha) svāhā VS. KS.

bhānn asi bhadravā (TS. KS. dgrāvā, MS. dārāvā, MŚ. dārāvā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The Māitr. texts obviously secondary, māmalabhavantā tōa (N. tītyā, corrupt) sādayāmi TS. MS. KS. TA. N. rudra yat te kriyā (krivi, kravi, giri-) . . . see §47.

dhūnakṣagneyī (VSK. vv. II. dhūnakṣaya and dhūnakṣa?) VS. VSK. MS.;

agnaye dhūnakṣā (KSA. ga) TS. KSA. Wholly obscure words.

nikīra (MS. nīgīra) tubhyam abhya ēsam (ApŚ. tubhyam madhye, MŚ. tubhyam madhye) Vai; ApŚ. MŚ.: nīgīra sarvā ādhiḥ KS. A desperate passage; see §47.

duswapnaḥ durusyaḥ TA. Bibl. Ind.; duswapnaha durussaha TA. Poona ed. text and comm. duswapnahan durussahā MahānU. Comm. on TA. durussaha duḥkham utkaraṇābhīhava; comm. on MahānU. durussahā team, duṣṭam usṣam (!) dāham hanti. The word seems to be durusyaḥ (?hā) ‘killing him who plans evil (durusya)’


revati ramaṇīvam (MS. *tīc amṛthyam) VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. The variant of MS. is corrupt; see AJP 27. 403. But the reading of the ed. is an emendation; ms. *ramaṇīvam.
ayuktāso abrahmatā vidāśāma (RV. yad aśān) RV. VS. ŚB. vi-dāśāma,
taken by Mahidhara as from vi + āsā ‘fail’.

y and h

§256. A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of
easy lexical substitutions or corruptions. Cf. Weber, Ist. 4, 224: 
dyuṭāno vājībir yatah (SV. hitaḥ) RV. SV.
saṁ sravantu diśo māhī (HG. māyi) ApMB. HG.
edraṁ vagunā vahata PB.: vagunendram hvayata TB. ApŚ. Note
the metathesis of h from the beginning of the original hvayata to
the middle in vahata. PB. comm. glosses āhvayata.
yamīr yamasya bibhryād (AV. vibhṛād) ajāmi RV. AV. See §222.
tam ahah punar ādade KŚ. PG.: ivaṁ tam punar ādade ‘yam (read
‘ham) HG. (plainly corrupt).
hinvāno hetvabhīr yataḥ (SV. hitaḥ) RV. SV.
śnusā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text?nāḥ) śvabhuro ‘yam asu
(AŚ. ‘ham asmi) TB. AŚ.

r and l

§257. Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely
phonetic; the same word is spelled with r or l. The number in which
lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible.
While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle,
they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the
whole, been fairly well recognized.

§258. There is a tendency towards l noticeable in younger and less
hieratic texts. The RV., especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked
fondness for r. In the RV. itself are found doublets such as the roots
pru:plu, mru:cmlu, car:cal, pru:plu; the words pru:plu, aram:
alakam [despite Wüst, in Ehrenzabe W. Geiger 185f., which does not
convince me—F. E.], sahamāra: sahamāla, and the intensive stems
jargur:jalgul. Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru
the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects,
until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, l stands for any
and every r. The reverse is also found, the only sporadically in the
Prakrit dialects recorded: Pischel §259, and cf. Waernnagel I p. 215f.,
Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 30f. This confusion is
reflected in the earliest language and throughout the Vedic period, not only
in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms. readings of one and the
same text.
§259. The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel: MS. 3. 7. 9 has ṛavaṣāra and ṛavaṣāra against ṛavaṣāla and ṛā in the corresponding passages of KS. 24.8 and KapS. 38. 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS., p. xv). PG. 1. 15. 4 has ḍraṣa ‘tuft of grass’ for AG. 1. 14. 4 glapsa (GG. 2. 7. 4 grathṣa). The variant pλeṇgha for preṇkha ‘swing’ occurs in ApDh. 1. 11. 31. 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots jvar and jveal figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsāgara (5. 118, 122). In Aufrecht’s edition of AB., p. 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of r for more usual l (urāka, bahura, etc.). Such a thing is not surprising in a Rigvedic Brāhmaṇa; and certainly AB’s bahura goes RV. one better, for that form is unknown in RV., where bahula is common. In fact, the AB. passage in question, 2. 20. 14 (also in AS. 5. 1. 15), containing bahuramadhyam, imitates RV. 10. 42. 8, which contains bahulantīsa(h).—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, ZDMG 33. 196, that MS. has a general preference for l over r. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text; we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for l in MS. While Maitr. texts sometimes show l for r of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the l form is more usual throughout the language generally. Per contra, note MS. oṣvāra above in this section, and kharvā (to be sure with v. 1. khaḷ?), the only recorded occurrence of this word with r (§265).

§260. The very small group of lexical variants is now given first; one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt;
te no ‘gnayah paprayah pārayantu (MS. MG. pāla?) TS. TB. PB. ApMB.
MS. PG. MG. The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated; both mean in effect ‘preserve’. Note the adjacent paprayaḥ, related to pārayantu,
adhi skanda (Ppp. kranda) vīrayaṣva AV.: abhi kranda vīlayaṣva ĀG.
‘Play the hero’; ‘be strong’ (vīl for vīd). See §272.
dhik te ṣā jāram parasya janasya nirmārjmi ... MS.: dhik te jālmī ...
LŚ. The words are quite different in meaning and construction.
mā rudriyāsa abhi gur vṛdhānaḥ (MS. abhi gubadānaḥ) MS. TA.:
mā no rudrisa adhīgar vadhe nu (mss. numa) MS. See §299. gub-
adānaḥ is not divided in p.p.; it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for gur (etc.) = guha, 3 pl. aorist.
§261. The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which r is regular in RV., but l is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The r forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV., or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like bahura in AB. (§259):

akṛtvā (AV. ApMB. aśilā) tanur bhuvati RV. AV. ApMB. The r form is not recorded outside of RV., which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word śṛi.

For this the suffix ra is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining r to l.

akṛtram (TB. āśilam, both edd.) cīt kṛṇuthā (TB. ṭhāt, comm. and Poona ed. text ṭhā) supratiṣṭhati RV. AV. TB.

samādham (VSK. samālham) asya pāṁśuī (SV. vāle) RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The l form is regular after RV.; the r form in RV. only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts: mā tad bhūmyāṃ ā ēriṣan (VSK. v. l. śiṣan) mā troṣu RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. aśleṣā (āśreṣa) ... below, §265.

arādhāhin (TS. ṭhe, KSA. ṭheb, em., ms. ṭhe) sthāraurāda (TS. KSA. ṭguddā, VS. sthāurāda, and so MS. p.p.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The RV. knows only sthāra, but sthūla is regular later (cf. however sthavira).

anu na māṛṣu (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. anu māṛṣu) tamo yaḥ viriṣṭam (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚS. viriṣṭam) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚS. riṣ is Rigvedic, rare later.

capṣum (TB. Poona ed. cappan) na pāyur bhīṣag asya vālah (KS. vārah, TB. bālah, Poona ed. vālah) VS. MS. KS. TB. The r form is almost limited to RV.; cf. however aśvavāra in MS., §259.

devāṁśo yasmi teṣe tati ayam upariprutā (ApŚ. apariprutā) bhaṅgena (ApŚ. bhaṅgena) VS. ŚB. ApŚ. The root is commonly pru. in RV., only very rarely so later.

aśloṇa (comm. aśrom) aṅquir aḥrutah svargag AV.; aśloṇaṅgair aḥtyā (read aḥrutāḥ or ṭtā with Poona ed.) svargae TA. ārōna chiefly RV.

§262. Next, a group concerning words in which both r and l are common in most periods of the language, but RV. as a rule has r almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV. goes RV. one better in its hieratic r; but both RV. passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root rabh: labh, which in RV. always has r except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later:
utālabhām (AV, utārabdhān, Ppp, utār) sṛṣṭiḥ jñātavādaḥ; followed by: alebhānād rṣṭibhir yatudhānāt (AV, utārebhāsān ṛṣṭiḥ yatudhānān) RV, AV.

The AV is secondary and corrupt in its construction; see Whitney's note.

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern sukrā and sukram, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns rohita: lohita, of which again RV has only the r-form. The case of kṣudra: kṣulla, where the l-form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole:

sukrāya svahā VS, MS. ŚB.; suklāya svahā VS. MS.

pesā na sukram (KS. TB. suklām) asītam (MS. samhit. mss. aśa) vasāte VS. MS. KS. TB.

varudāya rājina traye rohitalalāmāh (TS.1 misprinted rohito-laśa; KSA. lohitaśa) TS. KSA.

atha ye kṣullakārata VA. : hataḥ kṛimāṇam kṣudrakāh SMB.: atha sthārā atho kṣudrāh TA. (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives).

§263. Next, words in which r-forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the l-forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b). In this group might perhaps have been placed guñbhānāh of MS., see §260:

asya kurma (RVKh. kulma, AVPp. ms. kṛmya) harivo medinām te de RVKh. TS. TB. AVPp. (Barret, JAOS. 37. 263f.): asmākam abkār haryākha mehi AV.: tha kṛmya harivo medinām te KS. Scheftelowitz p. 112 reads for RVKh. tha kumno hadvāna mehi. But his kurma is an emendation of a ms. reading kutso, which is probably a graphic corruption for kulma.

upaprapada (RVKh. upaplaśa) manḍuki RVKh. AV. N. Again Scheftelowitz reads upapraśa in RVKh., this time with his ms. The form intended is upa-pra-vada, cf. ā-vada in next pāda. The reading with pla, if it is anything more than a ms. corruption, is mechanically assimilated to plavasva in the second half stanza.

antarikaśam puritā (TS. puraśa, MS. pulta, KSA. pulta) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. The r forms are commoner.

satām tu śirābhīṣa tu Mahānu.: samatām śirābhśa (Poona ed. śirś, but v. l. and comm. śirśa, gloss nādābhīṣa) tu TA. No l form of this word is otherwise recorded.

§264. Words in which l is regular, r rare. Here, first, eight passages containing surīra or salīla 'ocean'. That MS. invariably has salīla
cannot be considered significant (cf. §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV.; neither RV. nor AV. knows sarīra, which is practically restricted to YV. texts and, along with many other r forms, may be regarded as a conscious hierarchism:

aśvam jajñānaṁ sarīrasya (MS. salīlasya) madhye VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. prapīnam (MS. v. 1, *tam) agne sarīrasya (MS. salīlasya) madhye VS. KS. MS.:: prapītam etc. TS. ApŚ.
vibhrājāmaṇaḥ sarīrasya (MS. salīlasya) madhye (TA. *yāt) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.
vyacyamānaṃ salīlasya (VS. KS. ŚB. sarīrasya, TS. TA. bhuvanasya) madhye AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.
sarīrasya chandaḥ VS. KS. ŚB.; salīlan ch∴ TS. MS.
sarīraśa svāhā VS.; salīlasya tvā TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MS.:: salīlasya svāhā ŚB.
sarīrasya (MS. TA. salīlasya) tvā vātāya svāhā VS. MS. ŚB. TA.
sarire tvā sudane sādayāmi VS. KS. ŚB.; salīle etc. MS.: salīle sudane sāda TA.

§265. The rest are miscellaneous:
kṛṣṇagrīva āgneya raraṭe (MS. lalate) purastāt VS. MS. The l form is commoner.
aślesā (TS. aśresā) nakṣatram TS. MS. KS. In MS. p.p. aślerno KS. may intend either a- or a-. The word regularly has l. Cf. mā tad bhūmyām etc., §261.
adhorāma (HG. text atho*) ulumbalāḥ (HG. tulumbarāḥ) ApMB. HG. The word (usually udum*, probably related to udumbara, ud* 'fig-tree') appears in RV. AV. etc., always with l in the last syllable, except here in HG., which may show dissimilation to preceding l. Cf. §273.
mudgā ca me khāloṣā (MS. kharrvā, v. l. khalero) ca me TS. MS. KS. A kind of grain; the r form not found elsewhere. Note that it occurs in MS. (cf. §259).
achalāḥbhīḥ (KSA. *rābhīḥ, MS.[masarābhīḥ, VS. rksarābhīḥ) kapiṇjalān VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184.

r and s

§266. These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning r and s and h, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance. We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved. In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions
(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word jury-tanu is twice replaced by jurya-danu at a time when the former is no longer understood: uddātā yathāvair vīrūn (TS. TB. ApŚ. ॐν; VS. ŚB. vīradānun) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

candrā (TB. ॐ") MS. VS. ŚB. ॐ") vīradānā (ŚB. vīra") MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§267. The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings:

avakrahinam vyabhām yathājūram (SV. yathā jūram) RV. AV. SV. 'Ageless'; 'swift'.

ārjavatār oṣadhir a riṣatām (KSA. viś") RV. TS. KSA. 'Graze on'; 'enter', the latter an evident lect. fac.

purā relo dadhivā sūryaśitiḥ (AV. ॐ") RV. AV. KS. The AV. is secondary and not very intelligent; 'sun-shining', and not 'sun-resorting' is original. Yet KapŚ. (see note on KS.) has ॐ") evidently intending ॐ")

rudra yat te kriyā (kriyā, kriyā, kriyā) . . . see §47.

pātī priyā ripo (and rupe) agrām padaṁ ve ṣ RV. (bis): pātī aṅgir rivo agrām padaṁ ve ṣ ArŚ.

dūrdrānī gṛhapatim atharyum (SV. athavyum) RV. SV. KS. ApŚ. MS. N. The SV. form is desperate. Benfey suggests athav-yum with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff.). In some way the s of atharvan seems to be concerned.

akśiṇā gharmaṇi pātanī hārdvānum (TA. hārdvānum, read hārdā" with Poona ed.; LŚ. pātan aharyānum, MS. pibatān hārdrānum) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. The MS. corruptly mouths over an obscure form. Note that the s of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel u.

hitā (SV. hiśa) śīro jīhetā vēndac (SV. rārapac) carat RV. SV.

lātra rajābhājanu sarvākharitam (MS. ॐ") ArŚ. corruptly ॐ")

TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MS.

rathe akṣeṣa rṣabhaṣya (KS. TB. ॐ") vāje AV. KS. TB.: ratheṣe akṣeṣa rṣabharājāḥ ViDh. See §359.

viṣravāsasah kaubaraḥ ApMB.: kaubaraḥ viṣravāsah HG.

āyurdā (āyugmān) deva (agni) jārasam (havis, ॐ") vṛṇānāḥ (etc.), see §854.

asmān (MS. KS. asmān) u deva vata havesu (MS. KS. bhavese ॐ) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: asmān devaṣe vata havesu AV.

varunāya riśuṣadāse (KSA. viduṣadāse) . . . TS. KSA. So the ms. of KSA.; but von Schroeder emends to riśuṣadāse.
§268. In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned: ugram oṣṭhīnām tāvasavī (SV, tārasuvī) tārasvīnam RV, AV, SV. Assimilation to tārasvīnam in SV.
vatājavair (HG. vātājavair) balavaabhīr manojāvaiḥ MS. HG. Either assimilation in MS., or avoidance by dissimilation in HG. of the banal sequence vatājavair... manojāvaiḥ. Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS. is secondary, dhanamājayam dhareṇām dhārayaṇā RVKh.; bhūmidṛṅham acuyataṁ pārayaṇāu AV.; bhūmidṛṅko cyutak cyāvayiṣṇuḥ AV. The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to cyuṣā after acuyataḥ, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enteicing mode of expression in the Veda (e.g. ajuryām jayaṇantam, RV, 2. 10. 1).

r or ṛ and h

§269. These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance; cf. §266:
areṣṭāt (KS. * ahes̄t̄, so ed., but ms. uṣṭāt; read probably aretī with v. Schr. on KS. 32. 3, n. 3) manasā devān gachā (ApŚ. gamsīt, TS. manasā tac chakeyam) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.: ahesṭatā (ŚŚ. ahes̄t̄) manasedam juṣasva AŚ. ŚŚ. The root rēd in Naigh. 2. 12 is followed immediately by ṛed in a list of ten words for 'be angry'.
sahamāṇaḥ sahasvatī (PG. sarasvatī) PG. ApMB. HG. sarasvatī is a blunder.
tā (tāv) ehi (eha, iva, MG. eva) ..., see §§578, 888.
sa ghā (TB. sadyā, Poona ed. sa ghā) no devaḥ savāṭiḥ sahād (TB. savāya) RV. MS. SB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

l and ḷ

§270. It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every ḷ and ḷ between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāṣkala recensions of the RV. to l and lh. This variation is ignored in the Conc., because it is carried out with mechanical completeness. Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental l and lh in later Vedic texts; Wackernagel I §194. This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completeness as in RV., in two texts, VSK. and ŚŚ.; and also in the twentieth book of AV. These cases are recorded in the Conc., but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK. and ŚŚ. alone. Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically.
It is clear that ms. tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercised their discretion to some extent. Thus N. seems to intend to write  in through. In the following list all the variants with  in AV. occur in Book 20, and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV. in those parts of AV. 20.

§271. The list follows:

idásmóti anu vástámi ghrítena Apś. MŚ.: idáivásmóti (RVKh. ilaiva ván) anu vástámi vratena RVKh. AV. Vait. But Sch echtelowitz reads idáivá... ghrítena for RVKh.

daímárdá yavayudhá KŚ.: ailaibródá (MŚ. əmrə, Kauś. ēlamə) áygur-yudhá (TS. yavayudhá; MŚ. vo yudhá) VS. TS. MS. See §241, adityá rudrá vasavas vótale (AV. teo², for teo³; GB. Gastra ¹tenute, with all mss.) AV. AB. GB. JB. SŚ.

gtráná tálam pratináhá (Apś.¹ tálam pratináham) MŚ. Apś.

yod devá devahedanam (VSK. TA.° helanam, but TA. Poona ed. both times °he³, with v. 1. °he³) AV. VS. VSK. MŚ. KŚ. ŚB. TB. TA.

(bin) Vait. Apś. MŚ. Kauś. BDh. GDh.

nahy anyáma baḍákaram (AA. ba³ā) RV. AA. AŚ. But Keith reads AA. ba³á (as is read in RV.).

akátham déhávaradanta viditá RV.: avradantu viditá (fragment) N., in dhráš ca mṛdāyáti (AV. ŚG. mṛ³) náh RV. AV. ŚG.

de (SŚ. VDH. ṛe) dyāvopthirthi púrvacittaye RV. AB. KB. AŚ. SŚ. KŚ. MŚ. VDH.

idényo (AV. SŚ. Vait. īlenyo) namasyáḥ RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait. kṛíñdantu (N. kri³) putnār naptṛbhíḥ RV. AV. N.

yad īdvá (AV. ivává) in dhrá yathírvé RV. AV. SV. śvídhr.

ivá (AV. Vait. vúá) cid árvájanubhíRV. AV. SV. Vait.

váhá súra (TB. súra) purodhásm (AV. ²lásam) RV. AV. KŚ. TB. N.

vásaṭ (ŚBK. SŚ. vásaṭ) AB. GB. ŚB. ŚBK. SŚ. Vait. MŚ. Apś.

nu áṇāda (AV. áṇāda) indraḥ prtandah svojáḥ RV. AV.

§272. The same change occurs sporadically also between  and  . Twice this concerns the word idá, ila, or  ; the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf. also ahar divākhrīr utibhíḥ, §360; here MŚ. has (for ahar) vahad (cf. next §), but one ms. vahad and p.p. vahat.

irávāti (KŚ. idá³) dhenumaṭī hi bhútam RV. VS. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ŚB. TA.

AŚ. Apś. MŚ.

idá (SŚ. ila, MS. MŚ. idá, Apś. ³ iva, in the same passage with *ida) ehi VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. TA. SŚ. LS. Apś. (both) MŚ.
§272a. On this subject see Hans Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in GGA 1931 236ff., especially 239f., and his article in Ehrenzabe für Wilhelm Geiger 136f. He refers to Patañjali (Introdt. to Mahābhāṣya, on Vārtt. 9, p. 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations vayānas, tattvānas, for tadvānas, tadvānas; and to Wackernagel I p. 212. Oertel would see in such variations as nātārd (TB. ṣīr) asya samṛtim vadānām (TB. ba?) RV. TB., where a difficult 2d person sing, is substituted for a 3d person (cf. VV I p. 237), traces of this phonetic tendency. (Cf. Chū. 4. 1. 2 pradhākṣir for śūd, Oertel, II. cc.) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p. 195f.). Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in ZII 8. 289f.) are:

mayi rāyo mayi rakṣaḥ MS. 4. 9. 13: 134. 5, for which the Conc. suggests dakṣaḥ for rakṣaḥ: mayi dakṣaḥkratā TS. +2. 5. 2. 4, ApŚ. AG. HG.: mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ VS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ.

na me tād upadabhīṣaḥ dhṛṣir brahmā yad dālau MS. (originally ṣambhīṣaḥ ṣīr). Caland, ZDMG 72. 10 infra: na ma idam upadabhīṣaḥ (once erroneously udambhīṣaḥ) ṣīr brahmā yad dālai ApŚ. (bis). Here the ApŚ. form seems to stand for upadambhīṣad, with final ṣ for ṣ (= k for t), see our §142.


To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following: ahar (MS. vahad) divabhīr (MS. divyābhīr) aśicāḥ VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LI. One ms. and p.p. of MS. vahad (vahat); see §360, and the preceding §272. The MS. is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic.

dadhīr (SV, dadhāid) yo dhātī sa te (SV. sutte) vayānai RV. SV.

balīm śantu vītudaya (AG. vi tu taśya, v. 1. vītudaya) pṛṣyāḥ (MahānU. AG. pṛṣṭāh) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.
$l$ and $d$ and $n$

§273. By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which $l$ varies with lingual $n$ and with dental $d$; these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding. (A couple of variations between $l$ and dental $n$ might perhaps also be recorded here; but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q.v.) In two contiguous passages harīṇikā, fem. of the color-adjective harīta, is changed in ŠŚ. to harīklikā, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding $r$; but the characters are graphically much alike:

tāśām ekā harīṇikā (ŠŚ. $r$klīkā) AV. ŠŚ.
harīklikē (ŠŚ. $r$klīke) kim ichasī AV. ŠŚ.

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between $d$ and $l$:
urūṇasāv (TA. uru$^6$) asutrpā (AV. TA. $r$dv) udumbalau (TA. ulum$^7$)
RV. AV. TA. AŚ. See Lanman apud Whitney AV. The TA. comm., fatuously, prabhūtabalayuktau (as if uru-bala!). See adhorāma etc., §255.

ni nivartana vartayendra nardabudā (KS. nandabala) TS, KS. ApMB.
Both $r$ay; obscure epithets of Indra. KS. looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary.
CHAPTER VIII. THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as kṣaṣa: kṣaṣa (cf. §259, end), śṛmbḥ: śṛmbḥ, are really never determined; and even so clear a root as śṛu ‘flow’ threatens surprisingly to become śṛu, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, JAOS 13. cxvii ff.; Bloomfield, Kauṭika Śūtra, p. lx; Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

§ and s

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges; and first those in which § takes the place of regular or etymological s. In a number of cases the root śṛu, ‘flow’, of known etymology, appears as śṛu; the Pet. Lex. goes so far as to postulate a collateral root śṛu in that sense: ṛṣaḥ yor abhi śṛavantu (MŚ. śra’n) naḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MS. HG. So Conc. from Knauer’s report of ms.; but Van Gelder’s ed. reads śra’n for MŚ. without v. l. vi śrutayo (AŚ. visru’n, ṢŚ. visru’n) yathā pathaḥ SV. AŚ. ṢŚ. One ms. of ṢŚ. visru’n, dadhi manthāḥ pariśrutam (ṢŚ. manthāḥ pariśrutam, one ms. ṢŚ. pariśrutam) AV. ṢŚ. ā tvā pariśrutah (MG. śṛtaḥ, ms. śṛtam; AG. śṛtah) kumbhah (ApMB. śṛtaḥ) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: emāḥ (ŚG. emāḥ) pariśrutah kumbhah (ŚG. kumbhayā) AV. ŚG.—AVPp. ā tvā pariśtah, for which Barrett JAOS 32. 366 śṛtaḥ. The readings of AG. MG., tho certainly secondary, make sense. 

pratyaḥ (VS. TS. ŚB.* TB. yaḥ, MS.† and KS. v. l. yak) some atidrutah (AV. text ati krutah, VS.† MS. atisrutah, KS. v. l. śṛutah) AV. VS. (bis) VŚK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ. The true reading of AV. is drutah, see Whitney’s note.

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§276. The small words *sam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally; see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *sam* is original or both are justified:

*šam* udho *romaśaṁ hatah* APMB.; *sam* udho *romaśaṁ hatah* RV.

Comm. on APMB. takes *sam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*; see Winternitz, p. xx.

§277. The rest are sporadic:

*indrāya tva *ṣrṇo dadat* (SG. *ṣrama dadat*) MS. ŚG. MŚ. SMB. *Sṛṇa* is a name of an Asura; in the adjoining Brāhmaṇa of MS. it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to Sṛṇa, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth; cf. Sṛṇa, Sṛṇara, and Sṛṇala, names of Asuras (Hariyānā, see Pet. Lex.). ŚG. has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle.

*dāśāṁ jālaṁ* (KS. jālam) udaraṁ *brāṇayivā* (KS. *braṁś?) AV. KS. Both edd. of AV. read thus; some mss. *braṁś?* and some *braṁś*, none the 'correct' *braṁś*.

*kam te hiranyam *sah* u *santu* (APMB. *sam* u *santu*) āpah AV. Kauś. APMB. Metathesis of *h* and *s* in APMB.; see Winternitz, p. xvi. *samaḥ* caturakṣarasārasyāśrūtv (MS. *āśrūtv) nakṣatrāṇi* MS. KS. A rare word, which however seems always to be written asrī instead except here in MS.

*peko na *sukram* (KS. TB. *suklam*) asitam (MS. all saṁhitā mss. asitam, ed. em. asitam with p.p.) rasāte VS. MS. KS. TB;

*ā śrīṇāḥ *samopiyāt* AV.; comm. and Ppp. samopiyāt, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney. Cf. however Bloomfield, SRE 42. 255 (keśam opiyāt?).

*āśrūtv* tāt HG. Kirste suggests *āśrūtv*; the context gives no help in interpretation.


§278. In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *k*:

*šam te hiranyam *sah* u *santu* (APMB. *sam* u *santu*) āpah AV. Kauś. APMB. See §277; and for other *sam*, §§276, 280.

[agnih ca vīśvāsānibhavan RV.† AV†. KS. TB†. ApŚ†. No variant; correct Conc.]

*śimāḥ* (VS. *śimāḥ*) *kṛṣṇantu* (VS. *śamantu*) *śimantuḥ* (VS. *śamantuḥ*) VS. TS. KSA†. The word can only be a form from *śim* = *sam*,
occurring in the same pāda; is the s of VS. due to dissimilation?
Mahīdhara = śimāh, glossed rekhāh or māryādāh.
parsadā (ŚŚ. əsado) jārihā (AV. Vait. ədāh, om. jārə) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Original certainly əd-, ‘the fall of a leaf’. ŚŚ. possibly understands ‘settling down of a leaf’ (root ədə).
The latter can only intend sūrāh. Other cases of these two words, capable of lexical explanation, §284.
yam eva vīḍyāh śucim (VāDh. sucim) apramattam ViDh. VāDh. N. śukeṣu ma (AV. sukeṣu te) harimāṇam RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. 3 of SPP.’s
mss., comm., and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 20. 228) read śukeṣu.
Mr̥gasya sṛtām (HG. sṛtām) akṣ ayrıyā ApMB. HG. (vv. ll. sṛtām and
sṛtām in ApMB.) Kirste says ‘probably sṛtām’. More likely
sṛtām is intended in both texts. It is a question of ill-omened
sounds (bākunai ruditām ca yat is the preceding pāda of HG.),
‘Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) a miss.’ For śru:
sru cf. §§275, 283.
preḍ u karivāh śrūtasya (SV. sutasya) RV. SV. TS. The word refers to
Indra; SV. is perhaps thinking of Soma. Benfey abandons it
and translates the RV.
namah sāppinjarāh (TS. saspə) twiśimate VS. TS. MS. †KS. See next.
Ye vanesu sāppinjarāh KS.: ye vṛkeṣu sāppinjarāh (TS. saspə) VS. TS.
MS. MG. See pree. Except in TS. the word is always written
saspə; and it is doubtless connected with saspa (with haplogy,
Wackernagel I p. 279). Perhaps TS. gets its s by confusion with
sasya ‘grain’, which is itself sometimes written sasya, cf. Wackernagel l. c., Keith on TS.
yə na uṟū uṣkāti viśrayāte (AV. əti, ApMB. HG. viśrayātai) RV. AV.
ApMB. HG. Comm. on ApMB., sakārasya sakāraḥ; cf. Winter-
nitz p. xvi.
kṛḍā (VSK. əti) ca sākī cavyeṣā (ApŚ. sākī t)coryeṣā, v. l. əjiṣi, ca) VS.
VSK. ApŚ. Name or epithet of one of the Maruts. Doubtless
‘mighty’, root sāk; so Mahīdhara; and sākī seems incapable of other
interpretation.
śimūtān hṛdayaupaśāḥbhāyām (VS. əsena; VSK. v. l. əsena) VS. VSK. TS.
MS. KSA.
na jyotiṣa cakāṣati Suparṇ.: jyotiṣaṁ na prakāṣate RVKh.
śr̥tiṁ piśitam aṣyate AV. 5. 19. 5b. Whitney accepts Zimmer’s emenda-
tion aṣyate.
yad asravan paśāva udyamānām AV. 7. 66. 1. Read or understand
aṇravan with SPP., comm., and Whitney.
sarau pavam i̱vadhat AV. 5. 25. 1. Read or understand barau with Whitney.

§279. In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original:

 Tikṣo jatūḥ susūlikā (MS. susūlūkā) ta itaragaińam VS. MS. The
 p.p. of MS. reads susīlīkai susī-likā, suggesting that VS. has the
 true reading. But susūlūkā occurs once in RV. Both meaning
 and original form are obscure; folk-etymology may have been at
 work; Śaiva thinks of īśu and ulūka; in RV. it is associated with
 ulūka.

gṛāmyaṁkārādāsakau ApŚ.: gṛāmyaṁ maṁgīradāsakau MŚ.: nyāgh-
ram māṁgīradāsā gauḥ Vait. Obscure proper names; see §49.

§280. In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of
lexical variation, tho they seem to us too faint to be important.
While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups, it seems to us
that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms. Thus the
words sam and sam each make sense in these passages; cf. §§276, 278:
šam abhyayāḥ TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: sam abhyayāḥ (supplying śundhastva
from the preceding) KS.

maṇḍūkāḥ su sam īmaḥ (TA. gamaṇa) RV. TA.: maṇḍūkā apsu śam
bhunāḥ AV. The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily,

yat ta ēśhitaṁ sam u tat te astu TB.: yat te vṛiśṭaṁ sam u tat ta etat Vait.

'That shall be all right for thee'; 'that which was torn shall be
(put) together for thee'.

§281. When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant,
the lexical element becomes clearer. Thus in three cases of the roots
sam-vas and sam-eti, which are practically synonyms, we are evidently
dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic

ṃti ahaṁ sumanaṁ sam viśāmi (AŚ. viśāti, for ṇni; MG. vasāna) AŚ.
ApŚ. HG. ApMB. MG. See Knauer's note on MG.

amāvadg saṁvaṁta (MŚ. viśanto) maṁhā AV. TS. MŚ.
tasyāṁ deva adhisāmaṁsantaḥ TS. TB.: tasyāṁ devaḥ asaṁvaṁsanta
asyāṁ) deva abhi saṁvaṁsantaḥ MŚ.

§282. The root ṛṣ 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of ṛṣ
'attain'; they are practically synonyms in these passages. The ṛṣ
forms all occur in RV., the ṛṣ forms in SV., which is contaminated
from such expressions as barhī ṛṣṭe RV. 8. 31. 6 and l. 144. 6:

sahasraśrāṇa ṛṣṭe (SV. ṛṣ) RV. SV.
samicināsa āsate (SV, āsata) RV, SV.
yatrāṃtyāsa āsate (SV, āsata) RV, SV.

§283. The particle su varies with the reduplicating syllable šu; in
the first variant also the roots šru and šru, cf. §§275, 278:
nṛcaṅkāh soma uta suḥrūga (comm. and Poona ed. text suḥrūga) astu TB:
sucukṣaḥ soma uta sasrūd astu MS. See §145. sasrūd is an em. for
mss. sasrūd, saśrūd, suśrūd; Conc. suggests suśrūd, but sasrūd occurs
in RV, and ‘flowing’ fits Soma as well as ‘hearing’. Perhaps
sasrūd should be read in MS.

drśe ca (MS. drśe ca, RV. abhiśkṣya) bhāsā bhṛtā sukūrvanā (RV.
śuś, KS. suśukṣaṇaḥ, MS. suśukmanā) RV, VS, TS, MS, KS.
ŚB. See §240.

§284. The words sūra and śūra interchange twice; cf. viśe devā etc.,
§275:
śūro (TB. sūro) na mitrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṇu RV, TB. The Maruts yoke
their chariots in battle ‘like a warrior’ or ‘as the sun (yokes his
chariot)’.
vīhi śūra (TB. sūra) puroḍāsam (AV. nūṣam) RV, AV, KS, TB, N. The
original is addressed to Indra, the ‘hero’; TB transfers it to an
address to the sun.

§285. The word sarva varies a number of times with various words
in ś, some of them rather remote in form:
sarvaloka sarvasāreṇbhyāḥ (TA. sarva sarva); some mss. add sarvaśareṇbhyāḥ;
MahānU. sarva sarvebhyaḥ) MS, TA, MahānU. Sc. namah: ‘homage to every Šarva’, or ‘homage, O Šarva (or, O All [comm. on
MahānU. sarvātmaka]), to all (the Rudras)’. MS. has v. 1. sarvalaṅ
defarvalaṅ. Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two
sounds; despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally
aphonic.
sarvaḥ aṅnīr (AV, śivān aṅnīn) aparṣado hue vaḥ (MS, hue, AV.
havāmahe) AV, TS, MS, AB.
kalpanāṁ te (TA. *me) dīkāḥ sarvāḥ (TA. *śagmāḥ) VS, ŚB, TA, (both)
See §278.

§286. The root śud varies with śudh and śubh; cf. §174, and note
AV, radanāṁ śudhāṃ uddharet AV, 20. 136. 16d, where śuddham
is based on mss. readings śudam and śunam (Index Verborum):
asāsudanta (MS, KS, aśāsubhanta) yājñikaḥ rtena TS, MS, KS, TB.
āpo asmān (MS, mā) mātaraḥ śundhayanu (TS, ApŚ. śundhantu, AV,
MS, KS, śūdāyanu) RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, AŚ, ApŚ.
§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question:
yena stīryam (PG. kriyam) akṛpuma (PG. "iām, ŠŚ. stīyāk akṛpuma) ŠŚ. SMB. PG. GG. stī is certainly original.
śumbhānaś (KS. stam") laneāma (TB. tanuuma, SV. †lanuñii) svām RV. 
SV. MS. KS. TB.
svām laneāma (TS. TB. tanuuma) varuṇo 'sugot (TS. TB. aśiśi) TS. MS.
KS. TB. ‘Enlivened’: ‘entered into’.
śunā ma iṣṭam . . . maṁ ma (ma idam) iṣṭam . . . , see §353.
tās tvā rīṣanta manasa śivena (TB. mahasa śvena) AV. TB.
yad anena haviśāste taṁ aśyāt. (AŚ. asyām) MS. ŠB. TB. AŚ. ŠŚ.
‘May he obtain that’: ‘that (is) in this (offering, sc. dhotrayām),’
or, ‘that here in this (offering) shall prosper’ (the following words are lad ṛhyāt). Earlier in the same section occurs asyām ṛhṛd dhotrayām.
śakma yat te goḥ KS. MS.: saṃge te goḥ VS. ŠB. KŚ.: samyat te goḥ TS.
See §47.
tasthau nākapya śānaxi (SV. śarmani) RV. SV.
apāryod duro aśmahājanāṁ (MS. aṣmadrahaṇaṁ) RV. MS. TA.
svātrāh pītā (ViDh. snātāh pītā) bhavata yūyam āpaḥ VS. ŠB. KŚ.
ViDh.
sadā (MS. śaca) paśyantī sūrayaḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.
tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB. asthām) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ.
Poona ed. text and comm. aśyām for TB.; see VV-I p. 86.
arayo naśanta (SV. naḥ sāntu) sanīṣanta (SV.† *tu) no dhīyaḥ RV. SV.
See Oldenberg, Proleg. 72.
āśun jāyantam anu (KS. ya sanājāyantam adhi) yāsu vardhase RV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŠB. Even the original version is obscure.
āsvatrāme sumatim āṛṇānaḥ AV. Perhaps originally āsvatrāme; see §355.

§288. Here the total number of variants is much smaller. Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following ś seems to replace proper ṣ phonetically: 
nainad deśā āpnuvaḥ pāreham arṣat (VS. arśat) VS. VSK. IsāU. The
word clearly means ‘going’ (root ṛṣ); VS. comm. rśa gatau. Cf. however anarkrātiṁ (alarṣrātiṁ) . . . §292.
abhyāṣiṣṇī rājābhūm (MS. v. l. ṣhūl, ApŚ. ṣhūvam) MS. ApŚ.; abhi-
sikṣa rājābhūvam (v. l. ṣhūvam) MS. (quoted from unedited mss.;
probably only a textual error).

§289. We find ṣ for proper ś, aside from a few corruptions, only in
the name of an Asura, Śaṇḍa or Śaṇḍa. The weight of evidence seems
to favor the spelling with ś:
śaṇḍāya (VSK. sa²) tvā VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ.
nirastah śaṇḍaḥ (VSK. MS. *4. 6. 3 sa²) VS. VSK. MS. (bis) ŚB. TB.
KŚ. ApŚ. MS.
apañuttā (KS. ṭa) śaṇḍāmarkau (MS. * sa) ... TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB.
ApŚ. MS. See von Schroeder's note on MS. 4. 6. 3: 82. 16, which
indicates that he then believed MS. to intend śaṇḍa throughout. But
need it have been consistent? The mss. are unanimous for ṣ in
some places, nearly unanimous for ś in others. Those of MS. vary.

Corruptions:
yenāṃśiṣṇatāṁ (SMB. v. l. ṣatāni) surām ŚŚ. SMB.: yenāṃśiṣṇatāṁ
surām FG.

varuneti ṣaṇḍāhe (MS.† ṣhai; LŚ. ṣayāmahe) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The LŚ. has probably a mere misprint.
[kavaśyo koṣadāvanīḥ (MS. text kośa², all mss. kośa²; TB.† koṣa²)
MS. KS. TB. Read 'koṣa² in all. There would be no variant but
for the em. in MS., which is unjustified, altho the word meant is
that more commonly written kośa.]

§290. The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so
far as not mere corruptions; the obscurity of the words makes it im-
possible to decide which is original:
indrānyai kṛkā (KSA. *ṣā) TS. KSA.
ṛkṣo jatih susūlākā (MS. kusūlač) ... VS. MS. See §279.
kūṃśrāḥ (VSK.† v. l., MS. kūṣ) chakapiṇḍañ (MS. ka²) VS. VSK. MS.:
kūṃśrāḥ chakapiṇḍih TS. KSA.
kūṃśrāḥ, ku², and kuś², kus²; also *māṇḍyaḥ and *māṇḍāni, various
Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses.
ākṣare ākṛṣaya yathā ApŚ.: gīh kośovayour yadā girāḥ Vait.: madhu ity
ākṛṣaya kuśair yathā KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is
obscure.

§291. Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of viśva
varying with viṣu (viṣvēk); the meanings are fairly close:
viśvāṁ satyaṁ kṛṣṇāḥ viṣyāṁ astu RV.; viṣvāk satyaṁ kṛṣṇāḥ cītām
eṣām AV. See Bloomfield, The Aitharavada 50; Whitney on AV.
3. 1. 4; Oldenberg, Noten on 3. 30. 6. [But no emendation of AV,
is necessary. Render: 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party).'

Ppp. (Barret, JABS 32, 35lf.) has viśraṃ viṣṇaṃ kṛṣṇiḥ satyaṃ ekān, closer to RV. Same general sense in all. F. E.]

adhi kṣamī viṣṇu-pan (ArS. kṣamā viśva) yad asti (ArS. asya, MS. tāsti) RV. AV, ArS. MS. TB. (Add to vv I §229 for the verbs.)

purudasmikī viṣṇu-pana (KS. viṣamaud viṣṇu-pana, TS. ApS. urudrapa viṣṇu-pana) indūḥ TS. KS. ŚB. ApS.

§292. The rest are isolated and undistinguishable:

anātārātīṁ (SV. alārṣirātīṁ) vasudām upa stūhi RV. AV, SY, N. The RV. form is derivable from root rṣ 'injure'; cf. Neisser, ZWBr. d. RV., s. v. The SV. form seems on the face of it to contain the root r; it may be corrupt. Benfey, 'rasche Spende haben'.

nādhimāḥ (MS. KS. nābhirḥīḥ) tana (TS. tanu) jahbhurānaḥ (TS. MS. KS. jahṛṣaṇaḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Not to be touched (attacked)'.

asya hotuḥ prāśī (AV. prāśī) rtaasya vāci RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Synonyms: 'at the command'.

prāṇān samkrōśaḥ MS.: samkrōṣaḥ prāṇaiḥ (VS. tākrōśaḥ prāṇān) VS. TS.: samkrōṣaḥ (MS. tāgōṣaḥ) prāṇaiḥ KSA. Synonymous roots kruṣ and ghṛṣ.

yayor vām devau deveṣu anīṣiṣam (TS. anīṣa) ajaḥ TS. MS. KS. 'Undestroyed', from a- and pple. of ni-ṣpati; 'inceissant', a-nīsita.

sam tevā śiṣanti (Vait. śiṣa) Vait. LS. KS. Garbe takes śiṣanti from śiṣ 'leave'; it is more likely from śās (śiṣ) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates śiṣanti ('sharpen').

vanaspitān āṣpādāḥ rāya ēṣe (rāye aṣāya) RV. (both). Roots ēṣ and āṣ, practically synonyms. The two versions in adjacent hymns; see RVRep. 258. Add to vv I §121, 324.

aspaṟṣam enam śatāśrayāya RV. AV. In AV. most mss., SPP., and even Ppp. (Barret, JABS 26, 257), read aspaṟṣam; in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV. form in his Translation (root spr, aor.), we think that the AV. tradition intended aspaṟṣam, as a form of sprā: 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years.' Of course the form is highly anomalous.

dirgām anu prāṣī (KS. samṛṭīṇ) āṣyē dhām (KS. tev) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB.: dirgām anu prāṣī samprāṣṭhām MS. Cf. §78.

tev ēṣaḥ (KS. viśe, MS. tev ēṣaḥ) saṁvadukh bhūricarpasaḥ (TS. bhūricarpa) RV. SY. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pratnāso agna rtaṁ āṣugānaḥ (AV. āṣakānāh) RV. AV. VS. TS. 'Blowing upon': 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending').
§293. Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an a to an ‘alterant’ i, u, or to different word-division which brought s into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete:

daiya manifold manasa (VS. manuṣa) purutra VS. MS. KS. TB,
made susīram (SV. madeṣu śipram) andhasah RV. SV. Cf. PAOS 13., p. cxviii.


vāṣīṣṭhahanu . . . VS.: oṣiṣṭhahanam . . . TS. TA.
sugantuh karma karanaḥ karishyan JB.: sugam tvah karmaḥ karanaḥ karah karasyaḥ LS.
tenemām upa śīncatam RV. AV. TA. N.: tenā mām abhiśīncatam SS. asārte (MS. KS. tā) sārte rajasi nisalte (MS. tā, KS. na sattā) RV. VS. MS. KS. N. See §288.

kratā vārīṣṭhaṁ vara āmūrim uta RV. AV.: krate vare sthanyām āmūrim uta SV.

ṣiṣṇaṁ ca stutir (SV. susūṭtir) upa RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§294. The rest are scattering:

ye ṛkṣeṣu (KS. vaneṣa) bāṣpīṇjaraḥ (TS. saspi) VS. TS. MS. KS. MG.

See §§32, 278, and next.

namah bāṣpīṇjaraṇa (TS. saspi) triṣṭimate VS. TS. MS.† KS.

sarvan tuḥ (AV. sarvān ni, MS. KS. TA. sarvāṇaḥ tuṇ) mānasā (TS. ŠB, masmasa, MS.† mrśmṛṣā, one ms. mrṛmrṛā, VS. bhasmasā) kuru (AV. karm) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TA. The word is sound-imitative (cf. Eng. mash, similar but independent). VS. rationalizes with thought of ‘ashes’ (§242).

a sutrāṇe sumatīṁ āṃrṇānaḥ AV.: oṣiṣṭhadāvane sumatīṁ ēṃrṇāḥ TS. Whitney suggests, attractively, āṣutrāṇe (to match oṣiṣṭha- in
THE SIBILANTS

TS.; but su-trāman, su-trāta, and su-trātra seem to support the tradition of AV. (āṣu seems not used with the root tr)

kh, kṣ and sibilants

§295. In view of the common later confusion of ʒ and kh, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds; cf. the mss. reading ṣudasi at AV. 20. 135. 4, for khudasi of ŚŚ:
kapokāya svāhā TA. TAA.: khakholkāya svāhā MahānU. Neither word is interpretable.

§296. There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between kh and ʒ, which point in a like direction; cf. the reading khunā for ʒunā (thru sunā) 'by a dog', Pārvanātha Caritra 2. 268:
āku twajau (ApŚ. akhum tvā ye) dadhire devayāntah KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original is ākum, which refers to Agni. To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain, The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ. and MŚ., reads ity akhukarīsam (MŚ. 'kirim' nirapti, 'he throws down a mole-hill'. Hence the word āku has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ. (where Caland translates ākum).

ud varṣam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: ārdhvaṁ kham iva menire Mahābh. 12. 284. 78.

§297. And one case of kṣ and ʒ (lexical):
maṇum te kvag rchatu (KS. te kṣut) VS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. The same with other animal names in the same passage.

s(ʒ) and h

§298. There is but faint evidence for this interchange. The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption. In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic; see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264. In the following it is to be presumed that an original ʒ is replaced by h:
dhiyā na (SV. no) vajah upa māsi (SV. māhi) bhavataḥ RV. SV. Verb endings; see VV I p. 104. The reverse is found in the first variant in §299.
dhrvānah (TB. ApŚ. dhruvā ha) parvatā ime RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG. The obsolescent ending āsah is replaced by the regular ā(s) plus the particle ha.

jātvedo nayā hy enam suktām yatru lokah JB: jātvedo vihemah (ŚŚ. vahasvaiman) suktām yatru lokah (TA. lokāḥ) TA. ŚŚ. The Conc. suggests possibly nayasy for nayā hy in JB.
śaṅgin hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV, AV, TS, MS, KSA. N.: śaṅga egām āpavāho mayobhūn SV. See §820.
[pratyañ (etc.) soma atidṛutāḥ (śrutāḥ etc., AV. text. hṛutāḥ), see §275.
The true text of AV. is hṛutāḥ.]
§299. In the rest it appears that an older h is replaced by s:
stuto yāsī (RV, yāhī) vaśān anu RV, VS, TS, KS, SB, IŚ. See VV I p. 105. The converse of the first variant in §298.
tuṣyādiya (VSK, tuṣyā) savanaṁ (RV, haṁ) ta indriyam RV, VS, VSK, TS, MS, KS, SB. Synonymous roots su and hu,
gṛtapruṣo harītas tuvahantu KS.: gṛtapruṣas tē sarīto vahanti (ĀŚ, harīto vahantu) TB, AŚ, ApŚ.
guhā hitāṁ nikitām (KS. omitis nikitām, by haplogogy) gahvareṣu KS.
MŚ.: guhā satīṁ gahane gahvareṣu TB, ApŚ.
pratno hi (TA. pratanośi) kam idyo adhvareṣu RV, AV, TA. MahānU.
The TA. reading is corrupt; comm. pratanośi!
suhaṭe (AV. misprinted susaṭe) havāmahe RV, AV, VS, MS, KS.
See Whitney on AV. 3. 20. 6.]
CHAPTER IX. PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

1. Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300. This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi; namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilter', to bridge the gap between two vowels; the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritie in character: see Geiger, Pali §§5, 6; Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root:

ya eza va{pamana{n̄a}naḥ (AV, nāṣanah) RV. AV. N.
pūrṇe 'ūghṛnaye svāhā TA.: pūṣṇa āghṛnaye (em., mss. āppnaye) svāhā MŚ. āghṛnī is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For āghṛnī, comm. aṅjanena dīpyamānah; but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for āghṛ.

§301. From different and equally regular forms of the verb:
agniṁ navaśa trīṣadhaṁśe sam idhīre (SV. TS. indhate) RV. SV. TS. KS. agnim idhe (SV. indhe) vivasvabhiḥ RV. SV.
avra pitaro yathābhāgaṁ mandadyaṁ TS. TB. ApŚ.: atra pitaro māda-

yaṁ sadhyaṁ . . . VS.VŚK.MŚ. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ĹŚ. MŚ. KauŚ. SMB. G. KhG. ViDh. Add to VV I §240.

krūram ānaśa (KS.† ApŚ. ānaśa) marṭayaḥ (KS.† marṭaḥ) AV. KS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 187.

na pāpabhāya rasiya (SV. raḥsiṣam) RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 109.

§302. In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound:

atho (LŚ. ApŚ. nīr ma) yamasya padhsāt (VS. vātāt, LŚ.† sadhiṇsāt) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

agniṁ īḍita (SV. indhita) marṭayaḥ RV. SV. Cf. next; both verbs are common in Agni-worship.

yaṁ sīm id anya īḍate RV.: yaṁ sam id anya indhate SV. Cf. prec.
§303. Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological; at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I: see §102 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vīda: vinda, vṛjyāḥ: vṛjyāt, etc.); §279 (maṣīya: maṁśīya); §280 (adadṛhanta; adadṛhanta); and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in ti, ni, te, nte, etc., on pp. 255 ff.

§303a. Twice subjunctives in -ā(ā)si are reported with an anomalous ə before the s. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms. of KS. in the second; in the first no v. I. is reported for ŚG. and Oldenberg keeps əyāṣi, tho he translates əyāṣi (see his note, p. 36):

jatānāṁ janayāḥ ca yān (ŚG. janayānī ca; AVPp. janayāṣi [not əmi, as Whitney says] ca) AV. ŚG. Barret, JAOS 32, 300, needlessly emends Ppp. to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253.

vahāsi mā (KS.† vahānī ə) sukṛtāṁ yatra lokāḥ (KS.† lokaḥ) KS. TB.

§304. Similarly, such cases as əṛṇa puṇāna āyus (SV. āyuṇi) RV. SV., or əvar devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. əvar devāni) aqanmā (MS. MS. aqāma) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS., belong to noun declension; and ajaatam teśām (ApŚ. teśā) sabhāpālāk TB. ApŚ. to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated; here we content ourselves with examples.

§305. Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation:

urvī gabhīrā (TS. gambhīrā) vmaṭis te astu RV. TS. MS. KS. In this
and the next Ts. replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language.

gabhīram (TS. gambhā) imam adhvaram kṛdhī VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Cf. prec.
samudra iḍāsi gahmanā (TB. gahā, but Poona ed. gahā) TB. ApŚ.
satyaujasā drīhanā (KS. drīhanā, MS. durhāna) yau nutedhe TS. MS.
KS.: sacetasu drahvano yau nutedhe AV. Both TS. and KS. understand a form of drīh: drīh (cf. adadṛhanta; adadṛhā, VS. I p. 187); AV. and MS. struggle in common with another idea.
antaḥ sukravatā (SV. sundhyavatā) pathā RV. SV. Cf. §173.
samudrāya śīkumāraḥ VS. MS.: sindhoj śīkumāraḥ (KSA. śīṣā) TS. KSA. The form śīṣā occurs in RV.; cf. Pali suṇāsumāra.
Later śīṣā is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to śīṣu 'boy'. The long u of KSA. may be a mere corruption in the single ms.

§306. The prefix sam varies with its own reduced grade, sa-, and with a syllable sa- of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious):
saṁwṛt asī TS.: sawṛt asī VS. KS. PB.: sawṛt sawṛf jina MS.
saṁstup chandah VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: saṁstup chandah TS.
namo vṛddhāyā ca sawṛhe (TS. savṛdhvane, KS. savṛdhvane, MS. savṛdhvane) ca VS. TS. MS. KS.
satatam tu śīrāhīs tu MahānU.: satatam śīṃbhīs (Poona ed. śīṣā, v. 1. śīrā) tu TA.
nakṣatratānān sakāśān mā yauṣam MS.: nakṣatrájanān mā samkāsā ca pratikāsā cāvataṃ Vait. KauŚ.
agni saṁrjñāhe (MS. sanarā?) gīrah RV. SV. MS. KS. Here sa- is the reduplicating syllable.
sa (MS. saṃ) dundubhi sajīr indeva devaḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.
N. The MS. hardly makes sense; it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to sajīr.
saṁ (MS. sa) dāśuṣe kīrata bhūri vāmam TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Again MS. is hardly interpretable; its change is the reverse of the prec.
saṁ yañapatārī (VSK. yañāmāna) dāśa VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MS.: sa yañapatārī dāśa Vait. (probably to be corrected to saṃ; see Caland on Vait. 4. 21).

§307. Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf. also §401): rajābhūmis tvam mām (MahānU, tvam āṁ, so TA. Poona ed. with v. 1. tvam mām) rodayasā pravudanti dhīrāh TA. MahānU.
ya īn vahanta āubhīḥ RV.; yadī vahanty āsawah SV.
svahpatir yadī vṛde SV.; svarpatīn yadī vṛde RV, AV.
yō rayīvo (SV, rayīh vo) rayintamaḥ RV. SV. KB. ŚŚ. SG. The SV.
doubtless corrupt.
tasyāṁ no devaḥ (MS. tasyāṁ devaḥ) savitā dharmaḥ (VS.† VSK.†
TS.† SB.† dharma) sāvita (SVK.9 sak) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
ŚŚ. Stems dharma: dharman.
ma mā yānauva hāsīt (JB. yono vām hārasīh) PB. JB. IŚ.
Incomprehensible in either form.
sa īn (TS. 1) mandrā ... (see §374) VS. TS. MS. The particle īn
becomes ī in TS., before m; this might be put with §401.
sam īn (SV. u) rebbāso asvaran RV. AV. SV.

Nasal as 'Hiatusilger'

§308. The Rigveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization
of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here
the nasal (in the recognized RV. cases always anuvārā) acts as 'Hiat-
ustilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, Nolen on 1. 33. 4. The
variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave
the hiatus unrelied; and in another case APMB. MG. read tanān
for RV. tanā, all intending a loc. sing.:
svāyāṁ śtanān (RV. tanā) rteyē (RV.† vye) ... RV. APMB. MG.

See Winternitz, Introd. to APMB., XIX. Knauer mistakenly
considers the form an abbreviation of tantrām.

ā te suparnā āminantaḥ (MS. TS. †ta) evaḥ RV. TS. MS. KS. AB.

§309. Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, n or m,
seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatusilger' between vowels; or, con-
versely, we find in some texts omission of final m before an initial vowel,
either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into
proximity, or leaving hiatus:
yadān (AV. yady) rṇām svāgaro devatāsu AV. TA. Comm. on TA.
yadān rṇam, yad eva prasiddham rṇam. We must apparently
understand īn for īm (alter ī), the particle of emphasis; the TA.
form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus.
A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf.
§438.
abhīṃ ṛtasya (SV. abhy ṛtasyā) sudughā gṛtaścitaḥ RV. SV.

The SV.,
the secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt
as if mere Hiatusilger.
abhī (SV. abhīm) ṛtasya dohānā anūḍata RV. SV.
yênarks (SMB. "kṛṇ, PG. "kṣyāv, ŚŚ. yewn kṣām) abhyaṣicīyanta (ŚŚ. SMB. abhyaṣicīcatam, PG. "lām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. Nom.: acc. forms.
ā puṣā ete ā vasu TS.: ā puṣām ete ā vasu AV. If TS. has the original form, AV. may be regarded as a lect. fac., with avoidance of hiatus. agner jihvan abhi (MS. jivābhī, p. p. jiviān, abhi; AV. KS. jivāyabhī) jyrītam (AV. grītā) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni.* MS. might intend an instrumental, but note the p.p.
§310. Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants:
agnir ukthena vāhasā VS. TS. MS. KS. ĀŚ. ŚŚ.: agnir uktheva aṅhasu AV. apām rasam udvayaṣam (KS. uḍayaṇasam, TA. uḍayaṇasam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA.
agnim adya hotāram avṛtyāyam gajamānah pacan pakṣī (VSK. paṃkṣī) pacan . . . VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. (See also Conc. under sīsena agnim adya etc., TB.; but Poona ed. of TB. lacks the word sīsena, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi.) pakṣī *heaps* is secondary or corrupt. The same blunder in Kauś. 22. 10; see Bloomfield, *GGA* 1902. 492.
§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before y); to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong:
lam āhulam naśtmahi (AV. "lam aś") RV. AV. AB. Parallel roots aś and naś.
tasya rathagṛtsaḥ (MS. kṛṣṇaḥ, KS. kṛṣṇaḥ) ca . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §46.
namah kṛṣṇaṁāya (VS. yadāyā, KS. kṛṣṇaṁāyā, TS. MS. kṛṣnaṁāyā) dhvarte VS. VSK. MS. KS. A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS.
na kir deva minimaśi RV.: na ki deva inimaśi SV. Svidh. The strange inimaśi is questioningly-classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from i(-notī). Benfrey equates it with mina with unexplained loss of m. Reverse of Hiatustilger?
sam tvā tatakṣuḥ (LŚ. kṣnuḥ) Vait. KS. LŚ. See VV I p. 146. The monstrous form of LŚ. may be influenced by its viniyoga: ili takṣuṇuḥ (itself somewhat anomalous).
agnaye dhunkarṣa (KSA. kṣa) TS. KSA.: dhunkarṣgneyi (VSK. vv. II "kṣaṇ and kṣoṇ) VS. VSK. MS. Possibly the second nasal of TS. is due to the influence of the first.
annam me (ApŚ. *no) buddhya (ApŚ. *dhnya) pāhi, and... *yājugupāḥ
MS. ApŚ. One ms. of MS. writes buddhya each time; perhaps
buddhnya is intended.
Cf.: jīvāṁ pṛthvyāḥ (read mṛ with SPP., comm., and many ms.)
pārīṣṭyamānāṁ AV.
§312. Note finally the following curious variant:
kīyamāno (MŚ. kāmayamāno) vanā tvam RV. SV. MŚ. N. Sāyaṇa
glosses by kāmayamāno, the later regular form, which is secondarily
introduced in MŚ.

2. Presence or absence of y

§313. A large proportion of the variants under this head concern
the presence or absence of suffixal ya. A form containing this suffix
varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary
noun or adjective in a, or a secondary derivative in suffixal a. These
cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more
fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics;
notably where y appears after a double consonant in such pairs as
bhakṣa: bhakṣya, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent;
the form with y may be read as a syllable longer than the other form,
and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as
will be pointed out in individual cases.

(a) Words equivalent in meaning; y follows two consonants

§314. We begin with cases where the y follows two consonants (and
is often written, and regularly pronounced, īya, see §784), and in which
the form in y is equivalent in meaning to that without y. The latter in a
few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix a by
showing vṛddhī of the first syllable, while the y form lacks vṛddhī:
aghoreṇa cakṣusā mitriyena (ApMB. maitreṇa, KS. ApŚ. cakṣusāḥ am
śyenā) AV. KS. ApŚ. ApMB. But maitreṇa may be a noun,
'friendship'; mitriyena must be an adjective.
māhaṁ purtram (KBU. putryam) aghan ṛudam (AG. niyām, see §721;
SMB. niyān, and riṣam) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.
ya antarikṣāḥ (sc. sarpaḥ etc.) HG.: ye sarpaḥ pārthivā ye-antarikṣāḥ...
AG.
vāyur na tiṣṭa tiṣṭayair devair antarikṣayah (ApŚ. antarikṣaiḥ) pāṭu
KS. ApŚ.: vāyus teṣṭaṁ antarikṣāt pāṭu sārya devaṁ MŚ. The latter
contains the primary noun and belongs with §321.
prabhaya agnendham (TB. āgnendham) VS. TB. On the troublesome
TB. form see §491.
§315. In the rest, the great majority, secondary vridhdi appears in neither form or in both:

sumnāya sumninā sumne mā dhattam TS. TB. ApŚ.: sumnāyvah (KS. *yavas) sumnyāya sumnanā (KS. sumnyanā) dhatta MS. KS.: sumne sthān sumne mā dhattam VS. SB. Both sumna and sumnya are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'.

agnir devebhyaḥ swidadrīṣṇebhyaḥ (TA. *trebhyaḥ) RV. AV. TA. N. svargyāsi KS.: svargyātii ApŚ.

urdvhaṁ manāḥ svargyam (TA. swargam) MS. TA.

na gajñasya manvate martaṁsaḥ (TB. ApŚ. martaṁsaḥ) RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. The reading martaṁsaḥ is poor metrically;

krūram ānanā (KS.† ApŚ. ānā) martaḥ (KS.† martaḥ) AV. KS. ApŚ. Again martaḥ is unmetrical.

marteṣu (VS. MS. KS. marteṣu) agnir anmto nī dhāyi RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

sumitrā (VS. SB. MahānU. SS. KS. sumitrīyā, AŚ. LŚ. sumitrīyā) na (KS. ya) āpa oṣadhayāḥ santu (KS.† yo bhavantu) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. SS. LŚ. BDh. Followed by:

durmitrās (VS. SB. MahānU. KS. *trīṣās, AŚ. SS. LŚ. *trīṣās) lasmai santu (KS.† TS.† TB. TA. MahānU. BDh. bhāyāsūr) yo ... same texts.

sārgha śṛjayaḥ (TS. KSA. śākhū śṛjaya) śavāṇḍakas (KSA. *kās, em. v. Schr. *kas, TS. śavāṇḍakas) te maitrāḥ (KSA. *trāḥ, em. unnecessarily to *trāḥ in ed.) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

abhī dyumnaṁ (RV. VS. sumnaṁ) devabhaktāṁ yavistha (MS. KS. devahitam yavistha, MS. p. p. *śtha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. yavistha and *śtha are perfect equivalents; the former seems to be preferred at the end of a tristubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas.

teṁ agno samidhānaṁ yavistha (RV. *śtha) RV. TB. ApŚ. The stanza is pure jagati in RV.; half of it is made tristubh in the others.

śatāṁ pārīth yavistha RV.: ... yavistha pāhy anārasah RV. TA. See RV Rep. 589.

gambhirabhīḥ (AV. TS. HG. *raih) pāthibhīḥ pārvivebhīḥ (MS. pārvibhīḥ, AV. pārvibhī, TS. HG. pārvibhī) AV. TS. MS. KS. SM Bor. AŚ. HG.

bhat śīna ksabrabhṛd vṛddhavrṣṇyam (MS. *ṣam, so ed. with p. p.; other mss. *ṣim; read probably *ṣyam; TS. *ṛṣṇīyam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

śrāvan visiśūnām (KS. *nānām) MS. KS.
namo nivesgâyava (p. p. ni²) ca āhrdaya ca mś.: namo hradayâya ca nivesgâyava ca VS.: namo hradayâya (KS. hradâmyâya) ca nivesgâyava (KS. ni²gâyava) ca TS. KS. From the noun nivesgây 'whirlpool', is derived nivesgây 'of the whirlpool'. The stem nivesgâ (or ni²; note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it; practically a question of mere orthography. One KS. ms. nivesgâyava.

namah śīghryāya (TS. śīghryâya) ca śībhgyâ ca VS. TS.: namah śībhgyâ ca śīghryâ ca MS. KS.

tau te bhakṣam (LŚ. śīyam) cakratur agra etam VS. JB. TB. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚŚ. tayor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayâmi TB. ApŚ.: tayor aham anu bhakṣam (LŚ. śīyam) bhakṣayâmi VS. LŚ.: tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayâmi JB. ŚŚ.


jambhâbhūyāṁ taskaras (p. p. ṛāṅ) uta MS.: jambhyais (KS. yebhīs) taskaras (KS. ṛāṅ) uta VS. TS. KS.

āśraya vaiye (KS. krante, TB. krante) puruṣasya māyau AV. KS. TB. yo 'syaa (MŚ. asya, but Van Gelder 'syaa) kaurūṣīya (KS. kaurūṣa) jagataḥ KS. TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

śvetōya vaidarśaya (PG. śvyāya, AG. ŚG. dārvāya, MG. vaitañghavyāya)...

AG. PG. ŚG. ApMB. HG. MG.

paḥpāt svapnyād abhātyān AV.: paṭpāḥ svapnād abhātyān KŚ. It would be pedantry to see in svapnā any really different meaning from svapna.

[Inalamam āpṭyam (AV. āḷtam) āpṭyanāṁ RV. AV. N. The AV. must doubtless be emended to āpṭyam with Whitney.]

(b) Words equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant

§316. Next, forms in which the y follows a single consonant; both forms still equivalent in meaning. A small group shows the vṛddhi of secondary derivation in the form without y, not in that with y:

mehyā (VS. maḥyā) vidūto vācaḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA.

brhatō dāvā (VS. dāvāḥ) VS. MS. ApŚ. dīṣya from dīṣ, daise from dēni, but meaning the same.

byhaspatir devanām (ŚŚ. daivo; this belongs to §324) brahmāham manuṣyānām (ŚŚ. manuṣaḥ) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: byhaspatir brahmāham manuṣaḥ IŚ. manuṣa and manuṣya are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun. Cf. prec.

kalpayatan mānuṣaḥ TB. ApŚ.: dhṛathanām dāivī viṣāḥ kulpaṃtāṃ tmanuṣyāḥ KS.
dhīpaṇāśi pāravat (VS. ŚB. paṛa, TS. TB. ApŚ. pāravatāya) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Adjectives pāravata and pāravata (and, if VS. ŚB. are right, pāravata; Mahādhara, pāravatāṃśikā); all ‘of the rock’. The VS. ŚB. reading is supported by the ms. readings (two occurrences) of KS., pāravat both times; von Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice.

aranyāya (MS. dranīya, but p. p. aranyāya) svaraḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA. §317. The rest show vṛddhi either in both forms or in neither. Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems dāiva and dāivya:

dāivya (HG. eya) yo mānuṣo gandhāh ApMB. HG.
dāivā hotārāḥ sanīṣan na etat AV.: dāivyā hotāro (TS. ra) vanuṣanta (TS. vaṁ, KS. vanīṣan na) pūrre (KS. etat) RV. TS. KS.
dāivā (AV. ra) hotārā (TS. ra, AV. ra) ārdhaṃ (MS. adds idaṃ, KS. hotārordhaṃ idaṃ) adh-varaṃ nāḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 18. 17a (f).
dāivyaṃ (MS. vaṁ) mānuṣaḥ yugā (MS. yugā) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.
pauruṣeyāt dāivyaḥ KS.: pauruṣeyāna daivā AV. 4. 26. 7c.
mānuṣaḥ dāivyaṃ (MS. vaṁ) upatimī TB. ApŚ. MS.
-sm daivena (VS. ŚB. both also eyena; TA. devena) savitrā VS. ŚB. TA.
Mahādhara glosses both forms by devena.

§318. Another compact group is formed by variants of sūra and sūrya, again perfect equivalents:
bṛhat śūra (KS. sūrya) arocata RV. KS.
sūryāsa (SV. sūrāso) na darīkāsāḥ RV. SV.
sajāḥ sūra (MS. sūra, TS. sūrya) etāṃ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
sūra ā (ŚŚ. sūrye) junayaḥ jyotir indram (ŚŚ. indraḥ) TB. ŚŚ.
spardhanā dhīpaṇā (TS. KSA. devah) sūrya na (SV. sūre na, TS. KSA.) sūryena viṣāḥ RV. SV. TS. KSA.

§319. The rest are sporadic:
āpura śā mā praṣajā paśubhiḥ pūravata ŚŚ.: āpūryā sthā mā pūrvāta praṣajā ca dhanaṇa ca TS. AŚ.
agneh puriṣavāhanah (MS. purīṣya; VS.ŚB.† vāhanah) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. puriṣa and "ṣya are equivalent; Pān. 3. 2. 65.
kāmyayai svabhā MG.; kāmyayai svabhā MS. MŚ. Probably MG. corrupt.
śakalyam (AG. śakalam; sc. tarpayāmi) ŚG. AG. Both patronymies from šakala. Since Oldenberg’s translation of ŠG. reads šāk, we assume that śakalyam is the true reading; šāk probably misprint.
yakṣmañ śrōṣibhyāṁ (ApMB. šrōṣi) bhāsadāt RV. AV. ApMB.: yakṣmañ bhāsadāṃ śrōṣibhyāṁ bhāsadām AV. In RV, bhāsada is a noun; in the second AV. version it and bhāsadāya are both adjectives, and one (probably bhāsaṇaṁ, but Whitney suggests bhāsadām) must be omitted as an ancient gloss.
ṝyas pọṣam audhīkām (ApMB. *dyam) RVKh. VS. HG. APMB.
pāvamānāḥ, *nyāḥ, and *nyāḥ, various Dharma texts. All adjectives from pāvamāna.
māyohavāya (ŚG. *yāṇa) catuṣpadī AG. ŠG.: catavāri māyohavāya TB. APŚ. APMB. SMB. PG. HG. MG. Equivalent nouns; adeže (MS. *yāṇa) dyāṇapṛthvīṁ huvema (MS. huv) RV. VS. MS. ‘Having no hostility’ = ‘not hostile’.
[mūtrāsaraṁbhāyāṁ anusṭubbhāyāṁ ... VS. TS. MS. KŚA.† Conc. wrongly quotes KŚA. as anusṭubhyaṁ.] anyaṁ te asman (NṛpU. *sman, AV. asmat te) ni vacantu senāḥ (AV. senyam) RV. AV. TS. NṛpU. Senyam must = senā.

(c) Words not equivalent in meaning; y follows two consonants

§320. In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in ya is paralleled by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it. In other cases the difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is especially tenuous.

§321. As before, we list first cases in which the y follows two consonants, being then sometimes written iy:
mandrabhīhūtih (MŚ. mandri vihihūtih) ketur yaññānām (MŚ. yajñīyā) eṣa ... TS. MS.
viṣve devā mama śravantu yajñiṇyāḥ (ArŚ. yajñām) RV. ARŚ. ŚS.
yajñāṇaḥ-yajñān (KS. yajñīyā yajñām) prati devaḥdhyāḥ (KS.ŚS.† yadbhuyāḥ) VSK. KS. TS. ŚS. KS. MŚ.
mā no rudrāśo adhīgur vaihe nu (mss. nuḥ) MŚ.: mā rudriyāso abhi guṇadhānāḥ (TA. gr urdhānāḥ) MS. TA.
PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, ETC.

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iyam pitrā (AB. vai pitre, AŚ. ŚŚ. pitre) rāṣṭry ety (AV. GB. eto) agrē AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
putraḥ pitre (KS. pitre) lokakṣṛ jātavedah TB. KS. ApŚ. 'As a son to his father'; 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers',
yā (AV. omits) antarikṣa (KS. AG. 'kṣya) uña pārthivir yāh (KS. pārthivāḥ, AV. ni pṛthivyām) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. AG. (AVPpp. ... pārthivā yāh.)
namah kāṭāyā ca gahvareṣṭhāya (MS. 'ghyāya, p. p. 'ghāya) ca VS. TS. MS. KS.
indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS. KS. jyeṣṭhyānām, VS. ŚB. jyeṣṭhyāya) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Of the noblest'; 'of the highest nobilities'; 'for highest nobility'.
adhanām adhāvate kṛṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhanah (ApMB. kṛṣṭhasyādhanah; MG. śrāṣṭhyasya svastasyādhanah) pāram aśya AŚ. ApMB. MG. Read svastasyād in MG. with most ms.
arīkā HG.: arghyam ŚŚ. HG.: arghyam bhūḥ Kauś.: arghayā āpah ApG. arghyam 'water of the argha'.
adhyaṇānuṣāntāram TB.: tādhyaṇāyuṇānuṣāntāram VS.

§322. A considerable group concerns uktha and ukttha, the latter meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by ukthas', or 'one to be revered with ukthas':
mantram sadāy ukthym (NṛpU. uktham) RV. VS. MS. KS. AA. ApŚ. NṛpU.
aṇāni ta uktthaya pātu MS. ApŚ.: ukthas (I read uktthas?) te 'aṇāni pātu ca tu AŚ.
ukttheṣṭham tvakthāyām apiyāmi KS.: ukttheṣṭha uktthāyam Av.: uktham (AŚ. ukttham) indrāya śaṣṭya RV. SV. AŚ.

(d) Words not equivalent in meaning; y follow one consonant

§323. Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the y, we find first a number of interchanges between vīra 'hero' and vīrya 'heroism':
vaivīryaḥ vīrtatamā kaviṣṭha AV.: vīrebhir vīrtatamā kaviṣṭha MS.: vīryebhir vīrtatamā kaviṣṭha (TS. 'kac') VS. ŚB. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ., eṣa tasya vīṣṇupade sahasāktānaḥ suvīraḥ (AV. suvīryaḥ; VS. sarvavīraḥ ... ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
andāmi kaṭram ajārām suvīryam (MS. KS. suvīram) RV. TS. MS. KS. sa (also; so) no dohātāḥ suvīryam (MS. suvīram) TB. ApŚ. MS. (In all texts with both sa and so.)
purukṣu teṣāṃ (MS. ṛṣṭha) suvīryam (VSK. TS. suvīram) VS. VSK. TS. MS.
nirdeṣaṃ nirvīryam (KSA. ṛṇamaṇaḥ) kṛṣṇa... TS. KSA.
projaṁ suvīram (PG. suvīryāṇaḥ) kṛṣṇa TS. PG.
§324. Next a group containing forms of stems div and diya, or
once deva and dāiva; cf. several similar cases at the beginning of §316:
dīvaḥ chaddhāsi AG.: dīvaṃ chaddhāsi... LS.
dīvo dhāraṇaḥ bdhini KŚ.: bhīndhīdham (MS. bhīndhy adho) dīvaṃ nabhah
AV. TS. MS. KŚ.
madhye dīvo (MS. divaḥ) niḥitaḥ pānīr aśma VS. TS. MS. (both) KŚ.
SB.
āhar divābhīr (MS. vahad divābhīh) utībhīḥ VS. MS. SB. TA. ŚŚ. LS.
divābhīr is for divaḥ + ābhīr, but is understood by comm. on TA.
as one word, = dyotamāndhībhir. This misunderstanding is respon-
sible, also, for the variant of MS., which furnishes the only possible
form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective.
vacā tvā hotā prāṇenodgātā... pañcaśabhir dāiva:vair (MS. devār) rūvīghīr
uddhārāmi ApŚ. MS.
§325. The rest require no subdivision:
dītā (TS. KSA. dītā) vāhahāo dārvidā te vāyave (TS. KSA. vāyavyāḥ) VS. TS.
MS. KSA.
pāra (pl. p. of TS. pāre) ikṣavaḥ 'vārīebhyah (KSA. tārīebhyah) pakṣma-
bhyah svāhā TS. KSA.: avāra (pl. p. of TS. ṛre) ikṣavaḥ pārīebhyah
(KSA. pārıyaḥ) pakṣmaḥbhyah svāhā TS. KSA.: pārīyāi pakṣmaṁy
avāryā ṭekṣavaḥ, and: avāryāni pakṣmaṁi pārī ṭekṣavaḥ VS. MS.
pārīyaḥ kaivartam TB.: pārīyaḥ māryāram VS.: avāryāya māryāram
TB.: avārīya kecaivaṁ VS.
esa u svaḥ vṛṣṇa vṛtahā RV. ŚV.: esa svaḥ rāthyo vṛṣṇa VS. SB.
svagā ca me supatham (VS. KapŚ. ṛthyaḥ) ca me VS. TS. MS. KŚ.
KapŚ.
mad tvat kṣetrāny arāṇāni (MS. ṭāyāni, p. p. ṭānāni) yunma RV. TS. MS.
KS. TB.
bhātaḥ tvā rathadareṇa trīṣṭubhyaḥ (KS. triṣṭubhyaḥ) varṣanyā... MS. KŚ.
byhadrathardarayos tvā stōmena triṣṭubho varṣanyā... TS.
sūpāṣṭhā aśi vānaspatayāḥ MS.: sūpāṣṭha devo vaناسpatiḥ TS. ApŚ.
agni tvah puṣṭyayā VS. KS. SB.: agneḥ puṣṭyam asi VS. VSK. TS. MS.
KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MS. And others, see Cone.
namaḥ soḥyāya ca pratīṣṭayā (MS. sarīyaḥ) ca VS. TS. MS. KŚ.
namo lopayāya colopayāya (MS. ṭāiṣya) ca VS. TS. MS. KŚ.
nanaḥ parṇāya (TS, KS; parṇāya) ca parṇaśadāya (VS,  savāya, TS, savāya) ca VS. TS. MS. KS.

ukr̥ras te grahaḥ (VS, SB, grahaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. MS. 'Draught': 'juice' for the draught.'

atha varṣeṇyā tata RV. AV. VS.: nir mā varṣeṇyā tata (ApŚ. adhi) LŚ. ApŚ. Inferior meter in the latter.

sa budhnyād (TS. KS. AŚ. nondā) aṣṭa janaṣa 'bhy (TS, KS. AŚ. janaṣābhya)

agam AV. TS. KS. AŚ. (AVPpp. agrees with the others; Barret, JAOS 37.260.)

tayā graṇtaḥ sudhamādeśu AV.: tayā madantaḥ sudhamādeśu (RVKh. VS, mādeśu) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB.: tasthur graṇtaḥ sudhamādeśaḥ RV. AV. (Schefelowitz prints mādeśu for RVKh., but his ms. mādeśu.) In MS. KS. TB. sudhamādeśa means the same as māda 'feast'; but in RV. AV. 'participant in a sudhamāda'.

nir mā maṇḍiṁ jataḥ LŚ. ApŚ.: maṁcāntu mā kapathyāt RV. AV. VS.

agne devānāṁ ava heṣa iṣyaṁ (KS. iṣya) KS. ApŚ.: ava iṣyaṁ yaja heṣa agne (KS. yaje iṣyāṇi, MS. yaje iṣyāṇi) AV. KS. MS.: ava devān yaje iṣyāṇi TB. ApŚ.

namo dundubhyāya cahananiyāya (MS. dundubhaye cahananiyāya) ca VS. MS. KS.

ahhaspataye tvā VS. SB. KS.: ahhaspataye tvā TS. MS. TB. ApŚ.

§326. We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix ya with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar:

urjasārī rājaṃ (TS, rājasāyā, MS, KS, sāyā) citānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. rājasāya, adjective in MS. KS., is equivalent to rājasā; the suffix ya is here added after a vowel. In TS. it appears as a noun. Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -a- and -i-.

sahā rājasāyā (VS, SB, svaḥ, TS, sāyāya citānāḥ) VS. TS. MS. SB. MS. Cf. prec.

mahādevam antahpārśvena (VS, parśvena) VS. TS. TA. Formally, the VS. form is based on parśu 'rib'. Mahādhara: antaḥ pārśvenābḥiṁśa māṁśena. The form antahpārśva occurs in the next formula.

dyanā mitrāvāroṣa varena (KS, yam; MS. varena) TS. MS. KS.

Here the adjective varena- is corrupted in MS. to varena, inst. sing. of vara-.
Other cases of \( y \) in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a \( y \) which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings \( ya \):

\[ \text{upastulyam mahi jālam (MS. ०tyati janima lat; TS. १ upastulā jānima lat) te tavana RV. VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. Vait.} \]

Gerundive varies with past pple.

\[ \text{uta prahām atidivyā jayati (AV. ०dīvā jayati) RV. AV.} \]

The RV. has a gerund form; the AV, a nom. sg. of stem -dīvan.

In another case an infinitive mārtave varies with mṛtyave, dative of mṛtyu (equivalent in meaning):

\[ \text{fīvātave na mṛtyave (PB. mārtave) RV. PB.} \]

§328. A few variants concern noun inflexion. Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem. forms in \( y-ah \) varying with masc. or neut. forms without \( y \)):

\[ \text{āpo me hotṛāśaṃśināḥ (AG. ०sīnyāḥ) ŚB. ApŚ. AG. 'The waters are my Hotṛāśaṃśinā'; the priest-name is once made fem. to agree with āpaḥ.} \]

\[ \text{vargāḥ cākṣusyaḥ VS. ŚB.; vargaṃi cākṣusani TS. MS. KS. Here the noun itself changes gender.} \]

Or different case-forms vary:

\[ \text{vi śloka etu (AV. eti; TS. ŚvetU. ślokā yanti) pathyeva (KS. pathaṃ) sūreḥ (AV. MS.śūreh, KS.śūreḥ, TS. ŚvetU. sūreḥ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Alternative forms pathā and pathyā.} \]

The latter may be nom. in RV. (so Oldenberg, Noten on 10. 13. 1); in most texts it is certainly instrumental.

\[ \text{imān narāḥ (MS. ApŚ.* narāḥ) kṛṣṇa vedim etya (MS. etat, but read eta with all mss. but one; ApŚ.ś ० 2. ० 6a etat) TB. ApŚ. MS. Caland recognizes etat as secondary to etya. The reading etat (actually etad, before d-) has no standing; were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401.} \]

\[ \text{rāṇ ma āsan (MS. PG. āgya) AV. TS. GB. TAA. Vait. ApŚ. MS. Kauś, PG. BDh. Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems āsan and āga. Interest attaches to the form āgyan, which is read by Gaastra in GB. with all his mss., and which is also the reading of most mss. of AV. and Kauś, so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts. (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from} \]
the mss. of Vait.; possibly this is an editorial oversight.) The form ḍasyan is evidently a blend of the other two forms.

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without y occur. Thus, first, an inserted y is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first); the same root now and then forms both, cf. VV I p. 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following:

tapate svāhā TS. KSA. TA.: tapyate svāhā VS.

tapatayai (TA. Poona ed. tapatayai, v. l. tapatayai) svāhā KSA. TA.; tapyatevai (v. l. ćiyai) svāhā TS. The form tapyatevai, if correct, would be from the Rigvedic adjective tappyu, which is based on the present stem tapya- as much as tapatayai (pres. pple.) is based on stem tapa-.

§330. So the y of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms; see VV I pp. 49 ff., where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound:

yenākyā (ŚŚ. yenā kṣām, SMB. yenākyān, PG. yenākyān) abhyāṣicyanta (ŚŚ. SMB. ćiścataṁ; PG. ćiścatām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

§331. Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms:

ubhau lokau sanem (MS. sanomy) aham TB. TAA. APŚ. MS. See VV I p. 78.

Presence or absence of y after palatal sounds and kṣ, ṅ, etc.

§332. Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent y follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially kṣ. Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound y is phonetic in character; connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of y after such consonants. The y may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp. 28–9):

vācaspatā vāco vīrṇya svabhṛtalamāṇāyākṣaye (TA. ćakṣaye, ŚŚ, ćachāse) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Aorist in MS., future in TA.; in ŚŚ a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of ṣ-yam.

(net tel... ) dadhrī (TA. dadhd) vidhakṣyan paryāňkhañātī (TA. ćaít, AV. vidhakṣñān parīňkhañātī) RV. AV. TA. Many mss. of AV. vidhakṣyan, which is certainly intended.

bhakṣa bhakṣyāmāṇah (KS. bhakṣā?) VS. KS. So the single ms. of KS.; ed. emends to bhakṣyaṃ. If the ms. reading were kept we should have to assume a pple. middle in form but passive in meaning. mekṣāmya uṛdhvaṃ tiṣṭham AV., so emended by RWh.; all mss. mekṣāmya. yenākṣaḥ (kṣyāḥ, etc.) ... (see §330). In PG. akṣyāv is taken to be from akṣi 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption.

§333. In one verb form the y appears after ts; it may be regarded as belonging with the ks cases in view of §§182 ff.:

lenārātyam (GG. ŚŚ. MS. yam; so also p. p. of MS.; most mss. of MS. ṣyam with MS. text) MS. ŚŚ. MS. GG. The proper form is arītsam, aorist; the conditional does not fit. See VV I p. 29.

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category:

ratha na vijam sanisyaṃ (SV. ṣanna) ayāṣīl RV. SV. Clearly a phonetic slip in SV., making a sort of aorist pple.; Benfey, tho he interprets the form as ṣor., translates a future.

ā vrṣcyantām (AV. vrścuntām) adityaye duresāḥ RV. AV. The AV. form is evidently a phonetic blunder; cf. VV I pp. 29, 51 ff.

§335. Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix yā, §§314 ff., we find the following cases of y present or absent after ks:

dhūṇkṣyeyati (VSK. ṣyāgneyi or ṣyāg) VS. VSK. MS.: agnaye dhāṅkṣa (TS. ṣva) TS. KSA. See §255.

tarakaḥ (KSA. ṣe|h) kṛṣṇaḥ śvā caturakṣo (KSA. ṣeyā?) gārdayas ta itarajānānām TS. KSA. The ed. emends to caturakṣa, which seems necessary.

akṣyos (mss. akṣos) tanvo rapah AV.

Cf. further such mss. readings as vibhuṅkṣyāṇa for vibhuṅkṣya at Kauś. 23. 9, 35. 26.

§336. The other cases concern y present or absent after palatal consonants. Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root ścyut (Wackernagel I p. 265). The forms written with ścyut may be partly contaminated with cyu; indeed the mss. also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful:

prasthitā vo madhucyatā (VSK. MS. ṣcyutah) VS. VSK. MS. TB. So the editions. But Poona ed. of TB. records a v. l. ṣcyutah; and per contra, all saṁhitā mss. of MS. read ṣcyutah or ṣculah, sṛucā devam ghrīṣcute (KS. and v. l. of MS. ṣcyutā) RV. TS. MS. KS.
Presence or absence of Nasals, etc.

§337. Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals:

viṣṇoh śnāptre (TS. śnāptre, MS. śīptre) sūḥaḥ VS, TS, MS, KS, SB. KŚ. ApŚ. The pronunciation of n after s must have been approximately ŋ; this is indicated by the TS, variant (v. l. and p. p., however, śnāptre); so the Vyāsasāṅkṣa 248 prescribes (cf. Keith, HOS 18, xxxvii).

apāṇuvśāṃ apā raksāḥ (and, apā rāgham) TA.: apāṇyuśāṃ etc. TA.

So, correctly, Poona ed. Aśn(y)uṣṇi is an otherwise unknown epithet of Agni. The comm. explains only the form with y, monstrously: aśnāṁḥ bhokṛṇāṁ uṣṇir dāhako yo 'yathi. Cf. proc. mano jyotir (VS, SB, IŚ, jātir) juṣṭaṁ ājyasya (TS, TB, Vait, ājyam, AŚ, ājyam me) VS, VŚK. TS, MS, KS, TB, SB, AŚ. Vait, IŚ, KŚ, dīva jyote (KS* "tir) visvasa (MS. devajute visvasana) . . . MS, KS, viswasāṁ addīr devajūtis . . . TS.

mṛṣase (SV, mṛjyase) pavase māti RV, SV.

śyāmā sarūpapākaraṇaḥ AV, l. 24, 4a. Here the Berlin ed. reads śomā with nearly all ms., but against comm., Pp., and the evident sense, which demands śyāmā, see Whitney's note.

Presence or absence of y before initial vowel

§338. To a considerable extent y is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant. That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel. Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the y, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without y. In either case the forms without y often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that y presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatustilger', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73); cf. Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 31. The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes; rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this:
agne akṣiṇi (HG. agneyakṣiṇi) nir dha tvah AhMB. HG. As Kirste observes, HG. must intend agne ak², so that y is a simon-pure ‘Hiatustilger’ and nothing else. See also anāmayaidhi etc., §344.

§339. The cases of initial y are:

punar brahmāṇo (AV. brahmā) vasuṇīthā (AV. ०निद्र, KS. ०धितम and ०निद्र, MS. ०धिता) yajñāḥ (AV. MS. KS.* agne) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB, agne is probably original; it is preceded by r or m in AV. KS., by s in MS.; the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial y.

aṇjanti suprayasam (AVPpp. yuṇjanti supraja sam) paṇca janaḥ RV. AVPpp. MS. See §192.

piśavaidhi sūnakā (MS. sūnaka yāḥ) suhevaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
devbhūr aṅkam (VS. TS. yuktam) aṅkitaḥ rājōyah VS. TS. MS. KSA.
kaṭāḥ aṁjena (SV. yajñena) aṁnata RV. SV. A lect. fac. in SV.
viṣvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāḥ (KS. ०nā yo vyomā; MS. vimame yo vihāyāḥ; TS. manau yo vihāyāḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. N.
ametām aṁśi evah VS. ŚB.: yamaśtam aṁśi (with or without svahā) TS. MS. KS. TB. ‘Sacrificed at home (to Yama).’ Preceded by aṁśi in all. The preceding vowel i makes insertion or omission of y particularly easy.

āśūḥ jayantam así yāśu vardhaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: ya saṁjayantam adhi yāśu vardhaḥ KS. The latter is doubtless secondary. Preceded by girā. KapŚ. āśrun, doubtless intending āśūḥ.

§340. In some instances case-forms of the relative stem ya exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem a. This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial y;

triśuṇaḥ yaṣṭā (TB. asya) jaypanah yaajanām MS. KS. TB.
asya (SV. yaṣṭa) te sakhye vayam RV. SV.
ghora yaṣṭa nana aste ebhyah (MS. aste adya ebhyah) AV. TS. MS.
cakṣur yad ēṣāṁ manasā ca svaṭyam AV.: cakṣur yasāṁ (y. I. ēṣāṁ) tapa uccabhirna MS.: cakṣura ēṣāṁ manasā ca sarvāṅhau TS.
yasyāṁ (y. I. ēṣāṁ) devā abhi samuṣantah MS. Others with tasyāṁ, see §281.

§341. And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems:

mitra no atra varuṇo yajyamānah AV.: mitra yatra varuṇo aṣṭyamānah RV.

Double case; the y of yatra seems as it were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV.

yadet (KS. ad id) antā adādrhantu (TS. adādrhā) pūre RV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. This pāda precedes or (in KS.) follows the next; the
words yad (yadā) and ăd are transposed in KS. owing to the trans- position of the two pādas.

ād (KS. yad) id dyāśāprthiśe aprathetām, same texts. See prec.

athā (TB.* yathā; AV. MS. TB.* yatra) devaiḥ sadhamsādam madema (AV. madanti, comm. madema) AV. MS. KS. TB. (all three) ApŚ.

Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB.

yathā (RV. ato, VS. ŠB. ato) na (RV. ta) indraḥ kevaliḥ (VS. TS. ŠB. indra id viśāk) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ŠB.

yathānām jarasā nayāt AV.; athānāt jarinā nayet HG.

