Vedic Variants

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

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PREFACE

This third volume of the Vedic Variants deals with the inflectional forms of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. The general plan and purposes of the Vedic Variants series have been set forth in the preface to Volume 1, The Verb (1930). Volume 2, Phonetics, appeared in 1932. Except for a preliminary and incomplete collection of materials, Bloomfield’s relation to this volume does not go beyond the formulation of the original project. On the other hand, I have had the benefit of active assistance from my friend and pupil Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, who supplemented Bloomfield’s lists of materials by extensive additions of his own collectanea, and prepared a preliminary draft of the entire book. I hope that it may be possible for him to continue this cooperation in future volumes of the series; this volume has benefited greatly by his industry and acumen. I have, however, worked over the entire book in the most intimate way, and the responsibility for its final form is wholly mine.

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

The publication of this volume, as of its predecessors, has been made possible by the very generous financial aid of the Linguistic Society of America and of the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies, to both of which we are deeply grateful.

Franklin Edgerton.
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The standard abbreviations used in this volume are the same as in its predecessors. VV = Vedic Variants; the numerals 1 and 2 after VV refer to the first and second volumes. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Concordance. *RVR*/Rep. = Bloom-field’s *Rigveda Repetitions*.

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

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

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

§1. This volume of the Vedic Variants deals with the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, and aims to include all variations in the inflected forms of such words in the repeated mantras of the Veda, except as indicated in §9. The material falls into two divisions, which we call formal variants, and syntactic and stylistic variants. Under formal variants we include all variations between what are intended as equivalent forms for the same case, number, and gender. Under syntactic and stylistic variants are included the rest, that is variations in case, number, and gender. The latter are, as was to be expected, much more numerous than the former.

FORMAL VARIANTS

§2. The formal variants constitute a kind of addendum to the third volume of Wackernagel’s great grammar, which, we need scarcely say, has been constantly consulted by us and has been of infinite value. Students of that masterly work will find, we hope, that it is supplemented and at times corrected by this book.

§3. We begin with variation between the dual endings ā and au in all declensions (Ch. II). They are fairly numerous and interesting, but reveal nothing new in principle. Next (Ch. III) the variations between the feminine endings ai and ās in the dative and ablative-genitive singular, which put this important matter in a somewhat new light. Not only may ai forms be used as ablatives as well as genitives, but also ās forms as datives; the latter fact has, so far as we know, never before been specifically recognized.

§4. Coming now to formal variants in the a declension specifically (Ch. IV), we take up first the nom. pl. in ās or āsas, which is largely a matter of meter. The same is true of the more numerous variations in the neuter plural ā and āni, and of the relatively few interchanges of the instr. pl. in ais and ephis. The abl. sg. endings āt and (a)tas interchange but rarely, and so far as we have noticed only in pronouns and pronominal adjectives. Still rarer, and somewhat dubious, are the interchanges of ā and aya in the fem. instr. sg.
§5. The next chapter (V) is a long one, and takes up variant forms of the short and long i declensions. That there is much interplay between these declensions has long been recognized, but the extent and variety of these interchanges as here revealed is surprising and goes farther at a number of points than has been shown by any previous treatment. Next comes a much shorter but still fairly lengthy chapter (VI) on variations in the short and long u stems, also with interesting results.

§6. In the r declension we find little except variations between long and short r in the gen. pl., and one or two shifts of ablaut in the stem final. Such shifts of ablaut form the first part of the section dealing with consonantal stems. It is followed by a section dealing with the interplay of vant, vāns, (o)nas, and san stems. Next a section on a stems; the principal variations here are in the neuter plural (a and a, partly phonetic in character; very rarely o or a and oanl); oblique cases with and without intermediate ('euphonic') a; instrumentals in na for mna from man stems; and loc. sg. in an or anl, largely a matter of meter. This chapter (VII) is concluded with a few miscellaneous variants dealing with heteroclitic stems and the like.

§7. The short chapter (VIII) on diphthongal stems does not contain much of general interest. That on adjectives and numerals (IX) is also brief and not very important; it contains chiefly shifts between fem. adjectives in ā and ī, and nominal and pronominal forms from pronominal adjectives.

§8. Our formal variants conclude with a chapter (X) on the forms of pronouns. Except a few sporadic and miscellaneous variants listed at the end, they all concern interchange between enclitic and orthotonic pronouns, acc., dat., and gen. sg. and pl. Meter is apt to be concerned in them, and in the case of the acc. sg. forms also certain phonetic aspects, which have already been referred to in VV 2.

SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC VARIANTS

§9. These are much more numerous than the formal variants. We have found shifts between every one of the eight cases and every other, as well as between each of the three numbers and genders and every other. In these sections we usually group nouns, adjectives, and pronouns together, without distinction, since it is obvious that as a rule the principles governing shift of case in noun forms are just the same as in adjective and in pronoun forms. The lists are in general as complete as we could make them by repeated and intensive search.
However, in the variations in number we have included complete lists of pronoun variants only when there is no change of person or stem. That is, we have tried to include all shifts between pronouns of e.g. the 1st sg. and 1st pl., and between 2d sg. and 2d pl., but not of 1st sg. and 2d pl. or vice versa. To have included the latter would have swollen the lists out of all proportion to the value of the additional materials for our present subject; in so far as they have a bearing on number, this bearing is sufficiently illustrated by the examples we have included. — In a few other cases, all specifically noted, we have given only examples, rather than complete lists, of formally similar variants occurring in the same passage.

§10. As was to be expected, there are great differences in the frequency of interchange between the various categories. Certain of the cases—such as vocative and locative—hardly ever exchange, while others—such as nominative and accusative—exchange very frequently. Case variations as a whole are much more numerous than those of number and gender, and number variations much more numerous than those of gender.

§11. Roughly speaking we may think of these variants as falling into two main categories. One group consists of those in which the variation has an immediate relation to the meaning of the two varying morphemes. Thus, first, we may find the substitution of one construction for another, where both are equally possible, without change of meaning, or with so little change that the meanings are essentially identical. For instance, after certain prepositions and certain verbs different oblique cases may be used without difference of meaning. Or a double dual may vary with a pair of singulars. Or a noun may vary in gender, and consequently its form, or the form of a modifying adjective or pronoun, may vary, without difference in meaning. Or the difference of meaning may be a very slight one, such that similar changes occur in considerable numbers in Vedic tradition, as is the case with instrumentals and datives like the following: the RV. pāda *sam tam siṅcatu rādhase* 'may he sprinkle it unto bounty' is changed in KS., in the like context, to *sam tat siṅcatu rādhāsā* 'may he sprinkle it with bounty,' which means virtually the same thing. There are very many cases of this sort among the interchanges of case, and they constitute one of the most interesting and important results of this volume. They show interplay between the various case forms to a hitherto unsuspected extent.

§12. There are all possible gradations between absolute equivalence and marked difference of meaning in connection with such shifts of
form. On the whole, we recognize it as our duty to seek for differences of meaning, however slight, when different morphemes are used. But the important lesson of our materials is not the differences between variant syntactical usages; these were pretty well understood before. It is rather the surprising extent to which they play into one another. Constructions which at first sight seem to have nothing to do with one another turn out to be practically interchangeable on an astonishing scale. Who would think a priori that there could be any relation between the instrumental, of either accompaniment or means, and the final dative? Yet we find a large number of cases like that quoted above, in which the two are virtually synonymous. And we shall find that this is no isolated instance.

§13. The second large group of these variants consists of those which have no real relation to the syntactic uses of the variant morphemes, but whose interest consists in the light they throw on the processes of Vedic tradition. They illuminate the ways in which the whole stock of mantra material was reworked in the course of centuries, but do not illustrate points of Vedic grammar.

Transfer of epithet

§14. Probably the most widespread of the processes here referred to is that to which we have given the name of 'transfer of epithet.' A change in number, gender, or case, or in two or all three of these, may signalize the application of an epithet (whether noun, adjective, or pronoun) to a different person or thing in one text from that to which it applies is another. Thus, RV. 10.125.3cd reads tāṁ mā devā vy adadhuh purutrā, bhūriṣhṭārāṁ bhūry āvesayantim. In the repetition of this in the AV. 4.30.2cd, āvesayantim is changed to āvesayantaḥ. The RV. original means 'the gods have established me (Vāc) variously in many places, me of many stations, bestowing abundantly.' The epithet āvesayantim here agrees with the object, Vāc. In the AV. it is made to agree with the subject, the gods: 'introducing (installing) me abundantly,' or 'making me enter into many things.' By this alteration the AV. substitutes a nominative for an accusative, a plural for a singular, and a masculine for a feminine; yet obviously the change has no bearing on the syntax of case, number or gender. It interestingly illustrates the psychology of the Vedic traditionalists; whatever may have been precisely in the mind of the composer of the original form (this is a problem which may be left for exégetes of the passage), the AV. has a secondary lectio facillior, the meaning of which is simple
INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

enough; evidently the AV. redactor stumbled over the recondite meaning of the passage in its Rigvedic form. See Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield, 126.

§15. Only slightly different is a case like the following: tasmai devā amṛtāḥ (AV. amṛtāṁ) saṁ vyayantām (AV. १ tu) AV. TS. MS. ApMB., ‘let the gods provide for him nectar’ or ‘let the immortal gods provide for him’ (objects supplied from the preceding line). Here one of the two variant forms, in this case we believe the original one (that of AV.), contains an independent noun, not strictly speaking an ‘epithet’ of any other word, which in the other version is ‘transferred’ as an epithet to the word devā(k). The reverse of this, in which the older form of the variant presents an ‘epithet’ which is given independent construction in the secondary form, also occurs (an example is found in the next paragraph). Such variants as these are also included by us, with a slight stretching of the term, in the category of ‘transfer of epithet.’

§16. Transfers of epithet are extremely common, and are found as between each of the three genders and numbers and almost every two of the eight cases. Often the variation involves more change than that of the word-ending alone; the variant forms may be really different words, as in asmahhyām indic indrayuh (SV. indriyam) RV. SV.; here the RV. indrayuh is an epithet of the subject of the verb (pasisva); SV. changes it into indriyam, object of that verb. Since such variations really concern Vedic psychology rather than grammar and syntax, variants of this sort are included in our lists of ‘transfer of epithet.’

Form attraction or assimilation

§17. The process described as ‘transfer of epithet’ involves in many, perhaps most, instances attraction in form (case, number, or gender) to another word in the context. We have, however, restricted the term ‘form attraction’ or ‘assimilation’ in a technical sense to a different group of variants. In them a word, without being made to refer to a different person or thing in such a way that the process can be described as ‘transfer of epithet,’ nevertheless suffers a change in form by attraction or assimilation to an adjacent word in the context. Such variants are fairly frequent as between different cases, and we then describe the process as ‘case attraction.’ They are much rarer as between different numbers and genders.

§18. The word exercising the attraction may be a name or epithet of the same person or thing to which the variant word refers, as in yajñasya (AV. cītasya) mātā (SMB. māṭaram) suhāvā me (AV. no) astu
AV. TB. SMB. (preceded in SMB. by ākūtīṁ devīṁ manasaṁ prapadye): 'I do homage with my mind to the goddess Ākūtī, the mother of the sacrifice, may she be easily invoked for us.' So SMB., construing the epithet 'mother of the sacrifice' with the accusatives of the preceding pāda, while the other texts make it agree with the subject in its own pāda; but both refer to the same personage.

§19. Furthermore, however, the word exercising the attraction may not refer to the same entity as the attracted word. In such cases the result is a real difference of meaning as well as of construction. In the following formula we have two such attractions, each in a different text: haviṁ yajña (TB. yajñam) indriyam (VS. īyāṁ) VS. MS. KS. TB. The original form was clearly that found in MS. KS.: '(They praised Indra,) his strength, with oblation, at the sacrifice.' In VS. indriyam is attracted to the case of haviṁ: '...with oblation, with powers.' In TB. yajñe is attracted to the case of indriyam: '(They praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, (his) strength' (§473). Such changes as these are easy enough in the ritualistic language of the Vedic mantras, which are much more interested in impressive sound than in sense. They occur between most of the cases.

§20. Special attention may be called to a particular type of case attraction, in which one form of the variant contains a relative pronoun, most often in the nominative case (the defining or 'articular' relative), as in tam ākavyādam aśiśamam AV., yāḥ kravyāt tam aśiśamam Kaūś., 'I have appeased the flesh-eater' (§396). Here, if we regard the AV. form as older (which however can scarcely be regarded as certain), the change is a sort of converse of case-attraction, the assimilated form being the older. But such instances can hardly be separated from the following, where the assimilated form, without the relative, is clearly secondary: tam u śūhi yo antāh sindhuḥ sūnuḥ satyasya yuvānam AV.; tam u śūhy antaḥsindhuḥ sūnuḥ satyasya yuvānam AŚ., 'praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful' (§394).

Phrase inflection

§21. The third type of variation which seems to us to illustrate the underlying psychology of Vedic tradition, rather than the grammar or syntax of the language, is that to which we have given the name of 'phrase inflection.' In it a phrase is lifted out of its original context and used in a different one, which requires a different form or construction for one or more of the words. Sometimes it is a single pāda which is borrowed and adapted to a new context, perhaps in the same
vicinity, as when AV. 4. 34. 6b. *kṣīreṇa pūrṇā udakena dadhyā, ‘full of milk, water, and sour milk,’ is repeated in the next stanza with pūrṇā for pūrṇāḥ. The stanzas are otherwise different; in the first the nom. case agrees with the nouns in the preceding pāda, ghṛtahradā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ, while in the second the acc. agrees with the preceding acc. (caturāḥ kumbhāṣe caturāḥ dadāmi). The same sort of adaptation to new contexts occurs much more often in passages which are not so closely associated.

§22. A somewhat different type of ‘phrase inflection’ is illustrated by the following: āyuṣmatidaṁ (ApMB. HG. āyuṣmān idam, MG. once āyuṣmann idam) pari dhatuva vāsuh AV. SMB. ApMB. PG. HG. MG. (bis), ‘O long-lived one (or, being long-lived) do thou put on this garment.’ In some texts the epithet is masculine; here the Aryan boy at the initiation ceremony is addressed. In others it is feminine; these address the bride at the marriage rite. An entire stanza may be thus adapted to a new material context (as distinguished from the different verbal context concerned in the variant quoted above), and such ‘phrase inflection’ is a very fruitful source of variation in number and gender, while case variation is usually associated rather with the type of the preceding paragraph. Yet the two do not differ much in essence and it is impossible to draw a sharp line between them. They include a great many variants which the Vedic ritualists would call uḥas or vikāras.

Miscellaneous variants

§23. It should finally be said that, among the variations in case particularly, there are not a few that are miscellaneous and unclassifiable. Generally they involve rather sweeping reconstructions of the variant passage, with substitutions of different words and other drastic changes. For the sake of completeness we have tried to include even these, and indeed many of them have considerable interest, and throw light on the mental operations of the ritualistic traditionalists, and at times on the exegesis of individual passages.

Arrangement of the materials

§24. In arranging the ‘syntactic and stylistic’ variants (as distinguished from the ‘formal variants’, §1) we have decided, after some hesitation, to follow strictly the classifications suggested by the forms themselves. We shall begin with the variants of each case with every other case, whatever their nature, and then follow with the variants
of the three numbers and the three genders. This involves separation of the variants of the types last described, cases of 'transfer of epithet', 'form attraction', 'phrase inflection', and miscellaneous, into thirty-odd possible divisions (not all showing actual examples), so that e.g. variants involving 'transfer of epithet' appear separately under variations of Vocative and Nominative, Vocative and Accusative, Vocative and Instrumental, and so on through the list. Of course, such variants may be said logically to belong together; for they illustrate the same aspect of Vedic literary psychology, and nothing else. In principle it makes no difference what case-forms, number-forms, or gender-forms are involved.

§25. Despite this objection, we feel that it was impossible for us to do otherwise than follow the lines of formal variation. For no rigid line can be drawn between the categories at certain points. Form attraction or assimilation often seems to have been a contributory influence in bringing about a syntactic shift, which nevertheless occurs elsewhere without any such contributory influence. Some types of 'phrase inflection' are closely similar to, and should certainly not be separated from, certain syntactic variations. For instance, the shift between a vocative of direct address, usually with a second-person verb, and a nominative of indirect statement, typically with a third-person verb, is a genuine syntactic variation. Yet it occurs also, and quite often, in cases where a formula is lifted from its original context and adapted to a new context, and where the change of case is precisely due to this fact, so that we have a genuine and typical case of 'phrase inflection' (see §329). By consulting our Table of Contents and the Index of Subjects it will be easy for any one interested to bring together all the instances of 'transfer of epithet' etc.

SUMMARY OF SYNTACTIC VARIATIONS

§26. We shall now proceed to summarize very briefly the contents of the syntactic chapters, and to indicate the most important results that bear on Vedic grammar and syntax. In this summary we shall ignore the variants dealing with 'transfer of epithet', 'form attraction', and 'phrase inflection'. We shall begin with brief accounts of the most important and interesting ways in which each of the eight cases varies with the others, and follow with corresponding statements on variations of number and gender.
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Vocative and other cases

§27. Variations between the vocative and other cases usually signalize shift between direct address and indirect reference, as in mātēvāśmā adīte (ŚG. "tīh) sarma yacha (ŚG. yaṁsat) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB., 'like a mother grant, O Aditi (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him' (§§322, 326). However, in variants with the nominative, the latter may be appositional to a 2d person subject, so that direct address is found in both forms. Thus, ā śīṛṭha mitaravardhanāḥ (AV. "na) AV. KS. TB.† Apś.†, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' (§§323, 334).

§28. Similarly also with other cases in variation with voc. Thus, a vocative of direct address may vary with an accusative of indirect reference: paṁ yāmī maruto brahmaṇaspatīm (SV. "te), devāḥ (SV. devā) aev varṇyam RV. SV. MS. KS., 'with a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmaṇaspati, the gods, for excellent aid' or 'I approach [you], O Maruts' etc. (§343). Or else both forms may contain direct address: nāmasyāmas tvedyam (KS. "ya) jātavedāḥ RV. MS. KS. TB., 'we pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas (to thee, O worshipful J.)' (§348).

§29. With the instrumental, where both forms have direct address, a second subject may be expressed by an associative instr. or by another voc., as in ma śīya indrātra (TS.† indra) pruts devaś (KS. devā, TS. MS. deva) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB., 'O Indra along with the gods (and ye gods, or O god!)' (§353). On the other hand the instrumentality thru which a result is expected may be indirectly referred to in the instr. or directly addressed in the voc.: jagatyaśaināḥ (AŚ. "ty enam) vikṣe ā vaśayā大国 (."nti, "nti) TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'O jagatī (by means of the jagatī) may we (I) settle him in the tribes!' (§354).

§30. Likewise with the dative both these types are found: aqnaye (AV. Kauś. agne) samidham āhārṇam (āhārṇam) AV. Kauś. AG. GG. SMB. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB., 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great Jātavedas'; kṣayadīvīra (TS. "vāyā) sumnaṁ asme te astu RV. TS. (§§358–9).

§31. And with the genitive, the shift between direct address and indirect reference is found in ghratattvā savitar (MS. KS. "tur) ādhikātye (TS. "tyaḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'in [thy] lordship, O Savitar' or 'in Savitar's lordship' (§363); while direct address is found in both variants in bhṛhaspatisutasya ta (KS. om. ta) indo (KS. MS. inda)... TS. MS. KS., bhṛhaspatisutasya deva soma ta ōndor (VSK. inda)... VS. VSK. SB. (§365).
Nominative and other cases

§32. Perhaps the most characteristic way in which the nominative may vary with other cases in general is that in which one variant form has an independent statement, with subject nominative, which in the other form is compressed into syntactic dependence, as a rule on an adjoining sentence, the nominative being replaced by any other case. Thus, with the accusative: nirṛtim teẖam pari veda viśvataḥ VS.MS. ŚB., nirṛtir iti teẖam pari veda viśvataḥ (saretaḥ) AV. TS. KS., 'I know thee completely as Nirṛtī' (§393). Or the dependence may be created by the insertion of an active verb: ityam vediḥ para antah prthivyaḥ RV. AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ĀŚ, vediṃ āhūḥ param antam prthivyaḥ TS. KSA., 'this altar is the extreme limit of the earth' or 'they declare the altar (to be) the extreme limit of the earth' (§392). And notably we find a group in which the independent nominative is put in a relative clause: tam u śuḥi yo antah sindhau AV.: tam u śuḥy antaksindhau AŚ., both meaning 'praise him who is within the waters' (§394).

§33. With the instrumental: gaua te krīṇāni TS. ApŚ.: ityam gaua taṇa te krīṇāni MŚ., 'with a cow let me buy of thee' or 'here is a cow, with her' etc. (§418).

§34. With the dative: tasmā etam bhacata tadvaśāya (tadvaśo dadiḥ) RV. (both), 'bring this to him who desires it' or 'bring this to him, he desires it and is generous' (§425).

§35. With the ablative: viśno (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos) sthānam asi (MS. MŚ. sthāmasi, KS. sthāmnaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (§433). In KS. connected syntactically with the following, ita... viśyam akṛṣṇat.


§37. With the locative: kṛte yonau (KS. kṛto yonir) vapaṭeha bījam (sṛjam) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'in the prepared womb (the womb is prepared), scatter here the seed' (§450).

§38. With the vocative (§338): tiṣṭhā ratham (rathe) adhi tam (yam, TB. yad) vaiṭrāhasta (TB. 'tah) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Instead of 'O vajra-handed!', TB. says 'since (thou art) vajra-handed.'

§39. Otherwise most of the interchanges between nominative and other cases either belong to general classes like 'transfer of epithet' or 'phrase inflection' (§§14–6, 21–2), or are matters of alternative syntactic expressions for what is essentially the same idea. Thus, the same thought may be expressed in an active or transitive form, with accusative of direct object or goal, or in an intransitive or passive form, with the
accusative changed to a nominative, as in (om) agniṁ tarpaṇīṁ BDh., 'I gratify Agni,' but agnis trpaṇatu SG., 'let Agni be gratified' (§373).

§40. Similarly, the instrumental of agent or means expresses that which performs an action, and so in intransitive or passive expressions may vary with another expression in which it is made the subject of an active verb, in the nominative, as in ya śūḥ vahanta āsūbhīḥ RV., 'who travel by horses,' but yad vahanty āsuvah SV., 'when horses carry [him]' (§408). And in the same way, with a verb denoting origin, the ablative of source with a passive expression is the equivalent of the subject nominative with the corresponding active, in asmād vai tvam ajāyathā...JB. AG. Kauś., 'from him thou wast produced,' asmātvam adhi jāto 'si VS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. Karmap., same sense, but ayaṁ vai tvāṁ ajanayad...ŚŚ., 'he verily has begotten thee' (§432).

§41. In a rather more intricate way, but fairly commonly, the dative of purpose varies with a nominative (usually then an epithet of the subject), as denoting something desired for or attributed to the subject. Thus, pade-pade pāśinaḥ satti setavaḥ (AV. *ve) RV. AV. KS. ApŚ., 'on every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)' (§420).

§42. Other variations are related to specific aspects of the syntax of other cases and will be treated in dealing with them below.

Accusative and other cases

§43. The accusative may be used in forming adverbs, of such loose and general meaning that they may vary with corresponding forms of practically any other case. Thus even with the nominative, the nominative form being then of course an adjective, as in subhāḥ avayānabhiḥ prathamah (AŚ. ŚŚ. *mam) VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ., where the word 'first' has essentially the same meaning and application whether it be in form an adjective agreeing with the subject (VS. ŚB.), or an adverb (AŚ. ŚŚ.); §404.

§44. The instrumental varies in such cases especially easily with the accusative, being used in quite the same adverbal way, as in ghrācy asy upahāṛn nāmnā (VSK. nāma) VS. VSK. ŚB. (and others, §471). Here both mean simply nomine, 'by name.'

§45. The final dative may also be substantially equivalent to an adverbal accusative, as in tan (MS. tan) mā devā avantu šobhāyai (MS. *yi) TS. MS. TA., 'may the gods aid me unto splendor (splendidly)' (§487).

§46. The locative is used as well as the accusative in forms that are
vaguely adverbial: tenā devā devatām agra (VS. MS. KS. agram) āyam AV. VS. MS. KS.; tapasā (TS. tapa) devā devatām agra āyam TS. TB. TA. MahānU., ‘by this (by tapas) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning (agre or agram)’ (§530).

§47. The accusative of goal, which develops into, and cannot clearly be distinguished from, the purely syntactic accusative of ‘direct object’, is found varying in one way or another with every other oblique case. Naturally the psychology of the passages varies to some extent. Thus with the instrumental and accusative, the variation is specially apt to occur when the verb may be felt as connoting the idea of ‘joining’, which suggests the associative instrumental, as in sunām kinaśā abhi (AV. anu) yantu (MS. kinaśo abhy etu) vāhāḥ (AV. TS. vāhān) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. SB., ‘prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals’ (§467). But these two cases also interchange where no notion of ‘joining’ is present, as in pra śmakru (SV. śmakrubhir) dodhwad ārdhayāḥ bhūt (SV. ‘dhā bhuvat) RV. SV., ‘shaking (with) his beard’ (§469). Or the ‘inner’, ‘cognate’, or ‘resultative’ accusative varies with an instrumental of manner or means: ghrtenākam abhy arcaṇi vatsam AV., tam arkaiv abhy arcaṇi vatsam TB., ‘they sing with ghee a song (sing with songs) unto the young’ (§465). And tasma īndrāya haviṣā (TB. hāvīr ā) juhata MS. TB. (and others, §466), ‘offer (with) oblation to Indra here.’

§48. So the final dative or the dative of the interested party may vary with the accusative of goal; kāmena mā (TA. me) kama āgān (TA. āgāt) AV. TA., ‘by love love has come to (for?) me’; sā paprathe prthivei pārthivāni (KS. MS. ‘vāya) KS. TB. ApS. MS., ‘this earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)’ or ‘so as to reach the earthly (region)’ (§§478-9). Many other cases will be found below under accusative and dative variants, but in perhaps the majority of them the psychological difference is greater between the two variant forms.

§49. With the ablative we find strict equivalence only after prepositions (ā ‘until’ with acc. = abl., §494). But with verbs of separation the two things separated (one acc., the other abl.) may change places, as in īyaṃ duruktaḥ (PG. ‘tān) paribādhamānā ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG., ‘this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander’ or ‘warding off slander (from its wearer)’ (§493).

§60. With the genitive, equivalence to the accusative shows itself chiefly after certain verbs which may govern both cases, and after nouns with verbal force. Thus, verbs of eating and drinking show objects in either case, as also in the locative: papuḥ sarasvatīḥ nadyāḥ


§52. Verbs of ruling, of knowing, and of robbing, see §§503–5.


§54. As to the locative, its use as virtual equivalent of the accusative of goal is very familiar; a striking instance is yasya vratam (vrate) paśavo yanti sarve, yasya vratam (vrate) upatiṣṭhanta āpah, §§523, 526, ‘into whose control go all cattle, under whose control enter the waters.’ Here a minority of texts, and different ones in the two cases, substitute a loc. vrate for the acc. vratam, altho motion is surely implied both times. There are, however, many cases of such variants where the loc. may be interpreted as denoting position, in contrast with an acc. of motion; see our detailed discussion below, §§523 ff. We shall also find there that verbs of placing, dhā and its group, govern acc. and loc. interchangeably, altho often one may plausibly argue some psychological difference in the variant usages (§§533 ff.). With various prepositions, too, the two cases are at times nearly or quite equivalent (§§539 ff.).

Instrumental and other cases

§55. An important general class of variants between instrumental and other cases concerns the associative instrumental, which may theoretically vary with any other case in this way, that in one form two parallel nouns are put in the same case (any case whatever), while in the other form one of them is replaced by an associative instrumental. That is, ‘A and B’ is the equivalent of ‘A along with B.’ Such variants actually occur with voc., nom., and acc. Thus, with the vocative, mo śa na īndrātra (TS.† indra) pṛtsu devaiḥ (KS. devaiḥ, TS. MS. deva) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Originally, ‘O Indra along with the gods!’; in KS. at least, ‘O Indra (and) ye gods!’ (§353).

§56. With the nominative, yavā (MS. yavair) na bharīr bhruvi kesarāṇī VS. MS. KS. TB., ‘the hairs on his eyebrow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw together with barley)’ (§412).

§57. With the accusative, rūpair apiḥad (TB.* rūpāṇi pīṇaṇ) bhūva-nāṇi visāva RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N., ‘he shaped all beings along with forms’, or ‘shaping forms (and) all beings’ (§459).
§58. The associative instrumental is by its nature related to the meaning of bahuvrihi compounds, so that in theory we may expect an associative instr., either of a karmadhāraya compound or a separate uncompounded word, to vary with a bahuvrihi compound agreeing with the noun with which the instr. is connected, in any case whatever. We actually find such variants with nom. and acc. only, so far as noted. Thus, nom., tripād ērīhva ud ait purusāh RV. ArS. VS. TA., tribhīk padbhīr dyām arohat AV., 'with three quarters (Puruṣa) went aloft (mounted the heaven)' (§413). Acc., rākām aham suhavan (AV. *va) svaṭṭa hūpe RV. AV. etc., 'I call on Rākā of (with) good call, with fair praise' (§470).

§59. Verbs of joining, and their antonyms denoting severance or separation, show a curious blend of constructions involving the associative instrumental in interchange with accusative, dative, ablative, and locative. Even the genitive also becomes involved if we add nominal expressions equivalent to verbs of joining; and dat. and loc. vary with each other (§645). Details will be set forth under the various rubrics; here we shall content ourselves with a group of variants which illustrate the several types:

aṅgāṇy ātman (aṅgāir ātmānam) bhiṣajā tad āśvinā, 'the physician Āśvina joined his limbs upon his body (self) or 'his body with his limbs.' See §462.

sam mā aṅgāy adbhīr (opa) oṣadhībhīh, perhaps 'I unite myself with (unto?) waters, with plants.' See §460. Acc. and instr.

tvasṭā rūpena samanaktu yajñām; tvasī rūpi samanaktu yajñāih, 'let Tvaṣṭar unite sacrifice with form (forms with sacrifices).' Here the acc. and instr. interchange doubly, the result being substantial equivalence. (§461.)

susamśhṛtā (*te) tvā sam bharāmi, 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.' Dat. and instr.; §560.

samaścena taneś (va) cārur edhi, 'in joining of (with) thy body.' Gen. and instr., with a nominal expression. The dat. is also used; §§455, 560, 578.

sam devānāṁ sumatāy (sumatau) yajñāyānām, 'bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods.' Loc. and instr.; §605.

--The following curious case may also be noted here:
samījagamāno (*nā, *nau) divā (diva ā) yēthiyā ē (*yēh), 'uniting with heaven and earth' or 'uniting from heaven and earth.' Abl. and instr.; §576.

§60. The above contain verbs of joining; verbs of separation are
more restricted, and with them the most characteristic constructions are the abl. of separation or the associative instr. (by analogy with verbs of joining):

\[ \text{tebhir no adya (tebhya na indroh) savitota vishuḥ (tebhya asmān varuṇaḥ soma indroh), sc. vi muniścamu, 'may...free us from these (fetters of Varuṇa') or the like; §573.} \]

§61. But note also the following, where two accs. vary with an acc. and an instr. (for abl.):

\[ \text{vi kumārin jarāyunā (vi gurhām ca jarāyu ca), sc. bhīnadi, 'I separate the child from the afterbirth (the embryo and the afterbirth') (§459).} \]

§62. An instr. still felt, apparently, as associative, tho without clear expressions of joining, varies without marked difference of meaning with the acc., dat. and loc.:

\[ \text{pra rādhāsā (rādhānisī) codayāte ("yate") mahāvand, 'let him promote us with favor (unto favors), with might' (§469).} \]

\[ \text{vaiśvānasā na uṭaye (uṭyā) [ā pra yātu parāvataḥ], 'let V. come...unto (with) aid' (§558).} \]

\[ \text{sva dakshe (svair daksair) daksapitche sīda, 'be seated here in (with) thine own powers' (§603).} \]

§63. The instrumental of means may vary with any other oblique case. The means whereby an end is obtained may also be regarded as its source or cause, and so be expressed by the ablative, or, with nominal forms, by the subjective genitive. With expressions of gratification it may exchange with the objective genitive. It may be felt as the occasion, the sphere within which the action takes place, and so be put in the locative. And finally, with nouns meaning 'something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality' (§556), it very often exchanges with a final dative, as expressing the result rather than the means. There is in this last interchange a slight shift in psychology, but from the point of view of Vedic thought it is very slight, as may be seen from such an example as the following, which is typical of many:

\[ \text{pra na rāyā pariṇāsa (SV. rāye pariṇyase), followed by rati pari jaya parthām, RV. SV. KB., 'break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength.' Here the RV. original has a dative in the near-synonym rājya, which has doubtless caused SV.'s alteration to the dative rāye. But we shall see (§558) many cases where no such assimilatory influence is found.} \]

§64. With the ablative of source or cause: yās te viṣṇas tapasāḥ (TB. 2nd) sambabhūvaḥ AV. TB., 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy
tapas.'—bhūvas tvam indra brahmāṇā (MS. *no) mahan RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words' (§§569, 571).

§65. With the genitive the instr. of means exchanges in various ways. After expressions of gratification an objective genitive varies with it in jujataḥ desebrī (AV. devānām) uṣa mānusebhiḥ (AV. mānuṣaṅgām) RV. AV., 'accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men' (§579). The subjective genitive may be its equivalent with nominal (participial or quasi-participial) forms, as in ēpo deviḥ prathamajā rtena (AV. ṛtasya) RV. AV., 'the divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta' (§580). And with verbs of offering, the participie gen. (as well as the acc., §466) may vary with the instr., as in tasmā indrāya haviṣā jhūtā MS., tasmā indrāyāhāsā jhūtā RV., 'to Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma)' (§582).

§66. And finally the locative, as expressing the occasion or sphere of activity, may vary with an instr. which seems often, tho not always, to be felt as expressing the means, as in marutāṃ pravare (VS. ŚB. *vina) jaya (TS. jayata) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ., 'in (upon, by) the impulse of the Maruts conquer' (§§593, 601).

§67. The instrumental lends itself easily to use in adverbial formations of many sorts. No sharp distinction can be made between such forms which contain temporal or local force (instr. of time and place), and others which are more vaguely adverbial, denoting manner or attendant circumstance of various kinds. We saw in §44 that the instr. and acc. interchange in this latter way. Some variants of instr. and dative come pretty close to this, as kāmena (TS. MS. kāmaya) tvā prati (TS. om. prati) grhyāmi AV. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ., 'I receive thee with (unto) affection', i.e. 'affectionately', which is about all that is meant by both forms (§558). Worth mentioning is the following, in which instr., dat., and loc. all are used, with little difference of real meaning: apām uṣa praśastiṣū (RV. ṛpraśastaye, AV. VSK. ṭibhiḥ) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (§§558, 601, 690), 'unto (by, in) praising of the waters [O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong].' An instance of instr. and loc. would be sa rāye sa punarāhyām (SV. *dhya) RV. SV. AV. JB., preceded by sa ghā no yoga a bhutat: 'may he stand by us in our work, unto riches, in (with) liberality' (§603). The last word means virtually liberaliter; note the parallel dative rāye.

§68. In adverbal or quasi-adverbal forms denoting time the instr. varies with abl., gen., and loc. Thus, yad ahnā (and rātriya) pāpam akārṣam TA. MahānU., yad ahnāt (and rātriyāt) kurute pāpam TAA.
(on the latter forms see §575);—madhu naktaṃ utṣasaḥ (KS. "sū, TS. TA. "sī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ByhU. MahānU. Kauś. Here it seems fairly certain (see §584) that all three forms mean 'at dawn'; the only question is whether utṣasaḥ, which varies with both instr. and loc., is gen. sg. (as we think probable) or acc. pl.

§69. In similar forms with local meaning the instr. varies with abl. and loc.: ayam pascād (MS. pascā) vidadvusuh MS. KS. (§575).—adhi kṣāmī viśturupaṇād yad astī (MS.† āgra) RV. AV. MS. TB., adhi kṣāmī viśturupaṇād asya ArS.; both kṣāmā and kṣāmī 'on the earth' (§598).

**Dative and other cases**

§70. The dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to, or desired for, some other entity in the context, and may vary with a form which has the construction natural for that entity. Thus the variant form may be nominative, in apposition with the subject, as in pade-pade pākinaḥ santi setavaḥ (AV. "ve) RV. AV. KS. ApŚ., 'on every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)' (§420). Quite similarly the accusative, as in mahyaṃ sûro abharaj jyotiṣe kam AV. 'to me the sun brought (it) in order to light,' mahyaṃ jyotr abharat sūryas tat KS., 'to me the sun brought that (as) light' (§486). Of almost the same nature is the following variant in which, after a verb of ruling, the 'object' required is genitive instead of accusative, so that we find gen. and dat. varying: kṣayantām rādhaso (TS. "se, KS. savaśe) mahaḥ (TS. KS. mahe) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'ruling over (unto) great bounty (strength)' (§628). Elsewhere the genitive form of the variant is dependent on another dative of purpose, with which the dative form is parallel: rāye (ApŚ. rāyo) agne mahe tva [dānāya samidhitmahi] SV. ApŚ., 'we kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches)' (§629). With the instrumental, also, the dative of purpose often varies, but here the psychology is rather different; the same thing (regularly a boon or desired quality) is felt alternately as means or as desired result: sarasvaty asinod in-driyāya (LŚ. "yeṇa) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ., 'Sarasvati pressed (the soma) for (by) strength' (§558).

§71. The loose use of the dative of indirect object or of the interested party, the 'to' or 'for' case, makes it possible to use it in variation with almost any other oblique case after various verbs and verbal nouns. Thus after verbs of motion acc. and dat. are used to express the goal (cf. §§478 ff.): kāmena mā (TA. me) kāma āgyan (āgūt) AV. TA., 'by love love has come to me.' The loc. is also used in the same sense and
frequently interchanges with the acc. (§§523 ff.); with the dative it is not in common interchange in this meaning; perhaps the clearest case is the following with a verbal noun: devebhyo (ApŚ. deveṣu) havāyānāh RV. ApŚ., ‘bearing the oblation to the gods’ (§646).

§72. With verbs of giving and placing, especially dā and dhā, the loc. and dat. are in specially close relations, on which see §§639 ff. and VV 2 §101. The simple dā is not used with the loc. of the person; the other constructions of dā and dhā are or may be identical. Even this exception disappears with some compounds of dā, as in tam devebhyāḥ paridadāmi ApŚ., tam deveṣu paridadāmi videhā AsŚ. MsŚ., ‘I give him over to the gods.’ Moreover the acc. comes into contact with both dat. and loc. in connexion with such roots as dhā, which may govern either acc. of person and loc. of thing (‘set...in’) or dat. (loc.? of person and acc. of thing (‘establish...for, give...to’); as in svargān me lokān yajamānāya dhehi Vait., svargye loke yajamānāhi dhēhi (and dhehi mām) TB. ApŚ. (§482). And with noun compounds containing dā or dhā, an abominable genitive may vary with a dative dependent on the verbal force still felt in the root: devebhyo (VS. devānām) bhāgadā (TS. ’dhā) asat VS. TS. MS. KS†, ‘be he a giver of portions to the gods’ (§619).

§73. Verbs of saying, offering, and various others are construed interchangeably with dat. and loc.: devebhyo (deveṣu) mā sukṛtaṁ (nah sukṛto) brūtat (etc.), ‘declare me (us) virtuous to the gods’ (§647)—prathīyāṁ (KS. ’nyā) amṛtaṁ juhomi...AsŚ. KSŚ. ApŚ., ‘I offer nectar to the earth’ (§650).

§74. Verbs of joining show especially the instrumental (§59) in variation with other cases. But as we saw that both dat. and loc. vary with instr., it is not surprising to find them varying with each other, as in aprīye prāti muṇca tat (muṇcatam) AV. Kauś., deśadbhyāḥ prāti muṇcaśmi pākam (pāpam) SMB. BG. ApMB., ‘(1) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy’ (§645). And as the gen. was seen to vary with the instr. after nouns of joining (§59), so also with the dative: samveśanas (’ne) tanuva (tanve, tanva, tana) cārur edhi, ‘in joining of (with) thy body (uniting to thy body)’ (§578). Here all three cases, instr., dat., and gen., interchange.

§75. With the ablative the relations of the dative are more specialized, indeed practically restricted to verbs meaning ‘remove’ or ‘free.’ With them the dative of the interested party easily interchanges with the ablative of separation, as in sa sutrāmā sevānā indra yām (aman), followed by ārāc cid deveṣaḥ samular yuyotu (’ta), ‘may Indra, well-
saving... keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612). The original form of this (RV.) has the dative, only the secondary AV. (and MS.) the very natural ablative.

§76. Even the gen. is found in exchange with the dative after verbs in a couple of cases, which to be sure strike us as rather anomalous; see §§632–4 below.

§77. With the genitive, however, the dative varies chiefly after nouns and adjectives rather than verbs. Among these one prominent group consists of adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like, with which the loc. is also almost equally frequent: \textit{jugo vāco (voice) bhūyāsam 'may I be pleasing to Speech' (§616); [priyam mā kṛṇu... uta śūdra utāya (śūdrāya cāryāya ca), 'make me dear... to both Śūdra and Aryan' (§654).}

\textit{Ablative and other cases}

§78. The ablative as the 'whence' case expresses source, cause, or place from which, and in various ways may interchange with any other oblique case. Thus in expressions of origin it may vary with the instrumental of means or the locative of position, since the source of anything may be regarded either as the instrument which produces it, or as its original and typical location. So, \textit{yāś te viśas tapasaḥ (TB. 91) saṁ-bhūbhuḥ AV. TB., 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy tapas' (§569).—karkandhu jaśāe madhu sārogham mukhāt (MS. mukhe) VS. MS. KS. TB., 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§660). Also an adnominal genitive may replace the ablative in similar phrases: \textit{tato mā yajñasyāśīr āgachatu MS. KS. ApŚ., 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me'; tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām ĀŚ., 'may its blessing aid and increase me' (§656).}

§79. Similar ablatives vary with instrumentals and locatives where no idea of origination is expressed, at least clearly: \textit{bhūvas team indra brahmasya (MS. 91) mahān RV. TS. MS. KS. ĀŚ., 'become thou great, O Indra, by (from, as a result of) our holy word' (§571).—tāh (VS. ŚB. pra) parvatasya vrṇābhasya prṣṭhāt (TS. KS. prṣṭhe) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., '(the ships proceed) from (upon) the back of the mountain bull' (§661).—apam yο madhyato (KS. madhye) rasaḥ... KS. TB., 'the sap that comes from (is in) the middle of the waters' (§664).}

§80. With expressions of separation, the ablative seems to us the natural case, but it may interchange with the instrumental (by analogy with the antonymic verbs of joining, §60), with the dative of the interested party, and with an adnominal genitive. So, \textit{tebhir na adya (ApŚ. tebhya na indraḥ) savitota viṣṇuḥ KS. ApŚ., tebhya asmān varṣaḥ
some indraḥ Kauś., 'may...free (vi muṣvinu is the verb) us (today) from these (letters)' (§573).—sa sutramā svavā indra osme (asnait), followed by ārāc cid dveṣah sanutar yuyotu (?ta), 'may Indra...keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612).—mā paraṃ seci māl payāḥ (no dhanam, nah svam, me dhanam), 'let not the sup from me (our, or my, wealth) be poured away' (§656).—Furthermore the accusative may vary with the ablative after such verbs, according as the entity in question is treated as the thing removed or that from which something else is removed: iyaṁ durukāt (PG. "taṁ) paribądhamānā ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG., 'this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer)' (§493).

§81. Unusually lively are the relations of the ablative with other cases after prepositions and prepositional adverbs. Thus ḍ in the sense of 'until' governs either acc. or abl. (while in the sense of 'from' it governs only the abl., but may vary with an acc. in the other sense): ārjo (intending ārdhavo) mā pāhy odṛcma MŚ., ārdhavo mā pāhy odṛcma TS. (and others; ḍ + udṛcma or udṛcma 'until the end of the sacrifice'), §494. And, with different meanings, pari with acc. interchanges with pari with abl. (l. c.).

§82. The prepositional adverbs paras, avas, arvac govern either instr. or abl. without difference of meaning (§574). The preposition pari in the sense of 'from' regularly governs only the abl., but one variant shows abl. varying with gen. dual (§567). In somewhat different senses, the prepositions adhi and antar govern either abl. or loc. (§665).

§83. Adverbial forms with abl. endings vary with instrumental and locative adverbs; sometimes we can still feel the force of the 'from' case in the abl. form, but sometimes not, the form having paled out to an indifferent adverb: āre (TS. ārāt) te gopānām (TS. "na) ulla pāρiṣaghnām (TS. "ne) RV. TS. (§667). Here ārāt, like āre, can only mean 'far away', not 'from afar'.—ayaṁ paśca (MS. paṣcā) vidadevasvāḥ MS. KŚ. (§575).

Genitive and other cases

§84. The partitive genitive may be used as the virtual equivalent of an appositional noun, which may then replace it in another form of the same passage, taking the case of the word on which the genitive depends. In theory, such partitive genitives might therefore vary with any other case. Actually we find them varying with vocative, nominative, accusative, and instrumental. So, te 'm uttamāṣya oṣadhe RV. VS., uttamo asy oṣadhinām AV., 'thou art most excellent, O plant (most
excellent of plants)' (§367).—subhūr (svayambhūr) asi (nāmāsi) kṛṣṭho raśmīr (raśminām). . . , . . , the best ray (best of rays)' (§439).—īnām mā hūṅkār ekāśaphām (also, dvipādām) paśum (TS. KS. paśūnām) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'this whole-footed (two-footed) animal (one of animale)' (§515).—vasantena (grīmēna, etc.) tvartunā (KSA. 8nām) havīṣa diyayāmī TS. KSA., 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (of the seasons), with oblation' (§581).

§86. In a somewhat similar way, a descriptive or possessive genitive may vary with an appositional or adjectival form which agrees in case with the word on which the genitive depends in the other variant. When, as often happens, there seems to be reason for supposing that the genitive is more original, we may suppose that case-attraction has been at work. Indeed, this may sometimes be assumed even when the reverse is the case, that is when the assimilated form is historically older in the variant passage; for case assimilation is certainly a very old phenomenon, and may easily have been replaced in individual instances by a phrase containing a descriptive or possessive genitive. Such variants occur especially between genitive and nominative, accusative, and locative. So, vr̥ṣasī yūṁīh TS. TB., vr̥ṣormīr asi MS. KS. MS., vr̥ṣa yūṁīr asi rāṣṭradāh VS. ŚB., 'thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)' . . . (§440).—asvya (SV. PB. asyam) vāraṁ vi dāvatī RV. SV. PB., 'he (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (the woolen sieve)' (§509).—asyā (MG. lasyəm) nāryā gavinyaḥ (MG. 8nyām) AV. MG., asyəm nāryəm gavinyaṁ RVKh. ApMB., 'in this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)' or 'in this woman, in her canal' (§672).

§86. With the dative of purpose, especially in infinitives, such assimilation may fairly be called regular; but here also dependent genitives may vary with the assimilated dative form. And we find the same variation with ablative infinitives. See Delbrück, AIS. §§54, 103, 232b, and our §§629, 659 below: rāye (ApŚ. rāyo) agne mahe tva (dānāya samidhiṃahi) SV. ApŚ., 'we kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches; note that this is the secondary reading)'.—tat tvam bībhṛhi punār ā mad aitoḥ (ā mamaitoḥ), ' . . . until my return.' Here also the assimilated ablative mad is the original reading (TS., while the secondary AŚ. MS. have mama, gen.).

§87. The genitive is acutely described by Speyer (VSS. §62) as 'hauptsächlich der adnominale Casus.' A large number of its variations with other oblique cases (not nom. or voc.) have this trait in common, that the gen. is broadly adnominial, the other case (acc., instr., dat., abl., loc.) broadly adverbial. That is, the gen. is definitely dependent
on a noun (whether we classify it as objective, subjective, descriptive, possessive, or partitive makes little difference). The variant case is usually also dependent on the same noun, but is differently felt; it is governed by a verbal notion felt in the noun. So perhaps most clearly with the acc., as in mām anuvratā bhava 'be faithful to me', cf. agner (patyur) anuvratā bhūtvā 'being faithful to Agni (to her husband)' (§506). Or again in the acc. and gen. after nouns of agent in tar, as dātā vasunān (vasūni) ... §507.

§88. With the instrumental, an adnominal gen. describable as objective varies with the associative instr. after nominal expressions of joining, and with an instr. of means after nominal (and apparently even verbal) expressions of gratification, while a subjective adnominal gen. may also vary with an instr. of means depending on a passive participle or its equivalent. So, sarvasvānav (SV. 3no) vivasvataḥ (SV. 3ād) RV. SV., ‘fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat’ (§578).—juṣṭāni devebhīr uta mānusebhīḥ (AV. devāṇam uta mānūṣāyaṁ) RV. AV., ‘accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men’ (§579).—yān me (mayā) manasā vacā [...kṛtam], 'what (has been done) by me (on my part; as if 'my deed') with thought or speech' (§580).

§89. Rather varied also are such instances of adnominal gens. varying with dats.; we quote an example or two at random: devebhīo (VS. devāṇām) bhāgadā (TS. 3dā) aṣat VS. TS. MS. KS.†, ‘be he a giver of portions to the gods’ (objective gen.), §619.—(esa sva te madhumañā indra somaḥ,) vṛṣā vṛṣe (SV. 3naḥ) pari pavitre aksaḥ RV. SV., ‘this honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve)’ (possessive gen.), §621.

§90. With the ablative: tato mā yajñasyaśīr āguchatu MS. KS. Aps.: tasya māśīr avatu vardhiṃ Aś., ‘from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me’ or ‘may its blessing aid and increase me’ (possessive gen.), §656.—agnir etu prathamo devatābhīyaḥ SMB, aghin iti prathamo devatānām AG, etc., ‘let Agni go (come) first among the gods (first of the gods)’ (partitive gen.), §656.

§91. With the locative: asmākam (TS. asmāsu) santv aśiṣah VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. SS., ‘let blessings be ours (be in us)’ (possessive gen.), §671.—ahih śayata upapṛk prthivyāh (TB. 3vyām) RV. MS. TB. N., ‘the dragon lies clinging to the earth’ (objective gen.), §676.

§92. Special mention may be made of the gen. after adjectives meaning 'pleasing' and the like, which varies especially with the dat. (§77), but also with the instr. (§65); the loc. is likewise used (§77) but we have noted no case of its variation with the gen.
§93. In addition to its adnominal use, however, the gen. is also used with not a few verbs, and often varies with other cases, particularly the acc. Thus after verbs of eating and drinking the acc. and the (partitive) gen. (occasionally also the loc.) are found: popuḥ saravatayā nadyāḥ (M Ś. tyāma nadyām, K Ś. Ap Ś. tiṁ nādīṁ) Vait. K Ś. Ap Ś. M Ś., ‘they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvatī river’ (§§501, 680). So after verbs of offering, the (partitive) gen. varies with the acc. and instr. (§§51, 65). Verbs of ruling and of intellectual activity also govern either gen. or acc. (§§503–4), and verbs of robbing either two accs. or acc. of the person and gen. of the thing (§505).

§94. With verbs of gratifying the gen. interchanges with the instr.: tena tyāyatam anahāau TB. Ap Ś., tasya tyāpatam ahāhāuhū svāhā ŚŚ. (§579).

§95. The dat. and gen. vary after verbs only rarely, and probably as a result of the general tendency to confusion between these two cases (§614, and for examples after verbs §§632–4). On the variations of loc. and gen. after verbs, also sporadic, see §§680–2.

§96. In adverbs of time there is one variant, madhu naktam uṭasasah (°si, °si), which appears to involve the gen. in relations with both instr. and loc. (§§68, 584), and in adverbs of place we find a gen. varying with the (apparent) loc. dive–dive, §678.

§97. As to the gen. after prepositions, we find it once replacing the regular abl. after pari (§657), and once varying with the loc. after antar (§677).

Locative and other cases

§98. The locative is commonly thought of as the ‘where’ case. Somehow more scientifically it may perhaps be defined as denoting fundamentally the sphere within which, or that in relation to which, something exists or takes place. Its meaning is, in any event, broad enough to permit it to exchange on occasion, with little difference of meaning, with all the oblique cases, from accusative to genitive. To begin with the ablative, which expresses the source of anything, this may also be conceived as its original or typical location, and so be put in the locative: karkandhu jaṁe madhu sārāgam mukhāt (M S. mukhe) VS. M S. K S. TB., ‘jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth’ (§660). Or, śivaḥ prajābhya ‘hiṁsataṁ (ahinsa) pythiyāḥ sodhastad (TS. M S. shre) aṁvī (‘gniṁ) . . . khamāmaḥ (‘mi) VS. TS. M S. KS. SB., ‘we (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni . . . ’ (§664).

§99. More familiarly the locative tends in the opposite direction; it
inclines to denote the final rather than the original location, and so varies with the accusative (or dative) of goal, often as we think (cf. §523), tho by no means always, with no difference of meaning, as in yasya 
varaḥ (vrae) pahavo yanti sarve, 'into (not in!) whose control go all cattle' (§526). Or with dat., mahyāṁ vātāh pavatām ('te) kāme asmin (AV. kāmāyāsmaī) RV. AV. TS. KŚ., 'the wind shall blow (blows) for me unto this desire' (§646).

§100. With neither 'final' nor 'original' tinge, but simply as denoting the general sphere, that in (any sort of) relation to which something exists or takes place, the locative varies with instrumental, dative, or genitive. The instr. may be one of means, manner, or accompaniment. So, sam u yāh kumbha abhrāh and sam yāh kumbhebhīr abhrāh, '...brought in a pot (with pots)' (§600).—apāṁ uta prahusātī (ṭape, oṭibhiḥ), 'in (by, unto) praising of the waters [become ye strong, O gods (horses)]' (§601).—rīgas poṣeṣa (poṣe) sam iṣā madema, 'may we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food' (§603).—sva daksē (svair dakṣair) dakṣapitraḥ eva, 'be seated in (with, or by) thine own power(s)' (§603).

§101. With the dative, the locative in this sense interchanges in dependence on both noun and verb forms. Thus quite standardly with adjectives meaning 'pelling' and the like (for other cases used with them, gen. and instr., cf. §§88, 65): suprīto manuṣa viṣī (SV. više) RV. SV., or priyaṁ mā brahmaṁi (ṇe) kuru 'make me beloved to (with, among) the brahman easte' (§654). And with various verbs, such as ku 'pour (in, upon)' or 'offer (to)', prthivyām (KŚ. ovyā) amrtaṁ jahami AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ., 'I pour nectar on (offer...to) the earth' (§650). Or ci 'pile, build': sahasrākṣa (kṣo) medhāya (medha ṣ) ciyamānah, 'piled up at (for) the sacrifice' (§651).

§102. So with the genitive. The person or place at or near which something is located (loc.) may also be conceived as its possessor, or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen.). Thus, magy āśir astu mayi (manasīr astu mama) devahūtāṁ, 'may prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine)' (§671).—nānāduḥ samrājī bhava, and nānāduḥ samrājī edhi, 'be queen over (of, in relation to) thy sister-in-law' (§676).

§103. Rather more specifically, we find the locative interchanging with most of the other oblique cases after various verbs. Special attention should be directed to the rather complicated interchanges after verbs of placing, especially dhā, where acc., dat., and loc. all appear. The relations of the dat. and loc. have been summarized above, §72. The regular constructions are acc. of person and loc. of thing ('set,
establish...in'), or dat. of person and acc. of thing ('establish...for, give...to'). So, svargam me lokah yajamānaṁ dhehi Vait., swargaye lokae yajamānaṁ hi dhehi (and dhehi māṁ) TB. ApŚ., 'grant heaven's world to me the sacrificer' or 'set (me) the sacrificer in heaven's world' (§482). But two accusatives may also be used, a second acc. replacing the loc. of the remoter goal; so most clearly, perhaps, in the following where the verb ā-sic 'pour' is equivalent to a verb of placing, ā gharme (pharmāṇi) stīca pāya usriyāyāḥ 'pour the milk of the brindle-cow into the hot drink' (§535).

§104. We have seen above (§§59, 74) that the loc. varies with various other cases (instr., dat.) after verbs of joining; we may add here one case in which it varies with the acc. after san-dhā, construed as a verb of joining: aṅgāny ātmān (aṅgāir ātmānān) bhīṣajā tad aśvinā (followed by ātmānām aṅgāḥ samadāḥ satasvatā), '...joined his limbs upon his person (his person with his limbs)' (§536).

§105. The use of the loc. after verbs in variation with other cases has perhaps been sufficiently illustrated under the other cases. Summarily we may recall its interchange with the gen. (and acc.) after verbs of eating and drinking (§93) and some others (§680-2); and with the dat. (§73) after various verbs. With the acc. it varies after a verb of beating, āgnānāh pāṁinarasi and uraḥ paṭaurvāv āgnānāh, 'beating upon their breasts with their hands' or 'beating their breasts and thighs (?),' §545. The person or thing spoken about (not to) is put in acc. or loc. with a verb of speaking, pratiprastāṭaḥ pābāv (MŚ. paśuvā) sanīvadavā ApŚ. MŚ., '...speak about the victim with (the slaughterer)' (§543); this contrasts with the classical usage in which the person addressed may be put in acc. or loc. (as well as dat.) after verbs of speaking, doubtless an extension of the goal construction. This classical usage, however, is found with dat. and loc.: devebhyo (devesu) mā sukṣmaṁ (nāh sukṣmaḥ) brūūāl (etc.), 'declare that I am (that we are) righteous to the gods' (§647).—After a verb of fighting an 'inner' acc. varies with a loc.: (tayā) vayaṁ samghātāṁ-samghātāṁ (samghāte-samghāte; samghātāṁ, omitting the 2d form) jēṣa (jayema, saṁjayema), 'may we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight' (§546).

§106. In adverbial expressions of time, place, and manner the loc. seems to be used in interchange with practically all other oblique cases. So, with acc.: tena deva devatām agra (agraṁ) āyaṁ, tapasā (tayā) deva devatām agra āyaṁ, 'by this (by tapas) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning' (§530).

§107. With instr. especially in place and time expressions, in our
opinion (cf. §594) without any essential difference of meaning: maghāsu (aghāsu, magḥābhir) hanyante gāvah (gīvo ghyante), 'in the (asterism) Maghās (Aghās) cows are slain (taken),’ §596.—madhu nakṣam utopasaḥ (vā, si), see §584 (also gen.).—adhi ḷaṃi viṣurūpan (ṣaṃ viṣvarūpan) yad asti (asya, āsta), 'on the earth...’ §598.