Cf. also: yasya (yASYa) yonim prati reto etc., §363, and yasyām idaṁ viśvam (viśvam hy asyām) etc., §386.

§342. Less common is the second class of cases, in which y in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without y. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with y is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the y is more often secondary, namely in the following group:

vaishnavam rta ā (TS. rūya) jātam agram AV. RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

PB. ŠB. ‘Born for the rta’ is obviously secondary.

sudevaṁ indre aśvinā (MS. indraśvīsa) VS. MS. TB. As in the last, a dative is substituted for a locative; both depend on dadhuḥ in the context.

sahasrāko (VSK. TS. KS. əkṣṇa) mehāyu (TS. KS. medha ə) ciyamānaṁ VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ‘For (at) the sacrifice’; the latter probably original. Keith on TS. 4. 2. 10. 1 translates ‘for’; his text seems to require ‘at’.

graha viśvajanīna nityantar viprāyāṁ te (MS. p. p. viprāya, māte; KS. nityantar vipra ā†vati) MS. KS. As in prec., a loc. with ā varies with a dat.

yo gopā api (TB. gopāyati) taṁ hunte RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

ta ā vakanti (MS. tadvahante; KS. tāḥāharanti) kavayaḥ purastāt TS. MS. KS. TB. See Keith on TS. 1. 1. 2. 1. The original reading probably in TS.; Keith thinks that MS. may intend the same, with tay for te, altho its Brāhmaṇa explains tayā as referring to the dhīśaṇa.

datto asmahyam (KS. dattāyāśma², AŚ. dattāyāśma², corrupt for dattār², SMB. dattāsma²) drāvinca bhadram AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.;

dadhathā no drāvinca yac ca bhadram MS. See §367.
mahayan vētāh pavalām (KS. *te) kāme armin (AV. kāmāyāsma) RV. AV.
TS. KS.

§343. In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by
omitting y, and leaving hiatus secondarily:
pāvakayā yak (TS. pāvaka ā) citayantyā kṛpā RV. VS. MS. KS. SB.
Cf. Oldenberg, Proleg. 453.
pāha gōyandhaso (SV. gā andh) made RV. SV. The RV. has a regular
2d sing. impv. pres. from āgi; the SV. an aor. inj. āgōs. Add to
VV I §158.
pīṭeṇa putraṇa jārāyaṇa navemam (MS. ma emam) MS. KS. ApMB. HG.
The MS. p. p. reads jārāsaṇa, ā, inam, corruptly pointing to the
reading of the other texts.

§344. Consider also the following peculiar case:
āma ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AS† ma) īndra AS. SG.: apāma edhi mā mṛdhā
na īndra SMB.: anāma yadihi mā riṣāma īndro Ā Kad. The mss. of
Kauś. read anāmayedhi; the emended *yadihi is supposed to con-
tain double sandhi, for *ya(h) edhi: ‘be free from disease’. But
the Kad. reading may really intend amā ma(y) edhi, like AS.
SG., with ‘Hinustilger’ y as in §338. See Bloomfield’s Introduction,
p. lvii.; and cf. §78.

§345. We have now considered the cases of plus or minus y which
seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which
suffixed y is concerned. There is little else to record, except a group of
variations between the pronominal stems ta and tyā. The more archaic
tyā is generally the original, but twice it replaces ta in secondary texts:
yad dha syā (AV. sā) te panyāṇa RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS.
mayī tyād (MS. tad) īndriyām bhāt (KS. TB. TA. mahāt, MS. vīyāma)
VS. MS. KS. TB. SB. TA. AS. SS. Pratika in MS.: mayī tyād
(so Knauer, but mss. mostly tād).
yathā ha tyād (TS. App. HG. tad) vasavo gauryām cit TS. MS. KS. SS.
App. HG. TA. AS. SS.
ā nu tae (SV. tyāc) chardho dinyām vṛṣṭimahe RV. SV.
prati te (AV. tye) te ājarida lapiṣṭhāh RV. AV.
ud it te vasuvattamāh App.: ud u tye (MS. MS. ud-ut te) madhumattamāh
RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AS. SS. Vait. MS.

§346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where
phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few:
peśasvatu tundu suhāyantī (KS. TB. vyayanantī) MS. KS. TB. Roots
va and vyā.
endriṇa vagrṇāna vahata PB.: vagnunendram ṛvaṇa TA. App. (with
metathesis of h).
§347. We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated:

susatam id gavām asyau prahudani SS.: susadam id gavām asti prahuda AV. Berlin ed., violently emending the mss. which agree precisely with SS. but for the slight corruptions govon and śudassi.
vidad gavām sarandā dhṛtham ārvam (TB, ārvam) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. has the correct ārvam, text and comm., without v. l. satasati (comm. satyasati) prajāpatih TB. But Poona ed. comm. satasati.

hiranyavat annaavad dhehi (ApŚ. annam adhyēhi, read annamad dhehi) mahyam KS. ApŚ. The corruption may be graphic in nature, prayopayam ivau sakhyau (TB. text sakthau) TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed. text and comm. sakthau, the only possible reading.


ayodhīvā (TB. dhīva) durnāda ā hi juve RV. TB. Tho Poona ed. has the same reading, it is surely corrupt; perhaps graphic. The comm. has the same, but explains it as tho ayodhā-iva.

3. Presence or absence of r

§348. Owing to the rarity of r in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance; that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms. It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause. The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with y.

§349. We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots; and first, śravas and śavas and related words: śūro naśitā śavasaś (SV. MS. śraś) cakānaḥ (SV. ca jāme) RV. SV. TS. MS.

ṣṛṇāḥ śravase (SV. śraś) mahe RV. SV.

ṣatra dadhānam apratiṣṭutuṁ śavāṣaś (SV. śravāṇi bhūri) RV. AV. SV. TB.

ā yo viśvini śavasaś (SV. śraś) tatāna RV. AV. SV.

śravīṣṭhāḥ stha MS. KS.: śravīṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāḥ VS. SB.

§350. The roots dhā and dhṛ and the like, in virtual synonyms:

sado vanesu dadhīṣe (SV. dadhīṣe) RV. SV.

vṛṣa dharmāṅi dadhīṣe (SV. dadhīṣe) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

yo nāh pītā janiṭā yo vidhātā (MS. eidihartā) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AS.
dhātā vidhātā (MS. dharātā vidhātā) paramota vānākṛta (KS. paramo na
sāmyak) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
dāvyāya dhararejātre (MS. dhātrejātre) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
dēvāyō dharame (MS. 2mā, AV. dhāmann) asthīran AV. TS. MS. KS.
kvāyāsvānā vidhātaḥ (SV. vidhātā) RV. SV. Here vidhātaḥ from root
vidh.
§351. Roots pā and pṛ:
atirātvan vārvśvān pārta rāvat (KS. vārvśvān pāta rāvat, TS. vārṣan
pārta rāvat) svāhā TS. MS. KS.
apālām śndra (MG. śndras) trīṣ (ApMB. MG. trīk) pāte (AV. pūtvā,
§352. Roots pṛ and pā;
svādnyā pāta (ViDH. śvādnyā pṛattyā) bhavata yāyam ōpah VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDH.
pra-vān adhāvya ca vačī pravāsīn (AV. 4tu pravāsīn) AV. AS. ŚŚ.
Comm. on AV. pravāsīn.
§353. Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some cor-
ruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words;
in the first case r possibly plays the rōle of 'Hiastulīga':
āhīṃ buddhnyam (TS. 2niyam) anu riyānāṁ (TS. saucyanāṁh, MS.
KS. anu rymānāṁh) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms;
note that r is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary; a sort
of 'Hiastulīga'? r is used in this way in Pāli.
antarikṣe paṭikhih ṛyānāṁh (GB. hriyānāṁh, so Ganastra without
the v. l. hriyānāṁh recorded in Bibl. Ind. ed.) RV. GB. The
AVPpp. 1. 107. 4 (Barret, JAOS 26.290) has the RV. reading;
GB. perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary. Note the final r of the
preceding word.
vanasade (MS. vanasade, KS. vanasade) vṛt (TS. MS. vṛt) VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB. See §§50.
mā tvain hārśīḥ brataḥ mayi PG.: brataṁ me mā pra hārśī RVKh.
'Take away': 'abandon'.
on TA. tries to derive its corrupt form from root jat (jr).
vikirīdā (KS. 2da, VS. 2dra, MS. vyakrīdā) vilohita VS. TS. MS. KS.
See §168.
 ya rte (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. yad rte, PB. yakṣate) cīd abhiśīṣah RV. AV.
MS. (corrupt, see §193).
jāgrtyas (ms., v. l. yā gr?) tripaṇcāśīh AV.: yā(h) kychrūs triy-AVPpp.
See §§185, 192.
**PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, ETC.**

śūnāṁ \(\text{ms.}\) \(\text{vam mā (ab. ma idam)}\) \(\text{ṣṭaṁ}...\) \(\text{msvam śrāntam (TB. text śrānta, Poona ed. śrānta)}\)... AB, TB, ApŚ.: \(\text{svam ma ṣṭaṁ aṣtu śūnāṁ śrāntam...}\) KS.

**holā yakṣat sarasaśāna (KS. ṭhastapati) ... śronītāḥ (KS. śorning); Conc. suggests reading śro) ... VS. KS.

**pythiśi bhūvarī (KS. ṛvŚhā) sinivā śrāndhra (KS. urāndha) dvitile ... KS ApŚ.** An obscure epithet of earth; perhaps belongs in §350.

agne \(\text{dābhāya} \text{ṣrātanā pāhi vidyot} \text{KS.}: \text{agnen dābhāya \text{ṣrātanā pāhi mādyā dvāh} ... TS. TB. ApŚ.: agne \text{dābhāya} \text{ṣilama pāhi mā didyok VS. ŠB.}\) In KS., apparently the original, \(\text{‘having uninjured body’};\) TS., \(\text{‘having not cold body’},\) an over-sophisticated lect. fac. VS. has a further change, by haplogly, and is really uninterpretable; comm. either \(\text{‘most eating’ or ‘most obtaining’},\) of which the former is adopted by BR. and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory.

**vi jihṛṣa lokān kṛṣṇu AV.: vi jihṛṣa lokān kṛdhī TA.** The AV. is original: \(\text{‘go apart (root ṭa), make room’};\) TA. comm. takes it as desiderative from \(\text{ṛ (vihartum ṭcha)},\) which would require jihṛṣaṇa, anābhrāta sahasrānam (TS. KS. sahasrṇyam) sahasa VS. MS. KS. AŚ. ‘Thousandfold mighty’, probably original: \(\text{‘powerful and mighty’},\) lect. fac.

**yo agniḥ kravyāhanak (VS. KS. kavya) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: yad agne kravyāhana TS.** Euphemistic change of kravya\(^{a}\) to kavya\(^{a}\).

**yada dātas (AŚ, ārtās) tad agra punah TS. AŚ. ‘Whence it was taken, to it it has returned.’ AŚ. mere blunder or misprint.

**pratī cātost aha (AV, aha) dyabhī RV. AV. (both) SV. ArŚ. VS. KS. ŠB.: pratī asya vaha dyabhī TS.** The comm. on AV. has aha; aha is a blunder suggested by dyabhī.

**apāṁ tva sadhīṣī (MS, tva sadhriṣū) sādayāṁ VS. MS. KS. ŠB. sadhiṣ-1, ‘in the seat’; sadhriṣu \(\text{‘mere blunder’},\) Keith on TS. 4, 3, 1, 1) perhaps with thought of RV. sadhriṣ.

**anābhā mṛḍa dhēṛta (MS. 9te, v. l. 9la) MS. MS.: anābhāna mṛḍa KS. ApŚ.** See §749.

**bāṁ no bhava kṛḍāḥ ṣ pīta indo RV. GB. AŚ. Vait. MS.** According to Gaustrā, all his ms. read indro for ṣnd, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing ṣnd in his text.

**ā na ṣndra (and, ṣnd) māhe ṣtam RV. (both)**

**vyādkhyata apagabhām (TB. aprā, but Poona ed. text and comm. apa) VS. TB.** Probably mere misprint.
potrāgnīdho (read with Gargastra potā?) niḥitaṁ pādām ekam GB.

§354. The following involve different word-divisions:

yasya (ApMB. vy asya) yoniṁ patireto grbhāya (ApMB. HG. praśi reto
grbhā) ŚG. HG. ApMB.
āyuḥpaśi rathajātaram (MS. āyuḥ prātimath) tad aśya etc. ApŚ. MS.

The latter corrupt.

eyaḥ bhūyā (PG. bhūrī) caratī (MS. caratī) ayaṁ (AG. ca rātryām,
corrupt; PG. carā divam) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.
tan mā jīne (KS. mārjīte) TS. MS. KS. ‘Quicken me’; ‘cleansing it’.
sa vāḥ sarvāḥ san caratī praṃjānak AV.: sarvāḥ sāreḥ (p.p. saḥ, sāreḥ)
vi caratī praṃjānak MS. The latter carelessly assimilates to the
following sāreḥ.
mā mā yānaṁ hāsīti (JB. yono vān hāraet) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms
obscure.

agnir hotreṣedām (ŚŚ. hotreṇa) havir ajuṣata MS. ŚŚ.: agniḥotreṣedām
havir . . . . TB. AŚ. But agnir ho must certainly be read in all
texts, with Poona ed. of TB.

ud vaṁ labaṁ ieva yemiṇe RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: ārīdhvan kham ieva menire
Mbh.

§355. In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or
consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically:
ārīdhvaṁtah (MS. KS. śritah) śrayadhvan VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. TA.

See §195.

svāṁ tamam (tanuvaṁ) vāruno ’suṣot (TS. TB. akiśret) TS. MS. KS. TB.

See §257.

prad u haricäh śrutasya (SV. sutasya) RV. SV. TS. See §278.

triṣug (AŚ. triṣruḍ) gharma vibhātu me (KS. gharman sadam in me vibhāti)
KS. TB. TA. AŚ. See §145.

śiva rutasya (TS. and v. l. of MS. rudrasya, VSK. śiva rāṣṭya) bheṣajī
t (MS. śā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.
apālapa ādhyāyamānāḥ TS.: viṣṇur āprīṣita āpṛīṣyamānāḥ VS. ‘Drinker
of unpurified (soma)’; ‘protecting when propitiated (?)’.
rudrāṇāṁ urvāyāṁ (ApŚ. ārmyāyāṁ, ŚŚ. omṛyāyāṁ) . . . ŚB. ApŚ. ŚŚ.

See §228.

amoci (AV. anukthā) yākṣmād durutād avartayai (AV. avadityā) AV. PB.
ApMB. See §60.

anu dhaṁ sahmārāṁ kramyādaḥ (SV. kayādāḥ) RV. SV.: sahamārāṁ
anu dhaṁ kramyādaḥ AV. Benfey explains the SV. form as from
kaya = kāya + ad, ‘body-eating’. This would imply metric
shortening of o to a. There may be involved euphemistic avoidance
of the word kramyād, as in kramyavāhana:kasya, §353.
§356. Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of \( r \) in formative elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion:

\"ghṛtām duhata (RV.\(^*\) duhrata) āśīram RV. (both) SV. See RVRep. 137, 562, and VV I p. 169.

\textit{te dukṣiṇām duhate (AV. te duhrate dukṣiṇām) saptārātaram RV. AV.}

See VV, I, c.

\textit{utānam (NīlarU. uṣa teśā) gopā adṛṭa (TS. NīlarU. ādṛṣṭa) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. See VV I p. 170. Followed by:}

\textit{adṛṣṭa (TS.\(^{†}\) adṛṣṭa) udāharyah VS. TS. See ibid.,}

\textit{apa muktiṁ (SV. muktiṁ) nṛmanā adhatta (SV. adhadaḥ, KS.\(^{†}\) nṛma- nām adhārīm) RV. AV. SV. KS.: apa staḥ (Poona ed. mukhi)

\textit{tām nṛmanā adhārām TA. See §110, and VV I p. 170.}

\textit{saraśvatiṅ (AV.\(^{2}\) yāṁ) adhi manāv (KS. mānā, v. l. manā; SMB, vanāva, but Jörgensen manāv; AV. manāv) acarṣṭān (KS. and SMB. Jörg. acak\(^{a}\); SMB, Con. carkṛṇi) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. SMB. PG. The KS. also has v. l. acark, which perhaps should be read

\textit{thruout. Jörgensen assumes dissimilation; see VV I p. 149.}

Compare further variants between the verbal endings -re and -vire, VV I p. 170, and: \textit{ghṛtam mimīśa (TA. kṣīra) ghṛtam aṣya yonīḥ RV.}

\textit{VS. TA., ibid. p. 214.}

§357. Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or inflexional syllables of nouns. These cases belong to noun formation or inflexion. It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those listed first—the \( r \) when present, follows a consonant group. In these, especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected; cf. the similar cases with \( y \), §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant Groups below:

\textit{bhūri sastam (SV. sastrem) gṛthuḥ svaruḥ RV. SV. VS. Synonyms;}

\textit{but here the form without \( r \) is older.}

\textit{atvādāh vītarvād cid aṣṭā (MS. aṣṭāḥ) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is}

\textit{secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption.}

\textit{na kī devā viniśasi RV.: na kī devā intiśasi SV. Anomalous reduc-}

\textit{tion of na-kīs to na-ki.}

\textit{sāvo rāthasya napṛyaḥ (ArŚ. napṛyaḥ, TB. napṛyaḥ) RV. AV. ArŚ.}

\textit{KS. TB. Feminine stems napṛ and napṛḥ, the latter influenced by napṭar.}
twasṣñimatī (TA. Cone. twaṣṭṛä, which is a v. l. in Poona ed., its text twaṣṭṛä) te sapaya TS. ApŚ. TA.; twaṣṭmanatā (MS. MS. twaṣṭṛä, ApŚ. twaṣṭuä) tevä sapama VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The MS. MS. ApŚ. forms are Prakritic in vocalism. In the Tait. school form, which concerns us here, the stem twaṣṭṛ is, as it were, feminized. Add to VV I. §345.

praty etā vāmā ... pratiṣṭhotapavaktar (ŚŚ. ²vaktā, v. l. ²vaktar) uta ... KB. ŚŚ.: praty etā sunuvan ... pratiṣṭhotapavaktar uta ... AŚ. The form can only be construed as nom.; ²vaktā, if it is intended, must stand for ²vaktā with partial sandhi (ā shortened, §991). But it looks as if all texts intended ²vaktar. Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ., p. 252 note, suggests that ²ra is a bad writing for u; but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error. Is r a kind of sandhi consonant or Hintustägler, as in Pāli? Cf. the first variant in §353. Or is ²vaktar used as nom.? Cf. the nom. neut. (?) forms in -tari, Wackernagel III p. 205 supra.

viśvā amitāḥ pramaṇaṇ ca mānusībhīḥ (KS. ²śebhāḥ) AV. KS.: viśvā ātāḥ pramaṇaṇ ca mānusībhīḥ VS. TS. See §783.

vaptā (ApMB. vaprā, HG. MG. vaptar) vapsi (PG. ²tā) kṣaṇmaṇaḥru (AG. PG. MG. kṣāṇ) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. vапрā is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals.

ā mā stulasya stutaṁ ganyāḥ (Vait. gamet) TS. Vait.: ā mā stotrasya stotan ganyāḥ PB. Synonyms.

matyas śrutāya (mahe śrotāya) ca defendant AV. (both)

gharmanī pāla vasavo yajata (TA. ²tā, MS. ²trā) vāt (MS. vēt, TA. vēt) VS. MS. TA. ŚB. yajata (²tā) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye',
gaur dhenubhavyā (HG. dhenur bhavyā) ApMB. HG. See §818.

agnér agneyāṇy (KS. agniyāṇy) asi (one ms. and p.p. of MS. agner agner yāṇy asi) MS. KS.: devinām agneyāṇy asi TS.: agner yāṇy asi TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. agneyāṇi, certainly the true reading of TS. and probably of MS., is a curious tatpurṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending. 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case. KS. has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary.

brahaspakṣitaṣaya (TS. MS. add ta, VS. VSK. ŚB. add deva soma (a) in da (TS. inda, VS. ŚB. indor) indriyāvataḥ ... VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Gen.: voc.

sa vīvačcā (KS. ²ct) ābhī caṣṭe ghatāḥ (KS. ²ct) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ²The KS. changes an accus. plur., with which a noun has to be
supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with redasi in the preceding pada.

devī dvārau (Vait. devīr dvāra) mā mā bāmāptam TS. AS. Vait. Cf. prec., and §732.

asmadrātā madhumātr (KS. 23) ... MS. KS. SS. and others; §800.
gaurīr (244) māmāya ... , see §545.

4. Presence or absence of v

§358. Doublets with or without v seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel I §232a). Among the variants they are fairly numerous. Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which v is initial before a vowel. Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound v, as in the case of y (§§338–44), and to a much slighter extent r (§§353). As with those sounds, however, the form with v is not by any means always secondary in text history.

v initial before a vowel

§359. Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words ṛṣabhō and ṛṣabhū, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale. In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with v when the last word ends in a vowel. But this is by no means universal.

ṛṣabheya (TS. rs8) teṣṭa TS. KS. This is an instructive case; it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS., in a consonant in TS. We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS. begins with v.

vatsa vīrājo vṛṣabho mātīnām AV.: pitā vīrājām vṛṣabho rśinām TB.

Observe that rṣ- is preceded by a final -m, rṣ- by a final vowel. It is as if r shifted to m (§236).

ṛṣabheya (TS. ṛṣ8) yāh (KS. gavah) TS. KS. KSA. The single ms. of KSA. has corruptly ava-ṛṣa8, which Von Schroeder emends to aṣvān ṛṣ8, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS. reading (aṣvān ṛṣ8) should be adopted.

ṛṣabhavan (VS. * ṛṣ8) naryāpasam RV. AV. SV. VS. (both) MS. TB.

Here preceded by a consonant.

ṛṣabhāja (MS. ṛṣ8) gawāy TS. KSA. rājuve gawāy TS. MS. KSA.

A consonant precedes.

ṛṣabho (KS. ṛṣ8) gaur vayo dadhub VS. MS. KS. TB. A consonant precedes.
vedic variants II: phonetics

vrśabha 'si varṣah AV; rṣabho 'si svargo lokah TB. Initial in verse.
kakubhāni (VSK. TS, ApŚ. ancybox) vṛṣain vrṣabhasya (KS. vṛṣam rṣ°)
rocalā bṛhat (VSK. bṛhan) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
astabhkād dyāṁ vrṣabha (TS. MS. dyāṁ rṣ°) anarikṣam RV. VS. TS.
MS. ŚB. TB. KS.
bṛhat vrṣabhāni (TB. rṣ°, but Poona ed. text and comm. rṣ°) gāṁ vayo.
dadhat VS. TB.
śākvā (IŚ. ye śāk) vrṣabhā (AV. rṣ°) ye svardājah AV. IŚ. Note the
vowel preceding.
rathe aṅkṣeṇu vrṣabhasya (KS. TB. ṛśu rṣ°; so AV, comm., and so Ppp.
intends, Barret, JAOS 30. 204) vāje AV. KS. TB.: ratheṣu aṅkṣeṇu
vrṣabhārājah ViDh.

§360. There are no other forms with and without r that are precisely
identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases
of presence or absence of initial r before a vowel, in many of which the
preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the
tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play
their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary,
reversing the direction of the process:
le ar̥ṣantu le varṣantu... IŚ.: le varṣanti le varṣayanti AV. Roots
arṣ 'rush' and varṣ 'rain'. One is inclined to suspect assimilation
to the following varṛ- in AV.
rjīte (KS. rjṛ°) pari vrūdhī naḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Initial
in the verse: Von Schroeder says on KSA., 'wohl fehlerhaft für
rjīte'. Perhaps assimilated to the following vrūdhī.
śalmaṭir vrūdhya (KSA. rddhyā) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. Synonyms.
agne vājaсид vājan tē... VS. ŚB. TB. Vait. ApŚ.: ojīm tēgē... MS.
Synonyms since earliest times. Note preceding vowel before vājo°.
evrenyakratār (AV. ṛtur, ApŚ. idēnya°) aham RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: vīre-
yuḥ kratur indraḥ niṣṣasthib RV.
harṣu kratuṁ varuṇo (MS. ṛṇah) vikṣv (RV. apśo, MS. dikṣv) agnīm
RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.† For the RV, original is substituted
vikṣv after preceding vowel, with quasi-Hintustilger r and other
phonetic changes (cf. especially §153a). On MS. see §869 (a
further, graphic change).
tad āguḥ (ApŚ. vāyuḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ. 'That is life (wind, breath'),
āsun (AV. TS. vasūṁ) gharman dwam (VS. svar) ā tiṣṭhatānu (AV,
rohataṇānu) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. asu 'life'; vasu 'weal' (with
ungrammatical m); preceded by vowel; asu is original, as shown by
RV. 10. 14. 12, 15. 1 (cf. 10. 15. 9, 10).
deva gātavido gātum vittā (VSK: gātum sted) gātum ita AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. Cf. gātum vittā gātum thi MS. ApŚ.; deva gātavido (MS. adds gātum vittā) gātum yajñāya vindata ... TB. ApŚ. MS. ‘Finding’ and ‘going upon’ the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original; VSK assimilates to the following ita.

tev īṣāḥ (KS. viśre, MS. teva īṣā) samadadhur bhūrivaspaḥ (TS.† bhūri-relasah) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. On MS. see §694. KS. clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic v between vowels.

dhiṣare vidū (VS. VSK. vidū, KS. vīte, MS. MŚ. īdite) sati (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) vidāpethām (MS. MŚ. īdethām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §169.

tigam-unīkam vidītām sahasvat AV.; tigam āyuθham vidītām (KS. adham īdītan) sahaṣat TS. MS. KS. ‘Imploded’ of KS. is secondary to ‘strong’; AV. is still farther afield, see §169.
yo antaro mitramahat ranusyat (KS. anu²) RV. KS. ApŚ. ‘Who ... fights against us.’ KS. seems to feel a form from anu + as, as in English slang, ‘who is after us’. Reverse of ‘Hitustilger’. KapŚ. ranusyā.

nāmo vidhryāya (MS. vidhriyāya, p.p. vidhryāya; TS. nāma īdhiyāya) cālapāyāya ca VS. TS. MS. KS. Both forms are obscure; TS. probably secondary. See Keith’s note.

āśāṁ īmā bhuvanāṁ viyāse (SV. iyāse) RV. SV. Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV.; reverse of ‘Hiatustilger’ with a vengeance!

mahēva āyur adha (AV. vadhā) tmanā RV. AV. udhatmāna (sic) not divided in p.p., and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption; he translates the RV. Still, the AV. may be rendered: ‘slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself’.

ahar (MS. vahad) divābhīr (MS. dieyābhīr) utībhīḥ VS. MS. ŠB. TA. ŞŚ. LŚ. ahar, adverb, ‘by day’. One ms. of MS. with p.p. vahad (d or d for r, §§272, 272a); preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of ‘Hiatustilger’.

vīṣāṁ savarjūśānām (AV. viṣām aver²) RV. AV. The original means, ‘of the folk who have prepared (the barhīs)’, Bloomfield, JAOS 35. 275. The AV. uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation; the initial a- must be taken as privative, ‘who have not defended themselves’ (eyj = pari-eyj as in Classical Skt.). Cf. Whitney ad loc. The retention of the perfect pple. form shows the badness of the AV.
mahī no vātā  īha vāntu bhūmau AV.; miham na vāto vi ha vātī bhūma RV. Reverse of ‘Hiatustilger’
abhūr āpinām (HG. ṣpāṃ; AV, mss. v ṣpā) abhīṣastipāvā (AV, ṣpā u) AV. HG. ApMB. Others, §46.
ramayuta (KS. ṣtā) marutah śyenam āyinam (MŚ. marutah pretaḥ vājinam) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ,
mā tvā ke cin ni (AV, cid ṛvī) yemur vīṁ (SV. cin ni yemur in, TA. cin nyemur in) na pāśināḥ RV. SV. AV. VS. TA. vīṁ, acc. of vi,
secondarily reduced to the particle in (id).
viśvīr yāman avardhayan VS.: viśvīr yāman vavardhayan TB. (Conc.).
But Poona ed. of TB. has correctly yāman avarā.

§361. In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial v (after a vowel; ‘Hiatustilger’) is felt as containing the preposition ava:
pro ārata (TB, ‘vārata’) maruto durmadā āva RV. TB. ‘Rush along,
Maruts, like madmen.’ Comm. on TB. avārata dhāvata.
urugya tāga eṣo (VSK. tuṣā tuṣā, i.e. ava, īsō; TS. MS. KS. rāgaḥ sam īsō) yajasya VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ava-yaj ‘remove by sacrifice’
with object īsō, is peculiarly inept.

§362. A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this
category, altho the v, when found, is not initial in its word:
agninendra somena... upa te īvuc saśiham (KSA. īvuc ‘sā aham) TS. KS. A ‘I summon for thee, O offering’: ‘I, so and so (asai ‘N.N.’), summon for thee’. If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA.
is original, the TS. reading uses v as a sort of ‘Hiatustilger’, yielding
a different lexical result. The same with brahmanān rtvījo devān
... īṣōna puṃkam... devān sendrān...
aṅkāṅkaḥ (MS. aṅkāva-aṅkaḥ, so divided in p.p.; KS. aṅkaṅkaḥ)
chandāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nothing is known of the original
form or meaning of this word (said by comm. to mean ‘water’);
note the curious KS. variant, with short a. It may be that MS.
has a kind of ‘Hiatustilger’ with its v.

v initial before a consonant

§363. So far initial v before a vowel. In a few cases the same v
appears or disappears before an initial consonant:
reśṭīṇāṁ (VS. ŚB. veṣ) tvā patmāṁ  ādhūnāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ;
reśṭīṇu (sc. te ṭukro ṭukram  ādhunomi) TS. An epithet of water, of
unknown etymology and meaning; v- presumably unoriginal.
oge yajśa (AV, ṭucasma) rodah urva RV. AV. MS. See §57.
apārṇaḥ dhuvo abhūvatānāṁ (MS. astad-rathānāṁ, p.p. asmin, ra’)
RV. MS. TA. The MS. is hardly interpretable.
§364. Coming to non-initial s, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes svā- and sa- vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with su-, see §§612 and 741:

vakṣyātm (KS, svāt) yajñām divi deśaḥ dhatāṃ MS. KS. TB. sūrya na svāyuṣṭakhiḥ (SV, svāy) RV. SV.

vikēś dvārāṇāt laratī svāyuṣṭakhiḥ (SV, svāya) RV. SV. Better meter in RV. (anapest after cesura).

indra svāyuṣṭhār maṭvēḥa (ApŚ. saṣṭhīr didhyun na maṭvē madāya) mahe yanāya AV. ApŚ.

yajño bhūvā yajñām āśīda ... sakṣaya (MS. svakṣaya) ehi TB. ApŚ. MS.

§365. There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in te- and forms of the demonstrative stem to-. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a te- form and the enclitic te (2d person), and between kma and kā (both from the interrogative stem):

tam id arbaḥ hauṣyā d samāvan it RV.: tvām arthaḥ havisaḥ samānam it SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Followed by:


tam (TA. tvam) u nīr vāpaya pūch RV. TA.

tvām (MS. tām) sūvandā (MS. tā) upa yanti vājāh RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

paramāṁ tam (TB. ApŚ. tad) purāvaḥ AV. TB. ApŚ.

etat tvāpta prātimāvāno (AŚ. varāvāno) asmi (AŚ. ṭasmin) VS. AŚ SS. Vait.: etat tān prātimāvāno asmin LS.

ya tām vātārā upāsmaha PG.: yām tevāt rātry upāsmaha (TS. upāsate, SMB. rātārī yajāmaha) AV. TS. SMB.: ye tevāt rātry (MG, rātārī) upāsate KS. MG.

tvām gopāya MG.: tam gopāya etc., see Conc.
praṣṭai mṛtyaye tvā (TA. tat) RV. TA. Here the stem tvā- is not the 2d personal pronoun.
tavāntaṁ (MS. ōtyāgne) kāman (ŚŚ. lokam) aham jayānī (MS. *mi) AŚ.† ŚŚ. ApŚ. MS. ApMB.

tayāhan (MS. tevā) śāntyā...śāntīṁ karami MS. TA.: tābhiḥ śāntīḥḥ...śāmayāmy aham AV.
tayā (TA. 10. 1. 9 tayā) halena pāpena TA. TAA.† MahānU.
yajūryuktām sāmabhir ṛktakham tvā (MS. ṛktakham tā) MS. TA. The words are bad enough in either case. MS. p.p. ṛkta-khāṁ, tā, making tā an independent enclitic; ṛktakham is not in any lexicon. But ṛktakham is little better. TA comm.: ṛktāny ṛppāyitāni khāṁindriyāny asayāvā yoga pravṛtyaya so 'yam ṛktakās tādrīsram; sāmagṝṣṇa hi pravṛtya ṛppāyita bhavati. (l)—Boehltingk, p.w. 2. 293, ‘dessen Büchse geschmiert ist’.

paras tvā (ŚŚ. purastāt) sarve kurmahe AB. ŚŚ. Here-tāt is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun. The sense requires object tvā. Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.) in the secondary ŚŚ.
yat teemāhe (SMB. te mahe) prati tan no (Kauś. prati nās tāy) juṣuṣava RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. All ms. and comm. of SMB. agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading. Comm., unbelievably: te tvām (l) yat phalam mahe (l) tan no ‘sambahyati juṣuṣava prajāchety arthāḥ.

kva (SV. kā) pratnā va āhūtiḥ RV. SV.

§366. Further, ṭ is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without ṭ. Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf. VV I p. 121:

deva tvṣaṛ varu rama (TS. raṇe, KS. raṇa, MS. raṇe) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (In MS. raṇe is a noun.)
āpah te ṭa sam arīṇaṁ (MS. arīṇaṁ) VS. MS. ŚB.: āpah sam arīṇaṁ TS. KS.

manai (MS. mane) nu bubhrūqāṁ aham RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See VV I pp. 76, 121.

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated:
jananta (SV. jinvantā) uṣasā bhagam RV. SV.

§367. Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal tvā (tvā) and other forms lacking ṭ; but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption:
anu pītā (SV. pītvā) sarvīdaḥ RV. SV. Lect. fac. in SV. for pītā, loc. sing. of pītā, 'in the drinking of it'.

yenendro hariśā kṛteṣ (ApMB. kṛte) RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form (v. l. kṛteṣ) may be interpreted as nom. sg. of kṛteṇ, but is doubtless corrupt. It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§ 419 ff.); the next word begins with a-, and the actual reading is kṛteṣ ya-a-.

datto asmābhyaśa (KS. dattābhyaśaḥ, AŚ. dattābhyaśaḥ, corrupt for dattōa, SMB. dattāśmaḥ) dravīṣaḥ bhadraṃ AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: dadhataka no dravīṣaḥ yac ca bhadram MS. 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity,'

hālā viṣṇumena (ŚŚ. viṣṇu me) jāritār AV. 20. 135. 5, AŚ. 8, 3, 24, ŚŚ. Vait. This pāda is omitted in the Berlin ed. of AV. and therefore in Conc. Most ŚŚ. mss. viṣṇu; per contra, v. l. of AV. viṣṇu. It is very obscure in any case.

dāsasyatādātāya (ApMB. tāmātāya) kam RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple., but may fairly be called corrupt; cf. Winternitz, p. xx.

yukteṣ (TB. Conc. yukta, Poona ed. text and comm. correctly yukteṣ) hari tryaṇā yāḥy ayāk (MS. KS. ayāk) RV. MS. KS. TB.
apālām indra (MG. āras) triṇ (triṇ) patiṣ (AV. pā, ApMB. pārvīṣ, MG. pāṇy a-) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG. The last seems clearly corrupt. [indraḥ pāśena ṭṣkātvā rah ApMB.: indraḥ pāśena rah ākātvā (so intended, see Index of Words) HG.: indrapāśena sitēḥ. PG. The true reading is sitēḥ.]

§368. A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes:

madhau (SV. madho) rasam sadhamāde RV. SV. These alternative forms of gen. sing. of madhu occur frequently in the pairs madhau: madho; see Conc. p. 681a.
ed u madhau (SV. PB. madhoh) madintaram RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. vaso vaso purusprabhāḥ RV.: vasa vasa purusprabhāḥ SV.

asamasyeta jāyus mātroḥ (TB. mātro) sūcī RV. TB. With mātroḥ, guaranteed by all mss. and Vaidikas, cf. perhaps pārṣva; and note that mātroḥ in RV is trisyllabic.

mahanāṁ gahavasyāṁ SV.: tānūr varṣīṣṭḥa gahaneṣṭḥā MS. Root gah, with different suffixes.

gambhiraiḥ pathibhiḥ pārvyaiḥ (AV. pārvyēaiḥ) AV. TS. HG. The AV. is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification. Cf. next.
preki-prehi pathihhih puryebhhih (AV. puryaaih) RV. AV. MS. AS.
AG. Cf. prec.
aprajastahin pautramryum ApMB. HG.; aprajastevam murtavatsam AV.
Others, §650. Suffixes tā and tva.
§369. Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest
attaches to this, on which cf. Wackernagel I §232c:
saumyye trayah svitiingah (KSA. hi) TS. KSA.
With vrit- and vit-, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous
ciṭ-; see §195:
citra (VS. cītra) adityānām VS. MS.
citro (AV. cītro) raktāt AV. MS.
§370. After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already men-
tioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong
with §§419 ff. below:
śītē kṛṇe rakṣaye (AV. rakṣobhyo) vi nīkṣe (KS. nakṣe, AV. mss. nīkṣev),
RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. The Berlin ed. and Whitney’s translation
adopt the RV. reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the
comm. that the superfluous v is chändasa. See Whitney’s note,
which points out that viniṣeva occurs in the next verse.
dhunbṣagnēyī (VSK. śva or śya) VS. VSK. MS. And others; see
§255.
svārām (TB. swarā) aprāh (TB. Poona ed., twice, ṭapstāṁ, in text and
comm.) cṛjanaśya gopām RV. VS. MS. TB. apravām is unintern-
pretable,
mā tvāgir dhvanayid (MS. dhanaa, TS. yid, KSA. yed) dhūmاغandīhīh
RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. The text of MS. is based on p.p.; the
sāṁh. mss. are all corrupt but have v in place of dh (tvāgir
cunairddhamagandhir). It seems that this in these mss. is a graphic
corruption for dhea, which should probably be read in MS. as in the
other texts.
§371. After or before single consonants; a miscellaneous group:
āpo deviḥ svadantu (VSK. sad) svāttām cit sad devahāvih VS. VSK. ŚB.:
svāttām sad dhāvīr āpo deviḥ svadantu MS.; svāttām cit sodevam
havyam āpo deviḥ svadatanām TS. ApŚ. The reading of VSK. is
poor (cf. svāttām). Cf. next.
enā adya vasaṇo rudā adityāḥ sadantu (MS. sad) MS. KS. TB.
Here sad does not belong; the reverse of the prec.
apariḥitāḥ (MS. hṛtāḥ) sanuyāma vajam RV. MS. KS. Intended for
synonyms; MS. slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption.
twidyumnam vibhrāsaham (SV. vibhā) RV. SV. vibhā ‘glory’ and vibhāv
(for "ran) 'excellent'. Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory':
apām rasaṃ udvōyasam (KS. udāyaṃsam, TA. udayaṃsan) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB, TB. TA. The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing'; KS. and TA. a verb form, which in TA. is 3 plur. sor. of ud-yam. KS. may intend the same with udāyaṃsām followed by s; but in VV I p. 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing. viśaṃ tu tvādātāyaḥ sarvāya yatra bhṛmā viśvmaṃto 'si PrāṇāgU.: viśaṃtu tvām āhutayāḥ ca sarvāḥ praṣās tatra yatra viśvmaṃto 'si MU. The Conc. says, 'read viśaṃtu' for both. In the Poona ed. (Upaniṣadām Samuccayā, An. Skt. Ser., 1895), the MU. passage (p. 406) reads viśaṃtu in text and comm.; but the PrāṇāgU. (p. 307), viśaṃtu in both. Certainly viśaṃtu must be read.
anitīr asī dīvе ... TS. KS. JB. PB. Vait.: anitīr asī GB. The Conc. calls the latter a 'blunder'; yet, curiously, Gāstra also has anitīr.
mitrāvaṃ sahādbhānām (MS. oḥna) cikītvā (MS. cikītām, KS. jīgatī, AŚ. cikītvām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45. The AŚ. form is difficult and suspicious.
satyaṃ sa ṛaḥaṇā (MS. drehṛṇā, KS.† ṛaḥaṇā) yam nudedē TS. MS. KS.: svacetāsa druheṇo yau nudedē AV. See §305.
vandē dāravīrī vandamāṇī RV.: vandadevāḥ vandamāṇā vivaḥṣu SV. See VV I p. 218.
anu dāha sahamārān kravyādaḥ (SV. kavyādaḥ) RV. SV.: sahamārān anu dāha kravyādaḥ AV. See §355.
anukāṣena bāhyam MS.: anukāṣena bāhyam VS.: antareṇaṇākakam TS. KSA. The VS. reading is apparently a blunder; comm. reads bāhyam, which must be right, as the contrasting anuvām in the preceding formula shows.

§371a. One anomalous case involving false word-division:
urvā rō na deva rīgaḥ pāhī TS. MS. KS. TB.: pururāvī na deva etc. VS. ŚB. IŚ. The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility'. The Vāj. reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption: Eggeling, 'fiercely bowing (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning; but Mahādāna derives rīvān from rā 'give'.

5. Presence or absence of s

§372. Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of s + stop (also s + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the s. Hindu speech
not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots spaś; paśi, kṛ: skṛ, etc.). See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the s is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi).

§373. Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial s before a vowel varies with a form without s, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of h, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases mediaevally.

§374. Beginning with the cases of initial s before consonants (those which occur are k, t, and p), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word:

sas: prthunah saṃkṣirti viśakarmā TS. TB. ApŚ.: sa (MS. MŚ. va)/ prthunā saṃkṣirti viśavārā (MS. vaṃśa asmin) VS. MS. ŚB. (Pratika, MŚ.) The root kṛ regularly appears as skṛ with sam, so that the Tālt. form is irregular.

ut te stabhāmī (TA. tabhām) prthiśām tvat pari RV. AV. TA. Cf. Whitney §233e. In TA. this law operates in spite of tnesis; this is not without parallel.

tegān (TS. TB. ApŚ. stegān) daṇṭṝbhyām VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV. has stega. Perhaps the root tij (originally stij) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS. MS. KSA. the word is preceded by one ending in s, while in TS. it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

tarī mandrāśu prayākṣu AV.: stari mandras suprayākṣah KS.: sa ṣa (TS. 饬) mandrā suprayāsah (TS. mandrāśu prayāsah; MS. mandrā suprayāsā starimān) VS. TS. MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt; at least they are all difficult. But note starimān in MS. (starī AV.).

§375. The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned; and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds:

divah sanisprīas (MS. sanisprīas) pahi VS. MS. ŚB. And:
prthivāh samāpeṣas (TS. TB. ApŚ. vào, VS. SB. sammepṣas) pāhī VS. 
TS. MS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. sam-prc and sam-spr, practically 
synonyms. See §195.
dīvam agraṇaṇaṣprkṣaḥ (VSK., wrongly quoted in Conc. as "aṇapikṣaḥ 
dīvam agraṇaṇaṣprkṣaḥ (TB. aṃprāt) VS. TB. And others.
vīṣṇa sprāho (AV. mrdo) abhimātrī jayena RV. AV. TA.
dānjanena sarpiṣaḥ samā viṣanta (AV. sprāntām, Ppp. [Roth] viṣanta, TA, 
svāmaṇata) RV. AV. TA.
yatraṣprkṣaḥ tanve ya ca vāsasah (ApMB. tanvenām yatra vāsah) AV.
ApMB.: yatra vṛkṣas tanveḥ yatra vāsah HG, 
sa bhūmim viṣeata (ArŚ. sarvata, VS. sarvata) vṛtvā (VS. sprtvā) RV. ArŚ. 
AV. VS. TA. See §200.
tutha 'si janaḍhāyāḥ (PB. yath) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. lŚ.: stuto 'si janaḍhī 
TB. ApŚ. See §93.
saṃsāvadhāgā (VS. SB. saṃsāvadhāgā); MS. yāh, KS. Kauś. yās) sthēsā 
(Kauś. tvasā) bhrantaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Kauś. See §§96, 
747.

§376. Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange 
between sa conjunctive and a privative (antonym); the rest is sporadic: 
ajoṣa (SV. aṣa) ṣravaham patim RV. AV. SV. ajoṣa 'unersättlich, gierig', 
sacetasān (VSK. sa) arrepasau VS. VSK. SB.: sacetasān sacetasān TB. 
And others; see §180.
ā (VaradapU. sā) naḥ śravann utibhiḥ aida sādanam (VaradapU. saśvā) 
RV. TS. KS. VaradapU. The comm. is hard put to it to explain 
sā; he takes it for sa with Vedic lengthening. It is in fact 
inexplicable.
yuva ayuṇā umā abdalā (KS. yuva ayuṇā umā t eva abdalā) saqaraha sunekeha 
MS. KS. MŚ.: yuva ayauṇā eva umā sabdāḥ saqaraha sunekeha TS. 
The form sabda of TS., for regular abda, is wholly obscure; doubtless 
due to some analogy.
anāgasa yathā sadam it sam kṣiṣayama Vait.: anāgasa adham it saṁkṣayema 
TB. See §110.

§377. The very few cases of evanescent medial s are entirely sporadic, 
except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as bhūyāma: 
bhūyāsma), which are found in VV 1 §175 and are not repeated here: 
agnir no vanate (VSK. vanate, SV. TS. KS. vaṁṣate) rayim RV. SV. VSK. 
TS. MS. KS. Present and s-aorist.
tasya te bhaktivaṁsah sāma (MS. KS. vaṁno bhūyāsma) AV. MS. KS.: 
tasåṣa te bhaktivaṁsah saṁma (MS. KS. ApŚ. 4, 13, 71 bhaktivaṁno 
bhūyāsma) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both). Suffixes raṁs and van.
6. Presence or absence of visarga

§378. This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings); and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Although the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Waekernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter; and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like; some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379. In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final ḫ vary with corresponding forms without ḫ, a fairly frequent phenomenon:

praṇa-praṇa yaṣṇapatīṁ tīra (TA. tīrṇa, Poona ed. tīrṇa) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AS. SS. ApŚ.

sūryasya tapas tāya (MS. MS. śṛṇaḥ) MS. TA. ApŚ. MS.

śī ṛṣṇārvase vaha (ŚŚ. vahāḥ, em., mss. mahāḥ) AV. SS.

niyudbhīr (AV. niyudbhīr) vāyaś (AV. VŚK. MS. vāya) tha tā vi muṇca (ŚŚ. muṇcaḥ) AV. VS. VŚK. MS. SB. TA. AS. SS. ApŚ. Add to VV I §25.

viśvasmat (TA. deva vi) sīm aghāyata uruṣya (TA. uruṣa) RV. TA.

tāv imā upa sarpaṭaḥ SV. JB.: emām anu sarpaṭa MS.

agne vittād dhiṣo ṣad yajāma (TB. smah) RV. TB.

āśvinā bhisaṃvataḥ (MS. smah, TB. smah, both edd.) VS. MS. TB.

anuvṛtabhaya (TA. anyad vṛṣaḥ) sācīma (TA. smah, RV. sācīre) RV. VS. MS. SB. TA. (corrupt).

pratī bhāyam na ṛṭiḥa (SV. smah) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

vīraṇaḥ smaḥ (ŚG. sma bhoḥ) ŚG. PG.

abhiratāḥ smaḥ (YDh. sma ha) ViDh. YDh. BṛhPṛdh. Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (smaḥ: sma ha).

tasmin vyaḥ upakēṭas tava smaḥ (MS. sma) TB. MS.

tau vaha (VS. SB. tā ubhau) caturah ... praśravayāvahai (ŚB. vāv, MS. vāvah) VS. TS. MS. KṢA. SB. ApŚ.

viśvāḥ pīṇvataḥ (TB. ṣaṭha) svastasya dhenāḥ RV. MS. TB. (comm. ṣaṭha in Bibl. Ind. ed., but Poona ed. ṣaṭha). This is probably only a case of sandhi before s + consonant; cf. §978 ff.
ata u su madhu madhunabhi yodhi TS.: adah su madhu madhunabhi yodhih RV. SV. AV. AA. MS. See VV I p. 101.
agne (MS. agrn) devesu pra vocah (MS. voca) RV. SV. MS. TA. Add to VV I §§25, 156.

sam agnis tapasagata VS. MS. SB. (preceded by svaha, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS. edition separated by a mark of punctuation): svaha sam agnis tapasata gata (*gatah, Poona ed. gata) TA.* As pple. gatah is defensible. See VV I p. 161.

carebhir varah abhi su prasidatah (ApMB. pra sidata) RV. ApMB. A participle (gen. sing., Grassmann; acc. pl., Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur. in ApMB.

iha rama (HG. trunah) MS. AB. Aś. Apś. HG. Here rama is a noun form.

§820. In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms:
punar ādah punarnava (AV. *nava and *navaḥ) RV. AV. (bis)
nicerur asi nicumnunah (TS. TB. nicaukuna, MS. KS. nicaukuna) VS. 
TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. LŚ. Vocative in TS. TB. by assimilation to an adjoining formula; see §150.

rtena (MG. ṛṭe 'va) sthūyam (MG. *nā, ApMB. HG. *nāḥ) adhi roha 
vanśa (MG. vanśah) AV. AG. APMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Here the 
nom. is secondary.

agne vṛttenāhata (KS. *taḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Apś.
yañah praty u śhāt (KS. pratyaśhāt, v. 1. praty u*; MS. adds sumatou maṭirīm) KS. MS.: yajña pratiśtthā samatou sukasah TB. Apś.
indraḥ (indra) somasya pitaye (also: *ye vṛśtyate) RV. (all three)
indra (MS. indraḥ) stomena pañcadaśena madhyam (KS. *daśenaūjah) 
TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

paramāyā priggamah (SV. *ma) RV. SV. AV.
devekahyo (Apś. deveṣu) hanyāvāhanaḥ (RV. *na) RV. (both) Apś.
sahasrākṣo amartyah AV.: sahasrākṣpāmyamartya AV.
paramānaḥ (SV. *na) saanntanum eṣi kṛveṇ RV. SV.
tvaṣṭā deveśa sahamāna indraḥ MG.: teṣāt deveḥ sahasāma indra
ApMB.

yo agnih krayavāhanaḥ (VS. KS. karya) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: yad agne 
krayavāhāna TS. See §353.
hiranyapakaḥ sakumih HG.: hiranyaparnā saṅkure PG.: hiranyavārṣaḥ 
sakunāh MU.

subtṝaṇa sṛṣa-sṛṣa śunakā ApMB.: sutṝinah sṛṣa-sṛṣa HG. The latter 
is doubtless corrupt; a voc. is required.
indra krátvā (MS. indraḥ kṛte) maruto yad vaśāma RV. MS. KS. See §664.

āyaḥ somaḥ (SV. soma) sukṛtyayo RV. SV. See VV I §328.

ā tiṣṭha mitrayardhanā (KS. TB.† । ApŚ. "nāh) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ.
ārṇa 'si sampryā (ApŚ. ārṇaśi sampryā) ... ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is secondary and poor.

indra karmaṇa no 'vata VS. KS.: indraḥ karmaṇa no 'vatu TB. (but read
indra ...'vata, see VV I p. 260).

indra (MS. indraḥ) śrutasya mahate mahāni RV. MS. The nom. is hardly construable.

indraḥ (SV. PB. indra) suteṣu someṣu RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indra (MS. indraḥ) svadhām anu hi no babhūthā RV. MS. KS.
kāmena kṛtaḥ (RV. and p.p. of MS. kṛtaḥ krava ichamānaḥ RV. MS. TB.
tiṣṭha ratham (TB. rathe) adhi tani (VS. ŚB. yam, TB. yad) vajrahasta
(TB. "taḥ) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

dhānāsoman manathina indra (MS. indraḥ) sukrat TP. KS. MS. The
nom. is not construable; see Knauer’s note.

mitra satyānām pate (ŚŚ. satyānām adhipate) TP. ŚŚ.: mitraḥ satyānām
(VS. ŚB. satyā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

viśvā (KS. PG. viśvā ca) ṭdeva (PG. devah) prtaṇa abhiṣaya (KS. ṭyāh,
PG. "tyaḥ) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

vṛiffināṁ medha (MS. medhaḥ) sumanasyamānaḥ TB. ApŚ. MS.
śuddho mamadhi somyāḥ (SV. somya) RV. SV.

sajoṣa indra (TB. indraḥ) sagano marudbhīḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

MahānU. AŚ.

§381. In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, com-
monly with change of construction which can be more or less justified;
sometimes involving different but related stems:

piḥā somam amadana (AV. somam mamadad) enam iṣṭayaḥ (AV. iṣe)
AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88; loc. sing. of iṣṭa: nom. pl. of iṣṭi.
ghratavi savitar (MS. KS. "tur) adhipaye (TS. "yaiḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

avya (SV. avya) vāre (SV. " vāraiḥ) pari priyaḥ (and: priyam) RV. SV.

As pree.

candraṣa jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānaḥ (KS. TB. comm. and Poona ed. "nā)
"nāḥ). The plural agrees with asvinā and sarasvatī together as
subject; the fem. sing. with the nearest subject, sarasvatī alone.

dhanaṁjayaṁ dharaṇam dhāraṇīṣu RVKh.: bhūmidṛkhaṁ acyutaṁ
dṛśayate ācyutaṁ ēcyutāṁ RVKh. AV.: bhūmidṛkha ēcyutāṁ ēcyayitāṁ
AV. Change of
gender, neuter to masculine; the latter certainly secondary; see §206.

sa visvocēr (KS. "ct) ahbi caṣṭe ghṛtācēh (KS. "ct) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Change of acc. pl. to dual, explained in §357. But the actual reading is ghṛtācēr (before initial vowel following).

tari mandrasu prayakṣu AV. (taken by Whitney as loc. plur.); stani mandras suprayakṣuḥ KS. (apparently felt as nom. sing.) And others; all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt; see §374.

samhitās vīśvarūpā (VS. SB. SS. "piš, TS. ApS."piš) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. SS. ApS. (bis) In TS. the old nom. fem. of the vṛkṣa type,
andhanasyam vasanam carisgu (ApMB. HG. ja"u, PG. jariṣguh) SG. PG. ApMB. HG. See §57. The nom. masc. transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.

eya samatru sāsahāh (SV. "hiḥ, MS. "hi) RV. SV. VS. ApS. MS. See §584.

aghadeśitā devajātā AV. Kauś.: atharvyuṣṭa devajātāh ApS. In AV. nom. sing. fem. In ApS., which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has "jūta followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing.; but the verb is plural, and the Conc. gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom. plur.).

śirāh (TS. MS. KS. sarāh, AV. sarā) patastrīṇī (TS. MS. KS. "niḥ) etsana (KS. stha, AV. bhūtva) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Sing. in AV., plur. in the others.

ya ababhūa (PB. "va) bhuvanāni vikāḥ (PB. vikāh, comm. vikāni) VS. JB. PB. SS. Vait. vikāḥ is certainly wrong.

viruc chapathyopyanta AV.: viḍu chapathiyaṃbhantu ApS. (corrupt; Caland adopts the AV. reading). See §272.

ula vām usasā budhi RV. GB. Conc. budhiḥ for GB., and so all mss. apparently read, but Gaastra emends to budhi (loc. sing. 'at the awakening of dawn').

arādhya edhiṃyupatim VS.: arādhya (read with Poona od. ar") tādhiṃyupatim TB. The VS. form is anomalous; as a fem. word the stem can only end in u, and the nom. form in composition is absurd.

vasyvādā bṛhat (TS. "tv) na (TS. nu, AŚ. tu) bākvi (TS. "riḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.

ivaṁ yajñam avantu no ghrācēh (MS. KS. AŚ. avatu yā [AŚ. no] ghrācē) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.
parākṣur (TS. parśur) vedīḥ parākṣur nāh svasti (TS. ॐ) AV. TS. svasti
is familiar as both fem. and neut.

viṣṇu (AV. ॐ) prthivim anu RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB. Fem.
pl.: neut. pl. (in different contexts).

śaṁ rātrī (VS. rātrīh, VSK. TA. rātrīh) prati dhiyaṭām AV. VS. VSK.
TA. MS. All noms. sg.

śatamāla śatāṅkurā TA. MahānU.: śatamālaḥ śatāṅkurāḥ MahānU.
Fem. sing.: plur.

śrīvaṃ ṛpo dhiṣaṇāḥ ca deviḥ (MS.* dhiṣaṇāḥ ca deviḥ) VS. TS. MS.*
KS. SB. Sing.: plur.

viśo (SV. diṣo) viśāḥ anu prabhuh (TB, prabhuh) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni
is meant, and a nom. or voc. masc. is required; prabhuh, repeated
in the comm., is apparently understood as an adverb, but is prob-
ably only a phonetic error.

sahāsanāṃ kṣatram (MS. KS. TA. add me) jīṣyāḥ (AV. kṣatram ajaram
astu jīṣyāḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. The AV. form would
be masc., which cannot be construed; Whitney accordingly adopts
jīṣyāḥ.

vataś jāryāḥ (KS. garbhah jāryāḥ) pratidhuk pīguṇah AV. TS. MS. KS.
The regularly neuter word is here masc. in KS., perhaps attracted
to the gender of the preceding masc.

sa nāh prthu (TB. prthuḥ) śravāyam RV. SV. ŚB. TB. Transference
of the epithet with change of gender from neut. to masc.

śīsāṁ ca me trapu (TS. ॐ) ca me . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The rare
stem trapu, for the regular trapu,

fem. can be construed. See Winternitz, Introd., xxii.

sarvasvaṭ (AV. TB. ॐ) svapasaḥ sadaṃtu (AV. sadaṃtām) RV. AV. VS.
MS. KS. TB. N. Whitney calls the ॐ form a blunder and emends
This is perhaps going too far; but of course it is a nom. sing. like
the other.

sarawalā (TV. ॐ) svipippaḥ VS. MS. TB. Instr.: gen.

saharāṣṭīṁ (ArS. ॐ) puruṣāḥ RV. ArS. VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. Both
nom. sing.; ॐ sāṁ ṛbhah as if from an ṛ-stem (contamination from
śiras?)

ativiśāḥ viśturāḥ cid ustrā (MS. astāḥ) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is
doubtless corrupt.

varṣman kakubhī (TB. Conc. ॐ bhīḥ, MS. kakubhīḥ) śiśriyāṇāḥ (TB.
śrayasna) TS. MS. TB. See §400.

upahūtāḥ sepa hotraḥ TS. TB. ŚŚ.: upahūtā saptahotra ŚB. Sing.:
plur.

hiranyayāḥ (MS. "yāḥ" śucayo dhārapeṭuḥ RV. MS. The onlygrammatically construable form is "yāḥ; MS. seems corrupt.
so 'ham vājaṁ saṇeyam agne (KS. sanāmy ṭaṇeḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. Voc.: gen.
sapratuḥ (MŚ. "dahāḥ" sabhāṁ me gopāya (MŚ. pahi, and 'juguṣuḥ) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both voc.; stems in a and as.
imā brahmaḥ brahmavedhaḥ (TS. "haṁ" RV. AV. KS. TB. As prec.

dātun cec chikṣeṇ sa swarga eva AV.: dātun cec chaknavānsah (Poona ed. chaknavāns a) swarga evam TA. See §826.
dyumad vibhāti bharaledhyāḥ śuciḥ (VS. śuci, comm. śuciḥ) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. śuci might pass as an adverb.
dūrā rohatu pujāṇāṁ (RV. rohandu pujāṇāṁ) RV, AV. Sing.: plur.
tripadā ya ca satpadā (VS. yāḥ ca saṭpadāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Sing.: plur.

trāṇam rasāṇā (HG. "nāḥ" sumanā asas (HG. as) teven AV. HG. 'The form can only be nom. sing. fem.; HG. is impossible.
pṛthivā (MS. "sah) samihāra VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. Probably the only correct reading is "nya (see von Schroeder's note).

§382. In adverbial forms:

adhā (AV. adhāḥ, comm. adha, but Ppp. adhaḥ) sapatnā ya mama RV.

AV. ApMB.: adhā sapatnāṁ māmāṁ AV. See §74,

śravyanta (PB. "la") ēpo adha (PB. "dahāḥ) kṣavantā RV. PB.

parā sepannamukhaḥ svaḥ AV.: parah sepana mukhaḥ kṛṣṇi KS. See
§820. The variation -mukhaḥ (bahuṛhiḥ): mukha belongs to the preceding section.

§383. Involving different divisions of words:


idam ahām rakṣo bhī (MS. "rakṣohūḥ) som uhayā (TS. sam dahāmi)

TS. MS. (both) KS. MS. As the Conc. suggests, rakṣoḥūḥ must be a corruption.

gīr ca (AV. virājaḥ) śruṣṭiḥ sabhara asan nāḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. See §57.

kāraṇāya yajñākamalan (MahānU. yajñāḥ sa")...TS. KSA. TA.

MahānU. See §818.

tīrnapādāya bhavaḥ śrṣuti nāḥ (TB. śrṣotana) RV. TB. N.
āsann ā (SV. PB. āsan nāh) pātram janayanta (KS. ॐ) devāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.
pra su (HG. sa) mṛtyum (SMB. pra sumartyaṁ, MG. prathamam artiṁ) yuyodana (MG. yuyotu nāh) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.
ārjan bīhrad vasuṇāh (vah sumanāḥ, vah svanāh, vasmunāh) . . ., see §227.
upiṇāsah saparyan RV.; upo nu sa supa SV.
kavir yah putraḥ su īm ā (TA. Conc. sa īmāḥ, Poona ed. sa īm) ciketa RV. AV. TA. N. īmāḥ has no standing.
ava (RV. bhī, MS. śav, VS. ŚB. vāci) somāṁ nayānāsī (RV. mṛṣāmāsi, VS. ŚB. avanayāmi) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reading of MS. is secondary but simple.
ṛṣayartena māṁ uta (TA. ita) TB. TA.: ṛṣaya tv evam āṁtaḥ MS. (corrupt; see §838).
adyā mamāra sa hāḥ sam āṇa (MS. Samhiṭā, sahāḥ samāṇaḥ) RV. AV. SV. MS. N. sam āṇa, verb; samāṇaḥ, adj.
vīryāḥ kratur indraḥ suṣastih RV.: cf. varenyakratā (ितर, त्तेन्याक्रातर) asam, §554. Conc. suggests vīryakrātā; Oldenberg, Noten, goes further and suggests varenya- (or ॐ-yā) kratur,
vāśmanuskācyuḥśrutiḥvṛohṛavaretobuddhyākūtisāṁkalpā (TA. TAA. ॐकुतिः सांकल्प) me śudhyantām TA. TAA. MahānU. Despite the persistence of the reading ॐकुतिः (to be sure, one ms. of TA. reads like MahānU.), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound.
§384. Miscellaneous:
apa (AV. ava) śveta padā jahi AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: apah śvetapad ā yahi MG. (but most mss. apā; so read; cf. §817).
apa (MG. apah) prāgāt tama ā jyotira eti RV. MG. Here all mss. of MG. have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense.
parīśat tad arpitah ApŚ.: pari doṣaḥ ud arpitah KŚ. The true reading in both seems to be udarpitah; see §63.
suyantuh karma karaṇah kariṣyan JB.: sugaṁ tvahi karmah karaṇah karah karasyuh LŚ. On the obviously corrupt LŚ. see §739.
gharmah śecanah (AŚ. ॐta, ŚŚ. ॐtaḥ) pravāneṣu (AŚ. ŚŚ. pravāneṣu) bīḥrataḥ AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV I p. 165.
prehita bhūma harivah parādai (MS. *daith) RV. AV. TS. MS. parādai is an infinitive; parādaih is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra; despite the 1st person verb bhūma); or else as an instr. plur. 'by betray'.
tāh ā ha jarīlar na pratyaarbhīyana AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. Gastra reads nah in GB. (v. l. na); but the sense clearly requires na,
na sisaṁdata (HG. ṭisaṁdatabh) ApMB. HG. Both hopelessly corrupt;
Winternitz p. xxvi suggests sisaṁdatah.
adṛkhatih śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi (MS. tribhṛtiśibhiḥ) KS. ApŚ. MS.
samudram nah subhum (AVPP. ms. subhumas) taṣṭhivaṁsam AVPP.
MS.: samudram na subhum mā abhiṣṭaṁ RV.: samudram na
subhumas taṣṭhivaṁsam AV. And others, §§119, 789, nah, pron-
noun: na, comparative particle.
bhīṣajāṁ na (MS. nah) sarvasaṁtīm VS. MS. TB. na, comparative particle.

§385. The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse. In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions; but cf. the startling sanjīpāre in the first variant under §387;

§386. Initially h appears and disappears before vowels and y, once r. The variation is almost wholly lexical; it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words: sa ugrah sa hi (PG. i) hanyo babhūva TS. PG. This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant; an otherwise unknown (said to mean 'and'; the ms. are unanimous) seems to be substituted for hi, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for hi. hīṅkāraya (and, hīṅkṛtyaya) svāhā VS. MS. ŚB.: hīṅkāraya (and, hīṅkṛtyaya; KSA, tīṁ") TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Interjections.
tasmin (AV. yasminn) ā (VS. tasmin ha) taṣṭhur bhuvanāni viśvā RV.
AV. VS.: cf. tasminn āṛpitā bhu?v. e? RV.
caṅgur yāyaṁ (v. l. hy esāṁ) tata uccalāhāram MS. And others; see §340.
yāyaṁ idam viśvām (MS, viśvām hy asyaṁ) bhuvanām āviveśa VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB.
mahā (MS. moh) cid yasya mātṛkāyō yāyā RV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: mohā hy asya mātṛkāyō yāyā TS.
ādiya hīṁsana (MS. dhiya invāno) dhiya in no avyāt (RV. avyāh) RV.
MS. TS. Rime words.
antarikṣe pathibhir śyamāṇā (GB. hriyamāṇaḥ, v. l. hriyamāṇaḥ, but no v. l. in Gastra) RV. GB. See §353.
uta no brahmann aviṣāḥ (MS. *man haviṣāḥ) RV. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. ĪŚ. KS. The secondary haviṣāḥ is unaccented in MS., perhaps felt as a verb form from root hu: ‘and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman’.

tenā saṁhanu kṛṣṇasi AV.: tena sann anuyṝṇāsi HG. See §47.

atho mātātho pitā TA.: hātā mātā hatah pitā SMB.: hato hatamātā kṛmih AV. The TA. probably secondary.

rakṣohāmivacittanah (AV.* aho amiva) RV. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. If the AV. variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary.

āntrīmukhaḥ ... HG.: ālikhann animīṣaḥ ... hantrīmukhaḥ ... PG.

Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to āstra and a fem. form of hanty).

atho ye kṣullakā iва AV.: hatah kṛmīṃkāṃ kṣudrakah SMB.: atho sthūrā atho kṣudrā TA.

āśanīṣāṃ kṛtvase mayabhān RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: āśan evāṃ aparṇāhī mayabhān SV. See §820.

vaniṣṭhāḥ hiṣdayād (AV.* udarād) adhi RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

§387. Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special attention; in it all mss. of Vait. are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form sanjīdāre, which is certainly for *hīre and shows an unquestionable ‘palosis’ between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant:


sā (read sa) nāḥ praṇāṁ paśāṁ pāḥkya aṛṣiṃyamānāḥ (p.p. ahāh, ānti (sic!), yamāḥ) MS.: sa no rucāṁ dhēhy aḥṛṣiṃyamānāḥ TA. Read doubtless aḥṛṣiṃyamānāḥ in MS.; the absurd p.p. points in this direction.

marudhibho yṛhamedhibho (MS. *dhebbho) bāṣkāhān (MS. vāṣ, ApŚ. bāṣkān). The word is wholly obscure.

tujo janā (ArŚ. jāne) vanaṁ svah AV. ArŚ.: tujo yujo vanaṁ (ĪŚ. balaḥ, emend.) sahaḥ AA. ĪŚ. The passage is obscure; we see little to choose between svah and sahaḥ.

pary āgniṃ aḥṛṣata (VSK.† arṣata or ahaṛṣata) RV. VS. VSK.: parīme 'gniṃ arṣata AV. (v. 1. in AV. arṣata). Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 43, 99) reads as in RV. except ahaṛṣata, with one ms. of VSK.; Barret em. ahaṛṣata.
CHAPTER X. CONSONANT GROUPS

§388. In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical
double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the
same consonant alone; second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to
an adjoining consonant, or the reverse; and finally, some cases of partial
simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission
of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or
inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to
such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, $h$, or visarga,
all of which have been treated in Chapter IX.

1. Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single
consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or
followed by another consonant. When associated with other con-
sonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly
be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals
and $r$, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in
the mss. Editors have followed very different courses; sometimes they
attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant
spellings of their mss.; sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the
whole subject Whitney, Grammar §§228–232; Wackernagel I §98. The
plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice
virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and
double consonants, as Wackernagel says i. e. It seems therefore
fruitless to collect such variants as the following:

$s\text{ündhi}$ (PG, MG, $\text{śundhi}$) $\text{śīro māsyāyuh pra moṣṭh}$ AG. PG. ApMB.
MG. Many mss. of ApMB. read $\text{śundhi}$.  

o $\text{ṣu}$ (MS. $\text{śu}$) varta (MS. KS. varta) maruto vipram acha RV. MS. KS.
The spelling varta (2d plural) is etymological; Müller prints varta
in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV.

§390. Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which
would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney
and Wackernagel II. cc.). Very little value is or can be attached to the
readings of mss. and editions in such cases. Thus the word $\text{patt}r\text{a}$
'wing', from root *pat with suffix *tra, may be spelled *patra at any time; as in:

 śyenasya *patram (MS. *patram) na pāthā kācibhiḥ VS. MS. KS. TB., where only MS. has the etymological spelling. So in:

 ukithapatra (MS. *ra, TS. *patra) īḍya gṛbhitaḥ VS.† TS. MS. KS.† SB.†, the editor of TS. alone prints *patra, all others (contrary to the Conc.) *patra; but most mss. of TS. actually read *patra. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS. in:

 yena (yena) rājaś (yenaśa) tapaśa satram (TS.† satram) āsate (VS. SB. āyan) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.,

 where again most mss. of TS. read satram, with the others, but against the etymology (root sad). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases.

 §391. Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

tā yā devā ... a ca bāsvā (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. bāsvā) ca gurasa
VS. TB. The root is bās, the ending seu.

 iyam vah sā satyā ... yām indrena sāmadhaddhēam (MS. *dadham) TS. MS.: esā vas sā satyā ... yām indrena sāmadhēam KS.
Reduplicated stem dhad or dad plus ending dham.

 §392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring; to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated.

 arhann idam dayase viśram abhram (TA. abbhram, MS. a dhansā) RV. MS. TA. The TA. may quite possibly have intended abheam (on the epenthetic u cf. §790). But if the comm. is right it would be a lexically different word; he analyzes it as ab-bhram 'produced from water (and the other four elements)'. This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible.

 ut teṣ (SV. PB. Svidh. u teṇa, two words) mandantu somāḥ RV. AV. SV. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. Rvidh. Svidh. The Conc. prints utē as one word, implying belief that ut teṣ is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection u (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV., and the other u is enclitic, and could not stand first.

 ya utñatty (SaimhitopanisadB. utñaty) avitathena (VāDh. avitaś) karnau SaimhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. N. utñaty is an impossible form and must be an error.
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ayam yah puro vibhīnaty (SV. "natty) ojas RV. SV. The form vibhīnaty is not noted by Bentley in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint.

agnir hota vette (ŚB. vette) agnir (ŚB. AŚ. agner) hotam vette prāvītam ...ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. So the Conc.; TB. Poona ed. reads vette and vettu. In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots eti 'enjoy' and vid 'know' (ŚB. comm. ḫeṣātu). Cf. next, and the variations between the participle vita and vīta, §398 below.

prati tādityaś teyy vettu (TB. Poona ed.† vettu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.; prati tā diva (TB. diva) skambhanir vettu (TB. Poona ed.† vettu) TS. TB. And others in the context. The text of TB. actually reads vettu-śu ṣaḥ; doubtless vettu is intended.

dīpā (AV. *dīprā) dīvātīpythām antarikṣam RV. AV. Aś. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA. N. See VV I pp. 27, 129.

yad ārdhaas tiṣṭā (KS. tiṣṭād) draviṣeṣa dhattāt RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. Here the KS. form assimilates, perhaps, to the following dhattāt, which however is originally and properly 2d person. Cf. VV I p. 27.


sattvāma (KS. *sattu) pataye namaḥ MS. KS. This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur. of sattva would be sattvanām (cf. §494); MS. must intend gen. plur. of sattva, like KS.

bhāspataye mahāśa (TS. mahi ṣad) dyuman namaḥ AV. TS. The AV. has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of dy as dy, and bringing in its train a false division of words; see §826.

sadana (Vait. sa dahān) pradahan v (Vait. uv) agh GB. Vait. Particles u and nu; the passage is metrical and u(nu) is read consonantically.

lokam (RV. ulokam) u (AŚ. id) dice upa jāmā (RV. jāmim) tyatuh RV. MS. AŚ.

Double and single consonants between vowels

§393. The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention. Here we seem to find traces of the Prakrite tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pali and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology. See Geiger,
Pāli §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

§394. In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong e. This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pāli and Prakrit; there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss. between single and double consonants after it, as in AV. 15. 10. 2 (see Whitney’s note), where nearly all mss. read mānaye tathā for mānayeta tathā. And so in the variant:

sa no jīvase ā yame AV.: sa no devese ā yamat RV. TA.,

where most mss. of AV. read yame, but the comm. yamed, which is certainly intended; the next word begins with ā-, and the actual reading of RV. TA. is yamad. See Whitney’s note on AV. 18. 2. 3, and VV. I p. 74. This is clearly a phonetic simplification.

§395. The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions; the stem apsaras appears also as apsarā independently: apsarassu (HG. rāsun ca) yo gandhaḥ ApMB. HG.

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG. medhāpsaraḥsu; Scheftelowitz reads medhāpsaraḥsu for RVKh.) RVKh. MG.: apsarāsu ca yā medhā TA. MahānU. HG. ApMB. ApG.

Here the fem. gender of the word, and its nom. sg. apsarāḥ, may have helped in the change. But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected:

yā te agne 'yāsaya (VS. ŚB. 'yāhāyā; TS. 'yāsaya rajāsaya) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: yā te agne rajāsaya (VS. ŚB. rajahāsaya) ... VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§395a. The adjective mahād varies with its composition-form mahā-: agrā vājasya bhajate mahādhananam (SV. bhajase mahād dhanan) RV. SV.

§396. The forms ráye and ráyas vary with ráyai and ráyās (see Edgerton, I. e., §393). Undoubtedly the former are from rai, while the latter are from the parallel stem rai (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine). But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved; the rai forms seem original: agrā samrād iṣe ráye (ApŚ. rāyai) ... AŚ. ApŚ.: iṣe rāye ... VS. MS.
§397. The base *su, used as a root noun, must appear as sut; a superlative from it, -suttama, varies with the parallel base -sa-tana:

śrāvā (MS. *śrāvā) mā pāśyata (and: vah pāśyāmi) TS. MS. KS.

§398. The roots *vi ‘enjoy’ or the like, and *vid ‘find’ with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift; it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vi are older. Cf. §329, agraḥ hata vate (vedu) . . . ;

śrāva ca viṣhā (S. *viṣhā) ca (ŚŚ. cābhūt) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

kokṣa ca devaḥ (KS. *devaḥ) RV. RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.; *kokṣa ca devaḥ (VS.

§399. More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant. They are chiefly lexical. We begin with those in which the vowel is short. Forms of the root cit, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of ci or cyu:

acitrapājā (TA. acyuta*) agnit; and:

acitamanā (TA. acyuta*) upavaktā MS. TA. ŚŚ. Proper names of rishis; ‘unthinkable’ and ‘unshakable’ both make good sense; the latter is secondary.

citā (MS. KS. MŚ. cītā) juhā manasaḥ (VS. TS. ŚB. add gṛtena) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. APŚ. See Keith on TS (HOS 19. p. 444, n. 1). Cītā is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for cītā; but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it ‘should have been corrected’ by the editors of the texts where it occurs. To be sure, one ms. of MS. has cītā; but MS. cītā. The passage belongs to the ritual of ‘piling’ (cītā) the fire-altar. In the same context occurs:

cītā cītā (KS. ms. cītā *cītā, emended by von Schroeder) cīnāvad KS.† *vo) vi dvāda RV. TS. KS. Add to VV I §337. Cf. proc.
mā tā ni kri pūrvacito (AV. *cītā, MS. *cītā) niṣkārīṇāḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Lexical, but the reading with it seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may ‘get ahead of’ us in the favor of the gods. ‘Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first’, or, in MS., ‘in first thought’: ‘piling (the altar) first’. 
§400. One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem:
varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhi (TB, Conc. ेbhi, Poona ed. ेbhi; MS. kakubbhīḥ) kṣirīyāṇāḥ (TB, śrāvasa) TS. MS. TB. Loc. sing.: instr. plur. of kakubh. The form kakubhīḥ is an impossible blend of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with Poona ed.; yet the comm. seems to have read so (but he glosses uttamāṇge, as if loc.).

§401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere corruptions and false readings:
nama ākhidate ca prakhidate ca VS. MS. KS.: nama ākhidate ca prakhidate ca TS. The curious doubling in TS. is authorized by TPr. 14. 8; but the mss. show all sorts of variations, see Whitney’s note on TPr., and Weber’s on TS. 4. 5. 9. 2.


viśṛtāya (VS. viértāya) svāhā VS. TS. MS. KSA. viértāya probably an error.

nivṛtāḥ (ŚŚ. nivṛtāḥ) puruṣād dhṛtiḥ AV. ŚŚ. The passage where this occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any other.

vaiśvānaraḥ pratnātha nākam āruḥaṭ (PB. āruḥaṭ) AV. PB. TA. ApŚ. In all followed by dīca-; āruḥaṭ is the actual reading. PB. has a phonetic simplification or corruption; a 2d sing. impv. is inappropriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last pada). Add to VV I §332.

phalāya, and phallāya, KhG.: bhala, and bhullāya, SMB. GG. See §79.

imāṁ naraḥ (narah) kṛṣṇa vedim etya (eta, etat), see §328.
yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. āya, MS. loke nādir ojarāya) AV.

MS. TA. Corruption in MS.

vīśī (vīcitī, vīrītyāt, vīrītyai) svāhā, see §866.
māyādeva avatāraṇ HG.: adeva-devavatāram ApMB. Several HG. mss. read avatāram, pointing to probable corruption in its text.

avata (TS. avatāram) nadiyā & VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: avattar arnam adānām AV. See §832.

īṣṭa yujño bhṛguḥbhṛ dravijnodā yatiḥḥir (MS. once yattibhir) ākṛtīdā...

MS.† KS.† ApŚ.† The isolated yattibhir can only be a mistake.
pilāo (VS. MS. pīdeo) nyanākuḥ kakkātas. (MS. kākuṭhas, TS. kākhas) ... VS. TS. MS.
davīdra (TS. śdra) nīlaḥohita VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Epithet of Rudra; the TS. form apparently felt as a participle. Keith, 'waster'.
apā ṛṣitiḥ pariṣtānaḥ (TB. Conc. ṛṣitiḥ, comm. ṛṣitiḥ; Poona ed. text and comm. ṛṣitiḥ) na rādhah RV. TB.
dāṃśya dāmnām dāmnām (GB. Conc. dāmanāmānāṁ) me mā kīśeṁ GB, Vait. Kauś. Gaṅgā reads correctly like the others for GB, rajini (AV. Berlin ed. rajjini, by emend.) granther dānam (ĀŚ. dhānām) AV. AŚ, Vait. The emendation is probably right, at least in giving the true original reading of the passage; but there is no variant. Caland in his translation of Vait. quotes it as reading rājini, perhaps by a slip.
jīvabhās teṣā samuḍa sāyur indraḥ AV. 8. 1. 15a. Conc. says read samuḍe, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p.p. sam-uḍe 'conversation'. The comm. however connects the word with root mud. If this were right the variant could be classed with §306. Uncertain.
svavido abhi pā admr uṣṇo (SV. iṣṇa) RV. SV. Conc. suggests muṣṇan in RV.; see however Oldenberg, Noten, ad loc.

§402. Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single or double consonant is long in both cases. Particularly interesting, as suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant. This seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that position. Thus:
sarvasmād devakīśat (VS. evāt, ĀŚ. eva kilbo) RV. VS. MS. ĀŚ. ApŚ. The ĀŚ. obviously has a secondary lect. fac., altho it makes good sense.
jīvāṁ ṛṛbhāṣa pariṇāyamanāṁ AV.: mṛtyā evāṁ pariṇāyamanām TA. Read ṛṛbhāṣa in AV. with some mss. and SPP.
sarvāṁ ni śvāpayā jānam RVKh. AV. Edgerton, AJP 35. 439, has suggested śvāpayā jānam as the true reading.

§403. There are several variations concerning the synonymous adverbs paścā and paścāt, before following dv-. In the first, at least, the
form with double ī is the older, so that the same tendency is involved: apaścādaqṛhīne (SV. apaścāda) nare (SV. nara) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. apaścādaqṛhvānmā (AV. apaścādaqṛhvāmnasya) bhūyāsam AV. MS. ApŚ. MS.
apaścādosāya glāvinam VS.; paścādosāya glāsam TB.

§404. There is some confusion between pratīta (and pari?), pple. of root dā in composition, and pratīta (pari?), similar form from root i in composition (and, once, an anomalous apratīkaṃ). In the first two cases the form with double ī is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single ī, and the double ī is textually very dubious:
yat kusidam apratītaḥ (TS. 2tītā, and so TA. Poona ed., with v. l. 2tīrā; SMB. apradattāni) mayeha (TS. mayi) TS. MS. TA. MS. SMB.: apramitām apratītaḥ yad asmi AV.: yāny apamāyāny apratītaḥ (TB. Poona ed. 2tītā) asmi TB. ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be apratītaḥ, from prati-dā (cf. SMB.); but possibly the pple. of prati-i may be defended. So the comm. on TA. reads (apratītau), glossing na pratārpitaṃ.

kyene parīto (VSK. parīto) acacac ca ōvāte VS. VSK. ŚB.: kyene vai ta uta yo ēcarat parītāḥ AV. Here the true form is certainly from pari-dā.
apaḥ siṣīsāṃ śvar (TB. ApŚ. suvar) apratītaḥ (TB. Conc. 2tītā, Poona ed. text and comm. 2tīrā) RV. AV. KŚ. TB. ApŚ. Here the double ī has no standing.

stuḥi sūrīnam vajrīnam apratīkaṃ (TB. Conc. apratītaṃ, Poona ed. 2tītā) MS. TB. The only correct reading is apratītaṃ ‘invincible’. On MS. see §138.

§405. In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt: atrā (AV. tatra) yamaḥ sūdan (TA. 2nāl) te mīnottu (AV. krīṇottu) RV. AV. TA. A clear error in TA.; see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

ugranpaśyā (MS: ugran paśyāc) ca raśtrabhṛc ca tāni MS. TA. Names of Apsarases. The MS. has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of raśtrabhṛ; see §820.
nama ākhide ca prakhide ca VS. MS. KŚ.: nama ākkhi ca prakkhi ca TS. See §401.

svāna bhṛṣṭa... VS. TS. ŠB. KŚ. ApŚ.: svāna bhṛṣṭ... TA.: svāna nabhrād... KŚ.: svāna nabhrād MS, MS. Keith on TS. suggests svāna nabhrā- as the original form.
2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406. The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

§407. We begin with cases concerning _r_, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, _Pāli_ §51; Jacobi, _Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrā_ xxxi).

usṛav (VSK. KS. _usrā_) _etani_ . . . anaśrā (KS. _anakṣā_, v. i. "ṣrā") . . .
brahmacādavāna VS. VSK. _TS_. KS. ŚB. _M Ś_. See Keith on _TS_. 1. 2. 8. 2; he points out that _anakṣā_, as well as _anaśrā_ and _anaśrā_, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt.

manyor _mrdrasaya_ (HG. _mrddhasya_) _nāśini_ ApMB. HG.: _manyoh_ _krodhasya_ _nāsan_ PG. Kirste suggests reading _rddhasya_, saying that _manyoh_ seems superfluous. But the parallels show that _manyoh_ is original and that HG. has a phonetic assimilation in _mrdr_ .

_krčiti ca sākī cojęṣti_ (ApŚ. sākī ṭcoryṣṭi ca) VS. VSK. ApŚ. Here the dissimilated form is secondary; it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning ‘food-seeking’ (aṇṛ + root _iq_).

āvartam (TA. read āvar tam, §873) _indraḥ_ sacyā _dhamanām_ RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in _Pāli_-Prākrit is _y_. We have a number of cases concerning it; to them should be added a few cases of final _ny_ varying with _nn_ before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under _Sandhi_, §928.

abhinnre _khiṣye_ (TB. _khiṣle_ ) _nidadhāti_ devayām RV. AV. TB. Comm. on TB. _khiṣibhāte_; the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation.


ud u tye (MS. MS. ud-ut te) madhumattamāḥ RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MS. The secondary MS. MS. reading involves substitution of te for the older tye.

yad annenātirovati RV. ArŚ. VS. TA.: yad anyenābhavat saha AV. Here the form with ny is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of y. On the nonsensical reading of AV. (the comm. has annena) see Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield 127.

pīta bhāsavat aṇuṇamā TA.: pītābhā syāt tanūṇamā MahānU. See §838. The assimilation is secondary.

capyaṃ (TB. Poona ed. cappaṇī) na pāyur...VS. MS. KS. TB. capya seems well established, tho etymologically obscure; cappaṇī may be a graphic blunder.

sāryācandramasau vṛkyābhyaṃ (KSA. vṛkkaḍ) TS. KSA. The TS. form is a secondary and (as shown by AV. vṛskṣa) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding. It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf. Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s.v. vṛkka).

§409. A single case concerns l:
gāvo gulgulugandhayah (Vait. gugguluṭ) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. The usual Sanskrit form is guggulu; but gulgulu occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form.

§410. As to v, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408. Besides, we find:
tan nas trāyaṇām tanvaḥ survato (ApŚ. tan no viśvato) mahat KS. ApŚ.: tan me tanvaḥ trāyaṇām survato bhāt AV. An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ., assisted of course by the preceding tan nas. yathāyathām nau tanvau (AŚ. tanvā, MS. tan nau) jātavedāḥ KS. AŚ. MS. The MS. is obviously corrupt; no v. l. quoted.
mitravṛṣṇaḥ saradāḥnāḥ (MS. 9hā ciṅtā (MS. ciṅtām, KS. jīgatā, AŚ. ciṅtām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45. viśvāvdaḥ (AV. 9do) vičam avिśvāvinsām (AV. avिśvāvinsām) RV. AV. See §236.

apa duradṛddhiṣo jahi Kauś. Read 9dvīko; the corruption may be graphic (§869).

§411. Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels:
aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. prataram na, mss. 9ran na) śaṅḥ RV. AV. MG.
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daire (AV. dāiva) hotāro (TS. "vā, AV. "raḥ) vanuṣanta (TS. vāni, KŚ.† vanīsna na, AV. saniṣana na) pūrve (AV. KŚ. etal) RV. AV. TS. KŚ.

akṣatam arisṭam ilāndam SMB.: akṣatam asy arisṭam ilānnah gopāyanam ŚG. Epithets of the cow; cf. the cow-name ilāndā, MS. 4. 2. 1: 22. 7, 10, and 4. 2. 7: 28. 12. Alto B SMB. comm. says ilāndam ilānnah kṣārādilakṣanam, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing.

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahanU. nānyo) bhāgo yan (TAA. Poona ed. 'yan) nāmne (MahanU. yatān me, v. l yan nāmne). svāhā TAA. MahānU. Here probably MahānU. is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original.

ukṣantūndā maruto ghrteram AV. 3. 12. 4. So Conc., with Whitney's Transl. the comm. and SPP. But according to Whitney no ms. reads so, except one of SPP's kroṭriyas; most of them have "uṇnā, a few "uṇā. Pp. (Barret, JAOŚ 32. 360) has "uṇā. See §183. [svāhākṛṣaya sam u tṛṇīlta ṭbhae (TB. Conc. tṛṇīltaḥ); ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. tṛṇīltaḥ) RV. TB. ApŚ. tṛṇaḥ probably misprint.]

§412. When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute. Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule. But it occurs in a couple of cases: sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāsān (SV. "śād) na yaśāḥ RV. SV.

anuṣṭum (MS. "ub) mitṛasya (GB. Vait. add patni) MS. KŚ. GB. Vait. It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals.

§413. In a case or two m at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is absolutely assimilated to a following n, or remains anusvāra. This may be merely a matter of writing:

denya (ApŚ. dīvyā) āpo nannamyadheam (KŚ. namīnā) . . . PB. KŚ.

ApŚ.

vājasya hi prasave (TS. "vā) nannamiti (TS. namā) TS. MS. KŚ.

yān (MS, MŚ. āyan) narāḥ sudānaṁ dākāye RV. TS. MS. KŚ. AŚ.

MŚ. Lect. fac. in MS. MŚ. (verb form, "they have come").

§414. Conversely, before initial m, final n varies with anusvāra. But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the mas. and neuter (adverbial) forms tan and tad (tan); and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc. as a mere corruption:

tan (MS. tan) ma deśa avantu sōbhāya (MS. "yi) TS. MS. TA.
$tan$ (JB, ta$h$) mā puṣi kartavya evayudhvan JB. KBU.

$trīta$ ētā manuṣyaṇaḥ māṁr̥ya TB.: $trīta$ ēnam manuṣyeṇa māṁr̥ya AV.

Conc. and Whitney's note say, read ēnam with SPP. At any rate a
neuter and not a masculine form is intended.

§415. Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes. In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt; in it a following nasal (!) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute:

$sīsūṇa nad tin karim adribudham$ (TS, *buddham) VS. TS. MS. KS.

SB. Keith assumes adribudham in his translation.

§416. The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation. Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary. All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually; there is, then, no need to repeat them here.

§416a. To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book. We shall find some signs of a tendency towards $u$ coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants. This appears in the variation of $aw$ with $uw$, §§601–4, and in that of $r$ with $ru$, §§678–80. We have also noted, among the variants of $u$ with $a$ and $i$, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables. These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622–4.

3. Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417. Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished. On the insertion of $t$ and $k$ after final $n$ and $a$ before a sibilant, see §§938 f. On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, Grammar §231; Wackernagel I §233a. The dropping of the mute is required by APr. 2. 20. The VPr. 6. 30 requires it before a voiced mute; the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of $t$ before another $t$, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389). The other Prātiṣākhyas ignore it. All texts seem to show it sporadically. But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value. Note Weber's disregard of the
TS. mss. in the first two variants, which is typical; other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss.

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated:

bhāsapatē ṣāryātmak (KS. ms. ⁶yā emend., ⁷yām) yuṅgdhi (AS. yuṅdhi) vacam TS. MS. KS. AS. But practically all mss. of TS. yuṅdhi, parivṛñḍhi (TS. MS. SB. ⁷yṛṅḍhi) harasa . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

But here too all mss. of TS. vṛṅḍhi; and so p.p. of MS.

ādityam āgarham payasā samu aṅgdhi (VS. aṅdhi, TS. KS. aṅjan) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.


śucir aṅkte (SV. aṅte) śucidhir gobbhir agnih RV. SV.

yaḥ pauruṣyena kraviṣṭa sāmaṅkte (AV. samaṅtea) RV. AV. Kauś. udno (VS. MS. apo) datādadhin hiṁta (VS. MS. hiṁta) VS. TS. MS. uđno dehy uđadhin ṭhīṁḍhi KS.


aryam sa śiṅkte (AV. śiṅte) yena gaur abhiértō RV. AV. JB. N.

sampaśyam paṅktir (AV. paṅtim) upatiṣṭhamānāḥ RV. AV. ochā vīram naryam paṅktirādhasam (SV. paṅtiṇ) RV. SV. VS. MS. SB. TA.

[pāṅktirha (KSA. em. pāṅktah) kāko māṁthīlavas (KSA. ⁷man) te pāṛṇām (KSA. ⁷pāṛṇām) TS. KSA. The mss. of both texts all read pāṇtra, intending pāṅtra; TS. comm. pāṁtra-kaśān, as a dvandva.]

§419. There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX. (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is y or v; see §§314–5, 321–2, 332–7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots su and stu. The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy; there are many situations in which su and stu, soma and stoma will do about equally well:

girah somaḥ (SV. gira stomaṇ) pawamāno manīṣāḥ RV. SV. Here there is a change in syntax; but cf. the next, where there is none.
gṛḥākutah somaprśṭhaḥ (MS. stoma\*\") suviraḥ AV. MS.: stomaprśṭho gṛḥākutah supradakshah Kš. TB. 3. 7, 2. 7b, AS. ApŚ. The originality of AV. is supported by the RV. epithet somaprśṭha (fashioned on the model of gṛḥaprśṭha).

apsu dhūlasya deva soma nyābhiḥ (TS. tr. soma deva te) sutasya (Kš. stū\*, MS. stū\")... TS. MS. KS. PB.: apsu dhūlasya deva soma te mativido nyābhi gūtastotrasya (AS. nyābhi. sutasya)... AS. ŚŚ.

nārāśansena stomena (RV. somena) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB, SB. LS. Kauś. See Oldenberg, ZDMG 54. 54 and 56; Hillebrandt, Lieder des RV. 124. Grassmann would emend RV. to stomena, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio faciliior.

[stū (mss. stūtā) mayā varadā vandamānā (mss. vedamātā) AV.: stutā, mayā varadā vedamātā TAA. Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV. edition. Weber, IST. 2. 144, discusses the TAA. passage; he would understand stuto as stūtā-u.]

§420. The rest need no subdivision:

parīmā cīt kramate (AS. ŚŚ. cid ramate) asya dharmāṇi AV. AS. ŚŚ. ‘Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitār’s) ordinance.’ Whitney's note implies that he regards ramate as a preferable reading; to us it seems merely a lect. fac.

tam tvam viśeṣhgyo devebhyaḥ kṛtaṁ (Kš. bhya rtūn) kalpaya KS. ApŚ. Apparently KS. has the true reading, cf. Caland on ApŚ. 10. 25. 1; kṛtaṁ is suggested by the following phrase, daksināh kalpaya.

ahorārābhyaṁ puruṣāḥ samena (GB. kṣaṇena) GB. (both) SB.
yena kriyam akṛṣṇutam PG.: yena kriyam akṛṣṇutam (ŚŚ. kriyāv akṛṣṇata) SB. SM. GG. kriyam is clearly a secondary simplification with phonetic aspects.

bhann asi bhadravā (TS. KS. bhradgrāvā, MS. bhadrāvā, MS. bhadrāvā) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. MS. The form containing g seems to be the older.

śumbhānas (KS. stam\*\") tanvāṁ (TB. tanuvaṁ, SV. tansāṁ) svāṁ RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. ‘Adorning (establishing) his own person.’

anyavatasya (TA. anyādēra\") saṣcīna (TA. maḥ, Poona ed. ma; RV. saṣcīre) RV. VS. MS. SB. TA. Tho the comm. on TA. takes anyāderatasya as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one; anyādēr is the ‘stem’ form.

mātēva putram bijibhṛtā ev (VS. SB. bijibhṛtāpe) enat (TS. KS. enam) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS. SB.
namah ṣuṣkyāya (MS. ṣuṣyāya) ca haritya ca VS. TS. MS. KS. Von Schroeder thinks MS. is probably to be emended to ṣuṣkyāya; but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification).

bhayāṁ śīṭāmbhāyāṁ (KSA. madbhyām) TS. KSA. Stems in -maṇ: -maṇ; obscure names for some part of the horse's body.

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added):

krān naḥ pāhy anhāsah (TA. enasah) MS. TA.: rān mā muṇcatānḥasah TB. The latter is poor; comm. rāt prāplā tasmād anhāsah.

ṛtasya dhānmo amṛtasya yoneḥ TS.: rāsya yoniṁ mahīṣasya dhārāṁ VS. KS. SB.: ghṛtasya dhārāṁ mahīṣasya yoniṁ MS.: cf. ghṛtasya dhārāṁ amṛtasya panthāṁ TS.KS.ApŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole. The MS. pāḍa may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS.

ṛravo (RV. VS. uvo) devasya sānasi (TS. TA. 3īṁ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA.

stāvāno (VS. TS. KS. SB. aeā no) devaḥ krpaḥ (VS. SB. dhiya) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. aeā no is a facile and slipshod substitution.

āyoharṣyāya (AG. māyo9) catuspadī AG. SG.: caturī māyoharṣyāya TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. The SG. is obviously secondary and poor; it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from āyu(s).

yānām agnir īṣyā (KSA. niṣyā) nāmāṁ vedā RV. TS. KSA. The KSA. reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage. 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice': 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'.

eruṁ tundānā patyeva jāya AV.: peruṁ tuṁjānā patyeva jāya TS. The original form of eru: peru is unknown; it probably means the male organ.

purudasmovisvarāpa (KS. purudasnaviṣvarāpam) induḥ VS. KS. SB.; urudrapo viṣvarāpa induḥ TS. ApŚ. Synonyms.

madhāv (VS. adhāv) rajānāndriyam VS. MS. KS. TB. Comm. on VS. madhā, the only possible reading. Is adhāv a misprint?

[teyā jvasena sam aśimahi tvā SG.: teyārasena etc. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. jvasena is a misprint, corrected SBE 29. 98, note.]
CHAPTER XI. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422. The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long ē and ŭ, recorded in the next chapter.—In §§300–2 we have referred to variations between ā and short a plus nasal; they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395–8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

§423. Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short a, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final ā and ā.

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening; that is, cases in which ā, not short a, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of ā before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakrit tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I. §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short a in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short a which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,
especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions.

1. Final a and ă

§426. Under this head are included a and ă not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as sant (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases.

§427. To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is ă, not short a, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both a and ă can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending ya or yă. Altho ya prevails entirely in the later language, yă is much the commoner in RV., and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form; whether ya is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with yă, need not here be discussed; cf. Wackernagel III p. 34 f. and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of a-stems (ena) often ends in ă; it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in ă may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p. 312 infra; rather different is the implication of III p. 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

(a) Absolutely final a, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened ă.

§428. Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm; at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264–6. The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short a. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence; nor, in TS., at the end of a
kandikā (Wackernagel I §265a, note); cf. VV I p. 174. Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables. The typical case was that in which final a followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the a.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in a: thirteen of the 2d sing. impv. -a, eight of 2d plur. -ta and -tha, two of 2d sing. middle -swa, four of 1st plur. -ma, and one each of 1st sing. perfect -a, 2d sing. perfect -tha, and 2d plur. perfect -a. There are seven other cases: two of sama and pra, and one each of ca, uta, adya, and sapta. On pra, probably not to be connected with IE *prō, see §§439, 440, 465.

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic a by ó, and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves:

§431. First: the variant word never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases. (Note that in AV. 19. 39. 10d suvā is a misprint for suva, see Whitney’s note; the pāda is repeated without variant from AV. 5. 22. 3d.) One exception has been explained in VV I p. 174: vanaspate ‘va srjā (KS. srjā) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. For another see nihāram etc., §446.

§432. Secondly: only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus;

indra somam pibā imam RV. AV. SV. MS.: indra somam imam piba RV. SŚ. Here indeed one might be tempted to understand pibās in the first form; but p.p. of RV. MS. both piba. Cf. Oldenberg.

Notes on 8. 17. 1.

§433. Thirdly: Otherwise the word following the a:ā always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the ā is secondary (AV.; short a RV.) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as its happens, the following word is pra. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy); possibly more important is the fact that p is a labial consonant (cf. §464):

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. 2ā) pra taratā sakhyāḥ RV. AV. VS. SB. TA.

Kauś. The ā may be attracted to match the ending of taratā, where ā is in every way regular and demanded by the meter.

juhota (AV. 2ā) pra ca tiṣṭhata RV. AV. VS. TA. This pāda of AV. (18. 2. 2b) is RV. 10. 14. 14b; the preceding one is RV. 10. 14. 15a (these two RV. verses are jumbled in AV., see Whitney-Lanman),
yamâya madhumattamam. But further, RV. 7. 102. 3b has juhotâ madhumattamam; the first word is the first word of AV, 18. 2. 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary ā of AV, juhotâ is a reminiscence of juhotâ RV, 7. 102. 3b, where the ā is regular; in that RV. passage it was immediately followed by madhumattamam, in AV, it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434. With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned:

ekayâ ca daśabhīś ca svabhûte (AV, cā suhûte) AV, VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both are regular; in AV, cā plus one consonant, in the others ca plus two.

agn pūrṣyādhipa bhava (TS. bhava) tvam nah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda. Perhaps tvam is surplusage; whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and tvam (if kept at all) must be read tuam. But since vocalic y and v do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the ā is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with bhava, that are irregular.

§435. Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short a. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better; it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short a; but in the other three ā is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrical long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda; this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are:

hina (Vait. 3va) me gātrā (KS, gātrāni) harivah TS. Vait. KS. ApŚ. MS. Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait.
pary ā su pra dhanva (AV, 9va) rājasātaye RV. AV, SV. KS. AB. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.
abhī vānir ṛṣīṇām saptā (SV. 2tā) nāgata RV. SV.
vidma (Kauś. text 2ma; read 3ma with AV.?) te swapna janitram AV.
Kauś. (pratīka only).
adha sma (MS. smā) te vrajanaṁ kṛṣṇam asti (MS. astu, KS. 3nam astu kṛṣṇam) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.
vidma te nāma (AV. vidma te dhāma) paramaṁ guhā yat RV. AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.
asti hi smā (TS. MS. KS. astu sma) te sūsminn āyavāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB.
adyā (SV. GG. Svidh. adya) no deva savitāḥ RV. SV. AB. KB. AA. TA.

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pāda, are:

vahā (TB. N. vaha) devatārā didhīṣo (MS. dadh?) hauṁśi MS. KS. TB. N.
upa (MS. utā) no nīrtrāvarūṇāh īhāvāt (MS. 3ṇā īhāgatam) MS. TB.
TA.

indrasya nṛ vīryāṇi pra vocam (AV. nu pra [read prā, §449] vocam vīr?)
RV. AV. MS. ArŚ. AB. KB. TB. AA. N. Note that ś is clearly secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464).

§438. In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse. All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical; and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda. In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions. Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d, and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz., six, four, and six times respectively. It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagati pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last. But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth; one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagati pādas, and the sixth of an amuṣṭubh. This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura). In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable.

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda:

prā (KS. prā) nā ājum jīvasā soma tārth RV. KS. AB. GB. Vait. MŚ.

It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS. has preserved a historic
representative of IE *prō. Cf. pra (prō) smā mināty (minōty) ajarah, §612, which probably belongs here, and §449.

§440. In the second syllable:

hinva (Vait. vā) me gātrā (KŚ. gātrā) harināḥ TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. vahā (TB. N. rāhā) devatrā didhīgo (MS. dādik) haeṇiṇi MS. KS. TB. N. vidmā te nāma (AV. vidma te dhāmā) paramaṁ guhā yat RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

vidma (Kauś. nā) te savāna janitram AV. Kauś.

upa (MS. utā) no mitrāvaruṇaḥ ihāvalam (MS. gā ihāgatam) MS. TB. TA. §441. In the third syllable:

juhota (AV. tad) pra ca tīṣṣhata RV. AV. VS. TA.

prātā (TS. upa prata) jayata naraḥ RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. Read prā-śtā in RV. etc. TS. seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse.

janiyā (MS. pra, RV. KS. gṛta) hi jenyo agre ahnāṁ RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

adha smā (MS. smā) te vṛjanaṁ kṛṣṇam asti (MS. astu, KS. gṛm astu kṛṣṇam) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§442. In the fourth syllable:

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. syā mahonāṁ) RV. SV.

tam ā prma (TB. prma) vasupate vasūnāṁ RV. TB.

ut tīṣṣhata (AV. Kauś. tad) pra tavatā sakhyāḥ RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś. See §433.

ā juhota (TB. ApŚ. ta) dvasyata RV. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (prāṭkā)

ramayāta (KS. tad) marutaḥ syenam ejinam (MS. marutaḥ pretaṁ vajinam) TS. KS. ApŚ. MS. Three ms. of KS. ramayata.

asti hi smā (TS. MS. KS. astu sma) te kuśmind avayāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§443. In the fifth syllable, before the cæsura:

udṛayathā (MS. MS. tad, AV. KS. tad) marutaḥ samudrataḥ RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. AŚ.

yatra naś cakrā (Conc. cakra for KS. with one ms., but ed. cakrā with others) jarasam tanūnāṁ RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.

prāṇo agāma (TA. prāṇo iṣṭo) vṛtaye hasāya RV. AV. TA. §444. In the sixth syllable of anaśṭumbh:

indra somam pibā imam RV. AV. SV. MS.: indra somam imam pibā RV. ŚŚ. See §432.
§445. In the seventh syllable of jagati:
parī śu pra dhanva (AV. dhanava) vajasātaye RV, AV, SV, KS, AB, ŚB. The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagati meter tends to be long.

§446. In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagati:
apo desīr upa śrīja (MS. śrīja) madhumatih VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, brhaspate pari diya (TS. diya) rathena RV, AV, SV, VS, TS, MS, KS.
No real variant, since diya ends in kauṭikā in TS.; see §428 and VV I p. 174.

agnī puriṣyādhīpā bhava (TS. bhava) tvaṁ naḥ VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB.
An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless tvaṁ be deleted; see §434.

vanaspate 'va śrīja (KS. śrīja) AV, VS, TS, MS, KS. Also belongs here properly, see §431 and VV I p. 174.

dyumanāmb śusmam ā bharā (SV. bhara) svarvidam RV, SV.

adīsān vā (MS. dhīṣyān vā, TB. yāt vādāsan) samjagara (TB. *jaγārā, MS. *cakāra) jānebhyaḥ MS, TB, TA.

vayam rāṣṭre jāgyāma (MS,† KS,† *mā, MS, p.p. and TS. jāgyāma)

purovhitāḥ VS, VSK, TS, MS, KS.

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

ṣaptā yonār (KS, yonār) ā prpaṇa (TS, KS, TB, *svā) ghṛtena VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, TB.

ekayā ca dasabhīś ca svabhūte (AV, ca suhūte) AV, VS, MS, ŚB, TA, AS, ŚŚ.


nihāram in ni me hara (TS, harā) TS, KS. The TS, form is quoted as a case of lengthened final a in TPr. 3, 12; the actual quotation there includes the following word nihāram, which is the initial of the next pāda. There is no doubt of the pāda-division; the pāda is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh. But the lengthening of a final in its pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following nihāram); or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading intended in the samhitā-pātha is not hava but haras, subj. and not imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the p.p. as hara, and hence arose the TPr. rule on the subject. This variant should then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures for this section.
§447. In the ninth syllable of jagati:

abhī viṣṇur ṛṣiṇāṁ sapta (SV. ṛtā) nāgata RV. SV.

§448. In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubhi:

virebhir āśvair maghavā bhavā (TS. ćva) nāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. No true variant, since bhava ends in kandikā in TS.; cf. §428 and VV I p. 174.

gharman pāta vasavo yajata (TA. ṛtā, MS. ṛtrā) vā (MS. vct, TA. vaṭ) VS. MS. SB. TA. Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubhi meter; hence lengthening secondarily in TA. Note that TA. is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable.

§449. Different syllables, with change of meter:

idaṁ me prācatā vacaḥ RV. VS. TS. KS. TB.: oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vācāṁ me MS.: asyāḥ avata viryaṁ Kauś. Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position.

indraya nu vīryāṅ prā vocaṁ (AV. nu prā vocaṁ viṛṣ, but most mss., SPP., and Whitney Transl. prā for pra) RV. AV. ArS. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.—Pp. (Barret, JAOS 48. 47f.) like RV. On prā cf. §439 and 437.

(b) Words in which absolutely final ā varies with ā, the ā being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds.

§450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, although it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor. We include here adverbs in tra or trā; adverbs in tha or thā, dha or dhā; gerunds in ya or yā; instrumentals from a stems in na or nā; and neuter nom.-acce. in ma or mā; also one variant of acha:acha. It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending yā is probably older than ya), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf. §438). Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant. Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda.

§451. Adverbs in tra:trā; viz. yatra, tatra, atra. There is a suffix trā, whose independence of tra seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, Grammar, §1099a); the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem. So far as we have noted, our variant forms in trā always accent the stem. Still, the existence of the trā-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations. While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix trā may be at least suspected.
§452. In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has ā:
yatra (MS. *yatra, AV. *yenā) naḥ (AV. *te) pārve pitarah paretāḥ (RV. MS.*paregūḥ) RV. AV. (bis. MS. (tris).
yatra satpa ṛṣiṇ (TS. KS. yatra saptarṣīṇ) para ekam āhuḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.
yatra (TS. yatra) suhārdāḥ sukṛto madanti (TS. ²še) AV. TS.
atā (AV. tatā) yamāḥ sūdanā (TA. ²nā) te minotu (AV. kṛṇotu) RV. AV.† TA.
tatā vadaḥ (SV. tatra yoniḥ) kṛṇavase RV. SV. KS.
tatā (SV. tatra) no brahmaṇaspatiḥ RV. SV.: tatra indro brhaspatiḥ VS.
yatra (SV. yatrā) devā iti bravan (SV. bravan) RV. SV.
atā (VS. atra) jahīmo (RV. TA. jahāma, AV. jahīta) ye asann aśevāḥ (AV. aśeṇāh, and asan durevāḥ; VS. SB. ²kīvā ye asan) RV. AV. VS. SB. TA.

§453. Adverbs in tha, thā, and dha, dhā. Among the variants are found only atha, athā, adha, adhā, and one case of iṭha, ihtā. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have ā. The only form that usually ends in tha is atha, and adha is the only one usually ending in dha. The numerous forms in thā and dhā may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms athā and adhā. There is this time no difference in accent. The iṭhā:iṭha variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has ā.

§454. In the seven atha and adha variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one; but the following syllable is long also in every case but one.
atha (AV. adhā) māsi punar āyuṭa no gṛhaṇ AV. HG.
adha (TB. athā) pārvevī niyuteḥ saseṣata svāḥ RV. VS. MS. TB.
atha viṁśe aravā edhate gṛhaṇ TS.: adhā niśvāharapa edhate gṛhe VS.
atha jīvīr (read jīvaṛ, see Whitney) vidatham ā vadāsi AV.: athā jīvat... ApMB.: adhā jīvaṛ vidatham ā vadāṣṭha RV.
adha sūma (MS. athā sāma) surabhadyo (ApŚ. corruptly, syāṃ asur ubhavyor) gṛheṣu AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.
atha (AV. athā) devanāṃ vaṇāṃ bhaveṇī RV. AV. TA.
ATH (TS. atha) bhava yajamānāya satī yath RV. TS. MS. KS. AS. No true variant; the short a once in TS. (3 2 11 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a kaṅḍikā; see §428. This shows that after all the lengthening to athā was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to sandhi.

§455. For completeness we add here the single case of itthā varying with ittha. The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts. It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of athā. Of course the original and regular form is itthā, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final ā, §477: ibethā (AV. òthā) prāga apāga udāg adharāḥ AV. GB. AS. SS. Vait.

§456. Gerunds in ya-yā. According to Whitney, Grammar §993a, ‘fully two thirds’ of the RV. forms in ya have ā, as if instr. sing. forms of i or ti stems. This, together with the fact that these yā gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort. It is likely that the gerund ending was originally yā, and that the later regular ending ya is secondary.

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a pāda, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening: hirasayāṣa pari yone nirāsadyā (MS. òya) RV. MS. ApŚ. vanaspate rakṣanāyā nīṣāyā (MS. òya, KS. TB. rakṣanāyābhīdhāya) RV. MS. KS. TB. AS. N. viśād agne abhiyuo vihatā (AV. TB. òya) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. rudrāḥ samāsṛtya (MS. òd, TS. ApŚ. samābhṛtya) pṛthvīm VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. mithāḥ sanāsṛtya (MS. òd) pṛthvīm VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ.

§458. Instrumentals of a-stems in a-nā. In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in ā assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the a. There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns tena and yena; these three forms are initial in their pādas. In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh pāda, so that the meter requires a long, which RV. has, while SV. substitutes short a against the meter. In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short; kaviś guṇāḥ kāveṇā (SV. òna) kaviś san RV. SV. tenā (AV. TB. Poona ed. and MS. ed. tena, but all mss. of MS. tena) sahaśrākṣaṇaḥ AV. TB. ApŚ. MS.: tena vayaṃ sahaśravaṇaḥ TB. ApŚ.

tenā (AV. tena) vayaṃ bhagavantah syama RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.
yena vahasi sahasram VS. MS. ŚB.: yenā (KS. yena) sahasram vahasi
AV. TS. KS. Vait.

§459. Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom. masc.) in ma:ma (once, aːd). Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc. ā: neut. a). Sometimes there is a change of number; altho the ending short ā in the neutral plural is twice as common as a (Whitney, Grammar §425d), nevertheless ā is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened a, despite the fact that the p.p. regularly writes a. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pādra, where rhythm lengthening is impossible; and cf. Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both ma and mā appear to be certainly neut. sing., so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf. Wackernagel III §145b).

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pādra five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a trisṭubh once; thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pādra, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with pr- (cf. §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long; the following one is long just half the time. šarma (TA. ʊma) sopraṭā dvarge KS. TA.: šarma yachātha sopraṭah (read ʊthā with all ms., cf. Lanman, NInfI. 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS. has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case.

vyomā (TS. ʊma) saptadaśah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KS. MS.—BR. assume a change of gender here in vyoman. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

ayāṃ sahasram ānavo . . . vidharmā (ApŚ. ʊmäd) SV. ApŚ. MS. Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula; rather change of gender, neut. to masc., in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet (‘Weltordner’, Benfey).

bruhma (ApŚ. ʊmäd) devāntān prathamajā rtasya PB. ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ. masc., ‘priest of the gods’).

rtasya bruhma (AV, bhūtānām brahmā) prathamōta (emended by RW) in AV. to prathamo ha) jātē AV. TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pādra is hard to interpret without some emendation; see Whitney’s note.
tan no brahmā (TA. "na) pracodayāt MS. TA. MahānU. Here also there is change of gender (MS. brahmā').

trīṇād dhāma (MS. MŚ, trīṇāddhāma as one word) vi rājati RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The MS. understands its compound as of masc. gender.

brahma devakṛtam upahātam TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: brahma devakṛta-pahāta SB. Here the number is changed from singular to plural in SB.

vara (AV. "mā) śvayamahān bahulā pṛthūnī RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Both forms here are plural; and so in the next.

yatā pārān nīhitā saptā nāma (AV. nāma) RV. AV. Cf. prec.; note the variation at the end of a pāda.

lāva śravanīny upamānī ukthā (SV. "ya) RV. SV. The only case of a n. pl. in a:ā not from an n-stem.

§461. One case of the preposition acha:acha. The original quantity of the final a is uncertain; but in RV, it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s. v.). One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, believes that acha is original.

acha yāhy ā ṭvahā daivyam janam RV.: acha no yāhy ā vaha RV. SYV.

We consider that vahā:vaha in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final a:ā in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads vahābhī, fusing vaha with following abhi. The p.p., of course, always reads short a.

(c) Short a as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened.

§462. Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as vant and vin), so short a as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions. And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way.

§463. The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where a is absolutely final. So the a is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants. But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect. The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases. Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse. There are five metrical
variants of a:ä before the suffixvant; in every one the variant syllable is second in the pada.

§464. Waekernagel, who discusses this question in II, 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before v. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially p and m, exert the same influence; cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants.—For compounds of a privative, sometimes lengthened to a, see §§469 f.

§465. Prepositions in final a, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are pro. In two out of three the following consonant is m or v.
prayāgaya (VS. prā) svāhā VS. TS. KSA. TB. TA. On prā, not to be identified with IE.*prō, cf. §§429, 439.
[prāraṇabhī (MS. KS. praranena) sajojasāh RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Probably to be derived from root pru, rather than pra + vana.
See §491.]

§466. Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before p and twice before v. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb uttara with the stem uttara in composition see §476.
divile dyādfṛthiṛ ṛāvdhau MS. KS.: āvinnae dyādṛthiḥ dhṛtaiddleware TS. TB. And (in same passage): āvittau (TS. āvinnau) mitra varnayau dhṛtaวดhau (TS. ²nāv ṛāvdhau) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note å before v alone, but short a before vr- (the syllable being long already). Cf. §665.
sahasrapoṣam subhage (TS.*²pā) ravaṇaḥ RV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. ApMB.: sahasrapoṣam subhage varṇaḥ AV. Kauś.
tīḍe aṁniva svavasam (AV. svavasam) namabhīḥ RV. AV. MS. TB. AS. Only the AV. truly belongs here, as a compound of svav with vasa. The others have a compound of sv with asas.
deva samaghaṇa sahasrapoṣasyaśeṣe (AV. sahasra²) AV. TS.: sahasrapoṣasyaśe SMB. (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV. TS.; but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase.)
dvārapāya svāhā; dvārapayai svāhā; dvārapoṣa sprśa; dvārapy upa sprśa, all HG.: dvārā² etc., ApMB.
§467. *Formation in ant and vin.* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Taitt. texts to prefer a before these suffixes, and Maitr. texts short a; but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed; we have seen (§§238 ff.) that they did not occur originally after a vowels. The first five variants are metrical,

\[\text{āśavat (RV. āśvāc\textsuperscript{e}) somā viravat RV. SV. VS.}\]

\[\text{indrāvanto (TS. āndrāvanto) maruto viṣṇur agniḥ RV. AV. TS. KS. 140. 10b.}\]

\[\text{puṣpavatih (TS. puṣpāvatiḥ) suṇippalah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.}\]

\[\text{puṣpavatih (TS. ViDh. puṣpāvatiḥ) prasūvariḥ (TS. ṛṣaviḥ, AV. KS. ṛṣaviḥ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.}\]

\[\text{ṣrākāvantā (TS. KS. ṛṣrākāvantā, MS. ṛṣrākāvantā) nāgaṅgīṣā VS. TS. MS. KS.}\]

\[\text{indrāvān bhād bhās svāhā VS. TS. TB.: īndrāvān svāhā MS.}\]

\[\text{dūrehetir āndriyāśvān (PB. ṛāvān) patātri (PB. ṛtiḥ) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.}\]

\[\text{vātavān varṣam bāhma rācaḥ svāhā VS. TS. vātāvān varṣam ugra rācaḥ svāhā TS.}\]

\[\text{āndriyāvān dīrghavān bhūyāsam MS.: īndriyāvān bhūyāsam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.}\]

\[\text{agindravār ahān devaśayāyā viryavān īndriyavān bhūyāsam MS.: īndriyāvāro (MS. ṛīyāvāro) ahān devaśayāyendriyāy annādo (MS. ṛīyavān bhūyāsān VS. MS.: īndrāvāman devaśayāyendriyāvān (KS. ṛyāvān, MS. ṛyāvān) bhūyāsam VS. MS. KS. MS.)}\]

\[\text{jañjān devaḥyā koṣṭham gṛhāvah (TS. gṛhavat svāhā) TS. MS.}\]

\[\text{dhiśanās te devī visvedevyarātih (MS. MS. dhiśanās te ehi visvedevya-\textsuperscript{vati}) prthirgāḥ sadhasthe VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. And so with aḍīs (te) (teś te) devī; devānām te aḍīs patārī devī; janaya teāchinnapātā devī; varūrayo janaya (varūrī, etc.) ; idās teā devī; All in same texts, Maitr. always reading visvedevya\textsuperscript{e}; the others Ṛya\textsuperscript{e}.}\]

[sonām te kṛṣṇam ārjasvāntāṁ pavayāvantāṁ viryāvantaṁ VS. TS. KS.]

Conc. *viryāvantāṁ for TS.*

§468. *The reduplicating syllable.* Two cases; in both the following consonant is *m* or *v.*

\[\text{trīta etan (AV. trīta etan, comm. etat, read etan or epan) manusyasya māṃrjे (AV. māṃrjे) AV. TB. The AV. form is more usual but bad metrically; TB. (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem māṃrj- (found RV.).}\]
śucanto aṅguṇa varṣdhanta (AV. va²) indram RV. AV. KS. The regular form is va², but forms with va² are found in RV.

(d) Final ā optionally shortened to a; and other a:ā either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds.

§469. We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense ‘final’ a:ā. Real phonetic shortening of ā is not common. In most of the following variants both short and long ā can be justified morphologically. We begin with an interesting group concerning a privative and the preposition ā. Some of these concern lengthenings of a privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition ā.

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV. form ā:deva, ‘godless’, is the same as ādeva, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV. itself. A somewhat dubious theory on ādeva, rejected by Oldenberg, Noten on RV. 6. 49. 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131.

viṣa ādeviḥ abhy āśnavśma RV.; viṣo udeviḥ abhy ācarantiḥ RV. AV. AB. bhūnād (SV. bhūna) viśvam abhy ādevam (SV. ad²) ojasā RV. SV. Here the ā may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cēsura; with short ā we have a tribrach.

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of a privative are:

adayo (TS. adāyo, MS. adāyo) vīrah (AV. adāya ugrah) satamanyur īndraḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In pw. I p. 297 it is said that adāya is an error for adaya. But the p.p. repeats the form; it might be interpreted as ‘taking, seizing’, from ā-dā.

yavā ayavā umā abdāh (KS. yavā ayavā umā ēva abdās) sāgarah sumekāh MS. KS. MS.: yavā ayavā eva ēmāḥ sabdāḥ sāgarah sumekāh TS. ApŚ. The forms yava(n), ya², and ayava(n), ayə², are used with great confusion, but the a- seems to be felt as privative; the y-forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the ayə forms the latter half. The form with ayə is not noted except here and in the next; it seems to be equivalent to ayə.


§472. In the next we have a clear case of the preposition ā varying with a privative:

yām āpīnām upāśdantā āpah AV.: yām apīta upatiṣṭhanta āpah LS.
'Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon': 'whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon'.

§473. In the rest, real phonetic shortening of ā seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants; cf. the similar law in Pāli and Prakrit (§§393 ff.). The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them a privative may be involved; so in the first:

svastidā āghṛṇih (TB. TA. agh°) sarvāvraḥ RV. AV. MS. TB. TA. This familiar epithet of Pūsan certainly contains the preposition ā. The form āghṛṇi is recorded in no lexicon. Comm. on TB. desperately takes the a as privative: asodhvaradāpiḥ (!). The comm. on TA. varies in different ms.; one reading is āgaladāpiḥ (taking a as = ā). The reading adopted in Poona ed. is adāpiṭaḥ, asmāv aumāraḥ, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf. the classical āghṛṇin (pw. II p. 286, 'nichts verachtend'). But cf. also pūṣe 'āṅghṛṇaḥ svabhā, §300, where the yet different form aṅghṛṇi occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for āghṛṇi.

āsleṣā (TS. āsreṣā) nakṣatram TS. MS. KS. Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly āsleṣa; both these forms are otherwise unknown. BR. derive āsleṣa from a privative, but āsleṣa (ākr°) from the preposition ā; this is hardly credible. The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other. The prevalence of ā-forms suggests that ā- is a case of shortening before two consonants.

ā no viśe (MS. āvā) āskrā (TB. viśe askrā) gamantu (MS ātu) devāḥ RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The word is obscure; āskra seems to be otherwise unknown. Comm. on TB. abhinukhyena kartāraḥ santah, which implies ā and supports BR's derivation from ā plus root (e)kr (Śāyana derives from kram). This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group.

§474. There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of ā privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders. The ā forms occur each time only in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., and each time the Poona ed. reads short ā in text and comm. without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts: arāddhyā edidhiṣyaptim VS.: arāddhyā ēdidiṣyaptim TB. Conc. 'For misfortune,'

aśādham (TB. Conc. aṣ° or āṣ°) yutuḥ pṛtanāsu paprim RV. VS. VSK. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Unconquerable,'

aśādham (TB. āṣ°, Conc.) ugrāṁ sahanānam ābhāḥ RV. AB. TB.
§475. Next, a few cases of final ā of feminine stems, optionally shortened to a in composition and before vart. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II. 1 §56c that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case.

vásikārata (TS. "kasāra") svāhā TS. KSA.

anāyāṁ māyāvattarah SB.: māyāṁ māyāvattarah AB.

idāpraṣajō (KS. "idā") mānavīh TS. MS. KS.

śirahpāṇḍapārṣapraṣṭhorūdarajarājaṁghaṁkropasthapatāyavao (MahānU. prajhodarajāngha) me śudhyantām TA. TAA. MahānU.

ūrṇamradān (TS. TB. ApŚ. ārṇa) tvā strāmī (KS. ārṇamradā prathasa; KauŚ. ārṇamradā prathasa) svāsasthān (VS.† SB.† stham) dvebbhyāh VS. TS. KS. SB. TB. KŚ. KauŚ.: uru prathasvārṇamradān svāsasthān dvebbhyāh MS.

§476. The adverb uttarā varies with the adjective stem uttara in composition:

mitrāvarūṇanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā dvebbhyo uttarāsadbhyah (VSK. uttara) svāhā VS. VSK. SB.

ye devā mitrāvarūṇanetrā vā marunnetrā sottarāsadas (VSK. vottara) tebbhyah svāhā VS. VSK. SB.

§477. The rest are sporadic. The stem aga:agā belongs with noun formation rather than here; ā occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, III p. 358). On itthā:ittha see §455; on achā: acha, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form visēha or *"ha, and a couple of lexical variants:

śivē visēha (VS. and p.p. of MS. *ha) bheṣajī (MS. *ja; TS. visēhā- bheṣaji) VS. TS. MS. KS. (Cf. eratam rakṣanti visēhā etc., §511).

The reading of MS. p.p. suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of visēha and ahan, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut. plur. in aā, cf. §§450 f.).

ati vā (AV. atīva) yo maruto manyate nāh RV. AV. vāːiva.

pad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB. ma iha na) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. SS. N. See §832.

athem ada sya (AV. athemam asyā) vara ā prthivyāh AV. TS. AŚ. SS. MS.

’sThen set him free upon the choice spot of earth’; ‘then him upon the choice spot of this earth...’
2. Non-final *a:* in verb inflexion

§478. In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, a medial varies with *a.* Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p. 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift:

| devān | devayate (TB. ApŚ. MS. devā²) yaja (MS. yajamāṇḍya svaḥ) | RV. SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. |
| agne prēhi prathamo devayatām (AV. devatānām, MS. KS. devāyatām) | AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. | The verse is meant for jagatī in all except AV.; meter favors devā². |
| apānido janam amitrayaṇum (AV. amitrā²) | RV. AV. TS. KS. |
| devayuṇāḥ (TS. TB. devā²) viśvāvaraṃ (AŚ. ṝre) | TS. SB. TB. AŚ. SS. devir ṝpo agreγūro . . . devayum (VSK. devā²) | VS. VSK. SB. |

§479. Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p. 155):

| vasospate ni ramaya (N. rām², so v. l. of AV.) AV. N.: vasupate vi ramaya |

| yāvayāṣmad dveṣam KS.: yavayāṣmad dveṣaḥ VS. TS. SB. Kauṣ.: yavaya (v. l. yā²) dveṣo asmay MS.: yavayāṣmad aghā dveṣāśi TA. |
| yavayāṛātīṁ KS.: yavayāṛāṁh (MS. Kauṣ, ṝtīṁ) VS. TS. MS. SB. Kauṣ. |
| The p.p. of MS. has yavaya. |
| tatra havyānī gāmaya (KS. ga²) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. But von Schroeder reads gāmaya in KS. with one of his three mes. |

§480. There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation; see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added:

| udilān və (MS. dhipeyaṁ və, TB. yad vādāyaṇa) samjagara (TB. ṝjaṇārā, MS. ṝcakara) jalebhāyaḥ MS. TB. TA. These are first person forms, so that either a or ā is permissible by regular grammar. |

| yat sāsahat (SV. sāsāhā, KS. fśsāhah) sadane kah ciṭ atrivaṁ RV. SV. KS. |

| bibheda valam (AV. AŚ. balam) bhṛgur na sasahe (AV. sasāhe) AV. SV. AŚ. SS. The ā is probably due to the meter here; in the middle it is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, Grammar §703h). But the AV. form is itself not regular; it should be seye. |

| svām cāγne tanvah (TA. tanvah) piprayayva (AV. pipṛā²) RV. AV. TA. MahānU. See VV I p. 187. The ā here disturbs the meter, but is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form. |
§481. There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing a or ā, or sigmatic aorists with ā varying with other aorists or presents in medial a. They are mostly collected in VV I pp. 128 ff., 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following:

ānyāvakṣad (VS, ānyā vāksad) vasu vāryāni VS. TB. Cf. also:

§482. Subjunctive forms with an ending containing ā often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short a. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152–4, 167f.). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots dā and ṅhā which show alternatively a and ā (VV I §193); or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial ā, a, VV I pp. 180f., and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples:


There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings -tam and -tām, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337:

ā mā panti (VSK, *pi) pitarā mātārā ca (VSK, *pyum) VS, VSK. 10.3.12c, TS, KS, ŚB. Subject voc. in VSK., nom. elsewhere. Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs.

3. Non-final a:ā in noun formation

§483. In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear; the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

§484. Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having a and the other ā in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the vṛddhi of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this vṛddhi. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite.
§486. Under primary formations with radical a or ā, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems yaśa(n), yava, yaśe, and ayā, āyā, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown:

sajur abdo (MS. *abbād) ayavobhiḥ (KS. ayā), TS. ApŚ. 'yavabhi, MS. MŚ. *yavabhiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
yava ayavā umā abdah (KS. ayavā umā tēvā abdah TS. ApŚ. yāvā ayāvā eva umāḥ savāhah TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
yavāndāh (TS. yāve) bhāgo 'sī VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ayanāṃ (TS. ayā) ādhipatyaṃ VS. TS. MS. KS.
yavaḥ cāyavāvā cādhipatayā āsan VS. MS. KS. ŚB.; yavāndāṃ cāyānāṃ cādhipatayam āsīt TS.

§486. Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix a is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either a or ā in the root syllable; type bhagā:bdgā. They call for no comment:

subhagānkarṣaṇaḥ mama AV.; subhāgānkarṣyaḥ mama SMB. Most sanhitā mss. of AV. subhāgā.

mām agne bhaginam kuru ApMB.; mām indra bhaginam kṛṇu AV.

samsravabhagā (‘yadh, ‘yās, VS. ŚB. KŚ. samaśravā) sthegā (Kauś. taniśa) bṛhantah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.
namāḥ parṇāya (TS. KS, parṇyāya) ca parṇaśadāya (TS. ‘adyāya, VS. ‘adyāya) ca VS. TS. MS. KS.
pratāḥ pratāsavaśya (ApŚ. MŚ. ‘sāvasya) sukravaro..., ŚB. KŚ.

ApŚ. MŚ. pratvahāvā is the only form known to RV., but the other is commoner later.

pratāḥ pratāsavaśyeṇendrāya (ApŚ. MŚ. ‘sāvasyen...)... KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. kṛavaś (VS. kṛavaś) ca me kṛutī ca me VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. kṛavaś might be taken as an -s-stem, but not kṛavaś,

kṣuro bhṛjaś (TS. bhṛjaś, MS. bhṛjaś, VS. bhṛjaś) chandaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.; bhṛjaś (KS. ed. bhraś, v. l. bhraś) chandaḥ VS. (in next verse) TS. KS. (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS. bhṛjaś for bhraś.

vahniḥ samāranaḥ (TA. sanpāraṇo) bhava VS. TA. Different but synonymous roots.

§497. Forms in primary ya, practically gerundives in meaning:

yaś bhūtam yac ca bhānam (AV. *ArŚ. VS. bhā, AV.* yad vā bhānam) RV. AV. (bis) ArŚ. VS. TA. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. bhau. Metrical lengthening, possibly.

uttaraśyāṃ devavājīyāṃ upahātah (TB. also tā) TS. ŚB. TB.; upahāto 'yām yujamāna (MS. 'yām) uttarasyāṃ devavājīyāṃ (MS. 'yājīyā- yām) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.
§488. Forms in other suffixes:

havanāśetr (TB. hāvanaśetr) no rudreha bodhi RV. TB. hāvana- is not otherwise recorded from root hā.

dūṣikabhīr hrādunim (KSA, hrā) TS. KSA.: hrādunir dūṣikabhīh VS. MS. The word is not otherwise recorded with short ə; if KSA. is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of hrada.

dīvacarebhhyo (MG. əcāribhyyo) bhūtebhhyah MG. ViDh.: ahaścarebhhyah ŚG. (Sc. namaḥ in both.) Also: naktāncarebhhyah ŚG. ViDh.: naktāncāribhyyo bhūtebhhyah MG. Stems cara and cārīn.

tataḥ me apas (TB. ApŚ. ma ṣapas) tad u tāyate pūnaḥ RV. KB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Both apas and ṣapas are Rigvedic.


§489. The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations; occasionally they may be lexically different in origin:

adaya (TS. adāya, MS. ādāya) vīrah (AV. ed. with p.p. adaya ührāh, but mss. ada³, and so comm.) kalamanjarīndraḥ RV. AV. ŚV. VS. TS. MS. KS. On the initial ə of MS. see §471. The second ə is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV. comm.). Possibly 'without a share' (dāya), tho this fits none too well. For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS. and note.

marudbhyyo yphamedhībhyyo (MS. ədhebhyyo) baśkān (MS. vas³, ApŚ. baśkān) VS. MS. ApŚ. Cf. §219. The word is obscure; is the ə somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ.?

vasaṭ ApŚ.: vasaṭkāraḥ AG. ŚG. If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss. of ApŚ. vasaṭ) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation vasaṭ.

ākhuḥ kasa māṇthālas (MS. māṇthālaras, VSK. māṇdhālas) te pitṛṇām VS. VSK. MS.: pāṅktah (KSA, pāṅktah, but mss. of both texts pāṅtra-) kasa māṇthālaras (KSA, man³) te pitṛṇām (KSA, pit³) TS. KSA. See §77.

hemṛṭiṭya kakārān (KSA, kakārān) VS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Name of an unknown animal or bird.

[jīśrāyā vikārān (KSA, vikārān, Conc. vikārān; ApŚ. vikirān) VS. KSA. ApŚ.]

āsthām jalmā (KS. jalmā) udaram kṛṇhayitā (KS. ṣrans³) AV. KS.
nākro makaraḥ kulipayaḥ (TS. kulikayaḥ, MS. pulikayaḥ, KSA. puliyayaḥ) te kūparasya (KSA. kūparasya) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Read kūparasya in KSA.; see §198.


ākūhu śrjayaḥ śayanḍakas te maitrāḥ (KSA. śayanḍakas te maitryāḥ, em. in ed. to "kas te maitrāḥ") TS. KSA.: śānyah śrjayaḥ śayanḍakas te maitrāḥ VS. MS. The word śayā is obscure, and may have been originally a compound.

vāśā stha VS. TS. SB. TB. ApŚ.: vaśā stha MS. KS. MŚ. Addressed to waters. vāśā probably 'bellowing' (BR. and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Saśanā's guesses); vaśāḥ 'cows'. It is held by some that vāśā is connected with the root vās, 'bellow'.

§490. Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having vrddhi in the first syllable and the other lacking it:

śāndikera uñcahalah (HG. śvaiḥ) HG. ApMB.: prajāḥ sarvāḥ ca rājabändhavaiḥ (MG. śvaiḥ) PG. MG.: sarvāḥ ca rājabändhavaiḥ (ŚG. rābandhavaiḥ) AG. ŚG. (Oldenberg suggests reading śvaiḥ in ŚG.) Alternative stems bandhara and bān, both from bandhu.

mitrāvaruṇau praśāstārau praśāstrāt (KŚ. praśāt) KŚ. ApŚ. MS. The office of the praśāstra is praśāstra or praśāt.

dīvyam suparnan vāyasaiḥ (AV. paryastaiḥ, KS. VS. SB. TS. vāyasaḥ, MS. TS. vāyasaiḥ) bhāntam RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. SB. AŚ. Suparn. vāyasa and ra both 'bird'; vāyasaiḥ is instr. of the unrelated vāyas 'strength'.

dhiṣyaśi parvatī (TS. TB. ApŚ. śyā, MS. KS. MŚ. pārvati, but KS. mss. parvī) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MS. In the Tait. texts a secondary adjective parvatī, in the Maitr. school an equivalent pārvita; the form parvatī must also have the same meaning (Mahādhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening); it is too well attested to make emendation advisable. See next.

prati teṣ parvatī (TS. TB. tir, MS. KS. MŚ. pārvati) vetya VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. MS. See pree. Twice in KS.; once the sole ms. has pārvata; the other time pārvata, but KapŚ. pārva.

gārī (AG. gārī) vācaknava (sa. tarpayāmi) AG. ŚG. Patronymics; gārī is to be expected. See next.

śākalyam ŚG.: śākalam AG. (with both sc. tarpayāmi). Read no doubt śākalyam in ŚG. (misprint; Oldenberg's translation has Šākalya).

Cf. pree.
ya āntarikṣāḥ (sc. sarpās tebhya iṃmai bālin haraṃi) HG.: ye sarpāḥ
daṃthi vā antarikṣāṃ ye divya... AG.

vāyur na ṛṣita ṛṣitaṃvair devair anāntaryat (ApŚ. āntarikṣāḥ) pātu
KS. ApŚ.

āṅgūṣāyam (SV. āṅgoṣiṇam) avādānata vāyi RV. SV. The SV. form
in this and the next is dubious.

āṅgūṣyaṇaḥ (SV. āṅgoṣiṇam) pavamanām sakhīyaḥ RV. SV. Cf. prec.
śvetāya vaidarvāya (śvēya, dārvēya, vaitaharvēya), see §315.

swarmastainyaḥ avātyaṃ (BDh. avātyaṃ) ViDh. BDh. Perfect
equivalents.

narāṣaṇa (VS. nār?) somapāthah ya ākuḥ (KS. ānakṣuḥ) VS. MS. KS. TB.
It is at least conceivable that narāṣaṇa, as name of a certain liba-
tion, is a secondary derivative without vṛiddhi.
[narāṣaṇa staviṣyaate AV. AS. ŠŚ. In the Berlin ed. of AV. is printed the
false emendation nārā.]

sūyaśaṁ manave (RV. TA. manuṣe, KS. mānuṣa) dāsasya (TA. ṛṣe,
TS. MS. KS. yuṣasye) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. mānuṣe of KS. =
manave of TA. (manuṣe in RV. is dative of manuṣa, a more primitive
form; all ultimately connected with manu, whence the dative
manave.)

agnid rajanarukīnau (sv ed., v. l. rājava; p.p. rājan, rau) purodāśāv
adhirāya MS. A name of a sāman; see note in MS., and BR.
s. v. rajaṇa, which seems to be the true form; rajana would perhaps
be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable.

hrasibhyām hāsaddam AV.

araṇyāya (MS. araṇāya) srmarah VS. TS. MS. KŚA. Both mean
‘of distance’.

kalpayotam mānuṣaḥ TB. ApŚ.: drkhaṃtan dāivīr visāh kalpatān
†manuṣyaḥ KS.

achinnō divyas (KS. ApŚ. daivyas) tantur mā manuṣaḥ (KS. ApŚ. manu-
ṣyaḥ) chedi MS. KS. ApŚ.

bhṛṣpatir devānām (ŠŚ. daivo) brahmānam manuṣyaṇāṃ (ŠŚ. mānuṣaḥ)
VSK. TB. ŠŚ. KS. ApŚ. MS.

§491. In other cases a secondary formation with vṛiddhi of the initial
syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is
derived, or with a related word:

śunāṁ vāhāḥ śunāṁ narāḥ (TA. nāraḥ) RV. AV. TA. naraḥ, plur. of nr;
nāraḥ, plur. of nara, from nr or nara.
namās te rathamātraṇa (AA. rātho) . . . AA. IŚ. ŠŚ. Both words refer to
the Rathaimitra's sāman; AA. forms an adjective from the noun rath, with sāman understood.


vāyusātvira (TS, p.p. "trah; MS. vāyusavitybhāyām) agomugbhāyām caraḥ (MS. payah) TS. MS. KSA. Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar.'

tasmāi brahma ca brahmā (TA. brahmā) ca AV. TA.

nāsām āmitro (TA. nāinā amitra) evathā ā dadharṣati RV. AV. TB. āmitro = 'belonging to the enemy (amitra)'.

agnes tvā (MS. agnēs tvā) mātrayā jagatyāi (KS. "tyā, MS. jagatyā) vartanyā ... TS. MS. KS. 'with the path of the jagati' or 'with the jagati as path'. KS. v. l. jagatyā.


prabhāyā agnyendham (TB. āgnyendham) VS. TB. The TB. form is problematic; comm. agnēh prajalanaṅkātāram, which would make it equal to agnyedham. Should we read āgnyendham, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or āgnīndham?

sadyakrīś (ApMB. sādyakrīś) chandasa śaha ŚG. ApMB. sādyakrī (masc.), name of an ekaḥa. The ApMB. form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem., and there seems to be no fem. noun with which it could agree.

prāvanebhiḥ saṣoṣah RV. VS. TS. ŚB.: pravanena saṣoṣah MS. KS. The ौ. leq. prās is doubtful; Grassmann as secondary adj., 'fires) of the abyss'. But RV. p.p. prav; possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is v, cf. §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root pru, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of pru and rana; in that case it would belong to §465.

śāsavābhyaḥ (AV. ApŚ. and TB. Poonak ed. šaḥ) samābhyaḥ AV, VS. TB. IśrU. ApŚ. The adjective śāśvata = śaśvat; fem. forms of both. yadī varūṇasyāsi ... Kau.: yadī varūṇy asī ... Rvidh. ApG.: yady asī vāruṇy ... GG.

yatā gamāya harmyam (TA. hā?) AV, TA.; and
eva (TA. evam) vapāmi harmyam (TA. hā?) AV, TA. harmya is recorded only here, and may mean the same as harmya, or be a corruption of that; but TA. takes it as a secondary adj., 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun; and this is also possible.

śāpāsthā asi vānapatyaḥ MS.: śāpāsthā devo vānapatih TS. ApŚ.
veda u svāya rāthayā VS. ŚB.
adhyātmyānukṣatāram TB.: tādhyātmyānukṣatāram VS.
soma vaiṣṇava rājā (AŚ, ŚŚ. soma vaiṣṇava) ... aṅgiraso (AŚ, ṛāṅg̐, ŚŚ. aṅgiraso vedo) vedah ...ŚB. AŚ, ŚŚ. ‘The Aṅgirasas (i.e., the AV.) are the Veda’; so ŚB. The others mean the same thing: ‘the (Veda) of the Aṅgirasas’.

§492. There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern noun formation in a broad sense. First a group of variants between aṅgayanā and aṅgā, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma, which is apparently derived from agra; the a may be rhythmic in character. The variants seem to suggest a preference for the a form in MS. MŚ. and KS., with short a elsewhere:
nidhanavata aṅgayanā (MS. KS. aṅgā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. aṅgayanā (MS. KS. aṅgā) ca me ... VS. TS. MS. KS. aṅgayanāt (KS. MS. aṅgā) trīnāvāraṇastraivāsau VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. aṅgayanā (MS. MS. aṅgā) ‘si vāṅgayanā (MS. MS. vāṅgā) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. aṅgayanā te daksakrata pātu asau AŚ.: ṛtmānāṃ ta aṅgayanā (ApŚ. ṛāṅg̐) pātu MS. ApŚ.

§493. When roots ending in a are used as final parts of compounds, the a is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common a declension:
urjanāasarā (etc., see §475) ... svāstham (VS.† ŚB.† oṣṭhān) dēsēbhyaḥ VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KS. Kauś.: uru prathasvarṣam-radam svāstham dēsēbhyaḥ MS.
krṣṇo ‘cy ākhareṣṭhāh (MS. KS. and most ms. of MŚ. oṣṭhāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MS. ApŚ.
yeva kaviḥ puruṣītha (KS. oṣṭhā) rāma RV. TS. MS. KS.
mītra na (MS. MŚ. nā) ehi sumitrīdā (TS. KS. oḍhāḥ, MS. oḍhāḥ saha rāyas poṣena) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
yo devānām nāmadā (AV. oḍha) eka eva (KS. eko aṣṭi) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
adbhitō goḥaḥ (KS. ṛgoḥaḥ) pari pāhi nas teva (KS. pari pātu viśvataḥ) RV. TS. KS.
pravāyāhne ‘har jīva VS.: pravāyāhnaḥ jīva VS. The MS. form is suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which are instrumental in form. If correct it is a dative from prā-vā; VS. has instr. of prā-vā. The root is vā, ‘blow’.

§494. Other variants involving different related or quasi-related noun stems:
VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

aprajastāṁ pautramṛtyum ApMB. HG.; aprajasyaṁ pautramṛtyam SMB.; aprajāsthaṁ mārtaṇaṁ AV. On stems praajas and praajas (praajas) see Wackernagel II, 1 p. 95 f.

su tvā manumanaṁ karotu (ApMB. *sam kṛnotu) PG. ApMB. 'He shall make thee (fem.) me-minded.' Stems man-manas and man-manasa.

agnir adhyakṣaṁ (TA. *gāh) MS. TA. 'Agni is overlord.' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous ā of TA., as if from stem adhyakṣas! It is repeated in the comm., with gloss svāmī.

satvanāṁ (MS. satvānāṁ, KS. *satvānāṁ) pataye namah VS. TS. MS. KS. Stems satvān and satvā; MS. has a bad writing for satvā, cf. §392.

imāṁ naraṁ (naraḥ). . . , see §328. Nom. pl. of stems nara and nṛ. tisraṁ kṣapas (TA. *pāś) trir ahūtrirajadhibīḥ RV. TA. Stems kṣap and kṣapā.

tābhir (TB. yābbhir) yāsī dūtyāṁ (MS. *yam) sūryasya RV. MS. TB. Stems dūtyā and *ya (Pischel, VS. 1. 22; Oldenberg, Noten on 6. 58. 3).

agnir pṛthivyam . . . varūṇa dharmanāṁ pate . . . TB.: agne pṛthivyā . . . varūṇa dharmanāṁ . . . SS. Stems dharma and *man. (Also listed in Conc. under varūṇa . . .)

§495. The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in deenominal forms as well as in composition, ending in both ā and a; the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language; cf. Wackernagel III p. 358 f.

aṅgasthāno dasapakṣaṁ Kauś.: aṅgāpakṣaṁ dasapakṣaṁ AV.
aṅgābhyaḥ (KSA. aṅgā, but ed. em. aṅgā) aṅgābhikāṁ svāhā TS. KSA.
[aṅgābhyaḥ (Conc. wrongly KSA. aṅgā) aṅgā SV. KSA.]
[aṅgāyē gāyatrīya śrīte ratanātāraṇyāśṭakapālah (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. All texts aṅgā; Conc. aṅgā for VS.]

§496. A couple of doubtful cases:

samudrasya tvātvacāyā (TS. ApŚ. tvavā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MA. avakā, name of a water-plant, from ava; avākā presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened ā before suffix ka, cf. similar cases before vant and vin, §467, and Edgerton, JAOŚ 31.118, where this should in that case be added. Boehtlingk, 'die untere Eihaut' for avākā, evidently thinking of avā(ā)c; Keith, 'wind'; we see little reason for either interpretation.

nīrīṭaṁ nirjarjālpena (MS. nīrjalpena, TS. nirjālmaṇena, KS. nir- jālmaṇaka-) biryā VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; see §810. TS. comm., followed by Keith, 'bald'.
4. Non-final \( a \ddot{a} \) in Noun Declension

\$497. In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between \( a \) and \( \ddot{a} \) is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts; not accompanied by change of syntax; that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

\$498. First, the forms \( apas \) and \( \ddot{a}pas \) are frequently interchanged as nom. and acc. of stem \( ap \) (Wackernagel III p. 240):

\[
\text{\( \text{sam no bhavante \( \ddot{a}pa \) oṣadha-\( y\)ah} (6. 23. 3 \( \text{apa} \) oṣadha-) \( \dot{s}i\text{vāh} \) AV. 2. 3. 6, 6. 23. 3. But mss. at 2. 3. 6 also \( \text{apa} \) (comm. \( \dot{a}pa\dot{h} \), which Whitney's Translation restores; and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter; it furnishes the desired anapest after the cesura.)}
\]

\( \text{apo} \) (RV. \( \text{AŚ. \( \ddot{a}po \)}, \text{adyān} \) (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. anu; AV. diyeḍ) acārīṣam (JB. \( \ddot{a}cārīṣam \), AV. acārīṣam) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Here the form is accusative.

\$499. Stems in \( \ddot{a} \) do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of \( pad \), which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney \$387.4; Wackernagel III p. 235 f.). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of \( sad \), not recognized as lengthening the stem \( a \) by Whitney \$387 or Wackernagel III p. 237, foot:

\( \text{dvipac catuspad} \) (SV. dvipac catuspād) arjunī RV. SV.

\( \text{dvipac catuspad} \) (AV. VS. Kauś. dvipac catuspād) asmākam RV. AV. VS. VSık. TS. Kauś.

catuspadām uṣa yā (TS. ca) dvipadām AV. TS.: catuspadā uṣa yā dvipādaḥ

KS. MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular; different case forms.

\( \text{vīśa \( \ddot{a}\text{ṣa} \) daksīṇasat} \) (AB. AŚ. \( \ddot{a}\text{sā}, \text{ŚŚ. \( \ddot{a}tah}, \text{LŚ. \( \ddot{a}\text{ḥak} \) VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.}

\$500. Twice Tait. texts present vriddhi-grade forms of \( ṭīr \) in the bahuvrihi compound dākṣa-\( ṭīr \), which Wackernagel II. 1 p. 101 (cf. also III p. 200) properly compares with tvit-\( ṭīrāḥ \):

\( \text{sudaksā daksāpitārā} \) (TB. \( \ddot{a}\text{ṭarā} \) RV. TB.

\( \text{ye deva manojātā} \) (MS. KS. MŚ. manu\( \ddot{a} \)) \ldots sudaksā daksāpitāras (TS.\( \ddot{a}\text{ṭarā}) \ldots TS. MS. KS. BDh. ViDh.

\$501. Of n-stems, there is one case of nom. pl. \( \text{ṣr\ddot{a}ṇah} \) (Wackernagel III p. 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming \( \text{ṣr\ddot{a}ṇah} \):

\( \text{ṣr\ddot{a}ṇah} \) (TB. \( \text{ṣr\ddot{a}ṇah} \) samidhimahi RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB.
§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened a, paśumānti, from a mant stem (noted RPr. 589 = 9. 30), is replaced in SV. by the regular form;
miteva sadma paśumānti (SV, *manti) hotā RV. SV.—Similarly:
ava dṛṇānī ghrāmānti sīda (SV, *santi roha) RV. SV.

§502. As to s-stems, the ending as in the neuter nom.-acc. of adjectives may be lengthened to ās (Wackernagel III p. 288):
śarmā (TA. *ma) saprayārā ḍerne KS. TA.; śarma yachātha saprayāh AV. But all ms. of AV. *ṭhāh, which should doubtless be read; comm. *ṭhāh.


viśām agnim atithinī suprayasam (KS. *yāsam) RV. KS. The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS’s secondary reading; v. Schr. emends to ṣyasam, rather rashly, we think. Cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3. (But Wackernagel III p. 282 denies ās to other words than uṣas.) Oldenberg, Noten, denies ground for emending the RV., which is unquestionably conservative and wise; but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it.


§503. A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms:
agni yan ma tanā (TS. tanāvā) śanā (SS. yan ma śnān tanavā) tan ma ā prṣa VS. TS. SB. SS. PG. Abl.-gen. sing. of u-stem.

anadhāsā tapyate vahan (MS. talpate vahan) ApŚ. MS. The passage of MS is unpublished; if correctly reported, the ending of the nom. sing. pres. pple. would be lengthened by analogy with mant and vart stems.

§504. Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem yuen- is replaced by the later yuen-:
athā somasya prayati yuvabhyaṁ RV.: adhā somasya prayati yuvabhyaṁ
KS. But v. l. of KS, yuva°.
§505. Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find
first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in
adjectives modifying nouns of common gender:
svāṁ (MS. KS, svāṁ, MG. sva-) yoniṁ gacha svāhā AV, VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. MG. yoni may be masc. or fem.; the Tait, school makes it
fem. in all the variants.
agni svāṁ (TS, TB, svāṁ, ŚB, iwan) yoniṁ ā śiḍa sādhyā (VS, ŚB.
sādhyā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See pree.
svāṁ (TS. svāṁ) yoniṁ ihāsulōḥ VS. TS.† MS. KS. (No svāṁ in TS.)
yajña bhūtā yajñām ā śiḍa svāṁ (MS. svāṁ) yoniṁ ... TB. Ap Ś. MS.
[svāṁkrto (KS. svāṁ)°] i VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Ap Ś. MS. Here
both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form.
dhruvaṁ (TS,° rāṁ) yoniṁ ā śiḍa sādhyā (VS. ŚB. sādhyā) VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB.
maṁ mā (KS. māṇ) hīniśṭāṁ svāṁ (KS. yat svāṁ) yoniṁ ... MS. KS.:
mā mā hīniś śvāṁ (KS. svāṁ) yoniṁ ... VS. KS. ŚB. TB. Ap Ś.:
maṁmaṁ hīniśṭāṁ svāṁ yoniṁ ... AB.
so no daddatu tam (AV. tāṁ) rayim AV. AA. ŚŚ. rayi, masc. or fem.
atthāmaṁbhyaṁ sahaśrāṁ (AV. VSK. MS. KS.° rāṁ) rayim dāḥ AV.
VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Cf. pree.
abhīmaṇ (TS,° māṇ, MS. MS. v. l.° māṇ) māhīnā (VS. MS. v. l.° mā)
divam (MS. diceḥ) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MS.
yā (MS. ya) iṣava yātudhānaṇām VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.
īṣ, m. or f.
§506. These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in
gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being yoni, rayi, and
dei). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred
to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated
in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list
them here. We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in -ām:
-ām, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the
form in -ām is an adverb, that in -ām a masc. or neut. adjective:
indream prataśrāṁ (VS. TS. ŚB.° rāṁ) kṛdhī (VS. MS. ŚB. nayā) AV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ud enama uttaraṁ (VS. TS. KS. ŚB.° rāṁ) nayā AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
fīvāya pratarāṁ (RV.° rāṁ) sādhayā dhiyāḥ RV. SV. SMB.
drāgiya āyuḥ pratarāṁ (TA,° rāṁ, MG. prataśrāṁ) ... RV. AV. TA.
AG. MG. And others, see §575.
asmin kṣaye pratarām ċīḍyānāh SV.; adhi kṣami pratarāh ċīḍhyānāh RV. AV.

§507. In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an a vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr. sing. and other singular oblique cases of ā-stems, and between the nom. masc. sing. and plur. of a-stems; as well as between masc. or neut. and fem. forms, treated in §§505–6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom. and accus. pronouns ātām and teām. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension:

surāyā (MS. KS. surāyā) mātrāj janayanti (VS. [MS. ātu] retoh VS. MS. KS.† TB. 'By (from) surā they generate(d) seed from urine.'
surāyā (MS. surāyā) somāh suta āśuto madāya VS. MS. KS. ŠB. TA. dīkṣayedām (KS. dīkṣayā) havir āgachatai naḥ KS. TB. ApŚ. All mss. and ed. of KS. read so; but it seems that it must be an error for dīkṣayā.

ā gat trpan maruto vāsaśānāh (MS. ānaḥ) RV. TS. MS. KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS, pra candramās tirate (TS.† āti. AV.† āmas tirase) dirghaṃ āyuḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Nom. voc.
bhaqa eva bhagavān astu devaḥ (AV.† devaḥ) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. devaḥ voc. pl.; devaḥ (lect. fac.) nom. sing. Ppp. ms. devaḥ, wrongly emended to devaḥ by Barret JAOS 35. 88.
namāḥ kṛṣṇāyatayā (VSK. āyataya) . . . VS. VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS., which simulates an instr. fem. but is really uninterpretable.

teām (TB. tram) rāya ubhayāso janānām RV. MS. KS. TB. The construction is changed; both readings are construable.


§508. In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix ā vary with forms beginning in short a, of different origins; cf. the cases of ā and a privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short a is the augment:
vedāṃ añāsata (SV. medhāṃ āśā) kriye RV. SV.†
ākrān (TA. ākrāṇ) samudrāh prathame vidharman RV. SV. PB. TA. MahānU. N. Comm. on TA. ākrāṇ ākrāntavan vajāpravīn.
āgann apāna ātmānaḥ . . . ŚŚ.: āgann pānāḥ svargam . . . ŚŚ.
āganma (AŚ. agō) viśvarūdasam VS. ŚB. AŚ.
āganma (SV. agō) vṛtrahantamam RV. SV. AA. ŚŚ.
urdhu adhva rasthā (VS. ŚB. 'dhrva rastḥā, KS. 'dhrvē rsthāḥ, ApŚ. adhve rsthā) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
agnaye samidham āhārṣam (ŚG. GG. ahārṣam) AG. ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG. ApMB.
yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat (MŚ. paryā) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
ājagan rītrī suṣmanā iha yām AV. SPP.; Berlin ed. ājagan, with slight ms. authority; some mss. ājāgan; see Whitney's note on AV. 19. 49. 3.

§609. Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition a, before forms in short a:
āgne (RV. agne) yāhi sukaśṭiiḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
arjamayati vṛṣahbas tuviśmān TS.: aōryāma yāhi vṛṣahbas tuvaśāt MS. KS. patho ānaktu (AV. KS. āti, TS. patha ānakti) madhāvī ghrēna AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
āṃdus (KB. au) nṛmānam duḥt (KB. duḥḥ) MS. KB. TA. ŚŚ.
kāṇa antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ. "ṣa ār") VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LS.
tāṇya antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ. Vait. "ṣa ār") VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LS. Vait. yasmin sāryā āṛpitāḥ (KS. 'TB. TA. arē) sapta sākam AV. KS. TB. TA.
indram yajña prayaty ahvetām (TB. Conc. āhu, Poona ed. ahu, comm. ahu with v. 1. ahu) VS. TB.
agnaya upāheayadheva Vait.: agnir me hota sa mopaḥvayatatā SMB.:
agni grhapatav upa nā havyasea KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In Vait. upa + ā.
[anārikshān (VS. ānē) prthivīm aḍṛhit VS. TB. But Poona ed. of TB.
ānē, which is clearly right.]

§610. The pronouns asmat 'from us' and asmāt 'from him, it' exchange:
krānti cid enaḥ pra mumudhy (AV. TS. mumuktam) asmat (KS. asmāt) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.
praty auhaḥām (MS. akē) aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt (AV. asmat) AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. TA.

§611. The rest are miscellaneous:
vratām rakṣanti viśvāhā AV.: vratā rakṣante viśvāhā RV. Probably both forms are adverbial (not compounded with -ahan), and the penultimate vowel lengthened in the RV. form for some obscure reason; cf. kīrā viśvāhā ('ha) etc., §477.

ye te panthāno bahavo jandyanāḥ AV.: ye te 'ryaman (KS. arya) bahavo devayanāḥ TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a. jana-ayana: deva-yāna. But rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here.
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gharmani pāta vasavo yajata (TA.: *tā, see §448; MS. *hrō) vāt (MS. veļ, TA. vaļ) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. vaļ, vāļ, or veļ, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation.

āhalag (MS. ahō, TS. TB. āhalam, KSA. āhalam) iti vañceti (TS. TB. sarpati) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. An onomatopoetic interjection. All texts may intend āhō, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final -ā; comm. on VS. TS. āhō; p.p. of MS., to be sure, ahō; in default of comm. or p.p. there is no evidence as to which KS. intended.

ātyārasya parah putraḥ ŚB.: ātyārasya parasyādah ŚŚ. Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships.


agdād eko ... samasanād ekaḥ TS.: udhvād eko ... sanād ekaḥ sanāsanād ekaḥ MŚ. See §181.

agnaye tvā mahāyaṁ ... āyur (MS. mayo) dātra edhi ... VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

aṅkāṅkāh (MS. aṅkā-ąṅkāh, so p.p.; KS. aṅkaṅkāh) chandaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The curious shortening in KS. seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening). Cf. §362.

āptye (AV. aprīye) saṁ naẏāmasi RV. AV. See §878.

vālajavair (HG. vātājirair) balavadhī manojavaiḥ MS. HG. See §268.

gāva upāvātātām (SV. upaavadāne) RV. SV. See §60.

āntrāmukhaḥ ... HG.: ālikhān ... hantrāmukhaḥ ... PG. See §386.

viśvakarman bhūswana maṁ didāśītha (ŚB. manda āśītha) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

§612. Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous:

prā smā minatīy ajaraḥ RV. KS.: prāśmā minatīy ajaraḥ ApŚ. We cannot interpret prāśmā, unless as prā (for prā) smā (for sma). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439.

nilāgalasātā AV. 6. 16. 4c.: nilgalamālāh śevaḥ paśya NilarU. 22b. The true reading of NilarU. is certainly that of AV., see Jacob's Concordance s. v.; two mss. and the comm. read so, and the comm. quotes AV. 6. 16. 4.

aśīrāṇā ahaya (SV. 'gāṇo 'haya) etc RVKh. SV.: aśīrāṇa ivāhayaḥ AV. But we must read in RVKh. as in SV., with Scheftelowitz (p. 106).
agniṣ ca dahanāḥ prati AV. SV. Misprinted āgniṣ in AV., see Whitney's note.
atrā (AV. tatra) yamaḥ sādanā (TA. "nāl) te minatu (AV. kṛṇatu) RV. AV. TA. Conc. sādanā for AV.
asmān devaṣo 'vata (Conc. 'vata) havesu AV.† And others, all with avatā.
ā na indā satagvinām (SV. misprinted śata) RV. SV. See Benfey's Corrigenda.
ārvāṇ (GB. ārvāṇ) ehi somakāman tvaḥuh GB, etc. Gauḍāstra correctly ārvāṇ,
viśve devā udickeyām tu abhiṣiṇcante (error for "cyam tvabh") kreyasse Rvidh.: udickeyām te diśi viśve devāh . . . abhiṣiṇcante . . . AB.
jāmiṃ (KS.†cami) mā hinir amuyā (MŚ. anu yā) sayānā KS. TB, MŚ.; mā jāmiṃ moṣīr amuyā sayānām AV. The KS. (one ms. only) must certainly be emended to jāmiṃ.
pavamāṇa vīdharmanī RV. SV. Once misprinted pavamāṇa in SV.; corr. Benfey's Corrigenda.
ṭvṛtyahram śāma gāya (correct Conc.) MS. ŚB. MŚ.: prastotar vṛtya-
haraham śāma gāya ApŚ.
CHAPTER XII. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513. In contrast to the a:a variants, those between i and ì and between u and û are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between i:i and u:u as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long i and u declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of ‘phonetic’ shortening of an i or û historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence.—See §§300-2 for variations between i, û, and short i, u, plus nasal, and §§395-8 for the like before single and double consonants.

1. Final short ì lengthened phonetically

§514. We begin with cases in which final ì, originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of a:a, we include not only absolutely final ì, but ì in the seam of compounds, before the suffix rast, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final ì.

§515. The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a pāda. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose; of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the pāda. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (obhe aprā rodas ā vi [vi] qa ādeah, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for ì to be lengthened before û, but also before r and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).
§516. First the cases of prepositional adverbs. Note that the following consonant is most commonly r (once b); but r is also frequent, and there are several cases of s. The first five variants have i absolutely final, not in composition; in four of them the older form of the variant has short i. We add one case of the conjunction yadi:

vidad yadi (MS.† yadi, TB. ApŚ. yati) saramā... RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. See §63.

abhī (SV. I.B. abhī) na vājasātaman RV. SV. PB.

tena somābhi rakṣa naḥ RV.: tebhī somābhi (TA. "bhī") rakṣa naḥ (TA. "naḥ") RV. TA.

abhī na ā vartaeva RV.: agne "bhīvartīm abhī mā ni vartaeva (with variants; KauŚ. abhī na ā vartaeva) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. KauŚ. See §648.

mā tvā sūryo 'bhī (KS. sūryah pari; ApŚ. sūryah pari) lāpśin māgnir (ApŚ. mó agnir) vaisvāmaraḥ VS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ.

abhī aprā rodasī vi (SV. vi) sa āvah RV. SV. Here the meter favors i, which SV. introduces secondarily.

agnim atruṣbhāyām (MS. ati²) VS. MS.

adhīeṣām (MS. adhi²) yā āhiranyasy asmai RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

abhīvaraḥ (TS. abhi²) saviṇśaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

abhīṣāhe (and abhi²) sāhā MS. (both)

abhīṣañ (so ed. em., Conc. with ms. 9aśi) tābhīṣaḥyaḥ ca KS.: ābhīṣaṭ cābhīṣaḥ cābhīṣaḥiḥ cābhīṣaḥiḥ... IŚ.: ābhīṣaṭ cābhīṣaḥiḥ ca ApŚ.

nirōha (PB. ni²) 'ē ti TS. PB.

namo nīveṣyāya (p.p. ni²) ca hṛdaya ca MS.: namo hṛdayāya (VS. hṛdayāya, KS. hradanāya) ca nīveṣyāya (TS. "yāya") ca VS. TS. KS.

pariṣoṣāt lad arpitāḥ ApŚ.: pari duṣāt ud arpitāḥ KŚ.

pariśādām pariṣkaṇam AV.: pariśādām pariṣkaṇam ApMB.

ṛṣi bodhāpratibodhau AV.: bodhāś ca teṣa pratibodhaḥ ca rājakām AV.: bodhāś ca teṣa pratibodhaḥ (KS. "prāti") ca purastād gopāyatām KS.

MS.: bodha pratibodhāsaviṇārāṇa gopāyamānā... KS.

vīradhaḥ (KS. vi², MS. vīradhaṃ) chandāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

vīrarto (MS. KS. vi²) "yācataśvānirāhā (KS. asṭā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

§517: To these may be added a case of antarikṣa for antari²; the old adverb antari is fairly comparable with prepositions in i (most of which, presumably, were ancient prehistoric locatives, like antari). The form antarikṣa crops up again in Buddhist Sanskrit; e.g. Saddharma-puṇḍarika, ed. Kern and Nanjio, 149, 1.

swadā pitṛḥpya 'antarikṣāsaadbhyāḥ (AV. antari²; GG.† 'antarī) AV. ApŚ. MS. GG. HG.
§518. The only other absolutely final ś: concerns the imperative ending dhī, which appears sometimes as dhī, probably under the same general conditions as final ś for a in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur; we may note that in the pāda: sa no bodhi śrūdhī havam RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. several mss. of MS. read śrūdhī; but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the ConC. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with havam, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benley (Quant. II. 51), and approved by Oldenberg (Proleg. 421), that the lengthening in RV. is due to the common cadence śrūdhī havam (cf. RVRep. 673, top). In all texts but one this pāda has śrūdhī, and that one (AŚ.) is the only one in which the word havam does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there):

imam me varuṇa śrūdhī (AŚ. śrūdhī) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApMB.

§519. Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants; the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of ś):

imam agne camasam mā vi jihvarah (TA. ṛ7,) RV. AV. TA. AG. yiyapsaṇa (AŚ. ṛ7) īva te manah (AŚ. nakkaṁ) AŚ. ŚŚ. Desiderative from yabh; the form with ṛ7 is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney’s Roots.

udgrābhend oṣīgabrah (KS. oṣīgabhaṁ and oṣīgabham) MS. KS.

§520. There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of ś before the suffix vant:
mādhyamānasya savanasya niṣkewalayaga bhāgaṣya śukrasato (ApŚ. adds manthivato) madhuṣcula (KS. manthivata, v. l. manthī) īndrāya (MS. savanasya śukra manthivato niṣk bhāgasyendra) ... KS. (bis) ApŚ. MS. Stem is manthin (weak manthi) + vant.

paramēṣṭha te vādayatu ... raśmiṣṭam (MS. raśmi) MS. KS.

§520a. In one case ś is required in composition with a derivative of the root kr, while the ś-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an ś-stem before cārin:
imā udeśākāraṇa īme ... TB. ApŚ.: īmā uddhāsicārīna īme ... MS.

Cf. §59.

§521. And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks
like genuine rhythmic lengthening of i as stem final of its first member: yā te agne harīșyā (VSK. harti⁶, MS. MŚ. harā⁶) tanur varṣīṣṭā gahevar-
īṣṭā VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratikās MŚ. MŚ.)

2. Final i in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522. No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel H. I §56 e-g (cf. also Leumann, Gurupājākaumudi 13 ff.). It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening; that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, i was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis.

§523. Radical i is shortened in the word senāṇi, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527); the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS. alone has the shortening:
tasya rathapītoṣa (KS. kṛṇaṣa, MS. kṛṇasā) ca rathaujās ca senāṇi-
grāmasya (TS. senāṇi⁶) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with tārkṣya ca cārīṣṭānemī ca, senajic ca susena ca, rathaprotā (TS. rathā) cāsamaṇarathās ca rathusvanā ca rathicitra ca.

§524. The other cases concern the feminine nouns prthivī and (once) prapharī:
yā devy asīstake prāṇāda ... prapharīdā (ApŚ. 2vidā) ... KS. ApŚ.
namo 'gnaye prthiṃśkite lokasprte (ChU. prthiṃśkite lokakṣite, MU.
prthiṃśkite lokasprte) TS. KSA. ChU. MU.
prthiśadām (MS. prthīvī⁶; VS.† 2sudām) tvāntarikṣasadaṃ (VS. ṛadda
divāsadaṃ divāsadaṃ ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
prthiśapnā (MS. prthīvī⁶) mā mā hīnaḥ MS. TA.
ye deva divābāga ... ye prthiśābhāga (TS. KS. prthīvī⁵, but 2 mss. of
KS. 2e) ... TS. MS. KS.
svadāh pitoṭhiṣaḥ prthiśadbhyaḥ (MŚ. GG. prthīvī⁶) AV. ApŚ. MŚ.
Kauś. GG. HG.

3. Miscellaneous final i:

§525. There is very little else. On na ked avadi (avedi) etc., see §530 below; it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified. Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final i or i:

agme tvām saṃtvāg any yapaṃśrūti (MS. 2ti, TB. 2krito) divas (TB. dive)
prthiśīyoh MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The form is locative of an i-stem:
MS. is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?).


stomatrayastrīṇe bhuvanasya patni TS. KS. AŚ.: stomas trayastrīṇe bhuṅ. patnī MŚ. As prec.: see §818.

svayā devi (KS. devi) devyoreakṣā . . . TS. KS. ApŚ.

rātri (TB. rātri, v. l. of KS. rātrih) stomaṁ na jāgyoe (KS.† TB. *gi) RV. KS. TB.


aśvinendraṁ na jāgri (TB. * vi) VS. MS. TB. The -vi form is a dual adj., and so Mahādhara takes the -vi form also; but possibly it may be a neut. sing. adverb.

gāyatri (MG. *triḥ) chandasāṁ mātā (MG. mātāḥ) TA. TAA. MahānU. MG. Nom.: voc.

na sīsaridata (HG.† sīsaridattah) ApMB. HG. See §384.

4. Noun stems in ī:

§526. It is well known that the division between short and long ī-stems is lax; many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

§527. We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably ī. First, a case of the stem senāṇī, where the root ēṇi 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition:

namah senābhyaḥ senānībhyaḥ (VS. TS. *nībhyaḥ) ca vo namah VS. TS.

MS. KS.

§528. In the same context occurs the following variant. Boehltlingk takes the form in short ī from a stem śvan-īn 'having dogs', while he derives the other from śva-nī 'leading dogs'; this seems improbable in the light of the variants; both are probably from śva-nī, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahādhara, followed by Griffith and Keith):

namah śvanībhyaḥ (MS. śvanī) mrpayubhyas ca vo namah VS. MS. KS.

naco mrpayubhyas śvanībhyaḥ ca vo namah TS.
Other cases of probably original .createFromIndexToEnd  are:

sucakṣu aham akṣibhyām (MG. akṣi?) bhūyāsam AG, PG, MG. N. The
.createFromIndexToEnd -form is regular in the older language; Wackernagel III p. 303.
varutrīṃ (KS.† varu, TS. varutrīṃ) tvastur varuṇasya nābhīṃ VS, TS.
.createFromIndexToEndKS, ŚB.: tvastur varurīṃ va = nā MS, MŚ,
varutrīṃ-ratrīṃ (AV, TS. ratrīṃ-ratrīṃ) aprayāvam bharautah AV, TS.
.createFromIndexToEndMS, KS. ŚB.
ratrīṃ (KS. ratrīṃ) jīnea TS, KS. PB. Vait.
ratrīṃ (TS. ratrīṃ) pivasā TS. KSA.
kaḥ rate (VS. ratrī, VSK. TA. ratrī) prati dhiyātam AV, VS. VSK.
.createFromIndexToEndMS, TA.
ratrīṃ (SMB. PG, MG. 9rīṃ) dhenum īvāyatim (AV, upyāyatim) AV.
.createFromIndexToEndHG, ApMB, SMB, PG. MG.
Ye ratrīm (KS. 9rīṃ) anuṭiṣṭhantā (KS.† 9yathā) AV, KS.
.createFromIndexToEndprati tevā parvati (TS. TB. 9ir, MS. KS. MŚ, pārvatā) vettu VS, TS. MS.
.createFromIndexToEndKS, ŚB. TB. MŚ. See §490.
vaṣṭrīr (TS. 9ir) asī TS, KS, GB. PB. Vait, IŚ.
mahānām (VSK. mahānāmi) payo 'si VS, VSK. TS. KS, ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.
.createFromIndexToEndMS, ŚG. Even from the stem mahi, the VSK form would be
.createFromIndexToEndanomalous.
hrādunibhyāh (KSA. 9nibhyāḥ) svāhā VS, TS. KSA. This is uncertain;
both short and long i are otherwise known. RV. has hrādunīm,
but hrādunī-ṛṇ. See also dūṣikābhūr hrādunīm etc., §543.
ектibhāh (KSA.† 9kīḥ, VS. 9kāṃ) śīyāntu (VS. 9kāṃ) tevā VS, TS. KSA.
.§529. But in the rest stems in short i seem to be primary:
svahākaribhyāḥ (TS. ApŚ. and most mss. of MŚ. 9kṛt) presya TS. ŚB.
.createFromIndexToEndKS. ApŚ. MŚ. "To hail-making"; suffix ti.
ayāk cāṅge 'su anabhiśastiḥ (AŚ. ApMB. HG. 9tā) ca MŚ. KS. AŚ. ŚS.
.createFromIndexToEndKS. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. Suffix tī, as in the last.
ākūtiḥ (SMB. 9tīm) devinā manasāḥ (SMB. 9ā, AV. subhagāh) puro
dodhe (SMB. prapadye) AV, TB. SMB. As prec.
ṝtir (TS. KSA. ṛtī) vāhaso darvidā te vāyave (TS. KSA. vāyavyāḥ) VS.
.createFromIndexToEndTS, MS. KSA. ṛtī is Rigvedic.
abhiśgir (HG. 9tir, ApMB. abhīśkṛr) ya ca no grhe (RVKh. ca me dhruvā)
RVKh. ApMB. HG.
dīva (dīvas, dīvāḥ) skambhanir (VS. ŚB. 9nir, VSK.† skambhāy) asī
.createFromIndexToEndVS, VSK. TS, KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Here fem. gender is responsible
for the long ṛ.
kīrṇa-kīrṇa prati sūrī vi caṣṭe TS. ApŚ.: kīro devi prati sūrī vi caṣṭe KS.
Here too sūrī is made fem., agreeing with a fem. entity.
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kronibhyāṁ (TS. kroṇī) svahā TS. KSA.
yakṣmaṁ kronibhyāṁ (ApMB. ॐ. v. l. ॐ) bhāsadāt RV. ApMB.;
yakṣmaṁ bhāsadāyāṁ kronibhyāṁ bhāsadām AV.
mitrāvaruṇau kroṇihyām (TS. kroṇī) TS. KSA.
rtām pr[atbhiḥ (KSA. em. pr[atbhiḥ, ms. bhṛ) TS. KSA. Cf. Macdonell
and Keith, Vedic Index 2. 358 f.
pr[atbhyāḥ (KSA.† pr[ṣī) svahā TS. KSA.
imāṁ khanāmy oṣadhim (ApMB. ॐ.āhī) RV. AV. ApMB.
oṣadhibhyāḥ MG.: oṣadhibhyāḥ SG.
kraṭva vair[śahāṁ vara āmurim uta RV.: kraṭve vare sthemany āmurim
uta SV.
sam arir (VS. ŠŚ. arir) vidām (KS. vidāḥ) VS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. Nom.
sing. of stem ari; the anomalous VS. ŠŚ. form is noted in BR.,
s. v. 2 arī.
adhā jīvī (AV. athā jīvī, ApMB. athā jīvī) vidathām ā vadāsi (RV.
vadāthah) RV. AV. ApMB. Stem jīvi (or, with most ms. of AV.,
jīri). RV. has a dual form; ApMB. an isolated sing. from a stem
in i, perhaps due to confusion between the RV. and AV. forms.
On the i of the initial syllable see §544.
plāśir (TB. ॐ.śir) vyaktāḥ kaladhāra utsah VS. MS. KS. TB.
ambā ca bulā ca nitaṇī ... MS.; ambā dulā nitaṇī ... TS.
apo māhi vyayati ca[kṣe tamaḥ RV.: apo māhi vr̥te ca[kṣa tamaḥ
SV. TB. Here we have a complete change of construction, in
addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form.
vi te bhīnāmī takarīṃ (KS. ॐ. rīm, AVPpp, ]Roth[ tāgarim, AV. mehanam)
AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. See §49. There is no way to determine
the original quantity of the i here.

§529a. There are also cases in which a nom. sing. in i, apparently
from a stem in u, varies with one in iḥ from a stem in i:
vyanākhi (SV. ॐ.śiḥ) pavase soma dharmabhīḥ (SV. dharmāṇaḥ) RV. SV.
tan no danti (TA. ॐ.ṭhiḥ) procodayat MS. TA. MahānU: Comm. on TA.
mahādantah.
dūrecheti śindriyanān (PB.† ॐ.yanāṁ) patātri (PB. ॐ.ṭriḥ) TS. PB. TB. PG.
ApMB.: dārḥ patātri vājinśvān MS. MG,
suparṇa avyathir (SV. ॐ.ṭhiḥ) bharat RV. SV.

§530. In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also
verb forms:
na ced avedī (BṛhU. avedī) mahāti vina[iṭīḥ ŠŚ. BṛhU. So Conē., with
the printed texts. But *avedi* is only Boehltngk's emendation; mss. *avedi*. The Kāṇva recension, however, has *avedir*; and Kena Up. (not in Conc.) *avedīn*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster'). *avedir* would be nom. sing. of a noun stem *avedi*; 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster.' *avedi* is taken by comm. as nom. sing. of *avedīn*: 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc. These are surely enough variants, without Boehltngk's additional one!

5. Verb forms containing *i:i* and *i:i* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531. This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character. We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character:

subhāṁ śamīṣvā (TS. TB. śamīṣvā, KS. śamīṣvā) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. avanty asya pavātāram (SV. pavi?) āśavāḥ RV. SV. The shortening of SV. improves the meter (anapest after cesura).

§532. The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure:

anuttikṣam puṃlitā (TS. purī?, MS. pulti?, KSA. pulī?) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.

ulo haliṣṇyo (TS. ulo hali?) ... VS. TS. MS. KSA. Name of some animal. A theory as to the origin of this *i* in Wackernagel, I §59 note.

§533. At least in origin, the *i* of the *i* noun represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion. When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf. VV I p. 189:

tenā (TB. tato) mo mitrāvāyuñāv (MS. *yo* avistam (TB. avī?) RV. MS. TB. The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin. The *i* of TB. is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avīt*. So in the next.

amūnandanta pitaro (KauŚ. also *patino*) yathāhāyam (...)*aṣṭāyita* (AŚ, *yīṣita*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ. KauŚ SMB. GG. KhG. Cf. prec.
mā tvāgnir dhanayādī (TS. "yādī, KSA. "yed, MS. dhanayādī) dhāmaṇagandhiḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. This is the converse of the preceeding; TS. shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms.

ata ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS.: adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhiḥ RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ. On the anomalous TS. form see VV I p. 27.

ā gharmo aqmīm ṛṭayann asādī (TA. "dī) RV. TA.: ā gharmo aqmīm anmīto na śādī MS. See VV I §84.

§534. Probably rhythmic in character is the ī which varies with ī in denominative stems before the ya-sīgn; cf. VV I p. 155, and above §473 where the same shift occurs between a and ā:

putriyantoḥ (AV. putriyanti) sudānavah RV. AV. SV.

jāniyanto ne (AV. jāniyanti nē) agnavaḥ RV. SV. AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§535. In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening of ī in stem syllables; at least it occurs in positions where the meter favors a long:

prati yma (SV. yma) devā viṣatōḥ (SV. viṣ, and so p.p. of RV. and MS.)

RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. The p.p. readings confirm our opinion that the ī is metri gratia.

avāmba (VS. ŚB. KS. ava) rudram adimahi (VS. ŚB. KS. adī, and so v. l. of MS. KS. MŚ., and p.p. of MS.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§536. But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some cases where it cannot be rhythmic; the explanation varies and is sometimes obscure:

sarvāḥ patho aŋrīa ā kṣīyema (AV. kṣī) AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The root kṣī ‘dwell’ here presents an exceptional form with ā, perhaps under the influence of the other root kṣī ‘perish’, from which ā forms are familiar.

yāparocchṛtyaṃdāyaṇūpnrūhi (MS. "chṛtya) ApŚ. MŚ. Here the ā, in the passive of kṛi, is regular, and is probably to be read also in MŚ. with most ms.

samīṅgayati (ŚB. samī) sarvataḥ RV. ŚB. BrhU. The root iṅg appears sporadically as ṛṅg in the Brāhmaṇas; the true reading of BrhU. is samīṅg in this passage (text emended).


vājino vājajito vājam sasraṇāso (KS. jīvāṇa, TS. sasraṇa vājam jīvāṇa) ... VS. TS. KS. ŚB.
§538. We have classified the form iyāna ‘going’, as a reduplicated present from root iː; see VV I p. 126:

iyānah (SV, iy") kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraḥ RV. SV. AV. KS. TA.
stotṛbhyyo dhṛṣṇav iyānah (SV, iy") RV. AV. SV.