§108. With abl., āre (drāl) te goghnam... (§667); both 'far off'.

§109. With gen., see §96.—Dative variants have not been noted.

§110. After prepositions: with acc., after adhi, acha, antarā (§§539-42); with abl., after adhi and antar (but with difference of meaning, §665); with gen., after antar (§677).

§111. Finally, we have noted a very few cases where the loc. seems to be used in a way approaching the absolute construction, and varies with a regularly governed accusative. We might expect to find any other case varying with the quasi-absolute loc. just as well, but have not noted any others: nabhā prthiviḥ samidhāne agnau (TS. dhānām agnim, MS. KS. dhāno agnim) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (followed by rājaspoṣaya brhate havāmahe), 'when Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him)...' or 'we call upon Agni enkindled...’ (§548).

Number

§112. A large majority of the variations in number concern cases of what we call generalizing singular and plural. We have included under this head all cases in which singular and plural interchange without any clearly intended difference in meaning, as well as cases in which the singular is generic, while the plural seems to refer more particularly to various specific instances. No line can be drawn between the two classes. Thus in such a variant as asmān rāya ute yajñāḥ (KS.† yajñāḥ) sacantām TS. KS. ApŚ., yusmān rāya ute yajñā asaścata MS., 'let wealth and sacrifice(s) attend us (wealth and sacrifices have attended you), no one can say that the plural yajñāḥ really means anything different from the generic singular yajñāḥ, 'sacrifice' in general (as an institution), and on the other hand one could not deny that the plural may have concentrated the attention more on the various specific acts of sacrifice. Such instances are very numerous: §§685 ff. Of essentially the same sort are the (also very common) variations between singular and plural pronouns, particularly of the first person (§§722 ff.), many of which refer either to the speaker alone or vaguely to him and his associates; but the use of a plural rather than a singular pronoun certainly does not prove that he is really including other persons than himself; as in agne daksāh puniḥi naḥ (TB. mā) RV. TB., 'O Agni,
protect us (me) with powers.' Here the chances are that RV. means 'me' as well as TB., but there is no way of proving it. Such variants belong psychologically with the variations in number of verb forms treated in VV 1 §§344 ff., and like them show in not a few cases more or less inconsistency with the context in one or both forms (§723). Thus śraddhe śrad dhāpayeha naḥ (TB. mā) RV. TB.; here the context in both forms contains a 1st plural verb, so that mā of TB. is mildly inconsistent with its context.

§113. In our chapter on gender (cf. §807) we shall see that the neuter singular is not infrequently used in forms which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, and varies with more definite plural epithets of the same or different gender (§727). A good example is krṣṭapacyāś (TS. KS. ॐyana) ca me 'krṣṭapacyāś (TS. KS. ॐyana) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS. (preceded by oṣadhayāś ca me vīrailhaś ca me), '(plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation' or 'that which ripens' etc. To the same general category belongs the use of substantive pronouns in the neuter singular in variation with pronouns agreeing in number and gender with the predicate (§730), as in tad (VS. tā) āpah sa (VSK. tat) prajāpatiḥ VS. VSK. TA. MahānU., 'that is the waters, that Prajāpati.' Neuter singular adverbs also belong originally to the class of indefinite neuters, and vary either with adjectives or with plural adverbs which presumably must originally have been more definite in meaning (with some noun understood), as in nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tathau Ppp. TS. KS., nīcāir uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tathau AV. Here nīcād and nīcāir, uccā and uccaiḥ, are synonymous. (§734.)

§114. When two or more nouns are used in correlation, we occasionally find adjectives variously put in the singular, then agreeing formally with only one (as a rule the nearest) of the series, or in the dual or plural, agreeing with the whole group. There is little real difference in the meaning, cf. §§735, 757; and the same kind of variation has been noted in verb forms, VV 1 §§353 ff. Thus, candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāḥ ("nā), śukrah na jyotir amṛtam dadhānāḥ ("nāh); here dadhānā agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject, while dadhānāḥ includes her and the Āsins. Or, yasya dyau urvi prthivi ca mahi AV., yena dyau urvā prthivi ca drhdā (TS. drēhe) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.; here the final adjective is singular, agreeing with prthīvī alone, in all but TS., which makes it dual, including dyau.

§115. An elliptic dual or plural may vary with a singular referring only to the first of the group. Both may be followed by a complemental singular referring to another member of the group, as in mitraḥ
(SV. mitrā) pānty odrurvah RV. SV. (preceded by yam maruto yam aryamā). Here mitrā means Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, and aryamā is a complementary singular (§733). So also ubhās indrā (ŚB. indro) udīthāḥ sūryaḥ ca VS. ŚB., where indrā can only be elliptic (= Indra and Sūrya), §747. In other cases an elliptic dual plus complementary singular may vary with a double dual, as in dyāva hotrāya prthivi ("vīm"); §746; or such a double dual may vary with two singulars, whether the two form a devatā-dvandva compound as in īndrāsūryā janayan viśvakarmā TB. but īndrāḥ sūrah prathamo viśvakarmā AS. (§749), or whether the two duals are separated by other words as in viśnuṁ aṅgan varunāṁ pūrvahūṁ AV., viśnu aṅgan varunā pūrvahatāv (MS. "tim) VS. MS. etc. (§748). The normal Sanskrit dvandva compounds, of both types (dual and neuter singular), are likewise found; the former varies with equivalent double singulars, as in mayi daksāyī mayi kratuḥ, mayi daksākruitā (§750); and the two types vary with each other, kvulpipāṣāhyāṁ (and "pāsṇa) svāhā (§751).

§116. In the case of certain parts of the body, and also some other entities (§§752–3), it is possible to think of them either as dualities, with regard to their two component parts, or as singular units. So the nose is either singular or dual (referring to the two nostrils): apānena nāśike (MS. "kāṁ) VS. MS. With certain other parts of the body, as well as other entities, either dual or plural is possible, as in the case of the constellation Phalguni, which is made up of two pairs of stars, and so may be either dual (referring to the two pairs) or plural (referring to the total of four stars); phalgunī (TS. "nī) nākṣatram TS. MS. KS. (§754–5).

§117. There remain many number variants which show more real and definite change of meaning in the different forms. By simple multiplication or division, a singular entity may be made dual or plural, or vice versa, as in tasya te datāṁ yasya (and yasyaḥ) prāṇo 'si svāhā, tasya te datāṁ yasya prāṇo 'si svāhā, tasya te datāṁ yasya prāṇo 'si svāhā, all modulations in a single passage of TS. (§§740, 767–70). Such modulations may occur in repetitions of the same context, or in adaptations of old material to a new context, in which case they constitute what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§739, 764–6). They include many ritualistic ūhas and vikāras. There are also not a few instances of 'transfer of epithet' from one entity to another (§§737–8, 762–3), as in variations of case, and some instances in which, without proper 'transfer of epithet', we seem to note external assimilation of form which consists in change of number (§§741, 773–7). These are of the same sort as the corresponding variations in case, and call for no comment.
Gender

§118. Real change of gender in nouns is a well known phenomenon in Sanskrit, and is sufficiently illustrated by the variants. It may appear in different forms of the noun itself, that is in shift between endings characteristic of different genders, or in change of the gender of modifying adjectives or pronouns. Some of the variations in gender revealed by the variants have not been recorded previously. We shall not anticipate them here (see §§783-802), but may call attention to a fact which has not been clearly brought out before, that some of these shifts appear to be mere nonce-phenomena, and due to assimilation to words in the context. Thus in the mantra vyomā (TS. vyoma) saptadaśah (sc. stomah) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ., §794, the stem vyomam, regularly neuter, appears to have masculine gender in all texts except TS. We have no doubt that the original form of this variant presented the word as if masculine; but it seems to us equally clear that this is due to assimilation to the gender of the predicate saptadaśah (stomah). It hardly justifies us, therefore, in attributing real variation in gender to the stem vyomam. And this is by no means an isolated instance, as the sections mentioned will show.

§119. Of a different sort are variations between names of male and female animals and persons, where the change merely indicates that some texts have in mind a male animal or person, others the corresponding female (§§779-82).

§120. A small but interesting group of cases shows variation between distinctively feminine forms and others which are, at least in appearance, masculine, those referring to feminine entities. Thus it has long been recognized that the anomalous yuṣmās, acc. pl. of the 2d personal pronoun, is a feminization of the regular yuṣmān, which has common gender the its ending presents a masculine aspect (§803). Contrariwise, agent nouns in tar have regularly a corresponding feminine stem in trī when applying to feminine entities, but at least one variant presents the masculine (really 'common') stem in tar under such circumstances (§805).

§121. We have seen above (§113) that the neuter gender, especially in the singular number, often has a sort of indefinite force. Even when a masculine or feminine entity is referred to it may be used in such a sense, as in indraśya (and viṣṇor) dhruso 'ei (dhruvam asti), 'thou (O knot, granthi, masc.) art Indra's (Viṣṇu's) firm one (firm thing),' §808. Such usage is particularly common with pronouns, demonstrative or relative, as in substantive pronouns (§§113, 812); sam tam (KS. ApŚ. tat)
siṃcatu rādhase ("sā) RV. KS. Vait. ApŚ., 'let him besprinkle that unto (with) bounty'. Here the pronoun refers to soma-drops (drapea, anāu, masc.) and hence has masculine gender in RV., but once, in repeating the mantra in the same context, KS. uses the neuter tat, 'that (thing)', tho still having the same reference (§809).—But an indefinite masculine may also vary with such an indefinite neuter, when the unspecified entity is conceived personally instead of impersonally (§§810-1). This is particularly common with negative expressions, such as akhir jaghāna (dadāra) kaṁ (kīṁ) cana, 'the serpent has slain (seen) no one (nothing).

§122. We regard the common use of neuter forms in adverbs as belonging to the indefinite neuter. Such adverbs are often found in variation with adjectives of any gender, and also—more rarely—with adverbs of other genders (usually feminine); in the latter we assume that originally some definite noun must have been understood with the adjectival adverb (see §§813–24).

§123. The agreement of pronouns shows some interesting variations as to gender. Thus when a pronoun refers to a series of nouns of different genders, it may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the greater number of the nouns; or else it may be masculine (really 'common') gender if the series includes both masculines and feminines (§825). Also, when the antecedent and the predicate of an anaphoric pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (§826),—aside from the possibility of the use of the indefinite neuter in a substantive pronoun, to which we have alluded above.

§124. Gender variations are related to the peculiarities of compound nouns: first, in the case of dvandvas, which may appear either as neuter singular or as dual (or plural) with the gender of the final member (§751), and further, in the case of karmadhārayas varying with bahuvrhis based upon them. The karmadhāraya, naturally, keeps the gender of its final member, while the bahuvrhi takes the gender of the noun it agrees with (§829).

§125. There remain a considerable number of cases in which variation in gender is due to the application of the variant word to different nouns. Either one noun may be substituted for another of different gender, resulting in change of the gender of its epithets (§§831–3), or without such change in actual language, epithets may be understood to apply to different entities which are not expressed, with the same result (§§834–9). In some such cases the mantra is taken from its original context and adapted to a new one, resulting in what we call 'phrase inflection' (see §§846–51). Or again, without change of con-
text, an epithet may be 'transferred' from one entity to another; these 'transfers of epithet' are of exactly the same sort as the numerous similar ones involving change of case, and call for no special comment (§§840–5).

Dedicated expressions

§126. Expressions of dedication of some offering or homage to some deity or power are, of course, very common in the ritual language of the Veda, and the great variety of their syntax deserves special mention. The deity addressed may be expressed by a nominative, subject of a verb meaning 'be gratified' or the like, which verb may be expressed or understood, or by the nominative of a secondary adjective meaning 'belonging to' such and such a deity; by the accusative, object or goal of a verb expressed or understood; or by a dative or genitive. The thing offered may be expressed by the nom., acc., instr., or (after verbs of offering) gen. A few examples may be quoted here:

(om) agnīṁ tarpayāmi: agnis tṛpyatu, §373.

hīnavate ('vato) hastī (hastinam), §§376, 618.


pūṣanān vaniṣṭhunā: pūṣno vaniṣṭhuḥ, §§414, 508.

kapota ulākaḥ baṣas te nīrtayai (nairrtāh), §424.

dīgbyhayō krotam (sc. ālabhatē): dīkāḥ krotam (sc. aṃvasrjatāt), §485.

tasmā indrāya sutam ē (āvīsā, āvīr ē, indrāyāndhasa) juhota (juhomi), §§466, 502, 582.

aryamno ('ne) lopāsaḥ, §618.
FIRST PART: FORMAL VARIANTS

CHAPTERS II–X
CHAPTER II

DUALS IN AU AND Ā, OF ALL DECLENSIONS

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

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

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

\textit{tasyāṁ suparṇāe adhi yau nivṛṣṭau TB. ApŚ.: tasyāṁ suparṇa ērṣanā ni śedaṭh RV.}

\textit{abhayaṁ mitrāvaruṇāḥ śāṣṭu naḥ (AG. *varuṇā mahyam astu) AV. AG.}

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

\textit{garbhāṅ te aśvinau deava (AV. aśvinobhā, PG. HG. aśvinatē ubhau) RV.}

AV. ŚB. Brū. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. PG.: \textit{garbhāṅ yonyām aśvindśyām AVpp. 13. 2. 4c (Barret, JAOS. 48. 38).}
§131. The remaining cases require little individual comment. Almost all show the ending before consonants or in pause. Final position in the pāda is always treated as ‘pause’; ā is here regular even when the next pāda begins with a vowel, with which the final ā is fused in the sanhitā writing. The ā form characterizes the RV. and its school texts; KS. also shows it in most of the variants, but there are exceptions. The cases before consonants and in pause which concern RV., besides those above mentioned, are:

caturakṣau pathirakṣey (AV. pathirṣadya) yajakṣau (AV. TA. 9ā) RV. AV. TA. This is the only exception, except that noted in §130, to the rule among the RV. variants. It is noted by Lámman 576. The hymn (10. 14) containing it is Atharvanic (rather than ‘late’); yet, curiously, the AV. itself (supported by TA.) has the ‘regular’ form. Note that all three texts are irregular in the preceding caturakṣau. Dissimilation or assimilation of ending as between these two words? Even tho the hymn belongs by its subject matter to AV. rather than to RV., the RV. form is, a priori, more apt to be original; Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield, 124.

ubhohayāun na praka śaya (AV. 9au) RV. AV.

yo akṣenave cakriya (SV. 9aū) śacabhīh RV. SV. TB.
dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhānā (AV. 9nau) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SS. somaṁ pibatam madhyam dhṛtaratā (AV. GB. 9tau) RV. AV. GB.

uṣa te vṛjanā (ArS. haritau) harī RV. ArS.

yajñasya hi stha rta jā (TS. ApS. rtajau) RV. SV. KS. PB. TB. AS. SS. ApS.

ubhā rājānā (AV. 9nau) svadhaya madantā (AV. 9tau) RV. AV. MS.
prātaryājā vi bodhaya RV. TB. AS. N.: prātaryājau vi macyethām TS.
ā dhatām (RVKh. Scheft. tām) puṣkarasrajau (RV. RVKh. Scheft.

AV. ApMB. MG. 9jā) RV. RVKh. AV. SB. TA. MahānU. BrhU.

3. 18. 5 (Barret, JAŚ. 32. 304). Add to RV I. §332.

dyau ca naḥ (KS. TB. te) pṛthivi ca pracetāsu RV. KS. TB.: dyau ca

ma itām pṛthivi ca pracetāsu AV.

mādusātvau vyenaśā (AV. 9sau) RV. AV. AVPpp. Note preceding

9ktau in all!

asvinā (ApMB. 9nau) teva pra vahatām ratheṇa RV. AV. ApMB.

yam nirmanthato aśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: yābhyāṁ nirmanthātām

asvinau desau SB. BrhU.

§132. Next some cases before consonants or in pause which concern AV. In the first group AV., either alone or with others, has the au
form; we just saw that in several cases where RV, has &; AV, has au: tā no muṣucatam āgasaḥ TS. MS.: tāu no muṣucatam anhaṣaḥ (TS. KS. āgasaḥ) AV. TS. KS.

ubhā hi hastā rasaṇaḥ pṛṇasaṁ VS. TS. SB.: kastau prṇasaṁ bahubhir 

vastavyaṁ AV. TS. MS. KS.
vītho ghrtaśya guhyā juśāṇā (AV. ṅau) AV. TS. MS. KS. AS. ŚŚ.
dāme-dame susūțitor (AV. KS. susūțyā, TS. susūțir, MS. ātī) vām iṃyānā (TS. MS. KS. vāṛdhānā, AV. vāṛdhānau) AV. TS. MS. KS. AS. ŚŚ. 

On vām iṃyānā see VV 2 §236.
yā (AV. yau) patyute apratītā (AV. ātau) sahoḥkīḥ AV. VS. MS. SB. 

SB. TB. AS. ŚŚ.

§133. Yet, contrariwise, AV. occasionally shows &; chandasevaṭi (AV. chandāpakṣe) uṣasā (MS. KS. āsau) pepiśāne AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

And, in the same verse:
kutumati (TS. ApMB. ketuṇi kṛṣṇāne) ajare bhūrireṣāḥ (MS. āsau) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

ya indraṁ asanāṁ sakāyaau KS.: yo agniṃvaṁ ajusē sakāyaā AV.

§134. In the rest neither RV. nor AV. figures. KS. and the RV. school texts seem to favor &;

ukhyāya ketuṇi pratihāram juśāṇau (KS.† KapŚ. ṇā) VS. MS. KS. KapŚ. 25, 1, SB. Oertel 83.
imān me (ApŚ. no) mitraśarṇau (ApŚ. no) MS. KS. AS. ApŚ. MS. ŚŚ. 
nirastā śaṇḍāmārkau saha tene yaṁ dvīmaḥ KS.: nirastau śaṇḍāmārkau 

saḥāmūnau ApŚ.
apāntau (KS. ātā) śaṇḍāmārkau (MS. śaṇḍ) saha... MS. KS.: apa- 
nautau śaṇḍāmārkau saḥāmūnau TS. TB. ApŚ.

devā (VS. devau) devam asvidhatām VS. TB. 

subhāṁ gamīṣṭaḥ (KS. ṇāḥ) sūyamebhīr aśvaḥ (KS.† dūubhiḥ) TS. MS. 

KS. TB.
aṅkau nyāṅkār (PB. LŚ. anṅkā nyāṅkā, MS. MG. anṅkā nyāṅkā) abhilā 

ratheṇ āu (MG. ye) TS. TB. PB. MS. HG. PG. MG. ApMB. 

LŚ. ApŚ.

samjagmānaḥ (KS. ṇā) dīvā (TB. ApŚ. dīvā a) prthivyā MS. KS. TB. 

ApŚ. MS. 
yathāyathām nau tanvau (AŚ. tanvā, MS. tan nau) jālareṇaḥ MS. AS. MS. 

In MS. phonetic corruption; see VV 2 §410.

sudūgye mātarā (TB. ṇau) mahī VS. TB. 

indrāvānā (TB. ṇau) havir idam juśethāṁ TB. ŚŚ.

saun vasēṭhāṁ (MS, vasēṭhāṁ) svarvidā (TS. suvar:; KS. āvadau) VS. TS. 

MS. KS. ŚŚ.
§135. The following do not properly belong here:

[gomad ā vī nāśatyā (VS. nāśatyā, followed without fusion by aksāṇad) RV. VS. AŚ. The VS. comm. understands nāśatyā, not *yau; if au were intended, āv should stand by the VS. rule, see VV 2 §885. There is no real variant here; VS. writes more accurately what RV. also intends, namely final ā.]

[jimā (ApŚ. ima) prānakānau TB. ApŚ. But Poma ed. of TB. ima, which is proved correct by ApŚ. which quotes TB.]

[urvāṣi ca pūrvacittī cāpiṣvaraṇau (VSK. MS. KS. *sd) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by a vowel; all texts āv or ā intending āv. Add to VV 2 §888.]

[kavi desau pracetassau (VSK. *sd) VS. VSK. TB. As proceeding; add to l. c.]

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

kunāśreka sma me jyethām AV. (pratika Vait.) kunāśreke ṣimāṃ vacam jyethām (TA. om. ju?) RV. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The AV. seems to be ‘hifaluitin’, misapplying the hieratic ā where it does not belong. uṣāṇaktāṇā (KS. AŚ. *gna, ŚŚ. *naktāagna) ājyasya vāăm MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. And in the same passage, dainyāḥ hotāragnā (∗gna, *hotāragnā), etc. The ŚŚ. form (RV. school) should be ār, not ā (VV 2 §885). No v. l. is quoted. If the text is correct, possibly ŚŚ. quoted from a different school (note that the mantra is found neither in RV. nor in its Brāhmaṇa). The other alternative would be to hold that ŚŚ. intends the ending ā, not au, and shows anomalous lack of sandhi.

dainyā hotārav ārdhvan (VS. hotārā ārdhvan, KS. hotārārdhvan ānam, MS. hotārā ārdhvan ānam) adhvaram nāh VS. TS. MS. KS.: dairā hotāra ārdhvan (Ppp. hotārā ānam) adhvaram nāh AV. Ppp. The AV. form is plural. Ppp. ms. (9. 1. 8) reads hotāra but intends *rā since a dual verb follows. All texts but KS. have sandhi forms of *rā.

asvinādhvanyār MS. TA.: asvināv adhvanyā ŚŚ. (Also quoted in Conc. under agnir hotāśeina†.)
[əṅkāṅkaṁ (KS, əṅkaṅkaṁ, MS, aṅkāvaṅkaṁ) chandaḥ TS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Only MS. seems to understand a dual əṅkau here; if əṅkāṅkaṁ is also intended to contain a dual in the first part, the form əṅkā must be understood. Even MS. has only one accent, aṅkāvaṅkaṁ; tho one ms. has əṅkāv əṅkaṁ, and p.p. analyzes əṅkau, aṅkām. These forms are however probably mere corruptions; the presumption is that the unknown (and perhaps artificial) name of a meter here found is meant for a single word. The variant therefore hardly belongs here.]
CHAPTER III

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

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

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

§139. We shall therefore follow tradition to the extent of classifying here, as purely formal variants, shifts between *ai* and ās endings where the most reasonable interpretation seems to require taking them in the same syntactic function. That is, in the major group, the form in *ai* is apparently to be taken as a gen. or an abl. And in the rest, we
find it hard to avoid assuming the reverse substitution, āś with dative function. These are listed §152; we believe that they have not been specifically noted before. In connection with them particularly, however, the possibility of syntactic rather than formal confusion must be borne in mind; quite similar instances of other gen. forms with dat. functions will be found below in the section on variations between dative and genitive. Inevitably there are some borderline cases which are especially doubtful; in the last analysis all the variants found here and in the syntactic section on dative varying with genitive must be considered together.

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

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

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

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

agnes tev mātrayā jāgatyāi varたynthiaāgrayanasya vīryena (KŚ. jāgatyā var-tānyā) devas tev savitolsrjatu (etc.)... TS. KS.: agnes tev mātrayā jāgatyā var-tānyā devas tev savitonnayatu... MS.
idāyas (ApŚ. "yāh") padam gṛhatvac carācaram AS. ApŚ. MS.: idāyas padam gṛhatat sarisṛpam AV. SMB.: idāyai sṛptaḥ gṛhatav carācaram TA. HG. Comm. on TA. takes idāyai as dat. of purpose, gosāmpādanārthaḥ; but this seems fanciful.

priyo dātur daksīṇāya iha syām AV.: priyo dēvānām daksīṇāyai dātur iha bhūyāsam VS. The AV. reading is masked by sandhi, but p.p. daksīṇāyai.

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

yamyai pāṭaṛaḥ TS.: yamyāḥ pāṭaḥ KSA.
sarasvatyai (MS. KSA. "yā") niṣpācatīḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA.
indrāṇyai (MS. "yāh") yathī VS. MS.
śripriyai (MS. "yāh") pañcamī VS. MS.
adityāḥ (VS. "yāi") pañcamī VS. MS.
adityāi (KSA. "yā") deḍaśi TS. KSA.
yanyai (MS. "yās") trayodaśi VS. MS.
adityā (VS. "yāi") bhasai VS. MS. This and the next also occur in the aśvamedha, in the general context of the preceding.
adityai (MS. "yāh") pājasyam VS. TS. MS. KSA.

devasya tvā savitūḥ prasavā ... sarasvatyā vācā yaṁtur yaṁtreya (VS. TS. ŚB. sarasvatyai vācā yaṁtur yaṁtreya) ... bhūṣaṇām VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.—P.p. of MS. sarasvatyayā.

(devasya tvā savitūḥ prasavā "śvino bāhubhyām ... sarasvatyai (KS. "ya") bhūṣaṇām ... VS. KS. TB.: sarasvatyās tvā vīryena yaṁtrey "maṇṭhyā/yābhi piṅcāmī MS.
yatra bhūmer jūṣaṣe (TA. bhūmyai vṛṣaṭa) tatra pacha AV. TA. (bhūmyai for bhūmyas = bhūmes; cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 136, and §182 below).

§144. Genitives of a stem nouns:

patir yad vadhvo (ApMB. vadhevari) vāsaḥ RV. AV. ApMB. The variant (gen.) ending here and in the next two is (v)as, not (v)aś.

yatrasṛṣṭat tanso yaḥ ca vāsaḥ (ApMB. tansum yatra vāsaḥ) AV. ApMB.: yatra vṛṣṭat tansu yatra vāsaḥ HG. The latter has a stupid corruption in vṛṣṭat for -sṛṣṭat (VV 2 p. 105). Its tansu can only be defended as for tansā = tansas, a partitive gen.

krūraṁ viveda, TA. *kr* cakāra) martyā (KS. martāḥ). ‘No mortal has attained (comprehended; TA. accomplished) the savagery of thy self, O Agni.’ So Caland on ApŚ. Whitney (note on AV.) suggests that it may mean ‘succeeded in inflicting a wound on thee,’ which would make it possible to interpret tanusai as a true dative (of interest); but this seems less likely to be the sense.

§145. Genitives of pronouns:
nā hy asya (ApMB. asyai) nāma gṛbhāṇmi AV. ApMB. ‘I do not mention her name.’
imam amum āmasyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram... KS.: imam amuṣya (VSK. imam amum amuṣyā) putram amuṣyai (VSK. *yuḥ) putram... VS. VSK. ŚB. In one of the two occurrences in ŚB. amuṣyai is printed for amuṣyā, doubtless by a misprint.
tasyai (MS. KS. tasya) vā nātā (TS. māti) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ‘Its, the mind’s, daughter, speech.’

§146. Less certain are the following cases of genitives. First, from nominal ā stems:
asya ājanatīyāḥ kriṣṭhyāya svāḥā MS.; asyai ājanatīyai kriṣṭhyāyai ApŚ. ‘For preeminence over this folk.’ But this may be the ‘assimilated’ dative with following dative of purpose; cf. Speyer, Skt. Syntax. 66 supra, Delbrück, AJIS. 149. (Quoted in Conc. also under aqe balanced...)

§147. From ā and ī stems; in the following the alternative to genitive construction would be a dative of possession or interest; see next section:
adīyai (VS. TB. ŚB. adīyai, VSK. adīter) bhāgo ‘āś VS. VSK. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS.
adīyai (MS. KS. MS. adīyā) yāmāyai VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MS. KS.
indrīyai (MS. MS. MG. *yuḥ, KS. *yuḥ) sanātanam VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. MG.
prthivyai (MS. *yuḥ) varamāyai VSK. KS. ApŚ. MS.
adīyāy (VS. ŚB. KS. *yuḥ) sadā āśata VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS. KS.: adīyāyā sadane śīda KS.

§148. From pronouns. These, like the preceding group, might perhaps be construed as datives of possession or interest. The dative of possession is however not common in the oldest language and seems to disappear later. For this and other reasons, particularly in view of the established use of *ai* forms as genitives, we consider these also very probable cases of genitive forms. It must be confessed that at times the decision is delicate:
yasyai (VSK, yasyan) te yajñīyo garbhāḥ VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. PG.
yasyai (VSK, yasya) yonir hiranyaśa VS. VSK, ŚB.
yasyai bahūs (MS. yasya bahūyan) tanuved (MS. tanuved) viśapryāhāḥ MS.
TB. And others, §671. Comm. on TB.: yasyai yasya devyās
tanuvedāh.
yasya apaharyā tanūs tām asya āpojāhi ŚG. SMB. (also with yasya
aputrya, yasyaḥ patighni); yasyaḥ pāpi lakṣmīr yā patighni... tā
asyā apahata SMB.: yasyaḥ pāpi lakṣmīs tām asya āpojāhi SMB.;
yasyai āghaḥti tanūs tām asya nāsaya svāhā PG. (also with pati-
ghni, patighni, prajāghni, yahogha); yasyai ghorā tanūs tām śto
nāsaya svāhā HG. (also with mīnātā, patighni). The first asyai is
clearly γen. On the second see §612.

§149. We now come to variants used in ablative, rather than genitive,
function. First, from pronominal a stems:
Yo maitasya dīsa abhidāsīd agnīṁ sā rhatu MS. (also with īndrām,
marutāḥ, mitrāvaruṇaḥ, somāṇi); agnīṁ sa rhatu yo maitasya
(KŚ.† sṛṣṭya) dīsa bhiḍasati KŚ. ApŚ. (also with īndrām, aditāṁ etc.);
agnīṁ sa dīsan devam devatāṁ rhatu yo maitasya dīsa bhāḍa-
sati TB. (also with īndrām etc.); yamā dīṣa yo maitasaya (KŚ,
8syā) etc. KŚ. TB. ApŚ.

§150. From i and t stem nouns:
gāītraiva (MS. KŚ. tṛṣṭya) gāīyarām VS. TS, MS. KŚ. ŚB.
suryas tvā (MS. tvā rāmibhīḥ) purastāt pātu kasyāḥ cid abhiśastyaiv (TS,
MS. KŚ. kṣastyaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. Striking because the
modifying pronoun kasyāḥ(cid) has ēs even in VS. ŚB. Cf. next.
āsanyānu mā mantrāt pāhi (MS. pāhi purā) kasyāḥ cid abhiśastyaḥ (AŚ,
8sṛṣṭya svāhā) TS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.
prthiṁnya (MS. KŚ. tṛṣṭya) mā pāhi TS. MS. KŚ,
pakṣetaiva (MS. KŚ. tṛṣṭya) nīdhanavat VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB.
apahalātīrthu prthiṁnya TS. ApŚ.: apaḥataīrthu prthiṁnya devayaṅaṁ
TS. ApŚ.: apaḥataīrthu prthiṁnya devayaṅaṁ TS. ApŚ. (p.p. of
TS. prthiṁnyaḥ!) : apārānam adevayaṅanam prthiṁnya devayaṅaṁ
(ApŚ. rādevayaṅana) jahi KŚ. ApŚ. (the latter ambiguous): apāra-
ṛṇaḥ prthiṁnya (p.p. sṛṣṭya) adevayaṅanam MS. MŚ.: apārāram adeva-
ayaṅanam prthiṁnya [itti; ambiguous] ApŚ.: apārāram prthiṁnya devaya-
yaṅaṁ bādhyaṅam VS. ŚB.
pāpāt (KŚ. pāpāḥ) swapnyād (KŚ. 8nād) abhātyāḥ (KŚ. tṛṣṭya) AV, KŚ,
agne 'dadbhaya... pāhi prasītāyī pāhi duriṣṭāyī pāhi duradmanyāyī (TS.
TB. aidd pāhi duṣcaritāy) TS. VS. ŚB. TB.† (in VS. text has durad-
manyā iti); agne 'dadbhaya... pāhi prasītāyāḥ pāhi duriṣṭāyāḥ pāhi
duradmanyah KS. (text "manya iti").—Also listed in Conc. under pahi.

adbhyah sanibhutah prthiveyai rasae ca TA. ApŚ.: adbhyah sanibhutah prthiveyai (MS. KS.† yā) rasae ca (KS rasah) VS. MS. KS.
kṣetriyai tvā nīrttyā jámiśanūt AV.: kṣetriyai tvā nīrttyai tvā TB. ApMB.
HG. (kṣetri = kṣetriya occurs only in this passage.)

[amoci (AV. amuktha) yaksma durāhā avartiyai (AV. avadyā) AV. TB.
ApMB. No ās form here.]

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

§152. The variants are:
yā te agne rudriyā tanūs tasyā tasyās (MS. KS. tasyai) te svāhā TS. MS. KS.
yā tā śrav yuva nāma tasyā no mṛṣa (MS. tasyā vidhema) tasyas (MS. tasyai) te namas... TS. MS.

tasyai (TS. tasyaś) te devi hariṣa vidhema TS. MS. KS. AŚ. SS. N.

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

tasyas (MS. tasyai, KS. tasmare, read tasyai) te deviśake vidhema hariṣa vajram VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. Keith makes the same suggestion as in pree., q. v.
śāyai (MS. 8yā, but p.p. 8yai) manyum rājānam VS, MS. TB. Followed by barhiṣā dadhur indriyam. 'They have bestowed (upon thee) King Wrath and power along with (or, by) the barhīs, unto authority.' It seems impossible to construe śāyai(h) as gen. ; note the p.p. of MS.

kṣatrasya tvā paraspaṭya brahmaṇas tanvaṁ pāhī VS, ŚB.: brahmaṇas tvā paraspaṭyaḥ (MS. 8pāya, p.p. 8pāyāh) kṣatrasya tanvaṁ pāhī MS. TA.: pratikas, brahmaṇas tvā paraspaṭyaḥ [iti] ApŚ. MS. (could stand for 8pāyai or 8pāyāh). In the same passage the next two:

dīvaś tvā paraspaṭyaḥ (MS. 8pāya, not repeated in p.p.), antarikṣasya...

MS. TA. (and ApŚ. pratika, with 8pāya [iti]): and

prāṇasya tvā paraspaṭyaḥ (MS. 8pāya, v. l. 8pāyā, p.p. 8pāyāh) cakṣugas...

MS. TA. (and ApŚ. pratika as before). In these three adjoining formulas only a dative of purpose can be intended; 'for the protection of,...' Note that TA. has 8pāyāh twice and 8pāyai once—all in the same passage. VS. has only one of the formulas, in which it uses the dat. of a neuter stem 8pa—§801, equivalent to 8pā. This same neuter form is read thrice in MS. s. p., but once the v. l. 8pāyāh occurs (curiously, in the one case in which TA. has the regular dative form 8pāyai!), and its p.p. reads 8pāyāh in the two cases which it repeats at all.
CHAPTER IV

STEMS IN A

1. Nominative and vocative plural in ḍs: ḍsas

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

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

yena devāśa amṛtāsam ānākha RV.; yena devā amṛtam āne avindan AV. dhruvasaḥ (TB. ApS. dhruvah ha) parvatā śm RV. AV. KA. TB. ApS. SMB. MG. Here TB. ApS. compensate for the lost syllable by the patch-word ha.

devās (and, devast tvā) dadhīre purāḥ RV. (both). The RV. itself uses a patch-word; the older form was certainly ḍsas.

viśe devāsā adhi vocalā naḥ (TS. me) RV. TS.: viśe devā abhi rākṣantu (Ppp.* ti, KS. anu tiṣṭhantu) meha (AV.* also teha, and pakvam; Ppp. mām iha; SMB. ApMB. HG. paṣcaḥ) AV. (ter) Ppp. KS.† SMB. ApMB. HG. Add to VV 1 §116.


ye devāndam tuviṣa yajñiyāsah (and, tuviṣa ye ca yajñiṣyāḥ) AV. (both).

As between these two, it seems clear that yajñiṣyāsah is older, the other showing evidences of patch-work. But even it is certainly
secondary to: ye devānāṁ yaṣṭiṣṭā yaṣṭiṣṭānāṁ RV. The AV. introduces tvāy, exalting the priests at the expense of the gods.

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

tubhyam sutāsah somāḥ SV.; tubhyam somāḥ sutā ime RV. The SV. in its eagerness for archaism has crowded out ime, and left a pāda which is metrically bad.

asmān (MS. KS. TS.† asmān) u devā avatā haveṣu (MS. KS. bhāreṣu ā) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS.: asmān devāsas ʿvata haveṣu AV.†

mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durvesāḥ (Ppp. durva yātudhānāḥ) RV. AV. Ppp.: mā tvā dabhan durvesāṣah kaśokāḥ AV.

punar agnayo dhīṣyā (ŚŚ. ṛyāso) [yathāsthānāṁ kalpantāṁ (AV. yathāsthānāṁ kalpantāṁ ṣrīva, ŚŚ. yathāsthānāṁ dhārayantāṁ ihaiva)] AV. ŚB. ByhU. ŚŚ.: athaṭe dhīṣyāṣo agnayo yathāsthānān kal-

pantāṁ ihaiva svāhā HG.: aha yathāme dhīṣyāṣo agnayo yathās-

thānāṁ kalpantāṁ ihaiva MG.: ime ye dhīṣyāṣo agnayo yathāsthā-

nam iha kalpāṁ (read nātām) AG. The ŚŚ. reading is archaizing and metrically harsh, tho possible. HG. MG. AG. all treat the formula as prose, but all have the archaizing ending.

ete pūtā vīpācītāḥ RV.: te pūtāsas vipas SV.

ye antarikṣa uta ye (Kauś. ṛkṣye ye ca) divi śrīlāḥ (Kauś. ṛtāsah) Kauś. MG. In different contexts. Pronouncing the a of antarikṣa, MG.

makes a good jagati; eliding it, Kauś. makes a good triṣṭubh. Kauś. wins a hieratic ending only by allowing a rather unhieratic elision (cf. VV 2 p. 420 ff.), and is forced to make a further change of uta to ca.

§156. In the following variant two adjoining adjectives vary in both readings, the longer and shorter endings interchanging in the two forms: hṛṣamāṇāsa ḍhrṣatā (TB. ḍhrṣatā) maruteṇaḥ RV. TB. N.: hṛṣamāṇā ḍhrṣitāḥ marutevaḥ AV. The ms. of Ppp. has ḍrṣamāṇāsa ṭṣatā marutevaṁ, emended by Barret, JAOS. 35. 60, to hṛṣamāṇāsa ḍhrṣatā (for which ḍhrṣitā or ḍhrṣitā would seem at least equally possible) marutevaṁ.

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

yatra devāsas (KS. devā) ājyuṣanta viśve VS. KS. ŚB. MS.: viśve devāḥ yat ājyuṣanta pāve VS. The latter patches the meter while using the shorter ending. If KS. were original (tho metrically poor), the hieratic devāsas of VS. etc. would also be an attempt to patch the meter; but on the whole this seems unlikely.
traya ghamāso anu jyotiṣyuh (MS. KS. retasāguḥ) TS. MS. KS. ApMB.: traya ghamā anu reta āguḥ AV.
vīśe devās (AV. devā) aditiḥ sajñāh AV. Ppp. TS. MS. ApMB. Cf. also vīśe devāḥ sajoṣanaḥ AV. MS. TA.
ye devā (RV. VS. AB. AS. ŚB. devās) dīvī ekādāṣa sthā AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. MS. AS. Sāyaṇa at AV. 19. 27. 11 apparently read ye devā dīvī ekādāṣa sthā.
yena devāso (AV. devā) asahanta dasyūn RV. AV.
vasā meṣa avarṣṭṣaśa (KS. avarṣṭṣa) ākutaḥ RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. devāsō bāhrir āsadaṇ RV.: devā bāhrir āsata PB.
te devāso (TS. devā) yajñam imam (Ppp. havir idam) juṣṭadhvam (AV. juṣṭantām) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: te devāsō havir idam juṣṭadhvam AV.
vīśe devā iha mādayantām (KS. virayadhvam) TS. KS. TB.; vīśe devāsa iha virayadhvam (AV. mādayadhvam, VS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. mādayantām) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. ApMB.
§158. Much more rarely the original form has ās, and the archaizing change to āsas spoils the meter:
ye stha traya ekādāṣāḥ (ŚŚ. ekādāṣaśaḥ) KS. ŚŚ. This is really prose and so should not strictly be counted here; but its cadence simulates an anuṣṭubh pāda in KS., the presumably original form.
suddhā bhavata yajñiyāḥ AV.: saddhā bhavantāḥ śucayāḥ (N. bhavanto yajñiyāsah) pāvakāḥ AV. N. Cf. also abhūma yajñiyāḥ saddhāḥ AV. Since pāvakāḥ must be read metrically pāvakāḥ, the line is tristubhi and the AV. reading is correct. Very likely N. intended it as jagatt, reading pāvakāḥ, and altered the preceding case ending to fit its conception of metrical requirements.
§159. The following variant is prose, as is also the first quoted in the preceding paragraph:
damanasya devā (MS. deva) ye putrāḥ (KS. putrāso)... MS. KS.

2. Neuter plural in ā or ąnī
§160. The ending ąnī is, of course, originally borrowed from n stems (Wackernagel 3 p. 105), where both ā and ąnī are prehistoric (Indo-Iranian, ibid. p. 277), and are equally familiar in the Veda. It is a curious fact that, nevertheless, the variants reveal practically no shift between ā and ąnī in n stems; the only possible instance noted is janīmā(ni), in víśe devānām etc., §164; and cf. §209.
§161. Of our variants nearly all are metrical, and in general the meter is reasonably good in both forms, despite the difference in number of
syllables in the two variant forms; the shorter ending is generally accompanied by a patch-word or other difference of reading. Altho a is certainly older and more hieratic than áni (half again as common as áni in RV.), the variants show no clear preponderance of originality in either. The alteration may be in either direction; indeed not infrequently both endings are found in both forms of the variant, but in different words, as in: 

brāhmaṇāyaṇ̄a saṁbhṛtā vṛgyāni AV.; bra² vṛgyā śaṁbhṛtāni TB. 

saṁyopayanto duritāni viśad RV. MG.; saṁlohbhayanto duritā padāni AV. 

atikramanto duritā padāni (N. duritāni viśad) AV. N. 

§162. Sometimes the different ending goes with a different meter; and there is no clear reason for attributing greater originality to either: 

indrasya vocāṁ pra kṛtāni vṛgyā RV.; indrasya nu vṛgyāni pra vocām 

RV. Pp. Arś. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.; indrasya nu pra (so 

read, see Whitney) vocāṁ vṛgyāṇi AV. 

Jagati and triṣṭubh. 

nakir asya pra minanti vratāni RV. AV.; nakir ta etā vratā minanti RV. 

Triṣṭubh and dvipadā vṛāj. 

sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni jōsaté (MS. havanā jūjoṣa) TS. MS. Jagati 

and triṣṭubh. Cf. also: sa no nediṣṭhatam havanāny āgamat (and, 

havanāni jōsat) KS. (both). 

duritāni yāni kāni ca ca kārma MS.; duritā yāni kārma TS. TB. TA. 

Jagati and anuṣṭubh. 

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

sa hi viśāti (RV; *viśāṇi) pārthivā RV. (both) KS. 

kṛtāni karteṇi ca RV.; kṛtāni yā ca ca kartā RV. 

ati (RV; *agne) viśāṇi duritā tarema (RV; *rājanāh, *svastaye, *piparta- 

lana, *tāni parṣaṇ) RV. (5 times) PB. 

skannemā viśā bhuvānā TB. TA. ApŚ.: askannemā (so text, for skan- 

e mā or āṣka?) viśā bhūtāni KS. Different words, bhuvana and 

bhūta, the latter being shorter and so requiring the longer ending. 

āṇḍā ṣukṣmasya bhedati RV.; ṣukṣmyāṇḍāni bhedati RV. 

dadhad rataṇā ni dāśuṣe RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.; dadhad rataṇā vi 

dāśuṣe RV.; dadhad rataṇā dāśuṣe vṛgyāṇi RV. VS. The first and 

third variants in relation to each other might be classed in the 

preceding, as anuṣṭubh and triṣṭubh. 

agnir havyāni siṣṭadāti RV.; agnir havyā susūdāti RV. 

§164. Next a group which is exactly like the preceding except that 

for one reason or another there seems reason for supposing that the a 

form is older; yet the áni form is metrically good:
FORMAL VARIANTS OF A STEMS

abhi yo viśvā (and, abhi viśvāni) bhuvanāni caṣe RV. (both). See RV. Rep. 117.

tato vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu (AV. 3nāni) viśvā RV. AV.
viśvā rūpabhi (MS. rūpāny abhi) caṣe kacibhiḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
The MS. tries to improve the meter, which in the original is read with hiatus, rūpā abhi.
aṅgā parunāni tava vardhayanti Vait. and AV.Pp., JAOS. 30. 221:
prīyānī aṅgāni tava vardhayantiḥ TB. (probably secondary).
tatrataḥs tṛṇiḥ catāni kaṅkavaḥ AV.: tasmin sākam trishatā na kaṅka- 
vah RV. N.

apa cakrā avṛtata KB. ŚŚ.: mā cakrā avṛtata MS.†: apa cakrāṇi varṣaya 
TB. ApŚ. The last clearly secondary.
viśvā devināni (TS. viśvāni devo) janimā vivakti AV. TS. KS. Cf. sarvā 
devināmā janimāni vidusn Kauś., which, if a true variant of the 
other, would show the only anī : ā variation noted for an n stem, 
ef. §§160, 269. Of the others, AV. KS. are more apt to be original 
than TS.

ata inoṣi karvarā purunī RV. AV. Pp.: atā invata karvarāni bhūri AV.
sugā vo devāh sadanā (N. 3nam) akarma (Pp. MS. kṛṇomi, KS. Kauś. 
sadanāni santu) AV. Pp. VS. MS. ŚB. KS. Kauś. N.: sugā vo 
devaḥ sadanam akarma (ApŚ. sadanāṇi santu) TS. ApŚ.: sugā vo 
devaḥ sadanedam astu KS.

vratā nu (AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. vratāni) būhram vratapā adābhyaḥ (MS. AB 
AŚ. adābhakāh) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. Only RV, school 
texts have vratāni, two other schools vratā nu. But this is, of 
course, not conclusive evidence of priority.

yatrenāviśvā bhuvanādhi tasṭhuh RV. AV. N.: yenemā viśvā bhuvanā 
tasṭhuh TA.

yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ (TA. svātuh) pitaṣat RV. AV. TA. N.: yas tāni 
veda sa pituṣ (VS. pituḥ) pitaṣat AV. VS.
[achidrā usijāh padānu taksuḥ TS.: achidrōṣijāh kavayaḥ padānutaksī-
ṣuḥ, em. from ms. padāni taksīqvat, KS.]

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

ksāmad devo 'ti duritāy (TA. MahānU. devo atiduritāy) agniḥ AV. TA.

MahānU.
prīyānī aṅgāni swadhitā parunā (Vait. aṅgā suktā purunī) TB. Vait.
punanu viśvā bhūtāni (MS. bhūtā mā, TB. viśva ayavaḥ) AV. VS. MS. 
KS. TB.
§166. We come now to variants in which one form is metrically poor. It happens, a little surprisingly, that the metrically superior form seems always to be historically older; there is no apparent case of secondary correction of the meter. We begin with a few cases in which the original has ā, and ānī is metrically bad:

svēva (Vait. svēva) me gātrā (KS. gātrāni) harivaḥ TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Vait.
aśtu sātā yan mitam tad vadanī SB.: aśtu ca sātāni [samvatarasya, inserted in Gāstra with all but two mss.] mukūrtān yan vadanī GB.

§167. In the rest the ānī ending is original and metrically superior. The form in ā is in several instances clearly due to haplography; these (the first two) are treated in AV 2 §808.

vīśvāṇy anyo (AV. vīśvāṇyo) bhvanābhicaṣṭe (AV. MS. bhvanā vicaṣṭe) RV. AV. MS. TB.

tṛṇī padāni (TA. MahānU. padā) nihitā guhāṣya (TA. MahānU. guhāṣa) AV. VS. TA. MahānU.—Ppp. ms. padānaita which Barret, JAOS, 30. 195, emends to the AV, reading; but it may equally well go with TA. MahānU.

yasmin vīśvāni bhvanāni (MS. vīśvā bhvanādhi) tassuḥ RV. VS. MS. Cf. prec. but one; the unmmetrical vīśvā may have been influenced by bhvanā, the first alteration (?).

tīrā cīttāni (KS. ms. cīttā) vanavo jighāṇsatī TS. AV. MS. KS.: tīraḥ satyāni maruto jighāṇsāt TS. Von Schröder emends KS. to cīttāni, which seems rather arbitrary.

sa cīttāni (Ppp. ms. cīttāni) mohayatu paresāṃ AV. Ppp. Barret, JAOS, 32. 351, reads Ppp. as cīttā. It may, however, have intended cīttāni.

agnir vṛtraṇi jaṅghanat RV. SV. etc. In Svīdh. occurs the prattika: agnir vṛtret, i.e. apparently, vṛtra-iti. Perhaps a corruption.

§168. Finally, a few variants in which one or both versions are prose. The first is particularly interesting; in it TS. and PB. are prose, and
substitute the prosaic ānī for the ā of the other texts. Or else, was the prose version older, and to make it metrical was ā substituted for ānī?
elā (TS. PB. etāni) te aghiye (TS. aghiyne, PB. 'ghiye) nāmāni VS. TS. PB. ŚB. MŚ.
abhi savanāni (TS. savanā) paḥi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose in both.
ariṣṭañi me sarvātmānibhṛṣṭah AV.; ariṣṭañi me sarvāṅgāni santu (PG. me 'ṅgāni) Vait. PG.: ariṣṭā viśvāny aṅgāni TS. TAA. MŚ. Prose in both.

3. Instrumental plural in ais : ebhis

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

sam vajebhīḥ (MS. vājaih) purusandair abhidyubhīḥ RV. AV. MS.† 2. 2. 6b; 20. 4. KS.

samjñānaṃ nāḥ (KS. nas, TB. na, Poona ed. nāḥ) svebhyaḥ (AV. svebhīḥ, TB. sveaih) RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. Followed by:

samjñānam aranēbhyaḥ (AV. aranebhīḥ, TB. aranaiah), same texts. The AV. forms in both these variants are not good metrically, but TB. is much worse.

tvaṣṭar devebhīḥ sahasāma indra ApMB.: tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ MG.

somo rudhair (TS. rudrebhīr) abhi rakṣatu tmanā TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

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

gambhirēbhīḥ pathibhīḥ pūrvebhīḥ (MS. pūrebhīḥ) MS. KS. AŚ. SMB.; gambhirāth pathibhīḥ pūravaḥ (AV. pūryānah) AV. TS. HG. The meter requires gambhirēbhīḥ throughout. Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 63 suggests emendation of MS. to pūrvebhīḥ, which was evidently the original on which TS. HG. pūrvaḥ is based.

§170. In another little group AV. seems secondary in substituting ais for ebhis, tho it preserves the meter by patch-words or other changes: aṅgirbhīr ā gahī yājñīyebhīḥ RV. TS. MS.; aṅgirbhīr yajñīyair ā gahīa AV.

prehi-prehi pathibhīḥ pūryebhīḥ (AV. pūryānaih) RV. AV. MS. AŚ. AG.

vīryebhīr (MS. vīrebhīr, AV. yau vīryair) vīrataṃ śauṣṭhā (TB. śacē, Poona ed. savi?) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
§171. In other cases, on the contrary, it seems a fair guess that the older version is that with ais, the archaising ebhis being secondary; tho' the meter is not necessarily decisive:

jambhyais (KS. ṭhīyebhīs) tuskāraṃ (KS.† ṭrāṇ) uṣa VS. TS. KS. In KS. the suffixal y is metrically inferior, being consonantal in pronunciation; perhaps KS. archaizes secondarily.

ajogā devāir (VS. ṢB. ajogā devēbhī) avaraḥ paraś ca VS. TS. MS. KS. ṢB.

ebhis tuḥm putram janaya ṢG.: tais tuḥm putram (ApMB. putram) vindase AV. ApMB.: tais tuḥm garbhīṁ bhau HG. Note that ṢG. is forced to read tuḥm as a monosyllable.

satyaḥ pūrvaḥ (KS. pūrvebhī) ṭṣīkhiḥ satpidaḥ (KS.† ṭṣīkhiḥ cākṣūpāḥ, ApŚ. ṭṣīkhiḥ cākṣūpāḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ. Here KS. spoils the meter.

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

mitranvitaḥ dhiṣṇyaḥiḥ (KS. ṭyebhīr agnibhiḥ) MS. KS.: aṇgirase dhiṣṇyaḥiḥ agnibhiḥ TA. (prose in the latter).

mrddam barsvaiḥ (TS. barvebhīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Prose. The majority are more apt to be original.

māṇḍukaḥ jambhyebhiḥ (KSA. jambhahā) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

4. Ablative singular in at and tas

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

visvakarmā tadvityair uttaratāḥ (MS. KS. uttarat) pātu VS. TS. MS. KS. ṢB.: visvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadāhatam TA.

jāgretiḥ ca mārnadhaḥ cotaṛād (MG. cottaṛata) gopayataṁ KS.† MG.† tasmād (ArŚ. VS. VSK. taṭo) virāḥ ajāyata RV. ArŚ. VS. VSK. TA. prāktud apāktud (AV. prāktu apāktu) aiharād udaktāḥ (AV. udaktāḥ)

RV. AV.

5. Instrumental singular of ā stems in ā and ayā

§174. Only one or two dubious cases:

agnier ṣhāṁ abhi (MS. ṣhābhī, p.p. ṣhāvan, abhi; AV. KS. ṣhāvābhī)
فرقتام (AV. ग्रन्ताद) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. VV 2 §309. The AV. KS. parallel suggests taking MS: as an instr., in spite of p.p. आय वा पवावसानी ससिन RV. SV. PB.: उर ना या पवया पवावसा RV. SV. The accent of पवया is on the ultima, which gives pause. Oldenberg (Noten on 9. 97. 53) suggests, among other solutions, that we have either mistaken accentuation caused by that of आय′ in the preceding (the first variant just quoted), or adverbal shift of accent.

स्वरक्षया (VS. ŞB. "वेक") तांत्र संवीकरणा VS. MS. KS. ŞB. Wackernagel 3 p. 118 supra takes स्वरक्षया as instr., as the parallel suggests. But below, §415, we have suggested taking it as nom.

[अशिर्दया दंपति वामम अष्टुतम TS.: यद अशिर्दया दंपति वामम अष्टुतम TS.: यायाशिर्दया दंपति वामम अष्टुतम AV. Keith takes अशिर्दया as dual adj. with दंपति; we prefer to take it for अशिर्दयादया with Wackernagel 3 p. 116 infra. In any case there is no variation between case-forms आ and आय; rather -दया and -दा are from the different stems -दया and -दा.]
CHAPTER V
SHORT AND LONG I STEMS

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

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

1. ī forms from ī stems

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

§177. Nom. sg. in īs from ī stems. Here a striking group of cases concerns lengthening of the ī in the nom. sg. of ī stems, resulting in forms like ṛkīs. While some of them are more or less dubious, they
are too numerous and on the whole too well attested to permit doubt of the reality of the phenomenon, which so far as we can see happens not to be recorded by Wackernagel (cf. his p. 135). In every variant the i is secondary historically:

\textit{ayāś cāgna. 'sy anabhāṣati} (AŚ. ApMB. HG. \textit{ OUŚ}) ca MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. KauŚ. ApMB. HG.

\textit{abhīṣṭir} (HG. \textit{ OŚ}) ya ca me dhrvā (HG. ca no grhe) RVKha. HG.

\textit{plāśir} (TB. \textit{ OŚ}) vyaktaḥ satadhāra utsaḥ VS. MS. KS. TB.

\textit{viśvā abhīṣṭiḥ pṛtanā jayati} MS.: \textit{viśvā hi bhāyāḥ pṛtanā abhīṣṭiḥ} TS.

In all conflicts he shall become a protector,' Keith, who would read \textit{abhīṣṭiḥ}. The accent, on the ultima (so also MS.), supports this interpretation; the fem. 'protection' is \textit{abhīṣṭi}. But we see no reason to refuse to admit, even in a masculine, confusion with the \textit{vṛkā} declension; we should not emend TS. Add to VV 2 §529.

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

\textit{vaṅkrir aśvasya saahātiḥ sam eti} RV. VS. TS. KSA. Conc. quotes \textit{vaṅkrir for all texts but KSA.; actually vaṅkrir is found in all, and is an acc. pl.}

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

\textit{ātir} (TA. KSA. \textit{āti}) vāhavao dārviddā te vāyave (TS. KSA. vāyaveād) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Stem \textit{ātir is Rigvedic.}

\textit{sam te methi bhavatu ām yugasya ārdma} ApMB.: \textit{sam methir bhavatu ām yugasya ārdma} AV. There is much variation in the form of this word (see BR.), but i forms are older and at all periods more usual.

\textit{kārśir} (MS. KS. MŚ. kārśy) \textit{asi} VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. BṛhPdh. Boehtlingk in pw. assumes a stem \textit{kāṛśin for the form kāṛšī}}, but in so doing falsifies the accent, which in MS. is written \textit{kārśī}. MS. p.p. reads \textit{kāṛśih, asi}. Knauer (on MŚ. 2. 3. 17)
suggests irregular sandhi for kṛṣi. On the whole, the variant seems to differ in no wise from the preceding two, except that the original form (ī or ı stem?) is uncertain.

rantīr osī TS.: ranīt ramatiḥ sūndāh sūnāri ApŚ.: vasvī rantīr sumanāh MS.: sumanmā vasvī ranīt sūnāri SV. JB. But the SV. is very uncertain; it may be taken with the comm. as a dual; see Benfey, Glossar, a. v. ram. The form ranīt of ApŚ. is for rantīs by the usual sandhi.


A peculiar case; sūrī is a fem. nonce-formation to the usual sūrī, which is used without change in KS. as a fem. It reminds us of the tendency noted below (§225) towards a repartition of short a stems and ā stems as masc. and fem. respectively; but this is the only case noted of such a tendency among ā stems.

§179. Acc. sg. in im from ā stems. Only a couple of cases, each involving, perhaps, extraneous considerations: dūkūthi derim sūhagām (TB. manasaḥ) puro dāhā AV. TB.: dūkūthi derim manasaḥ praptaye SMB. Perhaps ā in SMB. by form-attraction to derim.

kratvā varṣītham vara āmurim ute RV. AV.: kratve vare sthānany āmurim ute SV. Here the meter favors ā, and is perhaps responsible for the SV. form.