§539. The participle idita appears as ida, probably under the influence of the nouns id, iḍa:

idita (MS. KS. iḍa, VSK. iḍ) devatā hariṇān abhiśiṣṭā VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§540. The present and past passive participles of root kṣi ‘perish’, kṣiṇat and kṣiṇa, are concerned in the following:

nāmo vikṣiṇatkebhyah (TS. KS. vikṣiṇak") VS. TS. KS. ŠB.: nama
dakṣiṇakebhyaḥ MS. If MS. is right it has a blend of the other two readings; but the ms. vary, and it is likely that dakṣiṇak" was intended.

The 3 plur. perfect ending īre appears once as īre:

tāḥ prācya (Vait. nyah, MS. prācīr) ujjjadihīre (KS.† "īre, Vait. samjide īre) KS. Vait. MS.: prācīr cojjadihīre ApŚ.

6. Noun suffixes containing iː

§541. Twice in MS. the suffix iya, representing ya after two consonants, appears as iy; but both times the p.p. of MS. has iyɑ:

nāmo agrīyāya (VS. KS. 'gyāya, MS. 'grīyāya) ca prathamāya ca VS. TS. MS. KS.

sahasrīyo dyotātām (TS. TB. dīpyatām; MS. sahasrīyo jyotātām) aprayačān VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB.

§541a. We have quoted in §249 (q. v.) three variants in which AV. reads variyah for older varivah:

asimabhyaṃ indra varivah (AV. variyah) sugam kṛdhi RV. AV.; asimabhyaṃ mahi varivah sugam kah RV.

sakha sakhiṣhya varivah (AV. *variyah; so one ms. of GB.; Ppp. varivah)

kṛṇotu RV. AV. *TS. KS. GB.

tevaṣṭā no atra varivah (AV. variyah) kṛṇotu AV. TS.

§542. Several times forms in ina vary with other forms containing short iː:

ya sarassati veśabhaṅgina (ApŚ. *vīkṣha, KS. veśabhaṅgin) ... MS. KS.

ApŚ. -bhagina, from bhaga, seems to be found only here; KS. substitutes a more regular form (fem. of bhagīn).

tirakcīrātī (MS. tirakcīnaraṭī) rakṣita AV. MS. Again ina varies with in (weak stem i).

namo yuvabhya namo āśīnebhyaḥ RV. ApŚ.: namo yuvabhya āśīnebhyaḥ
(MS. ṣiṅa, p.p. ṣiṅga) ca vo namah (MS. namo-namah) MS. KS. dōna is ṝ. ary. in RV.; in MS. it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in ṭa.

§543. The shortening of ṭ to ṭ before suffixal ka may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings. Cf. Edgerton, JAOS 31, 95 f., 111. duṣṭikabhār hrādunim (KSA. ḍhrā) VS. KSA.: hrādunār duṣṭikabhār VS. MS.

7. Miscellaneous ṭ and ṭ

§544. Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious: ṭimkārāya, and "kritāya (KSA. ān, VS. MS. ŚB. hita)" VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ṭiyatāya (TB. ṭī) akātānam VS. TB. From the equivalent adjective forms īrya (RV.) and īrya, doubtless ultimately the same, the etymology is doubtful (cf. Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV., s. v. īrya).

uṣṭārayoh pīlayoh (ApŚ. pīlayoh) MS. ApŚ. MS. Cf. the word pīlu or pīlu, name of a tree. Obscure.

vīḍār yāman avardhayan VS.; vīḍār yāman vavardhayan TB. Comm. on TB. dṛjaśaktaḥ, that is equivalent to vīḍu, for which vīḍu is not recorded.

adhā jīvṛ (AV. atha jīvṛ, most mss. jīvṛ, which Whitney would restore; ApMB. athā jīvṛ) vidāthām ā vādāsi (RV. vādātāh) RV. AV. ApMB. Various theories connect the obscure word with either jīvā(ji) or jr. The ṭ in the first syllable in ApMB. is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of jiv or of the ṭ forms of jīva or jīr (jīrṇa etc.). See §529.

anuvśaśā idayā (MS. anamīśādā idayā, p.p. idayā) madantah RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The MS. form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of ṭa? cf. the lexically quoted ṭa), corrected in p.p. dame-dame susūṭya (TS. ṭir, MS. "ṭit, AŚ. ŚŚ. "ṭir") vārdhānah (AV. "naun, AŚ. ŚŚ. vām iṅānā) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different case forms of an i-stem. See §236.


§545. The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations; thus in the first:

subhātya pīpīhi (MS. pīpīhi) MS. TA. ApŚ. And others, with ṭe, ṭurje, brahmavaccaṭaḥ, etc. In MS. always pīpīhi, probably from pā 'drink', while pīpīhi is from pāḥ(pā) 'swell'. The result, how-
ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity; cf. VV I p. 182.

sudītir asī. TS. PB.; sudītir asī. KS. GB. Vait.; suditānādityebhya ṣāṃtyān jina MS. Boehtlingk: sudīti Anklang an Aditi; sudīti glanzvoll (dt). Sudīti is Rigvedic.

viśram id dhītām (MS. dhītām) ānasūḥ (SV. ābata) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ. Roots dhī and dhā.

tīgmaṃ āyudham (AV. anīkham) viṣṭām (AV. viṣṭām; KS. "dham viṣṭām) sahasat RV. TS. MS. KS. See §169.

kaṇḍ yah putraḥ sa ṭā (TA. sā ṭāḥ, Poona ed. sa īnā) ciceta RV. AV. TA. N.

ati vā (AV. Kauś. affe) yo maruto manyate naḥ RV. AV. Kauś. Metathesis of quantity.


ā yāḥ śāra haribhīyām (SV. KB. ŚŚ. hariha, AS. harī iha) AV. SV. KB. AS. ŚŚ. Doubtless read, in all except AV., harīha (=harī iha), with Whitney on AV. and Keith on KB.

gaurī (TB. TA. "ṛī, AV. gaurī ṣu) mānāya satilāni takṣat RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

indrāpāya pahīgam ApMB.: īndrāyāṣya bopham aṭikam ... HG. See §46.

samiddho agnir ṛṣaṇāratir (AV. "ṛā rathī, ŚŚ. "ṛā ṛayī) dīvah AV. AB. AS. ŚŚ.

vardhāṣṭ (MS. MS. "ṣi) sanprcāṇā (MS. MS. "nā) asam MS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MS.

nem na ṛṇān ṛṣava it samānaḥ TA.: nem na ṛṇān ṛṣava ṛṣamāḥ MS. And others; see §180.

[ātikīrītam (comm. "rītam) aṣadanturam TB. So Conc. with Bibl. Ind, ed.; probably misprint; Poona ed. comm. with text ātikīrītam.]

[ṛaṁkīrī (so all?) aṇvaṇya swadhitṛ ṛṣam eṭi RV. VS. TS. KSA.]

§546. As with the a and ē vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of
compounds, or before the suffix mant, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i* and add nothing further to the subject.

§547. Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *u* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u* and *u* is introduced in a secondary text (MS.):

\[ o\ u (\text{MS. } su) \text{ varita (MS. KS. varita) maruto vipram acha RV. MS. KS. tam } u (\text{MS. } u) \text{ kucin } kucayo \text{ diva} \text{vesam RV. ArS. TS. MS. KS.} \]


idam *u* ekam para *u* (TB.† ApS.† *u*) ta ekam RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AS. SS. ApS. MS. (u-ta = u.ta.) On puru: purū, a matter of noun inflexion, see §555.

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated sorists of root *gup*; the *u* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf. VV 1 p. 182:

\[ gṛhān ajājugutam yuvam AS.: gṛhān (MS. gṛhān) juguputam yuvam MS. MŚ. \]


paśān me (ApS. *nah) śaṇyājugupah (ApS. and MŚ. v. l. *jājugupah) MS. MŚ. ApS.: dhanam me śaṇyājugupah KS.: śaṇyā paśān me jugupas tān me pāhy eva SS. And others in the same passages. ahrudhnyā mantrānī me *jājugupah* (v. l. *jū?*) … MŚ.

§549. There is one doubtful case before the suffix mant:

savītra tvarbhūmate (VS. SB. tea ṛbhu, MS. tvarbhu) … VS. MS. SB. TA. If MŚ. understands a form of ṛbhu, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MŚ. (see §916); and two mss. read marbhūmate.

§550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition anu, lengthened to anā. The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf. under §516).

\[ anurohah jīna Vait.: anuroh (KS. anā) *si* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait.: anurohāya tea PB. Vait.: anurohāyaḥ jīna MS. \]

(with p.p. and v. l. each time anu*).

\[ anurād (KS. anā) asi KS. GB. PB. Vait.: anurād (KS. anā) tea KS. PB. Vait.: anurād jīna Vait.: *anurādanārtha* ṛaurj jīna MS. \]

panthām anāryābhyaṁ (KSA. anu* ) TS. KSA.
anukāšena bāhyam MS.; anukāšena bāhyam VS.; antareṇānūkāšam TS. KSA.

§551. Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of u; in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts:

urūnaśe (TA. uruśa) asurpṛṇā (AV. TA. "pṛṇā) udumbalau (TA. uluśa) RV. AV. TA. AŚ.

mithucarantam (TS. mithuś ca, KŚ. mithuś, AV. mithuyā ca) upayāti (AV. abhiyāti) dāsayan AV. TS. MS. KŚ.

śindhoḥ śīśumāraḥ (KSA. śīśuśa) TS. KSA. samudrāṇya śīśumāraḥ VS. MS. See §305. Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain.

§552. Aside from one or two compounds where the ū:u concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff.), we find further only compounds of su (suyama) and its opposite ku, appearing also as sū, kū (cf. also §563):

brahmaṇaḥ pate suyamaśya (MS. sū, p.p. suśa) vishvāḥ RV. MS. TB.

The ū is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura).

suyame me adya gṛtvāni bhūyāstam svārtau sūpārtAU ApŚ.: suyame me bhūyāstam VS. ŚB: suyame me 'dyā stam svārtau sūpārtau MS. MŚ.

kūyavam ca me 'ksitī (VS. "tom) ca me VS. MS. KŚ. (v. l. kū in MS.):

aksitī ca me kūyavas ca me TS.

9. Final ū shortened

§553. Only one variant, concerning the old adverb kū 'where?', which appears in SV, as ku before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening:
kūtho (read kū gūtho) devāṁ aśvina RV.: ku gūtho ko vāṁ aśvina SV.

See Oldenberg, Noten on 5. 74. 1.

10. Long and short ū in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554. The words hanu and tanu, compounds of -bhu, and a few others, vary between ū and u forms, in case-forms and in composition:

hanūbhyaṁ (KSA. hanuśa) svāhā TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

hanūbhyaṁ (TS. hanuśa) stenaṁ bhagavaṁ VS. TS. MS. KŚ. In this and the prec. Tait. texts alone have ū, the others u.
agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† "nūr) hi bhūte ā TS. KS.; agnih sudakṣaḥ satanur ha bhūte MŚ.

śūrāso ye tanāṭyajah (TA. tanu*) RV. AV. TA. Note that two consonants follow the ā, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening.

śvain te yajñiyā tanāth (VSK. tanuḥ) VS. VSK. ŚB. ApŚ.
avasyur (VS. ŚB. "ṣyār) asi dwavanān VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ.
śundhyur (VS. TS. "yūr) asi mārjāliyāh VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

Only -yu in RV.
drādhyai (see §474) didhiṣūpatim TB.: arāddhyā didhiṣūpatim VS (on the latter see §381).

vareṇyakratūr (AV. "tūr, ApŚ. idenyakratūr) aham RVKh. AV. ApŚ.
Whitney calls "tūr 'an improvement'. See also §383.
vibhūr (PB, vibhur) asi pravāhanāḥ VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ.
vibhūr (KSA. vibhūr) mātrā prabhūḥ (KSA. prabhūḥ) pitrā VS. TS. MS.

KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

śambhūr (KS. "bhr) mayobhūr abhi mā vihī sevāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
Note mayobhūr even in KS.

ābhuṛ (VS. TS. abhūr) asya nisāṅgathih (VS. "dhiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS.
savātre teerbhunata (etc., §549) vibhunata (MŚ. vibhū) \ldots VS. MS. ŚB.

TA.

phaḷgūr (KSA. "gur) lohitōryi ... VS. TS. MS. KSA.

havanāśrūṇ (TB, hāvanāśrū) no rudrāḥ boṭhī RV. TB. Comm. on TB. āhnānasya krotaḥ san. Irregular lengthening of kru in composition.

§555. Neuter u stems in the Veda have nom.-acc. forms, both sing.

and plur., in either u or ā;

do hi puru (SV. puru) cid ojasā virukmatā RV. SV. Adverbial.

[saṁ grhāya puru (TB. puru, Poona ed. puru-) śatā RV. AV. MS. KS.

TB.]

Different forms of related stems āyu and āyus:
dadhad ratnam ... āyuni (AV. āyūni) AV. AS. ŚŚ. See §819.

 évā punāna āyus (SV. āyūs) RV. SV.

§556. In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the ā may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel:

dratiṣakṣādhyām me varcdā varcase pavasea VS. VSK. ŚB.: daksakratubhyām (sc. me etc.) TS. ApŚ.: daksakratubhyām me varcdāh pavasea MŚ.

§557. The stem dhūr regularly appears as dhūr before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c). In the ApŚ. form of the following
variant ur appears before the ending bhih; and conversely in the KS.
form ur before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually
sound; note that in the ‘correct’ MS. form both dhur and dhur forms
occur. Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc., stigmatizes KS. dhūro
and dhūran (for ṃraḥ) as corrupt; and Knauer proposes to emend KS.
on the basis of MS. But mechanical form-assimilation may account for
all the variants:
yathādhūram (KS. ms. ṛdhūran) dhuro (KS. dhūro) dhūrbhiḥ kalpanām
KS. MS.: yathāyatham ṛdhuro dhūrbhiḥ kalpanām ApŚ.

11. Other u: u

§558. The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem
hardly worth subdividing. In verb inflexion there is practically nothing.
Once TB. presents an anomalous uḥ for the regular 3d plural secondary
ending uh; it occurs at the end of a pada, and remains unexplained:
upo ha yad vidatham vajīno guḥ (TB. guḥ) RV. MS. TB.

§559. The various forms of the root su, sū, ‘beget, enliven’ etc.,
show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel. Thus:
prasātah pra suhi (KS. sūhi, MS. suva, ApŚ. suva pra suhi) AŚ. SS. KS.
ApŚ. MS. Both sūhi and suva are regular forms, and in VV I p.
189 it is suggested that suhi is a blend of the two. Cf. next.
ardhamāṣayāḥ prasātāt pitarvātataḥ J.B.: paṇcadaśāt prasātāt pitarvātataḥ
KBU. Both must apparently be from the same root, of which
the regular participle is sūta, but suta is recorded otherwise. J.B.
1. 18 has v. I. prasātāt (see Oertel, JAOS 19 [2], 112, 115; delete in
Conc. tam ardhamāṣayām ...).
1st and 2d aorists of bhū:
abhyaṣṭiṣṭa rājābhūm (ApŚ. bḥuvaṃ) MS. ApŚ.: abhiṣṭa rājābhuvam
(v. 1. bḥuvaṃ) MS.

§560. Quite similarly saḥ (weak stem uḥ) and uḥ are ‘in some forms
and meanings ... hardly to be separated’ (Whitney, Roots); indeed,
Whitney gives some forms (such as passive uhyate) as identical from the
two roots. Of course they are ultimately variants of each other:
mā hṁṣṣur vahumat uhyamānām (ApMB. uhyamānām) AV. ApMB.
Here uḥ does not fit very well; AV. means ‘may they not injure the
procession as it proceeds’. (In ApMB. the pple. is made to agree
with the bride—‘as she is being carried off’.)

samuḥyo ‘si viśvabharāḥ SS.: samāhyo ‘si viśvabharāḥ ApŚ.: samubahyō
‘si viśvaḥdā ... VSK. KS. Here, contrary to the prec., it is sam-ūh
that is meant, even in SS.

§561. The present participle of the ‘root’ tūrē varies with the related adjective tura:

tūrē (KS. tūro) na yāmann etāṣasya nā raṣē RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§562. Several times the word varuṣṭṛi: varuṣṭṛ, from the dissyllabic root vr ‘cover’, varies in its two forms:

varuṣṭṛī (VS. KS. varuṣṭṛī tvā) devī niṣadevyāvatīḥ... VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.

varuṣṭṛīya janayat tvā devī... TS.: varuṣṭṛī (once, 2. 7. 6, ṛvaru°, and so v. l. in the other passage) tvā devī višva°... MS. (bis)

teṣṭur varuṣṭṛīm varuṣṭraya nābhīṃ MS. MS.: varuṣṭṛī (VS. ŚB. ṛṭrīṃ,

KS.† varuṣṭṛīm) teṣṭur var° nā° VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

varuṣṭṛī avayat KS.: varuṣṭrayas ṛṭavayat. ApŚ.

§563. The word sumna or su² has been interpreted by some as a compound of su, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times; yet it is possible that the not infrequent u in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of su, which as we saw (§552, cf. §547) also appear with su:

sumnāyā (VS. su²) nānam śamahe sukhibhyā RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. Kauś.

dhṛtē deveṣu sumnayā (AV. ṛga; VS. sūmnayā) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB.

The word stūpa, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form; but two variants show that the form stupa was fairly widespread:

vīṣṇo (vıṣṇoh, vıṣṇo) stupō (TS. TB. ApŚ. stūpo) 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

TB. ApŚ. MS.: vīṣṇoh stupoh MS. MŚ.

reṣmūṣām stupaḥ (MS. stu°, but p.p. stu²?) VS. MS.

§564. The word āvra, on which see last Neisser ZWbch. d. RV., a v., may be ultimately connected with uru. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption:

urvii gavyāṃ pariṣadām no akram AV.: āvvaḥ gavyāṃ pariṣadanto

ogman RV. KS. See §46.

uru (AŚ. once uruy, once urēy) antarikṣate vihi MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ.

(bis) ApŚ. MŚ. We might be tempted to see in urēy a phonetic lengthening before r + consonant (cf. Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint.

āvra (TB. urva) iṣa paprethe lāmo aeme RV. 13. 90. 19c, TB. N. Comm.

on TB. urva eva, nādnavāgmine iṣa, connecting the word with auru, a derivative of āvra.

rudraṇām urvīprāyan (ApŚ. urmyāyan, ŚŚ. ीmyāyan) ... ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

See §228.
§565. The word kūla ‘stream’ is written kūla certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of kūla ‘bank’;
kūlābhyaḥ (TS. kū) svāhā TS. KSA. Here the TS. comm. takes kū as a secondary adjective from kūla; but it is probably only an
equivalent of kūla, cf. next. Keith, ‘to those of the pools’.
medasāh (HG. *ājjasya) kūlā (HG. kū) upa tān (AG. upainān, SMB.
abhi tān) svraṇtum (HG. ApMB. kṣarantu) VS. AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB.
also ghrṭasya kūlā(m) ... in Conc., and prec. Here there can be no
question of the precise equivalence of kūlā and kū.

§566. The form pūrṣa for puruṣa is familiar in all periods of the
language, beginning with RV., but is almost if not quite restricted to
positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the
following variant, where TA. Poona ed. reads pū with v. l. pū:
ato (AV. ArS. ChU. tato) jyāyāṇaḥ ca pūrṣaḥ (TA. pū) RV. AV. ArS.
VS. TA. ChU.

§567. Twice the RV. writes ugra for ugra. According to Oldenberg,
Noten on 1. 165. 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug’s, the ū would
be due to the fact that the syllable has kampa (varīta accent followed
by an accented syllable; cf. Wackernagel I p. 293 f.). One might think
of understanding the particle ū plus ugra, but p.p. hi, ugraḥ. Both
pādas occur in the same hymn:
ahāṃ hy ugras (RV. ā) taviṣas tvāpnaṁ RV. MS. KS. TB.
ahāṃ hy ugro (RV. ā) maruto vidānāḥ RV. MS. KS.

§568. Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently
the same word or related words:
ulena parimśha śī HG.: ulena pariṣṭo śī ApMB. Followed by:
parimśha śy ulena HG.: pariṣṭo śy ulena ApMB.: uțiḥa parimśho śī
PG. The meaning of uți or uți is unknown. Cf. next.
uṇa halikγo (TS. uṇa har ś) ... VS. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. prec. Here
apparently some animal is meant.
godhānmā ca me masūrā (TS. and KapŚ. masū) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS.
Both forms are otherwise known; masūrā seems to be commoner.
hotā vediyad atīthin duraṇasat (VS. dā, but comm. dū) RV. VS. VSK.
TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TA. MahānU. KU. NṛpU. VaradapU. The
word duraṇa, for the usual duraṇ ‘house’, seems to be otherwise
unrecorded.
kurkuro niḥlabhandahanā HG.: kurkuro bālabhandahanā (ApMB. sāla)
PG. ApMB. The usual form is kurkura; perhaps cf. Wackernagel
I §38 (lengthening before r + consonant). Cf. next.

kuśmāndāḥ, "dāni, dyaḥ, and kuś", kūś, kūś. See §290.

prathamāyā janaye bhūmaneṣṭhāḥ (AV. bhūvaneḥ, ŚŚ. bhūma ne) AV. ĀŚ. ŚŚ. Different but related stems bhūvāna and bhūma(n).

ā pūṣā ev ā vasu TS.: ā puṣṭam ev ā vasu AV.

ōpura stā ŚŚ.: āpūryā sthā... TS. ĀŚ.

ātikaṃ (VŠK. "kūlaṃ") cātiomasāṇi ca VS. VŠK. kulva 'bald', regularly with short u.

agnaye dhūṇkṣṇā (KSA. "kṣṇ") TS. KSA.: dhuṅkṣaṇgeyī (VŠK. "kṣṇ" or "kṣṇ") VS. VŠK. MS. Said to mean a sort of bird; original form and precise meaning unknown.

uṣa (PB. ṛṣa) dadṛśe (PB. dadṛṣe) na punar yatīva RV. PB. Conc. suggests reading Ṛṣa in PB.

pūlyāṇy (ApMB. kulpāṇy) āsāpantikā AV. ApMB. The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants). Cf. §151.

§569. The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems ugra and ārdhva:

ugro (HG. ārdhvo, MG. agne) virājann (MG. "jam") apa (MG. upo-)

sedha (AV. vṛṇkṣṇa) satrān (MG. sukram) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

ugradhanvā (TS. MS. KS. ārdhavadha) pratihitābhīr āstā AV. RV. AV. SV.

VS. TS. MS. KS.

ud vaṁśam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: ārdhavan kham iva menire Mbh.

yad annam admi (PrāṇāgU. agnir) bahudhā virūpam (PrāṇāgU. virāddham, vv. ll. virājam, viruddham) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

brahmādhiguptah (etc.)... brahmābhigūrtam..., see §742.

athā jīvaḥ (KS, adha viṣṭhaḥ, VS. ŚŚ. athaitam, AV. adomadam) pītum (AV. annam) adhā prasātāḥ (TS. MS. KS, pramuktaḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

aghnyau śūnam (AV. aghnyāv akūnām) ārātām RV. AV. śūna 'want';

ākūna 'unprosperity'.

suḥutakṛtaḥ eta ĀŚ.: suḥhitakṛta stha ApŚ.

utem (SV. utim) arbe havimāhe RV. AV. SV. MS. In RV. etc. uṭo-ṁ, In SV. acc. of ṛti. But the Saṃhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the u vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final u.

sā brahmajāyā vi dūntī rāṣṭram AV.: sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahma-

jyasya AV. 'Burns up': 'shatters'.

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trīṇi padāṇi rūpo anv arohat ĀV.: paṅca padāṇi rūpo anv aroham RV.
Read rūpo in ĀV., with many mss., comm., and Whitney's Transl.
udno (ĀV. text ūdhno) divyasya no dehī (ĀV. MS. dhātah) ĀV. TS. MS.
KS. ūdhno is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note.
Cf. §106.
namo vah pitarah メディya (VS. メディ, kB. kB. メディya)
VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ĀŚ. メディ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720.
CHAPTER XIII. QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

1. Short a and i

§570. The variations between a and i are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels a and i respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely a: i in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the i forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in a, which vary with them. That ir and ur may appear historically in such relations to or is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of i in relation to short a (as distinguished from å) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

§571. We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut; it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded sikya appears persistently for the common sakya (by which TA. comm. glosses sikya). One naturally thinks of comparing sikvan and other forms of the sort with i (sikvan, sikvan); according to Wackernagel (l. c., p. 17) sikvan would be etymologically unrelated to root sak, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in i might perhaps be influenced by sikv: satän sikyas (MahānU. sā v. L. śī) pravācopaniṣat TA. MahānU.

A form of sikv itself varies with one from sak in:
dātum cec chikṣaṇ sa (TA. chakṣusāṇah, or "vān sa") svarga eva (TA. eṣām) AV. TA. See §826.

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots šam: šiś, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p. 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant pādas VS. uses only šam, TS. KS. only šiś:
šamibhih šamyantu tud VS.: šiśibhih (KSA. śīśi) šiṃyantu tud TS. KSA.

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kas le yātrāyi śāmyati (TS. KSA. śim*) VS. TS. KSA.
māsā uchṣyantu śāmyantah VS.: māsāḥ chyantu śāmyantah TS. KSA.
śimāḥ (KSA. Conc. śimāṁ, ed. with v. 1. śimāḥ; VS. śimāḥ) kṛṇantu
(VS.* śāmyantu) śāmyantah (VS. śāmyantīḥ) VS. TS. KSA. Note
that VS. denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the
noun by reading śimāḥ with s, not ṣ (comm. interprets by śimā
rekhāḥ).
suṣcitāḥ śāmyantu (TS. KSA. śim*, MS. śāmyantu) tuḥ VS. TS. MS.
KSA.
§573. Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of
containing ablaut between īr and ar (or ī and ro), cf. Wackernagel I
§21; but most of the cases are obscure or dubious; only the first is a
clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar; SV.
has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (hāri?) for the
old and rarer hīri:
hīrīṣmāśruṇ (SV. hari*) nārvāṇaṁ (SV. na vārṇaṇa) dhanarcaṁ (SV.
*cim) RV. SV.
asyai nāryāḥ upastare (Ap.MB. ९ष्ट्रे) AV. Ap.MB. Infinitive forms;
Whitney emends to ९ष्ट्रे with Ppp.
śīrāya vikārarān (KS. ṭvikārān, ApŚ. vikārān, vV. ll. vikākarān, ṭviki-
karān) VS. KŚ. ApŚ. Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin,
and meaning.
sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kāriṣyaṇa JB.: sugaṇi tvah karmaḥ karaṇaḥ
karoḥ karasyuḥ ŁŚ. With karasya cf. the noun kāraṇa, RV.?
rudra yat le krayā (VS. KŚ. kriśi, VSK. kravi, MS. MS. giri*) paraṁ
nāma... VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS. See §47;
all the forms are unintelligible.
§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain
verb forms (e.g. the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with
presently; and ablaut of a different kind (ay for e: i) also appears among
the verbal variants (§582). Here we shall append a number of varia-
tions between words which, while actually of independent origin, simu-
late the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-
synonyms and (but for the shift between a and i) nearly or quite
homonyms.
§575. First, cases in which r follows (cf. §578). Here we find two
cases in which prata, that is pra-tara, a comparative from pra, varies
with forms in pra-tir- (verbal or nominal), in which tir is connected with
the root ९r. 'cross'. The psychological affinity between this root as
commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident.
§576. Before other consonants than r (cf. §§570 ff.); here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots sam-vas and sam-viś, which are listed in §281. Formally even closer are two variants between kṣaṇ ‘injure’ and kṣi ‘destroy’, also: virtual synonyms:

indra ivārīñço akṣataḥ (AV. aksitah) RV. AV.
akṣatam asy (SMB. omits asy) arīṣṭam . . . SMB. ŚG.: aksitam (aksitir) asi . . . (see §586).

prthivi dārir aksitaparimītunapadast (ViDh. aksataḥ) . . . Kauś. ViDh.: yathāgūr aksito . . . ApMB. HG.

§577. Other near-synonyms:
yajñaḥ devebhūr anvitaṁ (TS. TB. inv) TS. MS. ApŚ. TB. †1. 4. 4. 5b.
‘Accompanied’ (anv + i): ‘impelled’.
śīśe śīṣe rakṣaṇe (AV. rakṣabhīyo) vinikṣe (KS. vinakṣe, AV. mss. ‘nikṣe) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. nikṣ ‘pierce’; naś (as if causative ‘destroy’). But no such form of naś is otherwise recorded, and the KS. form is questionable.
pavamāno daśasyati (SV. diśas): RV. SV. Benfey would derive the SV. form from stem diśas = diś (lex., and class. in composition).

§578. Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false readings or corruptions. First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases a and i) and particles (ha: hi, etc.):

ato (AV. MahānU. ēto, TB. tato) dharmāṇi dhārayan RV. AV. SV. VS. TB. MahānU.

pūrvo ha (TA. MahānU. hi) jātaḥ (JUB. jajñe) sa u garbe antah VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. JUB.

yaśo ha (ŚŚ. hi) dīryahsuttamah TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.
esa (TA. MahānU. esa, ŚirasU. eko) ha (TA. MahānU. hi) devah pradiño ‘nu sarvah VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

vīśvan hi (KS. ha) ripraṇ pravahanti (MS. tu) deviḥ RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
agñih sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā MŚ.: agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.†
2nūr) hi bhūtvā TS. KS.
ēṛēṛho ha (Sāyaṇa, AV. Introd. p. 5, hi) vedas tapaso 'dhijātaha GB.
amutrabhūyād adha (AV. adhi) yah yamasya AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA.
anūdha yadi jījanad (SV. yad aśījanad) adha ca nu (SV. adha cīd ā)
RV. SV. Two cases in the same pāda.
vācā cil. prayatain (AŚ. ca prayutī) devaheṣṭanam TB. AŚ. ApŚ.
durāś ca viśvā avrnod apa svāḥ RV.: turāś cīd viśvam arṇavaḥ tapasvān
AV.
tāv ehi (AV. ̀īha, AB. eha, MG. tā eva) ... AV. AB. AG. ŚG. PG. MG.
Others, §888. ehi contains the verb īhi; eha is probably corrupt
(Weber, ISt. 10. 160), and eva is certainly secondary.
anu manyasya suyajā yajitāna (MŚ. yaje hi, most mss. yajeha) TS. MŚ.
avṛte (TS. MS. KS. ṭa) sūrte (TS. ṭa) rajasi (TS. ṭo) niṣate (MŚ.
ṭa, KS. na satā, TS. vimāne) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.
mā no agne 'ca (MG. vi) srjō oghāya RV. AG. MG.
surīga apo vi (MG. 'ca) gāhate MS. ApŚ. MG.
Miscellaneous pronominal forms:
sare asman (MS. NilrU. asmin) ni dhehi tam VS. TS. MS. KS. NilrU.
asmat 'from us': asmin 'in it' or 'in him'. MS. has v. l. asman,
prajayai kam (AV. kim) amṛtaṁ nāvrṇīta RV. AV. Both forms are used
as particles here.
yad vā me api (LŚ. 'pi, Vait. apa) gachati AŚ. Vait. LŚ.
yo gā udājad apa (MS. api) hi sataṁ (MS. balam) vāḥ RV. MS.
ahir jaghāna (PG. dadarśa) kam (AG. MG. kim) cana AG. PG. ApMB.
HG. MG. Here true pronoun forms; 'no one': 'nothing'.
māmīśāṁ kam canoc chīṣāḥ RV SV. VS.: māśāṁ kam canoc chīṣāḥ TS.
TB. ApŚ.: māśāṁ uc cheṣi kim cana AV. As in prec.
§579. Remoter lexical variants:
mā no vidad (KS. vadhū) abhibhā mo aśastih AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. These
forms are still quasi-synonyms; 'find' (in a hostile sense); 'injure'.
dyutāno vājibhir yatatha (SV. hitabh) RV. SV. 'Guided': 'placed'.
jāmin itvā (Poona ed. jāmi mitvā) mā virsī lokān (Poona ed. lokāt)
TA.: jāmin itvā māve pāti lokāt AV. See §198.
śukrāṁ vaganty asurāya nirvijam RV.: śukrāṁ vi yanyak asurāya nirvijē
SV.
vātajavair (HG. vātājirair) ... see §268.
anarśarātiṁ (SV. alarśirātiṁ) vasudāṁ ropa stūhi RV. SV. AV. N. See
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hṛteu kratuḥ varuṇaḥ (ṣoṇaḥ) vikṣe (apse, dikṣe) agnim, see §360. 
mirātvaruṇāḥ sārudāhān (MS. ॐnā) cikṣīnā (MS. cikittam, KS. jīgatnā, 
AŚ. cikiteam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45. 
tisro yahasya (MS. Mś. jihsva) saumihāḥ paryjamanāḥ RV. MS. ApŚ. 
Mś. See §192. 
viśakaram bhawana mām didāśilha (ŚB. manda āśvītha) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. 
See §840. 
abhi dyumnam (RV. VS. sumnam) devabhaktam yavīṣṭha (MS. KS. 
deaḥataṃ yavīṣṭha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. 
rāyataḥ syāma rathyo vāyasvataḥ (TB. vīvasvataḥ) RV. MS. TB. See §255. 
yaśo (AŚ. diśo) jaṃkṣyati daksinām (AŚ. ॐnāḥ) TB. AŚ. 
agnih paresu (AŚ. pratnēṣu, SV. VS. ŚB. priyēṣu) dhāmasu AV. SV. VS. 
ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 
hinvāno hetṛbhūr yataḥ (SV. hitaḥ) RV. SV. 
aliyavāya svāhā KSA.: itiyavāya svāhā TB. ApŚ. Followed by 
baliyavāya (KSA. "vandāya"), which suggests that KSA. has an 
assimilated form. 
śaṅ padama mahāṁ ṭrāyīṣīpe na kāmam (AA. raṭvīṣiy na somāḥ) 
SV. AA. See §545. 
vatsāni cātur (SMB. cārīpe, ApMB. cāryo, HG. cāyyo) vi bhajāṣi (SMB. 
bhrjāṣi, HG. bhajā sa) jīvan AV. SMB. HG. ApMB. 
mihām na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: mahā no vātā iha væntu bhūmau 
AV. Metathesis of a and ī. 

§880. The following seem to be false readings: 
aḥiṁ (RVKh. ahaṁ) dandenaṅgatam RVKh. AV. Both words make good 
sense; but Scheftelowitz (p. 62) reads ahaṁ for RVKh. with his ms. 
tādītāna (TB. Poona ed. tādītkā) satrum (TB. satrān) na kilā vivitē 
(TB. vivate) RV. TB. But Poona ed. vivite; comm. gloss na 
labhase.

gāvī bhago gāva īndra me achaṇ (AV. ma ichāt; TB. with two AV. mss. 
ṭačhāt) RV. AV. KS. TB. achaṇ is the only intelligible reading and 
is adopted by Whitney; see VV I p. 130.
[aṇjīsakṛtāya (KSA. ॐkā, Conc. ॐkē) svāhā TS. KSA.] 
[ṇamal śaspiṇjarāya (TS. saspō; Conc. wrongly śīṣyō for MS.) teṣīmaṇ 
VS. TS. MS. KS.] 
[mā no vadhīḥ (Conc. vidhīḥ for TS., wrongly) pitaram . . . RV. VS. TS. 
TAA. MŚ.] 

§881. In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants. 
Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously a or ī; included are 
some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems:
pra bhāṅavaḥ sīrata (SV. sa³) nākam acha RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. On this and the two next see VV I §272.


stotāraṁ id didhiṣeya (SV. dadhiṣe) radāvaso RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 90.

hasilagābhasya didhiṣos (AV. da³) tavedam (TA. team etat) RV. AV. TA. Many mss. of AV. di⁹, which Whitney would read. Cf. however next. vahā (TB. N. vaha) devatā didhiṣo (MS. da³) havāsi MS. KS. TB. N. Cf. prec. The MS. reading is not certain; several mss. di⁹.

§582. In present formations of different classes:
sutrābhis tīrata (SV. TS. tarati) ... RV. SV. TS. KS. Note the following r (§573).

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB.: anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema Vait. 1st and 4th class presents; VV I p. 125. In the latter y is epenthetic.

yac ca prāṇiti (AV. 'ati) yac ca na AV. ŚB.† TB. BrhU.† 1st and 2d class presents; VV I p. 123.

yāh prāṇiti (AV. prāṇati) ya 'in kṛtyo uktam RV. AV. Cf. prec. kati kṛtvāh prāṇati cāpānati ca (ŚB. prāṇiti cāpa cāniti) GB. ŚB. Cf. prec. two.

ni śāniki (AV. abhi śāna) duritā bādhamaḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. three.

§583. The i of the following is of desiderative character, cf. Whitney §1030:

na yac chūḍreyv alapsata (ŚŚ. ali⁹) AB, ŚŚ. An aorist in AB. See VV I p. 87.

sa bhikṣamāno (SV. bha⁵) amṛṭasya cārṇaḥ RV. SV. Both bhikṣ (a sort of desiderative) and bhakṣ are derived from bhaj, but function as quasi-independent roots.

§584. In various miscellaneous verb forms:

ajjapata (TS. TB. 'jipata) vaṇaśpatayah TS. MS. TB. MŚ. See VV I p. 192. Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists; the form with radical a is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by that of the simple root.


nabhā samāṭyi navayast (SV. 'dāya navaye) RV. SV. samāṭyi is 3d sing. passive aor.; samāṭya gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb).
§585. The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes. Phonetics has little to do with them; at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing a and i may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous. Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in ta with nouns of action or abstracts in ti; the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages. Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in ti; or the nouns in ti may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles. Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in na: ni (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and ra: ri; patro- nymics in ka: ki; heteroclitic stems in a(an): i; stems in ana: in(a); stems in in (in composition i): a(n); stems in a-ka: ikā; and a remnant of unclassifiable a: i forms.

§586. We begin with the suffixes ta: ti, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning; see also §599 below: yam aksitam (ŚŚ. N. 9tim) aksitayah pibanti TS. ŚŚ. N.: yam aksitam aksitā bhakṣayanti AV.: yathāksitam aksitayaḥ pibanti (KS. 9yo nādantī) MS. KS. 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV. imperishable ones) drink (or the like).'

aksitam asi mā pīṭṇāṁ (with variants) kṛṣṭhitā... ApG. ApMB. HG. BDh.: aksitam asi mā me kṛṣṭhitāḥ TS.: aksitam asy aksitam me bhūyāḥ MS.: aksitir asi mā me kṛṣṭhitā... VSK. ĀŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. And other variations.

apā vṛddhi pariṣṭanti (TB. Conc. 9vṛttīṁ, Poona ed. text and comm. 9vṛttīṁ) na rādhaḥ RV. TB. 'Open up as it were hidden treasure': 'open up treasure, as it were a fence',

bradhnaś cid atra (SV. yasya) vāto na jūṭah (SV. jūtim) RV. SV. jūṭah 'speedy', adj. with vāto; jūtim 'speed', with change of construction.
pra samrājo (SV. "jam) asurasya praśastim (SV. "tam) RV. SV. KB. atirātraṁ varṣan pūrīr ārt (MS. vavarṣān pūría rávat, KS. vavarṣān pūtra rávat) svāhā TS. MS. KS.

§587. These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in ti:
puṣṭapate caksuṣe ... MS.: puṣṭipataye (ĀŚ. "pace) puṣṭīā ... AŚ. ApŚ. pro ayāsrī indur īndrasya niśkṛtam RV. SV. PB.: pra vṛ etindur īndrasya niśkṛtim AV.

nyaṁ (AV. ni yan) ni yanty uparasya niśkṛtam (AV. "tim) RV. AV. KS. ākūtim (MS. MS. MG. "tam) agniṁ prayuṣāṁ svāhā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS. MG.

vācō vidhṛtim (MS. "tam) aghiṁ prayuṣāṁ svāhā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

In same passage with preec.

sviṣṭāṁ (MS. v. l. "tim) no 'bhi vasyo nayantu KS. MS.: sviṣṭāṁ no abhi (KS. 'bhi) vasyo (AV. vasya) nayantu AV. TS. KS.

kṛṇuṁnaḥ naḥ sviṣṭāṁ (MS. KS. "tam) VS. TS. MS. KS.

mayi puṣṭiṁ (AV. "tani) pūṣṭipatir (AV. puṣṭa", KS. "puṣṭipatni) dadhātu (AG. "dadātu AV. MS. KS. (four times) TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB.

kuyāvai ca me kṣitiś (VS. 'kṣitam) ca me VS. MS. KS.: aksiśī ca me kāyāvaś ca me TS.

[ādityāṁ te citim (KS. Conc. wrongly citam) āpūrayantu KS. ApŚ.]
punar brahmāno (AV. brahmā) vasunītha (AV. "nīthā, KS.* "dhiśām, v. l. "dhiśim; KS.* [38. 126] "nītha, KapŚ. "dhiśām or "tim, MS. "dhiśe) vajnasṛ (AV. MS. KS.* agne) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

"nītha is a variant for "nītā, see §93.

§588. Coming to variants between na and ni, we find in several cases that the i is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending ī:
gandharvīya janavide (ApMB. jani) svāhā APMB. MG. Cf. the stems jani and janī. Here, strictly speaking, the i and the n are both radical, not suffixal (dissyllabic root jan).
somāya janavide (MG. jana) svāhā APMB. MG. In same passage as preec.
teṣāṁ yo ajyānim (PG. 'jyānim) ajiśīm avahāt (SMB. Conc. ajyānim avahāh, but Jörgensen text and comm. as others) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.: teṣāṁ ajyānim (MS. "nam) yatam avahāti (KS. MS. na avahāt) AV. KS. MS. a-jyā-ni, 'non-oppression': a-jyā-na id., not recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix av, which appears as na after ā.
hīranyakapakṣaḥ śakunīḥ HG.; hīranyakaparṇa śakune PG.; hīranyakavarṇaḥ śakunāḥ MU.

pururōpaṁ suretasaṁ maṇghonam (TB. "nīm") VS. TB. maṇghonam may be taken either as an irregular acc. sing. of maṇghavan (cf. RV. maṇghonas, nom. plur.) or as from an a-extension of the weak stem; maṇghonim (masc.) can only be from an i-extension of the same.

TB. comm. annavantam; VS. comm. maṇghavantān dhanavantam.

§589. Of the suffixes raːrī we have only noted one variant, of the word tittirī: "ra. The usual form is "rī, but "ra occurs elsewhere; however in this passage the MS. p.p. reads tittirīh:

maṇḍukō maṅgika tittirī (MS. "ras") te sarpāyām VS. MS. Cf. §598, varaśābhyaḥ . . .

§590. The suffixes ka and ki exchange in patronymics; really the exchange is doubtless between a and i, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained k; all occur in the same passage:

śauṇakam (ŚG. "kim") AG. ŚG.

kaholāṇ kauṣītakam (ŚG. "kim") AG. ŚG.

mahākaṇāṣṭakam (ŚG. "kim") AG.ŚG.

§591. Next, a and i as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in an (weak grade a, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the a-declension) and i, of the type aṣṭhaṅ: aṣṭhi:

aṣṭhabhyāḥ (KSA. aṣṭhi) svaḥā VS. TS. KSA.

uṭ tiṣṭha puruṣa harita pīṅgala lohītakṣi (MahānU. puruṣāharitapiṅgalalohītakṣa) dehi dehi dadaḥpayītā me śudhyantām TA. TAA. MahānU.

And extensions of such stems in suffixal ka (in compounds):

anakṣikāya (KSA. "akṣa") svaḥā TS. KSA.

anamśikāya (KSA. "akṣa") svaḥā TS. KSA.

§592. A few cases of interchange between adjectives in i and participles (or quasi-particples, mahat) in at:

dhruvas tiṣṭhāvinīcālīḥ (AV. MS. KS. "calat") RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

SB. TB.

pārvaṇa iśāvīcālīḥ (AV. MS. KS. "calat") RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

SB. TB.

dadhīr (SV. dadhad) yo dhāya sa te (SV. sute) vayaṇāi RV. SV.

enās cakṛvān mahi buddha evāṁ TS.; eno mahac cakṛvān buddha ṛpaḥ MS.

§593. Variations between suffixal ana and in (ina):

tan nau samvananam kṛtam MG.; tena samvanināu sveke HG. samvanana 'concord': samvanin 'concordant'.

mā no vidād (KS. vṛdhad) vṛjīnā (KS. TB. ApŚ. anā) deṣyāḥ ṣyā AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown.


§594. Variations between stems in in (in composition i) and stems in a or an (once an by sandhi for at):

tasya te tāvijīptasīyopahātusīyopahūto (Vait. vājīptasīyopahūto, ĪŚ. vājapīptasīyopahūto [text ṣaṭa] upahātasya) bhākṣayāmi ĪŚ. ĪŚ. Vait.: tasya te vājībhūr bhākṣāṃkṛtasya vājībhīḥ sulasya vājīptasīya vājīnāptasīyopahātusīyopahūto bhākṣayāmi ApŚ.: vājī ahām vājīnāptasīyopahūto upahātasya bhākṣayāmi VSK. KS.

vājām teṅgane ... Vait.: vājī teā ... ApŚ. MS.: vājinaṃ teā vājīn ... KS.: vājinaṃ teā vājēdyāi (sapatnasāham) ... VS. VSK. TS. SB.

ava jāyām (HG. dyām) iva dhanvanāḥ (HG. dhanvināḥ) AV. ApMB. HG. See §159.

matsśa sukṣapra (SV. ṣrin) harivas tad (SV. tam) śmahe RV. SV.
bodhinmanā (SV. bodhanā) id astu naḥ RV. SV. In SV. pres. pple., bodhat.

§595. Before feminine forms of the suffix ka, most commonly i replaces a, see Edgerton, JAOS 31. 95 f.: vīdūyataṃ kānāṇīkābhīyām (VS. kaninā) VS. MS. KSA.: vīdūyatau kānāṇābhīyām TS.

vṛtrasīstā (KS. mitrasīt) kānāṇīkā (VS. SB. ṣaṭaḥ) VS. MS. KS. SB. MS. MG.: vṛtrasīya kānāṇīksī (VSK. ṣaṭāṣī) VSK. TS. ApŚ. agner aṣṭaḥ kānānakam (VSK. ḳāṃ, TS. MS. KS. ʔikām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

nī gaḷaḷitā dhāraṅkā VS. SB.: nī jaḷaḷitā (KSA. ms. ējaḷaḷitā, em. ṣaḷaḷī) dhānākā TS. KSA.

avajihvaka niṣijihvaka ApMB.: avajihva niṣijihvika HG. Here, in a masculine form, the i before ka is anomalous; it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form *jaḥvin, with suffixal in.

§596. The rest are miscellaneous cases of a: i in suffixes and endings: tasmin ma indro rucim ā dadhātu AV.: tasmin soma rucam ā dadhātu HG. ApMB. Stems ruc and ruc. Cf. next.

hirṣaṃśruṃ nārvāṇaṃ dhanarcaṃ RV.: hariṣmaṃśruṃ na varṇaṃ dhanarcaṃ SV. Stems ṛc and ṛc-i (possibly with confused thought of arcis?)
kuwayah (KSA. ṣyih, VS. TS. kravih) kuṭarur dātyauhas te vājīnām (TS. KSA. sinīvalyai) VS. TS. MS. KSA. A name of an unknown animal; p.p. of MS. also kuwayih.

indraḥ (ŚŚ. ṣas) patīs tuviṣṭamo (AA. ŚŚ. tavadstamo) jāneṣu ā (ŚŚ. jāneṣu) AV. AA. ŚŚ. Stems tavas and tuviṣṭ- (the latter not used as a separate word).

tivilāstāṃ (ed. misprinted tilea2, see Stenzler's Transl. p. 83 n.) ērāvatīm AG.; tivilā sthājarāvati ŚG.; tivalā sthirāvati MG.† 2. 11. 12b; tivilā śyād ērāvatī ApMB. The word is otherwise tīvila; probably MG. is to be emended.

vi śloka etu (AV. eti, TS. ŚvetU. ślokā yanti) pathyeva (KS. patheva) sūreḥ (AV. MS.† sūrī, TS. ŚvetU. sūrāḥ, KS. tśūraḥ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

agne varcasvin (VS. 3van) varcasvānāś (ŚŚ. ṣev) team deveś ani varcasvān (ŚŚ. ṣevey) ahum manusgeśu bhūyasam VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. pradakṣipin (AV. 3naim) marutānin sthānam rdhyām (MS. aśyām) RV. AV. MS. TB. The old adverb pradakṣipin, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV.

mānasya patnī saranaḥ svinā AV.: mā nah sapatnāh saranaḥ svinā HG. haryamānāsa dhṛṣṭā (TB. ṣatā) marutvāḥ RV. TB. N. See §122 and VV I §86.

kykalaśah (KSA. krkā3) pippakā śakunis (TS. KSA. šakā pī2) te saranyā- yai VS. TS. MS. KSA. Of uncertain origin; simulates a compound of a stem krkā- or krkī-.

2. Long ā and ī

§597. These variants are few. The most interesting group concerns ā varying with ī as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound. We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings ī and ā in this connexion. These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples:

samhitāśi viśvarūpā (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ṣī, TS. ApŚ. ṣī) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis)

upasthāvarābhya dāsam VS.: upasthāvarabhya ṭbaindam (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB.

sakhā saptapadi (ApMB. ṣpadā) bhava AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. MG.
śiśā rudasya (TS. and v. 1. of MS. rudrasya, VSK. śīva ṛdasya) bheṣajī (MS. १jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not):

grdhrāh kṣitkakṣā vārāhīnasas te divyāḥ (KSA. vārhi⁰, ed. em. vārdhrī⁰, te 'dityāḥ) TS. KSA. The word (otherwise spelled with ṭ) seems at least to be felt as a compound; cf. vārdhra?

uṣṭro ghrāvān vārdhrinasas (MS. ghrāvān vārdhrā) te matyāi VS. MS. Cf. prec.; p.p. of MS. vārdhrī⁰. In ghrī we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here.

ākāhi kasa māntheäsas (MS. 'thālasas, VSK. māndhālas) te pīṛṇām VS. VSK. MS.: pāṅktrah (KSA. ṭpāṅktāḥ; mss. of both pāṅtra-) kasa māntheālas (KSA. ṭman⁰) te pīṛṇām (KSA. ṭpīṭ⁰) TS. KSA. See §77.

yā te agne hariśayā (VSK. hari⁰, MS. MŚ. harā⁰) taṇūr ... VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratikas MS. MŚ.) hariśaya is doubtless influenced by haras.

vidyutam kāṇṭikābhyaṃ (VS. kanīṇa⁰) VS. MS. KSA.: vidyutau kāṇṭakābhyaṃ TS. Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here.

§598. The other variations of ā and ī are very miscellaneous; mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort.

agnī tejasvin tejasā śīvān devesu bhūyāḥ TS.: agna āyuḥkāravyasmāṇaḥ śīvān tejasān devesu edhi MS. See also agne varcasvin etc., §596. indrasyāhāni devayajyajenāṣyāt (KŚ. ६yāvān, MŚ. ६yavān) ... TS. KŚ. MŚ.

śiśā vīṣvāḥ (VS. ६hā) bheṣajī (TS. ६habheṣajī; MS. १jā) VS. TS. MS. KŚ. vīṣvārṣaṇyāḥ sahūriḥ sahāvān (AV. sahiyān) RV. AV. MS.

śilpā vaisvādevāḥ (VS. ६eyāḥ) VS. MS.: śilpās trayo vaisvādevāḥ TS. KSA.

Fem. and masc. forms, nom. plur.

samāni va ākūtīḥ RV. AV. TB. AG.: samānā vā (KŚ. vā) ākūtāni MS. KŚ. MG. i of fem. sing.: ā of neut. plur.

varṣābhys tittirin (MS. ६rāṇ) VS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. Acc. plur. of the words which vary in §589.

dhīya manotā prathamā maniśi (SV. ६mā maniśi) RV. SV. 'The foremost intelligent one'; ... intelligence'.

sā šantātī (SV. ६lā, TB. ApŚ. ६cī) mayas karuṣ apa sridhraḥ RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. šantātī acc. neut., and šantātī loc. sing., from šantātī; on šantācī see §156.
QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U

3. a and i with shift of quantity

§599. Here are found only a few stray variants: too few to classify. Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality; these will not be repeated. We begin with variants of a and i; the first two belong with those of a and i in §586: 

pradūm jīvātum aksūlam (ŚŚ. ŚG. *tim) AV. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. AG.† (Stenzler’s Translation, p. 36 n.) ApMB. N. 

vyacchasāyaṁyantī subhūtīḥ AŚ. MS.: viśvayacā iṣayantī subhūtīḥ (KS. *tā) TS. KS. In the latter subhūtā is an adjective going with adītīr in the next pāda.

tan no durgā (TA. *yih) pracodayāt TA. MahānU. Durgī for Durgā seems to occur only here.

śrīyo (AV. TB. *yān) vasānāḥ carati svarociḥ (TB. *cāḥ) RV. AV. VS. KS. TB.
āṅgūṣṣāṇīm (SV. aṅgoṣṭampam) anātānta vāṇī RV. SV. Different case-forms of ā and in stems, adhi kṣaṇi viṣuṛupāṁ (ArS. kṣamā viśva) yad asī (ArS. asya, MS.† āsta) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. kara ād (SV. īd) arthayāsas ā RV. SV. anāthṛṣṭa ... VS. MS. KS. ŠB.: anīḥṛṣṭa ... TS. See §176.

§600. Between a and ā the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic: sīrā (TS. MS. KS. sarāh, AV. sarā) patatira (TS. MS. KS. oṇīh) sīhāna (KS. sīha, AV. bhūtei) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Besides the synonymous sarā and sīrā, sīrā is also found (RV.). All are from root sr; cf. §§570, 573.

amṛtenāvṛtaṁ puram (TA. purim) AV. TA. Equivalent stems pur and (later) puri.

yāttudānēnīyaḥ kanṭakikārīm (TB. kanṭakakāram) VS. TB. Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd., show shift in gender. nayanta garbham vanamāni dhiyaṁ dhuḥ RV.: nayantaṁ girbhir vanā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ SV. Lexical.

āsminn (KS. ā sīm) ugrā (MS. ā samudrā) acuyavāh TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Lexical.


4. Intercchange of short a and u

§601. Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the a: ā variants, in which a varies with u before a following v, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift. To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the av forms as full ablaut grade, the uv as weak grade forms, representing u before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short u—epenthesis of e between u and following vowel. Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here. But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded. The great majority of the forms concern roots in u. There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the u forms in SV.; and the like seems to be largely true of MS.

§602. In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation. The following are those from u roots:

acikradat swapā iha bhuvat (Ppp. bhavat, Barret, JAOŚ 30, 244) AV. Ppp. Add to VV I.1. c.
tasmai devā adhi bravān (MS. KS. TB.;† [Poona ed. text. and comm.]
ApŠ. bruvan) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŠ.
tasmāi soma adhi bravat (KS. bruvat) RV. AV. KS.
yatra (SV. yatā) devā iti bravān (SV. bruvan) RV. SV.
pra bravāna (MS. bruvāna, v. l. bra†) sāradoḥ satam VS. MS. TA. ApMB.
ApG. HG. MG.
sammišlo arugo bhava (SV. bhuvah) RV. SV.
utā trātā śīvo bhava (SV. bhuvu) varāhyah RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
Kauś.
nemiś cakram ivābhavat (SV. MS. ćbhuvat) RV. SV. TS. MS.
yat some-soma ābhavaḥ (SV. ābhuvah) RV. SV.
yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ (SV. ībhuvah) RV. SV. MS. N.
tatra pūjābhavat (SV. ćbhuvat) sutā RV. SV. KS.
asaptaḥ kilābhuvam (ApMB. ābhuvam) RV. ApMB.: asaptaḥ kilá-
bhuvam RV.

dvapriyaḥ (TA. ćyayān prajayā) paśubhir bhava (TB. TA. ApŠ. bhuvat)
MS. TB. TA. ApŠ.
maraṭvantam sakhyāya havāmaha (SV. ṭhevemaḥi) RV. †1. 101. 1-7, SV.
[svāneśo anamīsāo bhava] (Conc. wrongly bhuvā for ApMB.) naḥ RV. TS.
MS. SMB. PG. ApMB.)

§603. From roots in short u the cases are much fewer:
abhī pra yonuṇur (SV. nonavur) pirāḥ RV. SV. (It is not quite clear
whether this is originally a short or long u root.) Here SV. goes
counter to its usual tendency, with as for RV. u.

upā bravat (MS. bruvat, p.p. śra†) subhagā yajñe asmin RV. MS. On the
anomalous and doubtful MS. form cf. VV I p. 106.
tad ahaṁ niḥnava (ŚŚ. ćnave) tubhyam AB. ŚŚ. To be added to VV I
§193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents; the latter (hnute)
is more regular.

nedīya u śrīyāṇ pakvam ā yavan (Ppp. yuvaņ, Barret, JAOS 30. 207)
AV. Pp. Others, see Conc.) Add to VV I l. c.

§604. The same shift is found in noun formation and declension,
both u stems (placed first in the list) and short u stems:
abhībhuve (MS. ćbhve, KS. ćbhave) svāhā MS. VS. KS. TB. ApŠ. And, in
same passage:
vibhuve (MS. vibhve, KS. ćvibhve) svāhā, same texts.
samudram na suhuvaṁ (suhuvaṁ, subhuvaṁ) ...; mahiśaṁ naḥ subhuvaṁ
(subhuvaṁ) ... see §119.

indraḥ (ŚŚ. ćas) patti tuviṣṭamo (AA. ŚŚ. tavastamo) jānēṣu ā (ŚŚ. jānēṣu)
AV. AA. ŚŚ. Cf. §596.
śīṭibhravo (MS. ṛbhravo) vaśiṇām VS. MS.
puṃśavanāḥ puṃśavanam AG.: puṃśavanam asī ApMB. The form in
av is regular in the earlier language, but that in uv occurs first
(in AV.).
tad viprāso vipanyavah (SV. ṛyuvaḥ) RV. SV. VS. NṛpU. VasU. Skandau. AruṇU. MuktiU.
tā vāṁ gībbhir vipanyavah (SV. ṛyuvaḥ) RV. SV.
sumnāyuvaḥ (KS. ṛyavaḥ) sumnāyāya sumnaṁ (KS. sumnyam) dhatta
MS. KS. MS.
tasya praṇā apsaraso bhīruvaḥ (MS. bhīrau no ma) TS. MS.
§605. Of other variations in radical syllables between a and u,
analogous to the variations between a and i treated in §§570 ff., we have
noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of
cases especially before r (cf. §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the
two forms of the present stem karo: kuru. The chief cases we have
noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in par:- pur-, which
we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and
particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the
following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the
others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at
work:
sukaritā svopaśā (v. l. swauṣ) MS.: sukuritā svuopaśā VS. TS. KS. SB.
The usual form is kurīra; the etymology is unknown. If MS. is
correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding u (su).
avahṛthā nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. ApŚ. nicaṁkunā, MS. KS. MS. nicaṁ-
kunā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. IŚ. MS. ApŚ. N. See §150.
Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the a form,
despite the obscurity of the words.
niccur asī nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. nicaṁkunā, MS. KS. nicaṁkunāḥ)
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. IŚ. Cf. prec.
saṁkcasuiko vikasukah AV. MS.: saṁkcasuko vikasukah TA. ApŚ.
The root is kas and the kus forms are certainly secondary, and ap-
parently assimilated to the suffixal u which follows. Cf. next.
ni nievartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS. nandabala) TS. KS. ApMB.
See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by b, a labial
consonant.
etāṁ saṁkṛṣya (MS. MS. ṛkṛṣya, v. l. ṛkṛṣya) juhūdhi MS. ApŚ. MS.
Here the original form was neither a nor u, but r; see §631.
tuce tanāya (SV. Svidh. tunāya) tat su nah RV. SV. Svidh. The SV.
form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous tuce.
Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable.

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the a: u is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal; assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in u, of the type karu- (VV I p. 116 f., and references there quoted). Most of the other words are obscure; often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel:

karuṇam (TS. karuṇam) asi TS. AŚ, ŚŚ. Both words occur in the sense of ‘religious work’; but karuṇam is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original karuṇam in this variant.

varaṇo vāraṇyatai (and, vāraṇyayatai) AV.: varaṇo vāraṇyāt TA. The root vr, like kr, has dissyllabic forms in u. It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether Varuṇa is derived from it; the god’s name (if the reading is correct; Poona ed. has varaṇo with v. l. varaṇo) is here used obviously with punning intent.

So with the verb-forms vanate: vanute and the like, on which see VV I p. 121; whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l. e.), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative u:

agnir no vanate (VSK. vanute, SV. TS. KS. vaṇates) rayim RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

tad agnir devo devabhyo vanate (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. vaṇutām) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§607. The rest are more dubious in character:

piṭha (VS. MS. piṭha, KSA. bīṣa) nyanukha kakaśas (MS. kakuṭhas, TS. KSA. kaśas) te ‘numatvat (KSA. ṣyāh) VS. TS. MS. KSA. There may be assimilation in VS. or dissimilation in MS., but the forms are wholly obscure.

tad vo astu suṣetanam (JB. ‘tunam, ŚŚ. saṣoṣanam) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. Here both a and u may perhaps be called suffixal; yet the variant seems to belong in feeling to this group. No uncompounded cetuna is found, but suṣetuna is recorded later, and cf. RV. cetu.

somasya rājñāḥ kulunīgah TS.: somāya kulunīgah (MS. kulaṅgah) VS. MS.: somāya rājñē kulunīgah KSA. The usual form is kuraṅga, and the medial u is apparently due to assimilation to u of the first syllable. In both this and the next variant MS. p.p. has kuluṃ; contrariwise VS. comm. reads in both kulaṃ, glossing kuraṅga.

sādhyebhyāḥ kulaṅgān (MS. kulaṅgān) VS. MS. Cf. pree.
yádase śabalyám (TB. sàbulyám) VS. TB.: para dehi śàmulyam (ApMB. sàbalyam) RV. AV. ApMB. Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words; śàmulya means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with sàbala ‘spotted’. A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS. TB., whose comm.s interpret ‘a woman with spotted skin’; the u of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of śàmulya, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant b. ApMB. is clearly thinking of sàbala, and intends the meaning ‘spotted garment’; in RV. AV. ApMB. reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night. Cf. §241.

§608. Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation. First a group in which the common synonyms caksas and caksus interchange. Note the misreading cakṣaṣi sàmavedasya in GB. Bibl. Ind. ed., which is a mere misprint for caksuṣi as shown by the following s; Gaastra reads correctly caksuṣi. Caksas is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by caksus:

namah samudrasya caksase (PB. cakṣuse) TS. MS. KS. JB. PB. LS. apo mahi vyayati caksase tamaḥ RV.: apo mahi vyayate caksuṣā tamaḥ SV. ahyā ca praṣūṣa ca caksas ca vicaksas (ApŚ. caksuṣ ca vicaksuṣ) ca ... MS. ApŚ.

§609. Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation:

taraksuh (KSA.† "kṣaḥ) kṣṇah ... TS. KSA. Both forms otherwise recorded; original unknown.

śādhu (SV. sādhaḥ) kṛśvantas awase RV. SV. As the accent of sādhu shows (see Wackernagel II. 1 p. 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb. It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV. by the equally unknown sādhas.

lā mandasānā manuṣya duroṇa ā RV. ApMB.: sā mandasānā manasā śīvena AV. Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically; but resembles the case of caksuṣ: caksus, §608, superficially.

dayā mīdanā manasā (VS. manuṣah) purutā VS. MS. KS. TB. sugantuḥ karma karaṇah kariṣyban JB.: sugan tvaḥ kramaḥ karaṇah karah karasyuh LS. Cf. §573.

ārdrah prathasnu (MS. īprthuṣum, v. l. prathasnu) bhuvanasya gopāḥ TB. ApŚ. MS. Knauer, note on MS., would understand prathasnu (TB. comm. prathanaśīlo) as dialectic by-form of prthuṣu.
saṃskṛtam ubhayam kṛtam (KS. abhayam kṛtum) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. Note metathesis of a: u in KŚ., which is poor and secondary; and cf. next.
puṁjikasthalā (KS.† puţjiga) ca kṛsthalā (VS. SB. kṛtu) cāpsarasau VS. TS. MS. KŚ. SB. Proper names, compounded of kṛta: kṛtu; cf. prec. Really lexical, since the words are radically not related. dhanaspṛtan (MS. dhanu, but p.p. dhana) sūṣvānain sudakṣam RV. MS. dhana could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of 'wealth-winning'; it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by assimilation to the u vowels of the following.

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem savitar: ghṛtvatī savitar (MS. KS. ०tur) adhipatye (TS. ०tyaih) TS. MS. KŚ. AŚ. 'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'.

§611. In verb inflexion, morphological change between a and u vowels is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect indicative) endings, (n)tu: (n)ta. The instances are gathered in VV I, mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics are hardly concerned. We add a few other stray cases: adāraṣyāḥ bhavata (AV. ०tu) deva soma AV. TB. ApŚ. bhavata seems uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see VV I p. 283.

ā pilāram vaiśvānaram avase kāḥ (PB. kūḥ! comm. akaḥ, glossed kuru) PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. kūḥ is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a gross corruption for kāḥ ('kāḥ'); VV I p. 283.

§612. The remaining cases of a: u are purely lexical. A large group concerns the prefix sa and the particle su, which are practically synonyms as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other; also the pronoun sa, and other exchanges of the syllables sa: su, of various character, are included here:

ye sojādah samanasaḥ (Kauś. su) TB. ApŚ. Kauś.: ye samānāḥ samanasaḥ VS. MS. KŚ. SB. TB. ApŚ. MS.

śatān jīvema śaraṇaḥ sarvasvīrāḥ (TB. savīrāḥ, ApŚ. suvīrāḥ) AV. TB. ApŚ.

ā tri vahantu harayaḥ sucetasah (ApMB. sa) MS. ApMB. HG. udityasah sumahasaḥ (SV; sa) kṛṣṇotana RV. SV.

agnih sudakṣah sutanur hi bhūtvā MŚ.: agne sadakṣah sutanur (KS.† ०nār) hi bhūtvā TS. KS.

namo vṛdhyāya ca savdhē (TS. saṃvṛdhvane, KS. savṛdhvane, MS. suvṛdhvane) ca VS. TS. MS. KS.
saṣṭāṇāṃ kṛaṣṭhyā dāheya enam AV. TS.: sa² madhye kṛaṣṭhyā dāhehi mā MS.: saṣṭāṇāṃ kṛaṣṭhyā dāheya enam KS.

tad vo astu sucelanam (JB. ⁰tunam, ŚŚ. sajoṣanam) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

maruṭvān astu gaṇavān saṣṭāvān (ĀŚ. suṣṭaiḥ) TB. ĀŚ.
akaḥ su (TS. su) lokam suktam prthivyāḥ (VS. ŚŚ. ⁰vyām) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Here and in the next the pronoun sa exchanges with su. ayam sa (ŚŚ. su) vām aśvīnā bhāga d gatam AV. ĀŚ. ŚŚ.
pra sumartyam (su mṛtyum) āṣṭulana SMB. ApMB.: pra sa mṛtyum āṣṭulana HG. Here sa seems uninterpretable; Conc. would read su.

dadhad yo dhāyi sute vayaṃśi SV.: dadhir yo dhāyi sa te vayaṃśi RV.
Here and in the next the pronoun sa varies with a syllable su of different character, involving false divisions of words.

samsaṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: samsaṣṭāsa yudva indro gaṇaṇu MS.
nṛcaṣṭāḥ (MS. sūcaṣṭāḥ) soma uta suṣrug (comm. and Poona ed. suṣrug; MS. sarsudal) astu TB. MS. If Poona ed. is right, TB. has su-, the reduplicating syllable. See §145.

§613. Similarly, the particle u varies with a- of the augment, or with other a-:

yaṃnah pratyāṣṭāt (v. I praty u ṛṣṭā) KS.: yaṃnah praty u ṛṣṭā sumatau maṭināṃ MŚ.
tam uhe (SV. u huve) vājasataye RV. SV. In VV I p. 26 we have suggested here possible influence of the following e, separated from the vowel only by the aspirate.

irām u ha (AV. aha) praṣaṇasaṭi AV. ŚŚ. AG.

§614. The particle nu varies with the negative na, or with other na, sometimes involving false division of words:

tam te vi śyāmy āṇuṣo na madhyāt (MS. KS. nu madhye) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: idam te tad vi śyāmy āṇuṣo na madhyāt TS.
yaṃṇayate vā paśuṇo na (MS. nu) vājān RV. MS. KB. upānasah saparyan RV.⁺: upo nu sa saparyan SV.
avasyuvatā brhati (TS. ⁰tṛh) na (TS. nu, ĀŚ. tu) śakvarī (TS. ³rth) TS. MS. KS. ĀŚ.

mahān indraḥ paraś ca nu (SV. paraś ca naḥ) RV. AV. SV. Metathesis of a: u.

§615. Various adverbs and adjectives in pur-, par- interchange; this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in §605, q. v. Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur: pari pūṣā paraśatāt (AV. pu²) RV. AV.

[ye devāḥ purahsado ... TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. BDh.: ye devā agni-netrāh purahsadas ... VS. ŚB. Conc. quotes paraḥsado for TS.]

§616. Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words; sometimes with false division of words:

pra ya (SV. na) indo mehe lane (SV. tu nah) RV. SV.

savar rādiḥ thyastha (ŚŚ. yās tu) purtrah AB. ŚŚ.


ugro (MG. agne, HG. urahuo) virājann (MG. virājam) apa (MG. upa-)

vedha (AV. vṛηkṣvya) śatrūn (MG. śakram) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

upāśṛṇvate (ŚŚ. apa; corrupt?) teśa AŚ. ŚŚ.

apa snehitīr etc. RV. AV. SV. KS.: upa sthi etc. TA. See §110.

tāni brahmā tu (AV. ApMB. brahmatā) śundhati (AV. śumbhati, ApMB.

kān̄sati) RV. AV. APMB.

§617. The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another:

mitro yatra (AV. no atra) varunō ajjamānaḥ (AV. yuṣyaō) RV. AV.

devēbhīr aktaṁ (VS. TS. yuktam) adityāḥ sajoṣāṁ VS. TS. MS. KSA.

vācā cit prajatoṁ (AŚ. ca prajūti) devahādantam TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

pramade (TB. ⁹mude) kumāṛīputram VS. TB.

anu stotha mudimahi (PB. mademahi) RV. AV. PB.

asmin goshe karīṣṭhān (Kauś. ⁹naḥ, MS. purīṣṭhāḥ) AV. MS. Kauś.

See §152; note p before u.

sā sanmadānta sanuṣī vājam emam (MS. sanuṣī bhāgadheyam) AV. MG.

(Others, §52.) sla-san: su, near-synonyms.

āṇjanti supravasaṁ (Ppp. yuṇjanti supravasaṁ) poṣca janāḥ RV. AVPp.

MS. See §192.

vāyusāttva (MS. vāyusāttvabhyaṁ) āgamubhyoṁ caruḥ (MS. payaḥ)

TS. MS. KSA.

pratnāma agraṛam ākṣṣāṇāḥ (AV. āsasāṇāḥ) RV. AV. VS. TS.

aṣṭimahi (MS. uī?) teśa MS. TA.

ā rakṣīn (RV. ⁹mii) deva yamase (TB. yūvase) svaśvān (RV. TB. ⁹vaḥ)

RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

ni galgalāti dhārākā VS. ŚB.: ni jalgulāti (KSA. ms. tjalgalāti, ed. em.

⁹lti) dhāṅkā TS. KSA. Onomatopoeitic forms?
ye pūrvāsya ya upārāsa (AV. ye apā, some mss. ya upa; comm. u. parāsak) iyuh RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.

[yeje sainṛādhanīm aham ŚB. BrhU. AŚ. SMB. ApMB.; yuje (but read yeje with most mss., Hillebrandt, p. 250) †saṁardham Ṭm aham ŚŚ.: aghau sainṛādhanīṁ yeje-HG.]

§618. And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote: pratiṣthau prātisūtanam (AB. *satavanam) AV. AB. ŚŚ. Boehtlingk regards the reading *sutā as a corruption of the other. But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain sūtan as satavan.

svastī naḥ putrakrīṭeṣu (MG. pathyakṛteṣu, v. l. as RV.) yonīṣu RV. AB. MG.

vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śīṅgini kośyābhyaṁ VS.: oṣiṣṭhahanam śīṅgini kośyābhyaṁ (TA. "koṣā") TS. TA.

yamasya loke adhirajjura ṣyat (TA. ṣya, MS. loke nidhir ajarṣya) AV. MS. TA. See §401.


pratiṣrūtaḥyā artanam (TB. rtulam) VS. TB. See §651.

śumbhānas (stambh"") . . . , see §287.

vi no rāṣṭram unatu . . . , TB. sah le rāṣṭram anaktu AV. See §139.

bhaksīṁahi (TS. MS. KS. Vait. dhukṣ) praṇām iṣam RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

rajanī . . . , rajjuni . . . , see §107.

idē agnīṁ svavasāṁ (AV. svāvasuṁ) namobiḥ RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §466.

imau stām anupakṣītau (ApMB. anapekṣ?) AV. ApMB.

āśuḥ jayantam anu (KS. yā saṁjayantam adhi) yāsu vardhase RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

abhi spratīha usro vedīṁ tatārda ŚŚ.; vy usridho asro adhir bibhoda TB.


[havir hātisgu (SV. hātiṣgu) vandyaḥ (SV. Conc. wrongly *yuḥ) RV. SV.]

[asmākam anśaṁ mahāvan purusṛṇham SV. Conc. 'read anśam' for anśaṁ; but cf. Benfey's Glossary; perhaps anśuṁ is correct.]

[upa draśvā payasā godhūg oṣum (ŚŚ.† oṣum, AŚ.† payasā goṣam) AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both AŚ. and ŚŚ. probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV.]
5. Other interchange of a and u vowels

§619. The variations between long a and ā, and between a and u with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of ā and ā:

dvīyā gandhavesā ketāpih (VSK. *pāh) ketāmi naḥ (MS. KS. omit naḥ) punātu VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. SMB. ‘Purifying (protecting) the will’; the verb punātu is cognate with -pāh of the original reading.

pītā devānām janiṭā vibhūcāsuh (ApŚ. MS. vibhā) RV. SV. ApŚ. MS. drapaś caskanda prthīvī anu dyān (RV. prathamān anu dyān) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

aghadveṣā devajātā AV. Kauś.: atharevyastā devajātāh ApŚ.

yad annam admi (PrāṇāgU. agnir) bahudhā virāpam (PrāṇāgU. virādham, vv. II. virājaman, virudham) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

§620. Besides the last, which also includes a form with short u, we find short u and ā varying in:

sākhat suśevō advayāh (Mahānāmyaḥ *yuḥ) RV. KS. AA. Mahānāmyaḥ. Nom. sing. masc. of as: u stems.

yo naḥ (AV. ma) kadācid abhiddasati druḥā (AV. druḥah) RV. AV. druḥā, instr. sing. of stem druḥ; druḥuh, nom. sing. of adj. druḥu, sā prasārī (SG. suprasārī) dhenukā (HG. *yā) bhava AV. SG. ApMB. HG. Pronoun sā; prefix su.

punāṇam u (SG. ā) dadhād (SG. ūdadähr) iha AV. SG. Add to VV I §167, 193.

§621. Variants of a and ā:

yad adya hotravye (SŚ. *vṛye) ŚB. SŚ. ApŚ. *vṛya is Rigvedic; its long ā seems anomalous. For the u-vocalism cf. virūta etc. (VV I §10).

nākiḥ (RV. nā cit) sa dabhyate janāḥ RV. SV. nā = nu.

druhā pākān (TS. KS. pākan) prati sa (KS. yū) muceṣṭā RV. TS. MS. KS. See §612.

utsaḥ jūṣavā madhumantam ārva (KS. MS. ārmim, VS. arvan, VSK. *eva satadhāram arvan) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MS. See §228.

6. Interchanges of short i and u

§622. These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical. Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittirīya school show a tendency to substitute u for i, in various formative syllables. These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal
$v$ for $y$ (§§247–8). The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change; so in:

\textit{pareyivāṇam} (TA. Apś. \textit{pareyū}) \textit{prawato mahīr anu} (AV. īti) RV. AV. MS. TA. As. N. (Pratikas, ŠŚ. Apś. Kauś. Rvidh.) This form of the perfect active participle of \textit{parā} + $i$ is certainly anomalous enough in appearance; possibly the $u$ may be partly due to assimilation to the following $v$.

\textit{hlādike hlādikāvati} (TA. hlādike hlādu) RV. AV. TA. Here, too, another motive is discernible. The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root \textit{hlād}, ‘cooling’. This meaning in the Brāhmaṇa language is expressed by the suffix \textit{uka}; cf. Edgerton, \textit{JAOS} 31. 104 ff. But again the form appears only in a Tait. text.

\textit{goṣu asveṣu subhṛṣu} (TB. əṣu) RV. AV. KS. TB. The stem \textit{subhṛ} occurs only here; the surrounding $u$ vowels may have assisted (assimilation).

\textit{made-made hi no dadiḥ (TB. daduḥ)} RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. As. daduḥ can only be a noun form equal to dadiḥ, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable). The saṁhitā mss. of MS. have a different phonetic corruption, \textit{dadṛk}; ed. follows p.p.

§623. In other texts $i$ and $u$ occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the $u$ forms are less anomalous: \textit{acety agniś cikītuh} (SV. KS. ətiḥ) RV. SV. KS. Perhaps assimilation in SV. KS.

\textit{daiyā} (AV. daiyā) \textit{hotāro} (TS. ərā, AV. əraḥ) \textit{vanaṣanta} (TS. vanīṣ, KS.† \textit{vanīsan na}, AV. \textit{vanīsan na}) \textit{pūre} (AV. KS. \textit{etat}) RV. AV. TS. KS. The ancient aorist \textit{vanaṣanta} is based on \textit{vana}-, the same element mentioned above in §606, end. It is historically quite as justified as \textit{vanaṣanta}, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS., contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation.

§624. In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned:


\textit{drśe ca} (MS. drśa ca, RV. abhikhyā) bhāṣā brhatā suśukvaniḥ (RV. \textit{kuśu}°; KS. ərabhiḥ; MS. suśikmanā) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. See §240.

§625. In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in $i$ and imperfects in $u$. They need not be listed here; see VV I, e.g. §116. Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be
sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt; unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, him (commoner) hum:

paśūnām te āhinukārenabhijighrāmy (GG. śmi; HG. hum?) asau...

SMB. GG. ApMB. HG.

§626. In several variants forms of root śrī exchange with śru or sru:

aqne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti (ŚB. AŚ. ŠŚ. "tt; TB. upaśrīto) divas (TB. divah) prthivīyoh MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŠŚ.: upaśrīto divah prthivīyoh TS.

kavasā hy asi śrutah (AV. śrītal) RV. AV. But SPP. śrutah for AV., with many mss. (other mss. śrtaḥ); and so Whitney's Transl.

a teā parisrutāḥ (MG. śrtaḥ, mss. śrtaḥ; AG. śrītal) kumbhāḥ. (ApMB. 006) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. And others; see §275.

§627. The rest are sporadic:

prajāvātāḥ sūkṣamasān (AV. "se) ruśantāḥ (RV. TB. comm. riś") RV. AV. TB. See Whitney's note on AV. ruśa "shining", the no doubt secondary to riśa "grazing", is not impossible of interpretation and is clearly the reading of AV. tradition.

priyo me hṛdo (MS. hito, v. i. huto) 'si (MS. tābha) TS. MS. This, as between i and u, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the mss. of MS.

svaṛvīdo abhi gā adrim uṣan (SV. iṣan) RV. SV. See §401.

pāti priyam ri-po (and, rupo) agraṁ padeṁ veh RV. (both): pāty agnir ripo agraṁ padeṁ veh ApŚ. Read rupo in both RV. passages; cf. Ludwig ad loc., Bloomfield, JAO S 27. 75, and RVRep. 184.

apāṁ tvā sadhiṣi (MS. śadhiṣu) sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §353. The MS. is mangled; is its ending felt as loc plur.? (sadhiṣi loc. sing.)

upa yaññam asthita (MS. astu no, AV. comm. astīta) vaśvāvēti RV. Kh. AV. ApŚ. MS.

a śuše (SV. āśise) rādhase māhe RV. SV. The RV. has a verb form from aśva: 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty'. In SV. we have an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form. The ending e suggests a dative matching the following rādhase; hence āśise 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb. Benfev supplies 'we summon'.

ṛṣayartenā māṁ uṣa (TA. ita) TB. TA.: ṛṣya tu enam āmulah (p.p. tu, enam, maṁ, ultim mal) MS. (corrupt in both forms). TA. comm. takes ita as a verb form (= prāpnuta).

mandāna ud ivaṣaye (SV. id ivaṣaye) RV. SV.
7. Interchanges of long i and ū (u)

§623. Here are found only a few stray variants:

urjan samūdena (KSA. *sidena) TS. KSA. Parts of a horse's body; wholly obscure. TS. comm.: samsūden samatiṣṭharaṇo nāsikādiḥ; viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyamānāḥ VS.: apūtapā adhūyamānāḥ TS. The passages are rather low bathos.

ahir na járyām (TB. ahh ha járyām) ati sarpātī tvacam RV. SV. TB. Both participles of the disyllabic root ḫ. The ī form is regular in Sanskrit, but the Vedie ū form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton, Ind. Stud. C. R. Lanman 27).

rko jatātu sūlīka (sussulīka) . . . , see §624.

sam īn (SV. u) rekhāsu asvaran RV. AV. SV.

CHAPTER XIV. VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629. With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, \( a, i, \) or \( u \) vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from \( r (l) \) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older \( a, i, \) or \( u \), which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by \( r \) in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic \( r \) and consonantal \( r \) with another vowel; especially when that other vowel is \( i \) or \( u \), we are reminded of the later pronunciation of \( r \) as \( ri \) or \( ru \). On the other hand the not infrequent variations between \( r \) and \( ra \) or \( ar \) are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical; that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20.

1. \( r \) and \( a \) (one anomalous case of \( a \))

§631. We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the Rigveda itself:

\textit{ava sma durhan\={a}yatal\={a}} (SV, \textit{durhr\textdegree}y\textsuperscript{a}) RV, SV. The SV, has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskrit vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally \( hr\), and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism \( hr\).

\textit{\textis\=an kh\textir=\=an havam} (ApŚ, \textit{khagalyam \=napam}) MS. ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form \( khr\text{\=a}lu \), RV, if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

\textit{pas\textis\=an\textadhi\=\=a} (MS, \textit{pr\textis\=an\textadhi\=\=a}, p.p. \textit{pas\textis\=an\textadhi\=\=a}) \textit{garu vayo dadhu\=\=a} VS. MS. KS.
TB. The p.p. form of MS. suggests that its saṁhitā form may be a hyper-Sanskritism; in any case it is hardly to be doubted that it gives the original form of the word.

etāṁ saṁkṛṣya (MS. MS. oksya or oksya) juhukh MS. ApŚ. MS. The MS. MS. forms are not incapable of interpretation as lexically independent words; Boehtlingk chooses the form oksya. But they are probably Prakritic after all.

achalābhīh (KSA. ārābhīh, MS. [ma]atsarābhīh, VS. rksalābhīh) kapiṣṭjalān VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184. The AV. knows rchara; probably r is older than a.

§632. The following cases seem more or less clearly to contain hyper-Sanskritism in the forms with r:

sarvanāṁ tanā mahāma (VS. bhāṣa) kuru VS. TS. ŚB.: sarvāṁ tān mahāma (MS. tāṁsma) kuru MS. KS. TA.: sarvāṁ ni mahāmaṅkaraṁ AV. In this onomatopoetic word (cf. Eng. mash) there is no doubt that the a vowel is original; MS. pedantically tries to make it sound Sanskritic and ‘hifalutin’.

atirātīrin varṣan pārta ārṛ (MS. varṣaṛvan pārta ravo, KS. varṣaṛvan pāra ravo) TS. MS. KS. And various other formulas in the same passages, all containing the same exclamations. Despite the lingual t in MS. ravo, which might be argued to point to an original r, we believe with Keith that ārṛ is a mere hyper-Sanskritism, without real standing. Cf. §168.

vanasade (MS. vanarṣade, KS. vanṛṣade) veṭ (TS. MS. vaṭ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

vasūri cārur (SMB. cār, ApMB. cārya, HG. cāyya) vi bhajāsi (SMB. bhṛjā, HG. bhajā sa) jivān AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. The SMB. form is certainly a hyper-Sanskritism if it is not corrupt; one ms. bhajāsi; Störner ‘geniessen’ (as if bhaj).

yajuryuktān sāmarbir aktaḥkham tvā (MS. rktakham tā, p.p. rktakham itī rktak-hām, tā [unaccented]) MS. TA. This is the only case of ā varying with r; it is highly problematic. See §365.

§633. The remaining cases are more clearly lexical in character. In the first we have probably a mere textual error:

jivasur devakāmā (HG. vīrasūk) synaḥ ApMB. HG.: prajātāti vīrasur devyākāmā AV.: vīrasur devakāmā (AV. devṛ, SMB. ṣūr jivasur deva, GG. ṣūr jivasur) synaḥ (AV. omits; GG. jivapati) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. MG. Most mss. of AV. read deva both times, and this is doubtless the true AV. reading, as Whitney observes. Either reading would however make sense.
VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

indro nāma śruto gṛṇe (TB: ApŚ. gane) SV. TB: AŚ. ŠŚ. ApŚ. gṛṇe is
dubious; Bentey suggests taking it as 3d sing. passive; gane is
simple enough but may be a lect. fac.
Jātāna jātām ati sa pra sārvṣe (TB: ati sṛt pra sṛṣate) RV. MS. TB.
Comm. on TB: sṛṣat prasṛṣam, ati prasṛṣate 'tibhena prasṛṣṇasayaty
adḥaḥ karoti. TB is evidently secondary.

§634. In the other lexical changes the two forms are less close to each
other in form, the vowel change being accompanied by other changes in
the words. We omit cases of bhṛhat and mahat, cf. §241.

Vadhūr jajāna (AV. jīgāya, MS. KS. mimāya) navagaj (ŚG. navakṣ)
janītri AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚG. ApMB. See §46.

Jagdhā vīṛṣṭir (HG. vīcāṣṭir)... APMB. HG.: jagidho maśako jagdhā
vīṛṣṭir (HG. vīcāṣṭir)... APMB. HG.: jagidho vyadhvaro jagidho
maśako jagdhā vīṛṣṭi svāhā APMB.: jagidho vyadhvaro jagdhā vīcāṣṭir
jagidho maśakāḥ HG. See §156.

ud usriyāḥ srjate (TB: saceate) sūryāḥ sace RV. SV. TB. See §3.

Dadṛṣṭ (TA. dadhād) vidhakṣyan (AV. *kṣan) paryākhyāte (TA. *tai,
AV. pariṇkhayatai) RV. AV. TA. See §145.

Ajanṭi (SV. mejanṭi) vahmiḥ udānāṇi (SV. *nēṣu) acha RV. SV.
Savitā bhrtyām (KS. tmanyām) TS. KS. So ms. of KS.; ed. em. bhrtyām.
Yad adya dugdhāṃ prthivim asṛpta (TB. ApŚ. asakta, MŚ. abhakta) AB.
TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §152.

Satyavajā dhṛṇā (MS. durhṛṇā, KS. ṃdhṛṇa) yam nute the TS. MS.
KS.: sucestasau druḥhavaṇo yau nute the AV. See §305.

Somah nulāḥ pūyate aṣyamānāḥ (SV. nula roṣate pūyamānāḥ) RV. SV.
See §57.

Rasena sam asṛkṣmaḥ (RV. apasmahi, KS. LŚ. ajanmahi, AV. JB.
apṛkṣmaḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.
Yān (MS. KS. ya) ētmanvad bhibhoto (KS. *tho, AV. viśato) yau ca rak-
ṣataḥ (AV. KS. *thoḥ) AV. TS. MS. KS.
Deva purasācara saṃsthāsam (MS. devapuraś caṃsa radyāsan) teā MS. TA.
ApŚ. MŚ. But cf. §838; it is doubtful if this belongs here.
Ye bhakṣayanto na varaṇāḥ ānṛdhuh (TS. ānṛdhuh, MS. ānaśuh) AV. TS.
MS.
Aṣaṇnīṣūṃ hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: āsann ēṣām
apsravāḥo mayobhūn SV. See §820.

2. ō and ī (once ī)

§635. Here most of the variants can be justified lexically in either
form. Perhaps the clearest cases of Prakritism are the two following.
The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts; and even in the fourth a v. l. has it:


dadhiṣa ehi ApŚ.: dadhṛṣy ehi MS. The forms are voc. sing. fem., and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root dḥṛṣ; so apparently Caland, who renders ‘Kühne’.

To these may be appended another, in which however i for r seems to be a textual corruption:

ayam satrām jayatu jahṛṣṭāyaḥ (AŚ.† jahṛhi⁸) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. But elsewhere AŚ. has the vikāra: āhāṁ śa⁹ jayāmi jahṛṣṭāyaḥ, indicating that jahṛhi⁸ is corrupt.

§636. An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next; gotrabhrd is probably felt sophistically as ‘supporting the gene’, but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar gotrabhid), cf. Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 34:

puraṇḍaro gotrabhid (MS. ṣbhṛd, all mss.; TB. maḥāvān) vajrabāhuḥ VS. MS. KS. TB.

§637. In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between i and r, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct:

jāmim rtvā māva patai lokāt AV. jāmim itvā mā vivṛti lokān TA. The roots r and i are synonyms. But Poona ed. of TA. jāmim mita. ādityaṁāni prasitār (MS. ćṛṭir) hetir ugrā MS. TB. TA. ‘Extension’: ‘progress’. Cf. next two.

prasyaś ca me prasitiṁ (MS. KS. ćṛṭir) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. and next.

dirghāṁ anu prasitim (KS. samṛtim) āyasye dhām (KS. teṭ) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: dirghāṁ anu prāśīṁ samśrēṣṭaṁ MS. Cf. prec. two. tām dhirāsā anudṛṣya (VSK. ćṛṣya) yajante (KS. ānudṛṣyaṁyajanta kaśvayaḥ) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: tām dhirāsah kaśvaya ‘nudṛṣyaṁyajanta MS.: tām u dhirāsā anudṛṣya yajante VS. ŚB. anu-dṛś ‘assign’: anu-dṛś ‘survey’.

tam qhed (MS. hed) aṇir vṛthāvati (MS. vidh?) RV. TS. MS. In the original there are two words, vṛthā avati. MS. is obscure and probably corrupt; p.p. vadhā (sic!), avati.
§633. To this same group belongs the single case involving long i; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ. mss. read ʰmṛṭe with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root mi ‘change, alter’:

tasmīn ˢidāṃrte pratiṣṭha (MŚ. text ˢidāṃrite pratiṣṭhan) TB. ApŚ.
MŚ. Add to VV I §250.