§180. Voc. sg. in ā from ā stems. We find a number of cases in which the regular voc. ā in ā stems is replaced by ā, from the ā declension: pūrṇā dare (AV. MS. daren) parā pata AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. AŚ. ApŚ. In RV. only stem daren.

yat ca bhūmī adharaḥ yat ca paścā MŚ.: yatas te bhūme adharaḥ yāt ca paścat AV. The stem bhūmi has āvī forms even in RV., probably influenced by its synonym prthivī (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 136).

abhya evam bhūmā urṣaḥhi (TA. bhūmi vṛṇa) RV. AV. TA. Cf. prec. idē rante 'dite sarvasati priye pṛyasati mahī vīruti TS.: idē rante (MŚ. rante jyute) sarvasati mahī vīrute PB. MŚ. The form vīruti may be formally assimilated to mahī (and sarvasati?).

§181. Dat. sg. in āy from ā stems. The extension of āvī forms to the ā declension in the dat., abl., gen., and loc. sg. was so common and persistent that it is familiar even in classical Sanskrit, where it also applies to the monosyllabic ā stems (type śrī); cf. §209 for Vedic variants.
of this declension. We shall also find, in §209, a case of a vrkṣi noun
showing a dative of the desī type. It is worth noting that no desī
nouns occur among the variants with dative forms borrowed from the
rival i and e declensions; but there is one isolated instance of an abl.
sg. of vrkṣi type from a desī stem, §210.

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

devaśēyē (MS. *vītyai) tev (KS. ve) gṛhāmi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
ApŚ.ː devatābhāya tuvā devaśēyē gṛhāmi KS. Only MS. is intended
to be metrical.

playe (TB. rīyai) stenahrdyaum VS. TB.
anusēyē (TB. *tuk) paṅktai (MS. paṅktaye) TB. ApŚ. MS.
bhūtyē (ĀŚ. bhūtyē) namāḥ MS. ApŚ. MS. AŚ.
ādiyai (ŚG. *taye) svāhā VS. TS. MS, KSA. ŚB. TB. ŚG.
saṁvedēyopaśeśāya gāyatiyai (etc.) chandāse (TS. ApŚ. omit) bhūbhê
playe (TS. ApŚ. abhūbhēyai, ŚŚ. bhūbhēyai, KS. bhūbhēyai) svāhā
TS. PB. ŚŚ. KS, ApŚ.

vasyaśēyē (misprinted vasya?) tev LŚ.ː vasyaśēyai tev Vait.
vītyē svāhā HG.ː vītyē svāhā ApŚ.
gopīthāya tev nārāyēyē MS.ː bhūāyē tev nārāyēyē VS. ŚB.ː rakṣāyē tev
nārāyēyai KS.ː sphātyē tev nārāyēyai TS. TB. ApŚ.
ānumātaye (TB. *taye) svāhā ŚB. TB. BrhU. AG. ŚG. Kauś.ː asūryantaiyai
cānumaṁyai ca svāhā AŚ.
svarṣayāya (VS. Kvar?) šaktai (VS. ŚvetU. šaktai) VS. TS.
ŚvetU.ː svarṣayāya šaktia (MS. šaktaye) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Metri-
cal; šaktai three syllables.

§183. A couple of infinitive variants in eː aś may be added here,
altho they are probably not really comparable. The origin of the aś
of certain infinitive forms is really unexplained; that -dhyāi is formed
by affixing the dative ending (IE. *aś or *aś =) Skt. e to a stem final
*dhṛya or *dhyā, as commonly assumed, is hardly more than a placebo,
and still less likely is it that the frequent ending -tavei (with double
accent, on stem and ending both) is from a stem *tāa or *tāe, since
the parallel and similar -tave obviously belongs to stem tu (see below,
§338). But whatever be the history of these forms, the important
point for our purposes is that from RV. on the infinitive of this type is always dhyai, never dhye except in the isolated TS. occurrence of our first variant; and this is likely to be a mere phonetic simplification of ai to e (VV 2 §705). The other variant which follows is even more dubious:

\( te \) te dhāmāny uśnasi gamadhye TS.: ta (VS. ŚB. ya) te (RV. KS. N. vān) dhāmāny (RV. KS. N. vāstān) uśnasi gamadhyaśa RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Two mss. of KS. also have gamadhya.

paridhāsyai yasyodhāsyai PG.: paridhāsyo yaśo dhāsyo MG. The MG. forms, at least, are best taken as verbs (fut. ind.). Stenzler (questioningly) and Oldenberg follow the comm. in taking -dhāsyai as an infinitive form and yasyodhāsyai as a cpd. Cf. VV 1 §177, 2 §705.

§184. Abl.-gen. sg. in yās from ī stems. What has been said on the datives in yai applies equally here. It only needs to be noted, further, that in the first group of variants the form for which yās is secondarily substituted in SV. is not the usual eś, but the older yas, which is the only form known in RV. from the stem avi, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 138: anyo (SV. anyā) vāre (SV. *vāraik) pari priyam RV. RV. (ter): anyo vāre (SV. anyā vāraik) pari priyam RV. RV.: anyo (SV. tanyā) vārebhī paripate madintamaḥ RV. RV.: anyo (SV. anyā) vārebhīr anyata (SV. anyata) RV. RV.: anyo (SV. anyā) vāre mahāyate RV. RV.: anyo vāreṣu (SV. anyā vārebhīr) asmayuḥ RV. RV.: anyo (SV. anyā) vāraik paripatal RV. RV.

yonyā (TA. yoner) ina pracyuto garbhah AV. TA.

eśa tav pita nirṛter upasthāt (TA. nirṛtyā upasthā, AV. prapatho purastāt) RV. AV. TA.

nirṛtyā ude ’dityā (VSK.† KS.† adityā, MS. ṛdhār adīṭe, KS. ṛdho adīṭe) upasthā VSK. TS. KS. SS. KS. MS.

adityā (VS. TS. ŚB. adityāī, VSK. adīṭe) bhāgo ’si VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS.

§185. Nom.-acc. dual in yau from ī stems. A single variant shows this form in three YV. texts of different schools, while only one (VS.) has the ‘proper’ ending ī, clearly as a secondary substitution (note that the meter requires śrṇyaun, as three syllables). The ending yau belongs originally to the īṛṣ declension, whence it was taken over first into the devī nouns (§212, below), and then sporadically into ī stems; anau griśtk ca śrṇyaun (VS. śrṇti) VS. MS. KS. TB.

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

§187. Nom. pl. īs from ī stems. In one variant TS. has mūhīs, an
isolated form of vahini, which seems never to have been noticed previously, for the regular vahnayas of other texts, perhaps under the influence of the preceding and parallel daitsa:

upa (TS, MS. upo) devi daitsa viśah prāgur vahnaya (TS. vahni) uṣijah (VS. ŚB. prāgur uṣijo vahnutamān) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

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

riūn pratiibhih (KSA. pratiibhih, ma. bhya) TS. KSA. Maedonell and Keith, Vedic Index 2. 359, take prati for an i stem, but the usual theory (e.g. Wackernagel 3 p. 136) that makes it an i stem is more plausible.

pratiibhyah (KSA. prati) svāhā TS. KSA. See prec.


krudunibhyah (KSA. *ni) svāhā VS. TS. KSA. Originally i stem; Wackernagel 3 p. 138.

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

sucaukā ahām akiṣibhyām (MG. akiṣi) bhuyāsam AG. PG. MG. N. In the older language the form with i is commoner than that with i.
mitra-varunau prasibhyam (KSA. "ni") TS. KSA.
prasibhyam (TS. "ni") devah TS. KSA.

2. i stems of uncertain quantity

§190. So far we have dealt only with what we believe to have been originally short i stems, attracted towards i declensions. The reverse process is at least equally common, especially with devi nouns, but also with erki and monosyllabic (kri) types. The confusion is in a few cases so old and profound that we really do not know which is original. Thus the question of takari or "ri is left doubtful by Wackernagel (3 p. 186), and we can add nothing to his statement except that in the following variant AVPPp., according to Roth, has tagarim:
vi te bhinadmi takarim (KS. "rim, AV. mehanam, Ppp. tagarim [Roth])
AV. TS. KS. ApS.

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

§192. Our variants from this stem are few except for the nom. pl.
We have noted only one acc. sg. and one dat. pl.:
imam khanamy osadhthim (ApMB. "dhithim) RV. AV. ApMB.
osadhthiyah (SG. "dhii"; sc. nama) MG. SG.

§193. As to the nom. pl., the forms ayas and i are not metrically equivalent and in metrical variants (which include all but one of those here noted) this needs to be borne in mind. In nearly all of them is is the older form, historically, and in most it is also favored by the meter. As a rule later texts substitute ayas, often without any attempt to patch the meter:
yas osadhhih (AV. TS. TB. Kauus. PranagU. "dhayah) somaraith RV. AV.
VS. TS. AB. TB. PranagU. Kauus. SMB. GG. KhG.
yatrausadhhih samaymata RV. VS.: yad osadhayah samgachante (KS. samaymata) TS. MS. KS.
yas osadhhih purva jatah RV. VS. KS. SS. KS. N.: yas osadhayah prathamajah MS. KS. MS. MG.: yas jata osadhayah TS. TB. ApS.
Note that MS. etc. by a further change make passable meter.
kalpañṭām āpa oṣadhayāḥ (TS. TB. *dhīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Here probably auyas is original, tho poor metrically, and the second ary is introduced to improve the meter.

saṁ no bhavantu āpa oṣadhayāḥ (AV. * dhīḥ) śīvāḥ AV. (bis). (Read āpa at 2. 3. 6; see Whitney's note.) The meter is certainly better with ā.

oṣadhiḥ prati modadhvam RV. VS.: oṣadhayāḥ prati modadhvam enam (KS. om. enam, VS. ŚB. *dhvam agnim etam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: oṣadhayāḥ prati gṛbhīnta VS. VSK. ŚB.: oṣadhayāḥ prati gṛṇītāgnim (MS. gṛbhīnta) etam TS. MS. KS. The RV. is clearly old and sound with oṣadhiḥ. Most other texts, if really based on it, substitute oṣadhayāḥ, which spoils the meter; some try to patch it with generally poor success.

sam oṣadhayo rasena VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: sam oṣadhiḥbhīr oṣadhiḥ VS. ŚB. Probably not real variants; both metrically passable.

oṣadhayāḥ (RV. VS. *dhīḥ) prācucyaṇau RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The RV. original is here rather poor metrically (Oldenberg suggests pra acu), and the change to auyah was doubtless meant to improve it. indrāgni dyāvāprthivi āpa oṣadhiḥ (KS. *dhayah) TS. KS.: sūrayāgni dyāvāprthivi uro antarikṣāpa oṣadhayāḥ MS. Vocatives. This is the only prose variant; the isolated TS. is apt to be secondary.

3. ā forms from i stems

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

§195. Nom. sg. in ā:

타타 르트 (TA. rātrī) ajayata RV. TA. ManānU. Two mss. of MahānU.

rātrī (TB. rātrī, KS. v. l. rātrīḥ) stomaṁ na jīgyuṣe (KS.† TB. *gī) RV. KS. TB. Voc. in RV.

saṁ rātrī (VS. rātrīḥ, VSK. TA. rātrīḥ) prati dhīyātāṁ AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA. On VS. see §206.

§196. Acc. sg. in ā (note preference of KS. for ām, cf. Wackernagel l. c.):

rātrīm-rātrīm (MS. KS. ŚB. KS. MG. rātrīm-rātrīm) aprayaṇam bhāran-
taḥ AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KS. MG.
anuvāsī (etc., see VV 2 §255) ... rātrīṁ (VS. MS. KS.† rātrīṁ) jīnva
VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. Vait.

rātrīṁ (KSA. rātrīṁ) pīvanā TS. KSA.

rātrīṁ dhenum īvyātatīm (AV. īvyātīm) AV. HG. ApMB.: rātrīṁ dhē.

iṁvā SMB. PG. MG.

rātrīṁ (KS. rātrīṁ) jīnva TS. KS. PB. Vait.

ye rātrīṁ (KS. rātrīṁ) anutiṣṭhanti (KS.† oṣṭhatha) AV. KS.

§197. Nom. pl. in ayaṁ:
yāṁ te rātrīṁ (MS. KS. rātrayaḥ) saditar devatānāṁ TS. MS. KS. Here
rātrīṁ certainly makes better meter, but is found only in TS.,
while MS. KS. (generally older than TS.) agree on rātrayaḥ. The
latter is the usual Vedic form (but no nom. pl. occurs in RV. or
AV.), and is prescribed for the Veda by Pāṇ. 4. 1. 31.

§198. The stem varūṭri (or varu, VV 2 §562). Like rātrī this is
originally a devī noun but shows i forms (Wackernagel 3 p. 184),
the only in texts of the Tait. school among the variants (cf. §175a):

Acc. sg. in im:
varūṭriṁ (KS.† varūrīṁ) tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhīṁ TS. KS.: varūṭriṁ

[Continued text...]

varūṛṛyā jānayaś tvā devīr... TS.: varūṛṛī ṭvā (KS. ṭrīṣ ṭvā) devīr viśva-

devyāvatīḥ... VS. KS. ŠB. Wackernagel l. c. suggests that varu-

ṛṛyās is influenced by the adjoining jānayaś. But this will not

explain the other variants here.

varūṛṛy avayaṁ KS.: varūṛṛyās tiṁvayaṁ ApŚ.

forms of the i type are rare. We find two involving the nom. sg. (one
of them, however, doubtful), and two the dative plural. Again, as in
the prec., Tait. texts seem to favor short i:

veṣoṁvīr (TS. ṭrīr) asi TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait. LŚ. Wackernagel l. c.
suggests influence of the neighboring vayaṁvīr asi in TS.

asrīvayaś (TS. ApŚ. ṭrīś, MS. ṭrīś) chandaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ.
The word is obscure and probably artificial. VS. comm. takes

vayaś as a cpd. containing stem vayaś. It must certainly be felt
as nom. sg., and so the other forms of the variant. If they are
felt as containing the stem vi (in pada-vi etc.), the variation between
MS. and TS. would belong here.

namah senābhyaḥ senānībhyaḥ (VS. TS. nībhyaś) ca vo namah VS. TS.

MS. KS. See VV 2 §527 and (for the same shortening of the stem
in composition) §523.
FORMAL VARIANTS OF I, I STEMS

namah śvanībhyaḥ (MS. śvanī) — VS. MS. KS.: nāma ṣṛgubhyah śvanībhyaḥ ca vo nāmaḥ TS. See VV 2 §528. Boehtlingk's postulation of a stem śvanī 'having doga' is most implausible, particularly in view of senāṁībhyaḥ above.

§200. Other i stems (mostly of the devī type) show only sporadically variant forms of the i declension among the variants. We shall classify them by case forms; first, nom. sg. in iy for iy:
prati tvā pareṭi (TS. TB. *tir, MS. KS. MS. pareṭi) vettu VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MS. One ms. of KS. pareṭi.

nārī asī VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA. MS.: nāry asī VS. KS. ŚB. The stem abhrir or babhrir almost always found in the context may have caused form assimilation (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

ambā ca bulā ca nitānī ca... MS.: ambā dulā nitānir... TS. In AV. 6. 136. 1 nitānī is the epithet of a plant, here of a brick. The chances are that the i stem is original.

§201. The original type of the stem skambhāni (iṇi) is variously given. Macdonell, VGr. §375A3, implausibly thinks that it is a epd. of skambha and the root-noun ni. We prefer to hold (with BR. and Wackernagel 3 p. 183) that it is fem. to RV. skambhana. If the accent of VS. VSK. (skambhani, TS. *ni) is correct, the rule would require ṣṛkṣ declension, so that in our variant VS. would be regular, VSK. irregular. KS. has no accents in this mantra but in 2.7 accents skambhani, which would suggest that the fem. stem is a devī form. In either case Tait. texts have a shortening of the i, as seems to be their tendency:
diva (divas, divah) skambhanīr (VS. ŚB. *nir, VSK.† KS.† *ny) asī VS. VSK. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. In KS. 1. 6 read skambhany asī dhānyam asī, acc. to note on KS. 31. 5.

§202. Nom. pl. in ayas for ies or yas. (On the endings ies and yas in the devī declension see §213.)
aṅgulayaḥ ṣakvarayo diśaḥ ca me yajñena kalpanām VS.; ṣakvarir aṅgula-yo diśaḥ...TS. MS. KS. The form ṣakvarayo is likely to have been influenced by the neighboring aṅgulayaḥ (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

devānīm patnir (VS. patnyo, MS. patnayo) diśaḥ (MS. KSA.† viśaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The meter requires three syllables; patnyah is otherwise familiar (Wackernagel 3 p. 183 f.).
nāris (VS. nāryas) te patnayo (VS. patnyo) loma VS. TS. KSA. mahānāmni revatayaḥ TS. MS. KSA.: mahānāmnyo revatayaḥ VS. See Wackernagel 3 p. 184.
§203. Instr. pl. in ṭhīs for ṭhīs:
śāṁbhīḥ śāṁyantu ved VS.: śāṁbhīḥ (KSA.† śāṁ) śāṁyantu ved TS.
KSA.

§204. Voc. sg. in e for i; among the variants only by apparent assimilation to neighboring forms in e, as suggested for our first variant by Boehtlingk ZDMG. 52. 81, Wackernagel 3 p. 185 top:
saravate 'nu (GG, sarasayt anu) manyasa GG. KhG, ApG. HG. In
preceding pāḍa occur adite and anumate, to which saravate seems
assimilated.
sā tubhyam adite mahī (TS. mahe) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Again doubt-
less assimilation of mahe to adite.

4. Interchanges between different i declensions

§205. So much for variants between long and short i declensions.
We now come to variations between forms proper to different i declen-
sions, that is to the three types devi, uvki, and śṛ. We begin with

§206. Nom. sg. in i (of devi type) from uvki nouns. In most of these
variants the is form is older, as we should expect. Uvki nouns begin
to appear with noms. of devi type, lacking s, as early as RV. itself
(Wackernagel 3 p. 172).

adurmaṅgaliḥ (AV. svī, Ppp. śī) patilokam ā viśa (AV. viśemani) RV.
AV. Ppp. SMB. ApMB.
gaurīr (AV. gaur in, TB. TA. gaurī) mināya salilāni takṣati RV. AV.
TB. AA. TA. N.

viśvarūpā kabalir (KS. śautily) aṅgiketuḥ TS. KS. PG.
siṅkhi as TS. MS. ApS. MS.: siṅhy as VS. KS. ŚB. KS.: siṅkhi (KS.
siṅhy) asi rāyaśpogavaniḥ VS. MS. KS.: siṅkhi (VS. KS. ŚB. KS.
siṅhy) asi saratnasvā VS. TS. MS. KS. MS. KS.: siṅkhi (KS.
siṅhy) asi suprayāvan svāhā TS. MS. KS.: siṅhy asi suprajāvanī svāhā VS. ŚB.: siṅkhi (VS. KS. ŚB. siṅhy) asi dī-
yuviṃ (MS. adda sajtavanā) svāhā VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

mahiṣir (KS. svy) asi TS. MS. KS. MS. On this see Lamman, NI. 368.
In RV. the word is mahiṣir, with accent and inflection of devi type;
in TS. MS. mahiṣir, of uvki type. KS. accents mahiṣy asi, as if
of uvki type, but yet has the devi ending. Wackernagel 3 p. 179
distinguishes two words, mahiṣi 'Bṛṛkkuh', and mahiṣi 'Fürstin';
the latter he separates entirely from mahiṣā and regards as fem.
to compv. mahiṣas. This however seems forced. In RV. 5. 25,
7d (repeated elsewhere) mahiṣi is commonly taken to mean 'she-
buffalo'.


Formal Variants of I, I Stems

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

phalgu (KSA. *gur) lokitornī balakṣī (VS. pal, KSA. ms. valakṣīs) tāh ṣārasvatyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends KSA. to *kṣī; but since MS. VS. TS. make the word oxytone (KSA. has no accents here), while the masc. is paroxytone, it should belong to the vykt declension. KSA. therefore has the correct form, which should be kept.

ṣāṃ rātri (VS. rāṭrīḥ, VSK. TA. rāṭrīḥ) prati dhīyatām AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA. Mahidhara and Griffith take rāṭrīḥ as plural, blithely undisturbed by the singular verb with which it goes. It is indeed true that the preceding parallel pāḍa has ahāni ‘days’ as subject (but with properly plural verb). The vykt nom. sg. of rātri is here-tofore unrecorded (even in Wackernagel 3 p. 185). On rāṭrī see §195.

§207. Nom. sg. in ṣ (of vykt type) from devī nouns. Such forms are much rarer, and generally dubious. The first is the clearest variant, and in it Whitney calls sarvasatīḥ in AV, a ‘blunder’. This however seems too drastic, especially since TB has the same form. But it may be partly due to form assimilation to tisro devī preceding (subject of sadantām; sarvasatīḥ is included in the subject):

sarvasatī (AV. TB.† ṛīḥ) svapasah sadantu (AV. ṭām) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Both edd. of TB. ṭīḥ.

saptanir abhībhūti (ApMB. ṭīḥ) RV.† ApMB.† The ending may be influenced by the preceding (acc. pl. !) sapatnir; so Winternitz, p. xxii.

vāmī (KapŚ. vāmyā) te samārdhi vīsaiṁ reto dheṣīya (KS. KapŚ. dheśīya)
tana vāmīr (KS. KapŚ. vāmy) anu samārdhi MS. KS. KapŚ.: viśava-sya te viśvāsado vṛṣṇiyāvatāh lavāya vāmīr anu samārdhi viśvā retāni ḍhēṣīya TS.† Keith’s translation of TS. is scarcely possible. We must apparently take vāmī: vāmīr as nom. sg. fem., and anu as adverbial; dhā middle with retas, as commonly with gābhama. ‘Lovely in thy sight, may I receive all seed, lovely furthermore (or, again) in thy sight’, MS. KS.: ‘lovely in the sight of thee, O Agni, that art all, possessest all, hast virile power, furthermore may I receive all seeds’, TS.

bajābjojopakāśini HG.: khaṇāpo ‘jopakāśiniḥ ApMB. In VV 2 §381 it is suggested that ApMB. may have a vykt form. But two good mss. read *ni, which may well be intended. A plural would also be conceivable.
§208. The nouns śrī and lakṣmī, nom. sg. Two variants in the same passage concern these two words, the one a monosyllabic i stem, the other originally a vrkī noun, so that both should have nouns in s, and do so in Classical Sanskrit, where lakṣmī is the only vrkī noun which regularly retains the old s ending. This is undoubtedly due to the influence of the synonym śrī (Wackernagel 3 p. 171 f.). Nevertheless the devī form, without s, of lakṣmī is known in the Veda (ibid. p. 175). In the MahānU. form of the following variant not only is alakṣmī read without s, but it has even caused the neighboring śrī(s) to lose its s, producing a devī nom. sg. from a monosyllabic stem, which is nowhere recognized in our grammars (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 172). All mss. of MahānU. seem to agree, and the comm. supports the form:
śrī me bhajatu TA.: śrī me bhajata MahānU. Followed by: ṭalakṣmīr me naśyata TA.: alakṣmī me naśyata MahānU.

§209. Dat. sg. in ai (of devī type) from vrkī and śrī nouns. The devī ending in this and other oblique cases is well known as an alternative form in Classical Sanskrit with monosyllabic i stems. So in the Vedic vrkī nouns, ai may replace e, cf. Wackernagel 3 §88c. The shift has its phonetic aspect, on which see VV 2 §705. We find one or two variants of each class:
sukham meṣāya meṣāi VS. ŚB.: sugaṁ meṣāya meṣāi (RV. meṣya) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. Ons ms. of KS. meṣye. It may be noted that TS. MS. KS. read meṣāi, retaining the accent of meṣye, while VS. VSK. ŚB. accent meṣāi, as is proper for a devī form.
veṣārāyai (LŚ. ॐye) tvā Vait. LŚ. Add to VV 2 §705.
śrīyai (MG. kriye) putrāya velavai (MG. vedhaṇa) MG. ApMB.

§210. Abl. sg. in as (of vrkī type) from devī noun. Contrariwise, a devī stem shows a vrkī form in the abl. sg. in the following. Strange to say, the irregularity occurs only in late sūtra texts (to be sure, of the RV. school; perhaps a hyper-archaism?):
āyuṣmatyaḥ (AŚ. ŚŚ. ॐiya) rco mā gāta (Vait. māpgoṇyā, Kauś. mā sats) tanuḍāṭ (ŚŚ. ॐpāḥ) sāmnah (AŚ. sāmna om) TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Kauś.: āyuṣmatyāḥ rco mā chaitsī etc. JB.

§211. Loc. sg. in yām and i. We find one stray variant in which AV. shows i against RV. yām. Wackernagel 3 pp. 168, 170, admits only yām for devī nouns and only i for vrkī nouns. He does not allude to this variant case; the stem occurs only here, so that there is no evidence for its original declension. On it cf. Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda p. 49.
§212. Nom.-acc. dual in yau (of *erki type) from devi nouns. In this case the original erki ending began to displace the old * of devi stems as early as AV., and became universal in classical Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p. 175). As we saw above (§185), it even affected sporadically short * stems.

gṛñcī sthā dhuryau pātam VS. ŚB.: gṛñcīyau sthā yajamānasya dhuryau pātam MŚ.
yadārāhata (read yadā rā?) varadāh Vait.: yadā rākātāyau vadataḥ ApŚ.;
An obscure n. pr.

§213. Nom. (voc.) pl. yas (of *erki type) from devi nouns. This ending is exactly analogous to the dual ending just mentioned; originally peculiar to the erki type, yas appears in devi nouns in AV., and becomes regular later. Wackernagel 3 p. 177 has noted many of our variants. After two consonants yas is often spelled iyas, cf. VV.2 §791.
tās tēvā devir (SMB. MG. devyo) jarase (SMB. BG. *sa) sam vyayantu (PG. vyayasa) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. (In PG. devir is to be taken as acc.: VV 1 §70.)
tīrvo rohiniḥ (KSA. rohinyo, ms. rau) vaśā maitriyāh (KSA. *tryah) TS. KSA.
To be added to VV 2 §§728, 791.
tīrvo rohiniś (KSA. *nyaś) tryayasa tā vasūnām TS. KSA.
rohiniś (VS. *nyaś) tryasya vāce VS. MS.
paṇcavit (KSA. *vyas) tīrva ādityānām TS. KSA.
anyataṃyta maitriyāḥ (MS. *nir maitriḥ) VS. MS.
pavāmānī (RVKḥ. TB. YDH. *nyah) punantu naḥ. (tē, mā, te) SV.
RVKḥ. TB. MG. YDH.
nāris (VS. nāryas) te patnayo (VS. patnyo) loma VS. TS. KSA.
devir vanmīr asya bhuvanasya (TS.† bhūlasya) prathamajā tāvariiḥ MS.
TA.: devyo vanmīro (VSK. vanmīyo) bhūlasya prathamajā makhasya
vo 'dya śiro rādhyās añc...VS. VSK. ŚB. Voces.
tisraḥ kīlpā vaśā vaiśvadevīyāh TS. KSA.: kīlpā vaiśvadevī (VS. *deviḥ)
VS. MS.†
mahānāmanī revatayāh TS. MS. KSA.: mahānāmanyo revatyay VS.
tāḥ prācīya (Vait. *yāh, MŚ. prācīr) ujjīgāhīre (KŚ.† *hire, Vait. samjī-
gāre) Vait. KŚ. MŚ.: prācī kojjīgāhīre ApŚ.
phalavito (MS. KSA. *vaiśr) na oṣadhyāh pcayantām VS. MS. KSA.
ŚB.: phalinyo na...TS. TB.
§214. Stems in ī and īn. Leaving now the interchanges between the feminine ī and ī declensions, we take up next a few cases of apparent confusion between ī and īn stems. In the first two cases clear īn stems are provided in secondary texts with nominatives in īs, as if from ī stems (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 279 infra). In the other two cases here quoted, contrariwise, the SV. substitutes nominatives in ī for RV. īs; the SV. forms are taken by Benfey as from īn stems:

dāreghītī paśāti viśeṣvān MŚ. MG.: dāreghītī ināriyāvān (PR. 1 yavān) paśāti (PG. 3 triḥ) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

tan no danti (TA. dantiḥ) pracodāyaḥ MS. TA. MahānU. Stem danti otherwise unrecorded.

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

mahīnām (VSK, mahīnām) payo ‘si VS. VSK. TS. KŚ. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.

§216. Instr. sg. ī and īd. We come now to variants which show different case endings within one and the same declensional type, that is, cases in which no ‘foreign’ influence from a different ī or ī declension is to be assumed. And first interchange between the old instr. ending ī and the later īd. The first concerns a ādī noun, the rest short ī stems: aśvāśyām duṣkhaḥ bhīṣājā sarvaśeṣvā (MS. 1 vati) VS. MS. KŚ. TB. aśvāśyām duṣkhaḥ bhīṣājā sarvaśeṣvā (MS. 1 vati) VS. MS. KŚ. TB.

acītī yat (AV. acītīdī cel) tava dharma yuṣṭiṣvā RV. AV. TS. MS. KŚ.
yah samidhā ya āhutt (KS. ətyā) RV. KS. AŚ. AG.
dehbhām īḍaye viśkatya (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. əsatt) ca AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.
AŚ. ŚŚ.
dane-dane suṣṭūr (AV. KS. ətyā, TS. ətir, MS. əti) vām īyānā (TS.
MS. KS. vārdhānā, AV. vārdhānau) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.
The AŚ. ŚŚ. reading is corrupt. TS. suṣṭūr is acc. pl.; MS.
suṣṭūr may be a dual adj., but may equally well be taken as
instr. sg.
§217. Instr. sg. i and yā. See Lanman NI. 380 for the conditions
under which i normally appears, namely at or near the end of a pāda.
We find variants only of svasti with ətyā. The former is original in
the first, and probably in the second; in the latter, however, it is adver-
bial and need not be felt as instr. Cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 123, III
p. 146 supra.
saṃ sārībhīr mahavan (RV. MS. KS. harivaḥ, AV.† harivan) saṃ
svastyā (RV. svasti) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS.; tenaimu yajamānāḥ svasti (KS.* ApŚ.
ətyā) TS. KS. (both) ApŚ.
§218. Instr. sg. inā from fem. nouns, and yā from masc. nouns.
Here we find two cases (the first in the list) in which nouns which are
regularly fem. have the masc. ending inā, and conversely two nouns
usually masc. have the fem. ending yā. To be sure yā was not originally
restricted to the fem., and Wackernagel 3 p. 147 regards MS.
kikidivyā in our third variant as older than the RV. əvinā. To us this
seems most unlikely; it is rather a late and secondary confusion, either
of form or of gender (on change of gender see §§783–802):
pratīna dharmaṇā (MS. pretīya dharmaṇe) dharmāṁ jinva VS. MS. ŚB.
vṛkṣam ivśāṇya (HG. əvinā) jahi AV. HG.
cāsena kikidivina (MS. ədivyā) RV. VS. MS. KS.
maninā (KS. manya) rūpāni TS. KS. KSA.
§219. The stem pati shows patinā, pateḥ, and patyā, patyuh, the
latter two under the influence of nouns of relationship, cf. Whitney
Gr. §343d; Wackernagel 3 p. 142.
upa preta maruḥ sudānava (KS. svatavasa) ena viśpatinābhya anusmā
rājānam TS. KS.; preta maruḥ svatavasa ena viśpatyāmun rājā-
nam abhi MS. ŚŚ.
agne gṛhapate sugrhapatīr aham tvayā (with varr.) gṛhapatinā (VSK.
sugrhapatīr mayā tevā (with varr.) gṛhapatinā (VSK. ətyā) bhūyāḥ, same
texts.
justo pācaspataye (MS. °patih, KB. ŚŚ. °patih, TB. °patiḥ) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AS. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ.

ilo mukṣiya mā pateh ApŚ.: mṛtyor mukṣiya mā pateh MŚ.: preto mukṣantu mā pateh PG.:†

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

agni tvam sūktavaḥ asy upakṛṣṭā (MS. °ti, TB. upakṛṣṭo) divas (TB. divah) prthiyayah MS. ŚŚ. TB. AS. ŚŚ.

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

ṛtasya yonaḥ mahiṣā aheṣṭa RV.: rtasya yonau mahiṣā agrbhan (TS. KS. ApMB. ahiṇman) TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

aya(ḥ)ṣṭhitam (TS. °nau) udita (RV. °tā) sūryasya RV. TS. MS. KS. sidāna yonaḥ (SV. yonau) vanesā ā RV. SV.

utaditā (AV. °tāu) maṅkavan sūryasya RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

vattā ni yonā (SV. yonau) kalaśeṇa sidāru RV. SV.

devo narāśaṇaḥ 'gnau (ŚŚ. ↑ 'gna) vasuvane... AS. ŚŚ.

sātā (SV. VS. sātāu) νājasyas kāravah RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

[mā tvā ni kraṇ pūrvačito (AV. °cittā, MS. °cittau) nikārīṇaḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The accent of AV. pūrvačitā corresponds neither with pūrvačito nor with pūrvačitau. Following p.p. it is usually taken as nom. pl., for °cittah, a poor substitute for °cito. But the MS. reading suggests that the p.p. may be wrong and a loc. intended.]

§222. Nom.-acc. sg. neut. in im. No grammar recognizes the neuter ending in from i stems except for the pronoun kim (see e.g. Lanman NI. 377, Wackernagel 3 §72). But TS. TA. agree on sūnasām in the following, which can be nothing else. It is of course due to the analogy of a stems, and perhaps to the direct suggestion in the following and parallel adjectives dyumnam (TS. KS. satyam) citraśravastamam:
ano (TS. MS. KS. TA. śrava) devasya sāṇasi (TS. TA. -sim) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA.

[mā me hārdī (MŚ. hārdīm) teśā (MŚ. dvīṣā) vadhīḥ TS. MŚ. But here the different, masculine stem hārdī would be meant, if MŚ. really intended hārdīm (three mas. hārdī).]

§223. Alternative writing of iy and y in stem final of ī and ā stems. This purely phonetic matter has been treated in VV 2 §§788–792 and need not be discussed here, as it does not really concern inflection.
CHAPTER VI
LONG AND SHORT U STEMS

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

§225. As in the case of ī and ī stems, there is considerable inter-influence between long and short u stems. But here the matter is complicated by a tendency which manifests itself quite early (already in RV.) to develop a parallelism between masc. and neut. stems in short u and corresponding fems. in ū. (See Wackernagel 3 §§66b, 68b, 101.) This appears both with u and ū stems. The former are originally of common gender, and remain optionally so throughout the history of the language; the fem. stem may be like the masc. But ū nouns are mostly fem. to begin with. Hence at an early time adjectives in u (a very common type) tend to develop fems. in ū, by the side of those in u, or also in ī (following the devī type; see below, §297). Conversely root stems in ū when used in composition, and even derivative (fem.) nouns of the tanū type when so used, begin very early to develop masc. and neut, forms in short u. We have noted above (§178, end) a single variant which seems to show a like tendency in ī stems, which has heretofore not been noticed. But adjectives in ī were always relatively rare, and probably for this reason such a tendency never acquired much scope; whereas the very frequent u-stem adjectives afforded u a wide field for its development. Hence, in distinction from the interchange between ī and ī stems, that between u and ū stems is usually found to be connected with this distinction of gender. More concretely, it most commonly means that an original u stem shows fem. forms alternatively
with ū for ū, or an original ū stem shows masc. or neut. forms alternatively with ū for ū. To be sure, there are cases which go beyond these limitations. For instance, even uncompound ū fems. show forms of the ū declension (Wackernagel 3 §101a, and §232 below). And root-nouns, and even other nouns, in short ū sometimes follow the ū declension even in the masc., or otherwise avoid the short ū inflection (§227 ff.); these ū forms are however regularly secondary in the variants containing them.

1. ū forms (normally fem.) from original ū stems

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

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

phalqūr (KSA. ṣyur) lōhiṃrṇi balakṣī (with varr., §206) tāh śāraśvatyaḥ
VS. TS. MS. KSA.

śundhyur (VS. TS. ṣyur) aṣi mārjātiyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. awasyur (VS. ŚB. ṣyur) aṣi duvasvān VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ. MS. v. l. ṣyur.

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

devaśrūt imān pravape MS. MS.: devaśrūt etāni pravape TS. HG.
devaśrūt tvaṁ deva gharma devo devān pāhi (MS. gharma devān pāhi (tavojān) VS. MS. ŚB.: devaśrūs tvaṁ deva gharma devān pāhi TA.

ApŚ.

havanaśrūn (TB. hāvanaśrū) no rudreha bodhi RV. TB.

§229. Nom. pl. in (u)eras from ū stems. (The ending is doubtless always to be pronounced uwas; on the writing eras : uwas cf. VV 2
§§788–93.) The first three variants concern feminine adjectives, where the ā form causes no difficulty. In the others the proper masc. form vipanyavas of RV. is changed to ʰyavas in SV. The latter form occurs in RV. but only as a fem. This change has a phonetic aspect, cf. VV 2 §§601–4, and below §231. It is shown in VV 21. e. that SV. prefers u for a before v.

viruddhaḥ pāryaṣṭavah (TS. MS. KS. ʰnavaḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. tasya prajā apsaraso bhīrvaḥ (MS. bhīravo nāma) TS. MS. sumnayaḥ (KS. ʰyavaḥ) sumnayaḥ sumnavah (KS. ʰnyan) dhatta MS. KS. tad vipraśa vipanyavah (SV. ʰyavaḥ) RV. SV. VS. NarU. VāsuU.

SkandaU. ĀruU. MuktīU.

tā vāṁ gīrbhir vipanyavah (SV. ʰyavaḥ) RV. SV.

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

adhā (TS. MS. aṭā) satakrato (KS.† ʰkratavo, MS.† KapS. ʰkrato) yūyam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB.

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

hanāḥbhayaṁ (KSA. hanū) svahā TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.
hanāḥbhayaṁ (TS. hanū) stenān bhagavah VS. TS. MS. KS.

2. u forms (normally masc.-neut.) from original ā stems

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

§232. Nom. sg. in us from ā stems. Besides the two cases of tanū just mentioned, the variants chiefly concern compounds of bhū, and are of masc. gender:
FORMAL VARIANTS OF U, ū STEMS

iyam te yañīṇāt tanūḥ (VSK. tanuḥ) VS. VSK. ŠB. ApŚ.: iyam (VS. ŠB. esā) te bhūra tanūr... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ. MŚ.
agni sadukṣeha sutanur (KS.† ृृृ) hi bhūteśa TS. KS.: agniḥ sudakṣeha sutanur ha bhūteśa MŚ. Mase. adjectives.
ābhūr (MS. KS. ābhūr) asya niṣāṅgathiḥ (VS. ृृह) VS. TS. MS. KS. Mase.
śambhūr (KS. ृह) mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. Mase.; note retention of ū in mayobhūr in KS.
vibhūr (PB. vibhūr) asi pravāhanāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŠŚ. MŚ† HG. Mase.
vibhūr (KSA. vibhūr) mātrā prabhūḥ (KSA. prabhūḥ) pitra VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŠB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Mase.
sunnahūr (KS.† ृह) yajña (TS. yajñō devān) ā ca vakṣat VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. ŠB. MŚ. Oertel 139. Add to VV 2 §554.
sitipāc chityoṣṭhāḥ sitibhrus (KSA.† ृह�) ... TS. KSA. Mase. Add to VV 2 §554.

§233. Dat. sg. in are from ū stems. Only in masc. and neut. compounds of bhū. The writing are for ve concerns phonetics; see VV 2 §789.
abhīhwe (MS. abhīhwe, KS. abhīhwe) svāhā VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
vībhāwe (KS.† vībhāwe, MS. vībhāwe) svāhā VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
samvedāyopaveśaya... bhīhwe (MS. 'bhīhwe... ) svāhā KS. MŚ.:
ariṣṭā avyathai... 'bhīhwe svāhā KS. Add to VV 2 §604.

§234. Nom. pl. in avas from ū stems. In compounds of monosyllabic stems:
sitibhravo (MS. ृह्रवो) vasuṇām VS. MS. Cf. last variant in prec. § but one.
samudram na subhrev svā abhīṣṭayaḥ RV.: samudraṁ na suhaṁnam (AV. subhēvas, TB. Poona ed. suhaṁnam) tathīvāṁ sam AV. TB. ApŚ.:
suhīṣṭām vai subhēvaṁ tathīvāṁ sam MS. Ppp. reads as MS. except subhēvas, for which Barret emends subhēvas, suggesting also subhēvam (JAOS, 35. 46); subhēvam would do perhaps as well as su-
hēvas, although the AV. comm. understands the word as fem. (if the nom. is to be retained it is not clear what it refers to, so that the gender is uncertain; in RV., perhaps not a real variant of this passage, subhēv is fem.; the acc. form must be masc.).

3. Influence of devi declension on u and ū stems

§235. This has been discussed above in §225. The variants are mostly ū stems of the tanū type, to which are added one or two short u stems. (On fem. adjectives in vi see §297.)
§236. Acc. sg. tanūm : tanvam. Only this stem varies in the acc. sg.;
tanū is not Rigvedic.

savitrā prasūṭā daivyā āpa undantu te tanūm (VSK. tanvaḥ; the jaṭā-
pāṭha has tanūn) dirghāyuṣtiya varcase VSK. KS. PG.
svayā tanām tanvam aiyayata AV.: svāh yat tanūṃ tanvām aiyayata MS.
AA. AS. SS.: svāh yat tanūṃ tanvam aiyayata KS. KSA.: svāyāṅ yat
tanvām (TS. tanvām) tanvām aiyayata TS. KS.
na te tanvām tanvā sam papāntaṃ AV.: na vā u te tanvā tanvām (AV. te
tanvām tanvā) sam papāntaṃ RV. AV.

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

kam v astu tanvai tava VS.: kam u te tanve (TS. tanve) bhuvat TS. KSA.: 
kam astu tanve mama AV. In VS. the svarita accent is retained in

kuvai (KSA. kuhvai) trayo 'runaitāh TS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends
KSA. to kuvvai. TS. accents kuvvai, i.e. with the svarita of kuhvē.

§238. Dat. sg. in vai from short u stems. One variant from the fem.
noun jīvāṣu. The others are infinitives in tavai: tava. See above,
§183. We do not think it likely that the infinitive ending tavai is really
due to the direct influence of the devā declension; it is hardly likely to
be a feminine form at all. But as it is externally similar to these forms,
and that it seems to be included here. (NB. By an incom-
prehensible and most deplorable slip, VV 2 §705 records the variant
sanvai : sv in sakrāya su tvā RV. JB. as a dative form. [Also
indrāya su tvā in the same passage should have been quoted.] The
form is of course a 1st sg. subj., and might have been noticed in VV 1
§26; but sanve is doubtless a bad reading, if not a phonetic simplifica-
tion; Oertel JAOS. 18. 28 reads as RV.)
agnes tvā mātrayā... jīvāvai TS. KS.: agnēs tvā mātrayā... jīvāvai

MS.
daśamānyādyā sūtave (HG. ³vai) ApMB. HG. Also daśame māsi sūtave
RV. etc.

havyāyāmai voḍhava (KS. ³vai) jātavedah TS. MS. KS. Kauś.
punca putrāya vittāvai (SB. BrhU. vittaye, KS.† kartave, MG. kartavai,
v. i. ³ve) KS. ŠB. TB. BrhU. ApŠ. ApMB. HG. MG.
§239. Abl. sg. in vás from ú stem (tanú).

agni you me tanú (TS. tanuvā) únam (ŚŚ. yun ma únam tanovas) tan...

VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: yun me agna únam tanovas tan... MS. KS.
The accented texts (VS. TS. ŚB.) retain the svarita accent of the older tanuvā (TS. tanuvā).

§240. Loc. sg. in sām from ú stem (tanú).

sām yat tanúṁ tanuvāṁ ārayata MS. AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: svayā tanuvā tanuvam ārayat AV.: svā yat tanū tanuvam ārayata KS. KSA.: svāyām yat tanuvāṁ (TS. tanuvāṁ) tanūṁ ārayata TS. KS. As above, the svarita accent is retained in accented texts (TS. tanuvāṁ).

[ svāyām ?tanūṁ (RV. tanū)... RV. ApMB. MG. Knauer mistakenly regards tanūṁ as a 'shortening' of tanuvā; but see VV 2 §308.]

§241. Nom. pl. in ús from (fem. of an) u stem.

māndā vāsāh kundhyār (KS. kundhyāro) ajarāh TS. KS. Nom. pl. fem. adjective; the ending ús is anomalous in either u or ú stems, and is clearly due to the analogy of devi forms; more specifically, to the parallel ûs (and ûs?) forms in the context.

4. Alternative case endings within the same declension

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

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

kratuvī rihanti madhuśābhī (SV. madhuvābhī) anjate RV. AV. SV.

§244. Abl. sg. os and vas. The variants concern madhu and vasa, for both of which the regular forms in RV. are madhuvā, vasuṣā (Wackernagel 3 §75a note, cf. §69a). In all the variants RV. shows these forms, while later texts substitute madhoh, vasoḥ, which are rare in RV. but regular later.

madhuḥ (SV. madhoḥ) pavanta ārmayaḥ RV. SV.
madhuḥ (SV. madhoḥ) pavasuṣa dhārayāḥ RV. SV.
madhvaḥ (SV. madhoḥ) pibanti gauṣāḥ RV. SV. AV. MS.
madhuḥ (VS. MS. ŚB. TA. 1Ś. madhoḥ) pibatam aśvinā RV. VS.
(bboth) MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. 1Ś.

madhvaḥ (AV. SV. madhoḥ) cakānaḥ cārur madaya AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

madhvaḥ (SV. madhoḥ) rasam sadhamadāḥ RV. SV.
ed u madhvaḥ (SV. PB. madhor) madintaraṁ RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
vasvāḥ (TB, TA, MahānU. vasōḥ) kuśīd vanātī nah RV. KS. TB, TA, MahānU.

vasor vaso purusprāḥ SV.: vaso vaso vāḥ purusprāḥ RV.

§245. Loc. sg. in ā': vi (wī), and in vi': vi.

srucīva gṝtā烟ī canemīva (TB, ApŚ. camī iva) somaḥ RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The loc. of this word is otherwise camī in RV. The isolated camīva is parallel to and perhaps influenced by srucīva, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 188. Yet the similar tanvi is regular.

na dvasmāṇaḥ tanvi (TS. tanwvi) repa ā dhuḥ RV. TS.

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

Render: ‘the wise (kāri span the yokes etc.) before the gods, before (presumably = for the benefit of) the pious man.’

dhīrā deveṣu (KS.* ēndroṣu) sumnayā (AV. ēyau, VS. sūmnayā) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.

§247. Nom. acc. sg. neuter in u': ā. This is regarded by Wackernagel 3 §72 as a matter of rhythmic lengthening; the padapā has have in fact u for ā. Only one variant has been found (cf. VV 2 §555).

sa hi purā (SV. puru) cid ājāta virukmatā RV. SV.


viśā vasi (TS. ApMB. vaśāṇi) dadhīre vāryāṇi RV. VS. TS. KS. ApMB. (KS. v. 1. vaśā.) The meter is better in the original form; vaśāṇi, the later and secondary reading, makes the cadence difficult.

[saū āṣā ṭuṭā purū (TB. puru, Poona ed. purū) ṭuṭā RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.]

§249. Loc. sg. in vam (?): vām. One variant contains a form which can only be intended as a locative of tanā, and which appears according to well-established tradition as tanvam in two sūtra texts, while a third has the regular tanvām. Caland in his translation of ApŚ. adopts tanvām from MŚ.; we should probably follow him but for the fact that AŚ. certainly read tanvam, as well as ApŚ. (the AŚ. comm. repeats the form);
this seems to us to make it certain that the form tanvam is no mere scribal error. The preceding adjective visabhṛti, which can only modify tanvam, makes it equally certain that the form is meant as a locative. No such form, with short a before m, is recognized in any grammatical authority. We know of only one other place at which it might with some plausibility be assumed; this is AV. 19. 37. 2, varcu ā dhehi me tanvam; here SPP. reads tanvam with the comm. and one ma.; cf. Lanman, NIndfl. 412. Another way out in this case would be to take tanvam as acc. (cf. §380, and on two accusatives with verbs of placing §535). (Lanman l. c. mentions also AV. 19. 55. 3 tanvam, suggesting that tanvam be read, but here the acc. is quite possible as object of puṣema.) While we have no explanation for the form, we find it impossible to deny that at least in the ApŚ. AŚ. form of the following variant, and perhaps also in AV. 19. 37. 2, tanvam is used as loc. sg. of tanū: prajāpater visabhṛti tanvam (MŚ. ²vām) hatam asi svāhā (AŚ. omits svāhā) AŚ. 3. 11. 11 (omitted in Conc.) ApŚ. MŚ. ‘Thou art offered in the all-sustaining body of Prajāpati.’

§249a. On tanū, loc. sg., for tanū, see VV 2 §308.
§250. Voc. sg. neuter u : o. In one variant this shift occurs; cf. Wackernagel 3 §77, Whitney §336h, where VSK. uro should be added to the small stock of voc. neut. forms of the u declension. We may note that AV. TS. have this pāda in nominative form (.....uro antarikṣam), and VSK. may possibly have been influenced thereby (a sort of blend of the two readings). But VV 2 §912 is wrong in calling VSK. ‘illogical’.

dyāvṛṛthi uro (VSK ↑ uro) antarikṣa VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

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

R STEMS AND CONSONANT STEMS

1. Stems in r

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

svāčeṣa 'sy agregā netṛn̄m (TS. netṛ²) TS. MS. KS.: agrenir asi svāceṣa unnetṛn̄m VS. ŚB. Three mas. of MS. also netṛ².

ākhuḥ kaśo... te pitṛn̄m VS. VSK. MS.: pāṅktrah (but see VV 2 §418) kaśo... te pitṛn̄m (KSA† pitṛ²) TS. KSA.
pitṛn̄m (TS.† MS. pitṛ²) ca manambahhi RS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. IŚ. Kauś. N.
pitṛn̄m (TS. pitṛ²) sadanam asi TS. ApŚ.
devānām tvā pitṛn̄m (ApŚ. pitṛ²) anumato bhartum Śakeyam TA. ApŚ.
yā no dadāti śravāniḥ pitṛn̄m KS.: sā no dadātu śravāṃ pitṛn̄m (TS. pitṛ²) TS. MS. AS. ŚŚ. N.
dhātā dhāṭṛn̄m (TS.† dhāṭṛ²) bhuvanasya yas patih RV. TS. KS.
prajanaṃ vai pratiśṭhā... pitṛn̄m (TA. Poona ed. pitṛ³, v. l. pitṛ²)...
TA. MahānU.

astāye agnir narāṃ (MS. nṛn̄m) suśeṣah RV. VS. MS. Both these genitives of nṛ are Rigvedic.

§253. In strong case forms of nouns of relationship, Tait. texts twice present the vṛddhi instead of the guṇa grade in compounds (cf. Wackernagel 2. 1 §43a):
sudākṣa dakṣapitarā (TB. “pitārā) RV. TB.

ye devā manoḍā (MS. KS. MS. manu²)... sudākṣa dakṣapitaras (TS.† “tāras)... TS. MS. KS. BDh. ViDh.

§254. The gen.-loc. dual ending ros is regularly pronounced dissyllabically (as uros or ros? Wackernagel 3 §113). The TB. reading of the
following seems to be an attempt to do justice to this pronunciation;
see VV 2 §368:
assamṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh (TB. māṭroh) sūciḥ RV. TB.

2. Consonant stems: variant ablaut forms

§255. We find first a group of cases concerning real or apparent
variation in ablaut grade of consonantal stems. Most often the vowel a,
of normal (guna) grade, varies with a which on its face is vṛddhi grade,
thus it may be actually due to secondary analogy of one sort or another.
The same guna form in a may also vary in weak cases with zero grade.
We begin with a case of nom. sg. masc. of a stem in -sad, lengthened
to -sād in two texts. It has been noted in VV 2 §499 that the gram-
mars do not recognize ablaut in this stem:
visible dākṣināsavat (AB. AS. *āsā, SS. daksinatah, LS. daksīnadhak) VS.
MS. AB. SB. TA. AS. SS. LS. ApS.

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

§257. Nom.-acc. neuter forms are normally made from the weak stem,
but occasionally strong forms are found by analogy with the masc.
The variants contain two compounds of pad appearing in RV. regularly
as pad, but in later texts as pād; and one case of an s stem. See Wack-
nagel 3 pp. 235, 288:
dvipac catuspado (AV. Ppp. VS. Kauś. dvipāc catuspād) asmākam RV. AV.
Ppp. VS. VSK. TS. Kauś.
dvipac catuspada (SV. dvipāc catuspād) arjuni RV. SV.
yachā nah sarma saprathāh (VS. KS. TA. ApS. ApMB. HG. ṣthōh) RV.
saprathāh AV. TS. That s stems occasionally show nom. acc. neut.
forms in ās is certain (Lanman 560; Wackernagel l. c., 228, and
cf. next variant). Since saprathas is a standard epithet of sarman,
it seems best to take it so here in all texts, tho it would be possible
to understand saprathās as a fem., agreeing with the subject of
yachā, the earth (so apparently Keith on TS.). Cf. VV 2 §502.
[sarman (TA. ṣma) saprathā dvēṇe KS. TA.: sarma yachātha saprathāh
AV. But all mss. of AV. ṣthōh, which should be read; VV 2 §502.]

§258. The acc. sg. of masc. s stems normally has short a. But in
one variant the KS. ms. reading shows a. Wackernagel 3 p. 182 denies this lengthening to other s stems than usas, and von Schroeder emends the KS. to short a; but cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3. We see no reason for refusing to recognize the KS. form with a, tho we do not doubt that it is analogical and secondary; it may be metri gratia, see VV 2 §502: vikām aṅgām atithiṁ suprayasam (KS. 9yāsam) RV. KS.

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


§260. The stem vyāsā regularly has no vṛddhi in its strong cases. But occasionally, by analogy with other ss stems, such forms as vyāsās occur (Wackernagel 3 p. 267):

vyāsāḥ (TB. vyāsāḥ) saṁidhīmaḥi RV. AV. SV. TB. ŚB. Both nom. pl.

§261. The stem ap, āp, ‘water’, regularly has āpas in the nom. and apas in the acc., but the two are occasionally interchanged. The variants show one such interchange in the acc.; the only recorded variant for the nom. is due to an editorial error:
apo (RV. AŚ. āpo) adyāms acāriṣam RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. IŚ. MS. MG. ApMB. Note that RV. itself has āpo as acc.

[saṁ no bhavanau āpā oṣadhayah (apa oṣadhiḥ) śivāh AV. (both). So RWh.; but āpa is an emendation, drawn out by Whitney in his translation. The word is āpa both times, tho nom.; VV 2 §498 suggests metrical shortening.]

§262. In compounds of han, we find the strong stem -han instead of the weak -ghn in the acc. pl.: cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 328:
rakṣoḥno valagaghno ‘vaiṣṇāvīmi’ (and, ‘vaiṣṇāvīmi’) vaiṣṇavān KS. (bis): rakṣoḥana (VS. ŚB. add vo) valagahana ‘vaiṣṇāvīmi’ vaiṣṇavān VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.

§263. In a single variant ApMB. may possibly show a nom. pl. masc. form of a participle with weak instead of strong stem, a kind of con-
fusion which is more extensively found in Prakrit. That a nom. is intended seems to us virtually certain (cf. the following ukṣamāṇāḥ which is perfectly parallel). To be sure the state of the text of ApMB. is such that almost anything is conceivable; cf. Winternitz xvii. And, as W. suggests, the true reading might be vaḥato... ukṣamāṇāṁ, with both epithets acc., going with grḥān in the first pāda.


§264. Finally, from manta and vant stems are occasionally formed nom.-acc. pl. neuter forms with lengthened ā. Among the variants they occur only in RV., and are replaced in SV. by the ‘regular’ forms with short ā. Cf. Whitney §454e (the statistics are incomplete), and Wackernagel 3 p. 258 f.:
ava dṛṇāṇā grḥāntāti ṛddā (SV. ṛvanti roha) RV. RV.
miteva sadma paśumānti (SV. ṛvanti) hotā RV. RV.: pari sadmeva paśu-
mānti hotā RV.

3. Interinfluence of stems in vant, vāṁs, (v)as, van

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

kotak cikātvā (AV. ṛvam) avṛṇimahiḥ RV. AV.
harṣamānsa dkṛśitā (TB. ṛtā) marutvaḥ RV. TB. N.: harṣamāṇa
hṛśītso marutvan AV. (Ppp. also ṛvan.)
namas te astu bhāgavatā (GB. MG. ṛvan) VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. TA. MG.: namas te bhagavann astu VS.
agnāṣi paṁnān (VSK.† agne v AdapterView, MS. KS. MS. paṁnāṁ, TS. paṁnām) sajūr devena (MS. KS. sajūṣ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
§266. Otherwise the variants here all concern nom. sg. mase. forms. Twice sant forms (in vān) are substituted for the older van form (in vā) from maghavān, which quite commonly appears as sant even in later Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p. 284 f.):

svasti na indro maghavān kṛnoto AV.: svasti no maghavā dhāte indraḥ
RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.: svasti no maghavā karotu TS. TA.
MahānU.: idam havir maghavā vety indraḥ SV.
satrācyā maghavā (SV. maghavānt) somapītye RV. AV. SV.

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

sumṛjaḥ (VSK. 7likāḥ) svavaḥ (VS. VSK. svavaḥ) yātī avavān RV. VS. VSK.
dadhanvān (VS. SB. TB. 9vā, MS. KS. 9vān) yo naryo apse antar ā RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. SB. TB.

4. Stems in n

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

§269. Neuter plurals. We should expect to find here a number of
FORMAL VARIANTS OF R AND CONSONANT STEMS: 103

variations between ḍhī and ə (or a), both being common endings of n stems in the nom.-acc. neuter pl., and this variation being common in a stems, which took over the ending ḍhī from n stems (§160 ff.). Strange to say, we have found hardly a single clear case. The best is saṃśadar āvānsaṃ kauś, which seems rather a vague parallel to, than a genuine variant of, viśā āvānsaṃ (TS. viśāvānān devo) janvaṃ vivakti AV. TS. KS. (§164). Otherwise we find only variants in which the shorter form is probably intended as singular, varying with a plural in ḍhī, such as:

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

ko asyā dhāma katidhā nyusṣṭh AV.: kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāḥ MS. The AV. is undoubtedly sg.

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

yatra gavānā nihūtā sapta nāma (AV. nāma) RV. AV.
varna (AV. varnā) śaivasadāvam bakulā prthūnī RV. AV. KS. ApS.
triṇṇaddhāma (AV. dhāma, MS. triṇṇaddhāmad) si rājati RV. AV. SV.

ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. (The AV. variant is not recorded in VV 2 §460.) Pratīka in MŚ. The compound of MS. MŚ. is to be taken as mase. nom. sg.; but AV. has a neut. pl.

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

upa pra yāki (TS.† yāta) dhyaṇī dhāma (MS. KS. əman) VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŠB. The KapS. has dhāma.

§272. Oblique cases of the singular with alternative presence or absence of a in the stem. The a was regular after a long syllable. It was standard in all periods of the language after two consonants; and in the oldest language it is often written after one consonant when the preceding syllable has a long vowel (furthermore, when not so written, it is often shown by the meter to have been pronounced). Cf. Lanman, NI. 524; Wackernagel 1 p. 11, 3 p. 268; Edgerton, Language 10.260 somaḥ kalaśe satayāmnā (SV. AV. əyāmanā) pathā RV. SV. AV. Here,
as just stated, the meter proves that RV. pronounced "yāmanā; in SV. AV. it is written so.

ṛṣasya te vṛyomane (MS. vṛyomne gṛhṇāmi) TS. MŚ.
ojase balāya tvodyache vṛṣeṣu śuṣmāyāyuṣa varcase (MS. KS. vṛṣeṣu śuṣ-
maṇya) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here the a (in TB. ApŚ.) is uncalled-for,
after a short syllable, and clearly secondary.

§273. Instrumentals in nā for mnā from man stems, type mahīnā.
On these forms see Wackernagel 3 p. 268 f., and literature there cited,
especially Bloomfield JAOS. 16, clvi.
vaśānaro mahīnā (TS. mahīnā, KS. mahīnāni) viṣvaṅgṛṣṭih (TS. KS.
viṣavatmabhūḥ) RV. TS. KS. This is the only occurrence in RV. of
the metrically bad mahīnā after the cesura; see Oldenberg, Noten
on 1.50.7.
etāsati mahīnā (AV. mahīnāṇa) sam babhūva RV. AV. Cf. pree.
antarikṣyārayaś teḥ prathamaṇā devaṣu dīvo māryāyā varinā prathantu
TS.: ṛṣayas teḥ prathamaṇā devaṣu dīvo māryāyā varinā (VS. varimnā)
prathantu VS. MS. KS.: dīvo māryāyā varinā (VS. SB. varinmā)
prathasva VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. In the last, which is metrical,
varinā makes better meter.
dyuar āva bhūmnā prthivīva (VSK. bhūmir āva) varimnā VS. VSK. SB.
dyuar mahānāi bhūmir bhūnā (KS. Kauś. bhūmnā).MS. KS. Kauś.
bhūmir bhūmnā dyuar varinā TS.

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

§275. The cases in which the variant word ends its pada (triṣṭubh
or jagati) are the following. Four times out of six the ani ending is
secondary. In all except the first the secondary ending (whether ani
or an) makes the pada metrically inconsistent with its context, at least
in certain texts.
mā samṛṣṭāhāṃ parame vyomam (AB. AŚ. vyomani) VS. MS. KS. 
AB. SB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Here the stanza is otherwise jagati; the 
AB. AŚ. reading seems to be a (secondary) patching of this pāda 
to make it consistent,

grītvāṅ (KS. grītsa) baddho api kāṣa āsanī (MS. api kāṣa āsan) RV. 
VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. N.

praty aṅgeṣu prati tiṣṭhāmy ātman (SMB. ātman) VS. KS. SB. TB. 
SMB. HG.

tāṁ pratyāścām arcīśā vidhyā marman (AV. marmaṇi) RV. AV. Accor-
ding to Roth Ppp. reads marman.

sādadharmāṇā parame vyomani (MS. vyomani) RV. MS.

sa jāyamāṇaḥ parame vyomani (RV. * man) RV. (ter) MS. In RV, 
consistent with context as to meter.

§276. The next two variants are prose; chronological priority is not 
very clear:
apāṁ tvā bhasman (MS. KS. bhasmāni) sādayāmī VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

It is possible that MS. really read bhāsam (see v. Schr.'s note).
asmin brahmasya asmin karmasya... AV.: asmin brahmasya asmin kṣatre 
'smin karmasya... ŚŚ.: asmin brahmasya asmin kṣatre... KS.: asmin 
brahmasya asmin kṣatre 'sām āśīṣy asyām purodhāyām asmin karm-
asmin brahmasya asyām purodhāyām asmin karmasya... MS.
The preponderance of texts seems to point to older anī.

§277. Thrice the hieratic ending an is introduced secondarily to the 
detriment of the meter:
tam ātmanī (TS. ātman) pari grhnīnahe vayam (MS. grhnīmasīha) TS. 
MS. KS.

śucīḥ sukre ahany ojasinā (MS. ahann ojasine, KS.† sukro ahany ojasye, 
AŚ. 'hany ojasinām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Clearly ahani is required 
by the meter.

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

§278. Otherwise both forms may be real metrically, if final y in any 
(before a vowel) be pronounced as a consonant; or other changes accom-
pany the shift and make the meter sound:
yat te asmin ghora āsan jihomi KS.: yad adya te ghora āsan jihomi MS.: 
yasyaṣ ta āsani ghore jihomi AV.: yasyaṣ te asyāḥ krūra āsani 
-jihomi TS. ApŚ.: yasyaṣ te ghora āsan jihomi VS. SB. 
ātman (ĪśāU. ātmany) evānupasyati VS. ĪśāU.
106 VEDIC VARIANTS III: NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

[divye dhāmāṇa (TB. Conc. *dhāmāṇya) upahūtaḥ (TB. *dhāmāṇya) TS. MS. TB. (bis). Poona ed. of TB. dhāmāṇa both times.]

[irīvye dhāmāṇya abhy (VS. dhāmāṇa abhy) airayanta VS. TA.† MahānU.† Conc. dhāmāṇya for dhāmāṇya.]

§279. As an addendum to the n declension, we may mention an isolated curiosity which concerns noun formation rather than inflection: dhāmne tvā KS.: dhāmīyai tvā ApŚ. The latter is due to attraction to the forms which follow in the series of formulas, viz. sanyai, vītyai, ākṣtyai, bhūtyai.

§280. The Concordance erroneously reports a voc. sg. variant of a neuter n stem:

[vācaspati vidhe nāman (AŚ. Conc. nāma, but text nāman) KS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.]

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

lājīśā cačśān (MS. lājīśā sačśā) yāvye gavye (TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. sācśān vāso mamāśām . . .) VS. TS. MS. KSA. 4. 9 (add in Conc.) SB. TB. ApŚ. See Keith's note on TS.; but the MS. form may intend a voc. in i (not in).

5. Heteroclitic stems and the like

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


aṅgaṁ cā me 'sthānī (VS. and v. 1. of MS. 'sthānī) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS. So far as accents are written they are regular, except that MS. Pp. writes āsthānī.

asthabhyāḥ (KSA. asthaś) svāhā VS. KSA. No accent in KSA.

bhadrāṁ pātvanākṣābhīr (KS.† and v. 1. of MG. 'akṣābhīr) yajrātṛāḥ RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. MG. NṛpU. NṛU. Accent akṣābhīr in KS. anomalous.

akṣyōḥ (MS. akṣyōḥ) cakṣuḥ TS. TAA. MS. PG.: cakṣuḥ akṣyōḥ AV. Vait. No v. 1. quoted for MS.; but mss. of AV. mostly akṣyōḥ (or akṣyōḥ, a bad writing for the same, cf. VV 2 §335, where this might have been quoted); some mss. of Vait. also akṣyōḥ, which should be read in AV. Vait. (see Whitney's note).
cakṣur ā dhattam akṣyoh (MŚ. akṣyoh) TS. MŚ.

§282. Stems in ā : r. (Wackernagel 3 p. 310 ff.). The single variant noted concerns ādhar : ādhas as a locative; cf. Wackernagel I. c. 311, Oldenberg RVNote on 1. 70, 8, both of whom are inclined to deny any loc. ādhar (not to speak of ādhas). It seems, however, impossible to construe the form in the following variant otherwise than as loc. It is very possible that ādho (ādhas) is the true reading of all texts, for most MŚ. mss. read ādho ‘di’.

sūryāyā ādho ‘dityā (VŚK.† KŚ.† adityā, MŚ. ādhar aditer, KŚ. ādho aditer) upasthe VŚK. TS. KŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

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

āṅkṣarā pjavaḥ satu panthāḥ (AV. panthānāḥ) RV. AV. ApMB.
ye te panthā (TS. KŚ. TB. ApŚ. panthānāḥ) sanitaḥ pūrvāsah RV. VS. TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.
ye panthāno bahavo devayānāṁ AV.: ye cāvārāḥ pathayo devayānāṁ TS. SMB. PG. BDh. Wackernagel p. 308 plausibly suggests influence of the phrase pathibhir devayānāṁ.

§284. Weak forms of path(i). Once the instrumentals pathā and pathyā from this stem interchange. In RV. VS. ŚB. pathyā may indeed be taken as nom. (see §419), but in the others it is certainly instr.: vi śloka etu (AV. eti, TS. ŚvetU. ॆकः yanti) pathyeva (KS. pathyā) sūrēḥ (sūrīḥ, sūrāḥ, sūrāḥ, YY 2 §328) RV. AV. VS. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ŚB. ŚvetU.

§285. The stem āsan : āsyā. See Wackernagel 3 p. 317. An interesting blend form āsyān, loc. sg., a cross between āsan and āsyā, seems to have been the true Atharvan reading (AV. GB. Kauś., and possibly Vait.?) in the following; it has not been noted by the Conc. or the grammarians. See YY 2 §328. Most AV. and Kauś. mss. have āsyān, and Gaastra adopts it for GB.; it is, to be sure, not noted by Garbe as found in Vait. mss.
pari svayam cinuše annam āṣye (SV. āsanī) RV. SV. In a jagati stanza; read āṣye in RV., cf. Edgerton, Language 10.253 ff.

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

ny uḥathuḥ purumitrasya yoṣām (and yoṣaṇām) RV. (both)

§287. The stem yuṣan : yūṣa. See Wackernagel 3 p. 317.
apo yuṣena (TS. KSA. yuṣena) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§288. Stems rai : rayī. See Wackernagel 3 p. 214 ff., and for the phonetic aspect of this variation VV 2 §396.
agnesamrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ. rayyai)... AŚ. ApŚ.: iṣe rāye... VS. MS. ŚB.
TB. MS. (Conc. also AŚ. ApŚ. under the last, but the same passage is meant.) rayyai is late and secondary.
CHAPTER VIII

DIPHTHONGAL STEMS

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

sa nāḥ sindhum iva nāvāyā (AV. nāvā) RV. AV. TA. For other related formulas see Debrunner, Festschrift Winternitz, 7.

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

sāryo rūpam kṛnute dyor (MS. dyaur) upasthe RV. AV. VS. MS. TB. Possibly a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism, cf. VV 2 §732.

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

āti didyām (MS. dyān, TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. divas) pāhi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The accent in TS. TB. is divēs, not the Rigvedic divas.

§292. Otherwise only acc. sg. dyām varying with (secondary) divam is found. This shift is frequent. While divam is already common in the RV. itself, the only variants concerning RV. have dyām in that text. This form is probably dissyllabic in RV. in all the three following cases; read dyām in the first, diyām in the second and third (and prthvīm in RV. in the third, cf. Edgerton, Language 10.252).

tad astabhānā uto divam (RV. uṭa dyām) RV. SV. ArŚ.
dyāṁ (AV. divāṁ) ca gacha prthivīṁ ca dharmaṁ (AV. dharmabhīḥ) RV. AV. TA.


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

divāṁ (Pp. dyāṁ) antarīkṣam ād bhūmim AV. Pp.: divāṁ samudram ād bhūmim AV. The latter is probably original. It occurs in a Rohita hymn, and is very appropriate to the context, which deals with the sun’s defensive activities. The other, with antarīkṣam for samudram, is magical rigmarole, describing the wearer of an amulet; after divām, antarīkṣam follows so naturally! We assume that divāṁ samudram was changed first to divāṁ antarīkṣam; and that then Pp. tried to correct the meter by substituting dyāṁ (here, if a monosyllable, contrary to Sievers’ Law) for divām.

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

divāṁ skabhāna KS.: dyāṁ stabhāna KS.: divāṁ dṛṣṭa VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. MŚ.
divāṁ gacha VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: dyāṁ gacha MS. KS. AB. AŚ. MŚ.
divāṁ agrenāsprkṣāh VSK.†: divāṁ agrenāprat (VS. agrenāsprkṣat) VS. TB.: dyāṁ agrenāsprkṣāh (MS. KS.* TB. ṣat) VS. KŚ. (ter) MS. TB. ŚB.

ud divāṁ (KS. dyāṁ) stabhāna VS. TS. KS. ŚB. PB. ApŚ.: divāṁ agrenottabhāna MS. MŚ.
sūryoṣṇa dyāṁ (KSA. divām) TS. KSA.
ā yā dyāṁ (MS. divāṁ) bhāṣy ā prthivīṁ oru (KS. uru) antarīkṣam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

Drapsas te dyāṁ mā skān (KS. ApŚ. skān, MS. te divāṁ mā skān) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
ararus te divāṁ mā skān TS. ApŚ.: ararus te dyāṁ (KS. ApŚ. ararur

§295. The stem diva for div (dyu) is according to Wackernagel (2.1 pp. 109, 113, 146, and 3 p. 220) found in the Veda only in compounds. On dive-dive see §678. Tho this is a matter which does not strictly concern the theme of this volume (but rather Noun Formation), we record here in passing a clear case of locative dive in KS.; no other interpretation is at all possible:
divi (KS. dive) jyotir ajaram (MS. KS. uttamam) ārabhetām (MS. KS.† ṛthām) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
CHAPTER IX
ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

1. Feminine adjectives

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

upasthāvarūbhya-dāsam VS.: upasthāvarūbhya baimandam TB. (so Poona ed.)
śivā rutasya (VSK. śivā rtasya, TS. and v. 1. of MS: śivā rudrasya), bheṣajī (MS. "jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
śivā viśvāha bheṣajī (TS. viśvāhabheṣajī, VS. viśvāha bheṣajī, MS. viśvāha bheṣajā) VS. TS. MS. KS.
annūdā (KB. "di) cānnapatni ca bhadrō ca...AB. KB. AŚ.
vairōjī (KSA. "jo) puruṣī (so KSA.†) TS. KSA. We see no reason to emend KSA., as v. Schroeder would.
śahgajī (MS. ŚB. "gavī, TB. "gavō) jiradānū (ŚB. jivadānū) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
[vaiśvadevy āmikṣā MS. KS.† Conc. vaiśvadevāmikṣā for KS.]

§297. There are also a couple of cases in which the fem. suffix ī is alternatively added to u stems, varying with the stem in u which may be of either gender; cf. §225 above:
achidrām pārayīṣūm (SMB. "ṇīṃ) TS. SMB.
dhiṣaṇe viḍā (VS. VSK. ŚB. viḍā, KS. viṭe) satī (KS. om.) viḍayethām (VSK. viṭ") VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

§298. Otherwise we have noted in the Conc. only one erroneous quotation of fem. forms in atī and antī from a rant stem:
2. Pronominal adjectives

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

viśvarād asi viśvānām (ApŚ. viśvāsām) nāṣṭrānām hantā TS. ApŚ.
ge keśinah prathamāh (MŚ. "me") satram āsata TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

This and the next are quoted from an unpublished part of MŚ.

viśvārjaḥ prathamāh (PB. MŚ. "me") satram āsata (MŚ. "te") PB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

dakṣiniyāṁ (AŚ. "naṣyām") diśī māsāḥ pitaro mārjayantām TS. AŚ.

[te virājam (KS. samrājman) abhi samyantu sarve MŚ.† KS. Conc. sarvāḥ

for MŚ.; but the reading is sarvā before a vowel, and sarve is intended; so p.p.]

3. Numerals

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

aṣṭābhyaḥ svāhā TS. KSA.† (Conc. aṣṭa° for KSA.; ed. with ms. aṣṭa°
in all three occurrences; first hand once aṣṭa°.)
aṣṭābhyaḥ śatābhyaḥ svāhā TS. KSA. Here the ms. of KSA. reads aṣṭa°;
ed. em. to aṣṭa°.
CHAPTER X
PRONOMINAL FORMS

1. Enclitic and orthotonic

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

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

§303. Variants of mām and mā before a vowel in metrical passages: punar mām aūt (AV. Vait. Kauś. maitre, TA.* mā prait) indriyam AV. ŠB. TA. (bis) ByhU. ŠŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. GG. HG. Cf. also punar dārētam (and brāhmaṇam) aūt mā (AG. MG. mām) TA. AG. SMB. HG. MG. The AV. Vait. Kauś. form is metrically deficient and may be haplogical.
vṛtraughna (MS. KS. *ghnuḥ) stoma upa māṁ upāguḥ (AV. mema āguḥ, KS. māṁ thāguḥ) AV. TS. MS. KS. Here both forms are made metrical.

tayā māṁ indra sam srja RVKh.: tayā mā sam srjāmāsi HG. ApMB. The RVKh. form would be a syllable short (reading mendra) but for its use of māṁ before a vowel.

laṁ mā sam srja varcasā RV. AV. etc.: sam māgne varcasā srja RV. AV. KS. ApMB.: sam māṁ āyuṣā varcasā (TS. adds praįṣa) srja TS. MS. KS. The first two forms are both metrical, the last (prose) occurs in a different connexion.

vīśe devā abhi raksanta (KS. anu tiṣṭhantu) meha (AV. *veha, Ppp. 5. 4. 7d. māṁ iha) AV. Ppp. KS.†

§304. Variants of māṁ and mā before a vowel in prose passages; cf. VV 2 §812 (haplogy or dittology):


ihaiṣa kṣemya edhi mā prahāsīr (ApŚ. *hāśīṇ) māṁ amun āmuṣyāyaṇam (AŚ. prahāsīr amunī māmuṣyāyaṇam, ApŚ.† māmum āmuṣyāyaṇam) MS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland assumes for ApŚ. the same text as MŚ.

yā devy aśiṣṭaka (*ke) . . . sā māṁ upaśeṣa (MS. mopaśeṣa) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. (four entries in Conc.)

§305. Variations of māṁ and mā before a consonant or final. Here the variants are metrically equivalent, and there is no need to separate metrical from prose variants:

ā roha māṁ (AV. ā mā roha) mahate saubhagāya RV. AV.

uddhiyamāna ud dhara pāpmano mā (MS. māṁ) AŚ. SS. ApŚ. MS. ApMB.

upa māṁ (TB. mā) bhṛat saha divā . . . hrayatām ŚB. TB. SS. The next five all occur in the same passage in the texts which contain them:

upa māṁ sakhā bhakṣo (TB. mā bhakṣo sakhā) hrayatām TB. AŚ. SS. upa māṁ (TB. mā) rathantaram saha . . . hrayatām ŚB. TB. SS.

upa māṁ (TB. mā) vāmaderyo . . . hrayatām ŠB. TB. SS.

upa māṁ (TB. mā) dhenuḥ . . . hrayatām TB. AŚ. SS.

upa māṁ (TB. mā) diyāḥ (TB. SS. omit) sapta . . . hrayantām TB. AŚ. SS.
evam mā brahmacāriṇāḥ TA. TU.: eva mā brahmacāriṇāḥ Kauś.; evam mā śrīdhātāraḥ SMB.: evam mā sakhāyo brahmacāriṇāḥ SMB., popava mā (VāDh. mām) sevadhis te (with varr.) 'ham aṃśi Samhito-paniṣaB. VāDh. ViDh. N.
trptā mā tarpayata (MG, mām tarpayantu) KS. MG.
dīvo nu mān (HG. ApMB. mā) bhālo antarikṣat AV. HG. ApMB.
Prs.: dīvo nu mān GB. Vait. Kauś.
na mām (N. mā) brāyā vīryavatī tathā syām ViDh. ViDh. N.
punantu mā (RV. mām) devajñāh RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.; Prs.
punantu mā (BṛhPDi. mām) Vait. Kauś. BṛhPDh.
punar draviṇam attu mā (AG. MG. mām) TA. AG. SMB. HG. MG.
The same with brāhmaṇam for draviṇam.
prayūvā mātār mā hīnsāḥ (VS. SB. hīnsār mo aham tvām) VS. TS. SB. ŚŚ.: mā mān mātā prayūvā hīnsāḥ TS. MS.
mā mā (KS. mām) hīnsāpi rvas (KS. yat tvām) yonim...MS. KS.: mā mā hīnsā svām (svām) yonim...VS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ.
samiddhā mā (ŚG. mām) sum ardhaya VSK. ŚG.
[aśvamantam karota mā (RVKh. Aifr. karotā mā, Scheft. karotu me, KS. kṛṇota mā) RVKh. KS. TA. BDh. A dat. or gen. is unconstruable; only mā or mām can be read in RVKh.; me has crept in perhaps from the end of the preceding verse,...deki me, or else by confusion with the similar pādus dīrgam āyuḥ kṛṇotu me, sarvam āyu dahātu me.]
§306. Variants of tvām and teṇa followed by a vowel in metrical passages:
abhi tvām indra nonumah RV. SV.; abhi tvā śūra nonumah RV. AV. SV. VS. etc. A significant case; the final m of tvām is a sort of 'Hiatus-tigler' (cf. VV 2 §309).
jayantam tvānus deva madantu (TS. tvām anu madantu devaḥ) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. The original was read tvānus; TS. implies the irregular or later pronunciation tvā- (Edgerton, Language 10.247f.), and tries to 'correct' the meter.
tābhīṣa śabdāśicnāmi MG.; tena tvām abhi? YDh. The MG. is 'corrected' in YDh. as in preq.
mahi ca tvām adriśaḥ (SV. tvādriśaḥ) RV. SV. ŚŚ. Both may be read metrically, but Sievers' Law requires it.
yām tvām ayaṁ (TS. KS. tvāyam) svadhitās tejāmānaḥ (tetiānāḥ, tigmatejāḥ) RV. TS. MS. KS.: ayaṁ hi tvā svadhitās tetiānāḥ VS. SB.
Sievers' Law would make RV. hypermetrical.
vīsāntu (read vīsāntu) tvām āhutayaḥ ca sarvāḥ, ...MU.: vīsvān tu (read
viśiḥntu) tvāhitulaḥ surṣū(ḥ)... Prāṅgū. The latter is metrically poor.

[tena grhaṇāṁ tvām aham (AV. grhaṇām te hastam) AV. VS. ApMB.: tena tvāham pratigrhaṇāṁ tvām aham HG.]

§307. Variants of tvām and teā followed by a vowel in prose passages: etāt te tata (tatākau) ye ca tvām anu (KS. tvānu) TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. The same with tatāmaha, pitāmaha, pratatāmaha, prapi-tāmaha, for tata (only KS. reading tvānu): ye ca (Conc. wrongly omits ca for sī.) tvām anu (sī. tvām atrānu) SB. KS. ApŚ. sī.: ye cātra tvānu... MS. GG. KhG.

prajās tvānu (TS. ApŚ. tvām anu) prāṇantu VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. The TS. form simulates meter, and also makes better assonance with the preceding formula, prajās tvām anu prāṇhi. It is of course secondary.

§308. Variants of tvām and teā before consonants and final:

ajaśram tvām (ApŚ. teā) saṭbhāpālāh TB. ApŚ.
atas teā viṣṇuḥ pātu MS.: viṣṇuḥ tvāḥ īndriyena pātu (TS. KS. tvām pātu) VS. TS. KS. SB.
avāśat tvām (VS. KS. ApŚ. teā) dyāvāśprthī VS. VS. VS. KS. SB. ApŚ.
vivaśa tvām (KS. teā) prajā upāsaroḥantu VS. VS. KS. SB. ApŚ.
viṣṇuṣ teā (SMB. v. 1. tvām) nayatu SMB. PG.: viṣṇuṣ tvām unnaṇya MG. Note that in MG. tvām is used before a vowel; ‘hintustiger’?

[teā (!) manasānārtena vācā... KŚ. Read tvām or d teā (so Weber in note), or teāmanasā*]}

[teām (so Poona ed.; Conc. teā) bhūtāny upaparyāvartante TA.]
[deva savitar etām teā (VS. KS. Conc. tvām, by error) viṣnte... VS. TB. etc.]}

§309. Variants of dat. sg. mahyam, tubhyam with me, te in metrical passages. In all cases both forms are metrically sound:
tad astu tubhyam id gṛham TS.: sarṣam tad astu te gṛham (AV. astu me śīvam) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
tubhyam (and ye ta) āraṇyāḥ pāsavo mṛgā vane hitāḥ AV. (both).
mahyam dhukṣya yojamaṇyā kāmān TB. ApŚ.: sā me dhukṣya yojamaṇyā kāmān (KS. dhukṣya sarvān bhūtikāmān) KS. TB. ApŚ.
Both sound.
śīrṣaḥ mahyam madhumad uṣi annam AV.: syonam annaṁ madhumam me kṛṇōti MS.

§310. Variants of dat. sg. forms in prose passages:
ag近视 janavr na worker jayd am inam adat. Kaus.: agna janit sa me ‘mum jayd am dadatu svaha. SG.

§311. Variants of gen. sg. mama, tava and me, te, mostly in metrical passages:
augā parunṣi tava vardhayanti Vait.: priyāṇy augāni tava vardhayantiḥ TB.: dhrumān augān priyāṇi yat tanūs te MS. While MS. is metrically poor, its deficiency occurs in the first part of the pada and seems not to be connected with the use of te for tava.
tat punādhram yava mama ViDh.: punādhram ca yava mama ViDh.: sarvam punatho me yavāh BDh. All metrically sound.
tava syāma (TS. syām) karman (TS. *man) trivarūtha udhau (TS. udbhil) VS. TS.: karman (MS. *man) te syāma trivarūtha udhau MS. KS. TA. The pada is hypermetric in VS.; TS., apparently based on VS., corrects the meter by another change which introduces inconsistency in number (VV I p. 253). Apparently MS. KS. have the original.

śam u te tanve (TS. tanve) bhurat TS. KSA.: śam v atu tanvai tava VS. Both metrically sound.
syāma ṣe sumatār api RV. TS.: syāma sumatāv tava AV. Both may be read metrically.

§312. Variants of acc. pl. asmān, yuṣmān and nos, vas, all in metrical passages:
abhyātī na (SV. abhyeti na, AV. asmān aity abhy) ojasā spardhamanā RVKh. AV. SV. VS. The AV. is metrically poor, tho it can at a pinch be read metrically.
aráyo ṣumān abhiduchundayate TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: aravā yo no abhi duchunāyate RV. TAA. Vait. MS. Both metrically sound.
asman (SV. sa naḥ) sita payasābhāyeśvarta AV. VS. TS. MS. KS: ŚB. evasmān (KS. eva mām) indro varuno bhṛhaspatiḥ MS. KS.: tenāsmān indro varuno bhṛhaspatiḥ AV.: tena no rājā varuno bhṛhaspatiḥ TS. ŚŚ. All metrically sound.
mā no anāhe tamasy anlar ādhat (mss. ādhat) MS.: mā sv (Poona ed. mo sv) asmāns tamasy anlar ādhat TA.: mo svatram asmān tarādhat (so, with p.p.) MS. No metrical considerations involved in the variation.
tebhīr no odya savitota viṣṇuḥ KŚ.: tebhīyo asmān varunah soma indraḥ Kaus.: tebhīyo na indro savitota viṣṇuḥ ApŚ. All sound.
sa no aryamā devah PG.; so 'smān devo aryamā MG.; sa 'smān devo aryamā (ApMB. adhvarāh) AG. SMB. ApMB. Deficient meter in PG.

§313. Variants between dat. pl. asmabhayam (asme) and nus; all in metrical passages:
athā naḥ (TS. athāsmabhayam, AV. adhā naḥ) saṁ yor arapo dadhāta (MS. tana) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.; tad asme saṁ yor arapo dadhātana RV. Hypermetric in TS.
adai asmabhayam (KS. dattāyāma", AS. dattāyāma", SMB. dattāsma") dārviñeha bhadrām AV. KS. AS. SMB.; dadhatha no dārviñeha yac ca bhadrām MS. All sound, but MS. evidently secondary.
saṁ tā naḥ vanti yadādih AV.: śiva asmabhayam yadādih KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. SMB. PG. Both sound.

§314. Variants between gen. pl. asmākam, yuṣmākam and nus, ras; in metrical passages; both forms are metrically sound each time:
apī jāyeta sa 'smākam ViDh.; apī naḥ sa kule bhāyāt MDh.
aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS.; yuṣmākam sakhye aham asmi śeva AV.

2. Sporadic pronominal form variants

§315. Besides the variations between orthotonic and enclitic forms, only a few sporadic formal variants occur among the pronouns. Among the personal pronouns, the old form tubhyam for tubhyam is found once in PG., HG. reading tubhyam. The PG. form is noted in Wackernagel 3 p. 459:
tubhyam (PG. mana tubhyā) ca samvatanam PG. HG.

§316. The Rigvedic locative τε occurs in a number of secondary texts (only KS. reading tvayī) in the following variant, which shows that we must modify Wackernagel's statement, 3 p. 462, that there are no new occurrences of τε after the RV.:
dārroha τε sac (KS. tvayī apī) KS. TB. AS. Vait. ApŚ. MS,

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

§318. An anomalous form written yuṣmān before a vowel (i.e. yuṣmān? or yuṣmān?) seems to be intended as a genitive in the following.
It is not recognized by the grammars but is textually well established: *yuṣme* (GB, *yuṣmāni*, Gaastra with all ms.; all ms. of AV. also *yuṣmāni*, Whitney, Index) *āstu đive đive* AV. AB. GB. JB. SS. No acc. can be construed; like *yuṣme*, the form can only be gen., dat., or loc., and of these it seems that gen. is the best choice.

§318a. The old dative or locative *asmē* varies once with *nah* (and later *asmabhym*):

*adhā nah* (TS. *adhāsmabhym*, AV. *adhā nah*) *sanu yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. *ātana*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.: *tad asme sam yor arapo dadhātana* RV.

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

*na para jīgye kataraś canainoḥ* (AV. *canainayoḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AB.

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

*amī ye subhage divī TA.: amū ye divī subhage AV.*
SECOND PART: SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC VARIANTS

CASE, NUMBER, AND GENDER

CHAPTERS XI–XXIX
CHAPTER XI

VOCATIVE AND NOMINATIVE

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

Direct address and indirect statement

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

§323. In VV 1 §§293, 332 we have already seen that the case of the subject and the person of the verb in such variants are sometimes incongruous. The lists there given will be found only partly duplicated
by our lists below. The conditions are different when one approaches
the subject from the point of view of the variation in case. Notably a
nominative referring to the subject in a sentence of direct address can
not necessarily be called a syntactic incongruity. It may easily be an
appositional nominative, modifying the subject, as in: 1 śīṣṭha niṣṭra-
śartanāh (AV. 9na) AV. KS. TB.† ApŚ†, 'approach increasing friends'
or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' Here and in many similar cases
both forms of the variant contain direct address, and usually a 2d
personal verb; yet the nominative may fit as well as the vocative and
is frequently the original form. In such cases it often appears that the
change (in either direction) is due to form-assimilation to an adjoining
word. Thus: somān pīha vrtrāhā śūra (TS. TA. MahānU. 9haṅ chūra)
vidvān RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU., 'drink the soma, O hero, being
the wise slayer of Vṛtra' or 'O heroic slayer of Vṛtra, being wise'.
Of course the Taittirīya texts must be secondary, and no doubt the
following vocative śūra helped the change to vrtrahan, yet their sense is
quite as good as that of the original. But as much can hardly be said
for the TS. reading of the following, which shows the reverse change
(nom. instead of voc.), also under the influence of surrounding forms,
but yielding a much less satisfactory result since the name of the god
Indra, who is addressed, does not go well as nom. in apposition to
the subject of the verb: saśoṣā indra (TS. indraḥ) saśasyo marudbhīḥ RV.
VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AS., 'O Indra, in association with the band
of Maruts' or 'in association with the band of Maruts, being Indra'.
This pāda immediately precedes the one quoted above, so that TS. has
substituted a nom. for the voc. indra, while putting the voc. vrtrahan
in place of the nom.

§324. The last quoted instance may fairly be called a case of syn-
tactic incongruity, since the nom. indraḥ of TS. is not really construable
in an intelligent way. Other cases in which form assimilation to adjoining
words seems to have determined the shift, and in which direct
address is found in both forms of the variant, are quoted in §§335-6.
In §333 will be found variants which shift between direct address and
third-person statement, the case of the subject being in one form of the
variant incongruous (voc. with 3d person or nom. with 2d).
Sometimes three of the four theoretical possibilities are found in the same
variant, e.g.: madhu yajñam nakṣatī (VS. TS. nakṣatī) pṛītānāh (AV.
pratā), followed by: narāśāṅgo agniḥ (VS. TS. KS. agne), AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. Here AV. MS. (probably original) have 3d person verb with
nom. subject; VS. TS. have 2d person verb with voc. subject; only KS.
is inconsistent, having 3d person verb with voc. subject. It might be suggested that KS. contains a blend of the other two forms. But more probably KS. represents the first change from the original reading (of AV. MS.), and VS. -TS. have a further changed based on KS. and designed to correct its poor syntax.

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

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

mātuvadma adite (ŚG. aditiḥ) karma yachā (ŚG. yāsata) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.

indrō vaijum ajayit TS. TB.: indra vaijum jaya VS. MS. KS. ŚB. bhavati bhikṣāna dehi Kauś.: bhavān bhikṣāṇa dadātu AG.

indraḥ (SV. PB. indra) sateṣu somaṃsu RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed, in RV. SV., by kramam punīta (SV. punīṣa) uktiyam.


aditiḥ keśān (AV. MG.* smārta) vapatu AV. AG. MG. (both) ApMB.: adite keśān (and, keśākmaśru) vapa PG. (both).

annapate 'annasya (annasya) no dehi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrāṇāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: annasayānnapatiḥ prādāt PB. āyātu varadā devi, akṣaraṃ brahma savamitam, gīyatri chandassān mātā, idam brahma jūsava naḥ TA. TAA. MahānU.: āyāhi vīraje devy, akṣare brahmaśaṃtitā, gīyātri chandassān mātār, idam brahma jūsava naḥ MG. All the noms. in TA. etc. go with āyātu, which in MG. is changed to 2d person.

agnir hotā vatu... AŚ. ŚŚ.: agne viḥi AB. ŚB. AŚ. MS. jayanta upasprātāt HG.: jayantopa sprāva ApMB.

aversanapate 'vasānaṃ me vinda TB. ApŚ.: avasānam me 'vasānapativinda MŚ.

śāvitrīṃ bho amu brāhi AG. ŚG. ApG. HG.: śāvitrīṃ me bhavān anu-brāhīvī GΓ.

sām devi (KS. devi) devyornahā paśyātva (KS. tāvāyākhyata) TS. KS. ApŚ.

uṣṇena vāya udakeṇaḥ. (SMB. GG. udakenaiddhi, ApMB. vāyav udake-
nehi, MG. vayur utakaṃ) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. The form it of MG, is a dubious imperfect; perhaps rather the particle id, cf. Kanuer p. 165 s. v. id, and RV 1 p. 87. In any case MG. has an indirect reference instead of direct address.

prthvī mātā mā ma na hiṣṭih... VS. TS. SB. SS.: mā mām mātā prthvī hiṣṭih TS. MS.

agniṇāniḥ samvadātām TA.: agne agraṇā samvadāsya TA. ApŚ. HG.

pra caṇḍramās tirāte (TS. tirāte, AV. caṇḍramās tirāse) dīrgham ąyuh RV. AV. TS. MS. N. See RV 1 p. 221.

purukṣu tvaoṭa (MS. tvaoṭaḥ) suvitram (VSJ. TS. suvitrām) VS. VSK. TS. MS.: purukṣu deva ṭvaoṭā [text tvaoṭa, accentless; followed by r-] AV.: tvaoṭaḥ poṣaya viṣya nābhim asme KS. Verb viṣyatā or viṣya.

indra (MS. ind-raḥ) stomaṇa paṇcadaśena madhyam (KS. "dašenaujaḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Verb rakṣatu in MS., rakṣa in the others. See RV 1 p. 223.

aravī divaḥ ma paṇṭaḥ VS. SB. Vait.: aravī (MS. arara tu) dyaṃ mā paṇṭaḥ MS. KS. ApŚ.: arara tu divaḥ mā skān TS. ApŚ.

yajñah praty u niḥāḥ sumatān mukānā MS.: yajñah pratiṇīṣṭhāt (v. praty u niḥāḥ) KS.: yajna pratiṇīṣṭha sumatān suśeṣāḥ TB. ApŚ.

viśva ca deva (PG. devaḥ) pritaḥ abhiṣīyāḥ (PG. *viṣya) KS. PG.: viśva ṭdeva pritaḥ abhiṣīya TB. ApŚ. HG. See RV 1 p. 242; and on abhiṣīya (for *viṣya), RV 2 §142, where this form might well have been mentioned.


dive jyot (KS. jyotīr) vīnasva (MS. devajāte vīnasvam) āditya te no deviḥ... āsaddhāvam MS. KS. (hin): vīnasvā adītar devajātiś te na ādityā... viṣantu TS. See RV 1 p. 239.

usv dadṛṣṣa (PB. asā, read usā, dadṛṣṣa) na punaḥ yatīc RV. PB.

vapati (ApMB. vapāti, HG. MG. vapār) vapasi (PG. vapati) keśaṁākṣru (AG. PG. MG. keśān) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In PG. change to 3d person verb to agree with vapati (originally not subject but appositional nom.); in HG. MG. change to voc. to mend the same syntax, felt as incongruous. See RV 1 p. 241 f. and below §334.

yo (TS. TB. ApŚ. yod) agniḥ (TS. TB. ApŚ. agne) kamanāhanāḥ (RV,
VOCATIVE AND NOMINATIVE

kravya”, TS. TB. ApŚ. ”rāhana) RV. VS. KS. TS. TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Followed in RV. VS. KS. TS. by: puṣy yaksad (TS. yaksy) rtvṛ- dhah; by a different pāda with 2d person verb in TB.; only pratiκa in AŚ. ApŚ.

śrutaśakṣe aran (SV. ”kakṣārṇu) gave RV. SV. Proceeded by aram ākṣaṇa gāyati (SV. ’ta). Note plural verb in SV.; cf. VV 1 §372c. [iṇḍra karmasu no ’vata VS. KS.: iṇḍraḥ karmasāv no ’vata TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. iṇḍra... ’vata.]

§327. In the following group the nom. and voc. forms are distinguished only by the accents (see above, §321):


akṣāṇa pibatām (VS. KS. ’tām) madha (TB. ApŚ. saṇam) RV. VS. TB. MS. KS.

dēvā deṣyaṇaḥ rāyanatām (TB. rāyaḥdharm) KS. TB. 

tasmai te dyāvāprīhīrī revatibhīḥ AV.: aṃabhyam dyāvā śakvaribhīḥ TB.

CV. VV 1 p. 224, under kāmam duḥḥātm etc.

aśvināv cha gachatām RV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: aśvināv cha gachātām (TS. TB. ’tām, in same stanza in which RV. N. have ’tām) RV. TS. TB. N. svāttām cit... ōpo deviḥ svatātanām TS. ApŚ.: svāttām sad... ōpo deviḥ svatātanu MS.: ōpo deviḥ svatātanu (VSK. sad’)... VS. VSK. ŚB.

(abaddhan mano...) dīkṣe mā ma hāsit (KS. hāsit) TS. KS. BDḥ.: dīkṣen (sc. dīkṣa-ād) mā ma hāsit satapā MS.: dīkṣe mā ma hāsīt SG. See VV 1 p. 225. In KS. read probably dīkṣen.

apātām aśvinā gharman VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LS.: gharman apātām aśvinā (accented in MS. which is therefore inconsistent if not corrupt!)... MS. TA.: aśvinā gharman pātām (MS. pibatām)... VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LS. ApŚ. Consistent in all but the first MS. form.

viśve devaḥ udhi vocāt naḥ (TS. me) RV. TS.: viśve devaḥ abhi rāṣyantu (KS. amī tiṣṭhatu) teha (AV.* KS.† meha; AV. *pakoṇam; SMB. ApMB. HG. paṭcā) AV. (thrice) KS. SMB. ApMB. HG.

viṣṇunā viṣṇaḻau... avajṛhataṁ (KS. ’tām) MS. KS. MS. viṣṇu viṣṇu jīto viṣṇam... avajṛhataṁ VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. Similarly:

viṣṇu viṣṇaḻau viṣṇam... bhūgam avajṛhata ni mrjānāḥ (KS. bhūge ni mrjutām; TS. bhūge ni mrjḥheam) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: viṣṇunā viṣṇaḻau... bhūge nirmirjetaṁ MS. MS. In this and the pree. KS. has nouns, the rest voices.

aśvinā bhīṣṇāṃsatāḥ (MS. ’tām; TB.† ’ta) VS. MS. TB. See VV 1 p. 71.
tena brähmano vapatédam aya (ŚG. adya) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. 
form can of course only be nom.; the other is ambiguous except 
for the accent.

ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāḥ MS.: ā mā gantām (VSK. gantam) pitará 
mātara ca (VSK. yuam) VS. VSK.† 10. 3. 12c. TS. KS. ŚB. Add 
to VV I §337.

§328. In VV I §§295, 328 we have called attention to the apparent 
tendency of SY. to address Soma Pavamāna directly in second person 
forms, where RV. has third person references. The following (all listed 
I. e.) show correspondingly vocs. in SY. for noms. of RV.: 
pavamāna vy aśnuhi SV.: pavamāno vy aśnava RV. 
ayā somaḥ (SV. soma) sukṛtyaya RV. SV. 
svāyudhah sotyikhiḥ pāyate vṛṣā (SV. "bhiḥ soma suṣya") RV. SV. 

Phrase inflection

§329. In another group the mantras are found in different contexts. 
Thus we have the variant hotrābhīr aagnir (agnir) manuṣaḥ svadhvarah, 
The vocative form occurs in RV. AV., preceded by sadāśi ranvī 
kuśasena pāyate: 'Thou art ever pleasant, as grazing land to the 
grazer, having fair sacrifices, O Agni, thru the offerings of man.' 
The nominative form occurs in RV. in a quite different context as an in-
dependent sentence (with copula unexpressed): 'Agni has fair sacrifices 
 thru the offerings of man.' These constitute a sort of 'phrase inflection' 
(§§21-2):

hiranyavarṇā subhaṅgā AV.; hiranyavarṇe subhaṅge AV. Quite different 
contexts,

evāyam daśamāṣya [asraj jārāyunā saha] VS. ŚB.: evā tiṇam daśamāṣya 
[sahāteh jārāyunā RV., sākāṁ jārāyunā pata AV.] RV. AV. In 
Ppp. (see Whitney on AV. 1, 11. 6): evā te garbhā ejatu nir aitu 
daśamāṣya bahir jārāyunā saha.

bhāratide sarasvatī [yd saḥ sarvā upadhrṣte tā naś codayata kriye] RV.: 
sarasvatīdā mahī [imam no yaṣām a gamaṁ, etc.] RV. 

indra (RV. *indro) viśvabhīr utībhīk RV. (both) AV. SV. 
viśvāni devā (RV. *deva) vayunāṇi viśvāni RV. (both) AV. VS. TS. MS. 
KS. ŚB. TB. TA. In one RV. passage and all others except AV. 
 preceded by agnir naya supathā rāye asmin; in the other RV. pas-
sage, by r̥ḥuṣ cakra ṭīyayin āru nāma; AV. has different surround-
ings but requires a voc.

upedant upaparanam [āsu gṛṣṭha upa pṛṇa nah] RV. TB. IŚ.: upadopa-
paracana [asmin gṛṣṭha upa pṛṇa nah] AV. See VV I §85.
anturikṣaṇa saha vājīṇāvan (once, *vān) AV. (ter). Verbs are consistent. sakhamānā (PG. HG. ApMB.* *na, RV. AV. devajāle) sahasati (HG. ApMB.* *ti, PG. sahasati) RV. AV. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. See also §340, devajāle.

īman yajñām uśīnodbhā bṛhaspati RV. TS.: īman yajñān bṛhaspate 'śīnodbhā KS. Followed respectively by: devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṁ nyarthatā, and: indrāvata kāvyair daṇḍanābhiḥ. Yet the contexts are fundamentally the same (cf. below under devāḥ saviṣṭa, §399).

ā pānasa madintama RV. SV.: sa pānasa madintama RV. SV.: sa punāno madintamaḥ RV.

samiddho agna āhuta RV. AV. TS. SB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (followed by 2d person verbs): samiddho agnír āhutaḥ [vāhāktiṁḥ pipartu naḥ] KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter is a blend of the former (as in RV.) with an unmetrical yujus text: iṣṭo agnír āhutaḥ pipartu (KS. TB. vāhāktiḥ pipartu) na iṣṭan āhuvah (TB. SB. omit last two words) VS. MŚ. KS. SB. TB.

sa tvam no nabhasas pate (GB. patiḥ) TS. GB.: tvam no nabhasas pate AV. TS.: agaṁ no nabhasas patiḥ AV. GB. Vāt. Kauś.


kīranyaparnā sukūna PG.: kīranyaparnā sukūniḥ HG.: kīranyavarnām sukūnāh MU.

agnis tigmenā boiciḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. MŚ.: agne tiḥ boih RV. AV.

pamimānah (RV. * *na) kaniṅradat RV. (both) SV.

indrāṇi soma (and, somo) mādayan dainyam janam RV. (both). Followed or preceded respectively by: sindhor iṃmōnīḥ pavamāna arvasi, and: ā vidyutā patate ihārayati yuṣā.


deva devabhya haviḥ (SV. devabhyaḥ sutah) RV. SV.: devo devabhyaḥ sutah RV. SV.

sahasotike katāmagha RV.: sahasrotikā katāmaghā RV.

sahasrapoṣam (AV. Kauś. sahasrakö) subhāge (TS. * subhāgā) varāṇī RV. AV. TS. (both) MS. KS. Kauś. SMB. ApMB.

mitra satyānāṃ pate (ŚŚ. satyānāṁ uñkīpate) TB. ŚŚ.: mitraḥ satyānāṁ (VS. SB. satyah) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. PG. Each in a series, with
2d or 3d person verbs expressed in the first member and implied in the rest. So next.

savitā prasavānām (AV. adds adhipatiḥ . . . AV. TS. PG.: savitāḥ prasavānām adhipate ŚŚ. As prec.

§330. The following are cases in which the variant containing direct address has no second-person verb form (cf. §322):


upa brahmāṇi saranāṁ vṛtakah (SV. ṣuhaṇ), paramajyā rṣiṣamah (SV. ṣuṣma) RV. AV. SV. Preceded in RV. by: ā no viśvedu havya indraḥ samatayuḥ bhuṣatu, ‘May Indra associate himself with us . . . the slayer of Vṛtaka’ etc. SV. misunderstands bhuṣatu, taking it in its later sense of ‘adorn’ or ‘honor’. To make this meaning fit, Indra must be made the object of this verb, the subject being now the worshipers; the resulting first half verse is: ā no viśvedu havya indraṁ samatayuḥ bhuṣata, cf. VV 1 p. 199. But since vṛtakah cannot (like havya indraḥ) be made accusative without metrical change. it is made voc., with very awkward supplying of an unexpressed verb; and rṣiṣamah then follows it.

agni yaṣṭedam namah KS.: agne yaṣṭar idam namah TS. TB, ‘Agni is the sacrificer; this homage (to him)’; ‘O Agni sacrificer, this homage (to thee).’

§331. Perhaps in this same group may be placed the following rather puzzling variant:

tasyāṁ te devy adita (Kauś. aditīr) upanīthe MS. KS. Kauś.: upanīthe te devy adita ‘gnum TS. Followed in Kauś. by annādayaṃnaṇatayā anu daḍhat; for which the others have versions containing adadhe (1st person), see VV 1 p. 211. In all except Kauś. there is a direct address to Aditi, thru whose intervention the desired result is expected, tho a first person verb is used. In Kauś. Aditi seems to be made the subject of the 3d person verb; but note that Kauś. retains te, which apparently can only refer to Aditi! In fact Kauś. is hardly capable of intelligent interpretation.

§332. Similar variants used in different contexts (‘phrase-inflection’) are:

sahasrākṣaḥ amartyaḥ AV.: sahasrākṣaḥyāmartya AV. In the second passage a verse of homage, with direct address, is accompanied by the voc. of the deity addressed; the preceding pāda is namas te rudra kṛṣṇas.
āśevu citrārusi [mātī gamāṃ pāveri, sakābhūd aśvinor upāh] RV. SV.: [nayāṃ hi te amānnahi, āntād ā parākāt,] āśe na citre arusi RV. The latter is secondary; see RV Rep. 63.

abhūn mama (KS. nu pahl) sumatau viśovedah TS. KS. PG.: bhūyāmasa te sumatau viśovedah MS.† In the latter a direct address. See VV I p. 218.

indra somasya pītaye RV.; indraḥ somasya pītaye RV.; indraḥ somasya pītaye vṛṣṇyate RV. A 2d personal pronoun accompanies the voc. yajīghah kavyāvāhana RV.; yajīgho kavyāvāhana RV. Again a pronoun accompanies the voc.

§333. We come now to variations between direct address and indirect reference in which either the voc. or the nom. seems incongruous in one form of the variant, as in narāśanō agniḥ (agnex); §324. Other cases of this sort are:

agnex (TS. KS. agnir) manjūn pratinudān paresām (TS. KS. purasāti) RV. AV. TS. KS. In the next pāda RV. AV. TS. have pāti, KS. pātu. All are consistent except TS., which has nom. with 2d person verb; cf. VV I p. 231.

sa no mayabhūḥ pīto (pīto) avāsa (avāseha, MS. pitar aviveka) TS. TB. AŚ. MS. ŚG. SMB. PG.; sa naḥ pīto madhumāṇaḥ ā više (Kauś. viveca) KS. Kauś. Only Kauś. is inconsistent; MS. (secondarily) restores consistency with nom. matching 3d person verb.

apālām indra (MG. indra) triṣ (triḥ) pātī (AV. pātā, ApMB.† pārty a-, MG. pārty a-) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG. The verb in the following pāda is 2d person in RV. AV. JB.; but 3d in MG. and ApMB., despite voc. epithet in pāda b; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xvi; VV I p. 233 f.

vider agnir (VSK. ŚBK. agner, MS. MS. agne) nabho nāma (MS. MS. add yat te) VSK. TS. MS. ŚBK. MS.: videṣ agnir nabho nāma VS. KS. ŚB. See VV I p. 233. TS. is inconsistent.

vy astabhaṇa (VS. ŚB. aska", MS. aska", KS. asqa", TS. askabhāṇ, TA. asqaḥbhāṇ) rodaś viṣṇu (VSK. MS. viṣṇa, TS. viṣnu) etc RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.—TB. is secondary but consistent; TA. inconsistent, and apparently a sort of blend of the other two. See VV I p. 232, where read VSK. viṣṇa (instead of VS.).

dyāśprthvīt utre antarikṣaṃ AV. TS.; dyāśprthvīt utre (VSK.† utre) antarikṣa VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. Context of AV. different from all the others; there a simple third-person prayer. In the rest either (as in MS.) directly addressed to the deities, altho there also the verb is third person because the deities are not conceived
as the direct agents (the following pāda is bhāsapātre no hariṣṭā vṛddhātu TS. MS.); or, as in VS. VSK. SB., the following pāda (bhāsapātre hariṣṭā vidhēma) contains a first personal statement. In TS. the nominatives, if not a direct reminiscence of the AV. form of the variant, would be due to assimilation to bhāsapātre, subject of vṛddhātu in the next pāda. Keith understands them as exclamations.

§334. We now come to variants both forms of which contain direct address, and generally a second-person verb. Nevertheless in one form a nominative appears where the other form has a vocative. Either may be the original form, since a nom. in apposition to the 2d person subject is often as easy to construe as a voc.; in the example given in §323, ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana (°nāha), it is hard to say which reading was the older. We shall quote first a group in which the nominative seems to be the original form and the vocative secondary:

pavamānaḥ (SV. °na) samtanim eṣa kṛvan RV. SV. A slight tendency for SV. to prefer the voc. referring to Soma may perhaps be detected in this and the following; cf. VV 1 §328.

apraśīvām grāhapātre (SV. °pate) mahān asi RV. SV.
śuddho namadhi somyaḥ (SV. somya) RV. SV.
sarūpavarṣā ehi MS.: sarūpa vṛṣṇiṇī aghāti SV. JB.
samrāj asi kṛśānuḥ (ŚŚ. °no) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŠŚ. ApŚ.
sṛyaudā mhasana (KŚ. °ti) hi bhūyaḥ RV. AV. AB. KB. AŚ. KŚ.
ApŚ. N. Addressed to the cow; KŚ. makes one of the predicate adjectives into a voc.

vapā (ApMB. vapṭrā, HG. MG. vaptar) vapasi (PG. °ti) keśāmaṣṭru (AG. PG. MG. keśān) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The change of the nom. original of AV. to a voc. in HG. MG. belongs here; see §326.

āyuṣmānaḥ (MG. °mann) idam pari dhataṁ vasyah ApMB. HG. MG.; cf. also āyuṣmatdham etc., AV. Leet. fac. in MG.

vasūni cāurur (SMB. cārye, ApMB. cārya, v. l. cāyyo, HG. cāyyo) vi bha-

jasi (SMB. bhrjāsi), HG: bhajā sa) jīvan AV. SMB. HG. ApMB. Nom. masc. in all but SMB. (ca āryo in ApMB.; for HG. see VV 2 §244). In SMB. adapted to a different context which requires a fem.; (ca)ārye, voc. fem. Note however that SMB. baldly retains the masc. form jīvan from the original! (jīvanī would be unmetrical.)
sākha (PG. sakhe) saptapadi (ApMB. PG. °padā) bhava AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. The (predicate) nom. is clearly original.

purovāta (KS. °to, TS. °to varṣaṇi) jīva... TS. MS. KS. This and the
adjoining formulas are pretty low bathos; but some of them have nom. forms even in MS. 

_ brahmacāry asi_ (SMB, GG, asy asau) ŚB. AG. ŚG, SMB, GG, KhG. PG. ApMB.: agneś cāsi brahmacārin mama ca Kauṣ. Perhaps hardly to be called variants. 

[dhruvaidhi posyā (PG. posyē) mayi RVKh. ŚG., PG. ApMB.: mameyam aput posyā AV. Stenzler and Oldenberg take posyē as voc. fem., addressed to the bride. If this be correct, the variation belongs here. We have preferred to understand posyē as loc. sg. masc., going with mayi; see §454.] 

§335. In some cases the change of case form seems to be due to the definite assimilatory influence of a neighboring word; see §323. These deserve special listing; the following are those in which the nom. seems to be the older form and the voc. secondary: 

_soman pība vṛtrahā śūra_ (TS. TA. MahānU. 9haṅ chūra) vidvān RV. VS. 

TS. MS. TA. MahānU. §323. 

nicerur asi nicumpuṇah (TS. TB. nicāṅkana, MS. KS. nicāṅkuṇah) VS. 

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Preceded in all by avabhṛtha nicum-puṇa (etc., voc. in all). Doubtless the nom. is original and the voc. assimilated to that of the preceding pāda. 

_sahjagāno divā kaviḥ_ (SV. LŚ. divā kave) RV. SV. LŚ. Preceded by 

ṛdhā somā svastaye. It is likely that the voc. soma had something to do with the change to voc. kave. The next pāda begins with pavanva, 2d person, which may also have helped. 

_ agner agne puro agnir_ (KS.†KapS. [Oertel 73] agne, TS.†TB.† purō-agnir, 

cpd.) bhaveha VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. TB. The orig. seems to be TS. TB. ("harbinger of Agni", Keith); the second voc. of 

KS. KapS. is apparently assimilated to the first agne. 

§336. In the rest the nominative seems to be secondary. We shall put first those cases in which form assimilation to a neighboring word seems to have operated, as in the preceding section; note that they are very much more numerous than the opposite shift: 

_sajoṣā indra_ (TS. indrah) soyano marudbhīḥ RV. VS. 

TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AS. §323. 

utso deva (SV. twice deva) hiranyayah RV. SV. The surrounding noms. have been responsible for deva. 

_rīṣī śavasas pate_ (SV. patih) RV. SV. Preceded by team indra yaṣā asi. 

pavasva devyusak (SV. deva āyuṣak) RV. SV. PB. Benfey translates 

deva as voc.; it is accented dev. If this is correct and it is a nom., it might be explained by assimilation to āyuṣak if that is a nom.; but Oldenberg, RVNoten on 9. 25. 5 considers it a neuter adverb.
dyānāpṛthiḥi uro (VSK.† uro) antarikṣa VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.; dyānāpṛthiḥi uro antarikṣam AV. TS. The TS. reading belongs here; see §333.

agniḥ sudakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† ॐ nūr) hi bhūteśa TS. KS.: agniḥ sudakṣaḥ satanur ha bhūteśa MŚ. The verb is 2d person in all; the nom. of MŚ. is attracted to the following noms.

vasūpate vasuddāvan RV. VS. ŚB.: vasudāvā vasūpatiḥ TS. MS. KS.
Preceded in all by sa bodhi sūrīr maghavā; TS. etc. assimilate to these noms.

kāmene kṛtāh (RV. and p.p. of MS. kṛta) ṣrava icahānāh RV. MS. TB. kṛtāh partly suggested by icahānāh.

prajāpatis (ApMB. ॐ te) taunāṃ me juqāvā, tvāṣṭa devaiḥ sahamāna īndrāḥ (ApMB. tvāṣṭar devo bhīsa sahasāma īndra, cf. Winternitz, xx) ApMB. MG. Followed in MG. by: viśvair devarīr tuḥbhiḥ saṁvīṭānāh, punāṁ bahānāṁ mātārāya syāva; in ApMB. by: viśvair devarī saṁvīṭaḥ sahaśarānāh, punāṁ bahānāṁ mātārāya syāma. Both texts are poor and doubtless corrupt, but the voes. in ApMB. are doubtless more original, and may have been changed into noms. in MG. under the influence of the participle in pāda e, which is nom. in both.

sahasārikaḥ medha ā (VSK. medhāya) ciyāmānaḥ VSK. TS. KS.: sahasārikaḥ-medhāya ciyāmānaḥ VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in all by śmaṁ mū kīśir dvipādām pānum (TS. KS. pāśūnām). Voe. is likely to be original; attraction to ciyāmānaḥ in VS. etc.