§639. Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between hita (or dhīta), participle of dhā, in compounds, and bhrta (once ḍṛta), from bhr (hr):
sa ṭu rāṣṭṛya subhrtaṁ bībhartu (Ppp. pīpartu) AV.: sa no rāṣṭṛgu
suhītam dadhātu TB.
gandharvo dhāma vībhṛtaṁ guhā sat VS.: gaṅ nāma nihītaṁ guhāsa TA.
MahānU. And others; §855.
devir deviḥ samāḥitaḥ RVKḥ. (but Schectelowitz ʰṛṭāḥ): deviḥ devaiḥ
samāḥtaḥ (TB. ʰbhrtaḥ) SV. TB.
yad agne pārthe prabhṛtaṁ (AŚ. prahitaṁ, MŚ. nihītaṁ) padah hi te
TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

hiranye 'smin samāḥitaḥ (RVKḥ. Schectelowitz ʰṛṭāḥ, HG. ʰbhrtaḥ)
RVKḥ. ApMB. HG.

garba iva (SV. KU. [Poley’s ed.] iet) subhrto garbhiniḥbhīḥ (RV. sudhīto
garbhinīṣu) RV. SV. KU.
sūryaraṁśin samāḥṛtaṁ TS. TB.: sūryān (p.p. ʰyāt) śukram samāḥṛtaṁ
MS.; sūrya santam (KS. TA. śukram) samāḥitaṁ (KS. TA.
samāḥṛtaṁ) VS. KS. SB. TA.

§640. Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants:
priyọ mā hīrdō (MŚ. hīto, v. l. hūto) 'sī (MŚ. ḍhava) TS. MŚ.
imā (MŚ. idāṁ) brahma pīphī (MŚ. pīphī, v. l. pīphī) saubhaqāya
VS. MS. KS. SB.

vrṣajūtīr no ʰṛṭaḥ (SV. vītā) RV. SV. a-er-taḥ: av-i-tā (nom. ag., root av),
hotravidāḥ (RV. ʰvida, TB. ʰvrda) stomatastāso arkaḥ RV. AV. MS. TB.
mā no vidad (KS. vṛdhad) vṛjina (KS. TB. ApŚ. ʰanda) dveṣyā t yā AV.
KS. TB. ApŚ.

indrātubhir brāhmaṇaḥ vāyrdhānaḥ TB. ApŚ.: indra ṛhbhir brāhmaṇaḥ
saṁvīdnānaḥ SS.

āṇjanena sarpiṇā sam vīṣantu (AV. srṣṇantām, TA. mṛṣṇantām) RV.
AV. TA.

atrāha tad urugāyasya visṇoḥ (RV. N. vrṣṇaḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
SB. N. Viṣṇu is meant even in RV.; later texts substitute the
name for the epithet.
prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvirīr (SV. prāntarikṣāt sthāvirīs te) asṛkṣata RV. SV. 
vācaspate hṛdvidhe nāman (MS. MS. hinvidhe) MS. TA. SS. MS. All 
mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on the strange form. Even hṛdvidhe 
is none too clear (TA. comm. hṛdayasya vidhātah cittaprerakety 
arthāh).
vṛtáṣyāsi (mitra°) ... see §235.
made-made hi no dadih (TB. daduh; MS. sanā. mss. dadyk) RV. AV. 
MS. KS. TB. AS. See §622.
adṛāḥathaḥ śarkarābhīs trīviṣapī (MS. trimhṛṣṭibhih) KS. ApŚ. MS. 
See §222.
īśāno vi ṣyā (=ṣyā; TS. sṛjā) dṛtim AV. TS. MS. KS.
upa yaṅgam asthitā (AV. comm. astṛta, MS. astu no) vaiśvadevi RV. Kh. 
AV. ApŚ. MS.
dame-dame suṣṭutyā (TS. oṭī, MS. o ti, AS. SS. oṭī) vāṛdhānā (AV. 
oṇau, AS. SS. vām iyāna) AV. TS. MS. KS. AS. SS. See §230. 
[ṛṣa ṛṣya (AV. Berlin ed. ṛṣaye, emendation) māmahe AV. SS. Keep 
ṛṣya with AV. mss.]

3. ō (f) and u(ā)

§641. The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be 
prevailingy Prakritic in character. We should expect u for ō especially 
in the vicinity of labial consonants; but except in the first variant 
(before m), we hardly find this to be the case; the only other instances 
with labials (e.g. bhr and bhu) are lexical. The most clearly 
Prakritic cases are:

trāṣṭramantās (MS. MS. tvāṣṭr°, ApŚ. tvāṣṭru°) tvā sapōma VS. MS. KS. 
tvāṣṭr°) te sapēya TS. TA. ApŚ. The Taittiriya form is feminized.

ut (Vait. adhāma) sakthya (SS. Vait. oyor) aev gudam (TS. KSA. ApŚ. 
sakthyor grām) dēhē VS. TS. KSA. SS. Vait. ApŚ. Altho 
grda seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be 
the original form of gudā.

etān svahṛṣya (MS. MS. okasya or okusya) jukudhi MS. ApŚ. MS. 
See §631.

ṛtraprajātā (MS. uta pra°) bhaga id vah svāma TS. MS. This may be 
called a lexical variant, since MS. makes sense; but it is doubtless 
fundamentally Prakritic.

§642. Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably 
both are mere textual errors or corruptions:
sa niruṃḥya nahuṣo (TB. Conc. nahrzo) yahve agnīḥ RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. nahuṣo, the only possible reading.
devaṃ manah kuto (AV. kṛtō) adhi praṇātman RV. AV. Altho all mss. of AV. apparently agree on kṛtō (if we understand Whitney’s meaning), it seems that we must read kuto, with Whitney.

made-made hi no dadiḥ (daduh, dadrık), see §§622, 640.

§643. More purely lexical variants are:

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ. hito or huto) ’si (MŚ. ṭhava) TS. MŚ. See §640.
vanisṭhor hṛdayād (AV.* uḍarād) adhi RV. AV. (both) ApMB.
upa yajñam asthita (aṣṭtra, astu no) ... , see §640.

avimuktacakra ("rā") āśirān PG.: viṃśṭacakra āśināḥ HG. ApMB.

Note labial consonants preceding r: u.


TB. TA. AS. ApŚ. SG.

§644. The only cases of long u and r concern compounds of the roots bhu and bhṛ, which are practically synonyms here:

adbhyaḥ saṃbhṛtah (TA. MahānU. ApŚ. saṃbhūtah) prthīvai (MS. KS.† vyā) rasāc ca (KS. rasāh) VS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. KS. ApŚ. PG.

samveṣṭopaveṣāya gāyatraḥ (PB. SS. KS. also triṣṭubhe and jagatya); TS. ApŚ. gāyatrīyas triṣṭubha jagatya anuṣṭubhaḥ pāṅktyāḥ) chandase (TS. ApŚ. omit) ’bhibhūtaye (TS. ApŚ. abhibhūtyai, SS. ’bhibhṛtyai, KS. ’bhībhūtyai) svāhā TS. PB. SS. KS. ApŚ.: aṭiyā anyathāyai samveṣṭopaveṣāya gāyatraḥ (also triṣṭubho, jagatya, anuṣṭubho, pāṅktyāḥ) abhibhūtyai svāhā ApŚ.

Once † is corruptly written u in a single ms.:

tāsāḥ svasār ajanayat (MS. svar ajanan, KS. ms.† svasār [ed. em. svasār] ajanan) pāṇca-pāṇca TS. MS. KS.

4. I and u

§645. There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form. A perfect middle participle of root kṛp appears twice in ApŚ. with u for l. There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS. variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism. It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney’s Roots.
§646. In a single lexical variant, showing forms from the roots ghr and guh:

grhyopagrhypo mayobhūr... SG.: gohya tarpagohyo... SMB. PG.

§647. The variants under this head are not very numerous, and are almost exclusively concerned with ablaut. That is, the variant forms are nearly all nil-grade and full-grade formations from the same root, in verb inflexion or noun formation. Usually both forms can be justified by regular grammar, altho a number of them are grammatically more or less irregular.

§648. The following concern various finite verb forms:

parīme 'gnim arṣata AV. (Ppp. ms. arṣata; Barret JAOS 43. 99 em. arṣata.) Sigmatic aorists from hr, weak-grade or guna; the latter is ungrammatical, and if it is to be accepted (cf. VSK. and AVPp.) it is to be regarded as a blend of arṣata and arṣata.

bahu hāyam (MS. ha vā ayam) avṛṣad (TS. avṛṣād, MS. avṛṣād) iti śruta rāvat (MS. vṛt, TS. śrular ārö) svāhā T8. MS. KS. See VV.1 p. 129.

praty u adarṣy (TB. u ṣaḍṛṣy) ṣaḍṛṣy RV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. This can only be a 3d sing. nor. pass., with r in TB. anomalously for ar (comm. drṣyate). To be added to VV.1 §281.

bhartam (VS. ŚB. bhṛtām) aghin puriśyam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See VV.1 p. 188.

agni 'bhāyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartaseva (TS. abhi na ā vartaseva, KS. abhi no nivartaseva, MS. abhi māvartaseva, Kauś. abhi na ā vartaseva) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Kauś.; abhi na ā vartaseva RV. See VV.1 p. 126.

punar śṛjā ni vartaseva (Kauś. śṛjā vartaseva) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

ime jīva vi mṛtaś āvṛṣṭram (TA. āvṛṣṭtin, Poona ed. ṛtiś) RV. AV. TA. See VV.1 p. 42.

nādṛṣṭa ā dadṛṣṭe (AA. dadharṣa, ŚŚ. dadharṣayā) AV. AA. ŚŚ. See VV.1 p. 89.
§649. In various participles and gerundives:

atirātram varṣan pāburīr ārg (MS. varṣanān pātra rāma, KS. varṣanān pūdra rāvat) svāhā TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 147.

jāgaritāya (KSA. jāgṛtāya) svāhā TS. KSA. Both equivalent participles. odāḥ te viṣṇu vidūṣā cid ardhyāḥ (TB. rdhyāḥ) RV. TB. Gerundives; cf. Whitney §963b, 4.

dāma grīvāsv avimokyaḥ yat (TS. avicartyam) AV. TS.: pākṣaṁ grīvāsv avicartyam (VS. ŚB. ²cṛtyam) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. AVPpp. according to Whitney has ²cṛtyam.

§650. In other noun and adjective formations:


atandrāso yuvalayā tuhibhrāram (TB. vibhartram) RV. TB. Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. vibhartram. Agni is referred to; TB. comm. poṣakam.

aprajātāṁ pautramṛtyam ApMB. HG.: aprajāyaṁ pautramartyam SMB. Comm. on SMB. repeats the form, glossing pautram-bandhimarayam.

pra-sa (tead su?) mṛtyum yuyotana HG.: pra sumartyam (ApMB. su mṛtyum) yuyotana ApMB. SMB.: prathanam arthaṁ yuyotu nah MG.


jñātave na mṛtyave (PB. martave) RV. PB. Infinitive in PB.

saramāsṛṇa ehi MS.: sarāpa varṣann ā gahi SV. JB.

vanasade (MS. vanarṣade, KS. vanṛṣade) veṭ (TS. MS. vaṭ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The stem vanar, equivalent to vana, is found in RV. in compounds. It does not occur independently, and vana is not recorded even in compounds except here. The next preceding phrase in KS. is nṛṣade veṭ; the r of nṛ has perhaps been responsible for vanṛ.

devaḥ pāntu yajamānam nyarthaḥ (AV. nṛṛthaḥ) RV. AV. TS. Synonymous, both meaning ‘perdition’; nṛṛtha also Rigvedic.


§661. Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words:

pratiṣṭhātāya artanam (TB. ṛṭulam) VS. TB. artanam, comm. duḥkkham; BR. ‘reviler’; ṛṭulam, comm. deśarājavārtākathanaśīlam.
sarvakāya tvā TS.: sarvakāya tvā MS. Both words wholly obscure; said to mean 'water'.
dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. yai) rjayā na iyase (SV. irase) RV. SV. KB. AB. ApŚ.: dviṣas tad adhy arṇa evyasye AV.

7. ṛ and āṛ

§652. Here we find only a few cases, in most of which āṛ shows the vṛddhi of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with ṛ. Once a form with prefixed preposition ā varies with the same form without ā:
āṛtavā (MS. KS. ṛtavo) adhipatayā (MS. KS. ‘dhi’) āsan VS. MS. KS. ŠB.: āṛtavo ‘dhipatir āstī TS.
ṛtavo ‘śṛyanta VS. TS. ŠB.: āṛtavā arṣiyanta MS. KS.
agnir grhapatināṁ (MS. KS. gārpapatyānāṁ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. 
āṛtyai (TB. riyai) janavādinam VS. TB. Stem ṛti, from ṛ: āṛti, from ā + ṛ.

8. ṛ and āṛ, ur, āṛ

§653. Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt. Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least. As to ṛ, we find just two cases in which the sanhītā mss. of MS. (the same text each time!) read ṛ for proper āṛ. In both cases the p.p. points to the reading āṛ. Von Schroeder inconsistently retains ṛ in one case and emends to āṛ in the other; there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other:
nama ānirhatebhyaḥ (MS. ānṛ, p.p. ānirṛ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.
anuttam ā te mahavān nakir nu (MS. mss. nakṛṇu, ed. em. nakir nu; p.p. nakis, tu) RV. VS. MS. KS.

§654. Under ṛ: ur we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious:
agnir dvārā vy ṛvati RV. TB. Conc. quotes urvati for TB.; but Poona ed. text and comm. ṛvṛ without v. l.
satyaumasya drīhanā (MS. durṛṇā, KS. ṛṛhṇā) yāṁ nudithe TS. MS. KS. And others: see §305.
nābhimṛṣe (MS. KS. nābhīḍhyṛṣe) t anvatsa (TS, tanvā) j ā rḥurṣaṇaḥ (TS. MS. KS. jārḥurṣaṇaḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. Might also be classed in §643.
§655. Of ṛ: ृ are we find only the following, in which the root ṛ varies with the so-called 'root' उर्म्य, really a form of ṛṛ:

\[\text{teṣās te dhūma ṛṇvati (AV. ṛṇṛtu)} \text{ RV. AV. SV. LS. KS. MS.}\]

9. ṛ and ra, rā

§656. In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Samprastaraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp. 69-71, and cf. the similar variations of ī and u with ya and va in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of ṛ varying with ra which stands for ar before a plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p. 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation): and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

§657. The cases of so-called Samprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as grah,grabḥ), to some extentrarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of grah,garbḥ, on which see especially VV I §281:

\[\text{agṛbhīt VS.K.: agraśhit VS. AS. SS.}\]
\[\text{agṛbhīṣata VS.: agrābhīṣata KS.}\]
\[\text{udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS. ajīgrabhat, KS. ajīgrabham, and ajīgrbham). VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.}\]
\[\text{agnaye tvā mahyam . . . pratigrahātre (SS. ०grhṇate) VS. VS.K. MS. ŠB. SS. prāno dātra edhi . . . pratigrahātre (SS. ०grhṇate) VS. VS.K. ŠB. SS. The same with havyo dātra . . .}\]

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms:

\[\text{vīr vījam aprāthāḥ (aprāg api) AV. (both)}\]

§658. In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel I c.; some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical:

\[\text{hradāḥ (MS. hrdaḥ) na hi tvā nyapanya ०rmayaḥ RV. MS. 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, brahmaṇi).' The ultimate etymology of hrada is not clear, but surely hrda can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably samprasāraṇa. Cf. next.}\]
namo nivesya (p.p. ni?) ca hrdya ca MS.; namo hrdayaya (VS. hrdyyaya, KS. hrdayya) ca nivesya (TS. §yyaya) ca VS. TS. KS. See §248. The MS. and VS. forms simulate derivatives of hrd and hrdya, but these can hardly be in place here; the adjoinging word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form hrd = hrda found in MS. in the preceding variant.

prksya (ArS. prkṣa?) vṛṣṇa aruṣasya ni sahaḥ (ArS. mahaḥ) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AS. ŚŚ. Svidh. prkṣa is a name or epithet of a horse; its etymology is obscure, and prkṣa has not been recorded elsewhere.


avāriratāḥ bṛhasya (TB. prathayasya) bṛhas RV. TB. See §69.

bhrjaḥ chandah MS.; bhrajaḥ chandah VS. TS. ŚB.; bhrajaḥ chandah KS.† (but v. l. bhrā†). The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root bhr, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l. c. but may be related to bhrājī, Wackernagel p. 69; cf. also bhṛgas etc. There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots. Cf. next.

kṣuro bhrjaḥ (TS. bhrjaun, MS. bhrjaḥ, VS. bhrjaḥ, stigmatized by Conc. as erroneous, hardly with justice) chandah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.


svasty apsu vṛjane svavatī (MG. vṛajane svavatāḥ) RV. AB. MG. Really a lexical variant; vṛajana 'way' is suggested by pathyāsu of the preceding pāda. But some MG. ms. read with RV.

[dīghyāṣ cakravākah (KSA. Conc. cakra with the sole ms.; ed. em. cakra) TS. KSA. This is probably a mere corruption; if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same.]

§659. The roots raḥ and rdḥ, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin; and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group. Cf. also §806:

rdhyāsam adya makhasya śrīḥ MS. TA. ApS.: makhasya te 'dya śiro rdhyāsam devayajane prthiyāḥ VS. ŚB. [The references to MS. MŚ. in Conc. seem to be erroneous.]

tan me rādhyātām VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.: tan me samṛdhya tām (Kauś. samṛddham) TB. SMB. Kauś.
harivató graham rādhāsām KS.; harivató hariyajanasya harivantaṁ graham rādhāsām MS.

§660. The single case noted of ṛ varying with ra for ar before ś plus consonant (Wackernagel I p. 212 f.) is;
samārṣāya yūṣv indro ganeṣu MS.: samārṣāya (AV, v. l. samārṣāya) ra yudha indro ganeṣu RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.

§661. From the root śṛ, also quoted as śrā 'boll', are found the two participles śṛṭa and śrāṭa, which exchange in the following, in which śṛṭa happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise:
suṣrāṭam (AV, suṣrāṭam) manoṣ tād ṭam navīyāḥ RV. AV.

§662. The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflexion forms in ṛ vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological a (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing ra:
ye ca bhūṣuṣu jāgrati (KS. jāgratha) AV. KS. See VV I p. 221.
te nā atmāsu jāgrati (KS, jāgrata) AV. KS;
yatra-yatra vibhrato (KS. bibhrato) jātavedāḥ AV. KS. Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p. 158), and obscure as to interpretation.

§663. Similarly in noun formation, a stem in ṛ varies with a derivative in suffixal a:
hotraṁaṁ (MŚ. ṛtyā, v. l. ṛtraka) camasaḥdvaryavah ... ApŚ. MŚ.
The words ṛtya 'secondary ṛtr' and ṛtraka 'pertaining to the sacrifice (ḥotra)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest.

§664. Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated; notably three between the stem kratu and forms of the root kr. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology:
puṣṣikaṁsthāla (KS. ṛpuṣṣika) ca krasthāla (VS. SB. kratu) cāpsarasa
VS. TS. MŚ. KS. SB. Proper names, and so naturally flexible.

sahāyaṁ ubhaiyaṁ krāmam (KS. ahāyaṁ krāmam) KS. TB. ApŚ. KS. indra kratvā (MS. indraḥ kravā) maruto yod vaśāma RV. MS. KS. The MS., which is certainly secondary and poor in indrah, reads the
gerund kṛte for kṛte by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness.

mainā arra renukakāṭh prṣak (MS.† [v. l. prṣak] KS. prṇak) MS. KS. TB. pro-ṇak, from naś, 'attain', with pra; prṣak from prc.

indrāya toṇ ṣrmo 'daddāt (ŚG. śrmo dadat) MS. MS. ŚG. SMB. See §277.

§665. The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague:

drpaś caskanda prthivēṁ anu dyāṁ (RV. prathamān anu dyūn) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vague assonance only.

tain teān viśvebhya deverbhāḥ kratūn (KS. dhya rtaṁ) kalpaya KS. ApŚ. sā (read sa?) naḥ praṭāṁ paśūn pāhy arāṇyāmānah (p.p. ahāh, āni, yāmānah!) MS.: sa no rucan dhehy ahrṇyāmānah TA. The MS. is hopelessly corrupt; probably read ahrṇyāmānah.

atrā te bhadrā raśānā apasyam (KS. bhadrā vṛṣṇa agrbhām) RV. VS. TS. KS.

idāṁn anu vastūṁ ghṛtena ApŚ. MS.: idāivāsmān (RVKh. ilaiva vāṁ) anu vastūṁ vratena RVKh. AV. Scheitelowitz reads ghṛtena in RVKh.

idam ahaṁ sarpāṁ... grathnāmi (MS. mss. kṛṣṇāmi) TS. ApŚ. MS. See §47; MS. perhaps corruption for grath9.

nadāyor vivratavoḥ sūra indraḥ RV.: na devo vṛtaḥ sūra indraḥ SV. See §828.

viśvair devai rāṭbhīḥ saṁrāṭaḥ (MG. devair rṭubhīḥ sanvidānah) ApMB. MG.

āvite dyāvāprthivē rāyrdhau MS. KS.: āvime dyāvāprthivē dhṛtarate TS. TB. In this and the next, TS. has interchanged the two old adjectives rāyṛdh and dhṛtarate (both RV.).

āvittau (TS. āvinnau) mitrāvarṇau dhṛtaratau (TS. ṣrṇa ṣrīyṛdhau) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

10. r and ri, ri

§666. Since r and ri have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of r to ri (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indie dialects). On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp. 31 ff. It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss., including those of Vedie works, show much fluctuation in this regard. As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,
we call attention to Whitney's note on AV. 5. 14. 3, apropos of the pāda: riśasyeva partīsant. So the Berlin ed. prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss. read riśasyeva, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text; we agree with him. Against most mss., but with some of them and with the comm., Whitney would also read riṣayaphārṇa veṣadatim in AV. 1. 18. 4a, where both editions have riṣya.²

§667. These AV. cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS., which presents trṣu for trṣu (adverb 'eagerly', from root trṣ) and tvastra for the god-name tvastra. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his ms., despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrīyanīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word:

trṣu (MS. trṣu) yad anna veviṣad vitiśhaske RV. SV. MS. ApŚ.
trṣucayavasa (MS. trṣu²) jhuvo nāgne RV. MS.
tvastra atma (MS. MŚ. tvastra²; ApŚ. tvastra²) tva sapena VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Others, see §641.

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written krimi, altho its original form seems to have been krmi (Wackernagel I p. 33; Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wbch., s. v.). Several variants show both forms of this common word:

hatas te atrinā krimiḥ (GG. kṛ²) SMB. GG.: atrinā tva krimi hanmi TA.
ApŚ.: atrivad vaḥ krimayo hanmi AV.
hatāh krmayah (but Jörgensen text and comm. kṛ²) sāṅtikāḥ sanilamakṣikāḥ SMB.: sāṅtikāḥ krmayah (but Poona ed. kṛ², v. 1. kṛ²)
iva TA. Note that different editions differ on both texts!

nilamayah (MS. gane) krmīḥ (TS. kṛ²) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had r, not ri. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism; or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce r and ri in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss. is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of r as ri is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some
sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially.

§670. Take for instance the proper name Trita, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan Thrita). Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV. (6. 113. 1 and 3) it is spelled Ṭṭa, according to all mss. known to both editions. In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB. parallel for two of the pādās (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form Trita. In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss.:

tṛta enaḥ (read enaḥ; TB. tṛta etan) manugyeṣu marmye (TB. mā?)

AV, TB.

ṭṛṭ (TB. trite) devā amṛjatātād enaḥ AV, TB.

§671. There is little doubt that the MS. form āpapṛvān, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his Roots, is simply a phonetic variant for āpapṛvān (perfect active participle to pṛa) instead of an independent participle of pṛ, as Whitney questioningly suggests. The MS. p.p. has "pṛn."

āpapṛvān (MS. āpapṛvān) rodasā antarikṣam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

§672. The verb sroḍhāti makes it clear that sroḍh is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant. In fact many AV. mss. read sroḍhāḥ, which Whitney regards as the true AV. reading:

ati niho ati sroḍhāḥ (AV. MS. sroḍhāḥ) AV, VS. TS. MS. KS.

§673. In the next krīvi is the only form known to RV., and so may perhaps be assumed as the original; both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown:

ā va indraṁ krīviṁ (SV. Svidh. krīviṁ) yathā RV. SV. SS, Svidh.

adhā teṣaṁmā abhy ojasā krīviṁ (SV. krīviṁ, v. 1. krīviṁ) yuddhābhavat

RV. SV.

§674. According to Wackernagel I §180b, r was regularly replaced by ri before y, by phonetic law; when r appears before y, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy. In the second variant the original (AV.) reading was pronounced pitryāc, and for this TA. pitryāc is merely a phonetic variant, with r for proper ri:

yayām rāṣṭre jāgryama (MS.† KS.† mā, TS. and p.p. of MS. jāgriyāma)

purohitaḥ VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

dyauv naḥ pitā pātriyaḥ (TA. pātriyaḥ) chaṁ bhavaṭti (TA. bhavaṛi) AV, TA.

Cf. the next where the RVKh. reading is doubtful:

ādyuṣam jāgrtād aham AV.; adyuṣam jāgrīyād aham RVKh. Aufrecht.
but Scheftelowitz ेयुसामी जाग्रयम (em., for ma. ेयाम) अहम. Cf. VV I. p. 102.

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning; presumably MS. is secondary: vikirida (KS. ेथा, VS. ेद्रा, MS. ेयक्रṣa) vilohita VS. TS. MS. KS.


sam tvā riganti (Vait. ryanā) IŚ. KŚ. Vait. Note the anomalous sandhi in Vait.; sam-ṛ and sam-ṛi would be virtual synonyms; but a 9th class present from r is anomalous (allowed by the Dḥāṭup., but not known in literature according to Whitney's Roots). The Vait. reading is therefore doubly suspicious. See §992.

[imau te pakṣān (ेथा) ajarān patatṛṇaḥ (VSK. TS. KS. ेयाह; Conc. wrongly quotes TS. as putatṛṇaḥ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.]

§677. Twice r varies with rī; both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases:

śṛtō tvam śṛto 'ham ApŚ.: śṛtās tvam śṛtā 'ham KS. Participles of the root which appears somewhat confusedly as sr, śrā, śṛi 'cook, mature'.

adbhir viśvasya bhartrībhiḥ ApMB.: adbhīḥ survāya bhartrībhiḥ ŚG.

In ApMB. a distinctively feminine stem bhartrī is used, to agree with adbhīḥ; ŚG. uses the stem bhartr as of common gender.

11. r and ru

§678. The shift between r and ru is only slightly less frequent than that between r and rī. There is equally good reason to regard it as having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhi the r of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an u coloring (practically ru, instead of rī as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very ancient is proved by RPr. 14. 12 (796), which states that some erroneously 'make the r-vowels like the labial vowels' (svārau kuraṇty oṣṭhyaṃṣhau sāreṇhau). There are, to be sure, not so many variants that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case with r: rī. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic r in conjunction with labials was apt to have u coloring.

§679. Among the clearest phonetic variants are:
bhrami (TB. bhramim) dhamanto apa gā avertisa RV. TB. Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original bhrami is not very clear; one of Sāyaņa’s theories is that it means ‘cloud’, which is the meaning assigned to bhrami by TB. comm., who derives it from root bhram.

draysi VS.; drbaksi KŚ.; drubasi VSK. An obscure word; note the following b. There is no way of determining the original form.

§680. A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic r for original rs is the stem pr̥ṣvā, found several times in Tait. texts for regular prusvā; note the preceding p. BR. call pr̥ṣvā a ‘falsche Form’, but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA. comm. explains by jalabinduḥ. It seems clear that it was the established Tait. school form of prusvā, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters; see e.g. Keith on TS. 7. 4. 13. 1.

prusvā aśrubhiḥ VS. MS.: aśrubhiḥ prusvāṃ (TS. pr̥ṣ) TS. KSA.
prusvābhyaḥ (TS. pr̥ṣ, KSA. ed. prusabhya, ms. prasā, read probably prusva) svāhā VS. TS. KSA.

śam u pr̥ṣhāva (read with Poona ed. text and comm. pr̥ṣvāva) śiyatām
TA.: śam te prusvāva śiyatām AV.

§681. Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the r in the following cases; we do not venture to say whether the following labial bh (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the r form seems quite well established in the Tait. school; the MS. is more seriously corrupt:
purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. jatrñhya, MS. cakrbhyā, p.p. vaktṛbhyaḥ!)
āṭraḥ (MS. ṣa) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

§682. The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots sr and sr̥ are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives sr̥ti and sruti both mean ‘course, way’:
dve sr̥ti (VS. KS. ŚB. BhU. KŚ. sr̥ti, and so TB. Con., but Poona ed. sruti) aśr̥tavatī pḥiṃ RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. BhU. ŚŚ. KŚ. Ap. MS. (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS. 38. 2 to sruti.)
namaḥ srutya (KS. sr̥ta) ca pathya ca VS. TS. KS.: namaḥ pathya ca srutya ca MS. Derivatives of the words concerned in the prece. á teḥ parirsutaḥ (AG. ṣrītaḥ, MG ṣṛtaḥ) kumbhāḥ (ApMB. ṣṛṭāḥ) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: enam parirsutaḥ kumbhāḥ ŚG.: enam parirsutaḥ kumbhāḥ AV.: pṛṇān parirsutaḥ kumbhān ŚB. No form parirsṛt is otherwise recorded; despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG. (all mss.) has a phonetic variant or corruption for parirsutaḥ.
hiranyam astātāṁ (ŚB. BrhU. GP. asrūtam) bhava ŚB. BrhU. KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Here sru varies with str; 'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold).


§683. Similarly hr with vi becomes a synonym of hru with vi; the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like. A third variation between hr and hru is merely a textual corruption.

avinaśṭāṁ avihrūtāṅ (AŚ. 2ḥṛṭā) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. SG. iṣkṛtā vihrūtam punah RV. KŚ.: niṣkṛtā (Conc. wrongly 2ḥṛṭā for ApMB.) vihrūtam (PB. TA. ApMB. vrhtam) punah AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. ApMB. In TA. there is a v. l. vihrūm, adopted in the text in Poona ed.; but the comm. even there reads vrhtam, and glosses viṣeṣṇa bhagam.

aśloṅ (comm. aśronā) aṅgaiv ahrūthā svarge AV.; aśloṅgaiv aṛṭā svarge TA. But Poona ed. text and comm. ahrūthā, v. l. 2ṛṭā, for TA., and this is the only possible reading. The simple hr is not a synonym of hru; aṛṭa would make no sense; comm. kuṭiḷ-paṣaṭā (=ahrūthā).

§864. Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious:

rvaḍ dhaṅkṣā (TB. vṛadbhya 2ṛṣa) parāthānebhir evaḥ RV. MS. KB. TB. The original has rvaḍ dha-ṛṣa 2a ‘the bull roared’. This is misunderstood and corrupted in TB.

śiva rutasya (VSK.  śiva ṛtasya, TS. and v. l. of MS.  śiva rudrasya) bhṛṣajī (MS. 2jā). VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Original is certainly rutasya: ‘healer of what is injured’. Rudrasya, ‘Rudra’s healer’, is an obvious lect. fce., and ṛtasya, ‘healer of the ṛta’ or ‘the ṛta’s healer’, while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between ṛ and ru.

satyaśāsā ṛdrānā (MS. durṛṣnā, KS. ṛḍṛnā) yau nutedhe TS. MS. KS.: sacetasu druḥvano yau nutedhe AV. Multiple confusion; see §305, etc.

mayobhāḥ bānutāṁ yad dhrudo (comm. dhrdo) ’si TB. So Conc.; but Poona ed. text with comm. dhrdo.
CHAPTER XV. THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND
SAMPRASĀRĀNA

§685. In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, e: ai and o: au, and the interchange between e and aya, o and ava, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (though purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

1. i: e

§686. The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems; with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives:
vātra (ŚB. atrā) jahima 'śivā ye asan VS. ŚB.: atrā jahāma (AV. jahita)
ye asann aśeṣāḥ (AV. *aśeṣāḥ, *asan dureṣāḥ) RV. AV. TA. The meter properly requires aśeṣāḥ if the word be final (VS. ŚB. trans-
pose).
vā sarasvatt viṣobhoginā (MS. ApŚ. *veṣā; KS. viṣobhoginī) ... MS. KS.
ApŚ. viṣo- is gen. sing. of viṣ.
vāyaḥ koṣāḥ samuṣkitaḥ MS.: daivyāḥ koṣāḥ (AV. ŚirasU. devakoṣāḥ)
samuṣkitaḥ AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

divo jyote (KS. *jyotir) vivasa (MS. devajūte vivasaṁ) ... MS. KS.:
vivasvān aditir devajūtis ... TS.
deva (ApŚ. divyā, v. l. devyā) āpo nannamyadhvam ... PB. KS. ApŚ
sūrya dīvo (TS. KS. *devo) diviṣadbhyaḥ (TS. KS. *bhoyo ... ) TS. KS. * MŚ.
pro svānāsō (SV. svā²) bhaddivegu (SV. *devegu) harayaḥ RV. SV.
lekaḥ salekaḥ ... TS.: salilaḥ saligaḥ ... MS. KS. See §49.
§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb tredhā, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like *trayadhā (cf. §§744 ff. below; Wackernagel I p. 53, III p. 347):
tridhā (MS. tredhā) baddho vṛyabho rataṛti RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. N.

§688. In the stem syllable of verbal forms:
maiṣām uc cheṣa kiṃ ca na AV.: maiṣāṃ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ TS. TB. ApŚ.: māmiṣāṃ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ RV. SV. VS.
yah praṇyato nimiṣataḥ (v. l. KS. nimeṣ²) ca rājaḥ MS. KS.: yah praṇyato nimiṣata (VS. nimeṣ²) mahitvā RV. AV. VS. TS. KSA. Present participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of ni-miṣ; the 1st class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded. Add to VV I §197.
vāṃ te saṃḍrśi viśavi reto dhiṣīya (MS. dhe²) ... MS. KS.: viśavisya te ... vāṃr anu saṃḍrśi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya TS. Cf. next. The form dhiṣīya seems to be established in the Maitr. school. It can hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of dhiḥ 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were dhi, with gusā dhe! perhaps by confusion with root dhī?). See VV I p. 186.
somasvāhan davayajiṣyātā suretā (MS. viśvam). reto dhiṣīya (MS. dhe²) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§689. In inflectional endings of verbs i and e exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere. See VV I §§39–79 and 82 et passim.

§690. Coming to noun case forms, we find in our first little group of dat.-abl. plur. forms in ēbhyaḥ: ēbhyaḥ, from stems in ē(n): a,
divacarebhyaḥ (MG. *cāribhya) bhūṭebhyaḥ (sc. namah) MG. ViDh.: ahaścarebhyaḥ (sc. namah) ŚG.
naktacarebhyaḥ ŚG. ViDh.: naktacāribhya bhūṭebhyaḥ MG. marudbhya gṛhamedhībhyaḥ (MS. *dhebhya) 'mubrūhi ŚB. MŚ.
marudbhya gṛhamedhībhya (MS. *dhebhya) baśkīhān (MS. vaṣ?, ApŚ. bākkan) VS. MS. ApŚ.
svāheṣṭibhyah (Kaus. *tebhyaḥ svāhā) KS. Kaus.: īṣtebhyaḥ svāhā vasaṭ anīṣtebhyaḥ svāhā TB. ApŚ.
§691. The others are miscellaneous case-forms; since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists:

pūṣe gārase (MS.† *si) svāhā MS. TA. ApŚ.: svāhā pūṣe gārase VS. ŠB. KŚ. The majority reading (dat.) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms.); but the loc. of MS. is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage.

hiranyapakṣaḥ sakunih HG.; hiranyaparṇa sakune PG. Nom.: voc. pra vo mahe mahivṛde (SV, PB. mahiṃvṛde) bharadhwam RV. SV. AV. PB. AS. ŠŚ. The SV. seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form mahe preceding).

vi śloka etu (AV. eti, TS. ŚvetU. śloka yanti) pathyeva (KS. pathyva) sūreḥ (AV. MS.† sūriḥ, TS. ŚvetU. sūrāh, KS.† sūraḥ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ŚvetU. Nom.: gen.

agnir hotā vete agnir (AŚ. agner) hotram vetu (vetu) ... TB. AŚ. ŠŚ.: agnir hotā vete agner hotran vettu ... ŠB. Nom.: gen.

kratvā varīghan vara āmūrim uta RV. AV.: kratve vare sthemany āmūrim uta SV.

§692. Oddities of noun stems:


krūdhī śruta śraddhivam (AV. śraddheyam) te vadāmi RV. AV. See §248; both forms have the force of gerundives.

§693. The remaining variants are lexical; but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688:

sā idhāno (KS. edh²) vasus (MS. vasuḥ) kaviḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

The roots idh and edh are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guṇa.

ā yāhi (and, a no yāhi) tapasā janesu (ŚŚ. ॐ अ, MS. janīṣva) MS. AB. AŚ. ŠŚ. ApŚ. The MS. form could be interpreted as a 2d sing. impv. from jan but for the accent (jāṇīṣva), which seems to call for emendation.

ino (AV. ena) viśvasya bhwanasya gopolḥ RV. AV. N. ino, nom. of stem ina; ena, adverbial pronominal form.

udem (SV. utim) arbhe havāmahe RV. AV. SV. MS. uta-im: acc. sing. of āti.

§695. Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different:

viśo yantre (KS. yantrī) nudamāne arṣtim KS. TB. ApŚ. Duals from stems yantra and yantrī.

kāṅgayi (MS. ŚB. *gavi, TB. *gaye) jīradānā (ŚB. jīva) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Also feminine duals.

vairājī (KSA.† *je) puruṣī (so KSA.†) TS. KSA. Also fem. duals; there seems no reason to emend KSA. as von Schroeder would do. rātri (TB. *rī, KS. v. l. *riḥ) stomam na jīgyasye (KS.† TB. *ṣi) RV. KS. TB.

mahi viśpatī sadane (KS. *ni) rāsya KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Here sadane is loc. sing.: ‘(come) to the seat of the rta’; KS. makes sadanī fem. dual, ‘as two seats of the rta’ (addressed to the aranī); the other reading is simpler and most likely original.

vaiśvānarāya matir navaṣi (ArŚ. *se) suciḥ RV. ArŚ. Nom. sing. fem.: dat. sing. masc. (with agnaye in next pāda).

nabhā samādyi navaṣi (SV. *dāya navaṣe) RV. SV. As prec.

rāyās poṣam cikītuṣe (AV. *ṣi) dadhātus (ŚŚ. dadātus) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. As prec.
śṛṇamradā yuvatīr (AV. 8dāḥ prthivī) daksināvate (TA. 8tī) RV. AV. TA.

As prec.
tvva praśastayo mahīḥ (SV. 8taye mahe) RV. SV. Nom. pl.; dat. sing.
graha viśvajñāna niyantar viprāyāma te (KS. niyantar vipra ā t sati)
MŚ. KS. See §838.

sa suprayīte (ŚŚ. 8tī) nṛtamaḥ svarād asi AA. ŚŚ. Both forms are uncertain. The two text mss. of ŚŚ. have 8te; comm. apparently 8tī which Hillebrandt adopts, seemingly taking it as loc. (‘in good guidance’). Sāyaṇa on AA. takes 8te as loc., and Keith follows him, rendering ‘when (the rite) is duly paid’; but in his note Keith suggests deleting the accent and understanding a voc., ‘O good leader’.


śrusṭi (SV. 8te) jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidah RV. SV. Instr. (?) of i-stem;
loc. of a-stem. SV. comm. in one of two places reads śrusṭi.
iyam oṣadhe (PG. 8dhi) trāyamāṭa PG. HG. ApMB. The voc. cannot be construed; see Winternitz on ApMB., Introduction, xxiv.

mr̥gā na bhīmās taviśbhir arcingah (TB. 8sebhīr ārmībhīḥ) RV. TB. The adverbial instr. of RV. (from the noun taviś) is made an adj. agreeing with ārmībhīḥ in TB.
dairībhyaḥ (KS. dairībhyaḥ) taniḥbhyaḥ (KS. 8yass swāhā KS. TB. ApŚ.
Kasu. ‘To the bodies of the gods’, or ‘to the gods, to (their) bodies.’

vīśvā amīsvah pramūṇcan mānuṣībhīḥ (KS. 8sebhyaḥ) AV. KS.

§696. A few cases involve different ablaut grades, or forms which simulate that relationship:

agnē devānāṁ ava heda iyakṣva (KS. ikṣva) KS. ApŚ.: ava devānāṁ yaja
heda agne (KS. yaje hedyāni, MŚ. yaje hedyāni) AV. KS. MŚ.: ava
devān yaje hedyān TB. ApŚ.
apa sanchitir (SV. santiṃ) nṛmanād adhalla (SV. adhād rāh, KS. nṛmanād
nṛmanād adhārā) RV. AV. SV. KS.: upa stūhi (Poona ed. suhī) tan
nṛmanā (Poona ed. nṛmanī) adhārām TA.

svāṃ samasatsara AV.: suśevan somapitsara (TS. sumatitsara) VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vādh.

dhenām antah sabardughāḥ SV.: dhinām antah sabardughah RV. The

gen. pl. of dhi is changed to an acc. sing.; but the accent of SV.
shows that it has a false form (the true stem is dhēnā); cf. Oldenberg,
Noten on RV. 9. 12. 7.
lātīlāya (MahānU. lālē) dhāmahi TAA.† (not TA.) MahānU. Names of Agni, of unknown origin. Hardly to be classed as ablaut. The two comms. have different and equally ridiculous explanations.

agādhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB. mādhūṣe) RV. TB. N. Lexical.

In the reduplicating syllable:

aīndraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge ni ādhyat (TS. ni ādhyat, VSK. nidhitah) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reduplicating syllable with e should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS. is felt as such; cf. VV I pp. 149, 160.

§697. Cases concerning verb inflection. An aor. ind. varies with a present opt. But the KS. ed. reads as ApŚ., with v. l. as ConC.:

grāvāyād (ApŚ. grāvā eade) ... KS. ApŚ. VV I p. 86.

anu stomaḥ mudimahi (PB. made) RV. AV. PB. Optatives of different verbs.

mā tvānir dhevanayād (TS. yid, KSA. yed, MS. dhanayād) ... RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§698. Twice the presence or absence of the preposition ā is responsible for the variant, cf. §694:

vānāṃ pitṛbhyo ya idāṃ samerire (AV. sami) RV. AV. ApMB.

ṛṇān no narṇaṃ ertsamāṇah AV.: nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān ibsamāṇah MS.

See §180.

3. i: ai

§699. Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vṛiddhi of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vṛiddhi:

vaiśvānara uta viśvādyah AV. KS.: yo vaiśvānara uta viśvādyah (ApŚ. vaiśvādeyaḥ) MS. ApŚ. Whitney’s Transl. adopts for AV. vaiśvādeyaḥ, which he states is the reading of Pp., but this is an error; Pp. (Barret, JAOS 32. 358) has dāvyah, intending dvāvyah.

Only ApŚ. has a derivative of viśvadeva.

divyaḥ kośaḥ samuksitaḥ MS.: daivyah kośaḥ (AV. ŚirasU. devakosaḥ) samuksitaḥ AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.


bṛhanto daivāḥ (VS. divyaḥ) VS. MS. ApŚ.

nirbādhyena (AV. nair; Pp. nir according to Whitney) haviṣā AV. TB. ApŚ.

bṛhatā tvā rathānātoreṇa triṣṭubhyā (KS. triṣṭubhā) vartanyā ... MS. KS.: bṛhadrathānātarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā ... TS.

indrasya vaimddhasyaḥaṁ (KS. indrasyaḥaṁ vimṛdhasya) devayajyaya- sapatno (ApŚ. but not ṭMŚ. adds viṛtyaṁ) bhūyāsam KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

kapota (MŚ. ṭtā) uḷakāḥ śaṣas te nīrṣyai (TS. KSA. nairṛtāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

nīrṣyai svāhā MŚ.: nairṛtāi (sc. diṣe) svāhā VāDh.

tvihāya (PG. vaiḥ*), 'dhi bhūmyām HG. PG. vi, abl. of vihāyas; vai*, nom. of adj. vaihāyasa.

indrasya śuṣman tray ann apasyubhī RV. SV.: aindraḥ śuṣma viśvarūpo na āgān AV.

vaiśasvato (AV. vīvasvān) no abhayam kṛṣṇo tu AV. TB. TAA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. vai*, of course, means Manu.

hairanyañābhā (ŚŚ. hir) kauśalyāḥ ŚB. ŚŚ.

indropānasyakehamanaso (MŚ. aindro*) ... ApŚ. MŚ. The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ. to indro*, while tempting, is hardly safe.

§700. Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection:

indrādhīpataḥ (MŚ. KS. ṭpatyaih) pipṛtād ato naḥ TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc.

tan (MŚ. tan) mā devā avantu śobhāyai (MŚ. ṭyī) TS. MS. TA. The form in yai is dat. of stem śobhā, 'unto splendor'. The yī form would seem to be acc. neut. of a stem śobhāyin (cf. §247), perhaps used adverbially.

Two concerning aorist verb forms:


And one in which ai contains the augment:

yam uichāma (ApŚ. ichāmi) manasā so yam ēgāt RV. ApŚ.

4. t: ai

§701. Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr. plur. and nom.-acc. plur. (fem.) forms:

indrenca devir (MŚ. devair) viṛudhaḥ samvidānāḥ TS. MŚ.

devir devir (ApŚ. devair) abhi mā nivartadhvaṃ MŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

sapa ca vairuṣīr (PG. ṭhair) imāḥ AG. PG. ŚG. MG.: sapa ca mānuṣīr imāḥ ApMB. HG. Followed in all by:
tissā ca rājabāndhavīḥ (HG. १vaiḥ) HG. ApMB.: prujāḥ (this word belongs to prec. pāda) sarvāṣ ca rājabāndhavīḥ (MG. १vyah) PG. MG.: sarvāṣ ca rājabāndhavīḥ (ŚG,† १bāndhavīḥ) AG. ŚG.


§702. There are three cases of vriddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous; and one aorist verb form, also anomalous:

strāṣūyam anyatra dadhat AV.: strāṣūyam anyān sv (read anyāsv) ḍa dadhat ŚG.

madhvā yujñānam nakṣati (VS. TS. nakṣase) prīṇānah (AV. praś) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In the pres. mid. pple. the vriddhi is quite out of place; ‘blundering corruption’, Whitney.

yad adīvyann (MS. dāivyam) rṇam ahan babhūva (AV. kṛṇomi) AV. MS. TA. BDh.: adīvyānn rṇam yad ahaṃ cakāra TB. The original is adīvyān ‘not gambling’; MS. has a stupid lect. fac. Add to VV I §231.


5. e: ai

§703. Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of ai to e must be largely concerned in them. They are fairly numerous; the great majority fall into three classes, to wit: dative (or locative) forms in e: ai; forms with e: ai in the root syllable, in which ai is generally the vriddhi of secondary derivation; and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings.

§704. First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms asme (dat. or loc.) ‘for, to, in us’, and asmai ‘for him, it’. asmai (TB. asme) dyāvāprthiṣṭiḥ bhūrī vāmam (Conc. divides AV. before vāmam) AV. TB. asme is secondary.

asme devāso vaprāṣe cikitsata TS. ApŚ.: krad asmai naro vacase dadhātana VS. KS. Keith assumes that TS. intends asmai.

asmai (MS. asme) rāstrāya mahi śarma yachatam TS. MS. AS. asmai is certainly simpler.

supipralājopādiḥ kartanāsme (AV. kartam asmai, VSK. kartam asme) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ‘For him’: ‘for us’, equally possible.
savitrá prasavitrá ... indrenásme (VSK. ॐsmai) ... VS. VSK. As pree.
asme (AV. asmai) dhārayatain (MŚ. ॐtāna) rayim RV. AV. MŚ. Different contexts; both possible.
asme (AV. asmai) dhatta vasavu vasūni AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Equally possible.
asme (KBU. asmai) prayandhi maghavann rjīsīn RV. KBU. AG. PG. N. asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya (KS. rāṣṭram adhiśraya) MŚ. KS.: asme kṣatráṇi dhārayere anu dyān RV. TS. MS. KS.: asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya TS.: asmai kṣatráṇi dhārayantam agne AV. Kauś. Different contexts.
asmai (MS. asme) karmane jātaḥ MS. ApŚ. 'For our rite': 'for this rite'. Probably leet. lac. in ApŚ.
asme (AŚ. asmai) indrābhhaspāti RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Probably misprint in AŚ.

§705. Other dative forms in e: ai, including infinitives:
tā (VS. ŚB. yā, TS. te) te (RV. KS. N. vām) dhāmāny (RV. KS. N. vāstān) usmassi gamadhyai (TS. ॐye) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The TS. form is anomalous; cf. Keith's note and Whitney, Grammar §976a. Infinitives.

havyāyāmasmi vadhave (KS. ॐvai) jātavedah TS. MS. KS. Kauś. Infinitives.

sugāṁ meṣāya meṣyai (RV. ॐye) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ.: sukhāṁ meṣāya meṣyai VS. ŚB.
agne samrāḍ iṣe rāye (ApŚ. rayyai) ... AŚ. ApŚ.: iṣe rāye ... VS. MS. ŚB. TB. Cf. §396.

abhīṣ ṭvāhāṁ ... sātave (HG. ॐvai) HG. ApMB.
kuhvai (KSA. kuhve, ed. em. ॐvai) trayo 'runaitāḥ TS. KSA.
sakrāya runavai (JB. ॐve) tvā RV. JB.
śrīyai (MG. śriye) putrāya vettavai (MG. vedhavai) ApMB. MG.
śam tokāya tanuve (ŚMB. tanvai) syonagah TS. TB. ApŚ. ŚMB. PG.
paridhāṣyai yaśodhāṣyai PG.: paridhāṣye yaśo dhāṣye MG.: cf. paridāṁ vāso adhīthāḥ (HG. ॐdhāḥ, ApMB. adhi ṃ) svastaye AV. ApMB. HG. These forms are taken as datives by the PG. comm., followed by Stenzler and Oldenberg. It is uncertain whether this is correct, or whether they are verb forms; see VV I p. 112.

§706. Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc. sing. and instr. pl.):
ghṛtavaiś savilar (MS. KS. ॐtwar) ādhipatye (TS. ॐyait) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
avvya (SV. avyyā) vāre (SV. *vāraḥ) pari priyah (and, priyam) RV. SV. 
punar brhmāno (brhmā) . . . yajñāih (agne), see §339.

§707. When e and ai vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with vṛddhi varying with other related forms without vṛddhi:
daiśin (VS. deviii) nācaṁ svaritrām anāgasam (AV. sāh) RV. AV. VS. 
TS. MS. KS.
devi (AV. dai) $ad urvīr uru nah (TS. ApMB. nah, and so Whitney 
for AV. with most ms.) kṛṣṇa RV. AV. TS. ApMB.
daiśbhyaś (KS. devēbhyaś) tanūbhyaḥ (KS. *yas) svāhā KS. TB. ApŚ. 
Kauś.
brhaspatir devīnāṁ (ŚŚ. dairo) brahmāhaṁ manuṣyānām (ŚŚ. mānuṣā) 
VŚK. TB. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MS.
devān mā bhayād iti SMB.: daiśēn mā bhayāt pāhi ŚŚ.
imā ya deivi pradiśaḥ catasrah AV.: ya daiśē catasrah pradiśaḥ TB. 
ApMB. HG.
saṁ devena savitrā TA.: saṁ daiyenā (and, daiyenā) savitrā VS. ŚB. 
diveyaḥ kośaḥ samuksitaḥ MS.: diveyaḥ kośaḥ (AV. ŚirasU. devakośa) 
samuksitaḥ AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.
vēcā tvā hotṝa . . . pañcabhīr daiśyār (MS. deīvār) ītvēbhīr uddhārāṁ 
ApŚ. MS.
mā devīnāṁ (TA. daiyās) tantuś chedi mā manuṣyānām (TA. manu-
ṣyāḥ) MS. KS. TA. ŚŚ.
indrō jyeṣṭhānāṁ (MS. KS. jyeṣṭhyānām, VS. ŚB. jyeṣṭhyāya) VS. TS. 
MS. KS. ŚB. PG.
vaiśvānaraṁ kṣaitrajītyāya (TB. kṣetra) devāḥ VS. TB. 
somaindā (KS. ūṣauṇendrā) bahkruḷalāṁś tūparāṁ TS. KSA.
adhvanāṁ adhevapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastasyāddhavah (ApMB. śreṣṭhasyāddhava-
nah, MG. śraṇgaśya svastasyāddhvanah, read svastyā with most 
ms.) pāram aśṭa AŚ. ApMB. MG.
me ṣhā (VS. maṅghār) vidyuto vācaḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§708. A couple of cases with e: ai in the first syllable of nouns seem to 
differ from the preceding; it is very questionable whether the ai form 
has secondary vṛddhi or is in any morphological way different from 
the form with e. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic 
variants.
avārya kevartam VS.: pāryāya kaivartam TB. The usual form is kaś,
evidently of non-Aryan origin; and it is, to say the least, very 
possible that keś is a Prakritism.
vēsaṃtābhya dāśam TB.: vaiśantābhya baṅdam VS. Here again we have
a word probably of foreign origin; but this time the usual form is ve. Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS.

§709. Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form e, where ai seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final a (Waekernagel I §269c). The same phenomenon occurs with o for au, §731. Waekernagel, l. c. (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of ai, au to e, o; besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either. Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here. But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the e form:

adhi na indraiṣām (VS. indreṣām) RV. VS. Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS. is indra-ṣām. This is the most certain case.

neva māṁse na pībasi AV.: naiva māṁsena pībari PG. The AV. p.p. reads na, iva; according to Barret JAOS 26. 205, Ppp. also reads neva (contrary to Whitney's note). Yet it is possible that AV. really intended naiva, which certainly is a more natural reading. jagatiyaināṁ (AŚ. *tyenāṁ) vikṣe ā veṣayāmaṁ (MS. KS. *mi, AŚ. *ni) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. In VV I p. 75 we have stigmatized jagatiyenaṁ as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh; to be sure the edition of AŚ. inspires little confidence. But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc. jagaty instead of instr. jagatyā).

enāḥnedam ahar aśiṣya svāhā KS. (prec. by -māṇā; actual text, -māṇai-nāhā*): the MS. version quoted in Conc. as idāhna id aḥaṁ aśiṣya is Knauer's emend. of corrupt mss. which begin -[mān]-enāḥned-, doubtless intending the same as KS.

See also anāmayadhi etc., §344.

§710. In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in e vary with subjunctives in ai; see VV I p. 28:

vi sakhyāṁi srjāmahe (ŚŚ. *hai, MS. visṛjāvahai) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MS. PG.

yaṁ jīvaṁ ahrefānaṁ (MS. *he) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. devān yajñīyaṁ iha yāṁ yajāmahe (TS. havāmahe) TS. MS. KS. rayin yena vanāmahe (SV. *he) RV. SV.

sacāvaha (MS. *hai, p.p. *he) yad avyakām purā cit RV. MS.
brahmāham antaraṁ kṛṇe (KŚ. karave, read ḫai; the proper subjunctive form would be ḫai; ḫe either corruption or purely phonetic variant).

anu nau śūra manisate (TS. ḫai) RV. TS. KSA.

yā na úrū uārti vikrājate (AV. ḫi, ApMB. HG. vikrājāt) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

parī svajāte (AV. ḫai) libuṣjena ṣrṣam RV. AV. N.

pra yah satrācā (TB. sa vācā) manasaḥ yajāte (TB. ḫai, text and comm. in Poona ed.) RV. TB.

dadhod vidhakṣyovan parāṅkhayatā TA.: dadhavya vidhakṣyavan parāṅkharatā (AV. vidhakṣyavan parāṅkharatā) RV. AV.

manai (MS. manve) nu babhūnām aham RV. VS. MS. KS. SB. N.

yaṅg gā ākāramaha (SV. ḫai) RV. SV.

varṇaṁ śaṁyāmaha (MS. ḫai; AV. yad úcima, LŚ. ūcayāmaha) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. AS. ŚŚ. LŚ.

§711. There are a few cases in which the a is due to the preposition a preceding e, cf. §§694, 698; or, in the first two cases, to the augment: mṛtyoh padāṁ (MG. padāṇi) yopayaṇta (AV. ḫa, MG. lopayaṇṭa) yad (AV. omits) etā (RV. aita, TA. aima) RV. AV. TA. MG.

vācaṣpate ‘chidrayaḥ ... hotrām airayaḥ (KŚ. ḫant, TA. erayasva, ŠŚ. airayasva) svāhā SB. TA. KŚ. ŠŚ. Augmented forms in SB. KŚ.; the ŠŚ. is uninterpretable.


aiṣu (AS. esu) dyumnam swar yamat AV. AS. ŚŚ. Perhaps misprint in AS., as Whitney on AV. suggests.

etat te agne rādha aiti (MS. KS. eti) somacyutam TS. MS. KS.

gṛhān aimi (LŚ. HG. emi) ... AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. SG. HG.

abhuyai (SV. abhyet) na ojasā spardhamānā RVK. SV. VS.

§712. Miscellaneous cases:

he 'lavo he 'lavo SB.: hailo hailo SBK. Interjections.

mā bheḥ VS. TS. SB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: mā bhaiḥ MS. KS. MŚ. Aorist verb forms, seeVV I p. 120, and next.

mā bher mā ... VS. VSK. TS. SB.: mā bhair mā ... MS. KS. See prec.

usṣyena vāya (ApMB. vāyar) udakeneti (SMB. GG. naidhi, MG. vāyar udakenet) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §122; and on the MG. form, VV I p. 87.

uttamaṁ nākam (VS. MS. KS. SB. uttame nāke) adhi rohayemam (VS. MS. KS. SB. ¥ainam, TA. rohemam) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. Pronouns imam: enam.
§713. The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables; thus, in nouns and adjectives:

nāma vah pitarah kusmáya (VS. ŚŚ. kusáyā, SMB. GG. KhG. kusáyā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720. matyai śrutíya (mahé śrotáyá) cañṣuce AV. (both)

ā mā stutasya stutām ganyād (Vait. gamel) TS. Vait.: ā mā stotrasya stotram ganyād PB.

duṣcyavanah pūlanād (śāl) ayudhyāḥ (AV. MS. ayodhyāḥ) RV. AV. *19. 13. 7c, SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Gerundives.

deva gharma rucitās tvam deveṣv ā MS.: rociṭās tvāṁ deva gharma deveṣv āsi TA. Causative and simple participles. Cf. next.

rucito gharmaḥ MS. KB. ŚB. TA. etc.: rociṭo gharma rociṭa TA. Cf. pree.

ānandā modah pramudāḥ AV.; ānando modah pramudāḥ TB.: modah pramoda ānandāḥ TA.: muddah pramuda āsate RV. Stems (pra)mud and (pra)moda.

drukā (SV. drone) sadhasatham ākumē (and āsodat) RV. SV. Stems dru and droya.

§714. With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations:

dyanā śloki (KS. sukti) sa somaḥ (TB. sau) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB. suśevaṁ somapisāru (TS. suvatisāru) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VaDh.: suśemaṁ somaśatisāru AV. See §180.

samitāḥ soma no (Kauś. sumano) bhava RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. An obvious lect. fac. in Kauś.

§715. Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations between no and nu as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class
presents have been collected in VV I p. 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists:

yan me mātā pralulubhe (ApMB. HG. pralulobha) ŠG. ApMB. HG. MDh.
sūryasya caṅṣur ārhum (VS. āroha) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŠ. MŠ.
Aorist and present; see VV I p. 82.
āditya (AV. also sūrya) nāvam ārkuṣāḥ (SMB. ārkoṣam) AV. SMB.
See VV I p. 130.
amoci (AV. amukthā) yakṣmād duritād avartyai (AV. avadyā) AV. TB.
ApMB.

mā bher mā roḥ (VSK. mo roḥ, TS. māro) mo ca naḥ (TS. mo esāṁ) kim canānaṃmat VS. VSK. TS. ŠB.: mā bhair mā ruḥ mo ca (KS. rauṁ mā) naḥ kim canānaṃmat MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.
mā dyāvāṟṇrīhī abhi soch (TS. bāsucaḥ, KS. śucaḥ, MS. hīṁsik) VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŠB. See ibid. p. 128.

devasya ("ṣyāham") savituk...ruheyaṃ (GB. roḥs) VS. VSK. TS. MS.

sa yathā tvam rucyā...rucīśya (MS. rociśya) AV. MS. See VV I p. 186.

On the following form see VV I p. 281; the MG. form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for tiṣṭhatu:

antas tiṣṭhatu (MG. "to) me mano 'ṃṛtasya ketuḥ SMB. HG. MG.

§716. In several cases, the o pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in u, either as independent words or in composition:

vasuḥ (TS. ApMB. vasoh) sānuḥ sahasa apsu rájā RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ApMB. Nom. and gen. forms; the former an adjective, the latter a noun (‘son of Vasu, of Strength’ etc.).

dyumattamā supratikasya sānoḥ (AV. “tikah sasānuḥ) AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŠB. See §189.


vāyosāvitra (TS. p.p. “tṝah; MS. vāyuṣavitrṭhyām) ēgumugbhyaṁ caruḥ
(MS. payah) TS. MS. KSA. TPr. 6. 8 explains vāyoś by vāyu-
savitrṭhyām; it is a secondary adj. in suffix a, and evidently the o is due to influence of the genitive form vāyos; cf. agner agneyāṇy etc., §692.

uṇor ā no (VS. ŠB. LŚ. pururāṣno) deva ṛīṣas pāhi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.
TB. LŚ. See §371a.

madhu reto (TS. madhor ato, KS.† madhur ato) mādhavaḥ pāte asmān
TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §837.
§717. The stem puru in composition varies with puro, for puras; cf. below, §721:

§718. Twice the o is due to a prefixed ā, cf. §§694, 698, 711:
obhe pryāsī (TS. ubhe pryakṣi) rodasī RV. TS. MS.: pryakṣi rodasī ubhe RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB.

ā yā dyāṁ (MS. divāṁ) bhāsy ā prthivim oro (KS. uv) antarikṣam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§719. The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant; sajfūr devair vayonādhaiḥ (MS. MS. vayu°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS. vayunā-dha is certainly a compound of vayuna; vayo° is ordinarily taken as a cpd. of vayasy with a derivative of nah, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on vayuna- with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy.

ye deva manojātā (MS. KS. MS. manu°) manoyuṣaḥ (KS. manu°, ViDh. manujusyaḥ) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. BDh. ViDh. ApŚ. Steins manas and manu.

agnir havyānumanyatāṁ (MS. havyā no man°) TB. ApŚ. MS.
praṇu (TA. ApMB. HG. nyu; Kauś. no with all mss. but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read nyu) vocanā cikītuse janāya RV. TA. SMB. Kauś. GG. ApMB. HG. MG.
praṇu vocanā (ArŚ. no vaco) vidathā jātavedasah (ArŚ. ॐse) RV. ArŚ. yas te stanaḥ kāśayo (AV. °yur) yo mayabhūḥ RV. AV. VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. BrH. AŚ. Equivalent stems, kāśaya: °yur.

yā coditā yā ca noditā (TA. yā cānuditā) ... MS. TA. na-uditā: an-uditā, yatheyam sthī pastram aghaṁ na rodāī SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: yatheṣaṁ stri-paṣṭram agaṁna rudriyāya MG. See §801.

agnaye tvā mahayam ... āyur (MS. mayo) dātra ... VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.
rudrāṇāṁ uṛṇyāṇāḥ (ApŚ. urmyāṇaṁ, ŚŚ. omṛṇyaṁ) ... ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §228.

sādanto vanusya yathā RV. SV. LŚ.: sādantu manusya yathā RV. See §227. karma kṛṣṇāntu (MS. ॐto) manuṣaḥ AV. MS. The MS. form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation.

[ato (TB. tato) no rudrā uta vā ṛṇv (Cone. no; TB. nṛv, Poona ed. 'nv, comm. anu) asya RV. TB.]
§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut; but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as jyotis and jūtī, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects u is a phonetic shortening of o, implying that the relation of o to u is not far from the same as that of u to u (cf. Pischel, Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen §84).

abhī tyam devam savitarām onyoḥ (TS. ānyoḥ) kavikratum AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KB. AB. SB. AdB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The isolated TS. stem ānī must mean the same as the regular onī.
	namo vah pitarah kṣumāya (VS. ŚŚ. kṣumāya, SMB. GG. KhG. kṣumāya) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. Comm. on SMB. kṣuṣa ili balanāma.

sam pūṛā (ApŚ. adds sam dātā; MS. poṣā) sam byhaspatih (KS. dātā) AV. MS. (bis) KS. ApŚ. poṣā is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guṇa forms of root puṣ. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brähmana passage immediately following its quotation with poṣā, and in the Brähmana pūṣā is read. Cf. next.

api (PG. in) pūṣā ni śidatu (AV. ŚŚ. *uṣṭi) AV. ŚŚ. (bis) LŚ. SMB. PG. HG.: rāyas poṣo ni śidatu ApMB. ApŚ. Cf. prec.; rāyas poṣo is here evidently secondary, but sensible.

kukunānānān (KS. kūtunānān, MS. pūlanānān) tvā ... VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: kotonānu TS. Wholly obscure words.

yamasya pātūraḥ (KSA. pāto) TS. KSA.: yamyai pāṭūraḥ TS.: yamayāḥ pāṭorah KSA. Uncertain part of the horse’s body.

aṅgosiśam (RV. aṅgusāṇāṁ) avāraṇāṇa vāṇīḥ RV. SV. Cf. §490 and next.

aṅgosiśam (RV. aṅgusāya) pavamānaḥ sakhāyāḥ RV. SV. Cf. prec. mano jyotir (VS. SB. LŚ. jūtir) juṣṭām ājjasya (TS. TB. Vait. ājjan, AŚ. ājjan me) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KS. ApŚ. MS. Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms.

divo jyote (KS. *tir) vivasa (MS. devajate vivasana) ... MS. KS.: vivasana adītir devajātis ... TS.

§721. The stem purā, for puru in composition, varies with puro for puras, in the first variant quoted in §717, q. v., and also in:

tam sakhiyāḥ purorucan (SV. purūḥ) RV. SV.
§722. The o is due to a prefixed ṛ, cf. §718 etc.: yai kīn cānṛtam odīma (TA. udīma) MS. TA.
yad vācānṛtam odīma (TB. TA. udīma) MS. TB. TA.
devatā havayam uhiṣe (RV. ohiṣe and ohiira) RV. SV. TB. A complicated case, on which see RV Rep. 131 f., VV I p. 237 f.

§723. The rest are miscellaneous:
anāgrihīna viṣṇo (KS. viṣṇu, twice; ms. once viṣṇu) mā tvāva (KS. vām ava) kramiṣam VS. KS. ŚB.: agraṇiṣṇa mā vām ava kramiṣam TS. TB. ApŚ. See Von Schroeder on KS. 1. 12 and Keith on TS. 1. 1. 12. 1. viṣṇo, voc. sing.; -viṣṇu in TS. devatādevavāva, in KS. elliptic dual (note vām in KS.); but note also the phonetic resemblance between anāgrihīna and agnā of TS.
tapūṣy (MS. tapobhir) agra juhāvā patanāγān RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Different case forms of related stems tapus and tapas.
tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjahā AV.: tanūpāvānas tanwas tapojāḥ AB. AS. sa tā (SV. soto) dhanam kārine na pra yārisat RV. SV.
mā mā yūnarvā hāṣit (JB. yono vām hārasiḥ) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

§724. Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the vṛiddhi of secondary derivation as regards their au forms; but one or two of them are strange forms. (For the aorist forms ruk, rok, rauk, see §715, mā bher etc.)

suślokyāya (ApMB. sau?) svastaye ApMB. AG. PG. MG.
māhaṁ pautram (KBU. putryam) aham rudam (AG. niyām, read nigām, with SMB.*; SMB. *nigām, *riaṇi) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.
uḍāhinnam (ApŚ. auḍāhīdām) rājñāḥ MS. ApŚ.
āśīr na (nā, ma) ūryam uta suprajāstvam (AV. sauṛ) AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. Whitney rightly calls the AV. form 'anomalous'.

8. u: au
**§725.** Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning vṛddhi of secondary derivation:

\[ \text{tān} \text{drāśurāḥ} \text{ṣyetalalāmāś} \text{(KSA. tān} \text{drāśurāḥ} \text{ṣyāmalalāmāś) tāparāḥ} \text{TS. KSA.} \]

pauṣṇa (VSK. pāṣṇa) vīṣpandamāne (sc. māhāvīraḥ) VS. VSK.

svarmārdīnāya svāhā KS.: svarmārdī vaiṣṇavo vṛayān (MS. dhruvāḥ bhumāya (PG. bhau) svāhā TA. MahānU. PG.

ūrvāh ŚŚ. Vait.: āuvrāh ĪŚ. With both sc. pitṛbhīḥ.

**§726.** There are several variants of the participles dhūta and dhauta, from roots dhu(dḥu) and dhāe ‘rinse’, which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language:

\[ \text{nr̥bhīr dhūtaḥ} \text{(SV. dhautaḥ) auto āsvaiḥ RV. SV.} \]

\[ \text{nr̥bhīr dhūta} \text{(SV. dhauto) vicākṣayaḥ RV. SV.} \]

\[ \text{apsu dhautasya} \text{(AŚ. ŚŚ. dhā) } \text{...TS. MS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Aps. MŚ. Apsu dhāto} \text{(SV. dhautaṃ) nr̥bhīḥ sutaḥ (SV. sutam) RV. SV.} \]

**§727.** In one case the au is due to prefixing of the augment:

\[ \text{praty auhātām} \text{(MS. uḥ) āsvinā mṛtyum asmat} \text{(AV. asmat) AV. TS. VS. MS. KS. TAA.} \]

10. o: au

**§728.** Here again the largest group concerns the vṛddhi of secondary derivation:

\[ \text{dyumūti śloki} \text{(KS. sukṛ) sa somyāḥ} \text{(TB. sau) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB.} \]

\[ \text{nomo maunīyāyormyād} \text{vasuvindaya} \text{... Gdh: nomo maunīyāyau-} \text{myād} \text{... Svidh.} \]

\[ \text{yat somyasyāndhāso} \text{(ApMB. sau) buvbodhati RV. ApMB.} \]

\[ \text{tusantām somyām} \text{(TB. sau) madhu VS. MS. TB.} \]
somāindrā (KSA. ॐsaumendrā) babhrulalāmās tūparaḥ TS. KSA.
somāpausṛṇā (KSA. sau^) śyāmalalāmās tūparaḥ TS. KSA.
yadi somāṣyāśi rājñāḥ somāṭ . . . Kauś.: yadi saumy asī somāṭ . . . AG.
Rvidh.: yady asi saumī somāya . . . GG,
caurusāṇṇam (TAA. BDh. cor^) navasrāddham TAA. MahānU. ViDh.
BDh.
[śvam rauhinām (AV. misquoted roh^ in Conc.) vyāṣyaḥ AV. ŚŚ.]
§729. Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical
syllable of aorist stems:
mā (VS. ŚB. udd vayaḥ) rāyaspoṣena vi yauṣma VS. MS. ŚB.: māham
rāḥ vi yosam TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.
mā bher mā etc., see §715.
§730. Once the au form is due to prefixed ā, cf. §722 etc.:
ā no (VS. ŚB. mā) goṣu viṣate ā tanāṣu (TS. auṣadhīṣu; MS. oṣadhīṣu)
VS. TS. MS. KSŚ.śB.
§731. A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of a
before o instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of e:
ai, §709, q. v.:
upayānaṁ adhareṇauṣṭhen(a) (TS. oṣṭhen(a), KSA. adharosthena) VS. TS.
MS. KSA. See TPr. 10. 14.
saha ojāḥ (VS. sahaujāḥ, VSK. sahajāḥ) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait.
Adverb saha plus ojāḥ in VS. VSK., the latter with irregular
sandhi; the other texts sahas + ojāḥ.
ya uṣūṣadhitṛ (MS. oṣūṣadhitṛ) yo vanaspatin AV. MS. There is a
v. l. auṣadhīṛ in AV., which Whitney adopts in the text.
[sukurirā svuṣaṇā VS. TS. KSŚ. śB.: sukurirā svopāṣā MS. But several
mss. and p.p. of MS. svup^, which should probably be read in the
text. The second part of the cpd. is certainly upaḥa, and the first
probably sr); tho it is sometimes assumed to be sr; doubtless this
was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed svopāṣā in MS.]
§732. Miscellaneous:
asthūrī anau (nau, no, no) etc., see §950. Dual and plural pronouns nau
and no (nas).
[ye ke cobhayādattaḥ (TA. cau^, Poona ed. correctly co^) RV. VS. TA.:
ye ca ke cobhayādattaḥ AV.]
anupauhvaed (ApMB. anu po 'head) anupahvayet (ApMB. anuhvayat)
HG. ApMB. The ApMB. surely means po for vo; comm. says p
is 'chāndasa' for v; cf. Winternitz, p. xxi. The HG. seems to
intend a form containing upa, but it is corrupt and obscure.
devī dvārau (Vait. devīr dvāro) mā mā samśāptam TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait. is impossible.

sūryo rūpam kṛṇute dyor (MS. dyaur) upasthe RV. AV. VS. MS. TB. Only a gen. can be construed here. On dyauḥ as abl.-gen. see Wackernagel, III p. 224, infra.

yatādhi sūra udīto vibhāti (TS. udītau ryeti) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Others, §63.

mā teā ni kran pūrvacito (AV. cītā, MS. cītāu) nikāriṇāḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §399.

imau (KauŚ. yau) te pakṣāv (VSK. MS. KS. ūṣā) ajarau patāriṇau (VSK. TS.† KS. ūṣo—so all texts, before following sonant) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KauŚ. Nom. dual: gen. sing.

11. ‘Saṁprasāraṇa’; i(t): ya, yā, and the like

§733. We have already referred in §§656 ff. to the phenomena of so-called saṁprasāraṇa as they concern r in variation with ra, rā. Similar exchanges occur between i and ya, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms. There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as yaj: i, etc. The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory. They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of i: ya as a live factor in the language. Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants, which from the phonetic standpoint:

agnē yat te tejasa tena taṁ prati titigdhi (KS. tityagdhi, AV. tam alejasan kṛṣaṇa) . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. For the ‘adventurous’ tityagdhi, from root tij but apparently influenced in form by thought of tyaj or the like, see VV I p. 191.

§734. All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following:

prapīnam (MŚ. v. l. tām, TS. ApŚ. prapyātam) agne sarīrasya (MŚ. salītasya) madhye VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The ‘roots’ pī and yyā are ultimately one.

yatrasāte sukṛto yatra te yavuḥ (AV. ta ṣvah) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

‘Roots’ yā and i; the latter form here metrically poor.

vikirida (KS. ṣdrī, VS. ṣdra, MS. vyakrīḍa) vilohita VS. TS. MS. KS. It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of
Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here; but nothing is really known of the word.

agni devatanam ava heha iyaksha (KS. šekṣa) KS. ApŚ. iyaksha is a desiderative from yaj; possibly for metrical reasons, KS. presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p. 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present.

dhanāni kakro dhanyāh (AŚ. dhanīḥ) surādhā TB. AŚ. The reduction of the commonplace adjective dhanyāh to the monstrous dhanīḥ can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read dhanī, from dhanīn?).

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like id, īm, varying with yad, yam; or the like:
apāṁ payasasad it (KS. yat) payāḥ RV. KS.: apāṁ payas yo yat payāḥ AV. TS. TB. MŚ.
gomāṅ id (SV. yad) indra te sakñā RV. SV.
muṣkāṅ id (VSK. kāṅ id, ĪŚ. kau yad) asyā ejataḥ AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. ĪŚ.
mitarīna na yam (TB. inā) śimyā gosu gavyaḥ (TB. ācat) RV. TB.
samyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. sım it, KS. sārit, all ms.) sarvanto sarīto (TAA. tā, Poona ed. tō) nu dhanaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* ŚB. TAA. KS. ApŚ.* MŚ.
yādi tvam atra (Vait. tvam tatra) manasa jñanatha VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: yad-yat tvam atra manasenaveltta ĪŚ.
iti cid dhi (AV. yadi cīn nu) te dhanā jñayantām RV. AV. (both).

§736. In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition a before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in ā:
mā dhenur ātyāśrīrā (HG. atīsa?) HG. ApMB. The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB.; HG. has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhoea').
yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau susvarāḥ TB. ApŚ.: yajñāḥ pratyaṣṭhāt (v. l. pray u śāth) KS.: yajṇāḥ pray u śāth samatau maṁnāṁ MŚ.
tayena jīvāṁ tvisarāja (TA. text vya ca sava, comm. v. l. vya sarāja) bhāmyām TA. MahānU. The only possible reading in TA. is vya sarāja, which is itself anomalous enough; see VV I p. 140.
abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ. bhūsam) MS. ApŚ.: abhiṣikṣa rājābhūvaṃ (v. l. bhūsam) MŚ.

§737. Stems or endings in i varying with extensions in (y)a:
aqir gṛhapatisnām (MS. KS. gṛhapatisnām) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB, sūpasthā asi vānaspitāyaḥ MŚ.: sūpasthā devo vānaspitaḥ TS.
ye 'gnayāḥ puriṣṭāḥ (puriṣṭāḥ), and others, see §907.
antimitraś (TS. antyam) dūre-āmitraś (MS. *mitraś) ca āyah VS. TS. MS. KS. Both probably mean ‘having near friends’; anūi and adj. antyā. Weber and Keith follow the comm. on TS. in dividing anty-āmitraś, ‘with foes within,’ which is less plausible.

agnir havyah (RV. KS. haviḥ) samitā sudayati (AV. sudayatu) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ahāh bārām (TB. ahāc char) paviśsā sameti (TB. ṛṣya) TB. Vatt. (also AVPpp.) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund sametya; the 3d sing. sameti may almost be considered a case of genuine ’Samprasāraṇa’. Cf. VV I p. 164.

kim iti te viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhūt (SV. paricakṣi naṁo) RV. SV. TS. MS. N. The SV. form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey’s Glossar for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other.

tāh prācyā (*yāh, prācīr) . . . , see §387. Equivalent case-forms; others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection.

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions:
satya vadanty anu iça (KS. anu yacha) etai TS. KS. PG. anu-īz ‘seek after’; anu-yam ‘follow’.

yebic viśam (SV. vy aśam) aiyaya RV. SV. Vy aśam doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift. Benfey takes aśa as a proper name.

anyām iça pitṛadān vyaktām (ApMB. vittām) RV. ApMB.: jāmin iça pitṛadān vyaktam (read īlām) AV. vittām is certainly secondary. Note that in jāmin: anyām we also have a kind of samprasāraṇa in the final syllable.

acittapājā (TA. acyuta) agnī MS. TA. ŚŚ. Also: acittamanā (TA. acyuta) upasaktā, same texts. Here ya: i vary; cf. the second variant in §736, and next.

bhujyā (MS. bhujī) suparṇo yajno gandharvah VS. TS. MS. KS. ṢB. ya: i, cf. prec.

pāhi mà didyoḥ (TS. TB. mādyā divah) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.

ayam yo ’śi (MS. yo asya) yasya tu idam śirah KS. ApŚ. MS. The latter certainly secondary.

yena bhūyāh ca rātryām (ApMB. carāty ayam, MG. carāty ayam, PG. bhūriti carā divam) AG. PG. APMB. MG. See §61.


§739. Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants; almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences. The most clearly phonetic cases are:
svār (KhG. *sur) abhīvyakhyām KS. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: svār abhīvyakhyām (MS. MS. *kśānā) jyotir vaiśeśāram MS. KS. MS. *sur is certainly for svār; cf. the Dhātupāṭha root sur ‘shine’.
kāti dhāmānī kati ye vīśaṅah MS.: ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭīḥ AV.
Different ablaut grades of the root vas ‘shine’.
agnir hāvyam (RV. KS. hāvih) sāmitā sādayāti (AV. svadāyatu) RV. AV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. The roots sūd and svaṛ are distinct historically,
but no doubt related prehistorically.
agnir hāvāṇī sīvādat RV.; agnir hāvyā sūvdaiti RV.
ayā no yaṭāṇām vahāsi KS.: ayasā hāvyam uḥiṣa ApŚ. ApMB. HG.
And others; see §502. Related roots vah and uḥ.
And similarly in suffixal elements:
vidyulēkheva bāśvarā (MahānU. bāṣārā, v. l. bāśvarā) TA. MahānU.
Both these stems are familiar adjectives.
madhunāmānaḥ (VSK. madhvantaḥ, MS. madughānāḥ) tvā patmaṃ
dhūhoni VS. VSK. ŚB. MS. The VS. form is a kind of superlative
to madha, modeled upon madhun-tama, which occurs in the preceding
formula. The VSK. form is a variation on the other, suggested
by suffixal forms in van(t).
suganṭaḥ karma karanaḥ kariyam JB.: sugam tvaḥ karmah karanaḥ
karah karasyuḥ IŚ. So the printed ed. of IŚ.; BR. read sugantvah
‘leicht gangbar’; but no *gantuḥ is recorded. The text is evidently
very corrupt.
§740. Several times the AV. presents the word abhīśastipā(h),
‘protector against imprecation’, followed by the particle u, while other
texts read abhīśastipāvā, as nom. of a suffixal form in -an; cf. Lanman’s
note in Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5, which suggests that AV. is secondary;
bharā kṛṣṭinām (AV. gr) abhīśastipāvā (AV. *pā u) AV. PG. ApMB. HG.
abhūr grāṣṭinām (AV. *vahānam in text, mss. v āparām; HG. āparām,
ApMB. āparāṇam) abhīśastipāvā (AV. *pā u) AV. HG. ApMB.
ṛṣēṇhaḥ putro abhīśastipāvā (AV. *pā u) AV. VS. ŚB.
And similarly, the particles vā and u interchange once:
yad vā (RVKh. u) derś sarasvatī AV. RVKh.
§741. The prefix su exchanges a number of times with the stem sa-
in composition, just as both of them exchange with sa-(§§364, 612):
nāvaḥ caranti svacca iyāṇāḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: nāva viyanti suṣiṣṇa na rāṣṭṣ
MS. KS.

imam yaṇāṁ svadhaya ye yaṣṭante (KS. dadante) KS. AŚ.: imam ca
yaṇāṁ svadhaye dadante MS.: ya imam yaṇāṁ svadhaye dadante
(§§. bhajanete) VS. TS. §§.
suntī svagākārāma (SV. su2) RV. SV.
acabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś (KS. su2) ca MS. KS. So the one ms. of KS; but ed. em. svagā2, no doubt rightly; cf. ava2 ca me svagā2 ca me, in Cone.
Ekāya ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. ca suhūte) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AS. ŚŚ. See §119.
priyāyā aṅgāni svadhita parūṇī (Vait. aṅgā sukṛta parūṇī) TB. Vait. §742. The rest are sporadic lexical variants:
urudrapso viśṣurūpa āndhu TS. ApŚ.: purudamsno viṣurūpa (KS. 2das-
mavad viṣurūpaṃ) āndhu VS. KS. ŚB. KS. Other cases of viṣu: viṣeu in §291.
dhūmarā bāhuvraṅkāśaḥ pitṛṇāḥ somavatām VS.: pīṭbhīyo barhiṣadbhīyo
dhūmarān bāhuvraṅkāṣān ApŚ. bāhru + nikāsa (anākāsa).
brahmādhiguptaḥ (PG. brahmābhūtṛ) svārā kṣarāni (PG. svrakṣitaḥ nyāṁ)
svāhā AG. PG.: brahmābhīgātaṃ svarākṣagah (most ms. svrārak-
ṣagah) MG. For AG. Stenzler says: ‘möge ich Lieder ergessen’.
asmāḥ (MS. KS. asmān) u devā avalā haveṣu (MS. KS. bhareṣa ṛ) RV.
SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: asmān devaso tvali haveṣu AV.
svādhyo (TB. 2dhīyo) vidathe āpsu jijanaṃ (TB. āpsu aj2) RV. TB.
purudrā te manuṣṭām (AV. vanuṭām, comm. vanuṭān) viṣṭhitam jagat
RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. Sing.: plur.; see VV I p. 266.
indraḥ (ŚŚ. 2as) patiḥ tuviṣṭamo (AA. ŚŚ. tiṣṭamo) janeṣu a (ŚŚ. janeṣu)
AV. AA. ŚŚ.
a yahi (and, a no yahi) tapasa janesu (ŚŚ. 2a ṛ a, MS. janīṣu) MS. AB.
AS. ŚŚ. See §§693, 826.
§743. A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, a or
r is found varying with u or a:
evidatām (PG. MG. udvatām) iva sūryaḥ ŚŚ. AG. PG. MG.
adyā kṛṣṇi viṭaye (SV. 2hy utaye) RV. SV.: utrav kṛṣṇi viṭaye (SV,
2hy utaye) RV. SV. The variation may also be considered one
between yā and r (§805).
achidrāṁ pūrajyāṇum (SMB. 2yāpya) TS. SMB. Fem. acc. of u stem.
drāṇo rukma urvṛā (RV. KS. urvṛā, MS. urvṛā) ev adyaṁ (MS. vi
bhāti) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. Cf. §791, and next
variant. The form urvṛā seems to be characteristic of MS.
cakṣur ma urvṛā (KS. urvṛā, MS. urvṛā) vi bhāti VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
Cf. preo.
dhiṣaṇe vīdū (vīdvi) . . ., and others, see §169.
yatrādhi śūra uditō vibhāti (TS. uditau eyeti) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: yasminn
adhi vītataḥ šūra eti MS. KS.: yasyāsau śūro vītalo mahīteś AV.
See §63.

13. aya: e and the like.

§744. On this general subject see Bloomfield, AJP 5. 27 ff.; Wackernagel I p. 53 f. It is clearly Prakritic in character. The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations. Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following; the MS. form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other:
namaḥ kīśilāya ca kṣayaṇāya (MS. kṣenceya) ca VS. TS. MS. KS.
Epithet of land.

§745. In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the aya forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents; but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them:
arejatām (TB. arejayatām) rodasī pājasā girā RV. TB. Cf. VV I p. 154; a
sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB., which spoils the meter.
uttamaṁ nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. uṭtama nāke) adhi rohayemam (VS.
MS. KS. ŚB. ṛyānīm; TA. rohemam) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.
See VV I p. 152. The contracted form of TA. is unmetrical.
ved u rājā kṣayati (TB. kṣetī) carṣaṇinām RV. MS. TB. The con-
tracted form is again unmetrical. Cf. VV I p. 123.
aṅgu ṇ (also: vāṅgu, prajāpatī etc.) dīkṣiṭaḥ . . ., dīkṣayati (JB. dīkṣeta)
JB. ApŚ. See VV I §160.

§746. Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun
inflection or particles:
pibdīt somaiś mamadad (AS. ŚŚ. ṛ-mam amadānu) enam ışṭe (AS. ŚŚ.
iṣṭayaḥ) AV. AS. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88.
tasyed (AV. tasya yad) aḥuḥ pippalam svādv agre RV. AV. The AV.
expansion is hypermetric; according to Whitney, Ppp. agrees
with RV.

§747. As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous
group of cases of variation between e(a)- and āvī, āyī, īye, īya, ā-yā. For e: ya, yā, see §803:
samśrāvahāgā (VS. ŚB. samsravaś; MS. ṛgāh, KS. Kauś. īgās) stheśā
teviṣā (Kauś. laviṣā) bṛhantāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §96.
TS. p.p. stha, iṣah; and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished'; but this is implausible. The original doubtless means stha iṣa 'ye are given by food'; Kauś., 'by strength'.

tebhyo gṛtasya kulyaṅitu (TA. dhārayitum) AV. TA. The AV. form intends kulyaṅ-etu; TA. suggests dhārayitu (dhārā-etu) as an intermediate stage between AV. and its secondary reading.

ārurāha tve sacā (KS. tvāyi apī) KS. TB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. revati predhā yajñapatiṁ ā viśa MS. KS.: revati yojamāne priyam dhā ā viśa VS. SB.: revaiti yajñapatiṁ priyadhāvīṣaṭa TS. ApŚ. The old adverb predhā (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes priyadhā in TS., and this is further broken up into priyam dhāḥ, 'establish the pleasant', in VS.

vi dhūnām agne arūṣam miyedhya (MS. medhya) RV. VS. TS. MS. SB. TA. miyedha and medha, both RV., are synonyms; it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them.

agnir devebhyaḥ swidatreyebhyah (TA. swidatrebyah) RV. AV. TA. N. In the original form devatreyebhyah stands for devatreyebhyah (suffix ya).

pratiravebhyaḥ (TA. pratirebyah) seāhā MS. TA. The correct reading is certainly that of MS.; pratirava in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called uparava. TA. comm. pratirebhya bhicṛddhihetubhyaḥ pāṇadevebhyaḥ (as if pra-tara 'extending' [life]).

ā yāta (SMB. GG. ViDh. etc.) pilaraḥ somyāśaḥ (HG. somyāḥ) AV. SMB. GG. HG. ViDh. ṛ-yā and ṛ-t, synonyms.

Compare the interesting case agnim (SV. aqnim u) śreṣṭhaśociṣam RV. SV.; see §843.

14. ava: o and the like

§748. See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning aya and e. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form to (Wackernagel p. 54):

to-to (MS. KS. MŚ. tava-tava, TS. ApŚ. to-te) rāyah VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§749. Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency: yatra yanti srotyaḥ (KS. sranatyas) taj jitam te AV. TS. MS. KS. The fuller form of KS. improves the meter. RV. knows the stems srotyā (found here) and sranati = KS. sranati, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss. of KS. read sranatyās, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on srotyas.
sa naḥ priyā supratūrtiḥ maghoniī TS.; sa naḥ supratūrtiḥ priyā naḥ
suhār naḥ priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi MS. In TS. the regular fem. of maghavan, based on the weak stem maghon-; in MS. an i-extension of the strong stem.

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK. TS. ApŚ. vah, KS. subho) sūryāya VS. VSK. Ts. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. The KS. probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem su-bhu (-bhū), parallel to -bhava(s).

anābhov mrīḍa dhūrte (read ṭa with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ.: anārbhava mrīḍa KS. ApŚ. Cf. p. w. 5 Nachträge, s. v. Possibly here also forms of root bhū may be involved, as in the last; but the readings are very obscure. Epithets of Rudra. KS. ms. reads anānbhava; KapŚ. anār°.