śarāṇe brahmaśaṁśīte (TS. ॐ tā) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: śāro brahmaśaṁśītah TB. ApŚ. Preceded in all by awaṇṛtya (TB. ApŚ. ॐ tāh) para pata. Voe. was original; in TS. the adjective, and in TB. ApŚ. both it and the noun, have been drawn into the nom. by the nom. adjective preceding.

ado (MS. ato, AV. ado yad) devi (ApŚ. MS. devi) prathamānā purastāt (KS. ApŚ. MS. prthāq yat) AV. KS. ApŚ. MS. Direct address and 2d person verb in all; voc. original; nom. attracted to prathamānā.

svāḍāna svā-śrṇa śrunaka ApMB.: svāṛīnāḥ svā-śrṇa ṣrṇa HG. Preceding pāda ends with svāṛīnāḥ, which certainly caused the change (it may be a mere corruption in tradition).

sakhe (AV. sakkā) sakkhāyam ajaro jārimnē RV. AV. In the latter attraction to the case of ajaro.

vṛkṣīnāṁ medha (MS. medhā) sманасयamānāḥ TB. ApŚ. MS. Preceded by tasmin āda... Attraction to the following nom. in MS.

§337. In the rest a nominative is secondarily substituted for a vocative, in an expression of direct address, without any apparent assimilatory influence of surrounding forms:
indra (MS. indraḥ) svadhām anu hi no bahūthα RV. KS. MS. In the latter, 'thou hast presented thyself as Indra.'

punar āgah punarnava (AV. punaryā; AV.* väha) RV. AV. (both).

namas te astu sīsara (PG. sīsaro lapetopahvara) PG.† 1. 16. 24, ApMB. HG. The nom. of PG. is hardly interpretable; indeed one is almost tempted to suppose that sīsaro is meant for voc. (of an otherwise unknown sīsaru). It must refer to the same individual as te (a kind of dog demon).

agnec ghṛtenāhata (KS. ॐtaḥ) AV, VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. In AVPpp. (Whitney on 6. 5. 1) ghṛtebhir ṛkutah. Ppp. and KS. are awkward and secondary; the nom. must be taken as predicate to the subject of the preceding verb [ṣud enam (ApŚ. asmān) uttaraṁ (VS. TS. KS. ॐrām, ApŚ. ॐrām) naya].

rātri (TB. ॐri, KS. v. l. ॐriḥ) stomaṁ na jīgyase (KS.† TB. ॐśi) RV. KS. TB. In all preceded by upa te gā śvākaraṁ, ṛṇīṣava dukhtar divaḥ. The nom. must be taken in apposition with the subject of ṛṇīṣaṇa. ṛṭena (MG. ṛteva) sthūnām (ApMB. HG. sthūṇav, MG. sthūṇa) adhi roha vanaḥ (MG. vanāḥ) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. The appositional nom. of MG. is awkward.

indra krāta (MS. indraḥ krāta) maruto yad vaśama RV. MS. KS. Perhaps the direct address to the Maruts (maruto, voc.) in the same pāda made the redactor of MS. feel that the voc. indra must be got rid of. The nom. is however clearly inferior; perhaps 'When we, O Maruts, acting as Indra, desire...' (?). On the original cf. Oldenberg, RVNoten, on 1. 165. 7. In VV. 2 §380 we have called the nom. 'hardly construable'.

agnec (MS. agnír) deveṣu pra vocab (MS. voca) RV. SV. MS. TA.

Vocative and nom. of independent statement

§338. In a few cases the shift between nominative and vocative marks more radical changes in the relation of the word so changed to adjoining words. Thus, a vocative epithet may be developed into a separate clause or sentence (cf. §§32, 38). The first step in this direction is illustrated by this:

tīṣṭhā ratham (TS. rathe) adhi tasaḥ (VS. SB. yath, TB. yad) vajrahasta (TB. ॐtaḥ) RV. VS. SB. TB. Here TB., introducing a conjunction yad, makes what was originally a vocative epithet into a syntactically separate, still dependent, clause: 'since thou art vajra-wielder' instead of 'O vajra-wielder!' The awkward reading of VS. SB. is intermediate and paved the way.
§339. Note also the ApŚ. variant devebhyo havyanād asi, under devebhyo havyanāhāna etc. §329; and the following; which show the final result of this tendency:
kāmyāśi PB. MŚ. GG.: kāmye MS.
agne prāyaścitte...SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.; agne prāyaścittir asi...ŚG.
Similarly with vāyo...and sūrya (āditya)...
agne gṛhapata uṣa mā havyasa KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: agnaya upāhavayadhvam
Vait.: agrir me hota sa mopahvayatām §B. Parallels rather than real variants?
adhanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me...VS.: adhanām adhvapate svasti me...PB.: adhvan odhpatir asi svasti no...ŚŚ.

Transfer of epithet

§340. There remain, aside from textually dubious or corrupt variants, chiefly some cases of ‘transfer of epithet’. That is, the variant word is transferred from one person or thing to another, which involves change of case. Cf. §14 above:
tava śravānasy upamāny utkhyā (SV. 7ya) RV. SV. In RV. the adj. goes with śravānai, in SV. with Indra.
śrālīs ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB. TA. vātāper, KS. ŚŚ. vātāpe) havanaśrutah MS. KS. (9. 8) KB. TA. ŚŚ. In MS. vāt' agrees with somā, in the others with Indra, either with the voc. indra or with the pronoun te and the adj. havanaśrutah.
satyasya dharmanās pati (ApŚ. pate, Vait. MŚ. satyasya dharmanā, AŚ. pari satyasya dharmanā, PG. pari sakhyasya dharmanā) ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. AŚ. PG. In ŚŚ. (probably original) pati (dual) is part of the predicate of the two preceding pādas. In ApŚ. it is applied to an unspecified divine personage to whom the stanza is felt as addressed.
devā dyāpā jāśinā agna (VS. indra) dyāsya vyantu VS. MS. KS. In the original (MS. KS.) addressed to Agni (voc.); but he is not one of those who are to participate in the action of vyantu. The redactor of VS. felt therefore that there was no reason for bringing Agni in at all; the rest of the verse suggests that Indra is above all the god who is to ‘taste the butter’; hence indra(h), as one of the devā(h) who are the subject of the verb.
vivasvan (VSK. 7vaṇ, TS. KS. 7va) ādityaiṣa te somapitah...VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The epithet belongs, as it should, to the sun (āditya) in all but VSK., which seems to apply it, incredibly, to somapitah.
anu dyāvāpyativ supranitiḥ (ŚŚ. "te) ĀŚ. ŚŚ. The original pāda d of AV. 7. 73. 6 (see Whitney’s note); Ppp. (Roth) agrees with ĀŚ., with nom. agreeing with savitā of pāda e, while ŚŚ. (secondarily) distorts it to agree with the subject of the 2d person verbs of pādas a, b.

svar devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. svār devāḥ) aganma (MS. MŚ. agāma) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. devā is accentless both times in VS., tho comm. in one of them takes it as nom. (vayāṃ yajamānā devā bhūtva). In KS. 14. 1 it is voc., in KS. 18. 12 nom. (but two ms. make it voc.); in MS. nom.; the Taitt. texts make it accus. attracting it to the case of svār and making it a second object. If nom. it must, of course, agree with the subject (as comm. on VS. says).

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ (AV.† devāḥ) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. In AV. the epithet (originally voc.) is transferred to bhaga(h). Ppp. agrees with RV.


yat te susīme hṛdaye (SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. yam) KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: yat te suśīmam hṛdayam KBU. 2. 8 (not in Conc.) susīme is voc. fem.; hṛdaye loc. See §457. If suśīmam be allowed to stand, it is a case of transfer of the epithet to hṛdayam: ‘the heart that is thine, of well-parted hair’ († despite the bizarre sound of this to us, it is perhaps not impossible in a Vedic text; the ‘heart’ is the essence of the person, and any epithet of the person may be applied to it). Deussen would read suśīme, however.

agnī vaśīvānara (MŚ. *rā) vaśāḥ TS. MS. (bis) TB. The subject is āyotis (neuter!), and if the nom. can stand it must be felt as going with it. But, altho no v. 1. is recorded, we suspect a corruption (final visarga added, VV 2 §380).

punar brahmāno (AV. brahmā) vasunītha (AV. nīrīr, MS. dhīte, KS.* dhītam, v. 1. tīm, KS.* 38. 12b† nītha, KapŚ. dhīlam or tīm) yajñāḥ (AV. MS. KS.* agne) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. ŚB. The voc. agrees with agne (understood in KS.); the nom. with brahmā; the acc. with teḍ (se. Agni) of the preceding.

Miscellaneous

§341. One or two miscellaneous cases, hardly to be called true variants:

svāna bhṛjaṅghāre bambahāre hasta suhasta kṛṣṇo VS. TS. ŚB.: svān
nabhrad anghareshambhara hastasuhasta krshano KS.; swaha nabhrad anghareshambhara 'star ahasta krshano MS.; swaha bhrat, angharahirambhaarih, hastah suhastalah, krshanur viSanavasah TA.† In TA. part of the gandharvavanah; obviously based on the other list (addressed to the gandharvas at the soma purchase), but used in a different connexion.

agnir ayyasyavetu vaujhat ŚB.; agna ayyasyayantasyavaujhat ŚB. Also aghinājya, agnim ayya. Rigmarole formulas, with repetition (with slight variations) of the same words attached to various cases of the stem agni, as required in a set of offerings.

§342. We now append some nominative-vocative variants whose right to be called such is doubtful, either because of dubiety of interpretation of forms, or because textual corruption or editorial error is involved.

svapnah svapnādhitkarane RVKh.: svapna svapnābhikaranena AV.; svapna svapnādhitkaranena Ppp. (Barret, JAOS. 35. 52). Probably svapna is a sandhi form for svapnah; RV 2 §980.

sumṛṭkā sarasvati (MG. ṛt) AV. AA. TA. AS. LŚ. MG. Read ṛti in all; so v. l. of MG., and its comm. he sarasvati. In TA. 1. 21. 3 the Bibl. Ind. ed. reads sarasvati, but Poona ed. ṛti.

sumanīkā sukhaśāvān (ŚŚ. ṛvā) AV. ŚŚ. But ṛvin is Roth’s emendation and must be rejected.


iyam oṣadh (PG. ṛdh). trāyamānā PG. ApMB. HG. Here too (cf. prec.) the voc. is absurd; yet is clearly intended in ApMB. HG.; see Winternitz xxiv, and Oldenberg SBE. 30. 166 note.

[śṛtām haviḥ kāmītāh (TS. ApŚ. haviḥ kāmītah) TS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Conc. kāmītah for MS. MŚ.; but both follow this word with ṛti, intending kāmītāh.]

dhānāsamanā manthina indra (MS. indraḥ) śukrāḥ TS. KS. MS. See Knauer’s note. The nom. is unconstruable as such.

tām naḥ pūṣāḥ chivatamāṃ crayaśva HG.; tām pūṣāḥ (AV. ṛan) etc. RV. AV. ApMB.: sā naḥ pūṣā śivatamāṃ craya PG. The verb being still 2d person in PG., this might be classed with §337; but PG. is really hopeless.

stomatrayasṛiṣāke bhuvanasya patnī TS. KS. AS.: stomas trayasṛiṣāke bhuvanasya patnī MS. In the latter apparently stomas and patnī are subject and predicate; the divergence of gender signals the badness of the reading.
(aśvakrānte rathakrānte) viṣṇukrānte vasundhāre (TA. *ra), śirasā dhāruitā
deri (TA. dhārayiṣyāmi), rakṣasā mām pade-pade TA. MahānU.
The nom. is impossible as member of a series of voes., which are
epithets of the personage addressed (tvām must be supplied). With
MahānU.'s dhāruitā, it might, tho very harshly, be explained by
attraction. In fact the comm. on TA, seems to have read dhāruitā
deri, and for vasundhārā (which he does not quote; did he read
*dhāre?) he has: he bhūme sarvāna vastuṇa dhārayantī satī. Evid-
ently the text of TA. is very uncertain.

indra (MS. indra) śrutasya mahāto mahāni RV. MS. The nom. is not
construable.

na vā oṣīyo rudra tvad asti RV. TA.: oṣīyo rudras tad asti MS. s.p., but
p.p. reads like RV. but for tad instead of tvad. The MS. is corrupt
and uninterpretable. Add to RV 2 §365 (tvad : tad).

praty etā vāmā (AŚ. sunvar) ...pratiṣṭhālopavaktar (ŚŚ. *vaktu, v. 1. *va-
tar) uta ...KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Discussed RV 2 p. 180. All texts seem
to have read *vaktar; but a voc. seems unconstruable, and a nom.
must have been intended, whatever the form was.

yatra-yatra jātavedāḥ sambabhūtha (TB. *bhūva, Poona ed. *tha) TB. ApŚ.:
yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS. bibhrato, v. 1. bibhṛto, bibhṛato) jātavedāḥ
AV. KS. The nom. is very awkward; Whitney translates a voc.
saritram me vicāṣṭanām (RVKh. vicāṣṭanām) RVKh. TA. TU.: pratiṣṭhā
me vicāṣṭanām PG. Scheitelowitz reads vicāṣṭa in RVKh., but
this seems unconstruable.

śavīśṭha (AA. *tha, but Keith *tha with v. 1. *thah) vajrīṇn ojāsā (AA.
Mahānāmmeṇyāḥ rājas) RV. SV. AA. Mahānāmmeṇyāḥ. A mere
corruption of tradition.

arvāṇo svasti le pāram aṣīya MS. KS. ApŚ.: arvāṇasur [iti trir ukte]
MŚ. (pratiṣṭhā). It seems clear that MŚ.'s pratiṣṭhā refers to the
mantra of MS. There is no v. 1. recorded; but no nom. can be
really intended.
CHAPTER XII

VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Direct address and indirect statement

§343. The variants between vocative and accusative are much less numerous than those between vocative and nominative, and naturally do not parallel them altogether; yet it is rather curious to observe the extent to which they correspond. Thus, to begin with, we find a group in which one form addresses directly a divine personage or a thing (vocative), while the other expresses the same prayer, wish, or statement indirectly, referring to the same personage or thing in the accusative. Generally in such cases the variants occur in different contexts, so that we have a sort of phrase-inflection, an adaptation of the same mantra material to different situations. But not always so; in a few cases the same passage undergoes this syntactic modification, just as in the first group of nominative-vocative variants (§326). Among the simplest cases of this sort are two in which a first-person verb meaning in substance 'I invoke' is used in both forms of the variant, with the god invoked in the accusative or vocative:

indram (SV. indra) dhenum sudughām anām iṣam RV. SV. The preceding pāda is o tv adya (SV. tvādyā) sabardughām hucu gāyatravepasam. SV., by reading tvā(dya) for tv adya, turns the verse into a direct address to Indra. 'I call upon Indra' or 'I call on thee, Indra'.

ṛcā yāmi maruto brahmaṇaspatiṁ (SV. ṛcā pate), devān (SV. ṛcā pate) eso vai navami RV. SV. MS. KS. 'With a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmaṇaspati, the gods, for excellent aid'; 'I approach [you], O Maruts etc.'

§344. In a few other cases the accusative is the object of a causative or active verb, while the vocative goes with a corresponding intransitive; the action is thought of alternatively as performed by an outside agency upon the entity referred to, or by that entity itself. These are similar to many variations of the acc. with the nom., §372 ff.

thaiva dhrvā (ŚG. sthūṛa) prati tiṣṭha kāle (ŚG. dhrvā) AV. ŚG. HG.; thaiva dhrvāṁ ni minomi bālam AV. PG. HG. 'Right here stand thou firm, O house (pillar)!', or; 'Right here I fix firm the house.'
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tasmai tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB.: tasmai stanaṁ pra pyāyasva HG.
‘Swell for him, O breast!', or: ‘Swell thy breast for him.' See VV. 1 §32.
unnambhaya prthivim TS, KS, MS, ApS.: pra nabhaseva prthiṁ AV.
‘Split open the earth' (addressed to Dhātar): ‘burst open, O earth!
Ppp. agrees with TS, etc., and AV addresses Dhātar in pāda e; AV. probably secondary.

§345. In the stray variant which follows the acc. is original (‘the sacrifice has gone to the gods...'); ĀS. (the reading of which is repeated by its comm.) makes it a direct address to the gods:
devā (MS: devān, ĀS: deva) janam agan yajñah MS, KS, ĀS, ApS. MS,†

Phrase inflection

§346. The remaining cases of shift between direct address and indirect reference concern different contexts in the two forms of the variant:
satyaadharmāṇam adhīsre RV, SV. (preceded by kavim aṣṭim ypa stūḥ):
satyaadharmo adhīsram (TS. ॐ) RV, TS. (preceded by different
pādas of direct address).
yajñhitam havyāvahāna (and ॐ) RV. (both). Voc, accompanies 2d
pers. pronoun.
rudra jalaśubheṣajom AV.: rudram jalaśubheṣajom RV.
salamūte śatakrato RV.: salamūtim śatakratum RV. Voc. with te, acc.
with īdnam.
stomebhīr kavanaṭutam (and ॐ) RV. (both). Acc. with mahanam
(īndram), voc. (dual) with īndrōgni or aśvinī.

The latter also in nom. form, §329, sahamāne...

indav īndrōya pītaye RV.: indum īndrōya pītaye RV, SV.
indum (RV. also indas) īndrōya matsaram RV. (both) SV.
īndrāṁ (RV. also īndra) somasya pītaye RV. (both) AV, SV.
tasya ta īṣasya vitasya dravineha bhakṣya TS. (‘may I enjoy the wealth
of thee...’); tasya no īṣasya pritasya dravinehāgameḥ VS. (‘wealth
of... come to us here’). And others; see VV. 1 §104u, and §326
above. The forms differ only in accent.

§347. We come now to the second large group of vocative-accusative
variants. In these there is direct address both times; but the person
or thing addressed is syntactically the object of a verb, at least in one
form and generally in both, while one of its epithets is alternatively
expressed in the accusative, agreeing with the object, or in the vocative. While we can generally see which is the original form, on external grounds, both forms are often equally sound syntactically, as was the case with the corresponding nominative-vocative variants (§§334 ff.). Usually the shift is due to attraction to a neighboring form.

§348. In the group to be mentioned first the accusative form is older than the vocative:

\[-\text{indraṁ karmasv āvatam} (\text{MS. VS.}\,*\,\,?\,\,tu)\,\,\text{RV. AV. VS. (both) MS. KS.}\]

§8. TB. ApŚ.: \text{indraṁ karmasv āvatu MS.: indra karmasu no 'vata VS. KS.: indraṅ karmasu no 'vata TB. (but Poona ed. indra... 'vata).} \text{See VV 1 §354. The voc. is attracted to the subject of the verb, which originally does not include Indra.}\]

\[-\text{namasyāmas tveṣyam} (\text{KS.}\,*\,\,?\,\,ya)\,\,\text{jātavedah} \text{RV. MS. KS. TB.} \text{. 'We pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas' or 'to thee, O worshipful J.' The RV. original makes the epithet īdyam agree with īda, the KS. attracts it to Jātavedah; but in either case it refers to the same person.}\]

\[-\text{agniḥ} (\text{SV. agne})\,\,\text{ratasaḥ na vedyam RV. SV.} \text{. On this complicated verse (cf. also agni ratho na vedyah RV., and below §387) see RVRep. on 1. 186. 3, with references, and especially Oldenberg, Prol. 288. There is no doubt that SV. is secondary. All the surrounding verses are addressed to Agni; this is doubtless the reason for SV.'s change to the vocative, which makes unsatisfactory sense; the pronoun vaḥ (plural) occurs in the first pāda, and is interpreted by the comm. as equivalent to tvām!}\]

\[-\text{pra ya bhāmīṁ} (\text{TS. ApMB.} \,\,?\,\,mi)\,\,\text{pravatvati RV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.} \text{. Followed by mahāṁ jinoṣi (MS. kinoṣi) mahīṁ. Addressed to Prthivi, 'earth', who is said to 'promote the land (bhūmi)'; by a natural confusion TS. ApMB. assimilate bhūmi to the subject and make it vocative, along with (and specifically attracted by) the adjoining vocative epithets. Note that the short i of the ending is retained, which however implies a stem bhūmi instead of bhūmi; cf. yāk ca bhūmy... etc., §180.}\]

\[-\text{mahyā indraṁ} (\text{ApMB. indra})\,\,\text{svastaye RV. ApMB. Occurs twice in ApMB., in different contexts, both different from that of RV. On one of them see Winternitz xxix f. Both are inferior in sense.}\]

§349. The cases in which an older vocative varies with a secondary accusative in expressions of direct address are:

\[-\text{ye teā rātry} (\text{MG. rātrim})\,\,\text{upāṣate KS. MG.: yaṁ teā rātrim upāsmaha}\]

\[-\text{PG.: yāṁ teā rātry upāsmaha} (\text{TS. upāṣate, SMB. rātri yajāmahe})\]
AV. TS. SMB. Direct address in all, even in PG, where the object
pronoun is 3d person instead of 2d; PG. and MG. assimilate
the form of the orig. voc. to the object pronoun.

**śaśītha satpate RV.: śaśītha satpaim SV.** Repeated in
SV. from RV. 8.68.1, where the first three pādas are: ā tvā ratham
yathotaye sumnāya vartayamasi, twikurmin pīṣaham. The acc.
epithets of the prec. have attracted two of the three voes. of the
last pāda; the curious thing is that one (śaśītha) is allowed to
remain even in SV.

**kocišeṣam vicakṣana (AV. *nam) RV. ArS. AV. (both) TS. KS.** Pre-
ceded by tvā...deva sūrya. Clear attraction to the prec. acc.
in AV.

**hota cīkīvo (AV. *vann) aṛṣīmaṁhiha RV. AV.: aṅge hotaram aṛṣīma-
ṁhiha VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.** In all texts tvā occurs in prec. ‘In
that today...we choose thee, O hotar (as hotar).’

**punar brahmaṇa (AV. brahmaṇa) vasunītθa (AV. *nir, MS. *dhite, KS.*
*dhītam, v. l. *dhītim, and *ṇṭha, KapS. *dhītam or *dhītim)
yajñaiḥ (AV. MS. KS. *agne) AV. VS, TS. MS. KS. (bis) KapS.
SB.** See §340.

**svar devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. suvar devā) aganma (MS. MS. agāma) VS.
TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MS.** The acc. certainly secondary,
and perhaps influenced by svar; see §340.

**vaha kāla (HG. kālaṁ, v. l. kāla) vaha śriyam mābhī vaha ApMB. HG.
Undoubtedly ApMB. is correct and original. Addressed to an
elephant: ‘Carry, black one, carry! Carry me towards fortune!’
Probably kāla should be read in HG. with two mss.; certainly
kālaṁ does not make sense. ‘Carry the time’ (Oldenberg) is ridicu-
los, and ‘carry the black one’ is little better.

Transfer of epithet

§350. The remaining vocative-accusative variants, except a few cor-
rupations, concern ‘transfer of epithet’ from one person or thing to
another, involving change of case (and also, often, of number or gender):

**rāyin no dhehi subhage suvīram (MS. suvīre, PG.† suvīryam) AV. TS.
MS. PG.** ‘Grant us wealth with good sons, O auspicious one’:
‘grant us wealth, O auspicious one of good sons.’ There is little
real difference in the sense; the possession of good sons by the
deity addressed implies the granting of them to the petitioner.

**vairāḥ samudram ukthyaṃ (SV. *ya) RV. SV.** In RV. ukthya modifies
samudram; in SV. it is transferred to soma (in pāda a).
indraṁ sakhāyo (KS. "yam) anu sam rābhadhavam (KS, rrayadhvam) RV, AV, SV, VS, TS, MS, KS. The voc. sakhāyo refers to the subject (warriors); the acc. to the object (Indra).

subhage kāmpīlāvāsini TS, KSA, TB. ApŚ: subhardikāṃ kāmpīlāvasini-śān VS, MS. See Edgerton, JAOS, 31, 141, 144. The words are applied differently; the acc. to a rival queen, the voces. (spoken by the priest) to the Mahāiṣī. Both occur in an obscene passage in the aśvamedha. In the voc. form note the absence of the imprecatory suffix ka.

kṛṣṇa dhūmaṃ vṛṣṇaḥ sakhāyāḥ RV, kṛṣṇa dhūmaṃ vṛṣṇaḥ sakhāyāḥ AV. The whole AV, verse is a wretched corruption of the RV, original. All that need concern us here is that vṛṣṇam, in the orig. an epithet of dhūmaṃ (so Grassmann Wbch., Geldner, Hillebrandt), is transferred to the following sakhāyāḥ.

kas tam indra tvārasm VS, PB, tvā vaso) RV, SV, AB, GB, PB, AS. This involves a 'false division' of the type described in VV 2 §820, where this variant might have been included. The RV, has a epd. adj. agreeing with tam. The SV: misunderstands it as containing an acc. tvā, and then makes the seemingly necessary correction to vaso, which is then a voc. going with indra.

āgama mitrāvarunā vareṇya (MS, vareṇa, KS, vareṇya) TS, MS, KS. In KS, the epithet goes apparently with bhāgas, to be supplied in sense (the following pāda is rāṭrīnāṁ bhāgo yasayer yo asti). In TS, (probably a lect. fac.) it is made to agree with mitrāvarunā. MS, has a different change, on which see VV 2 §326.

achidraṅ (SMB, "raḥ) sarma yachata RV, AB, SMB. The unaccented SMB, makes the epithet go with the subject; it may be taken as either voc. or nom.

svargam arvanto jayema Vait.: svargān (AS, text, svagān) arvanto jayata (AS, jayatāḥ; AS, also, as variant given in the text, arvato jayati) SV, AS. SS, arvanto is voc. in SV, nom. in Vait., in both cases going with the subject (in SS, either nom. or voc.). In the second version of AS, it is transferred to the object.

r̥bhum r̥bhukṣano rayim RV: r̥bhukṣanam r̥bhun rayim RV, SV. In the first passage r̥bhukṣano is a voc. elliptic plural, 'O R̥bhukṣan (and the two other R̥bhus)'. In the second it is an epithet of rayim. See RV Rep. on 4. 37. 5.

nāma svadhāvan guhyān (ApMB, svadhāvat svaryān) bīhārī RV, ApMB. In RV, svadhāvan refers to Agni; in ApMB, it is made an epithet of nāma.
§361. There are two cases of the sort mentioned in §15; in both what is in the original form an object noun is treated in the secondary form as a vocative epithet. They differ from the preceding only in that the original accusative can hardly be considered an ‘epithet’:

*avayayam asitam deva vasma* (TB. ApŚ. vasvah) RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The original: ‘Removing the black garment, O god.’ In TB. ApŚ. vasvah must apparently be meant as an epithet of deha; its meaning is obscure; Caland translates the RV. reading. See vv 2 p. 124.

*viśvan ā bhāsi rocanam* (AV. *v na) RV. ArŚ. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. The subject is the sun; the object, in the orig., *viśvan...rocanam*. In AV. rocanam must be felt as an epithet of the subject, ‘shining.’ This adjective is unknown to the RV., where rocanam is always a noun.

Errors

§362. Finally, a few errors:

*eva hindru* KB. AA. TA. AŚ. Mahānāmnyaḥ. The Conc. follows the Bibl. Ind. ed. of AA. in quoting hindram; but see Keith’s AA., 142, n. 12. Voc. in all.

*kāma kāman ma āvartaya* PB. MŚ.: kāman-kāman mā āvartaya MS. But one of von Schroeder’s best mss. reads kāma kāman (both accented); this and the reading of MŚ., its ritual text, convinces us that the printed reading of MS. is merely due to bad editing.

*yām iyum girīśanta* VS. MS. TS. KS. ŚvetU. NilarU. The ed. of NilarU. used in Conc. has girīśantam in text and comm. But the AnSS. ed. has *śanta in text (comm. *śantam). The acc. can be construed only with difficulty; Deussen assumes a voc.

*devaśvam* (TB. deva*) viśvavīrām (AŚ. *vāre) TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by pṛtatātām adhवरyo (AŚ.† *voh) srucam āsyava. The accs. go with srucam, the spoon; perhaps AŚ. means viśvavīre as a voc. fem. addressed to the spoon, but this is really nonsense, even if it be detached from the preceding and taken with the following (idāmahāi devaṁ ʿiṇyān). Note that AŚ. is also corrupt in adhvaryo (omitted in Conc.; to be added to vv 2 §381).
CHAPTER XIII

VOCATIVE AND OTHER CASES

A. Vocative and instrumental

§353. The variations between vocative and instrumental are, as we should expect, few and scattering. Nevertheless there are certain conditions in which, rather unexpectedly, these two cases may be interchanged with substantially no difference of meaning. Thus, first, an associative instrumental may be used with a vocative of direct address of a person also addressed; while in another form a second vocative may function. The associative instrumental varies in this same way with other cases (§§55-7). The examples we have noted are:

mo ṣā pa ānādra (TS.† i ndra) prīsu devaḥ (KS. devaḥ, TS. MS. deva)
RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original, 'O Indra along with the gods!'; in KS., 'O Indra (and) ye gods!' The next pāda begins with astu and MS. TS. read devāstu, which however MS. p.p. resolves as devaḥ, astu—implying the reading of KS. The reading deva would of course be voc. sg., as epithet of Indra; this would be a case of 'transfer of epithet', as described in §15.

deva-devir (ApŚ. devir devair) abhi mā nivartadhvaṃ MS. ApŚ. In MS.
an āmṛedīta compound: 'Ye several goddesses!' In ApŚ.: 'Ye goddess along with the gods!'

ā yāhī sūraharīhāyān (SV. KB. ŚŚ. harīha, AŚ. hari ḍ ha) AV. SV.
KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See notes of Whitney and Keith. Apparently hari ḍ ha is intended in all but AV.; hari would seem to be voc.: 'O hero (Indra) [and] ye two bay steeds!'

§354. In another way the voc. and instr. may be nearly equivalent in ultimate meaning in the following, which psychologically go with interchanges between direct address and indirect statement (cf. §20); here in the indirect form the personage which in the other form is directly addressed is put in the instrumental instead of the nom. (for the equivalence of these two cases in such contexts see §40).

jagatyainān (AŚ. ॐ ty eva) viṣvā u evayātah (MS. KS. ṣmī, AŚ. ṣnī)
TS. MS. KS. AŚ. The AŚ. reading may be only a phonetic variant or corruption (see VV 2 §709); but if genuine it could be interpreted
as meaning 'O jagati (instead of 'by the jagati') may I settle him in the tribes!' That is, the potency which in the original is to be the instrument for bringing about the desired result is directly addressed for this purpose in AS.

\[ \text{\textit{ātmasyā ātmam ātmānaṁ (GB. āmanātmanāṁ)} me mā hiṁsīh GB. Vait. Kauś. 'Thou art ātman; O ātman, injure not my ātman!' or, '...injure not my ātman by the ātman.' If textually sound, this would be substantially the reverse of the preceding change (assuming that here the voc. is original). But Gastra reads in GB, like the others (with v. l. in 2 mss.).} \]

§355. The following might be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' but for the fact that the two forms are used in quite different contexts, so that it is rather what we have called 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2):

\[ \text{devi devēbhīr yajate (and \textit{āt}) yajatrāh RV. (both): devi devēsu yajalā yajatra RV. AV. MS. The latter is certainly secondary; yajatra is made to agree with a preceding \textit{agn}e, whereas in the original the word agreed with devēbhīr. The contexts are different. See \textit{RVRep.} 241.} \]

§356. In one stray case a voc. varies with an adverbial instr.:

\[ \text{sā rās samanam anu parihi bhadrāyā ApMB.: sā mā (MG. nāh) samanam abhi pary ehi bhadre MG. SMB. bhadre refers to the sacred belt, mekhala: 'Do thou encircle me (us) completely, O fair one!' Instead of 'O fair one' ApMB. says 'fairly', using the old RV. adverb. Or this may be the original reading, and bhadre a sort of phonetic (Prakritic) reduction; the variant should in any case have been quoted in \textit{VV} 2 §747.} \]

§357. The next is one of those cases which by a certain stretching of language may be called 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15). A voc. epithet of the subject is replaced by an instrumental of different appurtenance: \textit{utulā pariṁdho 'si PG.: utena pariṁdho 'si HG.: utena pariṣṭo 'si ApMB. Original is apparently PG.: utulā 'runaway servant.' The word \textit{ula} or \textit{ūla} seems to mean some kind of wild animal; see \textit{Bloomfield SBE.} 42. 643 (on AV, 12. 1. 49). But the interpretation of HG. ApMB. is very obscure; Oldenberg abandons the text.}

B. Vocative and dative

§358. Here again the variants are few. But they show interesting psychological parallels to variations between the vocative and other cases. Thus first we find some cases in which there is a shift between direct address, with vocative, and indirect statement, in which the per-
sonage addressed in the direct form is referred to in the dative (cf. §30). The alteration may be helped by assimilation to a case-form already present in the older form of the variant, as in the first case: 
agnaye (AV. Kauś. agne) sāmadham āhārṣam (ŚG. G. āhārṣam) AV. Kauś. AG. GG. SMB. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. (The false emendation agre in AV. is withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.) Lamman ap. Whitney regards the voc. agne as original on metrical grounds. More weighty to our minds is the fact that it seems to be a lectio difficilior. The rest of the verse refers to Agni (Jātavedasas) in the 3d person, not in direct address; and more particularly, the datives bhūte jātavedase follow immediately, and it is almost certain that apageny has been assimilated to them, replacing agne. Note that the following stanzas are all directly addressed to Agni Jātavedasas. However, the comm. on AV. reads apageny, and so does one of SPP’s reciters. ‘O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great J.’

bhāspataye mahiṣa (TS. mahiṣa) dyuman namah AV. TS.: bhāspate mahiṣīya dive namah Ppp. (Barret, JAOS. 26. 273): bhāspate mahiṣa dyuman namah MŚ. Followed by:

viśvakarma darno to pāhy asmān AV. (and Ppp.): namo viśvakarmane sa u pāte asmān TS. MŚ. In the first pāda there is a double case; bhāspate varies with pātaye, and mahiṣa with śāya of Ppp. Altho the AV. comm. reads mahiṣa like TS., we no longer hold the view expressed in VV 2 §§392, 826 that this is the original reading. All texts but TS. have a form of the stem mahiṣa; we attribute special weight to Ppp. mahiṣīya which we had previously overlooked. We now take the original to be MŚ: ‘O Bhāspati, mighty one (or buffalo bull), glowing homage (to thee); homage to Viśvakarma; may he protect us.’ Since no dative is expressed in the first pāda, one of the two voes. (which really indicate the recipient) is changed into a dative in all the other texts; hence mahiṣīya Ppp., bhāspataye AV. TS. The change to direct address in the second pāda in AV. Ppp. is also due to a sort of assimilation; it matches the direct address of the first pāda, to a different divinity.

§359. Parallel to the cases mentioned in §§334 etc. are one or two instances in which there is direct address in both forms of the variant, but instead of the vocative one form has a dative, referring to the same person but differently construed. Here too the shift may be due to form assimilation. Thus in the first instance the voc. is clearly original
and the dative assimilated to the pronoun te, which is found also in
the older form:
ksayadvīra (TS. "vīrāya) sumnam asme te astu RV. TS. Addressed to
Rudra; the preceding is āre te goghnam uta pūrusāghan RV., ārā
te. goghna uta pūrusāghan TS. The meaning of TS. is far from
clear (Keith may be right in thinking that the variant word is felt
as meaning 'hero-destroyer' in TS., instead of 'hero-ruler'; in other
respects Keith's interpretation seems to us less happy; we think
sumnam is felt as 'hymn' in TS.). But the assimilation is clear.
vasavo rudrā adityā. etā vaḥ pannejanath MS. KS.: vasubhyo rudrebhyo
adityebhyo viśebhyo vṛ devebhyah pannejanir grhnami TS. The
former is clearly original: 'These are your footbaths, O Vasus etc.'
In TS. we take it that there is still direct address, το referring to
the gods; and perhaps the datives may therefore be conceived as
assimilated to the case of wo. At any rate TS. means: 'I take the
footbaths for you Vasus, Rudras, Adityas, All-gods' (or, at least,
wo must certainly go with viśebhyo devebhyah, as its position clearly
suggests, rather than with pannejanir as Keith takes it).
pustipate (MS. pusta?; ApŚ. "pataye) pustiś (MS. om.) caksuṣe . . . punar
dheki (dehi) . . . MS. AŚ. ApŚ. Caland adopts voc. for ApŚ.; but
this involves also reading pustim for pustiś, which is supported by
AŚ. and which MS. lacks altogether. To us it seems that ApŚ.
has a genuine (the secondary) variant: 'To the Lord of Prosperity
prosperity! Give back etc.'
§360. The following may be said to be cases of 'transfer of epi-
thet' (§14):
viprā ṅgāham gāyata yaj jujosati (AA. "yat) AA. ŠŚ.: viprāya ṅgāham
gāyata yaj jujosate SV. Preceded by pra va ṅdrāya vṛtrahanta-
ātaya. In SV. the epithet goes with Indra, in the others it is
addressed to the priests (probably by a secondary transfer).
tasmai rudrāya namo asto aţaye (KS. ApŚ. astu devah, MS.† 'sto devāya)
AV. KS. ApŚ. MS. ŚirasU. (Pp. has the pāda ending astv adya,
TS. TA. MahānU. ending astu.) Lectio difficillima in AV. (proba-
bly original). The voc. devah cannot refer to the same personage
as the dative of the others, whether Agni be identified or only
associated with Rudra. Add to VV 2 §909.
§361. A couple of anomalous cases:
where more than a pratika, by viśnuu tvānecu (nayatu). 'One
(step) for nourishment; may Viśnu accompany (lead) thee.' Simi-
lar are isa ekapadi (sc. bhava) AG. SG.: ise te saunagali prajati susti susthe Kaus. In these the formula is the first of a series employing the first seven numerals, with nearly uniform wording. In TS. we find the formula isolated, in a quite different context from any occurring in the others, as follows: ekam isa (viṣṇus tuṣānu vi cakrame): 'One (step), O vigorous one, Viṣṇu has stepped along after thee.' Keith denies any relation between this and the other mantras; but it seems to us probable that he is wrong. TS. has simply worked over and applied differently a formula remembered from other occasions. It has turned isa into a voc., probably thinking of the RV. adjective isa (but comm. sarsademir isyamana). [kanyakumāryai (TA. *mārī) dhīmahi TA. MahānU. Pooma ed. of TA. *kumārī, but with accent on the penult (!); and its comm. *kumāri. Occurs in a series of formulas which are closely parallel, differing only in using various names; in all the others datives are found. Neither a voc. nor a nom. is, in fact, conceivable here. Perhaps TA. has a mere phonetic corruption, belonging with VV 2 §§700-701. Comm. understands a dative, adding: liṅgādiyatyanyah sarvatra chāndaso draṣṭavyah (very simple!).]

C. Vocative and ablative

§362. We have noted only a single stray variant, in which the vocative is surely original; it is subject of the following verb yajja: 'O broad atmosphere, along with god Vāta, [sacrifice...].' In VS. ŚB. this is violently detached from the following phrase containing yajja, and apparently a verb meaning 'protect' must be understood (so the commas); but the reading is certainly poor:

uro antariṣka (VS. ŚB. uro antariṣka) sajūr devena vālana VS. TS. MS. K8. ŚB. (Delete reference to K8. 2. 2.)

D. Vocative and genitive

§363. Here again the variants are not numerous. Some are essentially phonetic in character, involving presence or absence of final visarga; see especially §366. Most of them are cases of shift between direct statement, with vocative, and indirect reference in which the same noun is referred to in the genitive. In quite a number of these, however, as in the nom.-voc. cases mentioned §333, one form or the other is more or less inconsistent with the context, producing stylistic harshness. Thus:

Followed in all by payasvatī rantīr (MS, rātir) āśā no astu. ‘In (by) thy lordship, O Savitar’: ‘in the lordship of Savitar’. But the first part of the stanza is directly addressed to a different deity, and the voc. savitār is harsh.

yena te te ṭrajaśate TB. ApŚ.: yenaite ṭrajaśateh MŚ. Followed in all by ḫjānasaya nyavaratayam. Here the following gen. ḫjānasaya, which in the (doubtless original) TB. ApŚ. form agreed with te referring to Prajaśata, is doubtless connected with the alteration to praipateh. But in MŚ.’s form te is lost and the statement becomes third-personal.

tāṁ savitaḥ satyasavāṁ sucitrām AV.: tāṁ savitūr vareṇyasya citrām VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. Followed in all by āham yrhe sumatiṁ viśvayāṇyāṁ (AV. viśavārāṁ). ‘O Savitar, this [thy] favor...’: ‘this favor of Savitar.’ In the 3d pāda all, including AV., refer to Savitar in the 3d person, with asya. This rather mild inconsistency does not prove that AV. is secondary; on the contrary it may suggest that the others have assimilated to the following context.

apsu te rājan varūṇa AV.: dvīpe rājño varūṇasya KS. AS. Followed by grho hiranyaya vītaḥ (AS. mito hiranyayaḥ). ‘A golden house is built for thee, O king Varūṇa (for king Varūṇa),’ The 2d half verse refers to Varūṇa in the 3d person in AV.; but probably this inconsistency is original, and has been eliminated secondarily in KS. AS.; note that they are metrically very poor. Form assimilation.

yad bhūmer ḫrdayam, [divi candramasi śriyam] ApMB.†: veda te bhūmi ḫrdayam PG. HG. Even ApMB. addresses Earth directly with a voc. in the following; it is metrically poor in the 1st pāda.

viṣṇuḥ (ApMB. viṣṇo, v. l. viṣṇoḥ) śreṣṭhaṇa (RVKh. Scheitelowitz śreṣṭhyena) rūpēṇa RVKh. ApMB. MG. ‘With the noblest form of Viṣṇu,’ ‘with [thy] noblest form, O Viṣṇu.’ The same pāda, with different divine names, is found AV. 5. 25. 10–13, with vocatives; and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS. 48. 38), with savituk, viṣṇoh, teṣṭubh, but bhayaḥ (for bhaga?). Barret emends to vocs. in all four cases in accordance with AVŚ., but this seems dubious procedure. The deity is addressed directly in pāda c, with a dhehi, in all.

so ‘ham vājam saneyam agne (KS, sanāmy ṭaṅeḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ‘May I win strength, O Agni (of, or from, Agni).’

gṛtvatām adhvaryo (AS.† yoh) srucaṁ āṣvam TS. TB. SB. AS. ŚŚ. See §352, end; AS. has a stupid corruption.

§364. One or two others are used in different contexts, so that they may be called cases of ‘phrase inlection’ (§§21-2):
punānāya prabhūcaso RV.: SV.: punānasya prabhūcasah RV. The voc. agrees directly with soma, the gen. with yasya which refers to Soma. parṇam vanaspate iva TB. TAA. SS. ApŚ. PG. HG.: parṇam vanaspate "nu ted SMB. Quite different contexts.

§365. We come now to a case or two in which both forms of the variant contain direct address, but a name or epithet of the person addressed is in one form put in the genitive. These are similar to the variants of the voc. with other cases mentioned in §§27 ff. In the first, at least, we have a clear case for form assimilation:

byhaspatisutasya ta (KS. om. ta, leaving hiatus) indo (KS. MS.inda) indriyāvahatā patnīvantam (KS. "vato" graham gṛhnāmi (MS. rādhya- sam, KS. graham rādhya) TS. MS. KS.: byhaspatisutasya deva soma ta indic (VSK. indica) indriyāvahatā patnīvato graham rādhya) VŚ. VSK. ŚB. It is evident that VŚ. has assimilated the voc. of all other texts to the gen. te and accompanying adjectives. Note that only the Vāj. texts have another voc. (deva soma), which makes indo unnecessary.

§366. The next variant is one of those which seem most clearly phonetic in character; the original voc. agne becomes agneh by addition of the evanescent final visarga, on which see VV 2 §§378 ff. (this variant was overlooked there and should be added to §381). It will be noted that not a few of the other voc.-gen. variants show this same phonetic relationship, and as we have suggested l. c. it is quite likely that in some of them the phonetic moment is more weighty than the syntactic. We doubt, however, whether Knauer (MG., Einleitung, xxxii f.) is right in suggesting that this added visarga was intended as an external mark of an imperative or vocative form; we even question whether it indicated (as Knauer thinks) aspirate pronunciation of a following consonant.

dā agne (MG. agneh) prajayāaha RV. AV. PG. APMB. MG. (All MG. ms. actually read dāgneh with secondary erasis; this should have been recorded in VV 2 §989; Knauer emends.) Preceded by tu-bhyam agre (MG. agne; on this cf. VV 2 §864) parvavaham, vürñāḥ vahatūnāaha, punah (AV, sa nah) patibhyo jāyām. "Give back to (us) husbands the bride along with progeny, O Agni (with Agni's progeny?)." But note that MG. also contains voc. agne (for original agre), addressing the verse to Agni.

§367. In a couple of cases a voc. varies with a partitive gen. (see §84):

tvam uittamasya ṣaḍhe RV. VS.: uuttamo asy oṣadhinām AV. "Thou art most excellent, O plant (most excellent of plants)." Same context. The mace. gender is peculiar; apparently there is thought of the
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gender of etkṣa. A tree is addressed. But fem. forms occur in the following verses of AV.

(§368). Addressed to a king; either makes good sense. The gen. rājāṁ might be assimilated to the following gen. ('also highest of human kings'), or contrariwise the voc. might be assimilated to the direct address preceding ('[who shall make thee] also, O king, highest of men').

The last quoted variant might also be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' (§14). To that category certainly belongs the following:

purā krūraśya viśṛpo virapśin (MS. 9śinaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. It is clear that MS. has transferred the epithet virapśin(ah) into agreement with krūraśya. Otherwise the interpretation is dubious. Mahādhara understands: 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings to and fro, O mighty one (Viṣṇu or the sacrificer).'

So, with misgivings, Eggeling, SBE. 12. 64 n. 3. Sāyaṇa on TS. 1. 1. 0. 3: 'Before the secret departure of the cruel foe (perhaps Araru), O mighty one,' taking viśṛpo as abl. gerund. So Griffith and Keith; Eggeling thinks this more probable than the other.

The stray case or two in which the construction is altered, with change from voc. (or nom.) to gen.: vider agnir (VSK. ŠB. agner, MS. MŚ. agne) nabho nāma (MS. MŚ, add yat te) VSK. TS. MS. ŠBK. MŚ.: vides agnir nabho nāma VS. KS. ŠB. See §333. The nom. is doubtless the original form; but certainly the voc. is better than the gen., which must be construed in dependence on nāma ('mayst thou know Agni's name Nabhas'), leaving the subject indefinite or at least unexpressed.

(§369). A voc. is clearly required (see §769), and there is no reason why the bonds should be called 'the adhvaryu's'. Probably a misprint in the wretched edition of AŚ.

E. Vocative and locative

First, a stray variant, resembling 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15); an originally independent noun, in loc. construction, is made into a voc. epithet of the subject:
apadyamānāḥ prthiśyām TA. ApŚ.: apadyamānā prthiśyām TS. ApŚ.: avyathamānā prthiśyām (MS. once vṛyām without v. l., once prthiśyām according to p.p., but s.p. might also be read prthiśyām, and one ms. has vṛyām) VS. MS. KS. ŠB. Followed in all by āśā diśa ā prthā. Except in TA. ApŚ. the firepan is addressed, and doubtless the
loc. is original: 'not falling to (wobbling upon) the earth'. In TS. (ApŚ.), and perhaps once in MS., the loc. is assimilated to the subject and treated as a grandiloquent epithet of the firepan. The earth is a symbol of solidity and security.—In TA. ApŚ. the same verse is used in a different ritual connexion which requires a masculine pple. (phrase-inflection).

§371. The next is probably not a real variation in case:

sa supraṇīte (ŚŚ. २०५) nṛtamah svauḍ asi AA. ŠŚ. Both forms may be taken as locs., and the text mss. of ŠŚ. actually read २tē; see VV 2 §695.
CHAPTER XIV

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

1. Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology

§372. The only large and characteristic group of variants between nominative and accusative is that which concerns shift between active (transitive, or causative) and passive (intransitive, or reflexive) expressions. In so far as these are signalized by corresponding shifts in verb forms, they have been already recorded in VV 1 (chapters 2 and 5). But of course the materials correspond only in part. For example, many variants between active and passive verb forms have no expressed nominative subject of the passive (or intransitive) variant, and hence no case variation. On the other hand, one or both of the variants may lack any verb form.

§373. A very simple case of this shift between causative and intransitive expressions is found in the set of formulas ŚG. 4. 9, 10 and BDh. 2. 5. 9, 10, which illustrates at the same time the point last mentioned, that the verb is very easily omitted. Here, in a long list of supernatural entities to which offerings of water (tarpāṇa) are made, we find many correspondences of the type (om) agnim tarpayāmi BDh., agnis tṛpyat | ā ŚG. So with rāyu, sūrya, viṣṇu, prajāpati, etc. A similar set occurs in AG., with the verb understood throughout, and expressed (tṛpyantu) only at the end. The verb is also understood in some items of the list in ŚG.; hence such variants as ṛṣayah (sc. tṛpyantu) AG.ŚG.: (om) ṛṣaṇa tarpayāmi BDh. Finally, it must be noticed that in the middle of the list ŚG. suddenly shifts to a causative construction like that of BDh. (śrutiḥ tarpayāmi . . .), which prevails for six items (incidentally all these contain nouns not found in BDh.), after which, for no evident reason, it shifts back again to the intransitive form. Perhaps this very irregularity of expression may indicate greater antiquity of the ŚG. form. The Śāmbavya Grhya (quoted by Oldenberg, ISt. 15. 153) has a similar list with the names all in the nominative.

§374. Cases also occur in which the same verb form, or at least a form in the same voice, is found in both variants, but is used now in active sense, governing the acc., now in intransitive, passive, or reflexive sense, with nom. subject. Naturally these would find no inclusion in
VV.1; yet they are psychologically of the same nature as active-passive or causative-intransitive shifts. Of these we find the following examples: apochatu (AV. *chantu) mithunā yā kimīdīnah (AV. ye kimīdinah) RV. AV. ‘Let him (Indra) shine away the paired kimīdīnas’, or ‘let the paired kimīdīnas fade away.’ The verb apa-vas is transitive in RV.; in this AV. passage it seems impossible to avoid taking it as intransitive. In AV. 2. 8. 2 and 3. 7. 7 it is also commonly taken as intrans., but Bloomfield (SBE. 42. 289, 338 f.) would make it trans. ā no viśnāsu ḫavyaḥ (SV. Svidh. ḫavyam) RV. AV. SV. AA. SS. Vait. Svidh. Followed in RV. AV. SV. by indraḥ (SV. indrām) samatsu bhāṣātu (SV. *ta). The verb is used in a different sense; explained in §330.

ny āśvinā kṛtsu kāmā (ApMB. kāmān) ayaṁṣata (AV. araṁṣata) RV. AV. ApMB. In the RV. original: ‘O Āśvins, (our) desires have stationed themselves in your hearts.’ In ApMB., with less feeling, for the middle: ‘O Āśvins, they (people, indefinite) have stationed (their) desires in your hearts.’

ekapadi dvipadī . . . astāpayāci bhuvanānu prathatāṁ svāhā TS.: ekapadi . . . astāpayāci bhuvanānu prathatāṁ VS. ŚB.: ekapadām dvipādam tripaṇāṁ ecauṣpadām bhuvanānu prathatāṁ KS. Only TS. seems to use the verb in the intransitive sense which it should have: ‘let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds.’ In the others it seems that it must be taken as transitive (= prathantu; cf. the preceding variant), tho the form is certainly anomalous. Comm. on VS. and Eggeling make bhuvanā subject; ‘let the worlds spread her along’ or (comm.) ‘make her renowned.’ Better indefinite subject, as suggested VV. 1 p. 208.

somāṁ rājānam oṣadhiṣe āpsu VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: somo rājaunadhiṣe āpsu KS. Preceded by vājasyenā (KS. vājasya nu) prasavah sūvne ‘gre (TS. ‘gre; add to VV. 2 §908). In the original: ‘The instigation of strength pressed out this King Soma,’ etc. KS. eliminates the pronoun inam and brings somo rāja into agreement with the subject of the verb, which is now felt as passive; probably it also understands prasavaḥ as ‘offshoot’. ‘The offshoot of strength, (viz.) King Soma, was pressed out.’

§375. A little different is the next, in which the sense of the verb is also changed, but is transitive both times, the subject and object being reversed;

avrato (AA. *tan) hinoti na sprād rayim (AA. rayih) SV. AA. Preceded in SV. by na kāmam, in AA. by na somo. ‘The man who pays no
vows attains not his desire, wins not wealth', SV.: 'Soma impels not him who keeps no vows, wealth will not come near (him)', AA. See Keith's note on AA.

§376. Frequent in the YV. formulas are dedicatory expressions (cf. §128) in which no verb at all is expressed. In that case the formula ordinarily consists merely of the name of the deity, in the dative or genitive, and the name of the thing offered, in either the nominative or accusative according as a passive (or intransitive or copulative) verb form or an active verb form is in the mind of the speaker. These two alternatives may vary with each other in different texts; or either of them may vary with a form of the other in which the verb is expressed. So we get such variants as these; it would hardly be worth while to list them completely:

himavate (TS. KSA. TA. "to) hastī (TA. hastīnām) VS. TS. MS. KSA. TA. 'An elephant [is offered, or I offer] to Himavant.'
dhūrvar vasantāpālabhate VS. dhūrvar vasantāya MS. In the same passage, prṣato hemantāya VS., prṣanto hemantāya MS., and others.
anumatyai caruḥ (MS. carum) TS. MS. KSA.: odiyai viṣṇupatnyai
carum (KSA. caruḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. And others.
agnaye 'nāmu ce 'stākapālaḥ TS. KSA. ApŚ.: agnaye 'nāmu ce puroḍā-
śam astākapālam nirvāpati MS. In this and the following MS.
alone has acc. throughout, all others nom.; the verb nirvāpati is however regularly omitted in MS. So:
agnaye vaisvānarāya dvādaśakapālaḥ VS. TS. KS. KSA.: vaisvānarānī
dvādaśakapālam MS.
mitrāvarunābhyām āgome bhayām pasya (MS. "yām) TS. MS. KSA.—
Similarly marudbhya enomubhyām etc.; agnaye goṣṭrāya etc.;
byhaspataye pāñkāya etc.

§377. In one passage with no verb expressed, the name of the deity is put alternatively in the acc. and nom. The case to be expected is rather dat. or gen.; cf. §485 under agnim svāhā etc. The TB. comm. supplies uddāya to govern the acc. No explanation of the nom. in ŚB. is offered by the comm. or by Eggeling. Perhaps an intransitive form of ṛṣip is to be supplied with the nom. and a transitive form of the same verb or of yaj (hotā yakṣat... ) with the acc. (cf. §§373 and 459 under svāhāagnim... ). Parallel formulas in the vicinity present acc. forms in ŚB.:

svāhā devā aṣṭya (TB. devān aṣṭyapān) ŚB. TB.

§378. Next may be recorded a group in which a form of kr or dhā, 'make' or 'put', with acc., varies with a form of as or bhā with nom.,
or with a nominal clause without expression of the copulaic verb. Thus:

\[
\text{parā svapnamukham evaḥ AV.: parah svapna mukhā kṛdihi KŚ.} \quad \text{'Away the dream-faced pain' (supply santu in AV., rather than 'I put' with Whitney); 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces' (or, quite possibly, 'away put the dream-faces').}
\]

\[\text{ojasvānām nām āyuṣmāntaṁ varcasvanāṁ (MS. mām sahasvāntāṁ) manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait. āyuṣmāntaṁ manuṣyeṣu kṛṇuhī) TS. MS.}
\]

\[\text{AS. Vait.: ojasvān āham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsaṁ VSK.: ojasvā āham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsaṁ ŚŚ.: ojiṣṭḥo 'ham man' bhū\textsuperscript{a} VS. ŚB.}
\]

\[\text{bhūjāvāntaṁ nām āyuṣmāntaṁ varcasvanāṁ (MS. mām varcasvāntāṁ) manuṣyeṣu kuru TS. MS.: bhūjāsānā (ŚG. bhūjāsāvī) āham (VS. ŚB. bhūjāsāṭho 'ham') manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsaṁ VS. VSK. ŚŚ., jaraḍāṣṭṛ kṛṇomi tvā AV.: jaraḍaṭṭhr bhāvyaiṣa SMB. Pp. (JAOS. 42. 125) reads as SMB.}
\]

\[\text{brahma varma manāntaram RV. AV. SV. ApŚ.: brahmāham antaraṁ kṛṇe (KŚ. kaeṣe) AV. KŚ. 'Brahman is my inner defense': 'I make B. my inner (defense).'}
\]

\[\text{aṣmākam abhūḥ karyāvaśa medi AV.: aṣmākāṁ kṛṇo harivo medināṁ tvā Pp. (JAOS. 37. 263 f.): iha kṛṇo harivo medināṁ tvā KŚ.: asya (RVKh. Scheftelowitz iha) kurmo (RVKh. kulmo, Sch. em. kurmo) harivo medināṁ (RVKh. Sch. vedīnāṁ) tvā RVKh. Ts. TB.}
\]

\[\text{viśvāḥ dhūttam anapasphurantīṁ RV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: viśvāḥ santa anapaspuruṇantī ṛ AV. TA.}
\]

\[\text{catuṣṭoṁo abhavād (MS. KŚ. catuṣṭoṁam adadhatā) yā turīyā TS. MS. KŚ. 'The fourth (brick) has become (has set) the Catuṣṭoṁa.'}
\]

\[\text{sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N. \textquotesingle nam) akarma (MS. kṛṇomi, KŚ. Kauś. sada-
\text{nāṁi santu) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: sugā vo devāṁ sadanādham astu KŚ.: svagā vo devāḥ sadanām akarma (ApŚ. sadanāṁi santu) TS. ApŚ.}
\]

\[\text{ariṣṭāṁ tvā (KŚ. MS. MG. mā) saha patyā dādhāṁi (ApMB. kṛṇomi, KŚ. MS. MG. dādhatā) RV. KŚ. MS. MG. ApMB.: ariṣṭāḥāṁ saha patyā bhūyāsaṁ VS. The contexts are essentially similar, but the forms with 1st person pronouns are spoken by a woman.}
\]

\[\text{aṃkānāṁ tanaṁ kṛdiḥ AV.: aṃkā bhavatu nas (AV. te) tanāḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KŚA.: aṃkā bhava parāsar bhava ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. HG. MG. ApMB. The contexts are in part similar,}
\]

\]

\[\text{yathā tvam (PG. tvam agne) suṣravah suṣravā any (SMB. deṣev) evam āham suṣravah suṣravā bhūyāsaṁ (SMB. brāhmaṇeṣu bhūyāsaṁ,}
\]
AG. PG. MG. evam mām sukravah saukravasam kuru) AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.