§750. We append a stray lexical variant of ava and a;

avamais ta ārvais te kāvyais te pitṛbhir ... bhakṣayāmi PB. LŚ.: āmaḥ pitṛbhir ... bhakṣayāmi AB, ŚŚ. Vait. It is possible that the latter form intends avama ‘nether’, instead of āma ‘helper’, which does not fit pitṛbhīḥ so well. We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction. Caland does not translate the word in Vait.

For o: va, vā, see §804.
CHAPTER XVI. INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

1. EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751. In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation. One, the more extensive, is the writing of iy for y and uv for v; it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where y and v have vocalic function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually i) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49–53; also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing -ṛṛ- or -ṛṝ-, in VV I pp. 189–191. As Wackernagel says (p. 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

§752. In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel; and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it.

§753. Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp. 190–1, and Wackernagel I p. 60. As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words:

pra ṅa (MS. nā, SV. PB. na) āyūṁśī tāṛiṣat (VS.*TS.*KS.*ŚŚ. N.*
tāṛiṣaḥ, Kauś. tāṛat) RV. AV. SV. VS.*TS.*MS. KS.*PB. TB.
ōchettā te (TB. ApŚ.* vo) mā riṣam (KS. riṣat, MS. and all mss. of MŚ.
māṛaṃ) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Since the root is ṛṛ, the
Maitr. form (to be read also in MŚ.) is formally impossible, except
as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for mā riṣam.

§754. In the next group of variants, aorists of the root car, both forms
with and without i are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three
cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without i,
so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms:
apo (RV. AŚ. āpo) adyāna (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. anv, AV. divya) acāriṣam
(JB.† acāṛaṃ, AV. acāriṣaṃ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

oxne vratakate vratam acāriṣam (MS. MŚ. v. l. acārṣam), VS. TS. MS.
KŚ.† SB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.

vratānāṁ vratakate (Kauś. ṣ-palayo) vratam acāriṣam (MS. acārṣam)
MS. TA. Kauś.

§755. The original form of paraśu or paraśu is uncertain; Wackernagel §51 believes that it was paraśu, but paraśu seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek παράσος. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading suastiḥ, the form paraśur can be made to fit metrically); but note that in TS. both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes paraśu suspicious:

paraśur (TS. paraśur) vedih paraśur nah svasti (TS. ṣṭiḥ) AV. TS.

§756. There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

§757. The vowel inserted is regularly i, seldom a or u. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally r, and most frequently of all between r and a sibilant or h. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel i seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially v; this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter; to make the text metrical it has to be omitted.

§758. First, between r and sibilants: the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel i is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l. c.):
yad rātryā (MahāṇU. TA. v. l. rātryā) pāpam akārṣam (TA. v. l. akārṣam) TA. MahāṇU.
diteḥ putrānāṁ aditer akārṣam (MS. akārṣam) AV. MS.
tan nah parṣad (MS. pariṣad) ati divaṇa TS. MS.
dakṣaṇī te bhodram ābhāṛṣam (AV. ta ugram ā bhāṛṣam) RV. AV.

§759. The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. reads dhāṛṣadām. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p. 56; likewise delete there the form dhāṛṣāḥ-, which is supported by only one ms. in TS. 1. 2. S. 2; the other mss. all read dhāṛṣāḥ-.
§760. There is one variant vowel between \( l \) and a sibilant; most mss. of MS. (in three occurrences) and of MŚ. (in two) read with epenthesis -valōtā; which should no doubt be read in all the Māitr. passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice -valōtā and only once -valōtā:

sahasravālōtā (MS.* MŚ. v. I. *valōtā) vi vyaṁ ruhema RV. VS. TS. MŚ.*
KS. ŠB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The epenthetic i is bad metrically.

§761. Between \( r \) and \( h \), there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical (spārha; svāruha), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering:
spāra (TB. svāruha) yasya śrīyo drše RV. KS. TB.
spārho (TB. svāruho) deva niyutevā RV. VS. VS. TB.

§762. A single instance between \( l \) and \( h \):
etad brahmam upa valhāmani (AŚ. apa⁹; LŚ. upabalhāmahe) tei VS. AŚ.
ŚŚ. LŚ.

§763. Likewise one between \( h \) and \( r \):
daharā (v. I. daharāṁ) vipāpmavaraveśmahūlam (TA. Poona ed.
vipāpaṁ [v. I. vipāpma] vara²; MahānU. vipāpmaṁ varaṁ [v. I.
vara-] veśma") TA. MahānU. Both dahara and dahra are known;
the latter is required by the meter here.

§764. Before labial consonants, generally \( v \):
puru teā dāśvān (SV. dāśivān) voce RV. SV. The inserted i in SV. is
doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV. dāśvān was tris-
syllabic (probably dāśuān, Oldenberg).
sutake sudakaḍa dhanva (SV. dhanivā) RV. SV. Read dhanva in RV.;
the i of SV. is to be explained as in the pree.

aśväna gharmam pīlam hārdvānam (TA. hārdivānam, read with Poona
ed. hārdi⁴) VS. ŠB. TA. ŚŚ. And others; see §267.

vṛṣmā (VS. vṛṣimā) ca me drāghimā (TS. drāghuvā, MS. drāghmā,
KS. drāghvā) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS. The i-forms of VS. are
exceptional. Interesting is the TS. form, which suggests a middle
stage *drāghivā (blend of KS. drāghvā and VS. drāghimā), which has
suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (iv: uy).

Here we may also mention the common forms prthvi and prthivī.
In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form. It is a
disputed question which is the original; Wackernagel thinks prthivi
(I p. 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf. e.g.
Avestan parthwī):
prthvī (VaradotU. prthvī) suvace yuvatiḥ sajośāh TB. VaradotU.

§765. Finally, an isolated corruption:
yad asyā anahubhedyāḥ (LŚ. anuhodbhidyāḥ) AV. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
Vait. LŚ. The LŚ. form is an uninterpretable corruption. The
word asyā doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke
or wrote it.

2. WRITING OF iy FOR y AND uv FOR v

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note; a briefer statement in Whitney 129d. The Prātiṣākhyaśas seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr., altho the
resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS. and other Tait. texts. In
the commentary on TPr. 2. 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference
to it in the term sphurita, but the passage is by no means clear.

§767. The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition
comes out nowhere more clearly than here. Certain broad general
tendencies appear; the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all
Tāttirīya texts to prefer the spellings iy and uv. Yet even this is cut
across by counter-currents in individual cases. The participle of the
root kṣi, which in all non-Tait. texts beginning with RV. itself is regu-
larly spelled kṣiyant with resolution, in Tait. texts alone keeps or rather
restores the historically 'regular' spelling kṣiyant, in defiance of meter
which shows that even there it must have been pronounced kṣiyant
(§795). In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait. texts
perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their
general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they
read prorvāthaḥam (this time with VSK.) against proruv of all other
texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the
present-sign nu is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a). Again,
the word which in most texts is written kvala seems to have in the Tait.
school the definitely established form kvāla (§782); nor can this be
explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose
Brāhmaṇa passages. Similarly the adverb urviṇā (so RV. always)
is spelled urvyā in TS. (also in VS., §791); and kwayi or wy of MS. KS
is written kvayi in TS. and VS. A Tait. text (T.A.) even contains one of
the three cases (nāyemur, for ni-yemur) in which the final vowel (i or u)
of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (y or v)
which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance
of the resolution of which the Tait. school is otherwise so fond (§770).

§768. Nor is the Tait. school the only one which displays this capri-
cious character. KS. in general does not favor iy for y or u for v. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write tryani, KS. in three different variants shows the invariable spelling triyani (§776). The RV. itself is guilty of one strange anomaly: the pres. mid. participle of the root su ‘press’, is always written suvīna, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced svāna; the SV. in the case of this word writes always svāna, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794).

§769. Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense. This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the y or v was syllabic. Thus the writing iy or uv represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing. Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary. In nearly every case the older version writes y or v, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait. school) substitutes iy or uv.

§770. To such an extent was y or v felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds iy or uv that in three variant texts we find an original i or u, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial y or v. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 59. These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention. They are:

mā tīh ke cin ni (AV. ke cid flv) yaman viṁ (SV. ke cin ni yemur in; TA.
   ke cin nyemur in) na pāśināh RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. The TA. form,
which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as
standing for ni yemur; so the comm. There is, to be sure, a v. l.
i nyemur, but nyemur is well attested and appears to have been the
actual reading of TA.

graḥa viśejanīna niyantar (KS. nyantar) ... MS. KS. This and the
next passage are prose. KS. can only intend ni-yantar.

anvāsi PB.: anvāsi ... TS. KS. (not GB. Vait., see §255): anvāga
... MS. Here PB. can only have in mind anu-vā.

§771. In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false
divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as
when apsu ā is resolved to apsu vā which is then read apsu vā in TS.
(§778), or when an original nga (from nyače) is broken up into ni
yan (thru the middle stage niya(n) in a secondary reading of AV. (§778).
Again the adjective apya is made into the two words apī yā in SV.
(§785), and the RV. abheam (two syllables, not *ahhuam) is revamped
by TB. into ab-bhuvam, thinking of ap ‘water’ (§790). Other variants
which have lexical bearings are swāna: svān(a), §778; uv for nu varying
with 'nv for anv (wrongly printed ntv in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., §778); and
the few cases in which suffixal forms in 'ya(n), with t, vary with
forms in ya(n), the t proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution
of y to iy (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are
purely phonetic, or rather orthographic.

§772. The variants fall into five clearly defined groups. First, i
or u final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written iy
or uv as well as y or v before an initial vowel; most commonly after more
than one consonant. Second, non-final y and v in radical (initial)
syllables; chiefly the one word swar (swar) and its compounds, plus
several words beginning in k- (in which the iy or uv form seems to be
more primary). Third, the suffix ya pronounced iya, and written so in
secondary texts; in practically all cases after more than one consonant.
Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short i or u, before in-
fectional endings beginning with a vowel; again the y or v, even when
not written iy or uv, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written
so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms,
either finite verbs or participles.

§773. In all of these groups except the last, the writing iy or uv is
secondary to y or v, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown
by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except
the last, it is regularly Tait. texts which show this secondary writing.
Typical is their treatment of the word swar, which they practically
always write swar; the few exceptions are mostly instances in which
ancillary texts of the Tait. school have borrowed formulas from other,
non-Tait. texts (such as KS., from which ApS. frequently quotes), and
have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would
not be unreasonable to see in the writing of iy and uv an attempt to
represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted
occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV.
always writes svāna, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV.
svāna (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are
sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

A. uv and iy for v (u) and y final before vowels

§774. Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the y or v
is always syllabic. We begin with the particle u, which in the RV. etc.
is always written not v but u before a following vowel when it is preceded
by a word ending in a vowel (or in y for final i), but v when preceded by a
consonant (Wackernagel I §270a):
The spelling *uv* was regular from RV. times in the word *swiita* (svita). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait texts: šarad dhemantaḥ *swiite* dadhāta (MS. *?tu*) KS. MS. šarad varṣāḥ *swiite* (TS. SMB. *swiitan*) no dadhāta (TS. SMB. *astu*) AV. TS. SMB. The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS. SMB. because of their change to *astu*.

swiite mā dāhā TS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. LS. SG. N.: svite etc. VS. GB. ŠB. AŚ. Vait. Prose.

The word *tr̥yavi*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *triyavi* in KS., altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tait texts write this word *tr̥yavi*(!). Two of the variants are prose; the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*:

*tr̥yavir* (KS. *tr̥yavir*) gaur vayo dadhuh VS. MS. KS. TB.

*tr̥yavir* (KS. *tr̥iva*) vayah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ. Prose.

*tr̥yaviś* (KS. *tr̥iva*) ca me *tr̥yavi* (KS. *tr̥iva*) ca me (MS. MS. omit me twice) VS. TS. MS. KS. MS. Prose.

The rest are sporadic:

ṣutudrī stomanā sacata paruṣṣy (TA. *oṇiy*) ā RV. TA. MahānU. N. In a jñagati stanza; RV. certainly pronounced *oṇiy-ā*.

asikny (TB. *oṇiy*) asy oṣadhe AV. TB.

dhārāvaṃ maruto dhṛṣṭavojašaḥ (TB. dhṛṣṭavo) RV. AB. KB. TB.

False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following:

yad oṣaddṛṣev apsu ā (TS. apsu vā) yaçatra RV. VS. TS. ŠB. apsu vā clearly based upon the intermediate stage apsu ā. As a matter of fact, this may be what TS. really intends; but p.p. divides apsu vā, and so Weber and Keith.

naṇ (AV. ni yan) ni yanti uparasya niṣkṛtam (AV. *tim*) RV. AV. KS.

The AV. has a corruption based upon *naṇ* for *naṇi*.

svāna bhṛjaṇa... VS. TS. ŠB. KS. ApŚ.: svāna nabhrāṇ ... KS.: svāna bhrāṇ... TA.: svāna nabhrāṇ ... MS. MS. In the latter *su-vāk* (vāc) is meant.

[ato no rudrā uta vā * trav asya RV.: tato no rudrā uta vā mva (but Poona ed. *mva*, and comm. anu) asya TB. We assume that the Poona ed. is right, so that the variant does not belong here.]
We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final \( i \) or \( u \) is suppressed before an initial \( y \) or \( v \).

B. Non-final \( y \) (v), in radical (initial) syllables

§779. These mostly concern the one word \( svar \) and its compounds. Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form \( svar \) is practically limited to Tait. texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait. texts write \( svar \) are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ.) from non-Tait. sources, retaining the non-Tait. spelling. We note that in the variant \( s(u)rve loke samprṇṛṇvāthām \) TS. KSA. TB., the true reading of KSA. is \( ṭṛve loke ṭamprṇṛṇvāthām; \) correct Conc.

§780. In addition to formulas beginning with \( svar \) we find for example (the list is far from complete):

\[ pari lokān pari dīṣaḥ pari svāḥ (TA. MahānU. svāḥ) VS. TA. MahānU. \]
\[ dīvi mārdhānāṁ dādhise svārām (TS. TB. svā) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. \]
\[ hiraṇyavāśir iṣirā svārāḥ (TB. svā) RV. TB. – The compound stem \]
\[ svārāḥ occurs also once initially, viz.: \]
\[ svārām (TB. svā) aṣām (TB. Poona ed. twice ṭaṣām, text and \]
\[ comm.) vṛjanasya ṣopām RV. VS. MS. TB. \]

§781. There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait. text (TB.) reads \( svar \) contrary to metrical requirements; if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait. school, TA. and MahānU., write \( svār \):

\[ tapasārṣayāḥ (MahānU. ṭṣayāḥ) svār (TB. svā) anuvadīyān TB. TA. \]
\[ MahānU. \]

§782. Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in \( iy \) or \( uw \) (always preceded by \( k \); is this accidental?), is replaced by \( y \) or \( v \) alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait. text has the secondary reading with \( y \) or \( v \) alone; and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait. school and to be regularly used there in this particular word—despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait. tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations,

\[ pakṣīṣaṇi godhūmaṁ kuvalaṁ (TB. kuvala) utāṇi VS. MS. KS. TB. \]

Here, to be sure, the form \( kuvala \) makes better meter. But this
cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as kวดa in the Tait. school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Bráhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 5. 3. 5.—The same word in: ajo dhúmro na godkhāmai kuvālair (TB. kvalair) bheṣajam VS. MS. TB. kiyāmbē atra rohatu RV.: kyāmbhrē atra rohatu (TA. jāyatām) AV. TA.

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling i. kuvāh (KSA. and p.p. of MS. *yih) . . . MS. KSA.: kvuvāh . . . VS. TS.

§783. Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle sanādhuvānā, which TS. substitutes (in defiance of meter) for sanādhuvānā of other texts. We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for sanādhuvānā, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root dhu (dhū):

sanādhuvānā (TS. *dhuvānā) vāābhi na gṛṇantu TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832; the word bhiyāh 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending -bhyyā (KS., or -bhī AV.):

viśād amīvāh pramūṇiṅcan mānuśībhiḥ (KS. *sēbhyyāh) AV. KS.: viśād āśāh pramūṇiṅcan mānuśitr bhiyāh VS. TS.: ev amīvāh pramūṇiṅcan mānuśāṅām MS.

C. Suffixal y in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written iy

§784. Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal ya, but also a few forms in (i)yāne, (i)yac, where the y is treated in the same way. In all genuine instances of this variation, the y follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character). In practically every case the writing iy, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary. It occurs almost exclusively in Tait. texts. The following are the metrical pādās concerned, beginning with the few (i)yac stems:

asmadryak (TS. *driyak) sam māmhi śravānśi RV. TS. MS. KS.
asmadryag (TS. TB. *driyag) vāirdhe vīryāya RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. TB.

te pāyavah sadhryaṇco (TS. sadhriyaṇco) niṣadya RV. TS. MS. KS.
mā te māno viśadryag (TS. *driyag) vi cārit RV. TS. MS. KS.
vi muciyaḥvram aghnīyā (TA. ApŚ. aghniyā) devayānāh VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

TA. ApŚ. MS.

vājam aretsasu payo aghnyāsu (TS. aghniyāsu) TS. KS.
payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB. ApŚ. aghniyāsu) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.
yad āpo aghnyā (TS. TB. aghniyā) iti (omitted in TS. TB. MS. KS. LŚ.)
AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LI.: yad āhur aghanāḥ iti VS. ŚB.
nī vīraṁ (TS. vīravād) gavyam aśvyaṁ (TS. aśvyaṁ) ca rūḍhāḥ RV. TS. MS. KS. Several mss. of MS. aśvyaṁ.
sugavyaṁ no vātī svaśyam (TS. ɐniyam) RV. VS. TS. KSA. AŚ.
achā devāṁ ucīcē dhīṣyā (TS. dhīṣyā) ye RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. sa buddhyā (TS. TB. TA. buddhyā) upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. TA.
pra buddhyā (TS. ɐniyā) va īrte (TS. īrte vo) mahāṁsi RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

aiṁ buṭhīn (TS. ɐniyam) anu rīparānāḥ (MS. KS. anu rīparānāḥ, TS. anu saṁcarantuḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
svyāṁ tanā (ApMB.†MG.†tanā) rūtiye (RV.† rūtiye) nādhamānām (ApMB. nāthāʾ, MG. bādhāʾ) RV. ApMB. MG.
sa yo rṣya vṛṣṇeyēḥ (TB. ɐniyēḥ) samokāḥ RV. AB. KB. TB. tan sadhričir ātaye vṛṣṇyāṁ (TB. vṛṣṇyāṁ) RV. MS. KS. TB.
byhat sāma ksatrabhṛd vṛdha-vṛṣṇyāṁ (MS. ɐnam, see §315; TS. ɐniyam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

§785. There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant (cf. §771):

ya usriyā ayā (SV. apī yā) antar aśmanāḥ (SV. ɐni) RV. SV. The
adjunctive ayā, pronounced apīyā, is falsely divided in SV.

§786. In several variants suffixal y, of various kinds, varies with iy; that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary
noun formations in (i)yā sometimes; the rest are either comparatives in yāis: iyāis, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in iy is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in
plain y secondary; note that, most curiously, one of these secondary
forms without i occurs in TS.!
apo vṛṇānāḥ pāvate kāviyān (SV.† ɐyān, TS. kāvyān) RV. SV. TS. KSA.
In SV. nom. of a comparative stem; in the others, of denominative
participles.
tuṛi̯yādiyā (VSK. tuṛyā?) savanaṁ (RV. hauʾ) ta īndriyām RV. VS. VSK.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetreical,
and is twice found in Tait. texts alone:

taṁ teā grṇāmi tanvasmi atavyān (TS. ɐvyān) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. N. Comparatives.
saniḥ gāyatrīṁ navyāṇam (TA. navīyāṇam) RV. SV. MS. TA. Comparatives. In the next case the meter is ambiguous:

devā deveghyo adharvayanto (KS. ŠB. svargīṁ) no abhi (bhī) vasyo (TS. KŚ. vasīyo) nayantu AV. TS. KŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Here the meter shows that y was vocalie, tho the spelling vasyo seems older.

yathā no vasyasas (TS. ṣaḥ, LŚ. vasyasas) karat VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. LŚ.

unnetar vasīyo (KS. vasyo) ... MS. KS. ApŚ. Prose.
namo dundubhīyāya caḥananyāya (MS. dundubhayē cāhananīyāya) ca VS. TS. MS. KS. Prose.

pāra ikṣava tāryebhyah (KŚ. avāra ikṣavah pāryebhyah) pakṣmanabhyaḥ svahā TS. KŚA. ... TS. KŚA. Prose.

§787. The following are the prose variants of ya and (short) iy: etāni te aghniye (PB. 'ghnye) nāmāni TS. PB.: etā te aghnye nāmāni VS. ŠB. MŚ. In the latter form quasi-meter.

ā pṛyādham aghnyā (TS. TB. ApŚ. aghniyā) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yāṁ āputryā (ŠG. ściyā) tanūs ... ŠG. SMB.
ahir asī budhnyah (TS. ApŚ. budhnyah) VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŠŚ. ApŚ. ahirbudhnyā mantrān me pāki MŚ.: ahe budhniya mantran me gopōya TB. ApŚ.
ahir budhnyo (TS. ściyō) devād TS. MS. KS.
namo jaṅhanyāya ca budhnyāya (TS. ściyāya) ca VS. TS. MS.: namo budhnyāya ca jaṅhanyāya ca KS.
namo agriyāya (VS. KS. 'gryāya, MS. 'griyāya) ... VS. TS. MS. KS.
namo vāyāya ca reṣmyāya (TS. ściyāya) ca VS. TS. KS.
namo vidhryāya (MS. ściyāya, p.p. ściyā; TS. nama īḍhriyāya) cātāpyā ca VS. TS. MS. KS.
namah śīghryāya (TS. ściyāya) ca śībhryāya ca VS. TS.: namah śībhāya ca śīghryā ca MS. KS.
sumitrā (VS. ṢB. MahānU. ŚŚ. KŚ. ściyā, AŚ. LŚ. sumitrā) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. And similarly durmitrās etc., see §315.
asvībhyaṁ tiroahniyānaṁ (MŚ. tirohnyānān) ... ApŚ. MŚ.
tiroahniyān (MŚ. asvībhyaṁ tirohnyān) somān ... ApŚ. MŚ.

D. Stem-final of nouns in i or u, long or short

§788. Here again the meter shows that the y or v was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to iy or uv is in
accord with the pronunciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait. texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, monosyllabic (radical) ṯ and ū stems. In these we expect regularly iy and uv before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a); consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show y, v, but Tait. texts (and rarely others) show iy, uv. Second, derivative ṯ stems of the devə type, and very rarely ū stems in forms that imitate the devə declension (see Wackernagel III §97d; only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short i and u stems (see §792). Fourth, ū stems of the vrkīs type; the variants are practically limited to the one word tanū.

§789. Monosyllabic (radical) stems in ṯ, ū. Most of the variants are metrical; we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems dhī, bhū, and pū. swādhyaṁ (TS. ṭhiyaṁ) janayat sudayac ca RV. VS. TS. MS. swādhyo (TB. ṭhyo) manasaḥ devayantaḥ RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. PG. swādhyo (TB. ṭhiyō) vidathe apsu jiñanān (TB. apsv aji) RV. TB. tam tvā vayaṁ sudhyo (TB. sudhiyo) navayam agne RV. MS. KS. TB. pūhi māṁ yajñanyam (TS. TB. ṭniyam) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. SS. vaṇeṣu citram vibhvaṁ (TS. vibhuvaṁ) viṣe viṣe RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. vibhva (MS. vibhve, KS. vibhva) svāhā VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Prose. abhiḥbhe (MS. abhiḥbe, KS. abhiḥbe) svāhā VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

kataṁ yasya subhaṁ (SV. subhuvaṁ) sākam ṯrate RV. SV. mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhaṁ (AVPp. ms. subhavaś, Barret JAOS. 35. 46 subhvas) tathivaṇānimes AVPp. MS.: samudraṁ na subhvaṁ svā abhiṣṭayat RV.: samudraṁ na subhvaṁ tathivaṇānimes AV. Others, see §119.

guṭrena no (MS. KS. mā) guṭrapvaḥ (TS. ṭpvaḥ) punantu RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. According to Roth, AVPp. also ṭpvaḥ.

devaṁ tvā savitā punāt vasoh pavitrenā ... suṇā (ApŚ. supnā) VS. SB. ApŚ.: devaṁ tvā savitotpunāt ... supnotpunāṁi Kauś. Prose.

§790. A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following:

arhan ṭidam dayase vīsēṃ abhevaṁ (TA. abhivam) RV. TA. The pāda occurs in a tristubh verse, and abhevaṁ was undoubtedly a disyllable in RV. In TA. it is reinterpreted as ab-bh(u)vaṁ ‘originating in water’, according to the comm.; see §392.
§791. Derivative i and u stems of the deri type. The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the y or v has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases. The first is the only case of an u stem:


asiknyā (TA. śniyā) marudānīhe vitastayā RV. TA. MahānU. N. sûro rathasya naptyah (ArS. naptryah, TB. śtriyāḥ) RV. AV. ArS. KS. TB.

ubhavat ārtyor (TS. śniyor) jyām VS. TS. MS. KS.
devo vanryo (VSK. vanrygo) ... VS. VSK. ŚB. KS. Prose.
dṛśino rukma urvyā (RV. KS. urviyā, MS. uruyā) vy adyaut (MS. vi bhātī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. This adverb is always spelled urviyā in RV.; the spelling uruyā (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS.; cf. next.

cakṣur ma urvyā (MS. uruyā; KS. urviyā) vi bhāhī VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose. Cf. prec.
apīparo mā rātṛyā (MS. rātryā) ahno mā pāhī TA. ApŚ, MS. Also:
apī śmāhno rātṛyai (rātṛyai) etc., same texts.
yad rātṛyā (MahānU. and v. l. of TA. rātryā) pāpam akārṣam (TA. v. l. akārṣam) TA. MahānU.: yad rātṛyāt kurute pāpam TAA. Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form.

rātṛyai (TB. śtriyai) kṛṣṇam piṅgākṣam VS. TB.
rātṛyai (TS. rātṛyai) tvā TS. KS. PB. Vait.
rātṛyai (TA. ApŚ. rātṛyai) mā pāhī TA. ApŚ. MS.
rātṛyai (TS. TB. rātṛyai) svāhā TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB.
viśnainsyā (TS. śpsniyā) viśeatas pari SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kauś.
Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form.

saṁvekṣayopaseṣya gāyatryai (TS. ApŚ. śtriyās) ... TS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ,
sa gāyatryā (TS. TB. śtriyā) triṣṭubhā ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ.
Kauś.
gāyatryai (TS. śtriyai, MS. KS. śtryā) gāyatram VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
mano gāyatryai (TB. ApŚ. śtriyai) VSK. TB. KS. ApŚ.

§791a. The following case is peculiar:

viliptī yā (viliptāḥ) bhaspate AV. (both). In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12. 4. 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical. Whitney would emend viliptī to viliptī yā; but this is unnecessary; viliptīyās would be a correct genitive form, depending on asniyāt of pāda c: ‘of the viliptī (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat’.
§792. Genitive-locative duals of short i and u stems. On these cf. Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write -yoḥ and -voh (rather than -iyoh and -uvoḥ) ‘durchweg’; the occurrence of the Tait. spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked. As Wackernagel observes, the y and v in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV.: 

\[ \text{indrāgniyoṛ (TS. ApŚ. } ^{\circ}\text{gniyoṛ)} \ldots (\text{prose formulas, see Conc.) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ayāḍ aṅgir } \text{indrāgniyoś} \ldots \text{TB.: ayāḍ } \text{indrāgniyoś} \ldots \text{MS. bāhuvor balam TS. TAA.: bahu } \text{bāhuvor balam AV.: bāhuvor balam Vait. MŚ. PG.}
\]

bāhvoś (TS. bāhwoś) tava hetayaḥ VS. TS.: hetayas tava bāhvoḥ MS. KS. patāṭi didyun naryasya bāhvoḥ (TS. bāhwoḥ) RV. TS. MS. KS. urbvor (TS. TAA. urbvor) ojaḥ AV. TS. TAA. Vait. MŚ. PG.

§793. The stem tanu and its type. The only form from another stem than tanu itself is the fem. accus. sing. sudravam (from *sudrū, fem. to su-dru), which is of course pronounced sudravam and is so written in SV.—The very numerous cases in which uv for v is written in forms of tanu in Tait. texts alone are not listed in full.

nemin tāṭeva sudravam (SV. sudravam) RV. SV. yasyai bahvis tanuvo vitapṛṣṭḥah TB.: yasyā bahvyas tanvo vitapṛṣṭḥah MS.

na ḍhavasmanas tanvi (TS. tanvi) repa ṛ dhuḥ RV. TS. tanūṣ tanvā (TS. TAA. tanvā) me saha AV. TS. TAA. PG. Vait.: tanūr me tanvā saha MŚ. The AV. mss. read \(^{\circ}\)me sahed antāḥ or the like; the vulgar presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl. Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse.

śaṁ tokāya tanuvec (SMB. tanvai) syonah TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG. Note that PG. has the characteristic spelling of TS. from which it here quotes (there is a v. l. tanvai).

tayā nas tanvā (TS. ŚvetU. tanvā) kāṁlamayaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU. NīlarU. Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubb, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form.


E. Verbal forms.

§794. The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous. A large group contains the participle suvāna, from su ‘press’, which is always
written thus in RV. altho pronounced svāna; SV. changes the spelling to match the pronunciation:
prā svānā (SV. svā) bhaddivesu (SV. devesu) harayaḥ RV. SV.
ḥyat somo vāyṛdhe svānā induḥ (SV. svāno adṛhiḥ) RV. SV.
soma u svānā (SV. PB. svā) sṛṛbhīḥ RV. SV. PB.
mitrāḥ svānā (SV. svānā) arepasaḥ RV. SV.
indre svānāsā (SV. svā) indavaḥ RV. AV. SV.
ā soma svānō (SV. svāno) adṛhiḥ RV. SV.
pari sya svānō aksāḥ (to be read aksāḥ, cf. Oldenberg Noten ad loc.)
RV.: pari sya svānō aksarati SV.: cf. pari sya svānō arvyam RV.
pari svānāḥ (SV. svā) caksiṣa devamānāḥ RV. SV.
pari svānāsā (SV. svā) indavaḥ RV. SV.
pari svānō (SV. PB. svāno) girīṣṭhāḥ (to be read ṭḥāḥ) RV. SV. PB.
svānā (SV. svānā) devvāsa indavaḥ RV. SV.
svānō (SV. svāno) arṣa pavitra ṛ RV. SV.
svānō (SV. svānair) yāti kavikrataḥ RV. SV.

§795. We have already referred (§767) to the Tait. spelling kṣiyani for regular kṣiyani, participle of root kṣi (kṣeti, kṣiyanti etc.), in defiance of meter:
pratī kṣiyantāṁ (TS. kṣiyantāṁ) bhuvanāṁ viśvā RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
SB.

ādiyasya vratam upakṣiyantāḥ (TB. kṣiyantāḥ) RV. MS. TB.

§796. Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait. texts show viyantu for vyantu (root vi) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical.
samidho agna ājyanṣya vyantu (TB. viyantu) MS. KS. TB.
akti (MS. MS. aptubhi, KS. arthaṁ) rihāṇā vyantu (TS. TB. KhG.
vyanṭu) vyayaḥ TS. MS. KS. TB. MS. GG. KhG.: vyantu vayo
ktam (VSK. ripto) rihāṇā VS. VSK. SB. KS. The comm.s on
both VS. and TS., followed by Keith, take the verb form from
vi + root i.
vaswanē vasudheṣyasva vyantu (TB. viyantu) VS. MS. KS. TB. AS. ŠŚ.
vyanṭu (TS. viyantu) deva harisva me asya TS. MS. KS.
vyantu (TS. viyantu) devir ya rur janinām RV. AV. TS. MS. N.
vyanṭu (TB. viyanto) ājyasya VS. MS. KS. TB.
uta gna yyanṭu (TB. viyanto) devapatniḥ RV. AV. MS. TB. N.
pibantu madantu (MS. tān) vyantu (TB. viyantu somam) VS. MS. TB.
prati na tīn surakṣitṛi yyanṭu (TS. viyantu) RV. TS. MS. KS.
lekaḥ salekāḥ...viyantu TS.: salīlaḥ salīgaḥ...vyanṭu MS. KS.

§797. In two prose variants Tait. texts, with VSK., read pronyvedā (above, §767):
svargaṇa lokena sampronyuvathām Vait.: svarge loke pronyuvathām (MS. ṭām, VSK. pronyvāthām) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: svarge (KSA.† svarge) loke sampronyuvathām (KSA.† ṭuva?) TS. KSA. TB.

§798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root hū (of the 6th, tud-class?) with e exchanging with u. The latter are commoner in most texts:
mano uv ā huvāmahe (Vait. ṛhi; VS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. huvāmahe) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. IŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. See VV I §2.
tam ahve (SV. u huve) vājasālaye RV. SV.
CHAPTER XVII. METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

1. Metathesis

§799. On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800. We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another: pālyāny (ApMB, kulpāny) āvapantikā AV. ApMB. Here mss. of both texts present both readings; and the variation between lp and ly may be considered graphic.

asmaddātrā deśatrā gachāta madhumatiḥ TS.: asmadrātā (MS. KS. ŚŚ. add madhumatīr or ६) deśatrā gachāta (KS. gachā) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. The TS. is doubtless secondary: ‘having us as givers’ means ‘given by us’ (so Keith translates; this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

yasyedam ā rajo yuṭāh AV. ArŚ.: yasyedam ā rajah AA.: yasyedam oja ārujah ŚŚ. See §244.

endraya ragnunā vahata PB.: vagnunendram āhvata TB. ApŚ.

§801. Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times:

yat ējati jāgati yac ca cēṭati nāmno (MahānU. nānyo) bhāgo yan (TAA. Poona ed. ‘yanī) nāmne (MahānU. yatnān me) svāha TAA. MahānU. In MahānU. v. l. mānvo for nānyo, and yan nāmne for yatnān me. The comm. understands ‘let that (all) be my (ātmānāh) portion by effort—no other’. TAA. comm. says nāman = paramātmān!

yatethayān śtri pautram aghāh na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: yathedaśīṃ śtri pautram aghāh na rodāt MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption: original, ‘that this woman may not weep over harm to her children’.

adha jīvī (AV. atha jīvīr, mss. jīvīr; ApMB. athā jīvī) vidathām ā vodāsi (RV. vadoṭhāḥ) RV. AV. ApMB. See §544.

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§802. More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants:

yena turyeṇa brahmānā bhṛaspataye 'pavathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva JB.;
yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye \^vapathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva KS. The original is \^vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS.,
trīr vasūbhyo 'pavathās etc. (see Conc.). If the JB. reading is
correct, it contains metathesis of p and v, with assimilation to the
following pavasva.

mitrāya kulipayān (MS. pulikayān) VS. MS. See §149, and next.
nākro makarāh kulipayas (TS. kulikayas, MS. pulikayas, KSA. pul-
rayas) te 'kāpārasya (KSA.† kūvarasya) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See
under prec.

svasti nah putrakṛṣṭeṣu (MG. pathyākṛṣṭeṣu, v. l. as RV.) yoniṣu RV.
AB. MG.

visāvakai bhūtāyādhwaro (KS. MS. bhūtāya dhrwo) astu devāh (TS.
\^dhware 'śi) TS. KS. ApŚ. MS.

abaddhāmn mano daridram cākṣaḥ sūryo . . . TS. KŚ. BDh.: adabdhām
mana īśiraṁ cākṣaḥ (MS. adabdhāṁ cākṣuḥ āriṣṭaṁ manaḥ) sūryo
. . . MS. ŚG.

gharmāṁ śocantah (AŚ. \^ta, ŚŚ. \^taṁ) pravaṇeṣu (AŚ. ŚŚ. pravaṇeṣu)
bhīkharaḥ AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

chandonaṁnaṁ (VSK. chandomāṇamāṁ, TS. \^manāṁ) sāṁrajaṁ
ghanetih (VSK. gchateād iti, MS. gchēd iti) . . . VS. VSK. TS.
ŚB. MS.

yad) rte (PB. ṣyākṣate) cid abhīśīṣaḥ RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ.

ye no divisanty anu tān rabhasaṁ AV. : yo no deveṣṭi tanāṁ rabhasaṁ MS.:
yo no deveṣṭi anu tam ravaśaṁ ApŚ. Here MS. transposes the syl-
lables nū-ta.

apa snehitīr (SV. sniḥitīṁ) nṛmaṇā adhatta (SV. adhad rāh, KS.† nṛma-
ṇāṁ adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: upa stūhi taṁ nṛmaṇāṁ (Poonā
ed. snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇāṁ) athadhrām TA. See §110. The KS.
reading looks like a metathesis of adhad rām,

oge daṁpaṁ punihī nah (TB. mā, MS. punīmahe) RV. MS. TB. The
MS. reading may be a metathesis of that of TB., which is secondary
to RV.

kāṁ te hiraṇyaṁ sam u santv (ApMB. sam u santv) ṇāpaḥ AV. KauŚ.
ApMB. See §277.

brahmādhīguptd (PG. brahmābhi", MG. brahmābhīgūrtam) svārā kṣaṇāṇi
(PG. surakṣitāḥ syām, MG. surākṣāṇāḥ, most mss. surārakṣāṇah)
AG. PG. MG. Evident corruption in MG.
divas (SV. divaḥ) prṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā (SV. ṭrohanti tejasā)
RV. SV. With change of surd c to sonant j, cf. §57.
vājaḥ ca prasavaḥ ... vasūḥ (TS. usuvaḥ) ca ... TS. KS. The syllables
va-su exchange position yielding suvaṣ (=svaṛ).

§803. When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the
result, if the vowel is a, is a diphthong in one of the forms. These
cases are related to §§747 and 748ff. above, q.v. The following are
instances of e (=ay, āy) varying with ya, yā:
arthāḥ ca ma emaḥ (VSK. me yāmaḥ; MS. ca mā ema) ca me VS. VSK. TS.
MS. KS.

vyṣṭidvānām (ApŚ. vyṣṭin devānām) amṛtaṃ svarvidam MS. KS. ApŚ.
aḷa yad dyāvo (AV. devā) amṛṇām ayaṇ (AV. āyaṇ) RV. AV.
āyur vāsāna upa vētu (AV. TA. yātu) kesāḥ (TA. keśam) RV. AV. TA.
īdānaṃ viśvam bhuvanam sam eti (AV. vi yāti) RV. AV. N. Synonymous
and related roots ś and yā.

ahorātreyuṣvāvī (VS. lyāvīve, TS. ahorātroyo vyṣṭyāḥ) ... VS. TS. MS.
See §840.

ahāṃ pitṛyā (AB. vai pitre, AŚ. ŚŚ. pitre) rāṣṭry ety (AV. GB. etc) agre
AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
tvayānaṃ vṛtraṃ vadhyāt (VSK. baḥ, VS. ŚB. badhē) VS. VSK. TS. MS.
KS. SB. Cf. VV I §175, and next.
ā mā stulasya stulam gamyāt (Vait. gamet) TS. Vait.: ā mā stotrasya
stotram gamyāt PB. See prec.

vanaspattih or adhi rāya eṣa (rāye aṣyāḥ) RV. (both)
gṛhtam eva (BDh. gṛhtam yava) madhu yavāḥ BDh. ViDh.

§804. Instances of o (=av, āv) and va, vā:
sinmāni cakraus tasāraṇy otave (AV. ovi vātave) RV. AV.
vaiṣṭhahansuh sīṅgīnis kṣayāhyām VS.: oṣīṣṭahanan sīṅgīnikṣyābhyaṁ
(TA. ʿkoṇa?') TS. TA.

sam etu viśvā (AV. tīrīve) vācasā (SV. ojasā) patim divaḥ AV. SV.
Roth quotes Pps. as reading oham ā-, evidently for ojasā. See §52.
parī ghranām omanā (TB. parighranasā vān manā) vān vayo gūt (TB.
gām) RV. MS. TB. N. Bad corruption in TB.

§804a. A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-
ablative forms of u-stems, such as madhoḥ: madheḥ. While this
concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following
examples here:

madheḥ (SV. madhoḥ) paṃvantā ārmayaḥ RV. SV.
madhvaḥ (SV. madhoḥ) parasa ḍhārayā RV. SV.
madhōḥ pibatām aśvinā VS. MS. ŚB. TA. LŚ.: madhvaḥ etc. RV. VS.
AŚ. ŚŚ.
madhvaḥ (SV. madhoḥ) pibanti gauryaḥ RV. SV. AV. MS.
madhoḥ cakānaś cāryaḥ madaya AV. SV.: madhevaḥ etc. AŚ. ŚŚ.
vasaḥ (TB. TA. MahānU. vasoḥ) kuṇḍa vanāṭi naḥ RV. KS. TB. TA.
MahānU.
§805. Instances of vi, vṛ, and yu, yṛ:
achā ma (SV. vṛ) ināmaḥ matayaḥ sarvīvaḥ (SV. svaryuvaḥ) RV. AV. SV.
GB. Vait.
adyā (also nṛvat) krṣṇi viṭaye (SV. ṛhy uṭaye) RV. SV. Cf. §743.
āvīṣī (MS. āvyuṣī) sarvā oṣadhiḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
nāḍya śatrūn nānu (ŚB. ṭna nu) purā vīvitse (ŚB. yugutse) RV. ŚB.
vivālaṁ (MS. KS. yuvalaṁ) chandaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
mā te vyoma (=vyoma or vioma; AV. yuyoma) vamāraḥ (AV. ular, LŚ.†
ular or ular) AV. AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG.
yajñān prāṇaya (TS. pra suva) devāvyaṁ (TS. MS. devāvyam) VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB.
devaḥyas tvā devāvyam (KS. devāvyam) prṇaṇmi etc. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
devaḥyas tvā devāvyam (VŚK. devāvyam) grhnāmi etc. VS. VS. ŚB.
prāsmāṁ ava pranāma pra vikṣu (TB. yutsu) RV. TB.
ukṭheḥyas tvoktaḥvyam grhnāmi KS.: ukṭheyebhya ukṭheyāvyam ApŚ.
varṣām (VS. varṣimā) ca me drāghimā (TS. drāghuva, MS. drāghma,
KS. drāgha) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS. See §764. TS. apparently
has a metathetized form for *drāghiva.

§806. With the following interchanges of ar and rā are to be com-
pared §§656ff. In fact the ar forms in the following concern the r
vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of a + r), or as guṇa deriva-
tives of a root in r:
tena rādhyāśam VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: tenardhyāsam
KS. SMB. The latter stands for tena rdh°; cf. §659.
agnau saṁrādhanāṁ yaje HG.: yaje saṁrādhanāṁ aham ŚB. BrhU.
AŚ. SMB. ApMB.: yujē (read yujē with most mss., Hillebrandt
p. 250) tamsamardham iḥ aham ŚŚ.
ahā arātim (AV. arātim) avidat (AV. ṛdah) syonam AV. TB. ApMB.

2. Haploology

§807. On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, PAOS 16.
xxxiv, AJP 17. 418; Wackernagel I pp. 278ff., where further references
may be found; we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV. 4. 5. 5, and other
references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplo-logy; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable.

§808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplogy:
prthivi vībhūvari (ApŚ. bhūvari) ... KS. ApŚ. This is a very clear case.
On the strength of the isolated ApŚ. form Boehtlingk (pw. 6. 304) set up a goddess Bhūvari, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective vībhūvari after prthivi.

vīśvāsyaṁ viśi pravivivāṇam (KS. ṭraviviśānam) imahe TS. MS. KS.: vīśo-viśah pravivivāṇam imahe AV. Lanman, in Whitney's Transl., has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplogy. But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also.
yā āste yaś ca carati (AV. yaś carati) RV. AV. The haplogy is again noted by Lanman.


egne 'dabdhāyo 'śīlatano ('śīlatano, 'śīlāma) pañhi ..., see §353.
yānī kānī ca cakṛma (ApŚ. mss. omit ca, by haplogy) MS. ApŚ.: cf. durīrīnī yānī kānī ca cakṛma MS.: durītā yānī cakṛma TS. TB. TA. (here not really haplogy; ca is needed only after kānī).
ye va (MS. omits ed) vanaspattir anus (MS. NilarU. ṭatūnām) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB. Supposed to be metrical even in MS., which is clearly haplological. In the same verse:
ye vaiśesu (MS. ṭKS. ye vaiśesu) sārate, same texts. Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing vaiśesu, but is nevertheless certainly haplological.


yad eva kīn cā pratijagrāhaḥ (TA. ṭagrāhaṃ) AV. TA. The TA. form (also found in Poona ed.) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplological.

naug vato 'vātī (AV. vātō vātī) RV. AV. Lanman notes the haplogy. yuyayātām ito rapo apa sridhaḥ RV.: yuyatām asmad rapo apa sridhaḥ TB. ApŚ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long ā.
an̄homuçe pra bharemā (AV. bherē) maniśām AV. TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 253.
anādhṛśā apasīyo vasānāh VS. MS. KS. ŠB.: anibhṛśā apasīyuvo vasānāh TS. See Keith on TS.
chandōnāmaṇāṁ (VSK. māṇānāṁ, TS. māṇāṁ) sāmrājyanā gacheti (with variants) ...VS. VSK. TS. ŠB. MŚ. ‘Lordship of the meters’ names or even of their ‘measures’ (on VSK. see §802) is better than ‘of the Chandomas’, a ritualistic slip.
yad ṭapsarādrūr uparasya (ApŚ. apsarārūparasya) khādāti KS. ApŚ. The latter corrupt:
guhā hitām nihiitām (KS.† omits ni?) gaheareṣu KS. MŚ.
namāḥ saṅgāve (TS.† saṅgāya, for ṣayā?) ...VS. TS. MS. KS. See §250.
yasyedam ā rajo yujāḥ AV. ArŚ.: yasyedam ṣ rajaḥ AA. Others, see §244.
viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhīcaṣte (MS. nā ni?) RV. MS. TB.: viśvāno bhuvanā vicaṣte AV.
parīdaṁ vāy jīnaṁ (PG. daṁ vājinaṁ) dadhe 'ham (HG. ajinaṁ dhatsvaṁ) ŠG. PG. HG. ApMB. The PG. is not construable.
[yo no agne niṣṭyo yo niṣṭyo ...KS. ApŚ. Conc. quotes ApŚ. as omitting the second yo; a modern haplology!]
§809. The following cases are less certain:
mama ca nāma tava ca (KS. once omits ca) jālavedāḥ KS. (both). The reading with ca is prose, the other metrical; this may account for the change, omitting ca (before jā-).
puru viśvāni jārvan RV.: puro rakṣāṇi niśjārvan AV. (Ppp. viśvāni-jārvan.) Whitney suggests viśvā niśjūrvan for RV.; Lauman, viśvāni ni?, assuming haplology. As Oldenberg (Noten on 1. 191. 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda; he would read jārvan.
svaṁ nabhrād aṣīgāre bambahēre ...MS.: svāna bhṛjāṇghāre bambahēre ...VS. TS. ŠB.; svāna bhṛā, anghārī bambahāriḥ TA.: svāna nabhrād anghāre bambahēre ...KS. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 7. 1; he suggests svāna nabhrāj as the original.

3. Dittology

§810. The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation:
kukānanānam (KS. kūtanānam, MS. pūtanānam) tvā ...VS. MS. KS. ŠB.: kotanāsu TS. Note double dittology in VS. ŠB.
namo babhluksya vyadhine (TS. vinyā°) VS. TS. MS. KS. Either form makes good sense; we assume that the majority have the original.

athem enam pra hinyutat pitṛbhyaḥ (AV. ṭītṛṇa upa); and:

athem enam (AV. athemam enam) pari datat pitṛbhyaḥ RV. AV. TA. See Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 4, 5. There is no doubt of the dittology in AV. (note the meter); in 18. 2. 5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss. and both editions. In 18. 2. 4 there is more variation in the mss., and SPP. reads athem enam with the comm.

deva (AV. deva vā) etasyām avadanta pūrve RV. AV. The meter proves AV. secondary, and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42. 127) also omits vā(i).

namo giriśāya (VS. ोṣayōya) VS. TS. MS. KS. The stems -śa and -ṣaya are both unexceptionable; probably the majority indicate the original.

na śim adeva āpat (SV. āpa lat) RV. SV. ŚŚ. The RV. has an aorist of āpat, to be read as a trisyllable. SV. tries to improve the meter; cf. VV 1 p. 138.

nirṛtīṁ nirjarjalpena (MS. nirjalpena, TS. nirjalmakena, KS. nirjālmakā-) ोṣṣa VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; VS. simulates an intensive from jalp.

ye te agra (MS. agra) indavo yā u nābhayaḥ (TA. uryunābhayaḥ, but Poona ed. u nā° with v. l. uryunā°) MS. KS. TA. The absurd corruption of some TA. mss. seems to be read by the comm. also; perhaps it was influenced by thought of uryanābhī 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here.

anhaspatīya (VS. ŚB. KS. anhasaspate) teā VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KS. Aps. Stem varying with genitive case form in composition.

rtr janirī tasya apas (GB. apasas) pari RV. GB. If GB. is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by pari (in RV. apas is governed by a verb in the next pāḍa, and pari governs tasyāḥ). But Gastra reads apas, with v. l. apasas.

tanūpā (TB. Poona ed. text and comm. tanuṇapā) ca sarasvati VS. KS. TB. See §195.

trir asmāi sapta dhenaavvaduduhre (SV. Svidh. ोhrē) RV. SV. Svidh. See VV 1 p. 170.

vṛṣa pavitre adhi sāno avye (RV.* avyaye) RV. (both) SV. TA. MahānU. N. Both avye and avyaya (from avya? or av?) are well known, and both are metrically possible; they are triṣṭubh and jagati forms of the same expression. But the latter occurs in a verse
(9. 86. 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (RVRep. 453), so that avye is probably original.

ājīṁ na girvāhā jiggur āsvāh SV.: ājīṁ na jagmīr girvāhā āsvāh RV.

For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV. the original. Against this Oldenberg, Noten on 6. 24. 6. The SV. form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann’s suggestion is unlikely.

§811. Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following:
nidhethāi . . . puruspaṁhaṁ (so KS. and TB. Poona ed., and p.p. of MS.; MS. text puruṣaspārhaṁ) yaśasvat MS. KS.† TB.†
tato vākā (TS. tataḥ pāvakā) āśīṣa no juṣṭantāṁ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ‘Holy words and prayers’ or ‘purifying prayers’; TS. spoils the meter. Dittoology with p for v.

tena yo ’smat (TA. *tenānyo ’smat) samṛcchātai (MS. mss. samṛcchātām) MS. TA. The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here. TA. repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change; the first version means ‘whoever comes against us therewith’, the second ‘whoever else’ etc.


4. Haplology or Dittology

§812. In a smaller group we find either haplology or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine. Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns mā and mām:

āyur brhat tad aśīṣa tan māvatu (MS. mām avatu) ApŠ. MŠ. tan mām āvīt TA. TU.: tan māvī MG.


§813. Other, miscellaneous cases:
vājajityāyai (KS. *jityai) tvā TS. MS. KS. ApŠ. MŠ. Stems jityā and jiti. While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive. KS. is probably on the whole the most original YV. text; only two other schools differ from it; and jiti is a much commoner stem than jityā, which latter seems to be found only in composition with vāja and āji.

aneśanā asya yā iṣavah (TS. KS. NīlarU. asyeśavah) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. The presence or absence of the articular relative makes little difference; and the meter is no better in one reading than in the other.

bharatam uddharem anuṣīṇca (MŚ. uddharema vanuṣanti) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §236, end. Either haplology in TB. ApŚ., or dittology in MŚ. which is in any case corrupt, with v for m.

anu no māṛṣṭu (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. anu māṛṣṭu) tanvo yad viriṣṭam (vīśa) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.
CHAPTER XVIII. FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814. Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

1. A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change

§815. In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation.

§816. We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable:

\[ fagāma sīra adhvāno vimadhāyam \] (AV. vi madhyām) RV. AV. Whitney rightly says that the AV. reading is a corruption of the other.

\[ oṣṭhahānam śīṅtīnakoṣyābhāyam \] (TA. okoṣabhyām) TS. TA.: oṣṭha- 
hanuh śīṅtī koṣyābhāyam VS. The VS. reading is very poor and 
perhaps should be emended.

\[ yatheyaiṁ stṝpautram aghāṁ na roḍāt \] SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: yathadāṁ 
strīpautram aganma roḍiyāya MG. See §801.

\[ aghoraghoratarebhyaḥ ca \] MS.: ghora ghoratarebhyaḥ TA. MahānU. 
Preceded by aghorebhya ‘tha gherebhyaḥ. The forms of Rudra are 
meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms. of MS. has two 
accents; but MS. p.p. takes it as one word, which seems likely to be 
original. TA. has two accents; yet its comm. understands one 
word, ‘more terrible than the terrible’, and Poona ed. prints it so 
(but with two accents!). Comm. on MahānU., however, takes 
ghora as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.

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manasaśpata imaṁ deva yaṣṭham (KS. devaṣṭham svāhā vāci) svāhā vāte dhāḥ VS. KS. ŚB. The variants in AV. 7. 97. 8 and TS. 1. 1. 13. 3, 4. 44. 3, have deṣevu yaṣṭham, which supports KS. in meaning. The separate deva yaṣṭham is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm. on VS., but the accentless voc. is indistinguishable from deva- as part of a cpd.).

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhā diivi devaṣṭhām (ŚŚ. devaṣṭhā) hotāṁ aśrayat (KŚ. ṣyat, TA. evayāsa, ŚŚ. aśrayāsa) svāhā ŚB. TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

§817. In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose:
yajur yuktam (TA.† yajuryuktam) sāmabhik ākāsham tva (MS. rka- khanṭā) MS. TA. Comm. on TA., 'provided with the yajus'. In MS. two accents: 'the yajus is joined' or the like.

madhu ṣaspair (MS. madhusaśpair) na teja āndriyam VS. MS. TB. In either case the word madhu is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding bheṣajam, or saśpair. MS. p.p. divides madhu ṣaspair as two words; Poona ed. of TB. prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm.)

madhu haviḥ (MS. madhuhaviḥ) asi MS. TA. ApŚ, MS. So according to the accents of MS. and TA. Probably MS. must be read madhuhaviḥ like MS.; Knauer separates the words because of the parallel hutam haviḥ in MS. 4. 3. 34; but MS. also reads hutam haviḥ in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with madhuhaviḥ, as one word. Cf. pree.

derabarhiḥ (KS. deva barhiḥ)  satavālaśam vi roha TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: atas tvaṁ deva vanasaśpate satavālaś (MS. tvam barhiḥ satavālaś) viroha VS. MS. ŚB. The latter version suggests taking deva barhiḥ as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc., so that the accent proves nothing; TS. p.p. takes it as one word. But Poona ed. of TB. prints it as two.

avivarta vo hi kām (TS. hikam; so printed also in KS.†) AV, TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. (as also that on TS.) as a single, compound particle. upa prākṣe (AA. ŚŚ. upapraķṣe) madhumati kṣiyantah SV. AA. ŚŚ. Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two. For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA. Transl., p. 285 n. 7. Keith's text of AA. prints upa prākṣe with most mss., but against comm., who understands upapraķṣe as a prepositional cpd., 'near the prakṣa'. Cf. also the infinitive (?) upapraķṣe, RV. 5. 47. 6.
names te rudra rūpebhyo namah MS.: namas te astu rudrarūpebhyaḥ TA. MahānU. 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage': 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'.

śiva viśvāha bhesajī (TS. ॐḥbhesajī, VS. ॐḥ bheḥ; MS. ॐḥ [p.p., ॐḥ] bhesajā) V8. TS. MS. KS. There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not.

devā (AV. dāivā, KS. trayā) saḥ urvīr (TS. p.p. saḥurvīḥ; and so Conc. assumes for ApMB. HG.) uru nāḥ (TS. ApMB. nāḥ, KS.† nās) kṣṇota RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB. HG. The words are voc. and there are no accents. RV. and AV. p.p. interpret as two words, which seems more natural. No doubt all texts except possibly the Tait. school separate saḥ urvīr.

deva purāṇocara sahīsānī (MS. devapuraṇa carasā rdhyāsanī) tvā MS. TA. ApŚ. MS. See §147, and §§38. MS. p.p. divides deva from punaḥ (which it reads by error for puraḥ).

īmān su nāvam āruhām TS. KS. ApŚ.: sunāvam ā ruheām VS. (pratīka PG.)

pra su (HG. sa, read su) mṛtyun (SMB. sumṛtyam) yuyotana SMB. ApMB. HG. The reading of ApMB. is original.

apa (AV. ava) sveta padā jahi AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: apaḥ svetapadā ā jahi MG. Read apaḥ sveta padā in MG.; there is no good ground for Kanuer’s editing of the text. See his note and comm., and our §134.

2. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818. Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form. Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts:

stomatrayastraṇīśe bhvanasya patni TS. KS. AŚ.: stomas trayastraṇīśe bhvanasya patnī MS. The latter corruptly turns the voces. into noms., apparently making stomas subject and patnī predicate, despite the divergence in gender.

vānmanasačaksuḥśrotajihvāghāvāʾrāṣṭrobuddhyākūtisahāṇkalpa (TA. TAA. ॐākūtīḥ sahāṇkalpā) me śudhyantām TA. TAA. MahānU. See §383. karīrāṃ yaṃṣaṣamalaṁ (MahānU. yaṃṣaḥ kaṇ) kuṣītām tasmin sīdatu yo śman dveṣṭi TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. The latter is clearly second-
ary; comm. makes सर्विस यज्ञव the sentence, ‘the sacrifice is the body’. On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS.

gaur dhenubhavya (HG. dhenur bhavya) ApMB. HG. The meaning is the same, ‘that is to become a milch cow’; but the compound dhenubhavya seems to be the standard expression.

tam vidyaṁ brahmayoniṁ svaritaṁ (VaradapU. brahmayonisra) NrpU. VaradapU. ‘The identical womb of brahman’, or ‘which is identical with the womb of brahman’; either is possible.

adhrṣṇam dhṛṣṇauprasam (SV. dhṛṣṇum upasam) RV. AV. SV. ‘Of irresistible strength’: ‘irresistible in strength’.

mithucarantam (KS. mitha, TS. mithā car, AV. mithuyā car) upayati (AV. abhiyati) dūṣyan AV. TS. MS. KS. There is really no way of deciding the original.


devaṁ ṛnte vivasvan āditya te no devaḥ..., MS.: vivasvat aditir devajatis te na āditya... TS.: dīvo jyotir (and, jyotir) vivasa āditya te no deva... KS. Both parts of the epd. are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words.

syona mātraratramadah (TS. terad madah) TS. MS. KS. The TS. may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural: ‘kindly enter into me as food and drink’. But it is probably a lect. fac. for the other: ‘kindly enter into me as Iraṇmada (Agni, lightning?)’.

rtaprajata (MS. uta pra) bhaga id vaḥ syama TS. MS. The latter is secondary but intelligible; §641.

sarvasmād devakilbīṣat (IŚ. eva ki, VS. devakīb) RV. VS. MS. IŚ. ApŚ.: viṣasmod deva MS. The IŚ. is secondary but sensible; §402.

[taṇḍrāsūrah (KSA. taṇḍrāsaurūḥ) netaalmaṇa (KSA.† syamala) tūparah TS. KSA. Conc. quotes KSA. us aṇḍrāḥ saurūḥ.]

[anyavratasya (TA. anyddora, printed by Conc. as anyad era; the accent proves that it is a epd., tho the comm. seems to take it as two words) saśima (RV. saśīre, TA. saśīmaḥ, Poona ed. 6ma) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.]

§819. In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original:

svāhā yajñam manasah (KS. 2. 3 yajñamanasah) VS. MS. KS. †2. 3 and
23. 5, ŠB. ApŚ. KS. MŚ. A verb like ā rahe is understood; the accus. yajñāna is necessary to the sense, and KS. 2. 3 should be so corrected. In 23. 5 KS. has correctly yajñān ma (not noted in Cone.). ‘(I take) sacrifice from mind.’
māgadhah puṃscatī kitavaḥ klībo 'sūdrā abhrāmanās (VSK. puṃscatī klīvaḥ kitavo 'sūdrābrāmanās) te prājāpatyāḥ VS. VSK.
śataksaraḥ chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ.: šatakṣaracandasa jāgatena KauŚ. In KauŚ. v. l. šatakṣaraḥ. The original reading of ApŚ. (cf. §511) makes the adjective agree with ayaṁ sraveo preceding; with change to šata, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with chandaśa.
dahram (v. l. daharam) vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam (MahānU. vipāpmam varam veṣma) TA. MahānU. The Poona ed. of TA. reads vipāpmam vara, with v. l. vipāpmavara. MahānU. also has v. l. varaveśma. The most plausible original seems to be dahram vipāpmam varaveśmabhūtām. This is stylistically better than vipāpmavara, an awkward compound.
dodhad ratnaḥ (AŚ. ratṇaḥ) dakṣamā pitṛbhya (AŚ. ŚŚ. dakṣapit) āyuni (AV. āyūṇi) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless AV. is original. The edition of AŚ. separates dakṣa from pr, evidently regarding it as a voc.
indraḥ pāśena ṭaksikā vah (HG. pāśena vah ṭaksikā) ApMB. HG.: indra-pāśena vahā PG. See note in Oldenberg’s Translation of HG, aśloṣa (AV. comm. asro) aṅgār (TA. aṅgār) ahrutāḥ (TA. ahlā̆̂̊̃, Poona ed. ahrulāḥ, v. l. tā) svarge AV. TA. ‘Not lame in their limbs’, or ‘with not-lame limbs’. AVPpp. agrees with TA., but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in Ppp.; meter indicates that the other version is original.
rudra yat te krayā (VS. KS. krivi, VSK. kravi, MS. MŚ. giri-) param nāma tasmai (VS. MS. ŠB. tasmin) hutam asi VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.
yasya (ApMB. vy asya) yonin prati reto (ŚG. patireto) gṛhāya (ŚG. gṛhāya) ŚG. ApMB. HG. patireto looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one.
ṣaḍ id yamā (TA. ṣaḍ udyaṃ) ṛṣayo devaśā iti RV. AV. TA. N. Apparently TA. must understand udyaṃ as an adjective.

3. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820. In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes
in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form; sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word:

\textit{vr̥ṣṭidyāvānam} (ApŚ. \textit{vr̥ṣṭiṁ devānām}) \textit{amṛtam} \textit{svaṁtab} MS. KS. ApŚ. The original of MS. KS. means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rainy, heaven-finding'; the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ. by a lect. fac. the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

\textit{paraśvapnamukhāḥ śucāḥ} AV.: \textit{paraśvapna mukhā kṛdhī} KS. 'Away the dream-faced pains': 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances).' But KS. may intend a compound.

\textit{indrāśūrā janayan viśvakarmā} TB.: \textit{indrā sūrā prathamā viśvakarmā} AŚ. Comm. on TB. takes \textit{indrā sūrā} as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as noms. sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a devatā dvandva, object of \textit{janayan}. The whole verse is pretty low bathos. AŚ. has a lect. fac.


\textit{agni tvāṁkāmayā} (SV. \textit{tvāṁ kāmaye}) \textit{girā} RV. SV. VS. The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect. fac. SV. introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next: 'O Agni, I desire thee with song'.

\textit{revatī prṛdhā . . . revatī yajamāne priyāṁ dhā . . . revaṁī yajñapatiṁ priyādhāvīśata}, see §747.

\textit{āre satrūn} (AV.\textit{āre sātrānuḥ}) \textit{kṛṣṇiḥ sarvavīraḥ} (AV. \textit{ārām}) AV. TS. AŚ. SS. MS. 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV., doubtless original: 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect. fac. The AV. comm. stumbles over the form and understands two words.

\textit{ugramaśāya} (MS. \textit{ugrāṁ paśyāc}; TB. \textit{dūrepāśya}) \textit{ca rāstrabhir ca tānī} MS. TB. TA.: \textit{ugramaśāye ugraṁjaiva tad adya} AV. In this and the next MS. is hopelessly corrupt; note accents.

\textit{ugramaśāye} (MS. \textit{ugrām paśyād}) \textit{rāstrabhir kilbiṣānī} AV. MS. TA. Cf. prec.

\textit{āsannisīṁ hṝṣvāso mayobhūṁ} RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: \textit{āsann esām apsuṁko mayobhūṁ} SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange epd. \textit{āsann-īsīṁ} 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV. means: 'carrying water in their mouths'.
mama padyāya vi rāja ApMB.: mayi dohah padyāyai virājaḥ (MG. adds kalpatām) AG. HG. MG.: mayi padyāyai virājo dohah ŚŚ. ŚG. PG. The original is virājaḥ, gen. of virāj.

[subhāgānikaravā] mama AV.: subhāgaṁ karaṇaṁ mama SMB. But Jörgensen properly prints SMB. subhāgaṁkaraṇam, as one word.]

§821. In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original:

sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi SV. JB.: sarūpavārṣa ehi MS. In the latter nom. of stem sarūpavārṣa (with sandhi peculiar to MS.). The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives.

pari ghrāṇsam omanā (TB. parighraṇśa vām manā) vāṁ vayo gāt (TB. gām) RV. MS. TB. N. Hopeless corruption in TB. See §828.

agnir hotā prthiyey antarikṣham ĀŚ. ApŚ.: agnihotram prthivim antarikṣam MŚ. The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding pāda: ukhāṁ sravantim agaṇām akarma.

pari doṣād udarpithaḥ KŚ.: parītoṣāt tad arpitā ApŚ. See §63.

mā rudriyāso abhi gubhādhanāḥ (TA. gur vṛdhānāḥ) MS. TA.: mā no rudrāso adhīgur sadhe nu (mss. nūḥ) MŚ. See §§209, 260; MS. has a gross corruption.

sahasradhārah vṛṣabham divo duhuḥ (SV. divoduham) RV. SV. Verb form in RV.: 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked'.

SV.: 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'.

uror ā no (VS. SB. LS. pururāno) deva rīgas pāhi VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. LS. See §371a.

4. Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822. In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'); or the reverse. The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841–850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater; there is no hard and fast line between them.

§823. Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original. In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question:

apsarasāv anu dottāṁ rṇānī (AV. rṇaṁ nah) AV. TB. TA.: apsarasaṁ anudattāṁrṇāṁi MS. (p.p. anu, dattāṁ, rṇānī). Either the plur. rṇānī, or the sing. rṇaṁ with the pronoun nah, is quite satisfactory.
vratāni (MS. TB. ApŚ. vratā nu) bijhrad vratapā adābdhah (TB. ApŚ. SŚ. SG. adābhyaḥ) MS. AB. TB. AS. SŚ. ApŚ. SG. In MS. etc. the older or hieratic form vratā is patched by the particle nu; in the other the alternative form vratāni is used.
mā mā yūnarvā ĥāsit (JB. yono vān kārastāh) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms incomprehensible.

§824. In the following form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word. Here may be mentioned RV. 4. 20. 9b (also in KS., where there is no evidence as to the division intended), yuṣa kṣotā muhu kā cid rṣvaḥ; read muhkā with Ludwig and Conk., cf. Oldenberg, Noten ad loc.

jāmīṁ (KS. ācami) mā hīṁsir amuyā (MS. amu yā) kāyānā KS. TB. ApŚ. MS.: mā jāmīṁ mosīr amuyā kāyānām AV. Acc. to AV. comm. the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed; amuyā is adverbial. The MS. variant makes kāyānā refer to jāmīṁ, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees.

gaurī (AV. gaur in, TB. TA. gaurī) mimāya salilāni takṣatt RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

dhruvāsah (TB. ApŚ. dhrvā ha) parvatā ime RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

stāvān (VS. TS. KS.ŚB. avā no) devyā kṛpā (VS. ŚB. dhiyā) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.ŚB.

mā rudrīyāso abhi gulbadhānāh (TA. gur vṛdhānāh) MS. TA.: mā no rudrāso adhīgar vadhe nu (mss. nuḥ) MS. Altho the MS. reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect. fac. TA. accents wrongly vṛdhāʾnuḥ, and its comm. takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (vṛdhāmānāḥ)! Cf. §821.

yo rayiva (SV. rayiṁ vo) rayintamaḥ RV. SV. KB. SŚ. SG. VHDh. Benfey ignores the uninterpretable vo in his translation, taking rayiṁ as accus. of specification.

rśīnāṁ putro abhiśastipāvā (TB. ०pā ayam, AV. ०pā u) AV. VS. ŚB. TB. See §740.

bhuvā kṛśīnām (AV. gr°) abhiśastipāvā (AV. ०pā u) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See prec.

ya usriyā apiyā (SV. api yā) antar abhimanah (SV. əni) RV. SV. See §785.
SV. misunderstands and misdivides the epithet apiyā ‘of the waters’,
achāyam eti (KS, əyām yāntī) savasā ghṛtena (AV, ghṛtā cit, KS. ghṛtācit)
AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The AV. reading looks secondary to that
of KS., which has an adjective agreeing with srucah, the subject of
yāntī; ghṛtā can only be construed as an accus. of goal after eti,
whose subject is Agni.
dīvāk cid antām (RV. antānī) upamām (RV. əmā; TA. upa mām, so AV.
v. 1. adopted by Whitney, and comm.) ud ānat RV. SV. AV. TA.
While RV. is of course original, the AV. TA. reading is not bad:
even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me’. This
should doubtless be read in SV.
te brahma-lokeṣu (TA. əlokē tu) parāntākāle TA. MahānU. MunḍU.
KaivyU.
viprasya dhārayā kavih RV.: vipraḥ sa dhārayā sutaḥ SV. See §189.
somaḥ sutasya madhvaḥ RV.: somaḥ sutaḥ sa madhumān SV. See §189.
na vai svetasyādyagāre (AG. svetā ca bhagyāgāre; others all svetasyā-)
AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Secondary but intelligible reading in
AG.; see §188.
ubhāv indrā (ŚB. indro) udīthāḥ sūryāḥ ca VS. ŚB.: aya(h)sthūyam
(ənāv) udīthā (ətāv) sūryasya RV. TS. MS. KS. See §188.
urvāṇi gavyām pariṣadanta agman RV. KS.: urvāṇi gavyām pariṣadanta
no akraṇ AV.
agama yatra pratirānta (MG. prataram na) āryaḥ RV. AV. MG.
sugantuḥ karma karanaḥ kariṣyan JB.: sugantī tvatī karmaḥ karanaḥ
karaḥ karasnyuh LŚ. See §739.
apa snehitir (SV. snihitīn) nṛnyād adhata (SV. adhad rāh, KS. nṛny-
āryn adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: upa stuhi tam nṛnyām athadrām
(Poona ed. varies) TA.
svaṁ taksā hanti cakri vai (HG. cakrīṇaḥ) ApMB. HG. Very obscure
passage; HG. seems to approach closer to a sensible reading.
ṛtena (MG. rtē ‘va’) sthūnām (ənāv, ənā) adhi roha vaṇśa (MG. vaṇśa)
AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Knauer says ‘wohl nicht rtē
iva’; yet that would seem to give better sense than rtē ava. In any
case MG. is secondary.
svarvaj (AV. svar yaj) jyotir abhayam svasti RV. AV.
grāmyamaṅkirdadāsakau ApŚ.: grāmyam maṅgirdadāsakau MS.: vyāgh-
raṁ maṅgirdadāsa gauḥ Vait. See §49.
§825. In verbal endings (cf. §827):
svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (MG. dadhātu naḥ) RV. KS. AB. MG.
See VV I p. 281.
pra su (HG. sa) mṛtyumā (SMB. sumartyamā, MG. prathamam artiṁ) yuyotana (MG. yuyotu naḥ) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.
viśevā hu tvāhutaṁ yasvaḥ... Prāṇāgū: viśevān tvāṁ ahūtayā ca...
MU. Read viśantu; see §371.

kriyanta (TB. priyā ta, so divide) ā barih śida RV. AV. KS. TB.
dāivyā (AV. 9vā) hotīro (TS. 9ra, AV. 9raḥ) vanuṣanta (TS. vanā, KS. viṇiṣan na, AV. vaniṣan na) pūrve (AV. KS. etat) RV. AV. TS. KS. vasūni cāur (cārye, cāryo, cāyyo) vi bhajāsi (SMB. bhṛjāsī, HG. bhajā sa) jīvan AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Cf. VV I p. 96.

jātavedo nayā hy (read nayāsya?) enam sukrtaṁ yatra lokāḥ JB.: jātavedo vahemāṁ (ŚŚ. vahavainaṁ) sukrtaṁ... TA. ŚŚ.

§§26. In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older; a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change:
samudreṇa (and 9dre na) śindhavo yādamānāḥ RV. (both). Read samudre na in both; Bloomfield, JAOS 27, 77 ff., RVRep. 197;
Oldenberg, Noten on 3. 36. 7.

tviśam indre na (MS. indreṇa) bheṣajam VS. MS. TB. Bathos in either case; but MS. p.p. īndre, na. VS. comm. says that na means ca! spardhante dhīyāḥ (divāḥ) śurya na (SV. śure na, TS. KSA.† śuryena) viśāḥ RV. SV. TS. KSA. Change to instr. in TS. KSA. because this is the case naturally construed with spardh-.

neva māṁse na pibasi AV.: naive māṁsena pīvati PG.: na māṁseṣu na snāṇavu ApMB. Perhaps PG. should be divided māṁse na; at least this is the original reading.
samarṣaṁ sa yudha indro gaṇesu RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: saṁṛṣṭau yutev īndro gaṇesu MS. 'This Indra the joiner of battle'; 'Indra in the joined battles'.

trīṁ padāni (padā) niḥita guhāṣya (TA. MahānU. guhāṣu) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Pronoun asya replaced by loc. ending -su.
māteva pūtraṁ bibhṛṭaḥ sv (VS. ŚB. 9tāpu) enat (TS. KS. enam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to waters; hence the secondary reading apeu.

idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS. 9rakṣobhiḥ) sam śāhāmi (TS. saṁ dāhāmi) TS. MS. (bis) KS. MS. See §383.

āvat tam (TA. Cone. prāvaratam, comm. and Poona ed. text āvartam) indraḥ bacyā dhāmantam RV. AV. SV. KS. TA. The sole ms. of KS. also reads āvaratam (ed. emends). TA. comm. interprets as a gerund (ārvya).

samid dhīyāṁ abhyāṁ naḥ (MS. abhyānāḥ) svarvit (TS. suvarṣ) TS. MS.
KS. AŚ. ApŚ. Both accent and sense show that no pres. mid. pple. (masc.) can be intended, altho MS. p.p. does not divide the word.

yañā no (MS. yājñāno) devo (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. devān) ajarah svirah MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: bhavā no dāto ajarah svirah ŚŚ. ŚG. Again (cf. prec.) the accent shows that MS. p.p. is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable.

vi ca naṣan na iṣo arātayah RV.: vi cid aṣnāṇā iṣayo arātayah SV. Benfey renders SV. 'devoured' (root aṣ 'eat', middle pple. in passive sense). It is a Verballhornung; the orig. itself is rather obscure; vi-naṣ is peculiarly used.

yato bhayām abhayām tan (KS. 35. 1c abhayatvan) no astu (AV. ed. asti, misprint) AV. KS.* TB. ApŚ. MS.

imam indra vardhaya kṣaṭriyām me (TB. kṣaṭriyaṁ) AV. TB. Kauś. viṣṇuvarṇā (TB. 3vān) abhāṣāśtriṛā (TB. 3pā vām) MS. TB. Followed by devā yañajanta haviṣa gṛtena. 'O V. and V., let the 'gods' (TB. comm. tviṣaḥ) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc. The variant form must be dual, and as MS. can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem 3pāva, or irregularly from 3pāvan), we assume that TB. is orig.

bhāṣpataye (MS. 3pate) mahiṣa (TS. mahi ṣad) dyumant namah AV. TS. MS. Comm. on AV. agrees with TS., which has the correct reading; see §392.

dātan cec chikṣaṁ sa svarga eva AV.: dātum cec chaknāvānsāh (so, with double accent, Calc. ed.) svarga esāṁ TA. For the latter read chaknāvān (or better 3vān) så with Poona ed.; see VV I p. 165.

purastā (AB. puras tvi) sarve kuruṃhare AB. ŚŚ. See §365.

sumitraḥ soma no (Kauś. sumano) bhava RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś.

stomo yajñaṣ ca (TB. yajñasya) rūdhya haviṃmatā (TB. 3taḥ) RV. TB. See §188.

arepasah (ApŚ. adds samokasah) ... citē goḥ (SV. citā goḥ, ApŚ. cidākoh) SV. AV. APŚ. MS. See §47.

turaḥ cid viśvam īrṇavat tapavān AV.: durau ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ RV.

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam ī RV.: tvām arbhasya haviṣuḥ samānam ī SV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

anupāvavih yatamāṇā yati śīha (AV. stha, TA. yatiṣṭa) RV. AV. TA. See §86.

agnē viśataṃ antar ā (LŚ. antaram) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ. VHDh. Assimilation in LŚ. to viśatam.
a no yāhi (also, a yāhi) tapasā janeṣu (MS. jānīṣvā; SS. janeṣu a) MS. AB. AŚ. SS. The accent proves MS. wrong; it seems to presuppose janeṣu a.
§827. Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf. §825):
ṣrutā juhula no (SS. juhulanā) harivā TB. SS. ApŚ.
tigmāyudhāya bharatā ēṣnotu naḥ (TB. ēṣnotana) RV. TB. N. Assimilation of form to the preceding bharatā in TB.
yathayām strī pautram aphaṇa na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. APMB. HG.: yathedaṃ strīpautram agamna rudriyāya MG. See §801.
āppho 'si santhṛṇaḥ (ApŚ. āppṇoṣi santhṛṇa) ... SS. ApŚ. The latter inferior.
ramadhvan mā bibhita mat (Kauś. bibhitana) AV. Kauś.
pratno hi (TA. pratnoṣi) kam īdyo adhvareṣu RV. AV. TA. See §299.

5. First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828. Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa. In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary:
śūro nṛṣṭā śavaṇaḥ (SV. MS. śra°) cačānaḥ (SV. ca ṭkāme) RV. SV. TS. MS. Assimilation in SV. to the preceding loc. nṛṣṭā; 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'.
vasavā caṅgīṣṭha vasudhātaraḥ ca AV.: vasūṣ cetiṣṭha vasudhātamaḥ ca VS. TS. MS. KS. The bad meter and feeble sense of AV. show that it is a corruption of the other; moreover Ppp. agrees with the other texts (Barret, JASS 42. 108).
śukrāṁ vayanty asuṇāya nirṇījam RV.: śukrā vi yanty asuṇāya nirṇīje SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura'; 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'.
nadāyī vīvatarayaḥ śaṇa indraḥ RV.: na deva vrtaḥ śaṇa indraḥ SV. The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV. seem to be Indra's horses; lect. fac. in SV.
asūrtī (MS. KS. 8tā) sūrtī rajasa niṣṭē (MS. 8tā; KS. na sattā) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: asūrtā sūrtā rajasa vimāne TS. Here na seems to be the comparative particle; it is of course secondary.
āryo naśanta (SV. naḥ santu) sanīṇanta (SV. 8tā) no dhiyaḥ RV. SV.
Again a lect. fac. in SV. (santu taken with preceding, ‘devoured ... be our foes’).


ailahrdā (MS. *mrdā, KS. aiyamrdā) yayudhaḥ (VS. āyuryudhaḥ, MS. vo yudhaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. See §241.

pari ghrnaaim omam (TB. parighraamsa vām manā) vām vayo gat (TB. gām) RV. MS. TB. N. The original: ‘he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength’. Corruption in TB.

dame-dame suṣṭya (TS. ॐtir, MS. ॐti, AŚ. SS. ॐtir) vaerdhänā (AV. ॐnau, AŚ. SS. vām iyānā) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. SS. See §236.

amanmahid aṇāsavah (PB. ॐhit tad āsavah) RV. AV. PB.

brahmmane bhopah bhyanujñātā (MahānU. hy anu*) TA. MahānU.

tam ahu (SV. u hwe) vājasatyae RV. SV.

tilvā (misprinted tilvalā) stām irvavatim AG.; tilvālā sthājiravati SG.; tilvalā sthāravati MG.; tilvālā syād irvavati APMB. A desperate passage; all forms corrupt. Oldenberg (on SG., p. 144) suggests something like sthāvaravati for the original. In APMB. a mistaken rationalization; a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address.

[pria yaḥ satraca (TB. Conc. sa vācā) manasā yajāte (TB. ॐtai) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. satraca.]

§829. In the rest the form with the two words seems to be the original: adya maṁara sa hyaḥ samāna (MS. sahyah samānah; p.p. sah, hyah, san, an) RV. AV. SV. MS. TA. N. The MS. makes no sense, and its p.p. gives the true reading.


sa dahan (GB. sadanān) pradaahan niv (GB. v) agāh GB. Vait. One ms. of Vait. has the same absurd reading as GB.

śa praśūr (SG. suprasūr) dhenukā (HG. ॐga) bhava AV. SG. APMB. HG. garbe (MS. ॐbhāh) saṁ (VS. SB. san, KS. MS. san*) jāyaḥ punah RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. But it is likely that MS. KS. really intend san (so MS. p.p.).

sa eva jātaḥ (TA. MahānU. sa vijāyamānāḥ) sa janisyaṃmānāḥ VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

svasāra āpo abhi gā uṇāsan (SV. udā?) RV. SV. See §60.

igne yāhi dūyamānāṃ yadhanyāḥ (TB. ॐyām vāriṣyanyāḥ) RV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §225.
tan ma jinwa TS. MS.: tan mārjītā KS. See §354. KS. probably secondary.
amūn ma īṣāṇa, and: sarvalokāni ma īṣāṇa VS.: amun maniṣāṇa, and: sarvasi maniṣāṇa TA. The form īṣāṇa can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from icchati: 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)', ..., 'every world'. TA. has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending ānā!), as if from the aorist of root maṇ; comm. prayaccha.
dā samudrā (KS. dīn ugrā, TS. ApŚ. āsmīn ugrā) acucyo vāh TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS. seems clearly secondary.
apām na yanty (SV. apo nayanta) ārmayāh RV. SV. 'Like streams of water go (the somas)'; '(the somas) lead on the waters'.
upākṛtānī kaśamānaṁ yad asthāt (MS. sadhasṭhāt, v. l. sad asthāt) AV. TS. MS. MS. If sadhasṭhāt is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on upākṛtām.
pariṣṭāha kṛṣyasi ApMB.: pariṣṭāha kṛṣyasi HG. The true reading is kva īṣyasi, or more properly ēṣyasi, 'whither wilt thou go'? The HG. has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root klīṣ (thinking of klīṣ).

6. Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§830. Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once. That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa; often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original:
tad vipro abraśvād udak (ŚŚ. u tot) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.
av (RV. abhi, MS. ā vah [text vah preceded by haviṣā], VS. ŚB. rācā)
somāḥ nayāmasi (RV. mṛṣāmasi, VS. ŚB. avanayāmi) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
sanān (KS. sa tvam) sanān sa vimeucā vimuśca KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The secondary KS. reading may be graphic.
yamasya dūtāḥ śvapād vidihaśa VA.: yamasya dūtā ca vāg vidihaśati MS. See §145.
satyam (SV. ApŚ. sa tvam) vṛṣaḥ vṛṣed asa RV. SV. ApŚ.
ivāma ha (AV. aha) prāsūnyati AV. ŚŚ. ŚG.
pra ya (SV. na) ānā mahu tanā (SV. tu nah) RV. SV.
samyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MS. sam it, KS.* sarit) svavanti sarito
(TAA. Conc. °tā; Poona ed. text and comm. °to) na dhenāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* ŠB. TAA. KS. ApŚ.* MŚ. The second reading of KS., sarit, tho given by all mss., is evidently a mistake for sam it, which is secondary to samyak.

nyaū (AV. ni yan) ni yandy uparasya niṣkṛtam (AV. °tim) RV. AV. KS. tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV.: sa īṁ (TS. ī) mandrā suprayasāh (TS. mandrāsu prayasāh, MS. mandrā suprayasā starīman) VS. TS. MS.: staṇī mandras suprayakṣuḥ KS. As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt; but sa īṁ (ī) looks like a secondary lect. fac. for some single word (as in AV. KS.).

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original:

idān ta ekāṃ para u ta (TB. ApŚ., but not KS., uta) ekam RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm. on TB. uta, api ca; but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (uta ekam, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was u ta (te).

sa tā (SV. sato) dhanāni kāriṇe na pra yanat RV. SV. 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer'; 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer'. The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV.

kavir yaḥ putrah sa īm ā (TA. Conc. sā īmāḥ, Poona ed. text and comm. sa īmā) ciketa RV. AV. TA. N. Comm. on TA. īmā, eśāni drśya-
mānāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni.

vidyāṁ yām u ca (ŚŚ, uta) vidmasi AB. ŚŚ.

ā yaṁ (MS. MŚ. āyan) narāḥ sudānava dadākṣe RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. The corruption of MS. is indicated by the fact that the verb ācuyavuḥ in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent.

ku śṭhah ko vām aśvinā RV.: kūṭhoh devām aśvinā RV. It is universally recognized that RV. must be read kū śṭho.

utem (SV. ātim) arbhe havāmahe RV. AV. SV. MS. uta-im: ātim, 'aid'. mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV.: miṃān na vātā vi ha vātī bhūma RV. ā tvā (AV. emāṁ, ŠG. emāṁ) parisrūtaḥ (AG. āritāḥ, MG. āritāḥ) kumbhah (APMB. Škumbhah, ŠG. kumbhāyā) AV. AG. ŠG. PG. APMB. MG.

tev ā (SV. tevā) bhāsanāt vedhasāḥ RV. SV. Note resolution of e to ay. swāyopatir yadv ārdhe SV.: svarpatir yad īṁ ārdhe RV. AV.

sarvah sarvā vi caratu prajānān MS.: sa vaḥ sarvāh sam carati prajānān AV. The MS. p.p. saḥ, sarvāḥ; in the samhitā text stupid assimilation to the following word.
7. Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa

§382. We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more shorter words; or vice versa. Excluded are divisions of compounds into parts, which have been treated above. First come cases in which the longer word is original:

*balim icchanto vitudasya (AG. vi tu tasya, v. i. vidurasya) presyāḥ (MahānU. AG. presīḥāḥ) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.*

*upānasaḥ tāsaṃyam RV.: uпо nu sa tasāmyam SV. Indra is meant; SV. has obvious earmarks of secondariness.*

*yad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB. ma iha na) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.*

As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (mehanā, adv.) is broken up into a series of harmless particles in SV.

*na me (so read, §681) tad upadambhiṣār . . . MS. MŚ.: na ma idam upadambhiṣaḥ (once erroneously udam bhiṣaḥ) . . . ApŚ. A simple and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint.*

*mā (AG. MG. ā) tvā prāppanā agādyavah (MG. adhyāvyah) AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG. See §868.*

*aṭṭagāna vagnm (AV. em. gaṇam, true reading probably gatnum with SPP., see Whitney’s note; MS. tāvagm) upajīghnāmanāḥ (AV. upalipsamānāḥ, MS. aśajīghram āpāḥ) AV. MS. TB. TA. The MS. is corrupt; its p.p., yet worse: aṭṭagā, aśagm ity ava-gmān, aśajīghram ity ava-jīghram, āpāḥ. But the original is obscure enough.*

*viśvā amīrāh pramuṇiça mānuśibhiḥ (KS. śebhyah) AV. KS.: viśvā āśaḥ pramuṇiça mānuśir bhīyāh VS. TS.: viśvā amīrāh pramuṇiça mānuśīyām MS. Evidently VS. TS. are secondary, tho interpretable; cf. §783.*
yasya te viśvamānuṣaḥ (SV. viśvam ānuṣaḥ) RV. AV. SV. It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV. reading distorted in SV. into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret. See Benfey’s note in Translation, p. 259.

anvādīdṛthām īha naḥ sakāya TB. TA.: manmā didhyāṇā utā naḥ sakāya MS. The latter seems clearly corrupt; p.p. didhyāṇāṁ, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means: ‘make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuṇa)’.

yebhyo madhu pradhāvatī (AV. pradhāś adhi) RV. AV. TA. The AV. comm., followed by SPP. and Whitney’s Transl., reads pradhāvatī, correctly.

tvaṁ no devatātaye (AV. deva dātave) RV. AV. SV. See §61.

prathamāya januṣe bhūmaneṣṭhāh (AV. bhūwaneś, SS. bhūma nesṭhā) AV. AS. SS. If SS. intends this division, it would seem to mean ‘that thou shalt lead the world’. Obscure.

yaṭḥaḥ pratyāṣṭhāt (v. l. praty u sṭhāt) KS.: yaṭṭhaḥ praty u sṭhāt (v. l. pratyāṣṭhāt) ... MS.: yaṭṭha praṭīṣṭha ... TB. ApS.

apāmyāya (AS. apām 癍hām) iva sanabhara MS. KS. AS. A graphic error in AS.

ubhe yatete ubhayasya (AV. ubhe asya) pusyaṭaḥ RV. AV. Cf. next.

ubhe id asybhayasya (AV. asyobbhe asya) rājataḥ RV. AV. In same verse as prec.; here Whitney adopts the RV. reading. See §911.

§833. Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary:

ava tara (TS. avattaram) nadiṣv ā VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.: avattaro nadiṇām AV. ava tara ‘descend in the rivers’ is original; in TS. AV. there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double t is suspicious (cf. §401); BR. take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root av, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS. AV.). Keith rejects the comm. and connects with ava, while Whitney follows the tradition. MS. p.p. avattaram.

praṇtar ṣaya sthāvirī (SV. praṇtarikṣāt sthāvirīs te) asṛkṣata RV. SV. pra dhāraṇa yantu madhunāḥ AB.: pra dhārayantu madhunam ghṛtasya AG. (corrupt; abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading).

dyasamantasya ta āditya ‘mukhyātā BDh.: dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā ... HG. The BDh. reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG., which is typical stylistically.—The next two variants are in the same passage.

antarikṣasamantrya te vāyur upaṣrotā BDh.: antarikṣam samāṃ tasya vāyur upadraṣṭā ... HG. As prec.
prthivisamanastya te \'gnir upadraṣṭā BDh.; prthiv samā tasyā\'gnir upadraṣṭā . . . HG. See prec. two.

sutarasi tarase (MahānU. sutarasiddhatarase) namāk RVKh. TA. MahānU. The latter has a v. l. like the others, but its comm. reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler. Sutarasi is voc. sing. fem., and tarase an infinitive.

śīle vāte punarn ivā (ĀŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. punarniva) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ĀŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Doubtless a graphic corruption; but its wide spread is curious.

antarā dyāvāpṛthivā apah svah TB. ApMB. HG.: antarā dyāvāpṛthivyor apasyuh MG. Is apasyuh understood as apa-syuh, from apa-as 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom.-sing. of apasyu. In any case it is secondary.


yañapataye (ŚŚ. adds vasu; TA. yajamānaya) vāryam a swas kah (TA. a swas kar asmai, ŚŚ. āsamskarase) MS. TA. ŚŚ. The latter secondary.

tanūpā ye nas tanwas tanujadiḥ AV.: tanūpāṇas tanwas tapojāḥ AB. ĀŚ.