§379. In a couple of other cases forms of dhṛ (passive) or pad (middle) are found instead of the copula with the nom. form of the variant; otherwise they are exactly like the preceding:
vārasya jantor adhāmani cakāra (RV.* AV. adhamas padiṣṭa) RV. (both)
AV. 'He has made him lowest of every creature': 'may he fall lowest of every creature.'

§380. There remains a considerable group of other variants in which active or causative verb forms with acc. vary with intransitive, passive, or reflexive forms with nom. In most, tho not all, the varying verb forms derive from the same root; these are given first:
evam aham āyuṣā...sāminde (SMB. samedhiṣya) SMB. PG.: evam mām āyuṣā (HG. māṁ medhayā)...samedhaya ApMB. HG. 'Thus I am (may I be) inflamed' or 'thus inflame thou me','
sahobhau cāratāṁ dharmam MDrh.: sāhā dharmam cara NāradaDrh.: sāhā dharmas caryatāṁ GDrh.
tvāṁ yajñeṣv tīyāṁ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: tvāṁ yajñeṣv śītate RV.
vedīṁ bhūṁīṁ kalpaṁitvā AV.: vedir bhūmir akalpata AV. Both in same hymn; 'shaping the earth into a vedī': 'the earth took shape as a vedī.'
vairca ā dhehi (KS. dhāyi) me tanvām (KS. tanāḥ) AV. KS. 'Set splendor in my body': 'my body has been set in splendor.' On tanvām see §249.
māṁṣāṁ (TS. TB. ApŚ. maiṣāṁ) kaṁ canoc chīṣaḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. TB. ApŚ.: maiṣāṁ uccheṣi kiṁ cana AV.: māṁṣāṁ moci kaś cana AV. 'Leave not one of them': 'let not anything of them be left' ('let not one of them be lost').
ganā (KS. te) me mā vi ṛṣaṅ VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: ganāṁ me mā vi tīrṣaḥ (MŚ. vi tīrṣat, Vait. vy arārīṣaḥ) TS. Vait. MŚ.
yukto vālo 'ntarikṣeṇa te sāha PB.: yunajmi vāyuṃ antarikṣeṇa te (MŚ. tena) sāha TS. ApŚ. MŚ.
yukṣāṁ tisro viṁrajha sūryasya PB.: yunajmi tisro viprcaḥ sūryasya te TS.
ApŚ.: yunajmi tisro viṁraḥ sūryah sava [iḥ] MŚ.
dviṣantam (AV. sopatnāṁ) mama (RV. AV. mahyaṁ) randhayān RV. AV.

pāpmānaṁ te 'pahanāṁ KŚ.: pāpmānaṁ me \textit{pa jahi} (MG. me hata) Kauś. MG.: pāpmā me hatah AG.: hato me pāpmā AG. MG. caritrāṁ te śunāḥmāṁ VS. ŚB.: śuddhāḥ caritrāḥ TS. ApŚ. trayastriniśat (VS. catustriniśat) tantavo ye vi tānirē (MS. yan [for yān?]) vi tānaye, KS. AŚ. yān vi tānaye) VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. SS. \textit{... which were stretched out (which they stretched out).}'

ād it dhṛtena prthivī vy udyate (AV.† prthivīṁ vy ādūḥ) RV. AV. MS. KS. N.: ād it prthivī ghrētāry vy udyate TS.


ayaṁ vai tvāṁ ajanayad ayaṁ tead adhījayatāṁ asau sāḥ ŚŚ.: asmād vai tram ajāyathā ayaṁ tead adhījayatāṁ,... (JB. \textit{bhā e vaś jāya- tāṁ}...) JB. AG. Kauś.

yenākyā (SMB. \textit{kṣān, PG. \textit{kṣyā, ŚŚ. yenā kṣām}) abhyāsīcyanta (ŚŚ. SMB. abhyāsīcataṁ, PG. abhyāsīcyataṁ) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

apahato 'rur̥h prthivya (also \textit{uṣai devayajanyai, \textit{vyā devayajanaṁ}) TS. ApŚ.: \textit{apāraṁ adavayajanaṁ prthivyā devayajanaṁ} (ApŚ.† ade-

varyajano) jahi KS. ApŚ.: \textit{apāraṁ prthivyā devayajanaṁ bādhyā-

sam VS. ŚB.: apāraṁ prthivyā adavayajanaṁ (ApŚ. \textit{rum adav-

yajanaṁ prthivyāḥ}) MS. MS. ApŚ. (the last apparently an abbreviated form of the KS. formula).

§381. In the rest the psychology of the variation is essentially the same, but there is no such formal correspondence in the verb forms. Sometimes only a copula, or even no verb at all, is used with the nom.

form, as in §§376–7:

pumānāṁ putrāṁ jānaya AV. ŚG.: pumānē te putro nārī ApMB.

'Bear a male son': \textit{a male son is thine, O woman.}'

antarikṣaya dhārīr̥ṁ (TS. om. \textit{au dha}) viṣāmbhanāṁ (TS. \textit{ni}) diśāṁ

adhiptināṁ (TS. \textit{ni}) bhuvanānāṁ (MS. diśāṁ bhuvanasyādhipat-

nāṁ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS, predicate nouns, with pre-

ceding copula; in the others agreeing with object of sādayāṁā.

sūryāṁ cakṣur gamayatāt, vātam prāṇam anvāvasyataṁ MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: sūryaṁ te (AV. sūrjo me) cakṣur vātah prāṇah AV. TS. KSA. ŚŚ. \[Cf. \textit{sūryaṁ (TA. sūryaṁ te) cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā RV. TA.: sūryaṁ cakṣur vātah prāṇam, puruṣasya vi bhejire AV.}]

In the same passages: \textit{antarikṣam asum MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. SS.}:}
anarikṣam ātmā AV. TA. ŚŚ.: pṛthvīṁ karīram MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: pṛthvī karīram (MS. ṛram asi) AV. ŚŚ. MS. With the first quotation in these pairs a verb of sending, forming, or the like is to be understood. The second is a nominal clause (with 3d person copula ‘understood’, as used to be said). MS. in a still unpublished passage was quoted by Knauer with 2d person asi, which would seem to require a voc. instead of nom. pṛthvī, or else pṛthvīkarīram as an epd.

aganma yatra pratiranta āyuḥ (MG. prataram na āyuḥ) RV. AV. MG. ‘We have gone where they have extended life (where life is extended for us, or the like).’

§382. Others, in which the nom. form is subject of other intransitive verbs, are:
ā te prāṇam susāmasi AV.: punas te prāṇa āyatī (TA. āyāti, AŚ. āyātu) TS.† TA. AŚ.
saharīna upa no māhi vājān (no yantu vājāḥ) RV. (both).
tasya ta iṣṭasya viṣṇeyya dravīneha bhakṣaya TS.: tasya meṣṭasya viṣṇeyya dravīneḥ ā gamyāt TS.: tasya yajñaṣeṣṭasya suṣṭasya dravīnayā māgachatu KS. And others, see VV.1 §104u. Cf. also §326 above. iḥaiva tiṣṭha nimilā (MG. nitarā) AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: iḥaiva dhrvā (ŚG. śhunē) prati tiṣṭha śāle (ŚG. dhrvā) AV. ŚG. HG.: iḥaiva dhrvāṁ ni minomi śālām AV. PG. HG.
ūrṇamradasam (ūrṇaḥ) tvā śṛṇāmī (KS. ārnamrdaḥ prathaswa, Kauś. ārnamrdaṁ prathasva) svāsathāṁ (VS.† ŚB.† ṛthāṁ) deśebhāḥ VS. TS. KS. SB. TB. Kauś. ApŚ. ārnamrdaḥ of KS. might be taken as voc. (since the text is here not accented), but Kauś. suggests rather nom., and svāsathāṁ can only be nom. (neut.).
yamāya somāṁ sunuta (AV. somāḥ pavate) RV. AV. TA.

§383. We shall close this section with a variant which will serve as a sort of transition to the next subdivision:
sam ī vatsam na mātṛbhiḥ RV. SV. AB. AŚ.: sam ī vatsa īva mātṛbhiḥ RV. SV. AB. AŚ. The first is followed by srjātā gayasādhamān, the second by indur hināvān āyate. The calf is compared to soma in both, and the sense is essentially identical. The two hymns are workings-up of the same material; see RVRep. 13, and on 9.104.2. We find here something like the ‘phrase inflection’ found in the next group.

2. Phrase Inflection

§384. Often, as is well known, a phrase or an entire pāda is lifted out of its original context and put into a new context. This, naturally,
may require a change in the case of one or more noun forms. To such alterations we have applied the term 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2). As regards nominative-accusative shifts of this sort, they differ from those listed above essentially only in that the context in the two forms differs in such a way that in one form the nom. is required, in the other the acc. (In the preceding variants the context is essentially the same, but their internal syntax has been altered in a way that involves shift of case.)

§385. A simple illustration is the pāda kṣireṇa pūrṇā (pūrṇātim) udakena dādknā (both AV.). In the first form the nom. agrees with the nom. of the preceding pāda (ghṛtahṛtā madhukūlāḥ svarodakāḥ); in the other (which occurs in the next stanza and is an obvious modulation of the first) it is thrown into agreement with kumbhañā of the preceding pāda (caturāḥ kumbhāñā tatrāḥ dāddāmi).

§386. Sometimes two entire pādas are thus lifted into a different context, involving change of case in several words. Thus the two following variant pādas are pādas b, c of a verse which in RV. has for a tam ahyān bhurijor dhīyā, but in SV. eṣa sāryena hāsate. The epithets of Soma are in RV. objects of ahyān, in SV. subjects of hāsate: samasāñanā (SV. "no) vivasvataḥ (SV. "ta); followed by:
patiś (SV. patiś) vācc adāḥhyam (SV. "yah) RV. SV.

§387. The long list of such variants now follows. It will be noted that sometimes shifts of number and gender as well as case are involved. For convenience these are listed separately, after the others (§388). Otherwise neither subdivision nor, as a rule, individual comment seems to be called for.

pavamāno vicārṣanāḥ RV.: pavamānam vicārṣanīm RV. In quite different contexts; nom. subject of arocayat, acc. object of pāyata,
tiro vaññasya aspratam (RV. "thā, SV. astathā) RV. (both) SV.
kośa ima pūrṇe vasunā SMB.: kośaṁ na pūrṇaṁ vasunā nṛṣṭam RV. AV.
agnī rathe na vedyaḥ RV.: agninī ratheṁ na vedyam RV. Cf. §348.
hiranyābhikṣum (and "kun) aśvinī RV. (both). See RV Rep. on 8. 5. 28.
śeṣo jagataḥ patiś AV. VS. KS. ApMB.: śeṣoṁ jagadaiḥ sada PG.
avyo vāre (SV. avyā vārath) pari priyaḥ (and, priyam) RV. SV. (both
in each).

piheṣphākam udārathīṁ AV.: pisco yoka udārathīṁ RV. KS.
viśvasya jagato niśām (ArS. vārī) RVKh. ArS.
sindhutas paryābhṛtah (and "tam) AV. (both).
sutam somo divītīṣu RV.: sutah somo divītīṣu RV. SV.
suṣamiddhanā (VS. susam" varenā VS. TB.: suṣamiddha (VS. MS.
susam") varenā VS. MS. KS. TB.
sīvānāṁ (and sīno) devavītaye RV. SV. (both in each).
ṛṣīkīṁ sambhītāṁ rasum RV. SV. TB.: ṛṣī sambhītī rasah RVKh. SV. TB.
barhiś ca vedī (ŚŚ. vedīṁ) ca MS. ŚŚ.
dogadhīṁ āhenum ŚŚ.: dogdhī āhenuk VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. The verb is āsvam in ŚŚ., in the others jāyatāṁ. Likewise, in the same passages, these acc. forms in ŚŚ. with corresponding nouns in the others: volkhāram anadvāham, āśum saptim, jiśnim ratheṣṭām, pur- anādhiṁ yoṣām, sabheyāṁ yuvānāṁ. The entire passages are evidently related, one being based on a recollection of the other, but applied to quite different purposes, so that the contexts are fundamentally different, and they constitute a true instance of ‘phrase inflection’ on a large scale.
bahubhyah panthāṁ anupaspaśānam (AV.* sannah, TA.† anapaspaśānam) RV. AV. (bis) MS. TA. N. The same verse, with acc. governed by following verb, in all except AV. 6. 28. 3, where the nom. occurs preceded by yah prathamaḥ pravatam ā sasāda. This AV. passage has adapted the orig. to a quite new context; see Whitney’s note and Pischel, VS. 2. 73.
tiras tamānai darśataḥ (RV.* tām) RV. (both) AV. SV. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. The RV. acc. form and ŚŚ. are followed by:
ghṛtāhavanam īdāyam RV.: ghṛtāhavanā īdāyā ŚŚ. The nom. of RV. etc. is in apposition with agnīḥ, subject of sam īdhyate; the acc. is appropriate to its different context. In ŚŚ. both occur as nivids; cf. RVRep. 192.
agnīḥ (RV. *agniṁ) śukreṇa bocīśā RV. (both) KS.
apāṁ patīṁ vṛṣabham oṣadhimāṁ KS.: apāṁ patīr vṛṣabha (KS. om. ṛṣa) oṣadhimāṁ MS. KS.
ghṛtam duḥānāṁ aditiṁ janāya VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: ghṛtam duḥānādītiṁ janāya KS.
sahasradhāraḥ pajasā mahī gauḥ RV.: sahasradhārāṁ payasā mahīṁ yām VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Occurs thrice in RV., the nom. being subject of various verbs. In the others preceded by yām asya kauṣo aduhat praṇām, a pāda found also in AV., where it is followed by a variant of our pāda, viz. sahasradhārāṁ mahīṣo bhagyāva.
manīṁ sahasravīryah AV.: manīṁ sahasravīryam AV.
yajiśṭham havyābhana (and *nam) RV.: yajiśṭho havyābhanaḥ RV.
rathālamāṁ rathānāṁ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: rathālamo rathānāṁ RV. See RVRep. on 1. 11. 1.
āyuḥ kirtir varco yaśo balam HG.: āyuḥ kirtim yaśo balam annādyam praṇām PG.

sahasradhāram (TAA.*°ro) aksitam (TAA.*°th) RV. AV. TAA. (both).
In RV. both words are acc. masc., epithets of īndum. In AV.
twice in a wholly different stanza: ud uṭam īnadhāram, sah° aks°,
evāṃkientras dhānyaḥ, sah° aks°. This is recast in TAA. thus:
yathā kūpaḥ satadhāraḥ, sahasradhāro aksitāḥ, eva me asu dhānyaḥ,
sahasradhāram aksitam. Ppp. (JAOS. 37. 294 ff.) agrees with TAA.
but for aksataḥ and aksitam (to be added to VV 2 §576), and the
corruption rūpas for kūpaḥ, which Barret l. c. failed to correct.
The Ppp. TAA. reading makes both forms nom. both times (once
masc., once neut.), and is simpler than AVŚ., which is certainly
harsh; see Whitney on 3. 24. 4, who takes the forms as acc. depending
on the verb of the prec. stanza. In pāda d they might be
taken as nom. neut., as in Ppp. TAA.; but in b this is difficult,
since uṭa is otherwise masc. We feel however that accs. are impossible,
and that either uṭa is here felt as neut., or the forms of
pāda b are mechanically assimilated to those of d (nom. neut.).
Cf. the next, which is evidently related.

sahasradhāram satadhāram uṭam aksitam AV.: sahasradhāra uṭo aksit-
yamānaḥ ApŚ. Cf. preceding. Different contexts.

aṅgabheda aṅgajvaram AV.: aṅgabheda aṅgajvarah AV.
indraḥ (RV.* indraḥ) soman ya pita ye (RV.* adds ṛṣeya) RV. (both)
AV. SV.

duḥkaṇśaṁ martyam rīpuṁ RV.: duḥkaṇco martyo rīpuḥ RV.
dhanamjayaṁ rane-rane RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. MS.: dhanam-
jayo rane-rane RV. SV. TS. MS. KS.
manhiśṭhaṁ vājaśātaye RV. SV.: manhiśṭho vainjaśataye RV. AA. ŚŚ.
prajāpatiḥ prathamajā rāṣya AV. MS. TS. TA. MahānU.: prajāpatiṁ
prathamajām rāṣya MS. TB.

§388. The following are precisely similar except that the variant
forms shift in number or gender, or both, as well as in case:

bahiṁ praṇāṁ janayantīṁ sarūpāṁ (ApMB.* janayanti suratā,* jana-

aṅgajkunyo daśapakṣaḥ Kauś.: aṅgajpakṣaṁ daśapakṣām AV.

svaḥrāma adya diviśprāma (RV.* SV. MS.* KS. *sah) RV. (both) SV. TS.
MS. (both) KS. ApŚ. N. For diviśprāh, nom. pl. rather than gen.
sg., see RVRep. on 1. 142. 8.

gaur āsvaḥ puruṣaḥ paśuḥ AV. TA.: gām āsram puruṣam jagati (AV.
paiṣum; RVKh. aśvān puruṣān aham) RVKh. AV. TA. MahānU.
ApMB. HG.: gā āśvān puruṣān paśuṁ MS.
NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

viśeśa rūpāṇi bibhṛataḥ (AV.* 6tam) AV. (both) MS.
samānaṁ yonim anu saṁcaraṁtaṁ RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. SB.: samānaṁ
yonim anu saṁcaraṁti (AV. MS. 5cärete) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.
ApMB;
maṁhiṣṭham va mahonām RV.: maṁhiṣṭasvam mahonāṁ RV.
viśvair devair anumātā (KS. TA. 6tam) marudbhīḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. TA. In both KS. TA. different contexts; in KS. neut. acc.
adverb, see §817; in TA. masc. acc. adjective, §849.
amṛtāṁ martyābhyaḥ RV.: amṛtāṁ martyābhyaḥ TB. ApŚ.
sahasraṇaṁ medhasātāṁ saniśyavah (RV. KB. medhasātāv iev ievanā, VSK.
medhasāv iev ievanā) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. SB.: sahas-
rasāṇam medhasātāv iev ievanā RV. SV.

3. Interchange of subject and object

§389. We return to cases in which the internal syntax of the variant
pāda is altered. But now there is no longer any change in the syntax
of the verb, which is always transitive in a broad sense, that is, capable
of governing an accusative, whether as what we call direct object, or as
goal of motion or the like. Yet without any alteration in the form or
meaning of the verb, the same noun is used now as subject and now as
object. Indeed, in a number of cases the subject and object change
places in the two forms of the variant, subject becoming object and
vice versa. It is characteristic of the inflated, mystical language of the
Veda that this can not infrequently be done without difficulty. Thus
in the first example, it makes little difference whether we say ‘Brahman
has increased the gods’ or ‘the gods have increased brahman’:
udgrābhāṁ ca nigrābhāṁ ca VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: udgrābhāḥ ca nigrābhāḥ
c ca MS. KS. MŚ. Followed in all but MŚ. by:
brāhma devaś (MS. s.p. devaṁ, KS. devān) avydhavan (MS. KS. 5dhat).
The nouns in the first pāda are probably appositional to brahma
rather than coordinate with it; cf. Keith on TS. 1. 1. 13. 1.
nā tat prāṇapoti nirṛtiṁ parācaih (KS. nirṛtiḥ parastāl) KS. ApŚ.: ūnāhi
prāṇapoti (MS. prāṇapuyur) nirṛtiṁ parācaih (AŚ. MS. parastāl) TB.
AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ‘Destruction reaches it not’ or ‘it reaches not
destruction’. For MŚ.’s verb see VV 1 p. 265.
ojo na jūtiṁ (TB. jūtim) ṛabhō (MS.† ṛbho; add to VV 2 §359) na bhām
VS. MS. TB. Followed by vanaspātir no dadhad indriyāni. TB.
makes ojas subject and jūti predicate of the first simile, reversing
the relationship found in the others; but there is little real differ-
ence.
tābhīḥ saṁrabdham ānu avindan (TB. saṁrabbhod anvidat) yad uṛvīḥ AV
TB. 'The six wide (directions) found out him, grasped by them';
or, 'he, grasped by them, found out the six wide (directions).' 1 In
a mystic verse to Rohita; one version makes as good or as bad
sense as the other.

viśvam anyāṁ abhiśāra AV. (Ppp. viśvam anyābhi vāśāra, which Whitney
adopts, the Barret JAOŚ. 26. 223 alters it to anyāṁ aḥāvi): viśvam
anyābhiśārapīhe TB. ApŚ. No doubt Ppp., supported by TB. ApŚ.,
is more original in making anyā subject and viśvam object; but the
AVŚ. reading may be rendered 'the Universe has enveloped (?) one',
jyok ca pākṣāti (PG. "āśī, MG. "āti) sūryam (MG. "yāh) AG. PG.
ApMB. MG. 'And long may he behold the sun (may the sun
behold him).' See VV 1 p. 235.

gamad indrām (SV. indro) vr̥gā sūtah (SV. sutam) RV. SV. Apparently
the reversal of relationship in SV. was due to a feeling that vr̥gā
is more appropriate as an epithet of Indra than of Soma (sūtah).
tam vartanir (SV. "vinir) ānu vāulpta ekaṁ iti puru (SV. eka it) SV. AV.
'He, the One, has followed along the paths towards him' (SV.):
'the path has followed him, the One, manifestly' (AV.). The latter
is probably a secondary mouthing over of SV.

ā tvā sakhāyāḥ sakhyā vasṛtyuk SV.: o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vasṛtyām RV,
AV. In SV. the passage is extensively reconstructed; the original
object sakhāyam is made subject (with change of number also),
and so displaces the original unexpressed subject (1st person pro-
noun implicit in the verb), which is now represented by the
object tvā.

§390. In the remainder there is no double nom.-acc. shift, but a
single noun form appears now as subject, now as object (or goal, etc.),
of the (always 'transitive') verb:

pra yuṣyam etu niṣṭhitam (AV. 9th) parācāhi AV. TB. HG. ApMB. 'Let
the fever, let perdition go far away' (AV.); 'let the fever go far
away to perdition.'

jaññānam (SV. 9nah) sapta mātaraḥ (SV. mātṛbhīḥ) RV. SV. Followed
by vedhāṃ asāsata śriye RV., medhām āsāsata śriye SV.
sa sūra ā (ŚŚ. sūrya) janayan jyotir indram (ŚŚ. indrah) TB. ŚŚ.
Followed by ayā dhiyā tavanir adribhāh (ŚŚ. aṅgiravān). The TB.
comm. makes indram acc. of goal, supplying gacatu; the subject is
sārah = ādityāḥ. ŚŚ. makes indrah subject and sūrye loc.

tiṣṭhānam avu gūhati (ms. 9st) AV.: tiṣṭhan evaśa gūhasi ŚŚ. No
intelligible meaning in either form.
agninā tapo 'nvabhavat (KS.† KSA.† 'nvabhavat) TS. KS, KSA. TB. ApŚ.
Followed in TS. KS. KSA. by a long series of similar phrases, only partly identical in the things named. In the first formula the form tapo is ambiguous, but the parallels show that TS. and KSA. construe it as acc.; this is doubtless the original construction: 'By Agni he has come up to (equalled, or attained?) tapas'. KS. makes it nom. 'tapas has come up to (equalled, attained, sc. him) thru (by) Agni'. Other phrases in the same lists are: yamena pitṛn (KS. pitarah); indren evān (KS. devāh; not in KSA.); vātena prānān (KS. vāyunā prānāh; not in KSA.); vyāghrenāryānān paśūn (KS. śūryāḥ paśūnāh); rābhena (KS. KSA. vrṣṇa) gāh (KS. gāvah); vrṣṇināvih (KS. āvayah); yavenaavadhīh (KS. dhayah); brāhmaṇena vacam (KS. vācaḥ).

vi parjanām (TS. yāh) sṛjanti (MS. KS. prā parjanāḥ sṛjatām) rodayānu RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts and parjanāmas defines the divah kōsam of the preceding half-verse. The others make the subject the rain-god, or deified rain-cloud, and retain the same object, divah kōsam.

muṇcatu (KS. muñcemanī) yajñān (ApŚ. yajna, KS. adds muṇca) yajñapatiṁ aṅhasḥ evāḥ MS. KS. ApŚ. In MS. preceded by vردhātanī bhūśīr dāthāna gṛṛtena; in KS. by a similar but expanded phrase. It is evident that bhūśī 'prosperity' is in both texts the agent that is to 'release the sacrifice and sacrificer from evil'. ApŚ. with the same context as MS. produces a lectio facilior by making yajñāḥ the subject of muṇcatu: 'let the sacrifice release the sacrificer...'

pra yadh (SV. yo) rāye nīvāsai (SV. sati) RV. SV. In VV 1 p. 243 we have taken SV. (which read there for 'N') to mean 'who will bring [thee, Agni] to wealth', taking yo to refer to the sacrificer as in the following pāda (marto yas te vaso dākhat). But perhaps Benfey may be right in making yo refer to te (= Agni): 'what mortal shall worship thee, who will lead [him] to wealth'. As to the 3d person in such relative clauses cf. VV 1 §331, to which the variant should be transferred if this interpretation is correct.

prasmāpayanta uryinam RV.: prasānāpayanti ārmayah SV. The acc. in RV. is an epithet of soma; in SV. it is replaced by an additional subject: 'the ten associates (i.e. fingers) wash (soma), and the waves'. See VV 1 p. 48; the SV. form must intend present middle. Delete this variant on VV 1 p. 143.

śrīyaṁ ca lakṣmīṁ ca...TAA.: śrīṁ ca lakṣmīṁ...TAA.: śrīṁ ca puṣṭīṁ
MahānU. Same context; in the first form there is no subject expressed, and comm. supplies paramātmā.

[indrāh karmasu no 'vatu TB.; indram karmave avatu MS. For the better reading of TB. see §326.]

§391. In a small but rather interesting group the variant word is so situated that it may be either subject of one clause or object of another: samudrā (MS. "drān) nadyo veśantōh (MS. "tān) AV. MS. Preceded by dīvām brūmo nakṣatrāni, bhūmiṁ yaksāni parevān, and followed by te no muścantu anūhasāh. In AV. the three nouns of pāda c are made parts of the subject of muścantu, in MS. of the object of brūmo.

devā ajyapā jūṣānā agna (VS. indra) ajyasya viyantu VS. MS. KS.: (svāhā) devān ajyapān svāhāgnoṁ hotārāj jūṣānā agnā ajyasya viyantu TB. In the first version devāh is subject of viyantu; in the second it becomes an additional object of yaksad in the preceding (hotā yaksad agnām svāhājyasya [sc. devān]…)
yendṛtam kham ca dīvām māhin (MahānU. mahī, v. l. māhinī) ca TA. MahānU. Followed by yenādītyas tapati tejasaḥ bhṛjasaḥ ca. If the nom. be read, mahī (with kham and dīvām which must then also be nom.) would be subject of āṛtam: ‘by whom was enclosed the air, the sky, the earth.’ But Deussen’s translation implies the v. l. māhīn in MahānU.; in that case all three nouns are objects of tapati in the next pāda: ‘by whom the sun warms the atmosphere, enclosed by him, the sky, and the earth.’ The double relative is then harsh, but not inconceivably so.

4. Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative

§392. In a considerable group we find that what is originally an accusative dependent on a verb is developed into an independent statement, syntactically separate from the clause containing the original accusative. Or, contrariwise, an originally independent statement is compressed into syntactic dependence, so that the nominative subject (or predicate) of the original clause becomes an accusative. The latter is found perhaps most clearly and simply in variants where by the insertion of āhus ‘they say’ an original independent statement is made into a sort of indirect quotation. Thus:

iyāṁ vedāh paro antah prthivyāṁ RV. AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ.: vedām āhum param antah prthivyāṁ TS. KSA. In the same verse:

ayāṁ yajño bhuvanasya (AV. viṁvasya bhū?) nābhīḥ RV. AV. VS. LŚ.: yajñām āhum bhuvanasya nābhīm TS. KSA. And likewise:
ayān soma vṛṣṇo ādvasya retah RV. AV. VS. LS.: somam ēhur vṛṣṇo...

TS, KSA.—In the fourth pāda of this stanza the nom. remains in all texts. Cf. also:
dirghān ya ca kāṣṣur aditer anantam AŚ.: yad ēhur kāṣṣur aditān anantam PB. JB. (see Oertel, Disjunct Use of Cases, §48. 24 R). Here the forms are identical, being of neuter gender; and here the form with ēhur is likely to be older.

§393. The accusative seems to be the original form and the nom. of independent statement a secondary development from it in most of the following. In the first the particle iti is brought in with the nom. to make the syntax clear; in the second a verb is inserted in which the secondary nom. is the subject, thus expanding the pāda into a complete sentence:
nirṛtim tvāhām pari veda viśvatāḥ VS. MS. ŚB.: nirṛtir iti tvāhām pari veda viśvatāḥ (AV. ēsarvatāḥ) AV. TS. KS. The meter seems to indicate that the acc. is original; it is to be noted also that the preceding pāda in all texts has a similar phrase with iti, which may have attracted nirṛtim into its own construction. 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti.'

atū tvā rayim abhi (SV. rayir abhy āyat) RV. SV. The RV. original makes tvā object of bhara in pāda e, and rayim abhi probably an adverbial phrase, 'unto riches'. (Otherwise but implausibly Grassmann.) SV, by a lect. fac. expands into a separate sentence: 'thence may riches come unto thee.'

anāgaso yajamānasya vīrāḥ (MS. vīrān) AV. ApŚ. MS. (Mss. of MS. anugāsa for ana, and all but one vīram.) The original has an independent sentence with nom.; MS. attracts the noun into apposition with no in yo no deṣṭi... preceding.

nābhā prthivijāh samidhāne aṅgau (TS. dhānam aṅgim, MS. KS, dhāno aṅgim) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The only possible construction for the nom. in MS. KS. seems to be as part of an independent statement, of which Agni is implied as the subject; aṅgim is object of the verb in the next pāda (rāyasposāya bhate havāmahe): 'He (Agni) is kindled at the navel of the earth; we call Agni unto great increase of wealth.' The very harshness of this may, however, be considered an argument for its greater originality; the other texts look suspiciously like lect. fac.

tvām (TB. tvam) rāya ubhayāso jaṁnaṁ RV. MS. KS. TB. Preceded in all by tvām vardhanti kṣitayaḥ prthiviḥām. In RV. etc. supply vardhanti also in this pāda (rāya ubhō subject, tvām object). In
TB, this is made an independent statement (taman subject, ra ya ubh predicate; comm. tatsu rpadaika ity arthah).

agni (SV. agnih) sudtaye chordih RV. AV. SV. (Cone. VS. for SV.).

In RV. AV. agni and chordih are both accs. with the preceding idisha. In SV.: ‘Agni is the chordis.’

adharakrtam (TA. + krd) devehyah VS. SB. TA. Preceded by tv... adade; in VS. SB. adharakrtam agrees with tv. But TA. inserts between the two passages abhrir asi nairv asi; thus it makes our variant pada an independent statement, understanding asi.

indrata bhagah pari tv na yami AV.: indrasya bhaga svite dadhata na ApS. The latter is scarcely intelligible; bhagah, if construable at all, must be taken as an independent statement with some verb (or the copula) understood. The plural dadhata is inconsistent with the singular verbs which follow.

tam (HG. tam nha, PG. sa nha) pusan (AV. pusan, PG. pusa) chivatam (PG. shav) erayaavaa (PG. eraya) RV. AV. APMB. APG. HG. PG. The PG. has clearly a corruption, which as it stands can only mean ‘She (the bride) is Pusan (felt as ‘prospering one’) to us; bring her hither, most felicitous.’ The comm. so takes it;

Stenzler and Oldenberg translate the other reading.

agnih hotaram tama (MS. MSh. upa) tam huce TS. MS. ApS. MS.: agnir holop a tam huce KS. ‘I call here (hither) Agni the hotar’; ‘Agni is the hotar, I call him hither.’

akshata ari stam ilandam SMB.: akshata ari stam ilanna gopaya nam SG. In both preceded by a formula containing acc. tev, with which the epithets agree in SMB. ; in SG. they are made predicates of a separate sentence. It is hard to say which is original here.

§394. A special group of the preceding type is formed by variants in which the nom. of independent statement is part of a relative clause, of which it is the predicate, while the acc. is part of the main clause. Thus:

tam u stuthi yo antah sindhau AV.: tam u stuhu antahsindhum AS.

Followed by:

suhn (AS, suhn) satyasya yuvnam. ‘Praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful.’ The relative clause is here original; AS. compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters suhn also to suhn. Note the chiastic, rhetorically involved order of AV. (yuvnam at the end agreeing with tam at the beginning). AS. has a lect. fac., involving case attraction; but all the epithets refer to the same person.
§395. The reverse of this appears in the next, where the relative clause with predicate nom. appears only in the secondary PG.: savīvataśrayaḥ pratiṁām (PG. \(*ma\) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. MG. The following pāda in PG. is \(yā\ \ tāṁ\ \ rātrīṃ\ \ upāsmahe\) (for the others see VV 1 p. 213); only PG. has \(yā\) as subject of the relative clause, in which pratiṁā is predicate.

§396. Similarly, the following variants show such shifts in both directions:

tam kṛavyādayaṁ aśīśamam AV.: \(yāḥ\ \ kṛavyāt\ \ tam\ \ aśīśamam\) Kauś.
veda te bhūmi kṛdayam PG. HG.: \(yaḥ\ \ bhūmer\ \ kṛdayam\ [tāśī candraṁaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaș
aces: in the stanza; SV. has turned *jyestarho* into an acc. to provide an object for the verb *ghṛṇe.*

citrabhātun (TB. ApŚ. *bhānū*) rodastī antar āvṛti RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *agamā mahā namasā yanistham, yo didāya samiddhaḥ sve durone* (with unimportant variants). The acc. goes with *yanistham* as object of *agamā* in the first pāda; because of the intervening relative clause, it is natural that secondary texts attract it into agreement with *yo.* This assumes that the TB. comm. is right in understanding *bhānūḥ,* nom. sg., instead of dual (with *rodastī*), which would be formally possible.

kakṣicantam ya auśijah (TS. TA. *ṣam) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. N. The Tait. version can only be interpreted by referring *ya(h)* to the god addressed: ‘who (didst make famous) K. A.’ So Ṣāyaṇa, who supplies *kravān asi,* and Keith. Of course the other reading (in which K. goes with the preceding object acc. and is referred to by the relative, ‘K. who is the A.’) is original (cf. Oldenberg, Noten on 1. 18. 1).

yathā mitrāya vairadāya śatamahā (SV. *mam) RV. SV. Preceded by punātā dakṣasāthānam, yathā śardhāya vītaye. ‘Clarify the strength-producing (Soma), that (it may be) for a refreshing draft for the throng, that (it may be) most gratifying to M. and V.’ So RV., making *śatamahā* subject of a separate clause; SV. brings the word into direct connexion with the preceding *dakṣasāthānam.*

yadi śrātō (AV. krūtā) juhotana RV AV. ApŚ. MS. Followed by:

yady aśrāto (AV. *ṭam) mamattana, same texts. The preceding pāda of RV. AV. makes clear the antecedent: *indraya bhāgam rvejyam.* ‘If cooked do ye offer it; if not cooked, delay.’ The AV. has attracted the adjectives into direct agreement with *bhāgam.* (The comm. on AV., however, takes them as nom. neuter, supplying *havīh.*)

svaśātām yad īm vṛdhe RV. AV.; svapatiḥ yadī vṛdhe SV. The acc. agrees with *indram (somasya pitaye)* in the preceding pāda; SV. makes it subject of *vṛdhe.*

5. Case attraction

§398. The preceding cases taper off into another group which is a little hard to define further than by saying that (as in some of the variants quoted above) case attraction, that is the influence of a neighboring case-form, is responsible for the variation. The varying word still refers to the same person or thing, so that there is no proper ‘transfer
of epithet; but the syntactic shift is hardly of the same type as the immediately preceding cases, unless perhaps in the first two examples: hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatī (TB. 2nd) VS. MS. TB. It seems fairly clear that TB. has attracted sarasā to the case of tanūnapāt; but how either of the nomis. is to be construed is not obvious. Comm. on VS. dares to say that tanū is nom. used for acc. ! Perhaps the TB. version may be understood as containing an independent statement: 'Let the hotar worship!' (The deities are) Tanūnapāt, Sarasvati...

anyam (AV. anya) ā tu tvaṁ (AV. omits tvaṁ) yamy anya u tvām RV. AV. N. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 16. We believe that anya is due to stupid and mechanical assimilation to the following anya.
apu dhātuḥ nyāhiḥ sutah RV.: apu dhautam nyāhiḥ sutam SV. Preceded by subhram andho devavālam, and followed by svadanti gāvaḥ payo-
bbhiḥ. Śāyaṇa takes the RV. pāda as parenthetical (pāda as a and c going together), which is probably the best way out, tho all three pādas might be taken as syntactically separate, understanding somam or the like as object of svadanti. SV. assimilates the parti-
ciples in b. to the case of andho, an easily comprehensible lect. fac.
Grassmann’s suggestion that RV. is incorrect is implausible.

§399. As in the two variants just quoted, not a few of the following passages are dubious of interpretation, and at times under suspicion of corruption:
hṛṣṇa kṛtaṁ āvāna (MS. 6nani) vikṛṣṇ (RV. apṣṇ, MS. dikṣṇ) agnim RV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The subject is originally Varuṇa, who has
instilled ‘insight into hearts, Agni into dwellings.’ MS. has an
unintelligent assimilation of V. to the surrounding aces., perhaps
with the thought that Agni is still the subject as in the preceding
stanza.

tebhiḥ (AV. VS. VSK. tebhyaḥ) svarāṣd asūnitām etām (AV. asūnitir no
adya) RV. AV. VS. VSK. It seems clear that AV., which Whitney
calls unintelligible, contains a stupid assimilation of asūnitā to
the case of the adjoining word. The following pāda is yathāvāsan
tanaṁ (AV. tanāḥ) kalpayāti (RV. kalpayasva).

viṣṇuṇ aghan varuṇaṁ pūrvahāḥ AV.: viṣṇu aghan varuṇa pūrvahātau
(MS. 6tim) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AS. ŚS. In AV. the prayer itself is
the subject of aghan; in MS. it is made the goal, along with Viṣṇu
and Varuṇa, the subject being the offering or the water used with
it. The other texts use a locative which might be one of goal,
agreeing in sense with MS.; but see §457.
gāyatrī chanda indriyam, tryāvir (KS. triyā) gaur vayo dadhuh VS. MS.
KS. TB.: gāyatrīm chanda indriyam, tryāvirī gām vayo dadhat VS.
TB. The nouns are subjects of dadhuh, the aces, objects of dadhat, being assimilated to indriyam and vayo, which are aces (objects) in both versions.

These are the first of a series of formulae, all of the same type; the meter names (in nom. form) are uṣṇik (uṣṇīḍhā), aṃuṣṭup, bṛhatī, pāñkīṭ, triṭup, jagatī, viratū, dvipodā (dvīpaćc), kakup (kakuc), atichandā. For the epithets of cattle (dītyavād, pāñcārīn etc.) see the passages, which can easily be found in the Čone.

ukhām (MS. KS.† ukhā) svasāram adhi vedim asthati MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by syātā devebhīr amṛtenāgāh (MS. KS. tāgaṭā). The word ukhā is subject in MS. KS. and it seems scarcely possible to interpret ApŚ. (which addresses it directly in the 2d person) otherwise; yet ApŚ. stupidly assimilates the form to the following aces. Caland translates ukhā, but notes that Hir.Ś. also reads ukhām, so that the corruption is evidently very old.

devāḥ savitābhimātiṣāhah AV.: savitā devo bhīmatīṣāḥah Ppp.: devaṁ trātāram (TS. KS. savitāram) abhimātiṣāham RV. TS. KS. Assuming (cf. Oldenberg, Prot. 326 f.) that the aces., as in RV. TS. KS., is original ( tho it is difficult), the change to the nom. in AV. is easy to understand. In AV. the preceding pāda is dhātā viddhātā bhuvanasya yas patī, and the following: udīyā rudrā aśvinobhā, devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṁ nirāthāt. For c the others have a different version beginning iman yajñam (cf. §329); it is significant that this aces. is also eliminated in AV.

yajñasya (AV. cītasya) mātā (SMB. mātmā) suhanā me (AV. no) astu AV. TB. SMB. Preceded by ākāśāṁ devin maṇasaṁ prapadye in SMB., which has put the epithet mātā syntactically into the preceding clause, making it agree with devin; the meter proves it secondary.

samyag āyur tvaṁ (MS. yajñam) yajñapatau dadhātu (MS. dhāh) KS. MS. See VV. 1 p. 100. In MS. yajñam is attracted to the case of āyur.

iddāno (KS. tāno) vahīr (KS. vahīrīm) namasa RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:

agnim (AV. agnīḥ) srucā adhevaśṛṣ pravatsu (AV. pravakṣu), same texts. The original readings are doubtless given by the texts which agree, VS. TS. MS. A verb of approaching occurs in the preceding. 'The carrier (approaches), praising, with adoration; to Agni (approach) the spoons as the sacrifices proceed.' In AV. agnim is
changed to agniḥ to agree with its synonym sahniḥ, and the two pādās are more closely connected than in the original. In KS, the attraction has worked in the opposite direction; sahniḥ becomes sahniḥ to match agniṃ. srucato is now the subject, īḍānā agrees with it, and the preceding pāda (achāyam eti śavasā gṛṭena [AV. gṛṛtā cīt], see §467) is changed to achāyam yanti śavasā gṛṭācīt (note retention of ayam, now ungrammatical!): ‘here come with might the ghee-filled spoons, praising with adoration Agni the carrier...’ Ppp. has idē sahniṃ nāmasāgniṃ srucato dhrvareṣu prayātṣu, which is translatable but obviously secondary.

gāyatrīṃ triṣṭubham jaṭātin anuṣṭubham (MS. ६तिः virājām) AV. TS. MS.: gāyatrī triṣṭub jaṭatī virāj KS. This is the 3d pāda of a verse whose 4th pāda in TS. MS. KS. (omitting slight variants) is arkaṁ (TS. bhṛhat arkaṁ) yuṣṭānāḥ svar abharann idam. It appears that KS. has allowed the names of meters to be attracted into agreement with yuṣṭānāḥ (the leaving arkaṁ to be the object of the participle, which is the construction of all of them in TS. MS.); they thus become subjects of the verb ā-abharann. The AV. varies considerably and is difficult, probably corrupt; its aces. must depend on the verb of the 1st pāda.

yuvo ratho adhvarām (AV.† GB.† ६ro) devatāyāe RV. AV. AB. 6. 12. 7 (add in Conc.) GB. Followed by the verb yāti (yātā). ‘Your chariot goes to the sacrifice...’ In AV. adhvaro is awkwardly attracted to the case of ratho: ‘let your chariot, the sacrifice, approach...’ Ppp. is reported to read adhvaram.

ā gharma agnim ṛtayann avādī (TA. asādī) RV. TA.: ṛ gharma agnim anṛto na śādī MS. In the latter agnim has been changed to the case of gharma.

kāman (AV. PB. kāmaḥ, KS. kāmas) samudram a vīśa (AV. viveka, KS. TB. viśat) AV. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. There seems little doubt that the nom. is original, and it is likely that the acc. is due to attraction to the case of samudram. The two aces. must be taken as in apposition. According to the comm. on TA. the subject is daksinā. TB. has the following explanation of the meaning: samudra iva hi kāmāḥ, neva hi kāmasyānto 'eti, na samudrasya. nayanto garbhām vanām dhiyam dhuḥ RV.: nayantāṁ gībhār vanā dhiyam dhaḥ SV. Highly problematical; nayanto agrees with the indefinite 3 plural subject (‘they’, really the singers); nayantāṁ, like the other aces. in the verse, must be object of dhāḥ. In SV. the subject is Agni and the aces. probably refer to the singer (now singular).
6. Transfer of epithet

§400. A very large number of nom.-acc. variants concern what we have described above (§14) as ‘transfer of epithet’. That is, an epithet is transferred to a different entity, involving change of case. Often formal case-attraction is also involved, as in the last group; but there is this difference, that the variant word no longer applies to the same person or thing as in the other form. As in all cases of ‘transfer of epithet’, these variants have no bearing on the uses of the varying cases. There is nothing that need be said about them as a whole except that they may of course show shift of number or gender or both, as well as case; such instances are given separately. No other subdivision of the long list needs to be made.

§401. The following show no change in number or gender:

iyarti dhūnam aruṣām (MS. KS. 90) bhariśbrat RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB: ‘(Agni) comes clothed in ruddy smoke’, original; changed in MS. KS. to read ‘the ruddy (Agni) comes clothed in smoke.’

swār devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. devā) agamna (MS. MS. agāmā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS. See §§340, 349. The nom. or voc. is certainly original, the acc. secondary. The nom. would apply the epithet devāḥ to the priests: ‘we have gone to heaven as gods’; the acc., ‘we have gone to heaven, to the gods.’

ye ca devān (ŚŚ. devā) ayaṇanta AV. ŚŚ. The passage deals with generous sacrificers and givers of dakṣīṇā; AV. means ‘who have sacrificed to the gods’ (referring to mažavāno which follows). In ŚŚ. devāḥ, if nom., must refer to mažavāṇaḥ, as in the preceding variant. It might however be voc. (again as in the preceding).

mā no hrṣītām atithiḥ (SV. hrṣīthā atithiḥ) vasya āgniḥ RV. SV. Followed by purusprastāta ṛṣabḥ. RV.: ‘let not Agni, our kindly guest, be ashamed of us; much praised is he.’ The SV. distortion makes atithi object of the verb, referring to some vague person (the yajamāna?) other than Agni, to whom it originally belonged. It seems to mean: ‘be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni); Agni is kindly, much praised is he.’

didīhi deva devayuh (SV. āyum) RV. SV. Preceded by abhi dyumnam bhad yaśa iva spate. In RV. devayuh is in logical apposition with the subject of the imperative; in SV. it is apparently made to refer to the worshiper (so Benfey), as a second acc. with didīhi.

jairam indra (KS. jaitrāyaṇa) ratham ő tiṣṭa goviṭ (AV. govīdām) RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Whether the epithet is applied to Indra or to his chariot makes little practical difference. But the
nominate and accusative

rest of the stanza is triṣṭubh, and it is curious that AV. turns this pāda into a jagati by this otherwise harmless alteration. One or two mss. are quoted by Lanman as reading govit; but Pp. (JAOS. 40. 151) supports govidam.

viprasya va yac chaśamāṇa uktham (AV. ॐyaḥ) RV. AV. Followed by vājaṁ, with which the adjective agrees in RV.; in AV. (with the help of the adjoining saśamāṇaḥ) it is transferred to the subject (Agni).

pari dyuksam sanad rayim SV.; pari dyuksah sanadrayaḥ RV. In RV. both epithets agree with the subject (Soma) of the verb of the following pāda; in SV. sanad is made a separate verb (subject Soma) with rayim as object, and dyuksam agreeing therewith.

ārēśatūni (TS. AS, SS, MŚ. ārē satūni) kṛṇuhi sarvasūram (TS. AS, SS, MŚ. ॐvīrāḥ) AV† TS. AS, SS, MŚ. In AV. the epithet goes with the object (imam of the preceding pāda): in the others, with the subject.

punar brahmāṇo (brahmā) vasunītha (ॐnīt, ॐdhīte, ॐdhītim, ॐdhītam) yaṁyaḥ (agne); see §340.

ava priyā (AV. priyāni) adhīṣata RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. If priyā(s) is really nom., as commonly assumed, it must agree with the subject (in RV. apparently the Maruts, in the others, secondarily, the pitṛs); priyāni is of course object, but it is not clear to what it refers. Grassmann takes priyās as acc. fem., supplying giras. (Most AV. mss. read ava ॐpriyāni, with wrong accent; see Whitney’s note.)

ūrdhvo adhvaram divi deveṣu dhehi VS. ŚB.: ॐurdhva (VSK. ॐso) imam (VSK, omits) adhvaram...hotā yachā VS. VSK. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB, TA.

jāmiṁ (KS.† cami, see VV 2 §57) mā hiṁsir (AV. mā jāmiṁ mośīr) anvaya (MŚ, anu ya) sayāna (AV. KS,† ॐnam) AV, KS, TB. ĀpŚ, MŚ. The nom. agrees with the subject, the acc. with the object jāmiṁ.

svargaṁ (svargam, svagāṁ) arvanto (arvato) jayata (jayema, jayatoh, jayati), see §350.

tam akraṭuṁ (KU. ॐtuḥ) paśyati viśakokah TA. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU. pra yo jajñē videṇā (AV. ॐrāṁ) asya bandhum (AV. bandhub) AV. TS. KS. Followed by viśē devānāṁ(TS. viśvnē deva) jānēm viṇaṭī. The verse is mystical and its real sense obscure. It is, however, clear that bandhub must be construed with or as the subject of viṇaṭī, and bandhum as one of the objects of viṇaṭī or object of vidvān.
urvadrapa višvāpa induḥ TS. ApŚ.: purudasmō višvāpa induḥ VS. ŚB.: purudasmavat višvāpam induḥ KS. Followed by pavamāno (VS. ŚB. antar) garbham (TS. dhīra, VS. ŚB. mahimānam) ānarka dhīraḥ (TS. garbham). The adjectives agree with the object garbham in KS., with the subject induḥ in the others.

samārakhyordhva adhvaro divīspṛṣam TS. TB.; ārdha adhvaro divīspṛk MS. KS. In the ritual the TS. passage (followed by ahruto yajña yajñapateḥ) is addressed to the sacrifice (āghāra), and can only be interpreted (understanding āghāram as object of samārakhyas, as TB. does): ‘lofty is the cult, undertaking the heaven-touching (āghāra); the sacrifice of the sacrificer is undisturbed.’ The reading of MS. seems to be a lect. fac.; samārakhyas is taken easily with the preceding formula, and divīspṛk, assimilated to the preceding noms., applies to adhvaro. (KS. omits samārakhyas.) Keith considers the TS. TB. reading a corruption, but with doubtful justice.

sarvasati vāṣati peśo antaram (TB. and ms. of KS, "raḥ) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded in all by tad aśvinā bhīṣajā rudravartanī. ‘The Aśvins...and Sarasvatī make(s) his inner form.’ antaram agrees with peśo. But antaraḥ, read by the sole ms. of KS. as well as TB. (v. Schr. emenda), is difficult. The TB. comm. seems to have no qualms about making it agree with Sarasvatī (or does he mean to take it as an adverb, = anta? yā tu sarasvatya antaraḥ sariramadhye). All we can say is that it certainly no longer goes with peśo.

ud asṭām arśītaḥ anu VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApMB.: ud asṭāmaṁśtā vasyam (HG. abhūma) AV. HG. ‘I have risen up after the immortals’: ‘we have risen up immortal.’ The AV. verse seems on the whole to be secondary to that of the Yajus texts, and to have transferred the epithet to the subject.

asmin yajñe suhavāṁ (AV. "vā) johavīmi AV. MS. KS. TS. AŚ, ŚŚ. N. Preceded by kuhūṁ devīṁ sukṛtam vidmanāpasm (with slight variants). AV. comm. also has suhavāṁ, agreeing with kuhūṁ; if suhavā be kept it agrees with the subject, who then has to be conceived as a woman.

prajāpatīr yaṁ prathama jīgāya ŚŚ. ApŚ. MS. ApMB.: prajāpatiḥ prathamo 'yaṁ jīgāya AŚ. Preceded by tayānātām kāmam aham jayāni. In AŚ. (a)yaṁ goes with the preceding noms.: ‘this Prajāpatī was the first to win (it).’ The other, with yaṁ referring to kāmam, is doubtless original.

§402. Transfers of epithets between nominative and accusative forms which involve also changes in number or gender or both are:
viśvāni yo amartyo (havyā marṣeṇa raṇyaṭi) RV.: viśve yasminn amartyo (havyam marṣaṇa indhate) SV. See §457.

tad āyam (MG. idam) rājā varunō 'numanyatāṁ AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. āyam agrees with the subject rājā etc.; idam with the object tad.

devaḥ acaḥ na majmanā RV.: deva indro na majmanā SV. In SV. the epithet deva is attracted into agreement with the subject.

yā rājāṇā (TS. 2ndā) sarasāḥ yātha (MS. yāta) ugrā TS. MS. KS. Subject is Mitra and Varuna, with which rājāṇā agrees: ‘ye (MS. they) two kings who, terrible, go against the (warrior) with his chariot.’ TS. transfers it to the object: ‘ye two who, terrible, go against the king with his chariot.’

agnīṣ tad viśvam (AV. mss. viśvāṇ) a prṇāti (AV. 2nd) vidvān RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. With Whitney and SPP. viśvād (epithet of Agni) must be kept in AV.

andhanaygam vasanaṁ jariṣṇu (ŚG. cār, PG. nūḥ) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. See VV 2 §57.

anutta śarṣeṇidhṛtā RV.: anuttā carṣeṇidhṛtā RV. Preceded by tvam vṛtrāṇi harsī . . . (anuttā with vṛtrāṇi, 2nd with tvam = Indra).

ayā san (MS. ŚŚ. ayāḥ san, KS. ayāḥ san, Kauś. ayāṣyaḥ) havyam uhīse MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. The original epithet of Agni is, with phonetic changes resulting in a different word, applied to havyam.

devatā yantam anase sakhāyaḥ (KS. yam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by anu tvā mātā pitarō madantu. The original applies sak-hāyaḥ to mātā pitarō; KS. transfers it to tvā (influenced no doubt by yamantam).

vapāvantam (MS. 2nd) nāyminā tapantaḥ TS. MS. TA. Preceded by anjantī yam prathayanto na vṛprāḥ; MS. transfers the epithet from object to subject.

prāṇyā tantāṁ tirate dhante anyā AV.: avānyāṁ tantāṁ kirato dhatte anyān TB. In AV. anyā ... anyā refers to weaving maidens; in TB. it is transferred to the threads.

viśvāni yo amartyaḥ RV.: viśve yasmin amartye SV. The n. acc. viśvāni of RV. agrees with the following havyaḥ; the masc. nom. viśve with the following marṣaṇaḥ.

davini (VS. devīn) nīvam svairitrām anāgasam (AV. sak) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. anāḥ is transferred to the subject of ēṛuhema. sā santāti (SV. tā, TB. ApŚ. santāc) mayas karad apa śrīdhāḥ RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. santāti is epithet of mayas; on the other see VV 2 §156.
bhūrīsthātām bhūry āsakyanām (AV. *tah) RV. AV. See Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield 126, and §14 above.

viśvanāh (AV. *do) vācam avīśamītvā (AV. avīśamītvā) RV. AV. Discussed by Edgerton, l. c. 128; the AV. is secondary.

yavana (AV. *yavana vā) kṣudham puruhūta viṁśam (AV. *vike) RV. AV. (quater). The AV. once transfers the epithet ‘all’ from kṣudham to the subject (of tarema in the preceding).

dhīnām antāb sabardughah RV.: dhenaṁ antāb sabardughām SV. In RV. the adjective agrees with vanaspatīr (= Soma); in SV. it is attached to the false form dhenaṁ.

parāśutrapo abhi bōśucanāh RV.: parāśutrapah bōśucatāḥ kṛṣṭiḥ AV. In RV. kṛṣṭi goes with Agni, subject of preceding kṛṣṭiḥ; in AV. with the object (mūrapatrīṃ).

dyūmantah sam idhimāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: dyūmantah sam idhimāḥ AV. TS. MS. KS. Acc. with preceding object tva. gharman tōcantaḥ (AŚ. *ta, ŚŚ. *tani) pravanah (AŚ. ŚŚ. pravanah) bibhrataḥ AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. In AB. nom. with dhiṣyadh in preceding; in ŚŚ. acc. with gharman. On AŚ. cf. VV 1 p. 165.

āmaṁ naya (RV. MS. āyuṁ na yam) namasya rāṭahuvam (RV.† MS.† *yāḥ) RV. AV. MS. In RV. MS. rāṇa goes with nom. pañca janāḥ in the following.

ačīdṛām (SMB. *rāḥ) karma yaukata RV. AB. SMB. The unaccented SMB. may understand voc. rather than nom.

vande dāruḥ († see VV 1 p. 218) vandamāno virākṣi RV.: vandadevāt vandamānā vinaṣṭa SV. Preceded by indraṣyeva pra tavasus kṛtāni; in SV. vandaḥ is attracted into agreement with kṛtāni.

vandāruss te (VS. ŚB. *russ te, add to VV 2 §958; MS. KS. *rum te) tanvan (tanumati) vande apane RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The meaning here shifts with the form; nom. ‘praising’, acc. ‘praiseworthy’ (fem. gender, with tanumati, tho the masc. would have the same form).

ačīdṛāḥ (ApŚ. aghorāḥ, VS. ŚB. achnnapatraḥ) praṣā abhivipāya (VS. MS. ŚB. anuvikṣeṣa) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

viśrāh prtaṇā abhibhūtaraṁ naram (SV. PB. Śvidh. naraḥ) RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. Vait. Śvidh. Followed in RV. AV. SV. by sajñās tatāksur īndram jajau sa rājase.

aḥruḥ maho dharumīya devān (AV. devah) RV. AV. Followed by dieva jyotih sem a mimīṣyāḥ (AV.† *vāt). In AV. (which has reconstructed the passage extensively) devah is made an epithet of the subject (a horse).
trin samudrān samsarpat svargān (MS. ०गह) VS. MS, ŚB.; samsarpā (KS. ०पन) trin samudrān svargān (ApŚ. svargān lokān) KS. ApŚ. ye ceme (TS. cemāḥ, VS. cainām) rudrā abhitāḥ (MS. NīlarU; abhito rudrāḥ) VS. TS. KS. MS, NīlarU. The nom. sing goes with rudrāḥ; enam (= Rudra) or smāṁ (apparently the earth) is construed as object of abhitāḥ.

śukrāḥ vaṇanty asurāya nīrṇijam RV.; śukrā vi yantu asurāya nīrṇijē SV. ‘They weave a bright garment for the Asura’; ‘the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the A.’

sa ṇah prithu (TB. ṇuḥ) śravīyam RV. SV. ŚB. TB. prthu, object: ‘the broad (space).’ In TB. transferred to the subject (Agni).

ny adhur mātrāyān (KS. mātrayā) kavayo vayodhasah (KS. ०सय) MS. KS. In MS. vayo goes with kavayo, in KS. with ०गिन in the following.

apo mahi vrjyati cakṣase tamaḥ RV.; apo mahi vrṣute cakṣuṣa tamaḥ SV. PB. mahi refers to the subject Uṣas, mahi refers to the darkness which she uncovers.

sūryam cānū riśādasaḥ (RVKh. ०सय) AV. RVKh. ŚŚ. (ed. of AV. cāmūn riśādasam, but ms. as ŚŚ.; RVKh. Schefelowitz p. 157). The original nom. pl. agrees with derāḥ in the next sentence; RVKh. has acc. sg. with sūryam. (The form amū is probably neut. pl. of asau, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 350.)

ulokam u dve upa jāmī śyatūḥ RV.; lokam u (ApŚ. id) dve upa jāmī śyatūḥ MS. ApŚ. jāmī transferred from object to subject.

agnim bharantam (MS. KS. ०त) asmayum VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by yuṇjāthām rāsabhāṁ yuvam, asmin yāme vrṣanvasā. The acc. agrees with rāsabhāṁ, the nom. dual with the subject of yuṇjāthāṁ (the adhvaryu and yajamāna). The ms. of MS. (s.p. and p.p.) read asmayuḥ; perhaps they intend asmayā, which would be another transfer.

tā (TS. te, VS. ŚB. yā) te (RV. KS. N. vām) dhāmāṇy (RV. KS. N. vistāṇy) uṁmasi gamaññhayai (TS. ०ye) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Only in TS. the pronoun (te) is made to agree with the subject (Keith suggests that it is a mere blunder due to the following te, enclitic from tvam).

swatāḥ prajāḥ prajanayān parīhi TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: suśro vīrān prajanayān parīhi... ŚB.

vareṇyakratūr (AV. ०tur) aham RVKh. AV.: śiṣṭaṇyakratūr (text: ०शिष्ठन्यक्रतृ, doubtless misprint) aham ApŚ. Schefelowitz reads ०tur in RVKh. The form ०tur is acc. pl. fem. agreeing with the waters; and this is a simpler reading than ०tur (nom. sg. masc.), going with aham.
dhwántaṁ vataagram anusaṁcaranatu (PB, abhiśāṁ) TS. PB. TB. PG.
ApMB.; dhvánta vā tā agnim abhi ye samācaranti MŚ. MG. The
mass. of MŚ. MG. read dhvánta (nom. dual, going with the subject
in the preceding pada) vātāgnum (for which vātāgram is doubtless
the true reading, cf. VV 2 p. 402).

ā raśmīṁ (RV. raśmiṁ) deva yamase (TB. yuvaśe) svasvān (RV. TB.
svakvāh) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

jyotiśmalti (MS. ṛṭh) prati muñcate nabhāḥ TS. MS. KS. PG. Followed
by devi rātri sūryasya vratāni, or an equivalent. In MŚ. jyō
to (originally epithet of rātri) is made an object of the verb.

jīvan (comm. jīvan) deśabhya uttaram strāmi AV.: deśabhya jīvanta
uttaram bharema TA. In TA. jīva is epithet of the subject; so
jīvan if this is intended in AV. (then with variation of number
only); jīvan, if intended, must go with the object uttaram.

hiranyarūpam (MS. KS. MŚ. varṇam) uṣaso vyuṣṭau RV. MS. KS. MŚ.;
hiranyarūpa (TS. TB. varnā) uṣaso (TS. TB. sām) vīroka VS.
TS. ŚB. TB. Followed by:

ayasthānam (TS. ayasthānā) udūtā (TS. MS. KS. tāu) sūryasya RV.
TS. MS. KS. In both of these the dual noms. agree with the
subject, Mitra and Varuṇa; the accs. with the object, garītam,

ekaviniśa rbaḥavāh (VS. tva) stutam (VS. stutāh) VS. MS. KS. TB. One
of six consecutive and parallel verses in all; the remaining five
have (before stutam or stutāh): rudrāḥ pañcadaśe, vasuvas tri-vē,
stome sapta-daśe, trayastriśe ‘mṛtaṁ ("tā, VS.), triṇave marutaḥ (TB.
ma ṛtē). In VS. stutāḥ agrees with the subject, a group of gods
that varies in each verse. In the others it agrees with the object
in pada d (havir indre vaya dadhuḥ).

hiranyayāḥ (MS. ṛyāḥ) kucayo dhārapuṭāḥ RV. MS. Preceded by tri
rocanaṁ dīrṇaḥ dhārayanta. In RV. hirē agrees with the subject,
the Ādityas; in MS. with the object rocana.

māta yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā (MS. vīram jajnanj janiṣṭham) RV.
VS. MS. KS. TB.

urv (AŚ. ārva and urv) anarikṣan vihi VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ.
(bis) ApŚ. MŚ. The nom. must agree with the subject of vihi.

sa prayāna (MS. sa prayāni) aid dharaṇam (TS. MS. KŚ. dharṇaṁ)
madhve agram AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚA. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. Part of a
mystic verse; the sense is no better and no worse, whether the
adjective goes with sa or with agram. But it may be based on
juhomi te dharaṇam madhve agram RV. AV., in a ritualistic con-
nexion; this rather points to the originality of the acc.
mahīṣaṁ naḥ sukhvaṁ tāsthivāṃsam MS.; samudraṁ na sukhvaṁ vai abhiśtayaḥ RV.; samudraṁ na suhvaṁ (AV. suhvaṁ, TB. Poona ed. suhvaṁ) tāsthivāṃsam AV. TB. Aṣ. ApŚ.—Ppp. reads like MS. but for suhvaṁ (Barret suhvaṁ, suggesting suhvaṁ as a better reading, JAOS, 35. 46). Same context in all except RV.; the acc. agrees with samudram, the nom. with the subject of the verb in the next pāda. Perhaps AV. is influenced by recollection of the RV. passage (i.e. shows contamination of two passages).

yajā no (or yajāno, so Poona ed. of TB. with MS., see VV 2 p. 376) devāḥ (MS. devo) ajarah suvīraḥ MS. TB. Aṣ. ApŚ. Nom. devo is construed as epithet of subject Agni; acc. as object of yajā (or yajāno), referring to the gods to whom Agni ministers.

avirāghno (ApMB.† ⁴ni) virātaraḥ (HG. ⁴tamah, Aṣ. ApŚ. ApMB. viravataḥ) suvīraṁ (HG. suvīraṁ) Aṣ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.: viranī hi (read avirāghni?) viravataḥ suvēsā MG. The accs. refer to gṛhān, the noms. to the subject akhaṁ, which is fem. in ApMB. MG. Presumably the masc. akhaṁ is more original; virataraḥ would be impossible in ApMB. MG. Further than this we can hardly go as regards the original form of that epithet. But the nom. suvēsā of MG. alone is certainly secondary.

vi manarśa rohito viṣavaṁṬaḥ TB.: vi rohito anṛṣad viṣavaṁṬam AV. The latter original (viṣavaṁṬam object).

parīmaṁ rāyo manuṣyaṁ KS.: parīmaṁ rāgasa poṣo yajamānaṁ manuṣyaḥ TS. And others, see §§442 etc. In KS. manuṣya is applied to the yajamāna; 'let wealth invest this man.' In TS. rāgdsa is gen., and manuṣyaḥ must be taken with Keith as a second subject, 'men'; or, with thought of daivir viśo in the preceding, 'human clans'.

codad rādaṁ upāstutam (ArŚ. ⁴tam) cid arvāk RV. AV. ArŚ. MS. TB. In RV. etc. the adjective goes with the subject, Indra; in ArŚ. with rādaṁ(s).


ayam (TA. idam) devo vanaspatiṁ AV. TA. Preceded by varano vāra-yātai (vārayātai). TA. feels the need of an object, and alters ayam to idam.

udityā rudrā upairispṛṣṇa naḥ (KS. ⁴saṁ mā) AV. KS.: vasavo rudrā udityā upairispṛṣṇa mā RV. VS. TS. Followed by ugrāṁ cettāram adhirīṣam akraṇ (AV. akraṇa). The adjective, orig. going with mā, is transferred to the subject in AV.
ad īm āsvān na hetārah (SV. *ram) RV. SV. Followed by aśūshham amṛtayu, madhvo (SV. madho) rasaṁ sadhamāde. ’As drivers (decorate) a horse’, RV.: in SV. hetāraṁ is Soma (attributed to the case of rasaṁ), ’the inverting one’.

yasya dhīte na vicarmant mānasā (SV. *sam) RV. SV. The meaning of RV. is doubtful. Oldenberg: ’whose (Indra’s) gifts to men go their course like the days’; Geldner: ’for whom the ages (yugāni) of men pass like (his) days.’ In SV. mānasān is assimilated in case and number to the epithets of Indra in the verse, and is taken to mean ’friendly to man’; the relative clause might mean ’whose heavens do not pass away’ (so Benfey).

taj jānatir abhy anāṣata vṛdh RV.: tā jānatir abhy anāṣata kṣāh ArŚ. In RV. taj is object of jānatī; in ArŚ. tā(h) attracted to agreement with it.

indra jātharan namya (SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. *yan) na AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. For the difficulties involved see Whitney’s note; in any case the word goes with Indra in AV., with jātharan in the rest.

tevōn īsamudrān prathamo vi dhārayaḥ (SV. *dṛhaḥ prathame vidharmam) RV. SV. Radical reconstruction, with transfer of object to predicate nom. ’You first arranged the sea (for the gods)’; ’du bist das Meer im allerhöchsten Träger’ (Benfey).

indram jūnāṁ virānāṁ (VS. janayo) na patnī VS. MS. KS. TB. Here different words are involved. ’Taking delight in the manly Indra, like wives’: ’taking delight in Indra, like wedded women.’

§403. In some of the preceding cases it is perhaps doubtful whether the term ’transfer of epithet’ applies strictly. In these which now follow it can certainly apply only by stretching the term. Namely: in them one form of the variant shows a noun or pronoun of independent construction, which cannot properly be described as an ’epithet’ of any other word. In several cases, moreover, the words are different, as in the last variant in the preceding section. Cf. §15.

pratnāṁ ni pāti kāryam RV. (’he protects the ancient wisdom’); ṭpratnāni (Conc. pra tevā ni) pāti kāryāh KS. (’he [Soma], the wise, protects the ancient things [laws, or the like’]).

prajāpatim aham tvaṁ samakṣam rāhyāsum GB. Vait.: prajāpatir aham tvaṁ sākṣaṁ rāhyāsam MS. ’May I cause Prajāpati to prosper visibly with thee’; ’may I, a very Prajāpati in person, prosper thus thee.’ The latter is original; see Caland on Vait.

achāyaṁ eti kavasaḥ ghṛtena (AV. ghṛtā cīl) AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS.: achāyaṁ yanti kavasaḥ ghṛtāciḥ KS. See §467.
nominate and accusative

+soma+hātha soma+hām (MS. soma+hir) moha+ha pira+vasu+h (pira+h, pira+h)
RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KṢ. ApMB. The nom. can only be felt as going with the subject; but the whole verse is very corrupt in MS.

+girah soma+h (SV. gira stomān) pava+ma+h ma+nī+hā RV. SV. 'The purified soma (has inspired) our songs and devotions', RV: 'the purified one (soma, has inspired) our songs, praises, and devotions.'
evai+ vana+ garbha+ma+h ā dheki RV.Kh. MG.: evai+ vana+ garbha+ma+h ā dha+sya ApMB.

+asma+h+h+yāma+h īndav īndra+yū+h (SV. īndri+yama+h) RV. SV. The verb is parasa, to which SV. supplies an object īndri+yama+h; īndra+yū+h is nom., epithet of the soma-drop (īndu).
+dura+h ca vi+h+kā avṛ+nī+h o+pa+ma+h RV. AV.: tura+h cid vi+h+kā jārapa+sat tapasa+vān AV. dura+h is object of avṛ+nī+h; tura+h apparently felt as epithet of the subject.

+soma+h+h+yāma+h pratha+ma+h+nu dharmā (TB. ApṢ. pratha+ma+nu dharmah) RV.† TB. ApṢ. (RV. p.p. pratha+ma+h, anu, dharmā.) The original neut. pl. was misunderstood later and made into noms. sg. masc., epithets of the subject, Agni. Doubtless the adjacent soma+h+h+yāma+h helped. Caland translates ApṢ. as if it had the RV. reading, tho he has no note.

+yu+h+mā+h ca dā+yām ma+ upe+ta (SS. dā+yām co+petām) AB. SS. Followed by vi+h+yām yām u ca (SS. u+h+ta) vi+h+mā+h. upe+ta is nom. sg. of a nomen agentis used as periphrastic future: 'he shall obtain you as an inheritance from me, and also the knowledge which we know.' In SS. we have upe+ta+h, past pple., attracted into agreement with vi+h+yām; in this form there is no verb to govern the aces.

dharpā (VSK. 8mān) mā+nā+u+h (KS. 8mām, TS. ApṢ. 8mān) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApṢ. MṢ. In KS. TB. ApṢ. acc. object of the verb, in the others subject, or agreeing with the subject: 'be bold, as a man.' (VSK. let the man be bold.)

tasmāi dē+vi+a amṛ+ta+h (AV. 8tan) soma+h vyā+ya+ntām (AV. 8tu) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. In AV. amṛta+h is a noun, object of the verb.

7. Neuter acc. adverbs varying with nom. adjectives

§404. In a small and simple group we find neuter accusative adverbs varying with nominative adjectives, virtually equivalent in meaning:
subhā+ soma+h+bhā+ pratha+h+ma+h (AS. SS. 8mām) VS. SB. AS. SS.
soma+h pratha+h+mo vivide RV. PG. HG. ApMB. soma+h pratha+h+ma+h soma+yā+ jā+yā pratha+h+ma+h AV. 'Soma was the first to marry (thee)'. '(thou wast) Soma's wife first.'
caraty anuvrata ApMB. HG.; vicaranty apatrivatā ŚŚ.; yae cacārā-
nanuvratam (adverb) ApŚ. Preceded by yan me mātā pratilobhe
(or the like).

ava tara (TS. avattara, AV. avattara) madīvā (AV. madīnā) AV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. avattara, apparently an adverb; avattara adj.
agreeing with the subject. MS. p.p. has avattara, which seems
to be what Keith means to translate by 'lower' in TS.

avasti naḥ pārnamukhah pari kramantu (HG. µukhah pari kramantu)
ApMB. HG. We now would render (rather than as in VV I. §359):
'Happily may he, with his face turned full towards us (HG. they,
with their faces...), walk round us.' So better than Oldenberg's
interpretation of HG., 'walk round our full face.' The Śūtra itself
renders by prodakṣiṇam.

asambādāḥ ya madhyato mānaevbhyaḥ MS.: asambādham badhyato (read
ma², VV 2 §241) mānaevānām (Ppp. mānavēṣu) AV. Ppp. Kauḍ.
See §623.

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyaḥ śuciḥ (VS. tuci, comm. tuciy) RV. SV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. śuci may be taken as an adverb.

visvair desair anumataḥ (KS. TA. čalāt) marudbhīḥ, see §388 above.
KS. has an adverb.

viṣvak patantu didyavoḥ RV.: viṣṭyaṅc o asmac charavah patantu AV.
āgne yah śuvadatrebhār arvāḥ (MS. arvāk, p.p. arvac) RV. AV. MS.
TB. N.

prāś (VS. TB. prāṅk, MS. prāk, p.p. prāśi) some atidrataḥ VS. VŚK.
MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pratyak (p.p. pratyak) some atierutah MS.; pratyak (VS. TS. MS.;
ŚB.; TB. pratyak) some atidrataḥ (VS. * §10. 31b, MS. atierutak)
AV.; (see Whitney's note) VS. (bis) VŚK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis)
TB. ApŚ.

§405. Once we have what seems to be perhaps a fem. acc. adverb
varying with a nom. adjective; but the form is very suspicious:
didāyānīdiḥ (MS. *mām); ghranirṇīṣ apeu RV. TS. MS. * (Agni)
shone in the waters without kindling...?' If MS. is sound it would
seem to have an adverb. All s.p. mas. agree; curiously the p.p.
reads didāya, asme ity asme.

8. Miscellaneous and doubtful

§406. The remaining nominative-accusative variants are hardly classi-
ifiable. Many are textually dubious, and in most the interpretation of
one form, or both, is troublesome.
sakrī yat teṣ (KS. te) manasa garbhā (KS. garbham) adhayat TS. KS. Here garbha is used in different senses: 'embryo' (TS.) and 'womb' (KS.).

amāśi sarvāṇi (AŚ. sarvāṇi) asi praviṣṭah AŚ. Kaṅk.: amo 'śi sarvāṇi asi praviṣṭah ŚG.: amā hy aśi sarvāṇi anu praviṣṭah SMB. The original is certainly sarvāṇi (from sarvāṇe); the accs. are lect. fac.

apa snehīr (SV. snihītāṃ) nṛmaṇā adhātā (SV. adhāt rāh, KS.† nṛmaṇām adhārām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: upa stūhī tais nṛṇāṃ (Poona ed. stūhī tām nṛmaṇām) athadāram TA. The latter is plainly corrupt. The acc. nṛmaṇām (bad form in any case) may be felt as a second object, correlative with snehīr; but the interpretation is certainly dubious.

śūrya yāni maricē TA.: śūryo maricēm ādāte TA. Probably the two are not really related. The former occurs in a list of the pātvās of various gods; the latter in a cosmic verse about creation.

udādāya prthiśīṃ jirādanum (TS. TB. ApŚ. jirādānuḥ, MS. KS. jirādānum) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. The nom. is clearly established as the reading of the Taitt. school; but there is no main verb in the stanza and it is hard to construe. Both Keith and Caland think an acc. (agreeing with prthiśīm) must be read.

krutum dadhikrā (MS. ṭṛkām) anu sāmaṇvītavat (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. sāmaṇvīyāt) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The context is identical in MS., and only a nom. seems construed: 'Dadhikrā, showing his strength according to his will.' Is the final m in MS. mere 'Hitustigler'? Cf. VV 2 §308 ff.

svaṅnam ajmāḥ (PB. ṭayman) pary eti (TA. ApŚ. ajmā pari yati) jāgrṇaḥ RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. In RV.: 'watchful he (Agni) goes about his accustomed course.' The nom. ajmā is apparently felt as an epithet of Agni (TA. comm. swargagomanaśālāh), but is scarcely to be called anything but a corruption (Caland on ApŚ.). Comm. on PB. understands ajman (for ajman) as a loc., but probably misunderstands the intention of its text. On y for j in PB, see Caland's translation, xxv. The Conc. should be corrected for this and ṭyunaymi te prthiśīṃ aṅginā sakaḥ, and these interesting variants added to VV 2 §192. Cf. also Rāghu Vīra, Kapiśhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā, 5; Oertel 28.

bṛhaspatiḥ yajñam akṛṣṭaṁ rātim RV.: bṛhaspatir yajñaṁ tānūta rāṇiḥ AV. The same passage in both texts, dealing otherwise wholly with Yama; the introduction of a statement about Bṛhaspati's action is evidently a stupid blunder.
yādīs (TA. Poona ed. text and comm. yās) te samā prāṇāṁ tāṁ (tān, tāṁ) jukomī TA. Mahānū. Either reading must intend approximately 'those breaths which are thine...'. Comm. on Mahānū supplies paśyāmi as governing the acc. The nom. yās makes construction simpler (prāṇāṁ for prāṇās being then attracted to the following tāṁ).

saḥ takṣaḥ hanti cakri vah (HG. cakrīnaḥ) ApMB. HG. Obscure and likely to be corrupt in both forms. According to Oldenberg, HG. would mean 'the carpenter hammers at (the chariots) that have wheels.' cakri, if sound, would seem to be felt as an epithet of takṣa!

brahmānam (TB. 3na) indranām vayadhīnam VS, TB. After hātā yuksṣād; only acc. seems construable. Comm. on TB. in fact takes brahmaṇās as acc. pl. (agreeing with dvāras preceding)!—as if from brahman, with strong stem for weak.

mānyam (AV. mānyur) viśa īdate māṇur yāh (TB. īdate dvayantiḥ) RV, AV, MS. TB. The nom. is carelessly repeated from the preceding half verse, where it occurs three times. It is really unconstructable, as Whitney observes; comm. reads mānyam. Yet Pp, has mānyur, which seems to suggest that it is the actual reading of the Atharvan schools.

parānāśi (TA. 3pa) anu venati RV. TA. N. Comm. on TA. parātīmaḥ dvēn. In fact neither a nom. pl. masc. nor a nom. or acc. pl. fem. is construable.

nārāśasaśena nagnahum (KS. TB. 3kuh) VS. MS. KS. TB. The form must be acc. in all. Von Schroeder emends KS. to 3kum; TB. comm. keeps the form 3kuh but regards it as acc. neut.

paridām vāju ajinam (PG. 3dam vājinam) dvāhe 'hām (HG. ajinam dhāvasānu) SG. PG. HG, ApMB. Haplography in PG. (VV 2 p. 362); vājinam not construable.

bahuprajaḥ niṟtīm (AV. 3tir) a viśā RV. AV. N. Whitney assumes an acc. in AV.; but the passage is mystic nonsense and perhaps anything is possible. This might be classed with 'case attraction' above, since apparently AV. has made niṟtī- agree with bahuprajaḥ. a viśāparājitām (TA. 3ta) AV, TA. Only the acc. can be construed; so comm. on TA. interprets the form, tho he reads 3ta like both editions.

tilvidām irāvati AG.; tilvilā syaḥ irēvati ApMB., and others, always with nom. Stenzler (note in transl. of AG. p. 83) regards the acc. ending as certainly erroneous.
§407. In the rest there seems to be no genuine variant at all:

śindhum (MahānU. v; l. śindhur) na navā duritāti parśī RV. MS. TB. TA. MahānU. The v. 1. is worthless; no nom. could be construed.

haryuḥ pāraśatebhyaḥ AV. ŚŚ. So mss. of AV.; R-Wh. emend wrongly to haryuḥ.

pūrṣavān karambhām MS. KS. AB. karambhā is read by Von Schroeder in MS. by emendation; and the Conc. quotes KS. as śbhaḥ, erroneously. All texts should read śbhum.

śimāḥ kṛṣṇantu śimyantah TS. KSA. Conc. quotes śimāḥ for KSA.; this is a false reading of one ms., rejected in the ed.

tōn svā nānuvaiṣākṛtaḥ ĀŚ.; ēte nānuvaiṣākṛtaḥ Vait. But all mss. of Vait. read ca tōnsvaiṇānuvaiṣākṛta(h); with Caland we should probably assume that they intend the ĀŚ. reading.

trptām juhur mātulasyeva yoṣā RVKh.† N.† Conc. reads trptā for RVKh., with Aufrecht; but see Schefelowitz, p. 87.

vāyavyah śvetāḥ puchā VS. MS.: vāyavyam śvetam Aps. The latter should be deleted in the Conc.; it is no mantra but the beginning of a Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 1. 1. 1.

iṣamāṇa (ŚŚ. 11a) apavṛśab AV. ŚŚ. Read in AV. as in ŚŚ. (with mss., SPP., Whitney’s Index; and see Bloomfield’s note on 20. 127. 2).
CHAPTER XV

NOMINATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1. Instr. of means or agent and subject nom.

§408. The instrumental in one aspect expresses the means or instrument, or the agent, by which an action is performed. Naturally, therefore, it sometimes varies with the nominative as expressing the performer of the action. In its simplest form this change merely accompanies a shift between an active or transitive verb and a passive or intransitive one, as in:

ya tāh vahanta āśubhiḥ RV.; yadi vahanty āśavaḥ SV. 'Whoso travel by horses': 'when the horses carry (him).'

manyuḥ akārśīn manyuḥ karoti. . . TAA.: manyuṇā kṛtam manyuḥ karoti . . . BDh.

§409. It is not even necessary that the verb form should vary; once, at least, the same verb is taken as either passive or middle-deponent: na karmanā lipyate pāpakena ŚB. TB. BrhU. BDh.: na karna lipyate nare VS. IṣṭU. 'He is not stained by evil action': 'action does not stick to (stain) a man.'

§410. A little different in psychology is the next group—all occurring in the same passage—in which the instr. of means varies with what would be, with the active voice, an acc. of direct object, but becomes nom. as subject of a passive verb:

antar dadhe parvataiḥ HG. ApMB.: antarkitā girayaḥ SG. 'I interpose with mountains': 'mountains are interposed.'—In same context:

antar makhā prthivyā HG.; ApMB.; antar dadha rūbhīḥ; ahoratrāṣ ca sandhikhibhiḥ (HG. 'traīḥ susandhibhiḥ); arīhamāsāṣ ca māsāṣ ca—all HG. ApMB.: antarkitā prthivī mahī me; antarkitā na rūvah; ahoratrāṣ ca sandhikījāḥ; māsāṣ cārdhamāsāṣ ca, all SG.

§411. More often there is no such change in the verb, whether in form or meaning. The variation in case may be said to signalize a lack of clear distinction between the concepts of agent and of instrument. 'Indra by his might has done so and so' is equivalent to 'Indra's might has done so and so.' In such religious literature as the Veda, where personification and apostrophe of inanimate things and qualities
are so common, such a shift is particularly easy; it would indeed not be
difficult anywhere. It suggests a characteristic trait of Homeric
diction (diṣ 'Hroλευνεῖν). But it is noteworthy that the possessive adjective,
or genitive, or equivalent, which appears in such Homeric phrases, is
rarely found among our variants; the first example is perhaps the only
one.—Instead of the subject nom., the voc. of direct address is also
found varying with the instr. in the same way, §354.

pra te dieo na stanayanti suṣmāh (MS. ṣyanta suṣmāh) RV. TS. MS.
‘Thy (Agni’s) furies thunder like (the thunders) of heaven’: ‘they
(sc. girah) have thundered to thee with furies like (those)
of heaven.’
abhi stomair (RV. SV. stoma) anūṣata RV. SV. (both in each) AV.
VS. ‘Songs of praise shouted to thee’: ‘they shouted to thee with
songs of praise.‘

vājasya mô prasavena (VS. ŚB. ṣvaḥ) VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS.
Followed by udgrāhened agraḥhit (ajīgrahham, etc.). ‘He has (I
have) exalted me (myself) with increase of strength, with exalta-
tion’: ‘increase of strength has exalted me with exaltation.’

tam tvābhih suṣṭutibhir vājayaṃtaḥ RV.: tam tvā girah suṣṭutayo vāja-
yanti SV. ‘Strengthening thee with these fair praises’: ‘songs of
fair praise strengthen thee.’

punantu manava (RV. vasavo, VS. KS. manasa) dhiyā (VS. KS. dhiyāh)
RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ‘Let men (Vasus) purify with prayer’:
‘let prayers purify with mind.’ The change of manava to manasa
introduces a different word; but it is to be noted that it replaces
the instr. dhiyāh, and so in a way restores the original construction
of the sentence.

abhî yo mahinā divam RV. AŚ.: abhîmain (TS. MS. ṣmān, MS. MS.
v. I. ṣmān) mahinā (VS. ṣmā; delete MS. v. I. in Conc.) divam
(MS. ṣvaḥ) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MS. Followed by mitro (VS.
vipra) bhabhāvā sapraθah. ‘The far-spreading Mitra has surpassed
this heaven (these heavens) by his majesty’; VS. substitutes vipra
for mitro (phonetic shifts, VV 2 §§180, 235), and turns mahinā into
mahinā, nom.: ‘the wise, far-spreading majesty has…

kṣatram aṇe (AV. kṣatrenāgne) suyaṃam astu tubhyam AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. In AV. neither the pāda itself nor the context furnishes
a subject for astu. Apparently indefinite subject: ‘by dominion,
Agni, let it be of easy control for thee.’ The other reading is sup-
ported by Ppp. and is much simpler, but for that reason perhaps
to be suspected of secondariness: ‘let dominion, Agni, be of easy
control for thee.’
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The bright one, the mighty, endow [me] with the sacrificial fee; let the bright one, the mighty [comm., the śāman], (and) the sacrificial fee endow thee.' On this use of root pr see Bloomfield, AJP. 17, 408 ff. (esp. 409).

2. Associative instr. and (collateral) subject or predicate nom.

§412. An associative instrumental attached to a noun in any other case might theoretically be replaced by a form in that other case. So we find such instr. forms attached to a subject or predicate nom., varying with a nom. as collateral subject or predicate. For the same variation with other cases than the nom. see §§55–7. With the nom., this is particularly easy in constructions with words whose meaning suggests the instr.; expressions of mingling, union, equality, comparison, or the like. Such words occur in most of the following variants:

dādadnāh kalaśair (ApMB. ००००, MG. ००००) aguh (with varr.) AV. AG. ŠG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Preceded by ṣvatsō jagaṭā soha. Ppp. reads dādadnāh kalaśair ca yaḥ. The ApMB. substitution has phonetic aspects (VV 2 §701), but Ppp. supports it in sense by reading a nom. (Note, however, that the fem. stem kalaśi is post-Vedic.) 'They have come with pots of sour milk': '(they and) pots of sour milk have come.' Knauer prints MG. as kalaśam aircayam; but the mss. are clearly corrupt; the syllable air must conceal the true case-ending of kalaśa. Read kalaśair ayam, as in Kāṭhaka G. (see Caland's ed. and note on this). In the same context:

emāṃ parisrutah kumbhaḥ AV.; enam parisrutah kumbhāya ŠG.: dā tvā parisritah (‘erutah, ‘srlah, hirinmayah) kumbhaḥ (ApMB.००००) AG. PG. MG. ApMB. HG.

yaṣaṣā (ArS. yaśo) mā dyāvṛṛthiṣv ArS. PG. MG. The verb to be supplied is a form of vid ‘find’, from pāda e: yaśo bhagaḥ ca mā vidat (MG. rīṣat) PG. MG., yaśo bhagaṃya vindatu ArS. (‘let glory of fortune find [me]’; so correct rendering in VV 2 p. 98).—So, in same stanza, between these two pādas:

yaśasendrīrḥraspati PG. MG.: yaśo mendrīrḥraspati ArS. Cf. pre. ‘With glory let...find (come to) me.' However, the dual forms might be taken as voces., supplying a 2d person verb: ‘with glory (come) to me, O...’ (So Oldenberg on PG.)

yaṣā (MS. yaṃair) na bharir bhrui kesarāṇī VS. MS. KS. TB. ‘The hairs on his eye-brow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw with barley).’
samā bhuvantādvo (TS. 9vatā) nīpādāḥ RV. TS. KS. ‘The heights and depths shall be equal’: ‘the depths shall be equal with the heights.’

teṣām īśāni sam īśā madanti RV. VS. TS. MS. N.: sam no mahāni sam īśā mahantām KS. A far-reaching reconstruction in the latter; it vaguely suggests the psychology of the variants in this section.

satyā ēṇām (AG. etā) āśīṣāḥ santu kāmāḥ (ApMB. HG. santu kāmaḥ; SMB. Jörgensen santu kāmāḥ, v. l. kāmā; AG. santu saraḥ; VS. saṁannantām) VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB.HG. ‘Let their prayers, their desires, come true’: ‘let their prayers with their desires (or perhaps, according to their desires? cf. the v. l. kāmā) come true.’

ādityas (ApMB. agais) te vasubhir ā dadhātu HG. ApMB. Preceeded by īndro marudbhir ātudhā (HG. iha te) kṛṇotu (HG. dadhātu). ‘Indra with the Maruts... Āditya with the Vasus’: ‘Indra with the Maruts... with the Ādityas, with the Vasus’.

sam revatir jagatibhīḥ precyantām VS. SB. ŚŚ.: sam revatir jagatibhīḥ (VSK. bhīḥ sam) madhumatir madhumatibhīḥ sṛṣṭadvam (VSK. precyantām) TS. VSK. TB.: sam revatir jagatibhī MS. The latter belongs to the same context as the others, but the verb of mingling is postponed to the next pāda (śivāḥ śivābhiḥ sam asṛṣṭatāpāḥ), and the original instr. which was paired with revatir is made into a supplementary subject.

tan mṛtyunā nirṛṭih samvidānā̄ AV.: tan mṛtyur niirṛtyā samvidānaḥ TB. Here nom. and instr. change places, without real change of meaning. ‘Destruction in unison with death’: ‘death in unison with destruction.’

tāṁ viśvair devaṁ (KS. viśve devā) rtubhīḥ samvidānāḥ (KS. naḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. Followed by prajāpatir viśvakarmā viṃsuṇ-catu (APŚ. yunakta). KS. turns the original complementary instr. (dependent on samvidānāḥ) into a collateral subject of the verb in the next pāda.

śukraḥ śukraśociṣṭa VS. TS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ.: śukrau śukraśociṣṭau MS. ‘The bright with the bright-shining one’: ‘the two bright, bright-shining ones.’

tayor (TS. TB. tasyāṁ, MS. yasyāṁ, v. l. asyāṁ) devā adhisaṁvasaṁtaḥ (MS. abhisamviśantāḥ) TS. TB. ApŚ. MS.: tasyāṁ devaṁ samvasanto mahīte AV. In AV. the following verb is madema, in the rest mādayantām or yaddhavam. ‘The gods, dwelling together...’: ‘may we, dwelling together with the gods...’

patimāḥ yajamānam manusyaḥ saha rāyas poṣena prajaya ca vyayantām
MS.: parīmān rāyas poko yajamānam manuṣyāḥ TS. The associative instr. is pointed with saha. See §§402 etc.

indraghoṣas (MS. KS. ṣāṅ) tvā vasubhīḥ purastāt pātu (KS. tvā vasavah puṅ pāntu, MS. tvā purastād vasubhīḥ pāntu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.: indraghoṣā tvasubhīḥ purastād upadadhatām TA. Followed by the next two, q. v.

manojavās tvā pitṛbhir (KS. pitaro) daksinataḥ pātu (KS. pāntu) VS. TS. KS. ŠB.: pitaras tvā manojavā daksinataḥ pāntu MS.: manojavaso vah pitṛbhir daksinata upadadhatām TA. See next.

pracetās tvā rudrāḥ pascāt pātu VS. TS. KS. ŠB.: rudrās tvā pracetasaḥ pascāt pāntu MS.: pracetā vo rudrāḥ pascād upadadhatām TA. This and the two preceding all occur in the same passage, which also contains a fourth phrase (viśvākarmā tvādityair...) in which all texts have the instr. When a nom. is substituted for the instr. (as twice in KS, and twice in MS.) it may be felt as a second subject, so belonging in this group. Yet it is at least as likely to be felt as sole subject, modified by the word (indraghoṣās etc.) which in the other version is the substantive subject, but here may be felt as an adjective.

3. Instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.) and nom. of bahuvrthīs

§415. Occasionally we find the same compound stem used now as an instr. (a karmadhāraya), and again in the nom. as a bahuvrthī, an adjective epithet of the subject. The instr. seems generally to be felt as associative, tho this shades over into the instr. of means. In general psychology this group is similar to the preceding one. Sometimes the instr. occurs in separate, un compounded forms.

āśvānāh sādhasūri (TB. ściḥ) RV. TB. The verse reads: ye me pañcākataṁ dadur, asū sadh, dyumad agne mahi śrava, bhṛat kṛdhi māghopānāṁ, rśad amṛta niḥpānāṁ. ‘Who have given me 500 horses, of these) patrons do thou, Agni, with joint praise (TB. having joint praise), make great the fame’ etc.

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV. KS. ṣuvā, TS. śūr, MS. ṣu) nāṁ iṣyānā (TS. MS. KS. eṣaṅkādu, AV. ṇau) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŠŚ. If MS. intends nom. dual, its variation with AV. KS. is like the foregoing; ‘having good praises’ or ‘along with good praise’. But suṣṭuti may be taken also as instr. TS. makes the form acc. pl. depending on the pple., and AŚ. ŠŚ. are hopelessly corrupt.

taṁ tvā bhrātarah suvarṇāḥ (ApMB. dhā, HG. suhrdo) vardhamānām AV. ApMB. HG. The verb is anu jayantām. AV.: ‘after
thee, growing with good growth, may brothers be born.' ApMB.: 'after thee, growing, may brothers be born whose growth is good.' Even closer to the preceding cases would this variant be if sunṛdhā were taken with the following verb rather than with the participle; but the order seems against this.

praṇo aṇiḥ paramāṁtā paṇcavāyubhir ārthah PrāṇāgU.: praṇo 'gniḥ paramāṁtā vai paṇcavāyuh samāśrītaḥ MU. 'The Paramātmā is surrounded by the five breaths': '...has entered in with (or, perhaps, as) the five breaths.' Here the psychology is a little different; the instr. seems clearly one of means.

vi yo mame rajāsī sukraṭāyā RV.: vi yo rajāṇy amimīta sukraṭāḥ RV. Here a different but related word (with abstract suffix) is used in the karmadhāraya.

tripād ārā́hva ud ait paruṣaḥ RV. ArS. VS. TA.: trībhīḥ padbhīr dyāṁ arohaUV. AV. Here two separate words are used instead of the karmadhāraya compound.

4. Nom. and instr. of part dedicated in offering

§414. In the long list of dedicatory formulas used in presenting parts of the horse's body to various deities in the Athamadha, we find a number of times variation between instr. of the part dedicated (and acc. of the deity), on the one hand (with verb of 'gratifying' understood), and on the other hand nom. of the part dedicated and gen. or dat. of the deity (with copula 'understood'). Cf. §126 on the various types of dedicatory formulas. We shall not record a complete list here; others will be found in the same vicinity:

pūṣanam vaniṣṭhaṇā VS. MS. ('Pūṣan [we gratify] with the van?'): pūṣno vaniṣṭhunī TS. KSA. ('the van is for Pūṣan').—Similarly: andhaṁ (ohe, oheh) sthālagadaya (sthāra, ogyulā), and others, same texts.

5. Transfer of epithet

§415. As usual we find in a number of cases that the shift between nom. and instr. is due to the transfer of an epithet from one person or thing to another. In most cases there is a variation in number or gender as well as case; we quote first those in which case alone varies: svāveśaya (VS. SB. oveśā) tanvā samavrīṣeava VS. MS. KS. SB. In VS. SB. the adjective, if as we believe (cf. §174) it is nom., agrees with the subject (iṣṭakā), in MS. KS. with tanvā.

pratāryāvāno adhvaram RV. VS. TB.: pratāryāvedhib adhvaśe SV. Pre-
ceded by: śr udhi śrutkarna vahnīhīr, devārīg agne sayāvabhīh, ā sidantu (SV. sidatu) barhiṣī mitro (TB. adds varuṇo) aryānā. In the original prītarī agrees with the subject; in SV, it becomes an associative instr. attached to the subject, doubtless influenced by the instrumental in the preceding.

anuttāt caṣaṇīdhṛīthī SV.: anuttā caṣaṇīdhṛīta RV. In RV. caṣaṇīdhṛīta is an epithet of doubtful reference (cf. Oldenberg, Noten, 1 p. 162, n. 1); in SV, it is transferred to the subject (team = Indra).

§416. In the rest there is variation in number or gender or both, as well as case:

paro deśebhir (MS. 9bhīyo) asurār (MS. 9ram) yad asti (TS. asurār guhā yat) RV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by paro divā para ena prthivyā, except in MS. which has paro divaḥ para ena prthivyāḥ (ablus. for instrs.); MS. makes deśebhir over into deśebhīyo in accord with this, and since the meter does not permit asurēbhyo, it transfers this word to the subject yat.


indrena sayuo (AV. 9jā) vayam AV. TS. ApŚ. 'We allied with Indra': 'we with Indra as ally.'

indrena devār (MS. devār) virudhah samvidanāh TS. MS. ta ā vahantē (MS. tayā vahante [so p.p.]) kavayah purastāt TS. MS. TB.; tad āharantē kavayah purastā KS. In MS. tayā by attraction to preceding svadhaya; cf. VV 2 §342.

udyan bhṛjābhṛjībhīr (PG. bhṛijī) indro marudbhīr asthāt...SMB. PG. GG.

śuddha (SV. śuddhair) āśīrvān namattu RV. SV. Preceded by śuddhair ukthāi nūydhvānām; to those instr. forms the SV. has assimilated śuddha(ḥ) of RV.

agunma mahā (KS. maha) namasté yavishtham RV. SV. MS. KS. AB. KB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ, ŚŚ. 'We have come with mighty homage (KS. mighty with homage) unto the youngest (Agni).' KS. apparently understands a nom. pl. with its mahā.

abhikhyā bhāsā bhātā susukvanih RV.: drśe (MS. drsā) ca bhāsā bhātā susukvanih (KS. 9vabhih, MS. susikvani) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. suva is made an epithet of bhāsā. In KS, too the epithet no longer agrees with the subject (Agni). It is perhaps made coordinate with bhāsā; or possibly it is meant to agree with susastībhiḥ in the following pāda (but in that case the form would be irregular since the latter word is fem.).
ayásā havyam uhiṣe ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: ayaḥ san (MS. ŚŚ. ayaḥ san, KS. ayaḥ san, Kauś. ayaśaḥ) havyam uhiṣe MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: ayaḥ no yazām vahāvā KŚ. In the first of these two pādas, the instrs. are transferred to manasaḥ from agreement with the subject (Agni); in the second they are attracted to the like construction by the preceding ayásā.
uruyasaḍo dhāmnā pātyamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.: uruyasaḍaṇgner dhāmnā pātyamānā AV. The AV. version is corrupt; by a false verse division uru² (originally epithet of the divine doors, devṛaḥ) is transferred to dhāmnā. Ppp. agrees with the others.
pārakṣaṇa yaś (TS. pāraka a) citayantya kṛpā RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The nom. in TS. is really due to phonetic alteration; cf. Oldenberg, Prol. 435, and VV 2 §343. But it is construable in agreement with the unexpressed subject of the verb ruruce.
sanjagmāna abhiyugṛ RV. AV. SV. N.: sanjagmāna abhiyugṛḥ (MS. avihṛṭaḥ) AV. MS. The instr. goes with a preceding indrenaḥ, the nom. with the gāsah who are addressed. But the contexts are quite different, and the pādas in their original forms probably unrelated. We take it that AV. has a contamination of the MS. pāda with that of RV. etc.

§417. The following cases are also classed as ‘transfers of epithet’ as explained in §§15-6. They show in one form a true ‘epithet’, in the other sometimes a form of the same, sometimes a different word, not properly an epithet of anything but independently construed:
acittibhiś cakṛmā yac cid āgah RV. MS. KS.: aśiśvānasā cakṛmā kac canāgah TS.
apa druḥa (AV. druḥa) tanvan gāhamāna RV. AV. The instr. of manner, virtually an adverb, of RV. becomes in AV. an epithet of the subject, a she-demon.
harṣamāṇaḥ dhrṣitaḥ (TB. dhrṣitā) marutvaḥ RV. TB. N.: harṣamāṇaḥ hṛṣītaḥo marutvaḥ AV. In TB. the orig. nom. epithet becomes an adverbial instr. of a different but related stem.
indrādhipatiḥ (MS. KS. "patyaiḥ) piṇḍāt ato nahi TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ‘O Indra, as overlord (with thy lordship)…’
vaiśvānaraḥ pavyaṃ nahi pavitraḥ TA.: vaiśvānaraḥ pavītā mā punātus AV. The TA. reading seems to be intended by Ppp. (Whitney on 6. 119. 3). ‘May V. with purifiers (V. the purifier) purify us (me).’
yena praṣā (MS. ya śāh praṣā) vīsvakarmā jajāna (TS. vaṇaṭ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. yaḥ goes with vīsvakarmā. The original: 'by which V. produced creatures.'
yenaśa bhūtas tiṣṭhate (MahānU. MūṇḍU. bhūtās tiṣṭhate hy) antarātmā TA. MahānU. MūṇḍU. (2. 1. 9). Deussen reads bhūtas in MahānU. but observes that a v. 1. has bhūtās and that this is a better reading. The nom. is secondary and attracted to antarātmā. See also Deussen's note on the MūṇḍU. passage.

tenā (TS. sā) no yaṇām pīphī vīsvakāre AV. TS. Nom. is secondary, candro (SV. candrār) yāti sabhām upa RV. SV. Preceded by śvātra-bhājā vajasā vacate sadā. Apparently under the influence of the preceding instrumentals, tho not in agreement therewith, the nom. is changed into an associative instr. The 'shining ones' are somadrops according to Benfey.

priyāḥ kavīnān mati (SV. māṭi) RV. SV. In RV. māṭi is instr.; 'by the hymn of the seers.' In SV. it is anomalously made into an epithet of īndu.

svyavasini manave (RV. TA. manuṣe, KS. mānuṣe) daśasyā (TA. daśasye, TS. MS. KS. yaśasye) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The original daśasyā is instr. of stem daśasya, 'benevolently'. TA.'s daśasye seems, like yaśasye, to be dual nom. fem. agreeing with the subject.

6. Nom. of independent sentence and instr.
§418. Twice a dependent instr. of one form of the variant is paralleled in the other form by an independent sentence, with nom., which is however resumed by a pronominal instr. in the same construction as the nominal instr. of the variant form. See §33:
gau te kṛṇāni TS. ApŚ.: iyaḥ gauṣ taṇḍa te kṛṇāni MŚ. 'With a cow let me buy of thee': 'here is a cow, with her...'
etat te rudrāvasaḥ tena (VSK.† etena rudrāvasena) para mūjavato 'īthi VS. VSK. ŚB. 'This is thy food, O Rudra; with it depart...': 'with this food, O Rudra, depart...'

7. Miscellaneous
§419. The remaining nom.-instr. variants are scarcely classifiable. They mostly involve various reconstructions of the material, in sense at least, and usually in form, extending far beyond the mere change in case-form.

vi śloka ētu (AV. eti, TS. ŚvetU. ślokā yaniti) pathyeva (KS. patheva) sūreḥ (AV. MS.† sūreḥ, KS.† sūreḥ, TS. ŚvetU. sūreḥ) RV. AV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ŚvetU. In RV. VS. ŠB. *pathyā* may be taken as nom., with Grassmann and Oldenberg: ‘as the path of the sūrī’. In all the others, at any rate, we have an instr.: ‘like the lord on his path’. Cf. §284.

 ganāir mā mā vi śīrṣatā MS.: ganā me mā vi śīrṣan VS. TS. ŠB.: ganān me mā vi śīrṣah (MS. ५५०) TS. MS. See §§380, 459.

 jajñānam (SV. "nah") sapta mātrarāh (SV. mātrabhīh) RV. SV. Followed by vedām adāsata (SV. medhām adā) kriye. ‘The seven mothers instructed their holy child unto fortune’: ‘the child of seven mothers prayed to the wise one unto fortune.’

 yajñān hinavanta adribhīh RV.: yajñāya santu adravāh SV. Preceded by tanum duroṣam āhī narah, somaṁ viśvācyā dhiyā. In RV. narah is subject of hinavanty and somaṁ its object. In SV. it seems that narah must be taken with Benfey as voc., with no verb expressed, and that pāda e must be completely detached from the preceding.

tan nau samahananam kṛtam MG.: tena samhānanav svake HG. ‘That concord has been made for us’: ‘thereby we are concordant’.

 tayā devāḥ sūtam ā bahūvah TS. KSA. TB.: sā no oṣmin sūta ā bahūva VS. MS. ‘Therewith the gods mastered the libation’: ‘it is present for us at this libation’. See Keith on TS. 4. 1. 2. 1. n. 6.

 prthirin bhasmanāprṇa (MS. KS. bhasma) svahā VS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ.

 ‘Fill the earth with (thy) ashes.’ In MS. KS. sc. gachatu: ‘let (thy) ashes (go) to earth.’

 ya indrena sarathān yāti devāḥ AV.: yenendrasya ratham samabahuṣuḥ MS. KS. ApŚ.

 maṇḍūkya vy sām gamaḥ (TA. gamaya) RV.; TA.: maṇḍūky apo sām bhuvah AV. (corr.).

 āptam manah TS. MS. KS. TB. MS. ApŚ.: āptama manasa VS. ŠB.

 ‘Mind has been obtained’: ‘may we obtain by mind’. Ritualistic rigmarole.

 ārohātmātmānam (MS. ārohātmātmānam) achā TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MS.

 ‘Mount as self (with thy self) upon (my) self.’ TB. Bibl. Ind. reads ārohātyātmānam, text and comm.; Poona ed. like the others.

 mūrā (SV. mūrav) amūraṁ purāṁ darmāṇam RV. SV. Benfey: ‘den durch Thoren unbethörten’. Obscure.

 tanm devās sam acikṣpan KS.: tanm devāḥ sam ajñamam TS. The sense is radically altered. ‘Him the gods have fashioned’: ‘her I have united with the gods.’ Both preceded by añgāny ahrulā yasya (TS. yasya).

 sam indro viśudevebhīr aṅktām VS. ŠB.: sam indrena viśubebhīr devebhīr aṅktām TB. ApŚ. In the latter the barhis is the subject.
sam aryanā sam bhago no nīiyāt RV. ApMB.; sam bhagena sam ar-
yanā (followed by sam dhātā srjatu varcasā) AV. See Whitney
on AV. 14. 1. 34, which doubtless understands bhagena and aryanā
as parallel with varcasā.
kālena bhūtam bhanyam ca AV.: kāle ha bhūtam bhanyam ca AV. vulgate,
but by emend. for kālo of most mss., kept by SPP. kālena of the
other form is also an emendation for kāle ha, which SPP. keeps.
This last emendation seems justified and is supported by Ppp.
(JAOS. 46. 37f.). In the other, while the loc. would be possible,
there seems no reason to reject the well attested nom. form, which
is adopted by Bloomfield and Whitney. The contexts are different
the related (found in the same hymn), and the variant could be
called ‘Phrase Inflection’.
[krāṇā (SV. prāṇā, AV. prāṇaḥ) sindhānām kalaśāṃ avādat (SV. AV.
acikradat) RV. SV. AV. krāṇā is problematic; Oldenberg takes it
with Lannan as instr.; see RVRep. 136 for a different view. In SV.
we have a phonetic shift (VV 2 §152) which defies interpretation;
in AV. an attempt at rationalization of SV., which is grammatical
(‘the breath of the rivers has made the jars resound’) but silly.]
CHAPTER XVI

NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE

1. Dative of purpose varying with nominative

§420. Since the dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to or desired for the logical subject of the sentence, it may vary with a nominative form, of the same or a related word. This nominative may be an epithet of the entity to which the dative of purpose relates, as in: mandrá dhanasya sataye (KS. *yah) TS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Waters are referred to. 'Fair ones, unto the winning of wealth':

'fair winnings of wealth'. All mss. of KS. agree on the form.

pade-pade pākinaḥ santi setavaḥ (AV. *re) RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. 'On every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond).'

agner apunann uṣijo amṛtyavaḥ RV.; agner akṛṣvann uṣijo amṛtyave MS.; deiv akṛṣvann uṣijo amṛtyave ApŚ. In RV. amṛtyavaḥ is adj., 'immortal ones', agreeing with the subject; in MS. a noun, 'unto immortality', meaning about the same thing. ApŚ. doubtless intends the same meaning as MS.; cf. VV 2 §650.

prajñavatir (MŚ. *varīr, v. l. *sāvir) yaśaso (MŚ. *se) viśvarūpāḥ TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. yaśaso is adjective; 'here come the cows) with many calves, renowned, varied in appearance.' In MŚ. yaśaso is evidently the noun, 'unto renown'; the ultimate meaning is substantially the same.

āyam uktham aṣṭatāyai (TS. aṣṭatāyat, KS. aṣṭatāya) staknātu (MS. *notu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Comm. on TS. tvām aṣṭatāyad aṣṭatāhitaṁ kareat, which is practically the meaning of the datives of purpose of the other texts.—The same with prāṇam uktham, marudvatiyam uṣī, nīstekvalyam uṣī, vaisvadēvaṁīmūcute uktē.

aso yathā no 'vītā vrddhe ca (SV. vrddhā cit) RV. SV. 'That thou mayst be our helper, and for (our) increase', RV. In SV. the dat. of purpose becomes a nom. of a nomen agentis, being assimilated to avītā: '...and (mayst be our) increaser.'

ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe kavināṁ matir jyotir vidharmanī AV.; ayaṁ sahasram ānave (Benfey and Caland assume sahasramānave) dṛśah kavināṁ matir jyotir vidharma (ApŚ. *mā) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm. 201
on SV. takes drīśaḥ as nom. (= draṣṭā), 'seer' or 'eye'. If this be accepted the variant would belong here; drīśe is a dat. (infinitive). But Caland apparently assumes an infinitive as meant in ApŚ. (perhaps abl.-gen. in form?).

sajātānāṁ madhyamasthā edhi (AV. madhyameṣṭhāḥ, MS. KS. madhyameṣṭheyāya) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: sajātānāṁ madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāmi AV.

§421. Slightly different are a couple of cases in which the nom. form of the variant is the subject of an independent statement attributing the quality denoted to the person referred to:
tava prākāstayo mahīḥ (SV. prākāstayo mahe) RV. SV. Preceded by tām tuvā madāya ghrīvaye, u lokakrtam imahe. In RV. our pāda is an independent statement; 'great are thy praisings.' In SV. it is assimilated to the dative of pāda a: 'unto great praising of thee,'
rāyasposā (MS. 'posāya) yajamānāṁ viṣantu KS. ApŚ. MS. Preceded by imām devād ajusanta viśce. 'Let increase of wealth dwell with the sacrificer.' In MS. the subject devāḥ of the preceding clause holds over: 'let them (the gods) dwell with the sacrificer unto increase of wealth.' The psychological difference between such variants and those of the preceding paragraph is slight, since the gods are logically the subject even in the reading of KS. ApŚ.; it is thru them that the desired result is expected. Cf. rāyasposā yajamānāṁ sacantām, in a similar context, for which one ms. of MS. also reads rāyasposāya. Such variants remind us of the quite similar use of the associative instrumental in variation with the nominative, §412.

ā yāhima indicuṣaḥ RV. AS.: ā yāhy ayam indicuṣe SV. This clearly belongs here, even tho the dative of SV. may not be quite properly described as one of purpose. 'Come! Here are the soma-drops': 'come, thou here, to (for) the soma.'

§422. We may record here a variant in which the logical object of an infinitive is in the original version nom., subject of a nominal clause (copula 'understood'), while in the secondary version it is assimilated to the dative infinitive, in accordance with familiar usage (cf. Delbrück, AJS. 89, where it is suggested that 'ease-attraction' does not properly describe this dative):

mayāḥ patibhyo janayāḥ (AV. 'ye) pariṣvaye RV. AV. ApMB. 'A joy to husbands (are) wives to embrace': 'a joy to husbands (it is) to embrace a wife.'
§423. In the only other variant involving this dative 'object' of a dative infinitive, the nominative form is attracted to agreement with a preceding nominative (in a relative clause):

\[ brahmadvīpa (RV. also \textit{dviṣaḥ}) śarave hantasā u RV. (both) AV. \]

The nom. form is preceded by \textit{tapurmarūdhā tapatu raksano ye}; 'may he whose head is flame burn those (that are) brahman-hating ogres, so that his arrow may slay (them),' See \textit{RV Rep.} on 10. 125. 6.

2. Dative varies with nom. of secondary adjective in dedications.

§424. In dedicatory expressions (cf. §126), the deity may be expressed either by the dative or by the nominative of a secondary adjective; these variants resemble some of those quoted above in §420, except that the dative is not one of purpose:

\[ kapota (MS. \textit{tā}) utākah śaśas te nirīpyai (TA. KSA. nairṛtāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. \] 'These are for Nirīti (Nirīti's).'

\[ vāyusavītrbyām agomughyāṁ payaḥ MS.: vāyosāvitra āgo\textsuperscript{a} caraḥ TS. KSA. P. p. of TS. vāyosāvitraḥ. \] On the formation see \textit{VV 2 §116}.

\[ ātir (TS. KSA. ātī) vahaso darvidā te vāyave (TS. KSA. vāyavāyāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. \]

3. Dative varying with nominative of independent statement

§425. Like other cases (cf. §§32–8), a dative may be replaced by a nominative of independent statement, or vice versa:

\[ tasmā etam bharata tadvaśāya (and, tadvaśo dadiḥ) RV. (both). \] 'Bring this to him who desires it'; 'bring this to him—he desires it and is generous.'

§426. Elsewhere the independent nominative is thrown into a relative clause, and is resumed by a dative of a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause:

\[ aṅginetrebhyoh devebhyah purahsadbhyah svāhā VS. ŠB.: ye devā aṅginetrāḥ purahsadas tebhyaḥ svāhā VS. ŠB.: ye devāḥ purahsado aṅginetrā (KS. \textit{gna}) rakṣoḥanās...tebhyaḥ svāhā MS. KS.: ye devāḥ purahsado \textit{gpinetrā...tebhya namas tebhyaḥ svāhā} TS. \] Others similar (VS. 9. 35–6, MS. 2. 6. 3, KS. 15. 2).

\[ nāmo vah pitaro ghorāya (VSK. adds manyave) VS. VSK. TS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG.: nāmo vah pitaro yad ghorāḥ tasmaī AV. MS. And, in same passage: nāmo vah pitaro jīrāya VS. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG.: nāmo vah pitaro yaj jīrāṁ tasmaī VSK. MS. \] Note the difference in phraseology in VSK.
4. Phrase inflection

§427. There are a few cases of repetition of a whole clause or pāda in a different context, requiring shift of case between nom. and dat.; in short, of what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

patir (VS. ŚB. patye) viśvasya bhūmanāh RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB. Followed in RV. SV. KS. by ev akhyāt rodasī ubhe, in VS. ŚB. by juhomi viśvakarmāne.
sahasrākṣayāmartya AV.: sahasrakṣo amartyah AV. Preceded respectively by naman te rudra kṛṣṇah, and anyatāsan man ny ucyatu.

prāci dig aghir adhipatir asito rakhitadityā īṣavaḥ AV.: pricayai tvā diśe 'gnaye 'dhipataye 'sitāya raksitra adityāyēsumatē AV. The first is followed by tebhya namo 'dhipatiśhyas etc., the second by etam pari dadmaḥ.

Similar variants in the five following verses; see Conc. under daksināyai tvā..., praticeyai tvā..., udiceyai tvā..., dhruvāyai tvā..., ārdhveyai tvā...

janāya vyākartyaḥ RV.: janāso vyākaryaḥ RV. Different contexts. sotāra indra gīravānḥ RV. SV.: sotrīkhyā indra gīravānḥ RV. The nom. is preceded by vayan gāt te api śmāte, the dat. by yad dītsasi stuto mahām.