The AV. is probably original. See §254.

ayam sahasram ānave drśah kavināh matir jyotir vidharma (ApŚ. o\'ma) SV. ApŚ. MŚ.: ayam sahasram a no drśe . . . vidharmaṇi AV. Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV. reading sahasramānava as one compound word, against the accents: 'der tausendwendung'. Probably AV. is original, tho it too is not very sensible.

agnir hotrenedam (hotrena, agnihotrenedam) havir . . ., see §354.

vande dārum vandamāno vīvakmi RV.: vandadvirā vandamānā vīvaṣṭu SV. On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p. 218.

8. Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834. Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant. They fall into three subdivisions. Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next. Secondly, (b)
there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another; sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage.

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835. We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older; we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case:

*avakrāṣīnaṁ vṛṣabhāṁ yathājúram (SV. yathā jwam) RV. AV. SV. ajuram 'ageless'; jwam 'swift'.

*na māṁsam asi nodalam (HG. no dalam) ApMB. HG. If the division is so intended, HG. must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'. The comm. on ApMB. (Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxiv) takes nōdālam for nā-udāram, 'nor a (part of the) belly'.

*ya ājagma (N. 9muḥ) savanemā (TS. KS. savamedāṁ, N. savanam idāṁ, VS. MS. ŠB. ya ājagmedāṁ savanām) jūvānāh AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. N. Conc. suggests savanemā (savanā-imā) for AV., and Whitney notes that the AV. text (p.p. sāvane, mā) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'.

*saṃdhyamānāḥ prathamānu ṭharmāḥ (TB. ApŚ. prathamo nu dharmah) RV. TB. ApŚ. The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms prathama... dharmā (neut. plur.) of RV. 'According to ancient ordinances': 'as the very first law'.

*prasthānyendrāṇībhyaṁ somam vocatopo (KB. vocato yo) asmān brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇāḥ hevyadhvam KB. AŚ. ŠŚ. As Keith says in his Transl., KB. must be read vocatopo. A graphic corruption.

*jīhva paśītram aśvināsan (TB. 9nā saṁ) sarasvatī VS. MS. KS. TB. The original, of which TB. is an uncomprehending corruption, contains āsan 'in his mouth'.

*vīśvelopam vīśvadāvasya tēsaṁ juhomī TS. GB. Vait. ApŚ.: viśloka vīśvadāve te saṁjuhomī svāhā MŚ. Precisely like the prec., except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible.

*gūva upādāvatam (SV. upa vādāva(e) RV. SV. See §60.
yatrāśṛṅgat tānvo yac ca vāsāṣaḥ (ApMB. tānvaṁ yatras vāsaḥ) AV.
ApMB.: yatrā śṛṅgas tānva yatra vāsaḥ HG. The latter corrupt; see §198.

ṛdhaq (RV. AV. dhruvam) aya (AV. ayo, TS. MS. KS. yaśa) ṛdhaq (RV. AV. dhruvam) utāsāṃśiḥ (MS. KS. yaśa, AV. utā śaviṣṭha) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. N. See §234.
yat teemahe (SMB. te mahe) prati tan no (Kauś. prati nas taś) jūṣavva RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. Original has tvā-śmahe. SMB. comm. alternatively takes mahe as a verb, pūjāyāmi, or as a noun, utsave, supplying pūjādikāṁ karma with yat. All mss. agree on it.


dhāṭa vidhāṭa (MS. dhartā vidhartā) paramota sanāḍṛk (KS. paramo na sanāḍṛk) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. Graphic change in KS., §871. hōta viṣṭṭena (ŚŚ. viṣṭe me) jārīta RV. AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. See §867.
tenemāṁ upa niścatam RV. AV. TA. N.: tena māṁ abhiṣṭeṣviraḥ ŚŚ. SMB. Different contexts; imāṁ or māṁ.
tenā tuvam apha iha vardhayeyam AV.: tenāṁ tuvam uta vardhayeyam (MS. yā māṁ) TS. MS. KS. imam or māṁ.
pītera pūram jaraṣe nayeṣvam (MS. ma emam) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The corruption of MS. is indicated by its p.p.: jaraṣena, ē, imam, pointing to the other reading.
yaded (KS. ēd id) antā adadṛṇanta (TS. adadṛṇa) pārve RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

yenākṛṣa (SMB. kṛṣa, PG. kṣyā, ŚŚ. yena kṛṣa) abhyasacyanta (ŚŚ. SMB. abhyāsīṣvemacatam, PG. ūtām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. For the original ‘die’ ŚŚ. lamely substitutes ‘earth’.

[teyāvaṣena (SG. text tva ye tva) sam aśīmaḥ tva TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SG. SMB. PG. The SG. seems to be a misprint.]

§836. We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary:
yadārāgat (read yadā rā) varadaḥ Vait.: yadā rākhiyau vadatalaḥ
ApŚ.: yad adyārādhyām vadaṁtaḥ MŚ. See §70.


śrutakaśe aram (SV. kakṣāraṁ) gave RV. SV. Nom.: voc.
vihī svām āhutiṁ juṣāṇo manasā AV.; vihī svāhāhutiṁ juṣāṇaḥ TS. TB. The ritualistic exclamation svāhā is always allowable, but is here secondary.

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhravā (KS. MŚ. bhūtāya dhruvo) astu devāḥ (TS. dvāḥ 'st') TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. adhravā: dhruva; it is not certain that the latter is more original.

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaiḥ MS.: mā naḥ param adhariṇī mā rajo 'naiḥ (MŚ. paḥ param odhānin mā rajo niḥ) TA. MŚ. The MS. is corrupt, and its p.p. is worse: mā, anat, ā, unaiḥ! Cf. VV I p. 93.

ā māśīṇo (or ām āśīṇo, so MS. understands) dohakāmāḥ MS. KS.: emā agmanī āśīṇo dohakāmāḥ TS. ApŚ. It is possible that KS. also intends ām (interjection) āśīṇo. It seems that TS. ApŚ. (ā-imās) have a lect. fac.

[ātmāy ātmann ātmānāṁ (GB. ātmamātmānāṁ, but Gastra as the others) me mā hināḥ GB. Vait. Kauś.]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

§837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another. This process may be illustrated within the RV. itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as agner aveṣa marutāṁ na bhojyā, 1. 128. 5b. Here we must surely read agne raveṣa; see Conc. and Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV. I. 127. This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, Noten, has some slight doubts. Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for nṛbhir yad yuktā vive rapāṇā, RV. 1. 69. 8, we must read viver apāṇā; and for maṣṭāṇaḥ cakram avive rapāṇaḥ, RV. 6. 31. 3, aviver apāṇi. Also in AV. 6. 116. 1a, yad yāmaṁ cakrūr nikhananto agre, read probably yady āmaṁ; see Bloomfield, AJP 17. 428, SBE 42. 457, and Whitney ad loc.

āsann ā (SV. PB. āsaṁ nah) pātram janayanta (KS. 2tu) devāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

madhu reto (TS. madhor ato, KS. madhur ato, AŚ. text printed madhu-reto) mādhavaḥ pātva asmAṁ TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Keith on TS. thinks the KS. reading is correct. He calls the MS. 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula; madhu and reto might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object. But the MS. p.p. reads madhuh, anītaḥ, pointing towards the KS. reading.

revati ramadhram, revatī amedhyam, see §255.
a māṣiṣa (MS. text ām āṣiṣa) dohakāmāḥ MS. KS. And others; see §836. MS. and KS. may intend the same reading.

agor arīr a ciketa RV.: nāgo rayir a ciketa SV. Benfey understands na-agor(s), from agor 'nicht preisend' = 'bōs'. Doubtful; the SV. is hardly interpretable.

ubhayor ārtnyor (TS. ārtnyor, NilarU. ubhayo rājñor) jyām VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU. An absurd corruption in the last; it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm. calmly takes it.

satyād a (ApŚ. satyā tā) dharmayās patti (ŚŚ. dharmayā, and so mss. of MŚ.; Vait. MS. pari, ŚŚ. omits patti) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

purovāta varṣaṇ jinvar āryt svāhā TS. ApŚ.: purovāta (KS. ²to) jinva rāva (KS. ²vat) svāhā MS. KS. And other formulas in same passage; see §168. TS. is secondary.

yam āsvirā namucer āsurād adhi (ŚŚ. ¹namucet āsure dodhi) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. IŚ. Followed by: sarasvati asunod indriyāya. Some verb, probably a form of su, is understood: 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait. entnahmen) from the asuric N.' ŚŚ. is secondary and poor; dadhi 'sour milk' conceals adhi, to which is affixed the d of the abl. which preceded in the original form. For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15. 144-63.

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

§838. In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive: at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another. Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in:

kalpaṁghāda (read with Poona ed. of both ²ḥa ghā) viṣā pari ṇo vrṇaktu TB. TA.: sarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vāṁaḥ MS. (corrupt).

piṭā bhāsvatay avyāpamā TA.: piṭabhā syāt tanumā MahānU. In MahānU, a v. l, agrees with TA. but for anāp"; but the comm. keeps to the text as printed. He explains piṭabhā by piṭavarnā, and tanumā by sūkṣmenopamīyate kuṇḍalinī ti yām naigamā ākhum. The TA. makes piṭā bhāsvati = piṭavarnā, and avyāpamā is explained by laukikânāṁ tanūnmā sūkṣmaustūnām upamā bhaṅitum yoṛītā.

acikradat svapā śrba bhawat AV.: addiyutat sv apāko vībhāva RV. MS. Whitney says the AV. has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading. Ppp. bhawat for bhawat (§602).

devā purācaścara saḥṣadām (MS. devaprāṣ carasa ṛdhyāsan) tvā MS. TA. ApŚ. The MS. is corrupt: p.p. deva, punar iti punah, carasa.

See §817.
devīṣas taradhya (ApŚ. ṣyai) ṛṇayā na ṣyase (SV. ṛraše) RV. SV. KS. AB.
ApŚ.: devīṣas taḍ adhy arṇavene ye AV. ‘A simple corruption’
(Whitney) in AV.
ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA. ita) TB. TA.: ṛtasye te ēnam āmatakah MS.
(p.p. ṭū, enāṁ, māṁ, uttāṁ ma, in part pointing to the TB. reading).
MS. is corrupt; in TB. supply muṇcata from preceding pūda.
graḥa viśvajaniṇa niyantar viṃprāyama te (MS. p.p. viṃprāya, ‘mate’; KS.
niyantar vipra ǝ ṭṣat) MS. KS.
§839. In several instances the prefix su exchanges with su as locative
ending:
made suśipram (SV. madeṣu śipram) andhasaḥ RV. SV.
ṭarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV.: so ḥin (TS. ṭ) mandrā suprayasah (MS.
*sā startman, TS. mandrāsu prayasah) VS. TS. MS.: stani mandras
suprayakṣuḥ KS.
maṇḍūky apenśo sann bhuvah AV.: maṇḍūkya su sann ṛgamaḥ (TA. ṛgamaḥ)
RV. TA. The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to
the secondary reading of AV.
§840. The rest hardly need classification:
yas te soma praṣyata so ṛbhi so aham MahānU.: yās te soma praṣyata vaṣo
ṛbhi so aham TA. Both are obscure, and the far-fetched inter-
pretations of the comms. give little help. For instance, the TA.
comm. explains soma as sa + uma, from umā = brahmavidyā,
so that soma = paramātman!
vikvākaran bhawana māṁ didāsitha (ŚB. manda āsitha) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ.
didāsitha is taken as a desiderative from dā. ‘O V. Bh., thou didst
seek to give me (the earth) away’: ‘... thou wast slow of wit (so
comm., mandaṃatiḥ)’. Either meaning is possible,
bhratāntariṣyam abhīṣastya naḥ (TA. abhīṣasta enaḥ) AV. TA. Comm.
on TA.: yaḥ ena 'ṣmābhīḥ kṛtaṁ tad abhīṣastah satruṣṭāniyam!
It would be better to understand abhīṣaste, ‘upon the accused one
(may) the sin (light)’. Whitney understands a verb ‘save’ in AV.
reading seems better.
yā saṃjñayantam adhi yāsu vardhase KS.: āśun jayantam anu yāsu
vardhase RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.
mānasya patnī śarāṇā syonā AV.; mā naḥ sapatnāḥ śarāṇā syonā
HG. See §189.
jyeṣṭhasya dharmaṁ dyuṅsor anike SV.: jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmaṁ kṣor
anike RV. The bud form dyuṅsor is taken by Benfey as for
dyuṅṣayor, from dyuṅṣa.
brahmādhiguptāḥ (PG. brahmābhi°, MG. brahmābhigūrtanī) svārā
kṣarāṇī (PG. suraksītāḥ syām, MG, svarāksāṇāḥ, most ms. svarā-
raksāṇāḥ) svāhā AG, PG. MG.The original is probably AG., see §742. PG. has a simple lect. fac.; MG. is corrupt.
yena bhūyāsa ca rātrīyām (ApMB. carāyāy ayaṃ, MG. caratī ayaṃ, PG.
sarasvatīvai vāco yantur yantriye (VSK. vāco yan turyaṃ turyaṃ) dadhāmi
VS. VSK. ŚB. Corruption in VSK.
āyuḥpati rathavatram (MS. āyuḥ pratiratham°) tad aṣṭya ... ApŚ. MS.
Caland would read °pati (nom.) in ApŚ., and observes that MS. is
yet more corrupt.
ud vaṁśam īva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: āruḍhevaṁ kham īva menire
Mbh.
kratēv varīṣṭham vara āṃmūrim uta RV. AV.: krātee vare sthemany āṃmūrim
uta SV.
ruva dhoḷṣā (TB. nṛṛadbhyo 'kṣā) paprathānebhīr evaṁ RV. MS. AB.
KB. TB. See §684.
prathamachad (KS. parama°) avarān (TS. paramachado vara) ā viveṣa
RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Keith takes paramachado as a gen.depending
on vara. The result is close to nonsense.
ā deva ṣūṭi bhuvanānī pāṣyaṇ (TS. MS. bhuvanā vipāṣyaṇ) RV. VS. TS.
MS.
tena saṃhanu krṣṇamai AV.: tena sann anugṛhṇāi HG. See §47.
patā mādhunatā bharan (MS. °mad ābharaṇ) VS. MS. TB. Either
makes good sense.
ahorāṭre āračśīre (VS. °gḥīre, TS. ahorāṭrayor vrṣīyā) bhadrathavatāre
cam eṣaṣaṇa kalpatām (VS. ṭkalpaṁ) VS. TS. MS. Cf. §803;
TS. secondary.
pumānaṁ vṛddhatāṁ mayi ŚG.: pumānaṁ saṁvartataṁ mayi PG.: pumān
garbhas tavodare SMB. See §97. Despite the Conc., SG. is quite
correct, and may well be the original reading.
jaṁm itā mā vivaṣe lokāṁ TA.: jaṁm ētē māva paṣati lokāt AV. See
§198.
hiranyavat avvam adhehi (ApŚ. annam adhyeṣi, read annam adhehi)
maham KŚ. ApŚ.
uteṃ anāśānam (KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. utevā nam?) TS. MS. AB. KB. ŚB.
AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
athem ava sya vara ō prthiṃyāḥ ṬS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: athemam asyā vara ō
prthiṃyāḥ AV. See §236.
ulāno asmad yajate vi cāvah (TB. vicāvah) RV. MS. TB. N. See §254.
anūdhā yadi ṝjanad (SV. yad ajṝjanad) adhā ca nu (SV. adhā cid ā) RV. SV.
prā su (HG. sa) mṛtyum (SMB. prā sumaryam, MG. prathamam artham) yuyotana (MG. yuyotu naḥ) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. The last is secondary.
yuṣesnadrāyhaspati (ArŚ. yaṣo mendṛā) ArŚ. PG. MG. Graphic change.
dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoḥ (AV. tīkaḥ sasūnauḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. See §189.
dhiṣā martah śāsamate (SV. martasya śāmatah) RV. SV. See §189.
yuṣo bhagāś ca mā vidat (MG. riṣat, most mss. riṣak) PG. MG.: yuṣo bhagasya vindatu ArŚ. See §189.
yunajmi tiro vipraḥ sūryasya te (MS. vīraḥ sūryaḥ save, or suvaḥ) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §189.
praṇāyāmasya agrataḥ PG. ApMB.: praṇāyāmy asya agrataḥ MG.: †praṇ-
āyāmasya agrataḥ HG. asya in MG. is to be taken in a cosmic sense; it is of course secondary.
yamasya loke adhirajjura ṣyat (TA. ṣya, MS. loke nidhir ajjarāya) AV. MS. TA. Whitney describes the MS. as a 'corrupt guess'.
ā gharmo agnim ṛtyauṁ osādi (TA. asādit) RV. TA.: ā ghrarmo agnim aṃṛto na sādi MS. The latter is of course secondary.
adha syāma surabhaya (ApŚ. syām asur ubhaya) grheṣu AV. KS. ApŚ.: anṛā syāta surabhaya grheṣu MS. The ApŚ. is worthless; Caland tacitly adopts the other reading.
[iṣur nāvīrātāram ŚŚ.: iṣun na vīra astā AV. RWh. by emendation; but mss. as ŚŚ. except for iṣun.] [pātaṁ mā dyāvīrprthivī adyā̄nahā (Kauś. text aḥānah naḥ) TS. ApŚ. Kauś.
Read adyāḥnah in Kauś.; cf. critical note, p. 295, n. 4 of ed. In the reading quoted for ms. Bū hna should be read for dīna.]

9. Patch-words

§841. In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822-31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Lückenbüsser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have
made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter.

§842. For instance, in a pāda like 

syonaṁ patye (AV. patibhyo) vakatun kṛṇaseva (AV. kṛṇu teṇam) RV.

AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N.,

it is clear that AV. has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun teṇam. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables teṇam and -seva. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

ni no rayin subhajasau yuwasva (TS. yueha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.,

where TS. likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb iha. And in a pāda like

āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (MG. te sadā) MG. YDh.,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of ‘false division’, since sarvadā, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into te sadā; rather, the synonym sadā is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word te. If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG., the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same.

§843. Prevailing[9]ly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word:

agniṁ (SV. agnim u) kṛṣṭhaćasiṣam RV. SV. In RV. kṛṣṭha- constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p. 51). The SV. has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless u.

viṣe viṣam aprakthā (aprāg api) AV. (both). The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original.

yataḥ sūrya uteti AV.; yataḥ codeti sūryaḥ ŚB. BrhU. KaṭhaU. t. 4. 9a. āśūn kure suyamān utaye TS. MS. KS.: āśūn iev suyamān ahva utaye AV. Here the longer form of AV. may be original; at least it is better not only metrically but in sense.

§844. There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word:
tasmaĩ no (AV. mā) devaḥ paridattheha (AV, PG. dhatteha, KS. ṃhatta) sarve (MS. vive) AV. TS. KS. MS. SMB. PG. BDh.

Even the KS. MS. form, lacking iha, is not really good in meter.

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter:
śatena pāsair varunābhi dhehi KS.: śatena pāsair abhi dhehi varunainam AV. The reading of Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 37. 298) is that of KS., and this is doubtless original.

tam aham punar ādade KS. PG.: imaṁ tam punar ādade 'yam (read 'ham, as Kirste suggests) HG.

tasmaũ u rādhāḥ kṛṣṇa praśastam (AV. kṛṣṇaḥ supraśastam) RV. AV. The superfluous su is ignored by AV. Anukramaṇī and omitted in Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 41. 266).

§846. Once SV. omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV., thereby spoiling the meter; the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form sutasaḥ (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of ime leaves is too short:
tubhiyāṁ somāḥ sutā ime RV.: tubhiyāṁ sutasaḥ somāḥ SV.

§847. Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following:
anumate 'nu idaṁ manyasva AV.: anumate 'nu (KapŚ. ṣanu) manyasva na idam KS. Cf. anumate 'nu manyasva (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.
apaṁ napadam aśvinā huvē dhiyā (TS. ṣhayantam) AV. TS. The mss. of AV. read aśvinā (accented) and dhiyāḥ. Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss., but both are metrically correct.

See Whitney's and Keith's notes.

§848. In the next AV. by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV., and to save the meter omits the light word u:
agnir vidvin sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV. Kauś. sa id dhotā) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §96.

§849. In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent. We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary; they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group:
imāṁ (AV. *tam u) me aśadāṁ kṛta (AV. kṛdhi) RV. AV.* VS. TS. anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MS. yaje hi, most mss. yaje ca) TS. MS. tam manyeta (ViDh. tam vai manyet) pitaraṁ mātaram ca SamhitopaniṣadB. VaDh. ViDh.

asmāṁ (AV. sā naḥ) site payasābhīvaṁtvāva AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
upa yajñam asthita (MŚ. astu no) vaiśvadevi RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. apasedhan (SV.† dham) duritā soma mrdaya (SV. no mṛda) RV. SV. See VV I §194. In RV. r in mṛdaya is long; in SV. it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of no is intended to improve the meter.

marutāṃ pitar uṣad hṛṣimi (MS. grhe te) TS. MS.: marutāṃ pitar uṣad hṛṣimi KS.
tasya doham aśimahi (KS. aśīya, AŚ. aśīya te) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. In KS. prose.
tvaśā sudatra (TA. no atra) vi dadhātu rāyāḥ RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. N.
sa naḥ pito madhumāṇāḥ ā viśeṣa (Kauś. vīveka) KS. KauŚ.: sa na mayobhūḥ pitar (TS. TB. pito, MŚ. pitar, SMB. Jörgensen pitar) āvīśaṇa (AŚ. āvīseea, MŚ. āvīseea) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.
āṅgirabhīr ā gahi yajñyebhīḥ RV. TS. MS.: āṅgirabhīr yajñyair āgahāḥ AV.
dadhad ratnāṇī (RV. once ratnāḥ vi) dāṣusē RV. (thrice) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: dadhānā ratnāṇī dāṣusē RV.: dadhad ratnā dāṣusē vāryāni RV. VS.
tvīṣir apsu gosūn yā puruṣeṣu AV.: tvīṣir aśeṣu puruṣeṣu gosū TB. The Pp. agrees with TB. (Barret, JAOS 30. 204).
anāga devaḥ sakuna grheṣu (AV. grhaṇi naḥ) RV. AV. MG. The Pp. according to Roth agrees with RV.; and the AV. text makes poor sense as Whitney observes.
abhān mama (KS. na naḥ) sumatau viśvedāḥ TS. KS. PG.
āḥna yaṁ-enah kṛtam asti pāpam (AŚ. asti kiṃcet; ŚŚ. enas cakre maha kiṃcet) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.
edam bāhur niṣīdata (AŚ. ŚŚ. śīda naḥ) RV. VS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Change of context in AŚ. ŚŚ. requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly nestled with naḥ.
devebhyo havyān (MS. MŚ. MG. havyā) vahatu (TB.* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. vaha naḥ, KauŚ. *vaha) prajānaṇ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.* AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. KauŚ.* MG. In one form KauŚ. is unmetrical, lacking naḥ.
pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS. amṛtaṇi nu, TA. MahānU. voce amṛtaṇi nu) vidente AV. VS. TA. MahānU.
viryebhir (MS. viryebhir, AV. yau vīryair) vīratamā vāviṣṭhā (TB. saci, Poona ed. saci) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
punantu viśe bhūtani (MS. bhūtā mā) AV. VS. MS. KS. Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of viśe devaḥ puniṣṭa mā, which is the RV. form of this pāda?
śatam pavitrā vitatāḥ hy (MS. vitatāṇy) āṣu MS. ApŚ. ApMB. Undoubtedly MS. is original; form assimilation to pavitrā in the others.
hevāyāmi (AV. SV. TS. MS. hve.nu) bākram puruhūlam indram RV. AV. SV. MS. VS. TS. KS. MahānU.
apriye (AV. *apriyāḥ) prati muñcatām (Kauś.† *tam, AV. *muñca tār) AV. (bis) Kauś.
sarvāḥ agnīvār (AV. śivān agnīn) apsuṣado hve vah (MS. omits vah; AV. havāmahe) AV, TS. MS. TB. See VV I p. 253.
§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word seems to be the older are:
ṛṇinān ca stūfī (SV. suṣṭūfī) upa RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
agnām indraḥ (TB. agnī indrā) vṛtrahānā hve 'ham (TB. vām; MS. Ṛhaṇānu huve.mah) AV. MS. TB.
yā antarikṣyā (TB. ApŚ. Ṛkṣa) uta pārthivāsaḥ (TB. ApŚ. AG. pārthivēr yāḥ) KS. AG. TB. ApŚ. Since the adjectives are feminine (agreeing with āpad), the KS. form is less regular (Wackernagel III. §62); but it may nevertheless be the original.
jarīṁ gachāsi (PG. gacha, AV. su gacha) pari dhatve vāsah AV. PG. ApMB. HG. Only the relative antiquity of AV. favors greater originality of its reading; and perhaps this is not conclusive.
CHAPTER XIX. RIME WORDS

§851. A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants; the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound; that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852. We begin with the roots *jīva* and *pīna*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms: ‘inspire’ and ‘make to prosper’. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the Sarhītās; both verbs are found in all texts that have both pādas, but the two are exchanged in different texts:

\[
\text{mano me jīva (MS. KŚ. pīna, Vait. mano jīva)} \text{ VS. TS. MS. KŚ. Vait.}
\]

Followed by:

\[
vācaṁ me pīna (MS. KŚ. ŚŚ. jīva) \text{ VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚŚ.}
\]

\[
tad indrāgni jinvatā (MŚ.† pīvatām) sūñtāvat \text{ TB. ApŚ. MŚ.}
\]

\[
\text{jīva (AŚ. †pīnaṁ, read pīna) pā jinvāvatāḥ TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Cf.}
\]

\[
pīvatāḥ pā jinvatam avrato naḥ RV. KŚ.
\]

§853. Other verb forms are:

\[
\text{āṛja pṛthivin yachata (MS. yachata) TS. MS. KŚ. TB.}
\]

\[
\text{paramāṁ padam asa bhāti (VS. ŚB. bhāri) bhāri (TS. bhūreḥ) RV. VS.}
\]

\[
\text{TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. N. The comm. on VS. calmly says: acabhāri}
\]

\[
\text{acabhāti, takārasthāne chāndasṛ repahā! BR. derive from root bhr,}
\]

\[
as aor. pass. ‘wurde eingedrückt’, which is at least possible.
\]

\[
\text{triḍrakrenbhāḥ pataṭi (AV. pavate) RV. AV. KS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. Hil-}
\]

\[
\text{lebrandt, Ved. Myth1, I. 500.}
\]

\[
\text{pratīlimitā (AŚ. omiti, TS. KSA. TB. pra sulimiti) te pītā VS. TS. MS.}
\]

\[
\text{KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Derived by the comms. from roots til}
\]

\[
\text{and sul, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise.}
\]
\text{sam bāhuhyaṁ dhamaṭi} (AV, bharatī, TS. TA. namatī, KS. namate, MS. \text{bhyaṁ adhamat} samā patatraiḥ (KS. yajatraiḥ) RV. AV, VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. sam-dham and sam-nam practically synonyms here, 'weld together'. Note also the noun forms patatra: yajatra (graphic change).

\text{asadan} (TS. asanan) mātaram purah (TS. punah) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms: 'has seated himself'; 'has reached'.

\text{yābhyām sevar ajanann} (TB. swar ajayann) agra eva MS. TB. MS. yābhyām ajayan sevar agra eva AV. 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning.'

\text{sam grāvahir nasate} (SV. vasate) vīte adhvara RV. SV. Both 'unite with'; SV. lect. fac. (sam-nas was obsolete).

\text{rasena sam asṛkṣmahi} (RV. agraśmahi, KS. LŚ. aganmahi, AV. JB. apṛkṣmahi) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. sam-sṛj and sam-prc practically synonyms. Cf. sam-prc and sam-spṛś, §375.

\text{aṅgād-aṅgāt sambhavasi} (SMB. *sainśravasi) ŚB. BrhU. KBU. AG. SMB.* GG. ApMB. HG. MG. N. Mahābh. In SMB. a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety: 'thou lowest together' for 'thou arisest'. The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts. In both cases some mss. of SMB. have the alternative reading.

pra keteṇa bhūtā yāty (AV. TA. bhāty) agniḥ RV. AV. SV. TA. 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam.' Perhaps graphic?

\text{bucsea} (VS.* rocsea) devavītamaḥ (KS. ṳvītamaḥ) RV. RVKh. VS.*

TS. MS. KS. TA. Synonyms.\text{tataḥ} (RV. atāḥ, KS. tatra) caṅkṣāthām (RV. ṭhe, MS. KS. cakṛāthe) aditiṁ ditiṁ ca RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Root caṅkṣ: perfect of kr.

adhi skanda viśayavā AV.: adhi kranda viśayavā ŚG. Quasi-synonyms.

AVPpp. also reads kranda, which therefore may be original, tho skanda seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach).

mā chethā (v. l. bhetā) mā vyathīṣṭhāḥ KBU.

[varṣām rathasya ni jihāate (ŚŚ. jihilate) dhīvaḥ AV. ŚŚ. So RWh.; but the ms. of AV. read jihīdate, which should be kept.]

§854. Rimming participles occur in the following:

\text{pratyag enam} śapathā yantu tryāṭāḥ (AV. ṛṣṭāḥ) RV. AV. Comm. and one ms. of AV. tryāṭāḥ, for which ṛṣṭāḥ may be called a lect. fac.: 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'.}
yā dabhrah parisaśrūṇī ŚG.: yā तार्ड्रोग्निः pari taṃshūḥ APMB. Pples. of roots srū and stūḥ. 
śaurdā deva (AV. agne) jaraśaṃ vṛṇāṇāḥ (APMB. APG. HG. graṇā) AV. MS. KS. MŚ. APMB. APG. HG.: śaurdā (VS. ŚB. āyuṃănā) agne haviṣo juśāṇāḥ (VS. ŚB. ŚG. haviṣa vṛṇāṇāḥ) VS. TS. SB. TB. TA. AS. APŚ. ŠG. The APMB. etc. readings are an interesting blend of those which contain vṛṇāṇāḥ and juśāṇāḥ. Perhaps graṇāḥ was felt as meaning ‘praising’ rather than ‘devouring’; even this would be none too sensible in the context. Oldenberg adopts vṛṇāṇāḥ for HG. Still a different version (‘thriving by the oblation’) is adopted in VS. etc.; this is an easy lect. fac. in a passage relating to Agni.

dī satrāve (MS. KS. bhītiśhādāvāne) sumatiṃ āryāṇāḥ AV. MS. KS.: oṣītiḥhāavāne sumatiṃ graṇāḥ TS. ‘Choosing to myself (praising) his kindness.’

§855. Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair dhāman: nāman stands out. In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are easily interchangeable; the ‘name’ and the ‘station’ of anything both mean its mystic essence. In some cases the change from one to the other is due to the influence of adjoining words; as in:
yat te ‘nādhṛṣṭaṃ nāma yajñāyaṃ (KS. nāmanādṛṣṭyam, MS. dhāmanā- dhṛṣṭyam) tena teāadhā VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The change in MS. was suggested by ādadhā.

śedāṃ priyena dhāmnā priyam sada ṭāśīḍa (VSK. priyena nāma priye sadasī sīḍa) VS. VSK. ŚB. Also:
priyena dhāmnā (TS. TB. APŚ. nāma, VSK. nāma) priyam sada asīḍa (VSK. TS. TB. APŚ.* priye sadasī sīḍa) VS. VSK. TS. SB. TB. KS. APŚ. In this and the prec. (which are variants of each other) only the VS. texts have dhāman, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was substituted there for nāman because it is a synonym of sadas.

vidmā te nāma (AV. vidma te dhāma; Pp. gandharvo nāma) paramamīn guhā yat RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. APMB.; gandharvo dhāma paramamīn guhā yat (VS. vībhṛtāṃ guhā sat) AV. VS.; gandharvo nāma nīkitāṃ guhāsu TA. MahānU. Here two different pādās have become confused; one began originally with vidmā te nāma, the other with gandharvo dhāma. The AVPp. reading (not in Conc.) occurs in the verse where AV. has vidma te dhāma.

pruṣṭūtasya dhāmanāḥ (MS. nāḥ) RV. AV. MS. Vait.

§856. Twice the RV. phrase pratnena manmanā ‘by ancient hymn’
§857. Other nouns and adjectives:
aktam (MS. MS. aptubhi, KS.*artham) rihāṇā vyantu (TS. TB. viyantu) vayaḥ. TS. MS. KS.* TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: vyantu vayaḥ 'ktaṁ rihāṇāḥ VS. A very obscure passage; the isolated artham may possibly be due to graphic confusion.
karīraṁ me vicakṣaṇam (RVKh. vicakṣaṇam) RVKh. TA. TU.: praṇiṃ me vicakṣaṇam PG. 'My body (face) be active (glorious)'. Schef- telowitz on RVKh. reads vicakṣaṇa, but it seems that νyam must be the true reading.
paktā (KSA. pantiḥ) sasyam TS. KSA. The latter is called 'ludicrous' by Keith. On paktā see Wackernagel III p. 204; he takes it as a masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu werden'; cf. Oertel, Syntax of Cases I p. 171.
kuhūṁ aham (AV. Vait. kuhūṁ devin) suerlam (AV. MS. KS. sukṛtam,
TS. subhagāṁ) vidmanāpasam AV. TS. MS. KŚ. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. Quasi-
synonyms.
dyumna sukṣatra maṁhaya RV.: dyumnaṁ sudatra maṁhaya SV.
dhanāniyakaṁ dhariṇam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh.: bhūmidṛṇam acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu AV.: bhūmidṛṇo 'cyutaś cyavaiṣṇuḥ AV. The evidently secondary cyva is suggested by cyutaś: 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)'.
aśloṇo 'piśaḥadhitak ApMB.: anandho 'śloṇo 'piśaḥadhitak HG. The latter is a strange corruption; the original means 'not sucked by
demons'.
adoṛghavācāṁ matibaṁ ṣaviṣṭham (RV.* ṣbhir yaviḥ) RV.* AV. See RVRep. 275 f.
abhi dyuman (RV. VS. sumnaṁ) devabhaktan yaviṣṭha (MS. KS.
devahitam yaviṣṭha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Quasi-
synonyms.
nagnahur dhīras (KS. viṁsa) tasaraṁ na vema VS. MS. KS. TB.
Synonyms.
pāṁ no aṁ gaṇe enase (ŚG. edhae) svahā TA. MahānU. ŚG. edhae is certainly right: 'protect us unto prosperity'. TA. comm. quotes the text as enase, tho both editions print enase. The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which enasaḥ or the like is
associated with the root pā in the sense of ‘protect from evil’ or ‘sin’.

punar brahmāno (AV. brahmā) vasunītha (AV. sūti, KS. dhītam and
īnītha [so 38. 12b], MS. dhīte) yajñaih (AV. MS. KS. agne) AV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. ṢB. The form with n is apparently original;
in MS. KS. it is contaminated from such forms as vasudhā, vasudhiti,
kunino asya sumatir naviyast (SV. bhaviyast) RV. SV. ‘His very fresh
(abundant) favor’.

sthīrā cin namayiṣṇavaḥ RV.: dṛḍhā cid yamayiṣṇavaḥ SV. Practically
synonyms, ‘bending’; ‘subduing’.

aṇḍhī kham varlayā paṇīm (SV. pavim) RV. SV. Benfey and Grassmann
would read pavim in RV. The emendation is exceptionally tempt-
ing, but one must be cautious about it; cf. Oldenberg’s judicious
remarks (Noten ad loc.). It is easy to see how pavim could be
substituted for an original paṇīm under the influence of kham; a
reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent.

lās tāvi viṣantu manosā śivena (TB. mahosā svena) AV. TB. The English
words ‘mind’ and ‘might’ substantially reproduce the rime, and are
derived from the same roots. Cf. next,

ut satanām māmakānām manānāi (TS. mahānāi) RV. SV. VS. TS.
Cf. prec.

dviśadhyah prati muṇcāmi pāṣam (HG. pāpaṃ) SMB. ApMB. HG.
The two words are near-synonyms; pāṣam is clearly original.

upa śreṣṭhā na āśiṣah (MS. āśirah) AV. TS. MS. KS.
panasvaye saṁyasaṇeṣv (SV. varanęṣv) akramuḥ RV. SV. Quasi-
synonyms; ‘at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)’.

asya (AŚ. mana) snuṣā śuṣuṣasya praṣiṣṭām (AŚ. praṇiṣṭau) TB. AŚ.
Complete change of meaning as well as syntax.

svāhā tā va śūrasya (MS. vātāya sūr) . . . vṛṣṭivanaye (MS. sānaye) . . .
MS. TA. ApŚ.
CHAPTER XX. GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858. There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between b and r, th and dh, t and dh, p and v, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion; it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

§859. The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters n and r. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between p and y, c and v, gh and dh, d and r, s and m, t and n. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

n and r

§860. The variation between n and r is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,
the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between \( n \) and \( r \), so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā \( n \) and \( r \) before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861. We present first cases of \( n \) and \( r \) not combined with other consonants:

\[ \text{インド}: 
\text{enam} \, \text{jarate (MS. KS. janate, but MS. p.p. jarate, KS. v. l. jarîte) svādhi} \, \text{RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB, ApMB. N.} \]
\text{One ms. of KS. reads jarite, and the p.p. of MS. jarate; this is clearly the proper reading.}

\[ \text{मृत्तिके} 
\text{hana (MahānU. hara) me pāpam TA. MahānU. Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots han and hr in such a context (‘destroy’ and ‘take away’).}
\text{asadan (TS. asanan) mātaram purah (TS. punah) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.}
\text{avimuktacakra (v. l. ṭrā) āśīrin PG.: vivṛttacakra āśināh HG. ApMB.}
\text{tari mandrasu prayaksu AV.: stanī mandras suprayakṣu KS. Others,}
\text{§830.}
\text{taṇīr varṣīṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā MS.: mahāntam gahareṣṭhām SV.}
\text{nirṛtho (MS. ṭo) yāḥ ca nivanaḥ (AV. ṭraḥ) AV. MS. TA.}
\text{nigalgalitī dhārakā VS. ŠB.: ni jalgulitī (KS. j jalgalitī, mss., em. ṭitti) dhānikā TS. KSA.}
\text{deva puraścarā sahīṣṭaṁ (MS. devapuraś carasa ṛḍhyāsaṁ; p.p. deva, punar iti punah, carase, etc.) tvā MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. The text of MS. is corrupt in both readings.}
\text{mā na ṛṣyaḥ param avarāṁ mānandaṁ MS.: mā naḥ param adharam (MS. param adhamam) mā rajo ‘naiḥ (MS. niḥ) TA. MŚ. Two}
\text{cases; adharam: adharam, and mā rajo: mānado- (corrupt).}
\text{rved dhokṣā (TB. nṛṣadhyo ḍpā) pāprathānebhīr evaiḥ RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. But ṛ may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for ru;}
\text{§684.}

§862. Next, \( n \) and \( r \) before other consonants; note one case in RV.

\[ \text{visvāny anyo (RV. *KS. aryo) bhuvanā jajāna RV. (both) MS. KS. TB.}
\text{In different contexts.}
\text{baliśardāya (KSA. ṭandāya) svāhā KSA. TB. ApŚ. Apparently}
\text{baliśardāya is intended.}
\text{iluvarāya (KSA. alivandāya) svāhā KSA. TB. ApŚ. Follows the prec.}
\text{gaurī (TB. TA. gaurī, AV. gaur in). mīmāya salilāni takṣātī RV. AV.}
\text{TB. AA. TA. N.}
vedyur (ApMB. vidyun) me asya devāḥ RV. AV. KS. ApMB. See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xxiv. vidyun is doubtless a corruption due to unintelligent thought of vidyut; it is read by all mss. and confirmed by the comm., who says that t for visarga is chāndasat vidyur is 3d plural verb form.

śite vāte punamīna iiva (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. 1. of KSA. punarniva) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. The persistence in the mss. of the impossible punarniva is striking. ni nivartana varayendrago nandabudha (KS. nandabala) TS. KS. ApMB. See §273.

adyā teva vavvan (KS. vardhan) surekanāḥ RV. KS. TB. ukhāin srawantim agradām aganem (MŚ. akarma) KS. MŚ. anārbhava mṛda KS. ApŚ. The ms. of KS. reads anānbhava, em. v. Schroeder; see p. w. 5, Nachträg. Cf. anābho mṛda dhāṛte (read dhāṛta with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ. See §749.

§863. As to n and r after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems agni and agra. A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV. 10. 18. 7d, ā rohantu janayo yonim agra, into which by substituting agneḥ for agra there was introduced a justification for widow-burning: ‘Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning’ was made to mean ‘Let the women mount into the seat of fire’. In the Vedic occurrences of this pāda, which is found also in AV. and TA., there is no authority for this change. There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative agra and the vocative agne. It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem agra is evidently original, and the stem agni secondary. The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion.

§864. The list is as follows; the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms agra and agne:
dhvāntam vātāgram anuvānasracarantam (PB. abhisan*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.: dhvāntā vātā agnīm (mss. of both vātāgnīm) abhi ye sam- carantī MŚ. MG. Clearly agnīm is secondary.

agra vikṣu pradīdayat RV.: agne vikṣu pratīdayat TB. (Poona ed. agra without v. l., but comm. he agne.)
tubhyam agra (MG. agne) pary avahan RV. AV. PG. ApMB. MG.
agra (MŚ.*KS.*MŚ. agne) bhann uṣasām urdhvo asthāt RV. VS. TS. MŚ.*KS.*ŚB. ApŚ., and Pratīkas AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Rvidh. BrhD.
tenemam agra (TB. agna) iha varcasā īsvamaṅgāthi KS. TB. Here, by exception, agna (=agne) may be the original reading; one accented ms. of KS. leaves agra unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be agna) was intended.

tavāham nāma bibharāny agne (AŚ. agre) TS. AŚ.: tavāham agne bibhaarāny nāma MS. Here it seems even more probable that agne is the older reading.

[agne (TB. agne, but Poona ed. text and comm. agre) yajñasya śocataḥ (KS. TB. cetaṭaḥ) RV. KS. TB.]

[agne (AV. agre) samidham āhārṣam AV. Kauś. agre is only an emendation in the Berlin ed., which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation.]

§865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following:

aksānant vagnum (MS. .leave away) upajighnamānaḥ (MS. avajighram ápah) MS. TB. TA. The MS. is certainly wrong. TB. comm. upahatam kuruva.

gīrā ca (AV. virājahi) śrustiḥ sabharā asan naḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Whitney on AV. adopts śrustiḥ with most mss.; Ppp. suṇiṣṭas. See §57.

urdhvacitaḥ (MS. KS. śkritah) śrayadhwaṃ (VS.† śna) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. Doubtless corruption, if not misprint; see §195.

c and v

§866. Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots vi-crt and vi-crt, in all of which the sense is more favorable to vi-crt, ‘unloosen’; also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases  sa and  sav. The others are sporadic.

agninī hotāram antarā viśṛṭṭāḥ AŚ.: hotāram aghan antarā viśṛṭṭāḥ ApŚ. ‘Bonds’ are referred to, which are ‘loosened’ by this stanza, so that viśṛṭṭāḥ is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect. fac. It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall ‘bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them’.

ṛtasya tantum vitataṁ viśṛtya (VS. viśṛtya, AV. dṛśe kam) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. The true reading is probably viśṛtya. So Poona ed. of TB. text and comm., tho with v. l. viśṛtya; comm. gloss guruṣṭra-mukhāṃ niścṛtya, which looks as if he had read viśṛtya and taken it from vi-vr ‘elucidate’, a meaning which can hardly be right in any
case. MahānU. reads viṛtya without recorded variant; comm. gloss eti sandīpena sandīpya, which is obscure to us.

[virśaṁ madhyamaṁ çṛṣa (TB. and MS. v. l. virs) RV. KS. TB. MS. So Conc., seemingly erroneously; MS. has çṛṣa without recorded variant, and Poona ed. of TB. likewise çṛṣa text and comm. with no v. l.]

śabali prajānāṁ śaśiṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ. śaśiṣṭhā vrajam) anugeśam svāhā PB. ApŚ.

[viryebhīr (MS. viṛebhir, AV. yau viryair) vīratamā śaśiṣṭhā (TB. saśr) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But Poona ed. of TB. śaśiṣṭhā in text and comm. without v. l.]

[devānāṁ devatamā śaśiṣṭhā (TB. saśr) MS. TB. Again Poona ed. of TB. saśr without v. l.]

viṣṣi (or viṣṭi) svāhā MahānU.: viṣṭyaī svāhā TA. TAA. There is also a v. l. ciṣṭi in MahānU. The word is meaningless. Comm. viṣṭi, which he does not explain; he quotes also a v. l. vidhiṣṭa, Poona ed. of both TA. and TAA. viṣṭyaī, explained by comm. as for viṣṭyaī by Vedic license.

vakratunḍāya (TAA. caśra) dhīmaḥi TA. TAA.† MahānU.

sam arsvant roghudravah (VS infr. drucaḥ) RV. SV. VS. VSK. MS. Meaningless corruption in VSK.

ghṛtapratikāma va (TB. ca) ṛtaṣya dhūṛṣadam (TB. dhūṛṣa, Poona ed. dhūṛṣ) RV. TB. ApŚ. The sandhi shows that TB. is secondary and poor.

yatram cākhiprāmanasī (HG. vābh) ApMB. HG.

p and y

§867. A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group:

indṛapāṣya (two mss. indṛapāṣya) phaligam ApMB.: indṛayāṣya (corrupt; Kirate suggests indra ayāṣya) ṣepham alikam... HG.

kriyai šālyakaḥ (VS. šalpakaḥ) VS. MS. The p is a false reading; VS. comm. śāvīt.

byhaspataye šītpuṭaḥ (KSA.† šimyutah) TS. KSA. An otherwise unknown word; said to be a kind of cat.

prsthāyendrāṅgībhyaṁ somāṁ vocato po (KB. vocato yo) asmān... KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Read in KB. as the others (Keith).

sam bākhubhyāṁ dhamati (etc., §853) sam putatraih (KS. yajatraiḥ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

prapunavaṇa upa sṛṣṭata prapunavadbhya svāhā ApMB.: prayanvanta upaśṛṣṭa prayanavadbhyaḥ svāhā HG. Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable.
The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent:

\( mā \) (AG. MG. \( ā \)) \( tvā \) prāparṇa\( \) aghāyavah (MG. adya\( 
\) yavah) AG. SG.
ApMB. MG. The correct reading is \( mā \ldots \) aghāyavah 'Let not the malicious ones reach thee'. It is strange that apparently all
mss. of AG. MG. read \( ā \) at the beginning, preceded by anuvāra
at the end of the preceding pāda. (Stenzler assumes \( mā \).) The
further corruption in MG. seems an attempt to patch up a bad
job; it implies adya-āyavah 'may lives today reach thee.'

magham (MS., but not KS.†, madyam) indrāya jahhīre vs. MS. KS. TB.
'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra.' Indra's well-known bibulous
habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS., involving the
misreading of \( gh \) as \( dy \). Cf. next.

sa bibheda balam (VS. and Poona ed. TB. balam) magham (MS. madyam)
VS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. prec.

Ašāpāṣṭhādyā viṣā (read with Poona ed. of both \( ४हा \) gha viṣā) pari
no vyavkuta TB. TA.: śarā vaśād dhaviṣā vārvāḥ MS. (Poona ed. of
The MS. is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, \textit{ddh} for \textit{gh}, cf. §875; see also §838.

\textit{pālāṁ mā dyāvāprthivā adyaṁhāḥ} (Kauś. aghān naḥ, read \textit{adyāṁhāḥ})


[\textit{kevalāgho} (TB. kevalādyo, but Poona ed. text and comm. \textit{śālgho}) bhavati kevalādi RV. TB. N. Gloss in TB. comm.: \textit{pāpam eva saṁpādayati} na tu \textit{kīṁcid} api punyam.]

[\textit{sa ghā} (TB. sadāyā, read with Poona ed. text and comm. \textit{sa ghā}) no devaḥ savitā sahāvā (TB. savāya) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.]

[yad vā ghā (TA. vādyā, but Poona ed. vā ghā, and comm. vā ghā) satyam uta yan na vidma RV. TS. MS. KS. TA. There is a v. l. vādyā in TA. Poona ed., but gloss in comm. (\textit{yad eva kīṁcid}) proves that he read vā ghā.]

\textbf{§869}. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems \textit{diś} and \textit{viś}; both stems always appear in the plural number, cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 48, foot. These are of course rime words. In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain \textit{viś}. There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between \textit{d} and \textit{v}.

\textit{devāṁnāṁ patitr} (VS. patn̄yo, MS. patn̄ya) \textit{diśāḥ} (MS. KSA. \textit{tiśāḥ}) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The ‘wives of the gods’ must apparently be the ‘directions’, not ‘tribes’. This is the only case of original \textit{diś}, and even it is perhaps not certain.

\textit{ye vā nūnaṁ suvṛtāṁśaṁ viśkṣu} (AV. \textit{dikṣu}) RV. AV. A v. l. \textit{vikṣu} occurs in AV., and so Ppp. reads.

\textit{saṁvad viśāḥ} (TB. \textit{diśāḥ}) savitur dāvīyasya RV. TB. The change in TB. was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel \textit{bhuvanāṁ} in the next pāda.

\textit{viśāṁ} (TB. \textit{diśām}) \textit{patir abhavat vājinīvān} MS. TB. Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless \textit{viśām}.

\textit{viśo} (SV. \textit{diśo}) \textit{viśo anu prabhuh} (TB. \textit{prabhu}) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant.

\textit{ḥṛṣṇi krataṁ varaṁ} (MS. varṇamaṁ) \textit{viśv} (RV. \textit{apav}, MS. \textit{dikṣv}) \textit{agnim} RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.†

\textit{apa durkāḍdīśo jahi} Kauś. (read \textit{durkāḍdīśo}, Conc.)

dhātā vidhātā (MS. dhartā vidhartā) paramota saṁdhṛk (KS. paramo na saṁdhṛk) RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. N. saṁdhṛk perhaps ‘seizer’; certainly inferior.
avahpaṁjan viḍyud (TS. didyud) varṣan ... TS. MS. KS.
bhūmir iti tvāhhipramane te janāḥ AV.: yān tvā jano bhūmir iti praman-date VS. MS. KS. SB. The latter secondary and poor; Mahīdhara, stautī, which the verb can hardly mean.

$s$ and $m$

§870. Here the variants are quite miscellaneous:
kṛṣṇai tvāh suṣasyāyai (KS. tsaunasyāyai, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. Others, see §867. The original is clearly suṣasyāyai.
agni yān devān ayād ... tān saṣaṇuṣhīm (KS. ms. tān saṣaṇoṣṭhīr, ed. em. saṣaṇaṣṭhīr) hotrāṁ ... MS. KS. TB. The corrupt ms. reading of KS. seems to point towards the reading of MS. TB., rather than towards Von Schroeder’s emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version.
prāsaya (ArŚ. prakṛ) vrṣno aruṣasya nā sahaḥ (ArŚ. mahaḥ) RV. ArŚ. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. Synonyms.
athā jivaḥ (KS. adhā viṣṭalā, VS. ŠB. athaitām, AV. ahaṃdim) pitum (AV. annam) adhi prasūtaḥ (TS. MS. KS. pramuktaḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.
graha viśvajānīna niyantar viprāyaṁ te (MS. p.p. viprāya, mate; KS. niyantar viprā aśatt) MS. KS.
yasendrārhaspát (ArŚ. yaśō mendrā) ArŚ. PG. MG.
mā brāhmaṇasya (3c sā brā) rájanya AV. 5. 18. 1c, 3c. In the Berlin ed. mā is misprinted for sā in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc. But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error.
mahas te sato mahimā paṇasyate (SV. panisṭama) RV. AV. SV. VS.: mahaṅe te mahato mahimā AV. The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to mahato.
vahāśi mā (KS. tvaṁeśi sā) sukṛtāṁ yatra lokāḥ (KS. lokāḥ) KS. TB. Certainly KS. is secondary and inferior, but sā may refer to the jhūḥ.
tvaṣṭa dévaḥ sahāmaṁ indrāḥ MG.: tvaṣṭar deverbhis sahāmaṁ indra ApMB.
nilaṅgalalā AV.: nilagalamālaḥ śivaḥ paśya NīlarU. See §512. Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU., thinking of nila-gala and mala.
§871. The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters. Our list may be incomplete:


\[ tan mā jīva (KŚ. mārjita) TS. MS. KŚ. \] See §§354, 829.

\[ dhātā vidhātā (MS. dhartā vidhartā) paramola sanātṛk (KŚ. paramo na sanēṛk) RV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. N. \] See §835.

\[ yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU. nāṇyo, v. l. māṇyo) bhāgo yan (TAA. Poona ed. 'yanī) nāmne (MahānU. yathān me, v. l. yan nāmne) svāhā TAA. MahānU. \]

\[ upa stuḥi (Poona ed. snuhi) tair nṛṁṇāṁ (Poona ed. nṛmaṇāṁ) athādrām TA. (Other forms, see §110.) The mss. of the comm. vary between stuḥi and snuhi; gloss bhūmāu prasāvaya, pointing to snuhi. \]

\[ yāṁ apīta upatiṣṭhanta āpah LŚ.: yāṁ āpīnāṁ upasīdanty āpah AV. \]

\[ prapīnāṁ (MŚ. v. l. 'tam, TS. ApŚ. prapītām) agne sarāsya (MŚ. sarīsya) madhye VS. TS. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. \]

\[ ghṛtāṁ duḥānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ (TB. ApMB. prapīnāḥ, AVPPp. pravīnāḥ) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. \]

\[ ǫvītē dyāvāprthivē rāvrdhau MS. KŚ.: ǫvinne dyāvāpraśthivā dhṛtavrata TS. TB. \]

\[ ǫvītē (TS. ǫvinnau) mitrāvarṇau dhṛtavratau (TS. ०व राव हर्द) VS. TS. MS. KŚ. SB. Others with ǫvitē: ǫvinna, see Conc. 188. \]

\[ grāmāṁ sajānayo ṭgaḥanti ApMB.: grāmān sajātayo yanti HG. \]

\[ jāmin itvā mā viviśi lokān TA.: jāmin rtvā māva patai lokāti AV. \]

\[ vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (*no) . . . , mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno . . . , see §209. \]

\[ savītā bhṛtyāṁ (KŚ. ms.† manyām) TS. KŚ. See §242. \]

§872. The variants are few:


\[ vājinaṁ šepena VS.: šeṣo vājīnena MS. But MS. p.p. šepah; read certainly šeṣo. \]

\[ ye tāṭpur (TB. tāṭpur) devatā jehamāṇāḥ RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. ‘Thirsted’: ‘delighted’. \]
â and prâ
§873. In Devanâgari, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV. itself: āvo (and prâvo) yudhyantam evâbham daśâyam RV. (both) āsmâ abhâvann āśāh AV.: prâsmâ āśā abhâvan TA.
āvat tam (TA. Conc. prâvartam, comm. âvartam; Poona ed. text. and comm. âvâr tam; so also KS. ms.) indraḥ sacyā dhamantam RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

s and p, pt, pr, bh, t
§874. The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with s (on s and m see §870):
sukhârṇī somasâtsaru AV.: suśevani somâritosaru (TS. sumâtisaru) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. VâDh. See §180. s and p (t).
rasena sam asr̥k̥śmahi (RV. agasmahi, KS. LŚ. agamanahi, AV. JB. āpr̥k̥śmahi) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. s and p.
[āptān manâ TS. MS. KS. TB. MS. ApŚ. So read in TB., for which Bibl. Ind. ed. has āsan.]
sacyutim (AŚ. pracyutim) jaghanacryutim MS. TB. AŚ. Preceded by a pâda ending in sacyutim (MS. hastacyutim). Perhaps the AŚ. variant (s: pr) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety).
anugrāsâ (PB. anugrābhaś) ca evtrahan RV. AV. PB. The original is a nom. pl. of an-ugra, PB. misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of s to bh.
yad adya dugdham prthivim asr̥pta (TB. ApŚ. asakta, MS. abhakta) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MS. Again bh is secondary to s.
agne svāṁ (TS. TB. svāṁ, ŚB. tvāṁ) yonim ā śīda sādhyā (VS. ŚB. sādhyā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. sv: tv, the latter secondary.

gh and dh and other similar letters
§875. The only common graphic interchange of gh, that with dy, has been treated in §868. The shift between dh and gh has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic:
ghānāṅgānâ aga (SV. aghe) parehi RV. AV. SV. VS. N. The SV. is certainly corrupt; see Benfey's Nachtrâge to SV. text, p. 258. Benfey curiously retains aghe in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name Apēd. gh: pv.
agáhád eko 'hutád ekaḥ . . . TS.: adhvád eko 'ddhád eko hutád ekaḥ . . . MS.
gh: dhv or ddh.
imá udeásikáriṇa ime . . . TB. ApŚ.: imá uddhásicáriṇa ime . . . MS.
ddh: dv.
ruvad dhokśá (TB. nruadbhyo 'ksá) paprathánebhir evaḥ RV. MS. AB.
KB. TB. The TB. is secondary; ddh: dhbh.

v and j, z, tr, th
§876. Compare §§866, 869 for v and c, d.
pra viśṭimínam áviśuh AV. VS. SS.: pra saḿhrétinam ájiśuh LŚ. The
whole passage is obscure; LŚ. doubtless secondary, with j for v.
usráv (VSK. usrá) etain dhúrśáhau (VSK. MS. dhúrváhau) . . . VS. VSK.
TS. SB. MS. Others, §122. ʂ: v.
[vairájí (KSA. ʂ'je) purúśi (so also KSA. ʂ, Conc. wrongly purúvi)
TS. KSA.]
[pra yáḥ satrácá (TB. sa váčá, but comm. and Poona ed. text satrácá)
manásá yajāte (TB. ʂ'lä, Poona ed. text and comm. ʂ'te) RV. TB.]
[saṁ te prášváva śiyálam AV.: sam u préśháva (read prósváva with Poona
ed. text and comm., tho v. 1. préśháva) śiyálam TA.]

y and s, th
§877. For y and p see §867; for dy and gh, §868.
práváh satřh kavásāh (KSA. kaváyah) súmbhamánaḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA.
See Keith’s note on TS. While the meaning of kavásāh is quite
uncertain, kaváyah (found also in some TS. mss.) is probably only a
graphic lect. fac.
tad asya priyam abhi pátho aśyām (TB. asthām, Poona ed. aśyām)
RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. See §287.
apámityam (AŚ. apám ittham) iva saṁbhara MS. KS. AŚ. The AŚ. is
an absurd graphic blunder.
samíddho agnír vratśváratír (AV. ʂ'vā rathī, SS. ʂ'vā rayiv) divañ RV. AV, AB.
AŚ. SS. Here the reverse error, y for th, has occurred in SS.; see
§93.

Miscellaneous

§878. Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in charac-
ter:
áptye (AV. *apriye, *deśate) sam naḿasari RV. AV.
* The AV. comm.
reads áptye for apriye. But the variant deśate suggests that apriye
must have been known in very early times; and indeed Ppp. reads
apriye (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 220). The RV. says: 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya'. The AV. charmer knows little and cares less about this old mythological character; with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy'. Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to pty to pr may have shared, the further change to dviṣate would be unintelligible.

tāsāṁ viśiṣṭaṁ (KS. viśīṣṭaṁ) MS. KS.: teṣāṁ viśeṣaṁ (VS. ŚB. *ānam eva 'ham) VS. TS. ŚB. *sa(y); pr. Both words are obscure; Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS. KS. meant the same.

pratiṣṭrutkāya artanam (TB. ptulam) VS. TB. n: l. Possibly phonetic; cf. §273.

khanyābhyaḥ (KSA. khalyāḥ) svāhā TS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests reading with TS. n: l; cf. preceding.

anarṣārātiṁ (SV. alarṣārātiṁ) vasudāṁ upa stuhī RV. SV. AV. N. See §292. n: l.

śāsvat parikupilena (HG. *pilena) ApMB. HG. t: l. Oldenberg abandons the HG. reading.

abhi yo na írasyati (AV. no durasyati) RV. AV. The AV. reading (found also in Pp. as durasyatu, Barret, *JAOS* 26. 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV., which is antiquated and limited to RV. du: i.

CHAPTER XXI. SANDHII

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f. (nasal as ‘Hiatustilger’), 338 ff. and 395 ff. (v and y as ‘Hiatustilger’), 709 and 731 (elision of final a before initial e and o), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful; not a few new principles have come out of the study.

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Pratiṣṭhākhyas, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or
different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions; and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882. For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final s before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is not at all the case, for instance, with the 'abhinimita' sandhi (initial a after final e and o).

§883. The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final na and o before initial vowels (except, in the case of o, initial a). Next, the 'abhinimita' sandhi, final e and o before initial a. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of o after e and o in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages; for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final a vowels followed by initial vocalic r; here novel and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final n, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual n, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final s before initial t, linguallized after non-a vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the TaRittiriya school (often also in KS.). Regarding final s before initial k and p, the TaRittiriya school is again exceptional in that it usually has h, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after a vowels. After a few cases of final r before k and p, we come to final s before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant; here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial s after final non-a vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to s). We conclude with a section on secondary eriss or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.
§886. Here are treated variants concerning \( au \) before all initial vowels and \( o \) before all except short \( a \) (abhinihita sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit:

(a) AV. writes \( \dot{a}v \) for \( au \), but \( a \) for \( o \), without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr. 2. 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV., AVŚ. shows \( \dot{a} \) for \( au \) before \( u \); Ppp. has the regular \( \dot{a}v \).

(b) All other schools treat \( au \) and \( o \) in a quite analogous manner. Thus Mātrāyaṇiya and Kāthaka texts, and VŚK, write \( \dot{a} \) for \( au \) and \( a \) for \( o \) before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr. 4. 124; for the practice of VS. see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Mātr. texts; cf. krūdatām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau MS. 5. 1. 3. 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v. 1. On the other hand, at MS. 3. 5. 14c Knauer reads yatra cuskutad agra evaitat, without any ms. authority; the corrupt ms. are closer to agra, the expected form.

(c) Taittiriya texts write \( \dot{a}v \) and \( av \) before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr. 10. 19, which prescribes \( a \) and \( a \). But 10. 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says \( \dot{a}v \) and \( av \) should always be written; this is favored by the comm. on TPr., and is according to Weber the regular usage of the ms. of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait. school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV., SV. (very few instances), and VS.—write \( \dot{a} \) and \( a \) before \( u \)-vowels, but \( \dot{a}v \) and \( av \) before other vowels. So RPr. 129 (2.9) and 135 (2. 11); and so VPr. 4. 125 gives the opinion of 'some', opposed to its own rule 4. 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize: before \( u \)-vowels, Tait. texts write \( \dot{a}v \) and \( av \); AV. writes \( \dot{a}v \) for \( au \) but \( a \) for \( o \); others \( \dot{a} \) and \( a \).

(f) Before other than \( u \)-vowels, Mātr. texts, KS., and VŚK, write \( \dot{a} \) and \( a \); AV. writes \( \dot{a}v \) but \( a \); all others \( \dot{a}v \) and \( av \).

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final \( o \) of voc. sing. forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf. Wackernagel I §273b; the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

§886. The variants of \( au \) before \( u \)-vowels are the following:

\( aśīnau dvayaksunena (MS. KS. \text{a}rayā) prāṇāpānāv (MS. KS. \text{\textasciitilde}nā) uḍ ajayatām TS. MS. KS.

\( aśā (ApŚ. \text{a}śā-asāv) upahavyaṣa ŚŚ. ApŚ.

\( asmākaṃ yonā (ApŚ. yonāv) udare suśevāḥ MS. ApŚ.


imani yajñam juçamānā (TB. *yāv) upetam MS. TB.
upasthe mātuh surabhā (TS. *bhāv) u loke RV. TS. MS. KS.
ubhā (AV. ubhāv) upasthau prathomā pāvāva RV. AV.
urūṣagāva (TA. ura) asutrapā (AV. TA. *pāv) udambalau (TA. ulu)
RV. AV. TA. ĀŚ.
kā (TA. kāv, AV. VS. kim) āra pāda (TA. pāda) uceto RV. AV. VS. TA.
The only exception to the rule in AV. Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42.
113) reads pāda, regularly,
dauvā hotāravā uṛdhvam (VS. MS. *rā uṛdhvam; KS. hotārordhram)
VS. TS. MS. KS. t18. 17a. In KS. the form hotārā, not *rau, is
concerned.
nā yona (TS. yonā) uṣṭāsā VS. TS. MS.
rakṣohayau (VS. SB. *nau vāṁ) valagahanā (TS. Apś. *hanāv) upa9
... VS. VSK. TS. KS. SB. Apś.
syone kṣudhavā surabhā (TS. *bhāv) u loke VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

§887. The variants of o before u-vowels are:
uṣṭena vīṣṇa (ApMB. vāyav) udakenehi (with varr.) AV. SMB. ApMB.
AG. GG. PG.
deva vīṣṇa (Apś. vīṣṇav) uev ... PB. KS. Apś. MS.
divo vā vīṣṇa (TS. vīṣṇav) uta vā prthivyāh VS. TS. KS. SB.: divo vīṣṇa
etc. AV. MS.
maho vā vīṣṇa (AV. maho vīṣṇa) uror antarikṣāt (TS. vīṣṇav uta vān-
tarikṣāt) AV. VS. TS. KS. SB.
vīṣṇa (TS. Apś. vīṣṇav) urukrama ... VS. TS. MS. SB. Apś. MS.

§888. The variants of uu before other than u-vowels are:
aṅav (VSK. MS. KS. MS. aṅav) aṅjav carati praviṣṭāh AV. VS. VSK.
TS. MS. KS. SB. AS. Apś. MS. SMB.; pratiśka, Vuit. KS. Kauś.GG.
agnisomāv (MS. MS. KS. *somā) imani su me RV. TS. MS. KS. TB.
AS. Apś. MS. SS.
aṁśaṁ nābhā (MS. KS. nābhā) adhy ekam arpitam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
asāv (MS. KS. MS. asā) anu mā ... MS. KS. LŚ. MS. Apś.
āyur dcdhād yajñāpatav (MS. KS. *āt) aśhrutam RV. SV. Āś. VS. MS.
KS. LŚ. Apś.
imau bhādravu dhuryāv (MS. *yāv) abhi SV. MS. JB.
usṛav etam ... VS. TS. SB. MS. Apś. KS.: usṛav etam ... VSK. KS.
In MS. the rule is violated; no v. l. reported.
golapha sakulāv (VSK. *tā) iva AV. VS. VSK. SS. LŚ.
tāv (KS. tā) iva saṁ ... TS. KS. SB. TB. Apś. HG. BrhU.: tāv iva saṁ ... AV.: tāv iva (MG. tā eva) iva ... AG. SS. PG. MG.:
tāv iva saṁ ... AB.
dīkṣito 'yam asā āmuṣyāyaḥ Mahā Ś. MS.: adīkṣiṣṭāyaṁ brāhmaṇo 'sāv āmuṣya ... ApŚ.
daivāḥ hotārāgnāḥ (KS. ĀŚ.  "gna, ŚŚ.  "rā agna) ājñasya vītam MS. KS. ĀŚ. ŚŚ.  Since ŚŚ., if it stands for hotārau, is contrary to the rule which requires  "rāv, we should perhaps read hotārāgna also in ŚŚ., or consider it a case of hiatus between hotārā and agna; the other texts of course have the form hotāra, not  "rau.  No v. l. reported for ŚŚ.
nabhaḥ ca nabhaśyaḥ ca vāṣṭikāv (VSK. MS. KS.  "kā) rīty VŚ. VSK. MS. TB. ŚB. KS.
namucāv (VSK. MS. KS.  "cā) āsūre sacā RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.
pathacabhir dhāta vi dadhāv (MS. KS. dadhā) idam ... TS. MS. KS. BUT MS. P.P. dadhe.
putram iśva pitārāv (VSK. MS. KS.  "rā) aśvinobhā RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ĀŚ. ApŚ.
prajānāṃ samidhendur āghārāv ājñjayaḥ (KSA. āghārā ājjabhāgā) āṣrutām TS. KSA.
madhayaḥ stokāv (MS.  "kā) apra tavrārādha TS. MS. muṣkāv (VSK. muṣkā) id asyā ejatah AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. yaṣṇasya yuktau abhyāv (TB. ApŚ.  "yāv) abhātām (MS.  "thām) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ.
yadd cariṇyā milhunāv (MS.  "nā) abhātām RV. MS. N. yo 'sāv (MU. 'sā) dāitye purusah sa 'sāv (MU. 'sā) akam VS. MU. rādhaṃvat sariprācānāv (MS. MS.  "si  "nā) asaṃ ... MS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MS.
vīṣṇuḥ śīpīveṣa īṭāvā (VSK. īṭāvā) āṣannah VS. VSK.: śīpīveṣa īṭā āśādyaṃmināḥ KS.
sacetasāv (VSK.  "śa, MS. samokasau sacetasā) arepasa VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: samokasā (KS.  "sā) arepasau TS. KS. Kauś. samiddhe agnāv (VSK. MS. KS. agnā) aulhi māmāhṇāh VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.,
samrajāv (MS.  "ja) asya bhavanaṃ rājathaḥ RV. MS. sarvasatām aśvināv (VSK. MS. KS.  "nā) indrām aṇāvam VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
sahā ca sahakāv ca haimantikāv (VSK. MS. KS.  "kā) rīty VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
upa (MS. utā) no mitrāvarṇāv iḥāvatam (MS.  "nā ihāvatam) MS. TB. TA.
ṛtena sthūnāv (MG. ṛteva sthūnā) adhi ... ApMB. HG. MG.
tena (TB, tato) no mitrāvāryāv (MS, ⁴sā) avīṣṭam (TB, avt) RV. MS. TB.

madhuv ca mādhavā ca vāsantīkāv (VSK, MS, KS, ⁴kā) rtu VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

vaiṣṇavīcaruṇā (TB, ⁴yāv) abhidātipāsa (TB, ⁴pā vām) MS. TB.
yāv (MS, KS, yā) utmanad ... AV. TS. MS. KS.

agnim ve yonāv (VSK, MS, KS, yonā) abhār ukhā VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

ahāv (MS, KS, ahā) anadatā hate AV. TS. MS. KS.

à tathāv (VSK, MS, KS, tathā) anītāni divi RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

indravāhāv (KS, ⁴hā) rōhavo vājaratīnāh RV. KS.
mitrāvāryāv (VSK, ⁴yāv, MS, indrāvāryāv) algābhyām VS. VSK. MS, vāsantīkāv (KS, ime vās?, MS, KS, ⁴tikā) rtu abhākalamānāh VS. MS. KS. TB.

śāhīrāv (MS, ⁴rāv, KS, ime śāhīrāv) rtu abhākalamānāh TS. MS. KS. SB.
iṣak ca saukha ca śāradāv (VSK, MS, KS, ⁴dāv) rtu VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

ubhā dātārāv (VSK, MS, KS, ⁴rāv) iṣānī rayānām RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

ko na vāṁ mitrāvāryāv (MS, ⁴yāv) rtāyan RV. MS. KB. SB.
tapāš ca tapasyaś ca śāhīrāv (VSK, MS, KS, ⁴rāv) rtu VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

devi uṣādāv (VSK, MS, ⁴sāv) aśvinā VS. VSK. MS. TB.

daiyāv (VSK, ⁴yāv) adhavyā d gatam VS. VSK. SS.
dhanasitāv (VSK, MS, KS, ⁴tāv) ihāvatu VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

praharṣiyāv (KS, ms, ⁴man, ed. em.) madirasya made mrōsāv (KS, ⁴sā) astu ... KS. ApŚ.

mahāntāv (MS, ⁴tāv) indrāvarṇā mahāvasā RV. MS.

yājñasya pakṣā (TS, ⁴gāv) prayo bhavanti TS. MS. KS.

yat prthivyāv yad urāv (VSK, MS, KS, urāv) antarikṣe VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

yā (AV, omits) rājanye dundhubhāv (KS, ⁴bhāv) ayatāyāv AV. KS. TB.

yu no mitrāvarṇāv abhidātipā abhidāsati (TS, ⁴varṇāv abhidāsati) TS. MS. imau (KauŚ, yau) te pakṣāv (VSK, MS, KS, pakṣā) ajarau putatriyāv (VSK, TS, ⁴ks, ⁴sā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. KauŚ.

rājānāv samitisūv (VSK, MS, KS, ⁴tāv) ima RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

vyāvas ārohaṇavāvāv (KSA, ⁴hā) anadvānau TS. KSA.

vyānāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvāvাতালra RV. KS.
sūdrāryāv (VSK. MS. KS. 嵖�ा) aṣṭijelām VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. śriś ca te lakṣmī ca patnyāv (VSK. 嵖yna) [ahorātre] VS. VSK. saṁ yāv api naṣṭho (MS. yā apnaḥsthā) api shave janān RV. MS. sajoṣasāv (VSK. が始ま) aśvinā dañṣobhī VS. VSK. ŠB. sahaśrasā (RV. also 𪟝sān) mehaśītāv (VSK.  بدا) ieva tmanā RV. (bis) VSK. KB. (This RV. repetition is omitted in RVRep.) somārudrāv (MS. 为抓) iha su miṣataṁ naḥ RV. AV. MS. stauṁi devāv (MS. KS. devä) aśvinau nāthito jñāvīmi TS. MS. KS. hatāghaṣitenā (TB. 何必) ābharadavišā MS. KS. TB. hatāghaṣītena (VSK. 何必) ābhaṛītān vasu vāryāni VS. VSK. TB. hemantaśīrāv (VSK. MS. KS. 何必) ṛtā (TS. ṛtāmā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. hotārāv (VSK. MS. 何必) indram aśvinā VS. VSK. MS. TB. hotārāv (VSK. MS. KS. 何必) indram prathamaṁ suvācā VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§890. The variants of o before other than u-vowels are:

udhayavahā prā cikītā gaviṣṭāu (VSK. gaviṣṭāu) RV. VS. VSK. kuśit su no gaviṣṭaye (MS. KS. gaviṣṭaye) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. Aś. Apāś.

eyāṃhā ṛkariye ye gaviṣṭāu (VSK. gaviṣṭāu) RV. VS. VSK. AB. KB. eko bahūnām asi manyav uṣṭah (AV. manya uṣṭa) RV. AV. lan teu uṣṭāvan (VSK. ｕṣṭa) imahe RV. SV. VSK. ŠB. tava vāyav (VSK. vāya) ṛaspate RV. VS. VSK. ŠB. niyutaxa vāyav (VSK. vāya) ā gahi RV. Arāśi. VS. VSK. niyudhīr vāyav (VSK. MS. KS. vāya) iṣṭaye duvase RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. niyudhīr (AV. vijugbhir) vāyav (AV. VSK. MS. vāya) iha ... AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŠB. TA. Aś. Āś. Apāś. maitrāvarṇayā eva manasādhvayāv (MS. 何必) ādāvā (eiti) TS. ŠB. KŚ. Apāś. MŚ.

vasaṭ te viṣṇav (KS. viṣṇa) āsa a kṛṣṇom RV. SV. TS. KS. AŚ. vy aṣṭābhinā (etca., §137) rōdaśi viṣṇav (VSK. MS. KS. viṣṇa) ēte RV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŠB. TA.

sahasrā śūnava (MS. KS. śūnā) akruta RV. TS. MS. KS. §890. In the following o of voc. sing. is retained without change: sa no muṣobhīḥ pilo (AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jörgensen] pito) āvāsava (AŚ. āvācha) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB. tāse adhvayav adhāve* ... ŚŚ.: tāse adhvayaṁ indrāya ... AB. AŚ.
bhraspatisulasya ta (MS. ta; KS. omits) indo (MS. KS. inda) indri?
TS. MS. KS.: bhraspatisulasya deva soma ta inda indri? VSK.

INITIAL a AFTER FINAL e AND o

§891. In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial a is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (abhinihita), while in the other form both the a and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of a. On the probable actual pronunciation of e, o when followed by written a, see Wackernagel I p. 324; the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

§892. On the principles governing writing or elision of initial a after e and o the Prātiśākhyaśas give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the a is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (ṛṣu).

§893. Early statements in western grammars add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the a was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, Grammar §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text.'

§894. Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APR. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV. instances, that:

(a) In prose passages, a is omitted seven times out of eight.

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, l. c., p. 324, bottom) of a, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven.

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of a, it is written nine times out of ten; except that at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five.

§895. If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from
Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f., Wackernagel I p. 325.

**General practice of Vedic texts**

§896. Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the a, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the a frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the a in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the a came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the a was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out; perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is: since the a would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts; while in prose texts the a tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

**Evidence of the variants**

§898. In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial a is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial a; whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the a is elided in four-fifths of such cases.
in the AV.; and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr. 138 (2. 13) requires that a should never be written in this position.

§899. Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms: a written and a elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of a, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the advocateus diaboli, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV. passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV., mentioned in §894. Thus: in metrical passages where a is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases; the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where a is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases; the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV. are very few (only 5); in two of them a is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

Metrical passages

§901. The a is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants; it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902. When the a is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV., written 21 times, omitted 4; AV. 25 to 12; TS. 19 to 7; MS. 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS. (10 to 6) and KS. (20 to 16). SV. forms a striking exception; among the variants it has a written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no
accident due to the small numbers; they also write a 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV. school clearly tended against the writing of a, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of a predominates in the SV. school much more than in the others). While the SV. and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping a when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV. school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV. itself 21 to 4).

§903. When the a is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904. Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of a or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

Prose passages

§905. In the prose variants the school texts of SV. show a considerable preponderance of elided over written a (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittirīya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS. has a majority for a written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that a was pronounced).

Table of final a written or omitted after e and o

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of a, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted.
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<td>PROSE PASSAGES</td>
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§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the a was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items): so adhvarān (AV. Kauś. ‘dhvarān) sa ṛīṇu kalpayāti RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SB. Kauś. anumate ’nu (KapŚ.† anu) manyasva na idam (AV. ‘nu idam manyasva) AV. KS. KapŚ. (quoted in note to KS.): anumate ’nu manyasva (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG. nir amuṁ bhaja yo ’mitro asya TB.: niṣṭām bhaja yo amitro asya AV. tatra chiśriye ’ja ekapādaḥ AV.† 13. 1. 6: tasmiṁ chiśriye aja ekapā TB. teṣaṁ yo ajjuṁnim (PG. ’jyuṁnim) ajjuṁnim āvahāt (SMB. Conc. ajjuṁnim āvahāḥ, but Jörgensen as other texts) TS. SMB. PG. BDh. rco aṣare (NṛpU. ’kṣare) parame vyomam RV. AV. GB. TB. TA. ŚvetU. NṛpU. N. yasmāḥ jāto na paro ’nyo (ŚŚ. anyo) asti JB. ŚŚ.; yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ PB.: yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti (NṛpU. ’sti) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU. ye agnayaḥ (TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ’agnayaḥ) samanasah (KS. adds sacetasah) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. tam tva viśve avantu (AV. ’vantu) āvah AV. ApMB. HG. A very poor pāda but intended for triṣṭubh.
yo 'syēśe dvīpado yaś catuspadaḥ AV.; ya śē asya (MS. KS. * śē yo asya)
dvīpadaḥ catuspadaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (both).
vaiśvānarā āṅgirāśāṁ (AV. 'āṅgira', AŚ. āṅgirabhyaḥ) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.
śucī śukre ahany ojasinā (MS. ahann ojasīne; KS. śukro ahany ojasīye;
AŚ. 'hany ojasīnām') TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
sūrya ahobhir (KS. sūrya [misprint] 'hobhir) anu tvāvatu KS. TB.
so asmān (MS. asmān) adhipatīn karotu TS. MS.: so 'smān adhipatīn
krūtāt ŚŚ.
svān tanvān (TS. TB. tanvān) varunō 'suzot (TS. TB. aśīśret) TS. MS.
KS. TB. It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS. KS.
reading to an anusūṭukh.
agnir ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhija MS.: agnir amṛto abhavad vayobhija (KS.
sahobhija) RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.
na ārya rvaṇukacāto āsnute (AV. 'āsnute) RV. AV. KS. TB. AŚ. Many
AV. mss. read āsnute.
adhī bṛvauṭu te 'vantu (TS. TB. ApŚ. avantu) asmān RV. AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
āṁkair deṣo ardaja (ŚŚ. 'rdaja) MS. ŚŚ.
annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB. 'smāsu) dhatta (MS. ApŚ. dhehi) VS. MS.
KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
anyāṁ te asman (NṛpU. 'smān) ni vapaṇtu senāḥ RV. TS. NṛpU.
anyo- 'nyo (Vait.-anyo) bhavati varṇo asya TB. Vait.
avāṣraṇ apo (TB. 'po) achā samudram RV. MS. KS. TB.
pra vartaṇa dīvo asmānam (AV. 'āsmānam, v. 1. asū) īndra RV. AV.
pradhā nāva na yavase 'visyan (TS. avisyan) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB.
namo astu (MS. 'stu) parāyaate AV. MS.
prāṇico agāma (TA. prāṇijo 'gāma) nṛṇye hasīya RV. AV. TA.
payo gṛheṣu payo 'stu tan naḥ MS.: payo vatsesu payo astu tan mayā
AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.
ye agraṇaḥ pāṇcajanyāḥ (MS. pūrīṣyāḥ) VS. ŚB. MS.: ye 'graṇaḥ
pūrīṣyāḥ (KS. 'grīṇāḥ) TS. KS. ApŚ. JUB.
dhāṭa samudra apa (AG. 'va) hantu pōpam AG. PG.: dhō saō abhayam
krūtāt MG.
śīśā krīḍāntau pari yāto adhvaram (AV. arṇavam, and 'ṛṇavam) RV. AV.
MS. TB.
namo astu (VS. ŚB. KS. PG. NīlarU. 'stu) sarpebhyaḥ RVKh. VS. TS.
ye 'do (MS. amy) rocane divāḥ RVKh. TS. MS. ApMB.
yo asyāḥ prthivyād tavci TB. ApŚ.: yo 'syāḥ (so all mss. but one, and so
Conc., but ed.† asyāḥ) prthivyā adhi tvacī MS.
yor naḥ stva (AV. stva yo) aranyah (SV. 'raṇah) RV. SV. AV. AG. ŚG. Oldenberg, Proleg. 40, thinks of inserting yo in RV., tho he fails to note that AV. reads so.

vaśrānavo adabdhās (AV. no adabdhās, TA. me 'dabdhās, MS. ApŚ. 'dabdhās) tanūpāḥ AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. ko ambādate (AŚ. 'mbā') dadat MS. AŚ.

maṇḍa so annam (AV. 'manam) atti yo vipaśyati RV. AV.

indra vājeṣu no 'va (TB. avar, KS. vaha) RV. AV. SV. ArŚ. MS. KS. TB. vad vā me api (LŚ. 'pi, Vait. api) gachati AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

ye agnayo dīva ye prthivyāḥ MS. ApŚ. MS.: ye 'gnayo dīvo ye 'ntarikṣāt KS. (wrongly printed as prose in ed.)

ye anagnidadhāye anagnidadhāḥ (TB. Poona ed. 'agni'; so v. I. of AV.) RV. AV. TB. AŚ.: ye anagniśvātāye 'yagniśvātāḥ (VS. anagni) VS. TB. ApŚ.

sā tvam asy amo 'ham (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. amo aham, ApMB. amāham, MG. ṣāya amo 'ham) KS. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.: sa tvam asy amo 'ham AB.

kikāsābhya anukyāt (ApMB. 'nār) RV. AV. ApMB.

te asmat (TS. 'smat) pāśān pra muñcante enasah (TS. amhasah) AV. TS. dīvo antēhyas (KS. 'nte) pari RV. SV. KS.

yo adya (PB. 'dīya) saumyo (AV. senyo) vadhah AV. PB. AŚ.—Ppp. 'dīya ucc. to Roth.

vyāghro vaiyāghre adhi (TB. 'dhi) KS. TB.: vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre AV. ye anneṣu (VS. KS. 'rneeṣu) vidhidhanti VS. TS. MS. KS.

vārṣiPad adhi (KS. 'dhi) nāke TS. KS. TB.

rājā me prāṇa amṛtam (TB. 'mṛtam) VS. MS. KS. TB.

idam (KS. 'ām) varco (AŚ. 'ādho) aigrinā (KS. 'griṇā) dattam āgāt (AV. āgān, KS. etu) AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.

vṛṣyamanāno vṛṣṭa (AV. 'vṛṣ) somaṃ RV. AV. TB.

śodātaye bhimaṁśihe (PG. 'ubhi) TS. KS. MS. SMB. PG.

kṛṣṇō (KS. kṛvān) anyān (TS. KS. ApŚ. anyān, MS. anyān, KS. 'nyān) adharān sapatnān AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

śravantu (PB. 'tv) āpo adha (PB. 'dhaḥ) kṣarantaḥ RV. PB.

so adharā (AB. 'dhvarā karati) jātavedāḥ AB. ŚB. Cadenced prose; cf. kṛtuo so ... annapate 'nāsya (MS. KS. MS. MG. 'an) no dehi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS. PrāṇaŋU. AG. ŚG. MG. SMB. Intended for triṅṭubh.

ayam yo ayasā yaṣya ta idam śīrah MS.: ayam yo 'si yaṣya ta idam śīrah KS. ApŚ.
§908. In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the a seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided: namo 'stu (TS. KS. astu) nilagrivāya (Nilau, nilāśīkhaṇḍāya) VS. TS. KS. Nilau. BhPc.

viśvaṃaś bhūtāya dhrvo (TS. Apś. bhūtāyādhvaro) astu (TS. 'si, Mś.† 'stu) devā (TS. omits) TS. KS. Apś. Mś. ye apsu śādāśi (KS. 'psu sa') cakrire MS. KS. ye te 'ryamān (KS. aryā) bahavo devayānāḥ TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a. vājinaṃ vājo 'vatu bhakṣa asmān VSK.: vājinaṃ bhakṣa avatu vājo asmān Apś.

yo 'gnīh (AŚ. gnīh) hōtāram avyatāh TS. AŚ. ŚŚ.† jātavedo maruto adbhīs (TB. 'dbhis) tamayite TB. Apś. kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (TA. MahānU. ati duritāty) agnīh AV. TA. MahānU.

aghorebhīyo 'tha (MS. atha) ghirebhīyaḥ MS. TA. MahānU. yāś ca devyo antān abhito tatantha SMB.: yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta (mss. tatantha) MG. See §63. The meter is poor in any case.

§909. We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the a may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written); or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions:

ane adya no anumatiḥ (AV. Kauś. 'nu') AV. MS. ŚŚ. Mś. Kauś. yān agnaye avatapyanta (TS. 'nva') dhignyāḥ AV. TS. MS. ye asmin (KS. 'smin) mahāty arsāve MS. KS. Mś. jyok kaṭre 'dhi jāgarat AV.: jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat HG. jyak evōre 'dhi (HG. adhi) jāgarat AV. HG. antarikṣe adhy (TS. KS. 'dhy) āsate TS. MS. KS. Mś. sarvābhya abhayāṁ (TB. 'bhayam) karat RV. AV. TB. N. gurḥo asya (MS. 'sy) oṣāḍhinām AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.—Ppp. also 'sy (Barret JAOS 48. 38).
tánvo adja (MS. 'dya) dadhātu me AV. MS.
vasanto asyāsidd (VS. 'syāsā) ājyaṁ RV. AV. VS. TA. The meter of VS
(with ājyaṁ) seems easier.
satyaṁ it tan na tvāvaṁ (MS. 'van) anyo asti (MS. 'sti) RV. MS. KS. TB.
The meter of MS. (tvāvaṁ?) is inferior.
ye 'smān abhyaḥgāyanti AV.: yo asmān abhyaḥgāyati AV.
urudhyām te aṣṭiṇavādyām (ApMB. 'ṣhi') RV. AV. ApMB.
te asmā agnayo (MS. 'ye, v. l. 'yo) draṁān datte ĀMS. ApŚ.: te 'smā
agnaye draṁānī datte KS. The meter of MS. ApŚ. Is very poor.
sviṣṭum no abhi (KS. 'bhi) vasiyo (AV. vasiyo) nayantu AV. TS. KS.:
sviṣṭam no 'bhi vasyo nayantu KS. MSŚ.
sūryāyā udho 'dityā (VSK. KS. adityā; KS. adīṭ) upasate VSK.
TS. KS. SS. KS.Ś.
eko vo deva apya (AV. 'py) aitiśhat AV. MS.: eko deva apya aitiśhat TS. KS.Ś.
Only MS. Is certainly inconsistent (a written but not pronounced).
bhesajanī gave 'śāya (MS. 'śāya) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. IŚ.: bhesajanī
gave 'śāya puruśāya KS. In the last the attaching of puruśāya
to this pāda makes the elision of ā better metrically,
mā va eno anyaktaṁ bhujena RV.: mā vayam eno 'nyākena bhujena
KS. In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation
are consistent.
tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante VS. ŚB. (a not pronounced): tām
dhīrāso kavyaḥ 'nudīśyāyajanta MS. (kavyaḥ looks like a secondary
intrusion, cf. KS. in next form; without it a-nu would have to be
pronounced): tām dhīrāso anudīśya (VSK. 'diśya) yajante (KS.
anudīśyāyajanta kavyaḥ) VSK. TS. KS. TB. (a pronounced).
anyāṁs te asman (KS. anye 'sman) nivāpantu tāh MS. KS. Both writings
are metrical. VS. TS. have anyam asman nīva tāh, which is
inferior to both MS. and KS.
yad vālo apya (MS. MS.Ś. 'po) aganaṁgan (TS. KSA. ApŚ. agamat) VS. TS.
MS. KSA. ApŚ. MS.Ś. Writing and pronunciation are consistent
in all texts except VS., where one of the initial a's must be omitted
in reading, tho both are written.
yo agnau rudro yo apya antah AV. (intended for triṣṭubh, reading agnau,
apya, and perhaps rud-ṛ-o, but more likely a syllable short): yo
'gnau rudro yo 'psv antah ŚirasU. (meant for anuṣṭubh; 'gnau,
'psū): yo rudro agnau yo apsa (MS. rudro 'psū yo 'gnau) ya oṣadhiṣu
TS. ApŚ. MS. (triṣṭubh; 'gnau, 'psū—inconsistent with the writing
of TS. ApŚ.): yo rudro agnau yo apsa, (then as new pāda, correct
Conc.) ya oṣadhiṣu yo vanaspatiṣu KS. (writing and pronunciation
consistent).
so asmān pātu sarvataḥ AV.: so 'smān pātu (prose) TS.

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53:
abhayaṃ vo 'bhayaṃ no astu (AB, AŚ: me 'stu) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: abhayaṃ me astu (AB,† 'stu) AB. ApŚ.

īṣe rāye (ApŚ. rayyai) . . . dyumnāyorje (VS. ŚB,† dyumna urje) 'patyāya (VS,† ŚB,† apa², TB,† patyāya, ApŚ. *yorjapatyāya) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.
etāni te aghniye (PB. 'ghnye) nāmāni TS. PB.: etā te aghnye nāmāni VS. ŚB. MS. In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table; the a- may or may not have been pronounced (aghnye or 'ghniye).

vivarto asūcattārīnsaḥ (MS. 'ēta²) MS. KS.: vivarto 'ēta° VS. TS. ŚB. yo 'smān (MS. MS. ASM: asmān) deveṭi yan (AV. udās ca) vayanā devīṣmaḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. Mahānū. KBU. JUB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. Kauś. HG. BDh. This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with asmān in texts of the Māitr. school, with 'smān in all others, if the editions are to be trusted. For other formulas containing it see the Conc, under it, and also: tam abhi 'soca yo 'smān etc.; agne yat te tapas (tejas, 'rcis, 'socis, haras) etc.; tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi etc.; ny aham tam mṛdyāsām yo 'asman (ApŚ. 'smān) etc. MS. ApŚ.† 6. 18. 2; abhy aham tam bhūyāsām etc.; prahām tam atibhūyāsām (ApŚ. tabhī°) etc.; vy asau yo etc.; durmitrās (or the like) etc.
devānām te pataḥ devir . . . sudhasthe aṅgiravasadd (TS. 'nṛi°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with aditiṣ tvā ('tis tvā), dhiṣanās tvā, varātryo (etc.), gnaś tvā.

ākūyai prayuje 'gnaye (MS. KS. aṅgaye) svāhā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The same with medhāyai manasa, sarasvatayai pūṣye, and dīkṣāyai tāpase.

agnēḥ (also, indrasya, viśvesām devānām) priyam pātho 'pitho (TS. apīhi) VS. 8. 50, VSK. 8. 22. 4, TS. ŚB. 11. 5, 9, 12.

yo maitasyā dīsā abhidāsat . . . (five formulas) MS.: agniḥ (also, indraṃ, mitrāvarṇau, somaṃ) sa (TB. sa dīkṣā . . . devatānām) rchatu yo maitasyai (KS. 'syā) dīso 'bhidāsāti KS. TB. ApŚ.
namo 'agriya (VS. KS. 'grjiya, MS. 'grīya), . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. namo agrevalāhya (MS. KS. 'gre°) . . . VS. MS. TS. KS.
namo aparastākhyāh (PB. and v. l. of MS. 'pata°) PB. MS.
namo 'śeṣabhya (TS. aś) 'śevapatiḥhyāsa ca . . . VS. TS,† MS. KS.
namas te astu (PB. JB. LŚ. SMB. 'stu) VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. PB. JB.

namo vo 'stu (AS. SS. astu) VS. PB. AS. SS. Vait. SMB. Here, in curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB reads astu according to Jørgensen's edition (not in the Conc.), while 'stu is read by VS. and Vait.

tebhya namo astu (PG. 'stu) VS. MS. KS. PG. SB.
namo 'gnaya (ApS. aṣṇaya) vipādātītāre SS. ApS.
namo astu (VS. SB. 'stu) rudreṣṭhita ye antarikṣe (VS. KS. SB. 'ntari?)
... VS. MS. KS. SB. MS. Also: namo astu (VS. SB. KS. 'stu)
... ruṣ ye dvi (and, pṛthvīam) ... VS. MS. KS. SB. KS. MS.
namo mahanābhaya arbhakekbyās (KS. 'rbha') ca ... VS. KS.: namo
brhaṇābhaya 'rbhakekbyās ca ... MS. MS.
namo ratthbhypo arathhebhaya (TS. 'rath') ca ... VS. TS.
yo no antī kapati tam etena ṣeṣam MS.: yo me 'nti dūre 'rātiyati tam
etena ṣeṣam TS.
rudro 'gnit (MS. agni) MS. TA. SS.
rudro 'dhipati (MS. adhi?) MS. TA.
tasyāpā apasarāsa (KS.† 'psa', MS. 'p̄rasā) ārjya nāma (TS. 'p̄rarasa
mudāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
dhūtra (KS. †te) namas te astu (KS. †stu) KS. ApS.: dhūrte namante
(?) astu MS.

praty etā vāma ... yajamāno 'grabhīd (SS. agra) ... KB. SS.
prāṇo 'agniḥ ... Prāṇaṅgū.: prāṇo 'gnīḥ ... MU.

madhu kutam indramā agna (LS. 'gnau) VS. SB. LS.: kutam āvīr
... indramā 'gnau MS. AB. TA. AS. SS.

ye devā divśiḥā (MS. 'gāh sṛha) ye antarikṣaḥbhāga (TS. KS. †ntari?)
... TS. MS. KS.

śivam prajābhaya 'hrisantam (KS.† ahiṇ) ... sadhasthe (VS. SB.† śhād)
agnī (TS. 'gnā) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.—KS. pustacetan before agni, so that elision of a is impossible.
sajīr abdo ayavabhīk (TS. ApS. 'yavabhiḥ) VS. TS. SB. ApS.
samidhāḥ—samidhā 'gnē'īna (SS. 'dho agna; MS.† 'dho 'gnā) ājyasya
vyaytum AŚ. SS. MS.: samidhā agna (MS. agna) ājyasya ... MS.
KS. TB. MS.

suṣaye me adya ... ApS.: suṣaye me 'dya ... MS.
aqūr adhi vyayatto asyām KS.: aqūr vyayatto 'syām TS.
aqne yat te 'reis (MS. arcis) ten ... AV. MS. KS. ApS.
āṅgīrasing me aṣya (KS. 'sya) yajñasya prātāravādakair ahauṣṭh MS. KS.
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tah (KS. † tah) tvendragaha...saha yan me 'sti (Apš. asti) tena KS. Apš.: tah teśa pra viśāmi...saha yan me 'sti tena AV...
diso abhy abhūd ayaM MS. KS. Mš.: diso 'bhy ayaM rājābhūt TS. TB. Semblance of meter; perhaps to be classed with metrical variants, antimitraš (TS. antyami) ca duśe-amitraš (MS. 'mitraš) ca ganāh VS. TS. MS. KS.
andho achetah (TS. Apš. 'chetah) VS. TS. KS. Apš. Ed. of KS. 'chetah, but the sole ms. aṣchatah.
apne dhavataya...yo aśvasanis (KS. 'eva')...MS. KS.:...yo bhakṣa aśvasanir...VS.
āśvebhyaṃ tirahityānām (Mš. tirahityānām) somānām anubrahki Apš. Mš. Also: tirahityān (Mš. āśvebhyaṃ tirahityān) somān prasāthitān preyā Apš. Mš.
ārdha adhearo asthāt (VS. ŚB. 'dhvara asthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāh, Apš. adhvarasthāt) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Apš.
āpo devrī agrépuvo agréguvo...TS. TB.: devrī āpo 'griquvo 'griṇiyo...MS. Mš.: devrī āpo agréquvo premān...KS.
ye devāh puraḥsadalo (so also TS., for which Conc. † parah) 'qnintri (MS. 'agni')...TS. MS. KS. BDh.
dhūra tañh yo 'smān dhūrati VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: dhvara dhvarantam yo aśmān dhvarat MS.
agni te 'grān...TS.: aṃīṣ te aṃgān...MS.
somā 'smākam (KS. aṃ) brahmanyānām rājā VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MS. Apš.
svadhā purbhaya 'ntarikṣasadhyah (AV. antar; GG. † ntar) AV. Apš. Mš. GG. HG.
yo aṃsi so aṃsi AV.: yo 'smi sa san yaje MS. KS. AB.: yo 'ham aṃsi sa san yaje TB. Apš.
tutho vo viśvedvā vihājatu varṣī śhe adhi (KS. 'dhī) nāke...TS. MS. KS.
nirastro aghāṣānāh (Apš. 'gha') KS. Apš.
[devo narāśāna 'gnau (ŚŚ. † 'gnā) vaswane vasudheyasya venu AŚ. ŚŚ. Conc. quotes aṃ for ŚŚ.]
yena turyenā brahmanyā bhīsaspataye 'pavathās...JB.: yena rūpam prajāpataye 'vapathās (Conc. ava)...

§911. Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final e and initial a occur among the variants. For a single case of y as 'Hintus-tgilger' developed between e and a, see §338. In addition, there are a few
variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of \( e \) into \( ay \) before \( a \) and \( \hat{a} \); but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple:

\( tvē \hat{a} \) (SV. tvaya) \( bhūṣantā \) vedhasāh RV. SV. A loc. in RV. is replaced by an instr. in SV., with resolution of \( e \) to \( ay \), this time however before long \( \hat{a} \).

\( ubhe \ id \) asyobhayasya (AV. asyobhe asya) rājatah RV. AV. Followed by:

\( ubhe \ yatete ubhayasya (AV. ubhe asya) puṣyatatah RV. AV. \) The verse is mystic and obscure. If the AV. text is right, it seems to have understood the original \( ubhay- \) as representing \( ubhe \), perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding \( ubhe \); so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV. reading, but keeps the AV. reading in the second.

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc. we would seem to have a single similar case of \( av \) for \( o \) before \( a \):

\( dyāvāprthivi uro antarikṣa \) VS. VSK. MS. KS. SB.; the Conc. quotes \( urav \) for \( uro \) in VSK. But the actual text is \( urv \). If the text as printed (with \( antarikṣa \), not \( ?kṣam \)) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, \( dyāvā\) urv antarikṣam AV. TS.

SANDHI OF A-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING \( r \)

§913. The variants indicate the following school tendencies. Rigvedic and Vājasaṇeyin texts write \( a-r \) for both \( \hat{a} \) and \( a \) followed by \( r \). This is prescribed by RPr. 136 (2. 11) and VPr. 4. 48 (which gives \( a-r \) for \( \hat{a}-r \) and makes no reference to \( a-r \), implying no change).

§914. Taittiriya texts and KS. write \( ar \) for both \( \hat{a} \) and \( a \) followed by \( r \), as prescribed by TPr. 10. 8. So does LS. in the single variant noted.

§915. The rule of APPr. 3. 46 is like that of TPr., \( ar \) for both \( \hat{a}-r \) and \( a-r \). But the ms. of AV., according to Whitney’s note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the \( r \) is not followed by a sibilant; when a sibilant follows they generally write \( a-r \) (because of svarabhakti, Whitney on APPr. 1. 101). There are exceptions in the ms., and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the ms. or the Prātiṣaṅkhyya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc.) agrees throughout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the ms., namely, \( ar \) for both \( \hat{a}-r \) and \( a-r \) except when a sibilant follows, in that case \( a-r \). Both Vait. and Kauś. sometimes write \( ar \) even when a sibilant follows; the instances recorded are few.
§916. Maitrāyaṇīya texts regularly write ə- and ə-r without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten ə to o; so in one variant, see yad didayac (*yaː) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final a is lengthened to ə before r in MS.; these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final a, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919: yatvā rṣayo jogmuh and yend rṣayas tapasā ... There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, ar, is apparently found for ə-r in MS.: savirte tvārbhumate (VS. ŚB. teva ṛbhu; MS. tvārbhū) ... VS. MS. ŚB. TA. This sandhi is unique among the MS. variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss. read śvarbhā; but p.p. tvā, ṛbhu. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267a, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if ar) in all variants, even for texts which write the r-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS.; attention will be called to them as they occur.

§918. The following are the cases concerning ə followed by r:

savitre tvārbhumate (VS. ŚB. teva ṛbhu, MS. tvārbhū) ... VS. MS. ŚB. TA. See §916.

yad didayac chāvasa (MS. əyaː əsasa; TS. əsə) rtrapajāta (KS. cava-asapta) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. This is the only ease in which MS. shortens ə to o; see §916. The TS. reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a kanyikā, which always suspends all sandhi; it is no real exception to the Taitt. practice.

de ə yantārā bhavatas tatha rtuh (TS. KSA. tathartuh, MS. tathā rtuh) RV. VS. TS. KSA. MS.

agnijīvebhyyas (MS. agnihvarebhyyas) tvāryabhiya[h] (MS. tev rta) ... VS. MS. KS.

yathā rṣayast samnayāmasya (AV. yatharṣayam samnayanti) RV. AV.

yathā rtava (AV. TA. yathartava) rtuhār yanti sadhu (AV. wākam, TA. klyptā) RV. AV. TA.

syāha tvahām (MS. sivāhā ʃə, TB. sivāhə) ... VS. MS. TB.

vikarman rṣih (MS. əmata rṣih, KS. əmarsih) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tapasārṣayah (MahānU. əsarṣayah) swar (TB. swar) anusvārtan TB. TA.

MahānU. The MahānU. reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pāñj. 6. 1. 128.
yayo rathah satyavartmarjurasmih AV.: yo vah ratha jurasmih satyadharma TS. MS. KS. Here only AV. has this sandhi; the other texts stand for rathas plus ýu⁴. Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation ratharjú⁴, with double crasis, even in the YV. texts.

[vijnánikho rudro maharśih (TA. Conc. maharśih, but Poona ed. correctly maharśih) TA. MahānU.]

§919. The rest are cases of short a followed by r:
yatra ṣayō (MS. yatvā ṣ, KS. yatvā ṣ) jogmūḥ ... VS. MS. KS. ŚB. On the MS. forms of this and the next cf. §916.
yena ṣayūs (MS. MŚ. yenā ṣ, TS. KS. ApŚ. yenār⁴) tapasā ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS. MŚ. Cf. prec.
yatrayāyah (Kauś. yatva ṣ) prathamajā ye (Kauś. ṣāḥ, om. ye) purāṇah TS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś.
śāradena (also, saśārena, vasantena, hemantena)ṝtanā (KS. TB. nartunā) ... VS. MS. KS. TB. KS.
ṝtuṣṭhā (MS. ṣāḥ, KS. ṣā) stha rāvrdhah (KS. sthartusprṣah) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ṝtava (KS. ṣvas) stha rāvrdhah (KS. stharto) VS. KS. ŚB.: ṛṣṭhā sthartavṛdhah TS.
medhāṃ sapta ṣayō (ApMB. saptar⁴) padaḥ ApMB. RVKh. But Scheftelowitz reads saptarṣayō also in RVKh.
brahmaṇam adya ṣāyānah (KS. adyariṇi⁴) ... MS. KS. MŚ. 
śaṃ ṣūrīḥ (TS. KS. ṣāyark⁴) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
tviḥ adya ṣā śṛṣeṣya ṣeṇām (KS. TB. adyāra ṣṛṣyeṣaṃ) ... VS. MS. KS. TB.
avartiyaś baḥgoyopamanthitāram (TB. avartiya śvadha⁴, so Poona ed.) VS. TB.
yathāham bharata ṣabha (ŚŚ. bharatarṣ) AB. ŚŚ. The only irregular case in ŚŚ, or any RV. text among the variants. No v. l. is recorded.
yebhyaḥ na ṛte (TS. KS. narte) parate dhāma kiṃcana VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
varṇasya ṣtasādataṃ (KS. ṣyarta⁴) aṣi VS. KS. ŚB.
varṇasya ṣtasādaṇya (ApŚ. ṣyarta⁴) aṣi VS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ.
tsṛṣyasya savanasya ṣbhūmato (ApŚ. ṣnavarbhū⁴) ... KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
śeṣaṃ ṣaṃ (MS. AŚ. tona ṣeṇā) ... TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.
śruta ṣeṇ (TB. śrutarṣaṃ) ugram abhimāṇaham RV. MS. TB.
śiva me saptaḥ ṣeṇ (KS. MŚ. sapta ṣeṇ) ... TS. Vait. KS. MŚ. Note or in Vait. even before a sibilant; cf. §915.
sauté (VS. sūkraś) ca pāpās (TS. KS. cartas) cātyāṇāh VS. TS. MS. KS.
saptaraśaya (VS. MS. saptas t) sāpta dhāmā priyānī VS. TS. MS. KS.
TB. In TS. 1. 5. 3. 2b sāpta t is read without sandhi merely because a kandikā ends here; it is no real exception to the rule.
sāpta ṛṣayo (TS. KS. saptā) sṛjyanta VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
saptasūryān (ApŚ. Kauś. saptar) sukṛtān yatra lokāh Vait. KS. MS.
ApŚ. Kauś. Note ar in Kauś. even before a sibilant (one ms. ar); cf. §915.
saptarṣīṇ (ApŚ. saptarṣiṇ) jīvā ApŚ. KS.
upahūtā dhenuḥ (ŚB. pāvah) saharṣabhā (ŚB. ṛdhāḥ, AŚ. SS.† saharṣabhā)
TS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. SS. Irregular sandhi in ŚB.
upa mā (AŚ. SS. mām) dhenuḥ saharṣabhā (AŚ. SS. saharṣe) ... TB.
AŚ. SS.
indraṛubhir brahmaṇā śārddhānaḥ TB. ApŚ.: indra ṛhubhir brahmaṇa śārddhānaḥ SS,
indra viḍyāt saha ṛṣibhiḥ (KS. saharṣe) RV. AV. KS. ApMB. In ApMB.
we must certainly read saharṣibhiḥ with four ms., in accord with
Tait. usage; Winternitz prints saha ṛ with only one ms.
upa ṛṣabhaya (TB. LŚ. uparṣe) retasī (AV. yad retah) RV. AV. TB. LŚ.
indrāya ṛṣabheṇa VS.: indrāyṛṣabheṇāśvibhyāṃ sarvasvatayai TB.
ṛṣaḥ no ṛṣyam etsamānāḥ AV.: nen na ṛṣaḥ ṛṣvah it samānāḥ TA.: nema na ṛṣaḥ ṛṣvān etsamānāḥ MS. Only AV. has this sandhi
(na, ṛṣam); the others has, ṛ-.
yatrā saptasṝṇ (TS. KS. yatra saptarṣīṇ) para ekam āhuh RV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. N.
yathaīka ṛṣīr (KS. ṛkarṣir) vijānale KS. TA. ApŚ. Only KS. has this
sandhi; the others eka(h) ṛṣīr, two words.

SANDHI OF FINAL n

§920. On this subject the variants throw little new light. School
tendencies are seldom discernible; when they do seem to appear, other
known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence.

I. Final ṇ before initial vowels

§921. All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre-
historically) ended in ṛ, except a small group, mainly locative singulars
of n-stems, in which the ending ṇ (appearing as mn) varies with ny.
These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics; they
hardly belong in this place.
1. Final ān before vowels

§922. The Prātiśākhyaṁ in general (RPr. 284 [4. 26], VPr. 3. 141, APR. 2. 27) make anuṣṭāraṇa the rule, but with numerous exceptions; Whitney's note says that AV. more often retains ān. TPr. 9. 20-24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization; Whitney's note (p. 225) states that TS. retains ān five times out of six.

§923. Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS. show anuṣṭāraṇa more often than ān; but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr. texts and KS. show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr. texts, when they change ā to anuṣṭāraṇa, they generally also shorten the preceding ā to a; cf. Schroeder, MS., Einleitung, p. XXIX. When this shortening of ā is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and s-aorists (only one of the last).

§924. The cases involving accusatives plural in ān are:

agnis (ān (MS. tān, KS. tān, TS. TA. agnis tān) agrī pra ... AV. TS. MS. KS. TA. The same with vāyus (AV. tān).

tagne devān (MS. devān, SG. devān) śā vāha RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. AS. SS. Apś. SG. The isolated form of SG. is suspicious (misprint or error?).

alty anyān (VS. SB. anyān) agam nānyān (VS. SB. nānyān) upāgām VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. MŚ. Apś.

athā (VS. SB. adhā) sapatnān (KS. twice tān; TS. twice tān, once tān) indro me VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Apś. MŚ.

asmān (MS. KS. asmān) u devā ... RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS. īdāśām anu vastāṁ ghṛtena Apś. MS.: īdāśāsman anu vastāṁ eratena AV.

unnayāmi svān (MS. svān, AV. svān) aham AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA.

etat tevaṁ deva soma ... devān (TS. KS. Apś. devān) upāgāva VS. KS. TS. SB. APś ... devān upāytaḥ MS.

kṛṣṇo (KS. kuruṇa) anyān (TS. KS. APś tān, KS. 'nyān) adharān sapatnān AV. TS. MS. KS. KS. Apś.

jahbhyaśa (KS. yebyaśa) taskarān (KS. rān) uta VS. TS. KS.: jahbhyaśa taskarān (p.p. rāna) uta MS.

purahāśān (MS. śan, GB. Vait. śan) alamkuru TS. GB. SB. Vait. KS. APś. MS.
mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt TS.: ned eso asmān avahāya parātāt MS.: maṁo asmān avahāya parātāt KS.
yān (AV. TS. MS. KS. Vait. yan) avaha ubato deva devān AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. KS. Vait.
yā devār antān abhito 'dadanta AV.: yās ca devār (SMB. denyo) antān etc. ApMB. SMB. HG.: yās ca gnā denyo 'nān etc. MG.
raphātimitra (VS. śrān) apabādhamahāna RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
vaṇjo devān (MS. KS. devān) rutbhī kalpayati VS. TS. MS. KS.
sarvān (MS. vaṇ) agnīr aprusado huve vah (MS. omits vah) TS. MS. AV.: śivān āgnin aprusado havāmahē AV.
sarvāṇa apja jaṭamasi Kauś.: sarvāṇa ava jaṭamahē KS.† TB. TAA. ApŚ. so asmān (MS. asmān) adhipatān karotu TS. MS.: so 'smān adhipatān kroṭu SŚ.
ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.: ye asmān abhyaghāyati AV.

§925. Nominatives singular in ṭūn are concerned in the following: agniḥ praviddān (MS. vaṇ, KS, vaṇ) iha tat ... MS. KS. ApŚ. iḍiḍīn (MS. vaṇ) eso asura prajāvān RV. TS. MS. KS.
[istā yaśo bhṛgubhīr ..., asīrāṇat (ApŚ. vaṇ) atharvabhīh KS. ApŚ. cikiteṇān (MS. vaṇ) vaṇa manyatām TS. KS. MS. pumānam tanuta ut kṛṣṭatī RV.; pumān enad vālaya udgṛṇati AV. viśālī vaṇavān (TS. MS. KS. bā; MS. vaṇ, v. l. vaṇ; KS. NīlarU. vaṇ) uṣa VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.
payaśvān (TS. TB. ApMB. vaṇ) agna āgamam AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. SB. TB. IŚ. ApMB.,
pra ya jañe vidvān (AV. vidvān) asya bandhum (AV. dhuḥ) AV. TS. KS. haṁśmiti (KS. mān) asu sūryah VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
[adha tejīmān abhy ojasā ... RV. SV. † (Conc. tejīman for SV.)]

§926. We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form: svātā jyotir ud ayān (KS. ayān, MS. ayān) ajasram RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

2. Final in and ṭūn before vowels

§927. For this sandhi RPr. 289 (4. 29) requires ṭur, ṭūr. The other Prs. allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than RV. See APr. 2. 29 and Whitney's note; TPr. 9. 20 and Whitney's note; VPr. 3. 140. The variants include very few cases, not enough to justify deductions:
sarvān (MS. vaṇ) agnīr aprusado huve vah (MS. omits vah) TS. MS. AB.: śivān āgnin aprusado havāmahē AV.
§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of n-stems:

asmin brahmaṇya asmin karmayya... AV.: asmin brahmaṇya asmin kṣatre
(KS. adds 'asmin karmayya')... KS. SS.: asmin brahmaṇya... asmin karmayya (PG. karmayya)... TS. ApŚ. PG.: te naḥ pāṇīv asmin brahmaṇya aśayān purodāhyām asmin karmayya... MS.

āṭmaṇa (IśāU. ॆन्य) evānupakṛtya VS. IśāU.

 śucih śukre ahany ojasīna (MS. ahann ojasīne; KS.† śukre ahany ojasīye; AŚ. hany ojasinām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

[divyāv dhāmam (once ॆन्य acc. to Conc.) upakūṭah (once ॆत) TB. (both).

But Poona ed. dhāmam both times.]

[ṛṭiye dhāmam abhy (VS. dhāmam adhy) aicrayanta VS. TS. MahānU.]

So Conc., but TA. MahānU. both have dhāmāny, acc. plur.]

One isolated case concerning verb forms:

ajany agnir hota (ApŚ. ajann agnihih)...


II. Final n before initial consonants

§929. Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which n becomes anūṣvāra, is commoner in later texts than in RV.

1. Final n before c

§930. RPr. 228 (4. 4) requires ṇ; but numerous exceptions are mentioned; cf. 293f. (4. 32). VPr. 3. 133 and APR. 2. 26 require ṇ, and so does TPr. 5. 20f., with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APR. I. c. says that this rule is universally followed in the mss. and text of AV., a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV. be excluded from consideration (the Pr. in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV. 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find n represented by anūṣvāra without an inserted sibilant. The variants are:
acikitoṇi (AV. "vati") cikitūṣati cid atra RV. AV.
anāvāṇś (TS. "vāṇ") ca me VS. TS. KS.: dhenuś cānaṇāvāṇś ca MS. MŚ.
asānā (RV. KS. asānā) cakre manasasya medha RV. MS. KS. Most mss. of MS. asmān (with dental n); v. l. of KS. asmānī.
ghosēvāmśvānā cātaṭatva (PB. "ṁiṁśa cātatadvam) TB. PB. ApŚ.
tāṃ aśvāṃś candramasī wadhābhīhiḥ MS. KS.: yām aśvāṃś (TS. "yaṁ"
etc. VS. TS. ŚB.
mahāḥ pitum papivān (AV. 20, "vāṇ") cāṛ vannā RV. AV.
vajrīṇ (AV. 20, SV. vajrīṇ) citrābhīr utābhīhiḥ RV. AV. SV. MS.
asān (SV. asānā) citrābhīr avatād abhiṣṭābhīhiḥ RV. SV.

2. Final n before t

§931. The usage fluctuates here also. RPr. 295 (4. 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done. So also TPr. 6. 14. In the few variants found, the RV. and TS. schools, and KS., generally keep the nasal unchanged. On the other hand APR. 2. 26 and VPr. 3. 134 require n, tho both allow exceptions. The variants from these schools are not inconsistent here with; and Maitr. texts seem also to favor n. But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive. Besides the writings n and n, a couple of cases of n alone without the sibilant occur, as before c, above, and before j, below; probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for n.

§932. The following variants occur;
ognir āyuṣmān sa vanaspatiḥbhir āyuṣmān (PG. KS. "māṁśa) tena (KS. lasyā) ... TS. KS. PG. ApMB. (in the last with punctuation after āyuṣmān).
asānā (KS. asānā) te kṣut VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ.
ithāva san tatra satvo aghyāyaḥ TB.: ithāva san (MS. savā) tatra satvat
tvagne TB. AŚ. MŚ.
tasmin (Vait. MS. "māṁśa) tad eno ... RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ.
tisro bhūmīr dhārayan (MS. "yaṁśa) trīṁr (MS. text ṭrīṁr) uta dyūn RV.
TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
pasūn (RV. paśūn) tāṁ sakre vāyavān RV. AV. VS. TA.
pūṣan (ŚB. TB. pūṣānā) tava vratya vayam RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
sarman (MS. "karmaṁ) te sāma ... MS. KS. TA.: tava sāma karmaṁ
trivarutaka ... VS.: tava sāma karmaṁ trivarutka ... TS.
dhāman (AG. dhāman) te viśvaṃ ... RV. VS. MS. AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG.
brahmaṇā (MS. KS. brahmaṇā) tuva (MS. tuvaṁ me) brahmaṁsi VS. MS.
KS. ŚB. MŚ.: brahmaṇā (TB. "māṇi) tuvaṁ rājaḥ brahmaṁsi TS. TB.
ApŚ. (in the last with punctuation after brahmaṇā).
3. Final \( \ddot{n} \) before \( j \)

§933. The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of \( n \) to \( \ddot{n} \). This is prescribed by the Prātiśākhya: RPr. 228 (4. 4), APR. 2. 11, TPr. 5. 24, VPr. 4. 92. For \( \dddot{n} \) the spelling \( \ddot{n} \) occurs very commonly in mss. of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV. ms., according to Whitney (note to APR. 1. c.), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed.; Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing \( \ddot{n} \) before \( j \), and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write \( \ddot{n} \). We find, in fact, \( \ddot{n} \) in all the AV. variants; and also in SV. in the two variants recorded there. (But in ArS. once \( \dddot{n} \).) Compare the like writing before \( c \) and \( t \), above.

§934. The variants from VS. and ŚB., following Weber's editions, print dental \( n \) before \( j \), not \( \ddot{n} \). Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear; his note on VPr. 1. c. (JSI. 4. 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss. follow the Prātiśākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss. keep dental \( n \); if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS. and ŚB. on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm. on VPr. 4. 92 quotes as an example of the rule \( \text{ayaṁ vōjān jayatu} \), VS. 5. 37, which Weber prints vōjān.

§935. According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS. also reads \( n \), not \( \ddot{n} \), before \( j \) in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maitr. school text is MS. 1. 6. 3. 15b, where Knauer's edition reads \( \text{grhān jųgupatān jyvam} \) with a majority of his mss., but against that which he regards as the best; its reading is \( \text{grhān} \), which is the reading found in the corresponding MS. passage according to Von Schroeder.—KS. usually reads \( \ddot{n} \), but once \( n \) (yat te asmin etc., below). Most other texts read \( \ddot{n} \), except in so far as they show \( \dddot{n} \) (cf. above).

§936. The following are the variants:

- \( \text{adyā devān (VS. devān) jųg} \text{atamo hi gamyāḥ RV. VS. TS. KSA.} \)
- \( \text{ahinā ca sarvān (TS. KS. sarvān) jambhayan (KS. 3ya) VS. TS. MS. KS.} \)
- \( \text{āguśmān (PG. ApMB. 3mān; RVKh. VS. 3mān) jvaradā} \text{ṣṭir... RVKh. AV. VS. AG. PG. ApMB. Schefelowitz reads āguśmān for RVKh. The mss. of PG. have corruptly} \text{āguśyan.} \)
kam agoṇ (AV. agaṇ) janayopanaḥ RV. AV. N.

garbhaḥ sanjāyasa.punah MS.: garbhe saṇ (VS. ŚB. san, KS. san-) jų-pa RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.
tam arcīṣā sphūrjayāṇ (AV. ०yaṇ) jātavedaḥ RV. AV.
tvam etān (AV. etān) janaraṇḍo dvir dasa RV. AV
te asmin (TS. KS. asmiṇ) javam ādadhuḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
devān (RV. TB. devāṇ) jīgāti sunnayuḥ RV. MS. ŚB. TB.
pāṣyaṇ (AV. ०yaṇ) janmāṇi sūrya RV. AV. Arś. N.
pīṭṇ (KŚ. pīṭṇ) jinva TS. KS. PB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ.: ojasā pīṭbrhyāḥ
pīṭṇ jinva MS.

prajāḥ kṛyavan janayan virūpāḥ MS.: prajā vikṛyvaṇ (ApŚ. vikurvaṇ)
janayan virūpam (ApŚ. ०pāḥ) KS. ApŚ.
praty ajātān (AV. ०taṇ, TS. KS. TA. ०tāṇ) jātavedo nudasva AV. VS.
VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA.
māre asman maṅghavaṇ (SV. ०vaṇ) jyok kah RV. SV.
yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KS.: yad adya te ghora āsan juḥomi MS.:
yasyāṃ te ghora āsan ju- VS. ŚB.: yasyāṃ te asyāḥ krūra āsaṇ ju- TS.
ApŚ. Exception in KŚ.
yāns (TA. Poona ed. ०yās) te soma prāṇāns tān (Poona ed. tān; Mahānū. tān) juhomi TA. Mahānū.
vibhṛajāṇ (AV. SV. ०jan) ṣuptiṣā svah RV. AV. SV.
vṛtrāṇi vṛtraḥāṇ (AV. ०han) jahī RV. AV.
satyāṃre avapaṣyaṇ (AV. ०yaṇ; MS. ०yan) janāṇām RV. AV. TS. MS.
ApMB. This is quoted by APr. 2. 11 as an example of ṅ before j!
saptarṣṭā (KŚ. saptarṣṭān) jinva KŚ. ApŚ.
[grhāṇ (MS. grhāṇ, read grhaṇ, see above, §935) jugupalam yuvam MS. MS.]

4. Final ṅ before ś

§937. Before ś, the regular sandhi of ṅ requires ṇ, which however is
often written ṅ, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions
of SV. and AV. The ś changes to ch (representing t-ś). But in the
single variant noted from the YV. Saṁhitās, TS. alone has this regular
ṅ-ch; MS. and VS. keep ś unchanged, MS. writing ṅ before it and VS.
ṅ; the sole ms. of KSA. reads like VS., but von Schroeder emended to
ṅ-ch in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a
mute follows ś, in which case ś is retained by VPr. 4. 94. We begin
with this variant:

ādityāṇaḥ chmaśrubhiḥ (VS. and ms. of KSA. ०tyāṇ śmaḥ, MS. ०tyāṇ śmaḥ)
VS. TS. MS. KSA,
asiṁ (AV. asmin) chāra savane mādayasva RV. AV.

$tāṁ$ nāṁ pūjaṁ chitātavāna erayasva HG.; tāṁ pūjaṁ (AV. pūjā) chī ̃... RV. AV. ApMB.
divi yāṁ (AV. yāṁ, SV. san) chukra ātataḥ RV. AV. SV.
maghavaṁ (AV. SV. PB. TB. Conc. ⁹vaṁ, TB. Poona ed. ⁹vaṁ) chaqḍhi

... RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. Mahānū.
yācchreṣṭhābhīṁ maghavaṁ chāra jīva RV.: yāvaṃcchreṣṭhābhīṁ maghavaṁ
chāra ... AV.
yat te rājaṁ (AG. rājaṁ) chṛtaṁ haviḥ RV. AG. ŚG.
sūro na rudraṁ (SV. ³vaṁ) chatātmā RV. SV.
parārciśā mārdevaṁ (AV. ³vaṁ) chṛṣṭih RV. AV.

pratyācām arkam anayaṁ (AV. ³yaṁ) chaqḍhiḥ RV. AV.

bataṁ hemantaṁ (AV. ³taṁ) chatam u vasantaṁ RV. AV. N.

5. Final n before s

§938. Before s, the insertion of t after final n is required by APR. 2. 9
and TP. 5. 33, and authorized by ‘some’ according to RPR. 236 (4. 6);
cf. the divergent views recorded in VPR. 4. 14f. It is quite common in
all texts; likewise the analogous insertion of k after final n before s.
Cf. Wackernagel I §282. The Concordance ignores altogether the
writing of t in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect
and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray
cases in which final n before s varies with anusaṇa; most of them
concern san: samī, in the latter case the preposition sanī being felt as
involved.

brahmaṇ (IŚ.* brahmaṇ) stōṣyānaṁ prakāṣṭhā KB. ĠB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

Vait. IŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MS.
sasavaṁ san (MS. sam) stāyaśe... RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The

p.p. of MS. san; all sanīḥ. mss. sanī. The other texts all actually
read sanī, except KS. sanī.
pumāṇiṁ sarvadāṁ mayi ŚG. (Conc. says that this is an error for

pumāṇi saṁvar, but the text is correct; see §97); pumāṇ saṁvartatāṁ mayi PG.

jihvā pavitraṁ abhināsan (TB. ³naṁ sam) sarasaṇa VS. MS. KS. TB.

§939. To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a
complete list—in which k is alternatively added after final n before s:

pratyāk (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.* TB. pratyāk) somo atidruṭaḥ (with var.)

AV. VS. VSK. MS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Poona ed. of TB.

prān (VS. TB. prān) somo atidruṭaḥ VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Again

Poona ed. of TB. prān.
6. Final n before p

§940. The only cases noted concernṇāṣ orṇāḥ forṇṇ; since this variation really concerns final s before k and p, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965.

7. Final n before k

§941. Only a single case has been noted; AV. writes jayän (jayän) for jayän according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc. would read jayan. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography: saṃjayän (AV. ed. jayan) kṣetrāṇi ... AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

8. Final n before y

§942. See RPr. 287 (4. 28), VPr. 3. 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.
dadhanavān (MS. KS. ṣyān; VS. ŚB. TB. ᴹvā) yo naryo apsar antar ǒ RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

9. Final n before l

§943. Two variants:
agnis ṛṇ (VS. ṭan, AŚ. ṭāl) lokāt pra ṛudāty (etc.) asmāt VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: agnis ṛṇ asmāt ... AV. MS. Inconsistent with RPr. 227 (4. 4) and Wackernagel I §281b; the VS. reading also inconsistent with VPr. 4. 13, which requires nasalized l. Cf. further APr. 2. 35, TPr. 5. 26. A nasalized l is required by all authorities and was probably pronounced in all texts.
esa me 'muṣmin (GB. 'muṣmin, Gastra) loke prakāśo 'sat PB. GB.† 2. 5. 8.
[vṛṇs tryaksareṇa trīṇi lokān (VSK. trīṇi imaṇi lokān; TS.† trīṇ lokān) ... VS. VSK. TS.]

10. Final n before v

§944. One variant:
puru teṇa dāśvān (SV. dāśievā) voces RV. SV. N. Cf. RPr. 287 (4. 28), APr. 2. 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

CHANGE OF DENTAL n TO LINGUAL 了很多

§945. The variants of course mainly concern the change of n to .Term under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the
greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the n, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change; and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word. (For a few cases of variation between \( n \) and 'spontaneous' \( \eta \), not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170.)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable; one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittirīya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles.

§947. (1) The \( n \) is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics; or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to \( \eta \), while Taittirīya texts generally alter to \( \eta \); but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants.

§948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final \( r \) of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final \( r \), Taittirīya texts keep dental \( n \) in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV. and MS., which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual \( \eta \); and yet, as we have said, Tait. texts generally favor lingualization.

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final \( r \):

swar \( \eta \) (TS, ApŚ. swar \( \eta \) gharmaḥ (ApŚ. *gharma) svahā VS. TS. KS. SB. ApŚ. The same with jyotiḥ, sukrāḥ, sūryāḥ, arkaḥ; all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.). Only TS. has \( n \) in the rest (they are not in ApŚ.)

swar \( \eta \) (TS, swar \( \eta \) jyotiḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 

aṣya satasya swar \( \eta \) (AŚ. ŚS. \( \eta \)) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 

dār \( \eta \) (MS. MŚ. nā) ārjum ... AV. MS. Vait. MŚ. 

anulatām ā te mayhavan nakir \( \eta \) (MS. \( \eta \)u) RV. VS. MS. KS. The ms. of MS. read corruptly nākreṇu; p.p. naktih, tu.

evratatār \( \eta \) (TB. \( \eta \)) ... MS. TB. (two variants in the same passage).

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word:

pra \( \eta \) naya vasya ocha RV.; pra \( \eta \) naya prataram vasya ocha RV.

pra \( \eta \) (SV. MS. PB. \( \eta \)a) āyāṃsi ... RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. KauŚ. N.
pra Ya (SV, na) indo ... RV, SV.
pra yaḥ (SV, naḥ) pīnwa ... RV, SV.
pra no (also, no) jāyantā mithunāni rūpabāh Kauś. (both)
pra no (TS, JUB, no) āvāhane śuva VS, TS, KS, SB, MS, JUB. Conc. wrongly no for TS, 5, 5, 7, 5. Note JUB, no, contrary to SV usage.
pra no (TB, no) nāvyebhis ... RV, MS, KS, TB
pra no (AV, TS, no) yachate aryamā RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, SB.
pra no (AV, TS, no) yacha (KS, rāwa) višaspate (AV, ciśaḥ°, TS, bhuvas°, VS, SB, sahasrajīt) RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, SB.
parainān (AV, 3śān) devaḥ savitā dadātu RV, AV.
pahi naḥ (SV, naḥ) karmayantāh RV, SV.
parih no (SV, no) akṣam aścave it RV, SV.
parih no (VS, MS, no) rudrasya ... VS, TS, MS, KS, TB; pari no heṭt rudrasya ... RV, VSK; pari no heṭo ... RV.
ataś cid īndra no (SV, na) upa RV, SV, ŚŚ.
īndra evam (KS, evam) prathamo adhyatīṣhāt RV, VS, TS, KS, śŚ.
īndra evam (AV, evam) parāśarī RV, AV, MS, KS, Kauś. no, mānasā ... RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, SB, TB, ŚŚ, KS, Kauś.
sumitṛa (etc.) na (KS, na) ēpa ... VS, TS, MS, KS, SB, TB, TA, MahānU, AŚ, ŚŚ, LŚ, BDh, ApŚ, KS, MS, uruṣyā no (MS, no) aghāyataḥ sansmāt RV, VS, MS, KS, SB, ApŚ, N, tebhiḥ (RV, also tena) somābhī (TA, 3bhī) rakṣa naḥ (TA, naḥ) RV, (bis) TA.
śikṣa no (TS, no) ... RV, AV, VS, TS, KS, AB. Note that TS, perversely avoids dualization, despite its general tendency.
devā (AV, dar°, KS, trayīṣ) yād urvīr uru naḥ (only RV, naḥ; AV, ed. naḥ, but read naḥ, see Whitney's note; KS, 3nas) kṛṣṇa RV, AV, TS, KS, ApiMB.
astiṝi nau gārhapatyāni ... MS, KS, : tayor (ApŚ, tayor nāv) asthūri (MS, 3ri nau) gārī° ... ŚB, KS, ApŚ, MS, : asthūri nau gārhapatyāni ... Kauś, : asthūri nau (VSK, no; ŚŚ, no) gārhapatyāni ... VS, VSK, ŚŚ, ŚŚ, : asthūri no (TS, TB, no, KS, nau, MS, [van Gelder] 3nau) gārhapatyāni santu RV, TS, MS, KS, TB, MS. In the first-quoted version, the two best mss. of MS, read nau, in accord with MS usage; but the MS, form of it (tayor etc.) has nau according to all Knauer's mss.
§951. (2) The n occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial n is nearly always, and medial n often, lingualized in the RV. just as in simple words: Wackernagel I §170.

§952. We begin with cases in which the n is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in n-compounded with pra (and certain other prepositions; Wackernagel I §169). When SV. shows three times forms of pra-nu with dental n, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS. twice lingualizes the n of nāman; and the n of nāsatya is twice lingualized, once in VS. and once in MS. (I despite the tendency of MS. to avoid lingualization):

abhī praṇunmo (SV. no°) ... RV. SV. SV.
abhī praṇunwur (SV. nonavur) ... RV. SV.

$\text{transliteration}$

$\text{MS. adīma}$ (TS. na°) ... RV. TS. MS. KŚ.

$\text{bhistānaṁ yāvat}$ HG.: yathānaṁ yārasa nayāt AV.

$\text{tasmād vār nāma}$ (TS. nāma) ... AV. TS. MS. KŚ.

$\text{gomasū ṣu nāsatya}$ (VS. na°) RV. VS. AŚ.

$\text{nāsatya}$ (MS. na°) bhistānasinā VS. MS. TB. Preceded in all by bhīyaḥ, which may be meant for part of this pāda.

punar āgāh punarnava (AV. ənava, and ənava) RV. AV. (bis)

$\text{VS.}$

$\text{grihvāṁ śītikast śīvarānasas}$ (KS. ms. vārhīnasas, ed. em. vārdhṛ?)

... TS. KSA.

$\text{sahasrasaṁtahl (SV. ənītabh) pādaśī kavānā}$ RV. SV.

§953. Of the rest, in which n is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases:

sādhyebhyasā cārnampanm (VS. ənīmam) VS. VSK. TB. The form əmna occurs in RV.

agne deva pāṇībhir viyamānā (MS. MS. ənḥ; VS. ŚB. guhyamānā: KS. ādhyamānā) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. TB.

abhir āpiṇām (HG. əṇām, əni ənām) ... ApMB. HG.

dyudadāebhir namasyair iyānā MS.: milajñābhir namasyair iyānā RV.

devaśrith śrīmanāḥ (VSK. TS. ənāḥ) ... VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. agneḥ purīṣavāhanāḥ (MS. purīṣya; VS. ŚB. əvānārā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the n, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due:
(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi; in some
texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the $n$ dental:

\[ \text{\textit{sugumnaḥ} (TS. N. \textit{nāḥ}) sūryaṇāśmīḥ \ldots VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. \quad \text{In TS. N.}} \]
there is thought of the simple \textit{sumnaḥ}.

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound; in one text
the \textit{n}, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingual-
ized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized:

\[ \text{\textit{amṛtasyaṁ} (ApŚ. \textit{amṛn}) \ldots TB. ApŚ.} \]

\[ \text{FINAL } s \text{ AFTER NON-}{\text{v}} \text{OWELS, BEFORE INITIAL } t \]

§955. On this point the various schools show markedly different ten-
dendencies. As to the \textit{Prātiṣṭākhyā} rules: \textit{RPr. 349} requires \textit{s} regularly
before \textit{teś} and \textit{te} (but cf. 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other
words, mostly pronouns. \textit{APr. 2. 84, 85} also makes \textit{s} the rule especially
before pronouns, but allows various exceptions; according to \textit{Whitney},
\textit{s} is commoner in \textit{AV. VPr. 3. 75, 76} (cf. 79ff.) likewise makes \textit{s} the rule
particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). \textit{TPr. 6. 5} allows
the change to \textit{s} in only a few specified cases.

§956. \textit{Wackernagel I §286b} says that the change to \textit{s} occurs, outside of
compounds, mainly before pronouns, and ‘die andern \textit{Saṁh}, kennen
solches \textit{s} im Satz ausser in den mit dem \textit{RV. gemeinsamen Stellen nur
vor Pronominalformen’}. This statement is copied by \textit{Maidonell 78,
2, b}. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two
variants, in which \textit{SV. shows s} for \textit{RV. s}, not before pronouns. These
are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other
than pronouns:

\[ \text{\textit{dhanus tavanati} (RV. \textit{dhanus ta}) \textit{pauśyam} RV. \textit{SV.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{uśa apā svāsus tamaḥ} (SV. \textit{†svāsus tamaḥ}) RV. AV. \textit{SV. AS.}} \]

§957. All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns.
(Cf. \textit{agnes teśa lejaśa sūryasya \ldots MG.}, to which the parallels in other
texts show \textit{s}, because no pronoun follows: \textit{agnes lejaśa sūryasya \ldots
MS. KS. AB. TB. TA.}) They show that the schools of \textit{RV.}, \textit{AV.}, \textit{VS.},
and \textit{TS.} follow fairly well the rules of the \textit{Prātiṣṭākhyās} to their respective
\textit{Saṁhitās}. To be sure, only one case happens to concern \textit{RV.}, and that
is exceptional in showing \textit{s}; but the \textit{RV.} school texts show 12 cases of \textit{s}
to 1 of \textit{s}. \textit{AV. shows 4 of s to 1 of s, and its school texts 3 to 0. \textit{VS.}
has 17 to 2, and other \textit{Vāj. texts (incl. VSK.) 22 to 1. \textit{TS.}, on the other
hand, is unanimous for s (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases).
This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, over-
whelmingly prefers \textit{s}; but KS. also has 14 of \textit{s} to 8 of \textit{s}. \textit{SV. itself has}
only one instance (of s), and its school texts have 2 of each. MS, is as unanimous for s as TS. is for s (20 cases, and 16 from MS, and MG.). Summarizing: the schools of RV, AV, VS, and MS regularly write s; that of TS. always, and KS. usually, s; the variants from SV, are indecisive.

§953. There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns:

anśur-anśus te (TS. KS. ApŚ. əsəs te) deva somaḥ prāyataṁ VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LS. ApŚ. MŚ.
agnis te 'gram (MŚ. aṅgīṣ te agram) ... TS. MŚ.
agnis te tānavam ... MŚ.: aṅgīṣ te tānavam (KS. tānavam) ... TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: aṅgīṣ te tāvaccaṁ ... VS. ŚB. KŚ.
agnis te tejo ... AŚ. MŚ.: aṅgīṣ te tejo ... TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. aṅgīṣ te (TS. aṅgīṣ te) dhīpatiḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. aṅgīṣ tvaḥhi (TS. aṅgīṣ tvaḥ) pātu ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. aṅgīṣ tva (TS. KS. aṅgīṣ tva) śritaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. aṅgīṣ tva (MS. aṅgīṣ tva) havyati ... TS. MS. KS. TB. aṅgīṣ tān agre ... MŚ.: aṅgīṣ tān (AV. tān, TS. TA. [but not KS.]) aṅgīṣ tān) agre ... AV. TS. KS. TA.
agnes tva (KS. ApŚ. aṅgīṣ tva) tejasaḥ sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS. MŚ.
agnes tva (TS. KS. aṅgīṣ tva) mātrayā ... TS. MS. KS. MŚ.
agnes teṣyaṇa (TS. ApŚ. aṅgīṣ tva)” ... VS. VŚK. TS. GB. ŚB. KB. ŚŚ. LS. ApŚ.
adītiṣ te (TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. ṭīs te) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. KS. MŚ.
adītiṣ tva (TS. KS. ApŚ. [but not MŚ.]: ṭīs tva) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KS. avatartya dhanus taram (TS. KS. NīlarU. ṭuṣ tām) VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. NīlarU.
gopāya mā (VāDh. mām) śevadhīs te (N. ṭhīṣ (e) VāDh. VīDh. N. tābhīṣ taram (KS. TA. tābhīṣ taram) udbhayaḥ saṃvidāṇah MS. KS. TA. tēbhīṣ taram putram janaya ŚG.; tais tām putram (putrān) vindasa VS. ApMB.
dyauṣ tva (ŚŚ. dyauṣ te) pitaḥ prthīvī mātā AV. ŚŚ.
prajāpatiṣ tvaḥ sādayatu ... VS. ŚB. MS. MŚ.: prajāpatiṣ tvaḥ saḥ ... TS. TB. TA. ApŚ. KS.
prajāpates tva (MŚ. “teṣ (e) prāṣena ... TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
prabhōs te (SV. bhūṣ (e) ṭsatala ... RV. SV.
bahiṣ te (AV. KS. bahīṣ (e) astu ... AV. TS. KS. ApŚ.
hyhaspates tva (TS. TB. “teṣ tva) ... VS. VŚK. TS. ŚB. TB.
SANDHI

bhāṣapatiḥ tvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. "tis tvā) sumne ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
bhāṣapatiḥ tvā (SMB. HG. "tis tvā) niṣyaktu ... AG. ŚG. SMB. HG. MG.
bhāṣapatiḥ tvā (TA. "tis tvā) viśvair ... MS. TA.
bhāṣapatiḥ tvā (TS. ApŚ. "tis tvā) saññatu ... TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.
bhāṣapatiḥ vopasidatu (TA. ApŚ. "tis tvā) MŚ. TA. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.
manoṣ tvā ... MS. KS. MŚ.: manoṣ tvā ... KS. TB. ApŚ.
varatṛṣ tuvā ... VS. ŚB.: varatris tvā ... KS.
vāyuṣ āṭān (MS. tā, KS. āṭā, TS. TA. vāyuṣ tān) agra ... AV. TS. KS. TA. MŚ.
vāyuṣ te (TS. vāyuṣ te) 'dhipatiḥ VS. TS. MS.
vāyuṣ te (TS. vāyuṣ te) vājin yan TS. KSA.
vāyuṣ (vādhipātu (TS. vāyuṣ tvā)) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
śivebhār ariṣṭhī 여성 (TS. "bhis team) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
saniti tvā (AG. ŚG. "tis tu) prasava ... VS. ŚB. KS. AG. ŚG.
svadhitis te (ŚG. "tis te) pitā VS. ŚG. ApMB.

FINAL a BEFORE INITIAL k AND p

§959. Here the rules of the Prātiśākhyaś (RPr. 260 [4. 14] ff.; APR. 2. 62ff.; TPr. 8. 23–35; VPr. 3. 10f., 20ff., especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus: in compounds s (or ç after non-a vowels) prevails, otherwise h (or upadhmāniya and jihevamālīya). But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule.

§960. European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf. Macdonell 78. 2, e). Wackernagel I §286c, 8, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an śmaṛṭita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible.

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an śmaṛṭita, and very few others concerning compounds. They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words; but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately. The sole śmaṛṭita noted is the following:
paraśaḥ-paraśas (KS. paraśas-paraśas, TS. TA. MahānU. paraśaḥ-
paraśaḥ) pari VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. MahānU. Note that in
the VS. and MS. schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two
parts of the compound, altho a p follows in both cases; and that the
distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid
down in the Prātiśākhyaśas, namely: we find \( h \) in the prior member, \( s \) in the last member. VPr. 3. 36 mentions this as an exception; likewise TPr. 8. 33, which states that \( h \) remains in compounds when the following vocable contains \( s \) or \( dh \), covers the case; this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences.

§962. The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the \( s \) is preceded by \( a \), in the others by \( i \) or \( u \));

\( \text{sādyaskṛṣi} \ldots \text{ApMB.}: \text{sadyahkṛṣi} \ldots \text{ŚG}. \)

\( \text{kociśkeṣāni} (\text{MS.*} \text{ṣocih⁵}) \text{purupriya RV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS.} \)

\( \text{upahūto bhāyasi haviśkaraṇe} (\text{MS.} \text{havihs⁴, but p.p.} \text{havis⁷}) \text{MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.}: \)

\( \text{bhāyasi haviśkaraṇa upahūto. (TB.*} \text{?i}) \text{TS. TB. ŚB.} \)

\( \text{āyuṣṭādaū āyuṣpatī, \ldots ApŚ.}: \text{āyuṣṭādaū āyuṣpatī \ldots AV.} \)

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the Prātiśākhyaśas, the variants indicate if anything that \( s \) or \( ṣ \) is commoner in most texts than \( h \). Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The Taittirīya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer \( h \), especially after \( a \)-vowels; but most other schools show a majority for \( s \) or \( ṣ \) in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyaṇīya school shows a majority for \( s \) after \( a \)-vowels, but for \( h \) after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>After ( a )-vowels</th>
<th>After non-( a )-vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RV.</td>
<td>( h ) 7 ( s ) 9</td>
<td>( h ) 3 ( s ) 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV. school</td>
<td>( h ) 5 ( s ) 12</td>
<td>( h ) 1 ( s ) 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV.</td>
<td>( h ) 5 ( s ) 4</td>
<td>( h ) 3 ( s ) 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV. school</td>
<td>( h ) 1 ( s ) 3</td>
<td>( h ) 1 ( s ) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.</td>
<td>( h ) 4 ( s ) 7</td>
<td>( h ) 1 ( s ) 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV. school</td>
<td>( h ) 0 ( s ) 4</td>
<td>( h ) 0 ( s ) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS.</td>
<td>( h ) 3 ( s ) 15</td>
<td>( h ) 5 ( s ) 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS. school</td>
<td>( h ) 3 ( s ) 16</td>
<td>( h ) 4 ( s ) 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS.</td>
<td>( h ) 21 ( s ) 2</td>
<td>( h ) 2 ( s ) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS. school</td>
<td>( h ) 24 ( s ) 7</td>
<td>( h ) 16 ( s ) 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS.</td>
<td>( h ) 6 ( s ) 15</td>
<td>( h ) 10 ( s ) 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS. school</td>
<td>( h ) 2 ( s ) 2</td>
<td>( h ) 5 ( s ) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS.</td>
<td>( h ) 9 ( s ) 9</td>
<td>( h ) 5 ( s ) 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>( h ) 0 ( s ) 2</td>
<td>( h ) 0 ( s ) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After a-vowels</td>
<td>After non-a-vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$h$</td>
<td>$\hat{a}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total RV. school</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total SV. school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total AV. school</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total VS. school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total TS. school</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total MS. school</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total all texts</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The $z$ is preceded by an a vowel

§964. Here $z$ remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittiriyas; the latter is nearly unanimous for $h$. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f.), the following occur: somah (SV, somas) pati rayiṇām RV, AV, SV; sa no divā sa riṣah (VS, MS, riṣas) pātu naklam RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, TB.

kāṁ nas (RV. nah) karato aśvinā RV, TB. ApŚ.
manyāśāi kāṁ ca nas (TS. nah) kṛdhī VS, TS, MS, KS, AŚ, ŚŚ, N.
devī (daiśī) sad ... uru nah (nah) kṛṇota RV, AV, TS, ApMB.;
traiśī sad ... uru ţi̤nas kṛṣ TS.
uru kṣajya nama (TS. nah) kṛdhī RV, AV, VS, VSK, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, AŚ, ŚŚ.
varinas (RV. *vah) kṛṇan ... RV, SV.
urī rodasi varinas (TS, KS, *vah) kṛṣ TS, MS, KS.
dīvah (VS, divas) parjanyād ... VS, TS, MS, KS.
dīvah prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣat TS, KS, TB. ApŚ.: dīvas etc. RV, AV, MS.
dīvah prthivyāḥ pary oja udbhītām VS, TS, KSA.: dīvas etc. RV, AV.
Vait. Kauś.
dīvah prṣṭham svar (swar) ... TS, MS, KS.: dīvas etc. AV, VS, ŚB.
dīvas (SV, divah) prṣṭham adhi ... RV, SV.
dīvas (SV, divah) prṣṭhāny ... AV, SV.
dīvah (RV, divas) prṣṭham (PB. *the) ... RV, PB, TA, ApŚ.
abhi priśā dīvas pada (SV, divah karīḥ) RV, SV.
agni lohā sūktaśāy ... dīvas (TS, TB, dīvah) prthivyāḥ TS. (fragment)
MS, ŚB, TB, AŚ, ŚŚ.
parameshthi tu vā sādāyutu divah (VS. ŚB. divas) prētha ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

kṛtāhi viśvātah prati RV. ... kṛṣṇāḥ viśvātah pari SV. Add to VV I §275.
girir na viśvātah (SV. śtāh) prthuḥ ... RV. AV. SV.
yathā nāb kṛtyasas (TS. oṣah) karat VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.
yathā no vasyasas (TS. oṣah, LŚ. vasyasas) karat VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

viśvābhya mā nāśtrābhyyah (VS.† ŚB. PG.† ṣhyas; MS. daṃśtrābhyyas)
pāhī (TS. TB. pāta, PG. pariṃpāhī ... ) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. PG.

mitrās (RV. mitrah) pānty adruhah RV. SV.

prthivyāḥ sampṛcaś (TS. TB. ApŚ. ocaḥ; VS. ŚB. sampṛcḥas) pāhī VS.
TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.
nādī hi vām devahitam sadas (TB. ApŚ. sadah) kṛtam VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

diva oṣadhayas (TS. oṣah) pari RV. VS. TS. MS.
ubhe ca no (etc.) ... anhahasah (MS. ŚB.† AŚ. oṣas) pātāṃ (TB. Conc. syātām, Poona ed. anhahasah spātām!; AŚ. text, ṣaṅhasa syātām)
MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indrah (ŚŚ. indras) pātis ... AV. AA. ŚŚ.
MS. Note the perverseness of the Tait. texts in reading ṣ, contrary to their usual rule, against all other texts!

agnī trātar ṛtas (SV. ṛtah) kaviḥ RV. SV.
pūrṇāhvanah (VS. KS. ŚB. oṣas) pātu VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
prānasya tō ... tanwah (MS. tanvas) pāhī MS. TA.
pratīk brahmaṇah (MS. oṣah) pātī TS. ApŚ. MŚ.
saṃ morvīr anḥahasah (ŚŚ. oṣah) pāntu ... ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

2. The ṣ is preceded by a non-ɑ vowel

§965. Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance. In general, however, ṣ prevails. The dominance of ṣ in the Tait. school is less marked; TS. itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain ṣ. More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr. school this time favors ṣ, tho after ɑ-vowels it shows a majority for ṣ. Nevertheless, in the three
variants where the preceding vowel is an r-vowel, MS. alone shows s; other texts h. These all concern the single form niṅ, acc. plur. of niṛ; the vowel r alters the s across the intervening nasal which becomes anunasika (cf. §940 above):

hotā yakṣat uśāsānātā ... niṅ (MS. niṅga) patibhyo ... MS. KS. TB. hotā yakṣan nārājaṃvam niṅstah niṅgprayetram (TB. niṅga) MS. TB. niṅ (MS. niṅga) pāhi ... RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§966. Anomalously, dental s is preserved without change in two variants; both times before a form of root kr (does the form skṛ exercise an influence here?):

supippalā osadhi (ApŚ. *dhīḥ) kṛdhi MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

This and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants:

dyauḥ (RV. dyaus) pitāḥ prthivi mātr a dhruvak RV. MS. TB.
dyauḥ pitā ... TB. ApŚ.: dyauḥ pitā ... AV.
dyauḥ prthiḥ šatvam ŚŚ. 10. 17. 4 (as two separate mantras):

dyauḥ prthiḥ antarikṣaṃ ... ŚB. KS.

upahūlo dyauḥ (TB. ApŚ. dyauḥ) pitā VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

upo mām dyauḥ (TB. ApŚ. dyauḥ) pitā hevyātām VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

jyotiḥ (MS. LŚ. jyotih) pāṣyanta (MS. *tā) uttaram RV. MS. KS. ChU. LŚ.

jyotiḥ (SV. *tiḥ) pāṣyanta vīṣaram RV. SV. KS.

yas tāṃ veda sa pītus (VS. and most mss. of AV. pītus) pītāṣat AV. VS.:

yas tā vijñāt sa pītus (TA. savitūḥ) pītāṣat RV. AV. TA. N.: yas tad veda savitūḥ (MahānU. sa pītus) pītāṣat TA. MahānU.

aham id ṇi pītus (MG. pītus) pari RV. AV. SV. Vait. MG.

sa idāna (KS. ma. eḍa, ed. emends) vauṣu (MS. vaṇuḥ) kaviḥ RV. SV.

VS. TS. MS. KS.

hauḥ (HG. MG. kaviḥ) kṛṇantaḥ parivatsatīṃ (HG.† SMB.† eḍām, MG. *eḍa) AV. SMB. APMB. HG. MG.

gayya dvārā maṇuṣ (SV. maṇuṣ) pītā RV. SV.

mṛtyoh (VSK. *yoś) pāhi VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. MS.

citraḥ śīśuḥ (MS. śīṣuḥ) pari ... RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āyoh patmane svāhā KS.: āyoh pātvane svāhā ApŚ.

āvī (MS. avī) kṛṇasa daivyāṇy agne RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

apālām ... triṣ (APMB. MG. triṣ) pū RV. AV. JB. APMB. MG.

parṇa vo vasatiḥ (TS. MS. *tīḥ) kṛtā RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

nīḥ kravyādāṇa nūdānasī (MS. nūdānasī) AV. MS.: nīḥ kravyādāṇa svāhā VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: nīḥ kravyādāṇa anūṇaḥ RV. AV. MG.
§968. Among the variants occur only three pādas belonging here, and they all concern the word svaprati. This occurs in that form in RV. (three times), AV. and KS. (once each), while in SV. (three times) and PB. (once) it occurs in the form svahpati. This accords with RPr. 258 (4. 12), which requires svar before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise h). APr. ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr. does not treat. The pādas are:

yuvam hi sthah svaprati (SV. PB. svahpati) RV. SV. PB.
dātrasyāigne svaprath (SV. svahpatī) RV. SV. KS.
svahpatir yadi ērne SV.; svapratiṁ yad ērne ērne RV. AV.

FINAL s BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969. In this case RPr. 251, 253 allows either h or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to s by the influence of a non-a vowel preceding the final s, in which case the final s must be assimilated to s. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufreucht's edition and Müller's edito princeps in the first variant quoted below, nihṣahamāno...; Müller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read nispaḥ in accordance with the Pr. rule. VPr. 3. 8 f. quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them; according to Weber the mss. of both VS. and VSK. generally write h. APr. 2. 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss. of AV. generally write h, and the edition usually follows them. TPr. 9. 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss. of TS. generally write h, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§370. The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts s in these circumstances appears as h, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS. however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf. his Einleitung, p. XII); the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS., and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV. retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all); but in several of these Müller prints h instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl. Ind. edition), TB. also
retains the sibilant three times; but in all of these the Poona ed. has ḍ. ApMB. also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii); but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write ḍ. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him; and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971. The following variants have been noted:

niḥṣahamāṇo (SV, niṣṣa" ) yamato nāyate RV, SV. On the RV. reading see the preceding paragraph.

vakṣah (RV, vakṣaṣu; but Müller-ḥsu) rukma upaśiṣṭiryaṇaḥ RV.

MS. TB.

vardhanam purunīṣidhe (SV, niḥṣidhe) RV, SV.

prṣaṭurasu kramassu (AV, and Müller's RV, ḍsu) ca RV, AV.

vṛṣa na krudhaḥ patayad rajasse (AV, and Müller's RV, ḍsu) ṛ RV, AV.

hāvīr haviṣṣu vandyaḥ (SV, haviṣṣu ṭvandyaḥ) RV, SV.

kriyanta (TB. priyā ta) ṛ bariḥ (KS, ṭ TB. ṭhis, but TB. Poona ed, ṭhiḥ) sīda RV, AV, KS, TB.

uda aranyāṇih (TB, ṭnis, but Poona ed. ṭniḥ) sāyam RV, TB.

upa naḥ (KS, ṭ TB, naś, but TB. Poona ed. naḥ) sūnavo gīrāḥ RV, SV.

VS, KS, TB.

idam devaṁ idam u naḥ (KS, idam naś) suha TS, MS, KS, TB, ApŚ, MS.

satuṣā epam (AG, etā) asīṣaḥ (APMB, ṭas) santu ... VS, VSK, AG, SMB, Kauś. APMB, HG.

FINAL 8 BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972. RPr. 255 (4. 12) prescribes the dropping of the s before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr. 3. 12. TPr. 9. 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect; the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS generally follow it. APr. contains no such prescription, but the AV, mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APR. 2. 40). This appears to be not quite true; cf. the variants hitrāvidāḥ stōmatatqāso ... AV. 18. 3. 47b, and madhuḥ ekotanty ... AV. 20. 88. 3d.
§973. None of the Prātiśākhyaas authorize the dropping of final s before sibilant plus sonant consonant; but the comm. on TPr. 9. 1 says that ‘some’ prescribe the dropping even then.

1. Final s before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions; and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht’s edition of RV. follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping s before sibilant plus surd; but Müller’s edition always prints h, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey’s edition of SV. is apparently not wholly consistent: of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the s, the other reads h. On AV. see above, §972. In TS., Weber’s edition apparently always drops the s; at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber’s edition of VS. Von Schroeder’s edition of MS. always prints h; but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol. I, p. XLII) that this was done in defiance of his ms., which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop s. On MS. and MG. cf. Knaauer, Einleitung to MG., p. xxxviii; it appears that the mss. of these texts vary greatly, but that Knaauer undertook to print h generally; among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, yas te drupsa skandati MS. 2. 4. 3. 29a. The mss. of KS. usually, and von Schroeder’s edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant; in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS., quoting its readings with h like those of MS.

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the s, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss. of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB. especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. SS. likewise shows a number of cases of h where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of SG. of the mantra mā no hiṇēḥ (hiṇēt) sthavirām . . . , with and without h; we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v.l. to either.

§976. In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain paribhāṣā rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert h in MS., MS., and MG. against the evidence of their mss.
Likewise in the case of KS. there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MŚ., MŚ., MG., or KS., it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read h, and that of KS. reads s (or h, s when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV. it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or h, is found in Aufrechte’s edition, while Müller’s edition in every case reads h.—I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss. and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded.—F. E.]

§977. The list of variants concerning final s before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the paribhāṣā just stated—is as follows:

pra tad viṣṇu (TB. Poona ed. viṣṇuh; AV.† viṣṇu; ŚŚ. [prātiṣṭha] †pra tad viṣṇur iti) stave... RV. AV. VS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ. 

ya (ŚŚ. yah) strīṇām... VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.

viṣṇo (TB. viṣṇoḥ) stūpa (stūpa) ’ni VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

viṣṇo (TB. viṣṇoḥ) sthānam asi VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

samṝṣṭibhāga (or, samṝṣṭa); TB. bhāgāḥ) stheṣā... VS. TS. MŚ.

KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

kuta (TB. kutaḥ) stokaḥ TS.MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

hotrāvīdu (AV. ṛḍaḥ, TB. ṛṇḍha, Poona ed. ṛṇḍhaḥ) stomaṭaṅgāso... RV. AV. MS. TB.

viṃca (TB. Poona ed. 1. 3. 7. 9. 10) stha VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. (both readings) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The same with samṝṣṭa andha sthānulho... VS. ŚB. KS.: ambha (ApŚ. ambhaḥ) sthāmbho... TS. MŚ. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.

ānu (ŚŚ. naḥ) stota... RV. ŚŚ.

āyu stha ApŚ.: āyuḥ stha TB.

ptava (TB. ṛah) stha... VS. KS. ŚB. TB.

indraṃata (AB. ṛah) stuta (stuvam) AB. GB. Vait.

dīva (TB. dīvah) skambha... VS. VS. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pra ra (KB. ŚŚ. ṛah) spaḥ... RV. KB. ŚŚ.

prakṣāṭā (TB. Conc. ṛa and ṛah, Poona ed. both times ṛaḥ) stha VS. TS. MŚ. KS. TB. ŚB. KS. MŚ.
balavijñāya (SV. ॐyah) sthaviraḥ ... RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 
brahalbhīr vājai (TB. Poona ed. vājaḥ) sthavirebhīr ... RV. MS. KS. TB. 
brhaspati (TB. Conc. ṭi and ṭiḥ, Poona ed. both times ṭiḥ) stotram VS. 
MS. KS. TB.
madha (AV. ॐvah) scotanty ... RV. AV. 
mā no hiṁst (and, hiṁst) sthaviram ... SG. (both) 
māntā (ApŚ. māntah) sthur ... RV. AV. AB. JB. ApŚ. MS. 
mā na stena ... RV. KS.: mā va (TB. Poona ed. va and vah) stena ... 
RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
yas te drapsa (ŚŚ. Vait. drapsaḥ; MS. drapsa) skandati ... RV. VS. TS. 
KS. GB. ŚB. Vait. MS. ŚŚ.
ye derā devasvam (TB. ॐvah) stha ... TS. TB. 
vāyava (TB. ॐvah) stha VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. TB. KS. ApŚ. MS. 
upāyava (TB. ॐvah) stha TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KS. ApŚ. 
prāyaka sthah TB. ... prāya sthah ApŚ. 
stoṣā (TB. Poona ed. stoṣāḥ) scotanti ... RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. 
subhūtakṛta stha ApŚ.: suhūtakṛtw stha AŚ. 
sūryāvacaśa (TB. Poona ed. ॐsaḥ) stha VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MS. 
girā (ApŚ. girah) stomāsa ṭrāte RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ. 
cakṣu (TB. cakṣuḥ) sthah ... TB. ApŚ. 
cita (TB. citaḥ) stha TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS. 
cita (ApŚ. once out of four times, and TA. twice out of three times acc. 
to Conc., all three times acc. to Poona ed., citaḥ) sthā pari ... 
VS. TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. KS. 
prāti tvā diva (TB. divaḥ) skambhanir vettu (TB. Poona ed. ṭvettu) TS. TB. 
[trīṇave ṭmarut (Conc. ṭah for VS.) stuṭah (ṭtami) VS. MS. KS.] 
[dhruvam asī dhruvata (Conc. ṭah for ApMB.) sthitam ApMB. HG.] 

2. Final s before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978. Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions 
of all the Prātiśākhyaś, require ṭ. In KS., just as before sibilant plus 
surd, the final s is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual 
sibilant; again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually 
ignores this, and quotes KS. as reading visarga like other texts. The 
only text noted which regularly drops the final s is ApMB.; see Winter- 
nitz’s Introduction, p. xlviii. It appears, however, that the mss. of some 
other texts show the same dropping of s not infrequently. Especially is 
this true of AV.; see Whitney’s note on Apr. 2, 86, and on his Transla- 
tion of AV., 6. 121. 1. The Bibl. Ind. editions of TB. and TA. show the 
dropping of s a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same
works print $h$ in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS. which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder: sýoná (for sýonáh, so ApŚ.) sýonána ghytena mā samukṣata, MS. 4. 2. 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of $h$ are rare and sporadic.

§979. [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two paribhāṣā rules, viz.: 1. KS. always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance.—2. Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB. alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text.—F. E.]

§980. The variants of final $s$ before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows:

svapnah svapnādhikaraṇe RVKh.: svapna svapnādhikaraṇena AV. The latter is to be understood with svapna(h) nom., not voc.; Edgerton, APJ. 35. 438ff.

medasah (VSK. $s$sa) svāhā VS. VSK. MS. TB.
yā devy asītāke prāṇadā ... caksūrdās (ApŚ. $s$da) śrotadā ... dyaurdās (ApŚ. $s$da) svardā ... KS. ApŚ.: yā devy asītāka ayurdā ... caksūrdāḥ śrotadāḥ MS.
saṁyādarnāh naḥ (TB. naḥ, but Poona ed. naḥ) svē ... RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB.

ādityaḥ vyāha ... mahānasarasasya (MS. mahāḥ svāḥ ... ŚB. MS. ApŚ. See Knauer’s note, and pw., Addendum to Vol. 5, s. v. mahānasara.

avidahantsah (TB. $s$ta) śrapayata TB. ApŚ. MS.
jñog ajīta (MS. jñā, SMB. jñā, but Jørgensen ajīta) ahaṭā (SMB. $s$ta) vyāha TS. KS. MS. PG. SMB.
śrotadāḥ (AS. $s$pa) śrotadā ... TS. MS. AB. AS.
svar (TS. ApŚ. swar) na (TS. ApŚ. nā) ghaṁah (ApŚ.$*s$ma) svāhā VS. TS. KS. SB. ApŚ. (both)

ṣutah (TB. ṣṭuḥ, but Poona ed. ṣṭutah) ṣravaṇyam ... RV. MS. KS. TB.
syoneḥ (MS. $s$nā) syonena ghytena mā samukṣata MS. ApŚ.
supāniḥ (TA. $s$nī, but Poona ed. $s$nī; ŚŚ. sabāṇaḥ) svāṁguris VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. ŚŚ.

citīḥ (TA. $s$tī, but Poona ed. $s$ṭī) svuḥ MS. TA. ŚŚ. MS.
pāro maṁraḥ paraḥ (ApŚ. all mss., and TB. Conc. paraḥ, but TB. Poona ed. paraḥ) svā VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. MS.
pary āvarto dvaṁgurṇāt (KS. du$hga$v, v. 1. du$hga$) AV. KS. See Whitney’s note on 6. 121. 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV, mss.
duṣṭapnyam duritam niḥ (AV. *nīḥ) śvāsmat AV. (both). Whitney, however, would read niḥ in both places— with the Prātiśākhya, but against nearly all the mss.

duṣṭapnahān duśrṣyaḥ (Poona ed. duṣṣvapn. duśrṣyaḥ) TA.: duḥsvapan
nahān duśrṣyaḥ MahānU. Cf. preceding two:
aślōṇā (AV. comm. aśro) aṅgair ahrutāh (TA. aślōṇāṅgair aḥṛtā, Poona ed. ahrutāh with v. l. ṣūr) svarge AV. TA.

snuṣā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text ćuṇāḥ) śvāsuro ćyum asū (AŚ. ġam asmī) TB. AŚ. sapatnāḥ, nom. pl. masc. (!), seems to be intended in both.

INITIAL $ VARYING WITH $

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prātiśākhya (RPr. 318 (5. 1) ff., APR. 2. 96 ff., TPr. 6. 1 ff., VPr. 3. 58 ff.). The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204–7. In practically every case the altered $ is preceded by an i or u vowel; TS. reads rksama for rksama of other texts (§985), and in a few cases $ appears after a-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an i or u vowel occurred (§984). Visarga after $ or u does not interfere with the alteration: Wackernagel I p. 237, bottom.

§982. In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial $ . In these latter cases $ is extremely rare in RV., but becomes common in the other Samhitās (Wackernagel I §205); two of our variants show $ under such circumstances for RV. (§983). The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds. Here the conditions are confused: the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206). We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies; earlier $ is replaced by later $ and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random. Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which ‘light words’, monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned. Lingual $ in these is common in the RV., but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207); accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes $ for earlier (generally RV.) $; but the reverse is also found (§987). Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompound words; in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language; yet our variants show at least one case of $ in TB. substituted for $ of RV. (§988).
§983. The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987:

vy asabhñā (VS. ŚB. askabhñā, MS. asabhñā, KS. aśabhñā, TS. askabhñād, TA. aśabhñād) rodaē  ...  RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

ād id āhotarān ny asādayanta (TB. aṣā) RV. VS. TB.

ābhŷ aṣṭāṁ (TS. KS. ApŚ. aṣṭād, MS. aṣṭām) viśāh pṛtanā urāth AV. TS. MS. KS. MS. ApŚ.

tena dasyūn vy asahanta devaē TS. KS.: tena devā vy asahanta satrūn AV. yasmād bhīṣā nayaṣaḍaḥ (ŚŚ. nayaṣaḍaḥ) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

§984. Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an ū vowel precedes, so that the change to ū is irregular. Four of them contain the Rigvedic words pṛtanāsah (*sāh, *sāhya), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular *sah etc. Whitney’s statement (Grammar, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show. The ū is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like satrūṣah, bhūrisah, abhūṣah etc. — The only other case contains the TS. form saṃṣubh, which is obviously analogous to triṣubh, avasubh, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b:

saṃṣub (TS. saṃṣup) chandāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ā vīram pṛtanāsaham (SV. *saham) RV. AV. SV.

tam aṅge pṛtanāsaham (TS. *saham) RV. TS.

pṛtanāsahyāya (TB. *sāhyāya) ca RV. AV. VS. TB.

cucoiruṣi pṛtanāyāt (HG. *saham) RVKh. HG.

§985. Twice in the same passage of TS. occurs the stem ṭkṣama, for ṭkṣama of the others; this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding k (cf. Wackernagel I p. 237, top):

jagatāy ṭkṣamam (TS. ṭkṣamam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ṛkṣamac (TS. ṭkṣamac) chukraḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§986. The remaining cases concern a preceding i or u or diphthong. In GB. 1. 5. 25d, quoted in Conc. as vīskandham evam vidhṛtaḥ prajātu, Gaṇastra reads vīskandham ... visṛtām ... 

abhivṛtā abhīsate (KS. *ṣatvā) sahajāḥ (AV. MS.† KS. sahajit) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Many mss. of AV., followed by the comm. and SPP.’s ed., also read abhīsataē.

stotā me goṣakha (SV. goṣakha) sūy RV. AV. SV.

prthiviṣadam (MS. prthivi; VS.† *sadam) tvāntarikṣasadam (VS.† adda, dinasadān devasadām) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

deva savālaḥ susāvitram (ApŚ. susā) ... PB. KS. ApŚ.
rayisthāno (AV. sthāno) rayam asmäsū dhehi RV. AV.
suṣamiddhā (RV. suṣa) na a vaha RV. SV. PB. LS.
suṣamiddhā (KS. TB. suṣa) vareṇyāḥ VS. MS. KS. TB.
suṣamiddhāni (TB. suṣa) vareṇyaṃ VS. TB.
uṣadām (ŚŚ. susatyam) id gavām ... AV. ŚŚ.
ye trīṣaptāḥ (MS. tris) pariyanti AV. MS.
trīṣaptāso (TB. tris) marutah ... AV. TB.
uttukānikeśhāya triṣṭhānam VS.: utkūravikālābhyaṃ triṣṭhānam TB.
amba niṣpara (TS. ApŚ. niṣvara, KS. niṣvara, MS. niṣmara) VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. In VS. ŚB. divide niṣ-paṇa; the rest belong here.
sonandreśhaya ... uparaśadhya (VS. "ṣadhya") VS. VSK. ŚB.
ye devāḥ sonandre uparisado (VS. "ṣado") VS. VSK. ŚB.: ye
devā upariṣado (KS. "dāś") ... MS. KS.
vrājakam gacchā gosthānam (VS. ŚB. TB. gosthānam, but TB. Poona ed.
"sth") VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS.
krṣṇakṛṣṇa kṛṣṇakə kṛṣṇakṛṣṇa (MS. "ṣaktas" ta aindrāgnāḥ VS. MS.
aṇjaśakthaya (KSA. "ṣaktas") svāhā TS. KSA.
ḍusṣvapnahan duṣṭaṣṭhā (Poona ed. duṣṣvap durḡṣṭhā) TA.: duṣṭvacna
duṣṭaṣṇah Mahānu.
§987. Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the
copula. In one or two of these s of RV. is replaced by s in a later text:
drūṣah pāṣān (TS. KS. pāṣān) prati sa (KS. sū) muṣṭiṣa RV. TS. MS.
KS.
apo su (MS. sū) myaka ... RV. MS.
But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction:
krīḍā ṣv (TS. sv) as्मान ... RV. TS. MS. KS.
prati ṣma (SV. sma) deva rīṣataḥ (SV. rv) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.
prati ṣma (AV. sma) rājṣasā dāha (AV. jahi) RV. AV.
aśi hi ṣmā (TS. MS. KS. asti sma) te ṣuṣṭinā arāyāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB.
vāyaṃ ghā te aṭi ṣmasi (SV. smasi) RV. SV.
anuparśavaṃ yataṃḥa yati ṣthā (AV. stha) RV. AV.
divi ṣaṅ (AV. saṅ, SV. saṅ) chukra āṭatalaḥ RV. AV. SV.
divi śad (RV. ṣad) bhūmyaḥ a dade RV. VS. VS.
ādi ṣa (SV. sa) bhrato divaḥ RV. SV.
pari ṣya svānān akṣaḥ RV.: pari ṣya svānān akṣarat SV.: et. pari ṣya
svānān anavyām RV.
tasmād āpo anu śthana (TS. sthana) AV. TS. MS. KS.
§988. Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncom-
pounded words. Note that in the first a later text introduces ś where RV. has ś:

trīṇi śūlá trī sahasraśy (TB, śaś) agnim RV. VS. TB.

ye apsu śadānśi (KS. 1psu sadānśi) cakrīṃe MS. KS.: tegāṃ apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh.

apsu dhautasya te deva soma (TS. tr. soma deva te) nṛbhīḥ śūtasīya (KS. nṛbhīṣ stuśa, TS. PB. nṛbhīḥ sutasya) ... TS. MS. KS. PB. The mss. of MS. read nṛbhī, which von Schroeder as always (cf. §974) changes to nṛbhīḥ; but the presence of final ṣ, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event.

pari bṛātuḥ pari svasuḥ HG. ApMB.: pari mātuḥ pari seasaḥ PG. vāyo vev (TS. ApŚ. vīhi) stokānām (VSK. nāṃ juṣānāḥ, KS. ṣokānām) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS.† 3. 6 (with ṭev, not vev).

SECONDARY CRASIS, AND HIATUS

§989. Secondary crasis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants. Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi. There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG., which according to Knauer (p. xxxviii f.) has it quite frequently:

dhrvā strā patikule iyam (MG. 6kuleyaṃ) SMB. MG. In SMB., also, the v. l. 6kuleyaṃ is recorded, as well as 6kula iyam, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, 6kule iyam (with complete hiatus).

us chusmā oṣadhinām (AV. chusmaus) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Whitney would ‘probably’ read chusmā (for “moh” oṣ); this is supported by Ppp., cf. Whitney’s note and Barret, JAOS 35. 50 f. viśṣādyāḥ [prāṭika] MG. This probably refers to the formula viśa (PG, text viśese, with hiatus) āditya vasavaś ca devāḥ (MG. sarve) AG. PG. MG. All mss. of MG. (in the prāṭika) read viśvedaḥ, sahasraṛāre ‘va (AV. 6dhāra eva) te sam asvaran RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Whitney, note on AV. 5. 6. 3, suggests that RV. stands for 6dhārā, with double sandhi. The RV. p.p. reads 6dhāre, avu. Oldenberg, Noten, would read avate as one word, keeping 6dhāre of p.p. The whole verse is difficult and obscure.

anāmayavātṛāḥ etc., see §344.

§990. All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi.
They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context:

māgadhah puṣcalti kitavah klībo ṭūḍrā-abhāṃna (VŚK... 'śūḍrā-
右hrāmnapās) te prājapatyāḥ VS. VŚK. Two separate words in
VS., a compound in VŚK. So also in the following; cf. the section
on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases
that might perhaps also be mentioned here.

aśloṇā (AV. comm. aśro") aṅgariv ahrutāḥ (TA. aśloṇāṅgariv aḥṛtā, Poona
ed. ahrutāḥ, v. l. ॐā) svarga AV. TA. 'Unmaimed in limbs', or 'with
unmaimed limbs'. Cf. preceding.

ākrṇyāya ayogūṃ VS.: ākrṇyāyāyogūṃ (so Poona ed. text and comm.)
TB. Different genders; fem. in VS., masc. in TB.

saha ojāḥ (VS. sakaujāḥ; VŚK. sahojāḥ) VS. VŚK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait.
In VS. VŚK. saha plus ojas (en VSK.'s sandhi see §731); in the others,
sahas plus ojas. The latter form is probably original.
yathākā ṛṣir (KS. ṛkarṣir) vijñānate KS. TA. ApŚ. See §919, end.
yā (MS. ya) ḫavo yātudhāṅnāṃ VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilṛU. ApMB.;
yēṣu vā yātudhāṅnāḥ KS. Serpents are referred to: 'who are mis-
siles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS. makes reasonable
sense: 'either in whom are sorcerers'... (correlative with
the following, which see). But it is clearly based on yā (or ya) ḫavo,
mispronounced with secondary eras

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning
hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi; or
they may be called the converse of them. In the cases of double sandhi,
the form with hiatus is regular; in those we are about to give, it is irregu-
lar. A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants
in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly,
leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is question-
able:

utra kṛvaṇā (MS. kṛvaṇa ḫ) prthivīṃ VS. TS. MS. TA. The p.p. of MS.
reads kṛvaṇah, ḫ; but both meter and sense show that the MS.
haves a stupid blunder.
yad uḍra cītra mēhānā (SV. PB. ma iha na) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.
See §832.

vansura (KS. vansa iva) vikṛtimāha VS. TS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. Since the
uncombined form was a neuter nom.-acc. plur. of an a-stem (vans),
it seems that we are to understand it as vāṇa (so MS. p.p.), rather
than räṣṭa. We have, then, in KS, perhaps a case of what may be
called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a
following vowel, as in ä-ṛ = RV. etc. a-ṛ; cf. Wackernagel I §267b
for such shortenings before other vowels than r. Otherwise KS.
would be a mere blunder, like MS. in the preceding. Cf. the next.
sapatä vācah manasaḥ (AŚ. ṛstra) upāsatām TB. AŚ. 'His (or, my)
rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts
must intend manasaḥ; TB. has complete hiatus, while AŚ. (if the
text is correct; we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial
sandhi'; see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion.
See also the variant praty etā vāma (sunva) etc., §357.

§992. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as
they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations. It
will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the
variant last quoted:

bhāyā vā atah somo rājaṁhati (MŚ. rāja arhati) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. All
Knaurer's manuscripts read thus for MŚ.; Knaurer suggests płaṭi. The pas-
sage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ. it could pass for a
fair jagati pāda.

pavaśva deva ṛṣṇaśak (RV. devaṅṛṣṇa) RV. SV. PB. The accent in SV.
(deva) indicates a nom. form; but Benfey translates a voc. In any
case SV. is secondary, and metri gr.

pāmānam ute viśāham (SMB. vā aṅgaḥ) SMB. ApMB. HG. Another
case of hiatus for metrical reasons.

ā pṛṣṇā eto ā vasu TS.: ā pṛṣṇam eto ā vasu AV. Hiatus for metrical
reasons in TS.; in AV. the meter is improved without fusion.

tatra āṅgro bhṛṅsaśāth VŚ.: tātra (SV. tātra) no brahmaṅsaśāth RV. SV.
Hiatus metri gratia in VŚ.

tan ma (Vait. mā) āṭṣyasītāṁ punah GB. Vait. Not only the hiatus,
but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait. Garbe and Caland
take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR. only in
one epic passage (Mbh. 5. 508). In GB. (with me) there is no
hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements. But if
mā be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

sam tvā rṣīṇtī (Vait.ṛṣīnti) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. The hiatus in Vait. may be
connected with pronunciation of ṛ as ri, see §676.

punantu rṣayā TA. MahānU. Hiatus in both forms.

doivā hotārāgna (MŚ. ṛyā, SS. hotārī agna) ṛṣyasya vāṭām MS. KŚ. AŚ.
SS. Probably SS. stands for hotārā, not ṛāti, and therefore has
hiatus; see §885d. For hotārāu we should expect ṛāu in SS.
achidrā uṣṭijāh padānu takṣuh TS.: achidroṣṭijāh kavyayāh padānutaksṣīṣuḥ (see §627) KS. Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if achidrā went with padā as in KS.; but TS. p.p. achidrāh, with uṣṭijāh, and so comm. abhīṁ (SV. abhi) āṭasya dhanānā anūṣuṭa RV. SV. Cf. abhīṁ āṭasya (SV. abhy āṭasya) sudughāḥ ghrāścutoff RV. SV. On m as 'Hiatus-tigol' see §309.

pitrōhyah svadhāstu (MahānU, svadhā astu) TA. MahānU.

§993. With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts; in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical ā declension (in ās) varying with nominatives of the derivative ā declension in ā. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait. texts, and according to TS. p.p. and TPr. 5. 2, 10. 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of -mā, without s:


sahārasya pramāśi (TS. mā aśi) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with pratimā, and sahasrasyomā.

§994. The next is different in character:

manāśi (KS. manā aśi) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter manas. In KS. it has the form of a feminine s-stem (nom. manā's). In the others it becomes an ā stem.

§995. The next group contains textually dubious cases:

pītarāḥ eva upāsate (VS. copā ē) RVKh. VS. The hiatus improves the meter; but Scheftelowitz reads copāsate, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads copā ēsate, with hiatus in a different place.

yā medhā apsarāsā (MG. medhāpsarāh-su) RVKh. MG. The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's mss. read medhā apsō in MG.; and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads medhāpsō in RVKh. without report of variant; he also reads 'psarassu.

deva brahmaṇa āgachata āgachata GB., Conc.: de śrau āgachata-āgachata LŚ. But Gāṇastra reads for GB. āgachata-āgachata; he notes a v. l. āgachata-āgā.

vibhur vibhānā sūṣakhā (AV. sakha ā) sakhīyate RV. AV. So the mss. of AV., leaving sakha unaccented; SPP. follows them; the vulgate ed. reads sākhā a. It seems at least possible that the AV. mss. correctly
present the Atharvan tradition; the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative sakhe is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his Tranal assumes sakha' (fusion of sakha and a').

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun sa followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous; in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV. itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus:

semaṁ (AV. sa imāṁ) no havyadātim juśāṇaḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Oldenberg, Noten, thinks that RV. should probably be read sa imāṁ.

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hota (AV. Kauś; sa id dhotā) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SB. Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV. omits the particle u.

sa imāṁ (SG. semāṁ) devaḥ pūṣā (also aryamā, and taruṇāḥ) SG. AG. SMB.

soma ayujmān sa oṣadhibhir (PG. sausa*) ayujmān TS. KS. PG. ApMB. This passage is prose. PG. is hyper-archaizing.
INDEXES
INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note.—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, a as a sound, and ya as a phonetic combination (which varies with i, i, and e), are treated here; but ad the preposition or privative prefix, and ya the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the Indexes are to sections.

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Note.—Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf. Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc.): with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur first in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, not listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras. The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here. Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction. It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means. Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word; only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed. The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences.—In this Index the colon (:) is used in the sense of ‘varying with’ or ‘as a substitute for.’ References are to sections.

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