5. Transfer of epithet

§428. The general nature of such variants differs in no wise from those concerning other cases (§14). We quote first those which show shift in case alone, not in number or gender. But it must be noted that not one of them is quite strictly a case of typical 'transfer of epithet'. In the first three an original dative of independent construction, not an 'epithet' of any other word, is attracted into agreement with the subject in a secondary text. In the fourth the dative (probably secondary) also does not agree syntactically with any expressed noun or pronoun. Cf. §15.

tasmā u brahmaṇas patih RV. KS.: ayan ca brahmaṇas patih AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by tasmāi āmū (devā) adhi bhrat (brwan). The pronoun is transferred from the recipient of blessing to the god: 'And him (may) Brahmaṇaspati (bless)'; 'and (may) B, here (bless him).'

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. āpatih, KB. ŚŚ. āpatēh, TB. āpatruḥ) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KS. In all preceded by juṣṭo vāco (väco) bhūyāsam. 'May I be pleasing to speech, pleasing to the lord of speech': in MS., 'may I be pleasing to speech, (may I be) a pleasing lord of speech.'
iyam te rāñ mitrāya (KS. mitro) yuntāsī yamanaḥ VS. KS. ŚB. 'Thou art a guiding controller for thy friend (KS., a guiding friendly controller).' We suspect that KS. is secondary, since it has what looks like form-assimilation to the following noms.
pitarah pitaṁañah pare 'vere (KS. 'verebhyaś) te nāh pāntu (MS. omits te nāh p°) te no 'vantu TS. MS. KS. 'Let the fathers...the earlier and the later, guard us...' In KS. avarebhyaś is made to refer to the petitioners: 'Let the fathers, the earlier ones, for (us) the later ones, guard us...'. Note however that we should expect an acc. agreeing with the following nāh.

§429. Transfers of epithet involving change of gender or number as well as case are:

suprāye (AV. ṛya) yajamāṇaya sunvate RV. AV. Preceded by aham dadhāmi draviṇaṃ (AV. ṣnā) havīmate. RV. makes su go with yajya sunvate: 'I (Vāc) give riches to the giver of oblations, to the zealous sacrificer who presses the soma.' Whitney adopts the RV. reading following the AV. comm. and one ms., but notes that AVPr. 4. 11 proves that the Atharvan reading was suprāyā. It may be taken either as acc. pl. neut. with draviṇā, or better as nom. sg. fem. with the subject. In any case it must be derived not from the stem suprāsi but from its equivalent suprāyā (RV.).

udrāmruḍā yuvaśū (AV.UPr. prthivi) daksināvate (TA. ṛati) RV. AV. TA. 'The maiden (earth; this is what RV. TA. also mean) soft as wool to him that gives daksinā'; in TA. the epithet 'possessed of daksinā' is applied to the earth, doubtless implying 'bounteous'. vaiśvānaraṅgāya matir navyaśi (ArŚ. ṛse) śucih RV. ArŚ. In ArŚ. the epithet is transferred from matir to vaiśeṇa.

te oṣā (KS. 'swā) agoṣye (ApŚ. and v. l. of MS. ṛo) draviṇaṃ (KS. ṛnāni) dattva MS. KS. ApŚ. 'They, giving wealth to this Agni'; 'those Agnis, giving wealth to him (the sacrificer).'. The subject te refers to Agnis just mentioned; hence the secondary agnoṣye by attraction.

nābha samāyayi navyaśi (SV. ṛsāya navyaśe) RV. SV. Preceded by yad dha krāna vivaśati (SV. ṛte). In RV. navyaśi agrees with the subject of samāyya (Oldenberg understands nābhīḥ); in SV. with vivaśe.

The stanza is somewhat problematic in both.

§430. Only one form of the variant shows a proper 'epithet' in the following; in the other appears a word of independent construction (in one case with change of meaning, a nomen actionis instead of an adjective). Cf. §15.
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äre te goghnam utha pūraṣṭaṇaṁ RV.; ārāt te goghna utha pūraṣṭaṇaṁ TS.
See under kṣayadēra (TS. *vīrāya) sumnam asme te astu (which follows this), §359. ‘Far off be thy cattle-killing, and thy mankind-killing’ (RV.). In TS. the nomina actionis are made adjectives going with te (Rudra).

rāyas poṇaṁ cikītuse (AV. ५ष्ट) dadhātu (SS. dadātu) AV. TS. MS. KS. SS. ‘Let her (Kuhū), the wise, grant increase of wealth’; ‘let her grant...to the wise.’ Possibly the dative is secondarily attracted into parallelism with dātuse of the preceding pāda (in Pp. and all others but not in AVS., which has a quite different pāda e).

rātrī (KS. v. l. rātrīh, TB. rātrī) stomaṁ na jīgyuse (KS:† TB. ५ष्ट) RV. KS. TB. The epithet (in RV. referring to some unspecified ‘conqueror’) is transferred to Night.

6. Miscellaneous

§431. The remaining nominative-dative variants are unclassifiable:

ādityāḥ (MS. ॐyēḥyas) tvā prabhantu (MS. prabhāmi) jāgatena chandasa TS. MS. ‘Let the Ādityaas pluck thee forth...’ ‘I pluck thee forth for the Ādityas...’
yathājāre nayat AV.: atthāṁ jārīma paṇey HG. The latter is evidently poor; perhaps ‘then may old age lead him?’ Or is it felt as jārīma āṇayet, as if involving a stem *jarti? Note nā in nayet!

iśasi (AV. MS. yā) teṣām avayā duriṣṭaṁ (AV. MS, duriṣṭik) AV. TS. MS. Followed by svāśiṁ nas tāṁ (AV. wrongly tām) kṛṇotu (AV. kṛṇavat) viśvakarmā (MS. viśv kṛṇotu). Pp. has ya...duriṣṭaṁ, svāśiṁ tad viśv kṛte. TS.: ‘this is their expiatory sacrifice for a vitiated sacrifice; may V. make it for us a perfect sacrifice.’ AV. MS. could apparently only mean: ‘that expiatory sacrifice of theirs which is a vitiated sacrifice, may V. make it...’ This does not fit the requirements; it seems to be due to some sort of misunderstanding or corruption. Whitney emends to duriṣṭeḥ. Pp. duriṣṭa might be interpreted as a loc. of duriṣṭi, ‘in ease of an imperfect sacrifice’; conceivably this might have been the middle stage which (misunderstood as nom. sg. fem. of duriṣṭa) led to the further change to duriṣṭi.

yathā prthivyad aṣyaye samanamam eva mahāyaṁ samanamah sam namantu AV.; yathāgniḥ prthivyā samanamad evam mahayām bhadrāh samanatyah samnamantu TS. KS:† 5. 20. And others in the same passage.
vāk patamgāya dhīyate (TS. śīrīye, MS. hūyate) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: vāk patamgo abhiṇiyat (KS. gā abhiṇrayuh) AV. KS. The verse is desperately obscure; we can contribute nothing to its elucidation.

ekā eva rudro 'va tatthe na dvitiyāḥ N.: eka eva rudro (ŚvetU. eko hi ru₆, ŚirasU. eko ru₄) na dvitiyāya tātthe (ŚvetU. tāsthuh, ŚirasU. tasmāī, but Poona ed. with comm. tāsthau) TS. ApŚ. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. In N. 'one only is Rudra, there is no second existent'; in the others, 'one is Rudra, he does not (or they, indefinite, do not) tolerate ('stand for', Hume) a second.' Add to VV 1 §§76, 359. [kanyakamārīyi (TA. māri, Poona ed. māri) dhīmaḥi TA. MahānU. See §361.]

[jyeṣṭhāya (ŚŚ. jyeṣṭho) yad apracetāḥ AV. ŚŚ. But AV. mss. jyeṣṭho.]
CHAPTER XVII
NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

A. Nominative and Ablative

1. Ablative of source and subject nominative (passive : active)

§432. Variations between these two cases are few and scattering. Rarely do they fall into typical pattern-groups, and yet more rarely do they illustrate typical syntactic relations of the two cases. In the following an ablative of source with passive forms of the root jaṅ 'beget, bear' varies with subject nominative of an active form of the same root. The two expressions are virtual equivalents, and the variation is of the same sort as the much commoner shift between instrumental and nominative with passive and active verbs (cf. §40):

ayāṁ vai tvām ajanyād...ŚŚ.: asmād vai tvam ajāyathā...JB. AG.
Kauś.: asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si VS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. Karmap. 'He has begotten thee': 'thou wast produced from him.'

2. Independent nominative and dependent ablative

§433. The variants found here belong to §§32-8. In the first the relative pronoun justifies construction of the nom. as independent, tho it is really equivalent in sense to the dependent abl., cf. §32, end. This meaning is probably more likely to be right than the alternative interpretation which would make the nom. correlative with the subject of chumbhantu, a construction impossible in the locative form of the variant. Cf. §§450, 669.

(dāpo ma tasmāc chumbhantu) agneḥ samkasukāc ca yat (Ppp. agniḥ sam-
kusikaḥ ca yaḥ) AV. Ppp.: (sīse mrddhvaṁ nāde mrddhvam) agnau
samkasuke ca yat (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. 'May the waters purify me from that and (from) (him who is) Agni S.'
viṣṇo (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos) sthānam asi (MS. MŚ. sthānasi, KS. sthānnaḥ)
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In KS. construed with the following, tā indra viryam akṛnot. According to ApŚ. also the two are connected in sense; see Keith, HOS. 18 p. 14 n. 2.

§434. We have noted only one variant which seems to belong to this category (cf. §§21-2), in that a pāda is repeated in a different context which requires change of construction of the noun:

pāpebhyaḥ ca pratigrabaḥ (RVKh. ṭhāṭ) RVKh. TA. MahāṇU. BDh.

The contexts are different tho similar.

4. Transfer of epithet.

§435. This occurs a few times; in some instances, as usual, number or gender varies along with case:

pra skannāḥ (KS. skannāḥ, v. 1. sānāḥ) ḫāyatāṁ hariḥ KS. KS. ApŚ.

Probably the abl. is original: 'let oblation be born from the (part of the offering that has) fallen (on the ground). If KS. really intends a nom., it would agree with hariḥ: 'let the oblation that has fallen be born.'

ud asya saṃśrād bhāṇur nārta (MS. bhāṇor nāvyāḥ) RV. MS. TA. ApŚ.

In the original bhāṇu is applied in the same to Agni, subject of the verb. In MS. it seems to apply to saṃśrād. (Understand doubtless na asyaḥ, despite p.p. which does not divide.)

pāṇā (KS. pāṇah) saṃpyaḥ (KS. sānāḥ) abhūtyāḥ (KS. sāyai) AV. KS.

Preceded by paryāvarté duḥsyapnyāt. In KS. pāṇa seems to be transferred to the subject.

apahato 'rauḥ prthīvī adevayajanaḥ (prthīvī ai devayajanyai) TS. ApŚ.

(but in each). The epithet is altered (and) transferred from arau to prthīri, or vice versa.

§436. In another case the original, and perhaps only correct, form of the variant shows an ablative which is independently construed, while the nominative form (if textually sound) is attracted into agreement with the subject. Cf. §15.

parāṃraṝḥ (TA. sāṃraṝḥ) parimucyaṁti sarve TA. MahāṇU. MunḍU.

KaivU. The ablative seems to be original, and is read by Deussen in MahāṇU., and by the Poona ed. (Upariṣadāṁ Saṁuccayaḥ) in KaivU. Deussen understands 'the immortal' from which 'all are freed' as prakṛti, 'material nature'. If the nom. is read it would apply to the subject in a pregnant sense: 'so as to be) immortal.'

5. Miscellaneous

§437. The rest are unclassifiable; some are under suspicion of corruption:

adbhyaḥ saṁbhṛtaḥ (TA. ApŚ. saṁbhūtaḥ) prthīvai (KS.† MS. sāyai)
rasāc ca (KS. rasah) VS. KS. MS. TA. ApŚ. Followed by viśvakaṁaṁaṁ samavartatādhi (VS. 2ōgre). Comm. on VS. supplies yo rasah as subject; the KS. reading is doubtless secondary (certainly unmetrical), and seems to have been suggested by a like understanding of the passage. In fact, however, the original subject must have been the puruṣa, understood from the original context. gaṛhapatyaḥ (ŚŚ. 2ōtyō) praṛjyā (VSK. praṛjyān) vasuvattamaṁ VS. VSK. SB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by ayam aṁīr grhaṁapatih. Original: ‘he, Agni Gāṛhapatya, is the house-lord, most liberal in good things to our offspring.’ ŚŚ. seems to mean: ‘he, Agni, is house-lord, most liberal dispenser of good things from the gāṛhapatyā-streel to our offspring.’ This is barely intelligible.

madhu reto (KS. madhur ato, TS. madhur ato) mādhavaḥ pātṛ asmān TS. MS. KS. AŚ. KS. has the simplest and, in this case, probably the original reading: ‘let Madhu and Mādhava (the two spring months) protect me.’ TS.: ‘let Mādhava protect us after (or, from) Madhu.’ MS. AŚ. seem likely to contain a corruption; MS. p.p. madhuḥ, antah, pointing towards the KS. reading. As it stands the reading may be rendered: ‘let the sweet seed and Mādhava protect us’, or ‘let Mādhava protect the sweet seed and us’. Either is bathetic, but perhaps no worse than many Yajus passages.

nakṣatranāṁ sakāsaṁ nā yaoṣaṁ MS.: nakṣatranāṁ mā samkāsaṁ ca praṇikāsaṁ ca vatoṁ Vait. Kauś. ‘May I not be cut off from the presence of the nakṣatras’: ‘may the presence and the gleam of the nakṣatras aid me.’

apāravum adevaujananah prthivyā ṛtevaujananāj (ApŚ. adevaµjanano) jahi KS. ApŚ. Caland would read adevaujananāh (acc. pl. mase.) in both. We too find ApŚ. uninterpretable, since adevaµjanano can scarceley fit the subject of jahi. But KS. could mean: ‘Smite away Araru, that sacrifices not to the gods, from the earth, from the sacrifice to the gods.’ Caland, like the Conc., misquotes KS. as adevaµjananāj.

mṛtyur (!) me pāhi TAA.: mṛtyor mā pāhi TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Comm. on TAA. says that mṛtyur is for mṛtyor, evatlyajena. The variant should doubtless be added to VV 2 §716.
satyā eṣām (AŚ. elā) ākṣīḥ samu kāmāḥ (ApMB. HG. kāmaḥ, SMB. Jörgensen kāmaḥ, one ms. kāmāt; AG. santu sarve, VS. samānam-
NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

$tam$ VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG. See §412. The abl. could mean ‘according to their desire’, like the instr.

B. Nominative and genitive

1. Partitive genitive and nominative

§438. First among the nominative-genitive variants may be put a group of cases where the two forms are virtual synonyms. Namely: in one form is used a partitive genitive (almost appositional at times), depending on a nominative, while in the other the two words are both nominals, in syntactic agreement. (See §84.) Most simply this appears in formulaic lists such as daksinā (and prāci, ārdha, pratiči, udiči) dīk, ‘the southern (etc.) quarter’, AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. Besides this list, TS. also has one with the variant dīsam in each case: ‘the southern (etc.) one of the quarters.’ Quite similarly in a list of the seasons, VS. MS. KS. SB. have vasanta (and grīha, varṣa, sarad) pūruḥ, and hemantaśīvarū (śrd) rta, ‘the spring (etc.) season’, while TS. in each instance reads pūranām, ‘the spring (etc.) of the seasons.’

§439. Less formulaic, but of the same character, are the following: subhūr asi (ŚŚ. subhūr naṃasi) sreṣṭho rāmikī... PB. ŚŚ.: subhūr asi sreṣṭho rāmimām... TS. ApŚ.: svayāmbhūr asi sreṣṭho rāmikī... VS. MS. SB. ŚŚ. MS. ‘The best ray’: ‘the best of rays’.

yathāmi (RVKh. yathāṣṭam, AV. yathāṣṭam, SV. yathāṣṭam) anyo anīṃ na jānām (KVKh. AV. SV. jānāt) RVKh. AV. SV. VS. ‘That those may not know the one the other’: ‘that of those one may not know the other’.

triṣṇa bhuvanam yad rathavat KŚ.†: triṣṇa yad bhuvanasya rathavat TB. ApŚ. yad bhuvanasya must mean the same as bhuvanam yad, ‘what land’.

yān (TS. yēṣām) tisraḥ prathamajāh (TS. KŚ. TA. paramajāh) TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. preceded by ye grahāḥ pañcijaṅgānāḥ: ‘what cups pertain to the five peoples (i.e. are five in number, cf. Keith’s note), of which three are first-born’. Followed by yemaḥ (tāsām)... isam ārjām sam āgrabhim. The other texts vary considerably, and do not mention the number ‘five’. On the fem. gender see §835.

amṛtaṁ nihitr kitāh RV. TB. TA.: amṛtam nihifām guhā SV. Preceded by yad ado vāta te grhe. ‘What store of nectar is placed in thy house’: ‘what nectar is placed in secret in thy house.’

mitraḥ satyānām (VS. ŚB. satyaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Parallel formulas have gen. even in VS. It is not certain that they are partitives; cf. mitra satyānām pate (nām adhipate) TB. ŚŚ. (in different contexts, to be sure).
Here we place also the following, tho the TS. is poor and less close in meaning to the original:

yad enak cakravan buddha teṣa AV.: eno mahac cakravan buddha teṣa MS.: enak cakravan mahi buddha esam TS. The last seems to mean 'the one of them who, having committed a great sin, is bound'; otherwise Keith. Undoubtedly esam is the proper form.

2. Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative

§§440. Not very different from these are a group in which the genitive is no longer partitive but rather descriptive or possessive, and so substantially equivalent to a nominative epithet of the subject, which may vary with it (cf. §§85):

vrṣaṣy āurmih TS. TB.: vrṣormiṇi asī MS. KS. MS.: vrṣṇa āurmīr asī rāṣṭradāh VS. SB. 'Thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)....'

martānām (AV. martāsaś) cit urvaśīr akṛpan RV. AV. 'Even of (or, for) mortals Urvaśis (even mortal Urvaśis) have been fashioned.' See Bloomfield, JAOS. 20. 183.

pratiṣṭhe stho devate (MG. devate dyāvāpythvē, ApMB. devatānām) mā mā sanātāpam HG. ApMB. MG. 'You (a pair of shoes) are standing-places, deities (of the deities)....'

mā no rakṣo abhi naq yātumāvatām (AV. 8māvat) RV. AV. The variation accompanies a change in the meaning of rakṣas (abstract in RV., but in AV. used in its later concrete sense); 'Let not the injury of the sorcerous ones (the sorcerous ogre, rākṣas) get at us.'

apāṁ sakhā (GB. yonih) prathamajā rtāvā (GB. rtaśya) RV. GB. Here the nom. of an adjective derivative varies with a genitive: 'first-born, rta-full' or 'first-born of the rta'. GB. quite naturally falls into the familiar rīmār role expression prathamajā rtaśya instead of the RV. phrase, which is more recherché; so much so, indeed, that Grassmann was moved to suggest that rtaśya should be read for rtāvā in the two places where the phrase occurs.

§§441. In a different way the two variants result in the same meaning when the possessive genitive with an abstract noun varies with a nominative plus the nominative of a corresponding concrete, in predicate relationship:

yavāś cāyavāś cādhīpataya āsan VS. MS. KS. SB.: yavānāṁ cāyavānāṁ cādhīpatayaṁ āsīt TS. 'The Y. and A. were overlords': 'the overlordship belonged to the Y. and A.'

ta (MS. ta u) erādhīpataya āsan VS. MS. KS. SB.: teṣām ādīhīpatayaṁ āsīt TS. 'These same were overlords': 'theirs was the overlordship.'
§442. In the remaining cases there is a more substantial difference of meaning between the two forms of the variant. Still fairly close to each other, and hence to be mentioned next, are a few cases in which the nominative depends upon a word which, in the other form, is a complementary subject or predicate, parallel with the nominative which replaces the genitive:

\[\text{y\text{ā}so bhaṅgaś ca mā vidat} \, \text{(MG. riśat, mss. mostly riśak)} \, \text{PG. MG.: yāso bhagaśya vindatu ArS. 'Let glory and fortune find me', PG., doubtless original. ArS. makes yāso object, and bhaṅgaś ca is then changed (with phonetic shift, VV 2 §189) to a gen.: 'let him find glory of fortune'. The real sense, in spite of all this, is not very different. parimāṇi yajamānaṁ rāga manoṣyānāṁ VS. ŠB.: parimāṇi rāgas poṣo yajamānaṁ manoṣyāḥ TS.: parimāṇi yajamānaṁ manoṣyāḥ saha rāgas poṣena praṇāya ca vyaṇantām MS.: parimāṇi rāga manoṣyāṁ KŚ. Only the relations of VS. and TS. concern us here (for MS. see §412, for KŚ. §402). The former: 'riches (subject) of humans'. The latter: 'increase of riches (and) humans' (both subjects; §402). āpaḥ pra jaṅpati vajña (ApŚ. pra jaṅpateḥ prāna) vajñaśya bheṣajam asi (ApŚ. omits asi) KŚ. ApŚ. 'Thou art the waters, Prajaṅpati, sacrifice, ...'; 'the waters are Prajaṅpati's life-breaths...'. Here ApŚ. substitutes a different word for the correlative nominative in its extensive reconstruction.

ahorātreyo vajγ (VS. ahorātre Ṽvraṣṭive, MS. ahorātre Ṽrvaṣṭive) bṛhadṛathāṁ ca me vajñena kalpetām (VS.† kalpantām) VS. TS. MS. In all preceded by a long list of nouns, parallel subjects of the verb. By a clearly secondary distortion (with phonetic aspects, VV 2 §§803, 840) TS. allows a discordant phrase to intrude, changing the following word to a different one. Original: 'May..., the vrata, day and night, thighs and knees, the Bṛhat and Rāthāntara sāmanas, prosper for me thru the sacrifice.' TS.: 'May..., the vrata by the rain of day and night, the Bṛhat' etc.

§443. Such cases shade off into a rather miscellaneous group in which the genitive (possessive or vaguely descriptive) no longer depends on the nominative with which, in the other form of the variant, the other nominative (replacing the genitive) is somehow correlated. The only connecting link in this group is this: of two nominatives, correlative subjects or subject and predicate, in one form of the variant, one is replaced in the other form by a genitive dependent on some other word than the remaining nominative. Thus:

\[\text{[dyuṭānas (MS. KŚ. niṭānas) tu māruto minottu (MS. KŚ. niḥantu)]}\]
niṣṭāvān (TS. KS, *varṇayor) ḍhrṇena ḍharmanā VS. TS, MS. KS. ŚB.: [varṇaṇaṁ te dhṛtaṁ ravo ḍhṛṣṭaya (TA, *pratā ḍhṛṣṭaya)] niṣṭāvān (TA, *varṇayor) ḍhraṅ ḍhṛṣṭa MS. TA. [Conc. fails to divide these sentences properly.] 'Let Dyutānā (Nītāna) . . . fix thee (or the like), (and) Mitra-Varuṇa with firm ordination (or, with the firm ordination of M-V.).'

svaḥ sāta etu (eti, slokā yanti) pathyeva (KS. pathaeva) sūreḥ (sūrī, sūrāḥ, sūrāḥ) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. See §419.

agnir hotaḥ vetu (ŚB. and TB. Poona ed. vette) agnir (ŚB. AŚ. agner) hotrah vetu (vetu) prāvrataṁ . . . ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Let Agni the hotar enjoy (know); let Agni enjoy (know) the office of hotar . . .'; 'let Agni the hotar enjoy (know) Agni's office of hotar . . .'

daive veda ca gāthinām (ŚŚ. *nāḥ) AB. ŚŚ. Preceded by adhiyata (ŚŚ. *te) devārata, rikthayor ubhayor rṣih, jahnānām cādhipatyena (ŚŚ. cādhitasthira). See Keith, HOS. 25. 308 n. 8. In ŚŚ. what was originally possessive gen. ('and in the divine sacred lore of the Gāthin[a]s') is turned into a complementary subject.

pitara nārāyaṇaṁ sannāh (VSK. sādvīmānah) VS. VSK.; pitaro nārāyaṇaḥ KS.: pitṛnāh nārāyaṇaḥ TS. Soma is referred to; it is 'when settled, the Nārāyaṇa fathers' (VS. VSK.); 'the fathers, as Nārāyaṇa' (KS.); 'Nārāyaṇa, as belonging to the fathers' (TS.). All are banal rubbish without intelligent sense.

vāyuḥ pūrṇah pavitrana VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: vāyoh . . . AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. Kauś. The contexts are the same; pūtṛḥ applies to Soma, with which in the first variant (doubtless original) Vāyu is identified: 'Soma, (who is) Vāyu, purified by the strainer.' The other reading looks like a rationalizing lect. fac.; it turns vāyuḥ into a gen., 'purified by Vāyu's strainer.'

§444. Sometimes this change of case-form seems to be due to formal attraction to the case of an adjoining word:

śrī saṁvedaditer (TS. KS, *tīr) upaniṣhe VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. - aditer upaniṣhe is a standard cadence (see e.g. RVRep. 659), and upaniṣhe without a dependent gen. is scarcely conceivable. The orig. must have meant 'may she (the Viṣṇupatnī referred to in a preceding pāda) be favorable to us in the lap of Aditi.' In TS. KS. there is felt to be need of a specific name of the deity referred to by the preceding series of nom. epithets; hence aditer is substituted for aditer, by a sort of case attraction.

yena dhatā bhāsaspatē (ŚG. *tīh) VSK. AG. (1, 17. 12a) ŚG.: yena pūṣā bhāsaspatē SMB. GG. ApMB. HG. MG. Followed by indrasya
cāvapac chiraḥ; the ca here confirms the obvious secondariness of
SG., which clearly has assimilated bhāsparthaḥ to the case of dhāta.
mātā (MS. mātur) mātari mātā MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by prthivī
prthivyāṁ sīda, with which the first mātā doubtless goes in sense:
'Earth, sit on earth as mother, mother on mother.' In MS.: 'Earth, sit on earth, mother on mother's mother.' If MS. is origi-
nal, the other form may have assimilated mātur to mātā; but any-
thing is possible in such rigmārole.
cakṣur yaḍ eṣāṁ manasaḥ ca satyam AV.: cakṣuṣa eṣāṁ manasaḥ ca
saṁdhau TS. cakṣuṣa in TS.'s lect. fac. may be partly due to
formal assimilation to manasaḥ.
dyumattamā supratikasya sūnāḥ (AV. supratikā sasūnāḥ) AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. The gen. of the YV. texts agrees with the preceding
agnēḥ. In AV. (but not in Ppp., which agrees with the rest) a closer
connection is sought with the following noms. (tanināpāt etc.),
beginning a new sentence and also referring to Agni. See Whitney
on 5. 27. 1.

3. Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive

§ 445. As with other cases (§§ 32–8), so with the genitive, a nominative
out of syntactic relation (generally as subject or predicate of a separate
nominal sentence) may vary with another case in dependent relationship
of any kind. Where the nominative occurs, it is generally, but not
always, resumed by a genitive pronoun referring to it. Thus:
agnier aham śvīṣakṛto devaśajjyayāyuh pratiśthāṁ gameyam KS.: agnej
śvīṣakṛto 'ham devaśajjyayāyusmān yañjena pratiśthāṁ gameyam TS.
agniḥ śvīṣakṛtā yajñasya pratiśthā tasyāham devaśajjyāyā yajñena
pratiśthāṁ gameyam MS. Note tasya in MS., resuming agnej.
agniṣomaiy aham devaśajjyāyā cakṣuṣmān (and, vytraḥ) bhūyāsan TS.
ApŚ.: agnihōmanu vytrahanāum tayor (MS. vytrahanāv agniṣomaiy)
aham devaśajjyāyā vytraḥ bhūyāsan KS. MS.
somasyāham devaśajjyāyā...reto dhiṣṭya (dhe) TS. ApŚ. MS.: somo
reto dhāras tasyāham devaśajjyāyā...reto dhiṣṭya KS.
catuspāda uita ye dvipādh KS. MS.: catuspādaṁ uita yo (TS. ca) dvipa-
dām AV. TS. Preceded by yeśām (AV. ya) iṣe paśupatiḥ patiṇām.
AV. looks original; the gen. depends on iṣe. In ultimate sense KS.
MS. mean the same.
devaṁāṁ patnir agnir gṛhapatir yajñasya mithunam (KS. 'patir mith-
unāṁ yajamānasya) tayor aham devaśajjyāyā...TS. KS.: devaṁāṁ
patniraṁ aham devaśajjyāyā...MS.
vilipī ṛā (and, vilipīyā) byhaspate AV. (both). In two near-by stanzas which are otherwise practically identical, Whitney would emend vilipīyā(s) to vilipī ṛā; but it is quite construable as partitive gen. depending on aśnīyāt of pāda c: ‘of the vilipī (cow) he shall not eat.’ The relative clause paraphrases the same sense. The variation has phonetic aspects: VV.2 §791a.

4. Transfer of epithet

§445. The usual group of variants due to ‘transfer of epithet’ (§14) appears here also. We begin with examples where neither number nor gender, but only case, varies:
na vai śvetaśādhyācāre (AG. śvetāś cābhīyāgāre, HG. śvetasyādhyācārena, MG. śvetasyādhyācāre) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Followed by ahir jaghāna (PG. dadarśa) kam (AG. MG. kini) cana. Most texts: ‘In the domain of the white one (the serpent-demon) a serpent has killed no one’ or the like. AG. (by a phonetic shift, VV.2 §188) makes śveta an epithet of ahir: ‘In the house (?) the white serpent has killed nothing.’ The original genitive is, strictly, no ‘epithet’ of any expressed word, so that the variant perhaps belongs in §448. adhvānām adhvāpate kṛṣṭhaḥ svastasyādhyāvanah (ApMB. kṛṣṭhasyādhyāvanah, MG. śrāvyāsya svastasyādhyāvanah, see VV.2 §707) pāram aśīya AŚ. ApMB. MG. In AŚ. kṛṣṭhaḥ is an epithet of the subject; in ApMB. it becomes an epithet of adhvānām.

vīprasya dhārayā kaviḥ RV.: vīprāḥ sa dhārayā sutaḥ SV. In RV. vīprasya is the human priest; SV. transfers it to Soma (cf. VV.2 §189).

pibā sutasya matir na (AV, mater iha) AV, SV, AŚ. ŚŚ. In either reading the meaning is obscure; if there is no corruption, this much is certain, that matir must refer to the subject of pibā, and mater to sutasya.

vīprā vīprasya bhāte vipaścītah RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚvetU.: vīprō vīprasya suhava vipaścīt AV. In the original: ‘The priests of the great wise priest’ (Savitār; so if vīprā be taken with Grassmann and Ludwig as gen. sg., the alternative would be to take it as nom. pl. with vīprā). In AV. the context is different; the pāda describes the goat that is being sacrificed: ‘The sage (was born from) the sage’s (heat), acquainted with power’ or the like.

vīśām kavīṁ vīkpatin mānuṣīnām (and, mānuṣīr iṣāḥ) RV. (both). The gen. goes with vīśām, the nom. with iṣāḥ.

mahāṁ te mahato mahīṁ āV.: mahāṁ te suto mahīṁ panasyate (SV.
paniṣṭama) RV. AV. SV. VS. In RV. etc. mahas agrees with te; in the AV. variant it is attracted to mahima.

§447. The rest involve change of number or gender as well as case: brātā te āndra somā sātāpaya (KB. TA. *per, KS. ŠS. *pe) harmavirutaḥ MS. KB. (fragment) TA. ŠS. Add KS. 9.8 in Conc. In MS, the epithet rāt̐a goes with somā(h), in KB. TA. with te (= Indra), in KS. ŠS. with āndra directly.

yeṣām (AV. Kauś. ya) iṣe paśupatiḥ paśūnām AV. TS. KS. MS. Kauś. vasuṁ (TS. ApMB. vasuḥ) sūnuh sahaso aparā rājā RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ApMB. In TS. ApMB. vasuḥ is attracted into agreement with sahaso, instead of sūnuh.

mahā (TS. MS. KS. mahi) cid yasya (TS. ḫy asya, KS. devasya) mādhūso yasyā (KS.† tayāḥ) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. The adjective is transferred from yasya mādhūso to yasyā (asayā).

garbhō yas te yasāyāh KS.: yasāya (VSK. yasā) te yasāyō garbhāh VS. VSK. ŠB.: yasāya te harito garbhāh TS. ApŚ. The relative agrees in KS. with garbhās, elsewhere with te (the cow). Followed by: yasāya (VSK. yasāya) yonir hiranyāya VS. VSK. ŠB.: yonir yas te hira-

nyāyāh KS. Some conditions.

śucī śucre ahany ojasinā (MS. ahann ojasīne, KS.† śucro ahany ojasye, AŚ. ḫany ojasinā) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. If ojasinām is not a mere corruption or misprint in the (imperfect) edition, it seems to be a gen. pl. fem. of a stem *ojas, going with diśām in the preceding pāda.

maho gotrasya kṣayati svarāyaḥ (AV. * ḫjāi) RV. AV. (both). In RV. svarāyaḥ is gen. (from svarāj), epithet of (neut.) gotrasya. AV., doubtless stumbling over the less familiar form, substitutes the nom. of svarāyaṃ, making it an epithet of the subject.

asya prāṇād apānati (AV. * MS. *tah) RV. AV. SV. VS. ArŚ. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. apānati apparently goes with rocanā in the preceding pāda, as nom. sg. fem.: apānataḥ with asya. See Oldenberg, RV′Noten on 10. 189. 2, and Whitney on AV. 6. 31. 2.

mahā (SV. mahān) avinām anu pūrṇāḥ RV. SV. The adjective is transferred in SV. from avinām to the subject.

imau te pakṣāv (VSK. MS. KS. pakṣā) ajaraṃ patatrīnau (VSK. TS.† KS. *nāh) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.: yau te pakṣār ajaraṃ pata-

trīnau Kauś. The nom. agrees with pakṣau, the gen. with te. The variant is really phonetic, for the actual reading is patatrīṇo, before a sonant: see VV. 2 §732.

§448. Cases in which one or the other form of the variant word is in strictness not an 'epithet', but construed independently (§14), are:
5. Miscellaneous

§449. The remaining nominative-genitive variants are hardly classifiable. For the most part they concern rather radical reconstructions of very varied character. In the first two the 2d personal pronoun forms tuam and tava interchange, without essential difference of sense in the first at least.

tam u tuam (SV. tava tyam) māyāvādāhīh RV, SV. Preceded by yad dha tyam māyinah mṛgam: tava, of course, goes with māyajā.

hastarāhāsyas didhiṣos (AV. da") tavedam (TA. tavan etat) RV. AV. TA. Followed by patyur janitvam abhi samabahātha (TA. "bhāra"). 'Thou hast entered into this spouseship with thy second husband who takes thy hand.' On the verb form of TA. cf. VV 1 p. 178. It is there suggested that the 3d person may be due to thought of
forms with subject bhāsū (bhāsatī), which would be in effect 2d person (comm. glosses as a 2d person). If this be held too violent an assumption with term preceding as subject, the preceding pāda may be taken as a separate sentence: ‘thou belongest to a second husband who takes thy hand.’

vayam te rudrā syāma RV.: vayam nām mitrā syāma SV. ‘May we be such (yours);’ tē, n. pl.

ayah(k)āthāna (TS. "nāv uditā (TS. MS. KS. "tau) sūryasya RV. TS. MS. KS.: ubhīv īndra (ŚB. īndra) udītāḥ sūryaṁ ca VS. ŚB. See VV 2 §188.

vider agner nabho nāma VSK. ŚBK.: vider (vida) agnír (agni)... see §333.

upasthākānāṁ mitravās anta ovarah TS. MS. AŚ.: upapasthā kā mitravāsam ovarah KS. Both TS. and MS. accent upasthā'kānāṁ, i.e. upasthā'kā, but MS. p.p. apparently misunderstands and reads upāsthē kā. KS. has no accents. The meaning of upasthā is obscure; on AV. 12. 1. 62 Whitney renders upasthā’s te by ‘standers upon thee’, which is purely etymological; Ludwig and Bloomfeld, ‘thy laps’, which would imply upāsthē. Keith on TS. renders ‘the stay of the earth’, implying that this phrase is equivalent to dhartrī disām, the subject in the preceding pāda. Whatever the meaning, in MS. TS. AŚ. upasthākānāṁ goes with the preceding, while in KS. āsā is to be taken either as a further epithet of dhartrī in the preceding, or as subject of an independent sentence.

anu sūrya upavo anu rākṣin AV.: anu sūryasya purutrā ca rākṣin VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ‘(Agni has looked) as a sun, along the dawns, along the rays;’ ‘(Agni has looked) many times along the rays of the sun.’

garbham āśvātary anahāsau PG.: garbhām āśvātaryāh ivi ApMB. HG. prathamachad (KS. paramāḥ) avarān (TS. paramachadā varā) ā vīvēśa RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The nom. is an epithet of the subject (Viśvakarman). Keith on TS.: ‘hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers’, a purely mechanical rendering, which may be quite right in suggesting that the passage is nonsense.

brahma varna māmānāram RV. AV. SV. ApŚ.: brahmāham antaram kṛtvā (KS. karvā) AV. KS.

yā (MS. ya) itapō yathūdhānāṁ VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB.: yasū vā yathūdhānāḥ KS. ‘What (serpents) are the arrows of sorcerers?’ ‘(serpents) in which are sorcerers.’ On KS. cf. VV 2 §990, stotro yajñāsya ca (TB. yajñasya) rādhya haviṁmatā (TB. "tāh") RV. TB. See VV 2 §188.
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śṛṇvantu (TS, ŚvetU. ?ti) víśe amṛtasya putrāḥ (AV, amṛtāsu etat) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
dhiyā martaḥ śaśamate (SV, martaṣya śaśamataḥ) RV. SV. Preceded by
ṛdhad yas te suvānave RV., sa ghaḥ yas te dīva naraḥ SV. See VV 2 §189.
yasya ārūravā hyḥann [ārkṣo anika edhata] RV.: ya eva ārūravann
ārkṣye [ḥrādānka idhyate] SV.
nedīya it ṣṛṇyāḥ (TS, sṛṇyā) pakram eyāt (AV, a yavam, TS. MS. KS. ēyat) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See §589. Without
change of form, AV. reinterprets the originally genitive sg form
('may the ripe fruit of the sickle come nearer') as a nom. pl.: 'may
the sickles draw the ripe grain nearer.'
aparsādānu dattām ṛṇāni (AV, ṛṇaḥ naḥ) AV. TB. TA.: apsarāsām
anu dattāṃrṇāni MS. The latter is a phonetic corruption; VV 2
§237.
pādo 'nṛṣṭabhavat (AV, pādaṣya; TA, ṭbhavat, both edd., add to VV 1
§137) purṇah RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. Whitney adopts the nom.
with comm. and a few ms. The gen. seems not construable.
somat vṛatham vyicīde RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: somasya jāya vṛthamām
AV. See §404.
[tasya mṛtyuḥ (KS, mṛtyoḥ, but read mṛtyuḥ with two ms.; TB, mṛtyau)
carati rājasyaṃ AV, KS. TB.]
[agniṣ (ad dhotā kratuṣid vijānau RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. Cone, wrongly
janānaṃ for vijānaṇa in KB.)]
CHAPTER XVIII

NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

1. Independent nominative and dependent locative

§450. Variations between nominative and locative are fairly numerous, but quite miscellaneous. Except for the usual group of ‘transfers of epithet’, few of them fall into recognizable categories. A couple of cases occur in which a nominative of independent statement varies with a dependent locative; the first example is particularly simple and clear; in it the independent nominative is obviously secondary:

kṛte yonau (KS. krto yonir) mrutēhā bijam (VS. SB. vijam) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ‘In the prepared womb scatter here the seed’; ‘the womb is prepared, scatter’ etc.

nābhā prthivyāḥ samidhāno agnau (MS. KS. samidhāno agnim, TS. samidhānam agnim) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. See §393.

(śīśe mrṣḍhavam ude mrṣḍhavam) agnau samkṣuke ca yat (Ppp. agnih samkṣukā ca yah) AV. Ppp.: (āpo vā tasmāc chumbhantu) agneh samkṣukāc ca yat (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. On the interpretation of AV. see §§433, 669. Whitney considers Ppp. the correct reading. The same sense must be intended in both; ‘and (wipe off) on Agni 8.’

§451. Once a locative of a noun varies with a nominative of a secondary adjective from the same noun, yielding the same meaning (‘in the atmosphere, in the earth’; ‘atmospheric, earthly’):

antarikṣa utsa vā prthivyām AV.; yā antarikṣa utsa pārthivēr yāḥ TB. ApŚ.: yā antarikṣa utsa pārthivārih (AG. pārthivēr yāḥ) KS. AG. The ms. of Ppp. has antarikṣa utsa pārthivyāḥ; for the first word we may read antarikṣa with Barret, or perhaps better antarikṣa (adjective).

2. Phrase-inflection

§452. One case may be called an instance of ‘phrase-inflection’; the pāda is repeated in (here three) different contexts, requiring change in the case-form:

sulāsa indra girvānāḥ RV. S. 95. 2b; sutev indra girvānāḥ RV. SV.
§453. A few variants may be grouped together in that the motive for the shift seems to have been a more or less mechanical assimilation of one word to the case of a neighboring word. Other instances, as usual, will be found among the cases of 'transfer of epithet'.

ahanam (ŚB. 'ne) yath inakṣat RV. VS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MS. Preceded by dūre cātāya chaṁsā. 'To him hidden afar may the hiding-place which he has reached be pleasing; 'may it be pleasing to him hidden in the distant hiding-place which he has reached.' Apparently ŚB. assimilates to the case of dūre. Remarkable is the divergence of ŚB. from even VS. as well as all other texts.

rūpaṃ indre (MS. indro) hiranyayam VS. MS. TB. The subjects in the original are Sarasvati, Iḍā, and Bhārati, who are to put rūpaṃ hiranyayam upon Indra. In MS. Indra is attracted to the case of the subject nouns and treated as a supplementary subject, no loc. being expressed.

ithā hi soma in made (SV. madah) RV. SV. AB. KB. SB. AA. AS. SS. Followed in RV. SV. by brahma (SV. 'ma) cakāra vardhanam. In RV. the subject is brahma alone, soma (= some) and made locs.; in SV. soma (= somah) and madah are coordinate subjects.

vardhamāno (TS. 'nāh) mahāṇ (TS. MS. maha) a ca puṣkare (TS. 'ram) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The loc. is clearly original; it is apparently to be construed with a, 'on the lotus leaf', altho a regularly follows a loc. In TS. both vardha° and puṣ° are made nouns; this and the next pāda are now felt as addressed to the lotus leaf (see §837); undoubtedly the nouns of the preceding half line have helped in the change. It is not clear how TS. understands a.

§454. The following cases of simple transfer of epithet (§14) occur; in all but the first two there is change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

ā haryato arjune (SV. 'no) atke anyata RV. SV. In RV. the adjective agrees with atke; in SV. it is transferred to the subject, Soma.

tatām dahāre (MahāṇU. dahrā) gagānam viṣokah (TA. comm. and Pooma ed. text with v. I. 'kam) TA. MahāṇU. [TAA. 10. 12. 3, Pooma ed., reads viṣokah in text and comm.; the latter calmly refers it to brahma without explanation.] In TA. dahāre goes with tatāra, which refers back to dahrā in the preceding; 'in that small place'. In MahāṇU. dahrā is an epithet of gagānam.
The text is a page from a book discussing Sanskrit grammatical terms. The page contains a discussion on the terms *sarman* (MS. *svarāh*), *syāna* (VS. *tava syāna sarmane*, TS. *tava yād karman*), *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS. *udbhīt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. *udbhīt* is an epithet of the subject; in the others *udbhau* is loc. with *sarman* (Comm. on VS. understands it as from a stem *ud-bhā*! He interprets it, however, as if from *ud-bhā*. The stem is of course *udbhu*, declined as a short *u* stem.) In all but TS. *trivarūtha* stands for *the* and goes with *sarman*. In TS. it might also be so interpreted, but p.p. *thāh*, nom., and so Keith.

Text: *samudraḥ prathamo vi dhārayah* (SV. *samudraḥ prathame vidharman*) RV. SV. See §403, end.

*asūrā* (MS. KS. *tāḥ, KapS. *tāḥ*) *sūrte rajasya niṣatte* (MS. *tāḥ, KS. na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. KapS. N.: *asūrā sūrte rajasyo vimāne* TS. See Oldenberg, Pral. 313, and RVNoten on 10. 82. 4. Certainly both *asūtā* and *sūrte*, and perhaps also *niṣatte*, go with *rajasya; asūrā* is transferred to *bhūtāni; asūrāḥ to ṛṣayah; either *niṣatā* or *tāḥ* is possible, referring to either of these nouns.

*priyo* (TB. ApS. *priye*) devāndām parame janitre (AV. TA. *sadhasethe*) RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApS. MS. Addressed to the spirit of the dead man; *edhi* precedes. The original *priyo* agrees with the subject, *priye* with *janitre*.

*dhrusādhi poṣyā* (PG. *poṣyge*) mayi RVKh. SG. PG. ApMB. *Be thou steadfast with me, prosperour.* We take *poṣye* as loc. with *mayi*, contrary to Stenzler and Oldenberg, who understand it as voc. fem. addressed to the bride (which is also possible; in that case this variant would belong in §334).


*rivṛtacakra āśinaḥ* HG. ApMB. (epithets of *prajok*) *avimuktacakra* (v. 1. *cra* dārān PG.: *nivṛtacakraśau* AG. (here an independent sentence, with *nadi* understood; in Conc. under *soma no...*). If *cakra* is the true reading of PG., it may be a voc. fem. agreeing with the name of a river to be supplied for the following *nāsu* (so Oldenberg); or it may be loc. with the following *fire*.

*viśe devā aṅkuṣaṃ nyuṭāḥ* (VSK. *nyuṇyamāneṣu*) VS. VSK. *He (soma) is the All-gods, when he is offered in the aṅkuṣa (when the aṅkuṣa are offered).* Reference is made to the *braha* called *aṅkuṣa* (śB. 4. 6. 1. 1 ff.). Probably VSK. is original.
§455. The rest of the cases grouped under the heading 'transfer of epithet' can be so described only by stretching the term (§15). We find first a group in which an independent locative noun, not the epithet of anything else, is changed into a nominative, becoming then an epithet of the subject. The nom. seems to be always secondary in this group. All but the first few show shift of number or gender as well as case:

ṣukre ahany ojaśinā (MS. ahann ojasine, KS. ōṣukre ahany ojasye, AŚ. 'ahany ojaśina) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ojaśina is nom. fem. agreeing with ugrā (sc. dik) of the preceding; ojaśine and ēṣe go with ahann (ahany). ōṣukre goes with the latter; ōṣukre of KS. (and presumably ōṣukr which in the others goes with ugrā) apparently goes with indra of the following (indrāhīpataḥ pīpṛtaḥ).

sādṛṣyaṃ yutsu indro ganeṣu MS.: sādṛṣyaṃ sā yuṣṭa indro ganeṣa RV.

AV. SV. VS. TS. KS. See §548.

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wukṣayāḥ saṃayā mānusāvah (TS. ṣeṣu) AV. TS. We take it that TS. is original: 'widely dwelling with their troops among men.' The AV. assimilates to the preceding noms., making mān an epithet of the subject, the Maruts.

na yonī (TS. yonī, KS. yonīra) uṣāsānaktā (KS. ṣuṣāṃkne) VS. TS. MS. KS. The verse deals with Agni. 'Dawn and night, as in his native place.' In KS. yonī is made to agree with uṣāsānaktā, called 'the native place' of Agni.

sūr aṣī svananyaya retah (MS. retā iṣṭakā svargo lokah) MS. ApŚ.: sūr aṣīa iṣṭakā svargo lokesa KS. 'Thou art... the brick, the world of heaven (in the world...).' Probably KS. is orig., and MS. has attracted to the case of iṣṭakā.

ayam sahasram ā no dīrē kavināṁ mātir jyotir vidharmanī AV.: ayam sahasram ānava dīrakā kavināṁ mātir jyotir vidharman (ApŚ. mā) SV. ApŚ. MS. Mystically obscure in both versions, but we believe AV. comes closer to the orig. (cf. VS 2 §833). The nom. of SV. etc. may be due to attraction into agreement with the subject.

vājnav tvā vajino ranayāmāḥ (MS. vajinī avanayāmī) MS. TA. ApŚ. 'Thee, the whey, we, the strong ones, pour': 'thee, the whey, I pour into the strong (mahāśūra-vessel).' MS. is doubtless orig.


mahī viṣpadānāḥ sadane (KS. nī ṛtaṣya) KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. Addressed to the firesticks. 'Ye that are two mighty queens, (come hither) to the seat of the ṛta'; 'that are two seats of the ṛta, (come hither).'

dēvaṁ sumne bhāte (TB. ApŚ. sumno mahate) ranāya VS. MS. KS.
ŠB. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by snuir dakṣair (TB. ApŚ. snu dakṣe) dakṣapitētha vāda. The loc., 'in the favor of the gods', is made an epithet of the subject, 'agreeable to the gods'. Caland adopts sumne in ApŚ., but this needlessly violates the clear intent of the Tait. school.

vanvesāne (noun, 'at entrance') tanev (AV. tanev) cārur edhi RV. AV.; vanvesanas (epithet of subject, understood as 'entering?') tanev (tanev) cārur edhi SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. yāh paraśatād rocana (MS. 'nāh) sūryasya TS. MS.; yā rocana paraśatā sūryasya RV. VS. KS. ŠB. 'Which, in the light-space beyond the sun': in MS., 'which bright ones, beyond the sun.' Refers to waters.

jyotirjātīyā rajasa vimāne (KS. 'nāh) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. N. Preceded by ayaṁ venāt codayat prāṇigarhah. KS. is secondary but by no means 'absurd' (Keith on TS.); it takes the word as an epithet of the subject, meaning 'traverser' or the like, a sense familiar in RV. (see e. g. 3. 26. 7). No need to emend KS. with Raghu Vira KapŚ. p. 27, n. 2, Oertel 5.

§456. In a few cases, contrariwise, an original nom. epithet is changed in a secondary version to an independent locative:

purvaṁ deśbhya amṛtasya nābhā (ArŚ. nāma, TA. TU. NṛpU. nābhāyī)
ArŚ. TB. TA. TU. NṛpU. N. Preceded by aham asmi prathamajā ṛtasya. The nom. is original: 'I am...the navel of immortality.' The loc. is rationalizing.

ukṣaṁ samudra (MS. KS. 'drē) aruṇah (RV. aruṇah) suparnaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. In the original samudra is an epithet of the sun. This seems quite recherché to the redactors of MS. KS., which understand it of the real ocean; the loc. is rationalizing and secondary but perfectly sensible (the verb āṣeṣta follows), and by no means to be described as a 'mere blunder' (Keith on TS.).

āpir no bodhi sadahātāya (SV. 'dye) vyāhe RV. SV. In RV. the word is an epithet of āpir: 'be our friend, convivial, unto increase.' In SV. it may be felt as agreeing with vyāhe, conceived as loc.; but Benfey takes it as an independent noun, = sadahāde, 'in dem Göttermahl.'

5. Miscellaneous

§457. The remaining nom.-loc. variants seem hardly capable of classification, tho many of them are interesting individually:
pumān putro ṣāyatāṁ (ApMB. ŚG. ṣāyatāṁ) garbha (ŚG. garbhē) antāh
HG. ŚG. ApMB. The double meaning of garbha, 'womb' and 'embryo', is responsible for this change. Similarly:
garbhe (MS. garbhah) sañ (san, sañ-) jāyase punah RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. As pre.
yac ca kineśj āgat sāram (MahānU. and TA, comm. jaqat asmin) TA. MahānU. 'Whatever (in) this whole world is seen or heard' (followed by dṛṣyate kriyate 'pi vā'). The loc. seems to be rationalizing and secondary.

yatśādi sūra udito vibhāti (TS. uditau vjeti) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Different words; cf. VV 2 §732.

miśrāni yo amartyo, hanyā martēṣu ranyati RV.: viśve yasmīn amartye, hanyam martāsa indhate SV. 'What immortal (Agni) rejoices in all offerings among mortals'; 'in what immortal all mortals kindle oblation.'
pibāl somam namadad (AŚ. ŚŚ. somam amudānu) enam īṣa (AŚ. ŚŚ. īṣayāh) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV 2 §746.

erā vana (ApŚ. vane) erā madah (ApŚ. madr, SV. sutāh) RV. SV. ApŚ. 'A bull (is) the wooden (soma-vessel), a bull the exhilaration'. Addressed to soma. ApŚ. has a natural rationalization: 'thou art a bull in the vessel, a bull in the intoxication.'
tasya mṛtyuṣ (KS: mṛtyuṣ; read with v. l. mṛtyuṣ; TB. mṛtyuṣ) carati rājaśuṣyam AV. KS. TB. Perhaps TB. means something like 'his coronation walks in the presence of death', i.e. proceeds in spite of the powers of destruction? Comm. tasya rāja mṛtyau duṣṭahṣāriṣamaramanamittabhūta sati rājaśuṣyam carati.

rājaśya hi prasse (TS. "co namamiti (TS. namna") TS. MS. KS. Keith: 'the instigation of strength is propitious.' Better perhaps with active meaning (well established for namāti): 'the impulse of strength bows (causes to bend). MS. KS. perhaps, with intransitive meaning and indefinite subject: 'on the impulse of strength one bows.' This and the next belong to a series of mantras which show continuous play on various meanings of vija.

viśvam astu draśīna vājo (KS. vāje) aśme (KS. tāsmin) RV. BS. TS. MS. KS. Original: let all riches and wealth (or, strength) be ours.' KS. takes vijā as 'struggle': 'let all wealth be (mine) in this conflict.' Cf. pre.
apriyāh prati muñcatām AV.: apriyā prati muñca tat (KauŚ. t muñcatām) AV. KauŚ. Contexts somewhat different, and voice of verb varies (VV 1 §30).

viṣṇum aha varunam pūrvahātik AV.: viṣṇu aha varunā pūrvahātou
NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

(MS. "hātîm") VS. MS. SB. SB. TB. AS. SS. See §399. The loc.
might here be the equivalent of the acc. of goal. But Mahâdhâra
takes it, probably rightly, as true loc. 'at the morning prayer',
and so Griffith and Eggeling. A still different interpretation is
found in the comm. on SB. and TB., which make it not loc., but
a dual adjective going with rîṣṇa varuṇa.

agnir jyotîr jyotîr agnîh SV. VS. MS. KS. etc.: agnau jyotîr jyotîr agnau
KS. The contexts are different.

urdhva adheavo asthāti (VS. SB. 'dhvara sthāti, KS. 'dhvare sthāh, APś.
adhva sthā) VS. MS. KS. SB. APś. 'He (Agni) stood upright
at the sacrifice': 'the sacrifice stood upright.'

ṛtasya garbhaḥ (MS. dhāman, KS. dhāma) prathama nyūṣṛṇi TS. MS.
KS. PG. 'She who first lighted up (i.e. Uṣṇa) was the child
(abode, or the like) of the rūṭa': 'first lighting up in the abode of
the rūṭa.'

ya sma kuralvam nērṣyē SV.: yasya kuralvē hṛṣṇa RV. See §449.
yat te suśīme hṛdaye (SMB. PG. APś. BH. "yum") KBU. AG. SMB.
PG. APś. BH. 'What in thy heart?': 'what heart is thine.'

KBU. 2.8 has the version yat te susīmam hṛdayam; see §340.

po antarikṣe rajaso vimānah RV. VS. VSK. TS.: yad antarikṣam rajaso
vimānam AV. Different contexts; AV. has used a vague reminis-
cence of RV. 10. 121. 5e in a quite secondary way. 'He who
measures out the space in the atmosphere': 'what atmosphere
measures out space.'

atha vīśe arāpā edhate gṛhaḥ TS.: adhā viśvāḥarpa edhate gṛhe VS.
The latter: 'he (the child) flourishes unharmed at all times in
the house.' TS. corrupt; vīśe translatable only as nom. sg., cf. §731;
gṛhaḥ seems to have been attracted to the case of the subject:
all (?) the house flourishes unharmed.'

prapitāmahān bibharti pinvāmānaḥ (TA. "maham bibharat pinvamane)
AV. TA.: snare loke pinvamāno bibhartu APś. Preceded by sa
bibharti pilavram pitāmahān AV., sa naḥ (TA. tasmin eṣa) pilavram
pitāmahān TA. APś. Both sa and tasmin (with which pinvama-
ṇe agrees) refer to uta of the preceding, while eṣa refers to Vaiś-
vānara. The loc. of TA. is almost 'absolute'.

§458. There remain a few corruptions and errors;

vasūni jñate janamāna (SV. jñato janimāṇy) ajnā RV. AV. SV. VS. N.
Followed by prati bhojanam na didhīma (SV. "maḥ"). The SV. reading
seems hopeless.

lôvî mandrâsu prayakṣu AV.: stánt mandrasuprayakṣu KS.: sa īm
(TS. i) mandrā suprayasah (TS. mandrāsu prayaṣah, MS. mandrā suprayasā stārīman) VS. TS. MS. Very dubious, and likely to be corrupt in all. Cf. VV 2 §839.

[vṛṣṇa divah; nabhā prthivyāh TB.: vṛṣṇman divo nabhā prthivyāh Ṛṣ. Poona ed. of TB. correctly vṛṣṇman; a loc. is necessary.]

[ولا vām upaso budhi (GB: budhīḥ, but Gastra with all mss. but one budhi) RV. GB.]
CHAPTER XIX

ACCUSATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL.

1. Associative instrumental: complementary accusative

§469. Among variations of the accusative and instrumental we find first a group of cases in which an associative instrumental varies with an accusative which is parallel with and complementary to another accusative. Such variants occur also between the instrumental and other cases (§§55-7). The meaning is virtually the same. Thus:

asti majjanaṁ māsaraṁ (MS. "ram) VS. MS. KS. TB. Followed by kārāteva daudhata gardham tvaci. 'Putting upon the cattle's hide his (soma's) bone and marrow, with (the drink) māsara and the straining-cloth.' In MS. there is no real difference of meaning, tho māsara is there made an additional direct object, parallel with asthi and majjanaṁ.

tapāṇy (MS. tapobhir) agne juhedā patamgan. RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by asundita vi sṛju viṣṇu ulkaḥ. The original correlates tapāṇy, patamgan and ulkaḥ as objects of vi sṛju. MS. substitutes tapobhir for the first, probably as an associative instr., tho it might also be one of means, correlated with juhedā.

rāpār apiśe (TB.* rāpār apiśe) bhuvanānāṁ viśe āv. RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N. 'He shaped all beings along with their forms': 'shaping all forms and beings,'

svāhā vānaspatīṁ priyāṁ pitho na bhēṣjām (MS. "jaṁ); svāhā samam indriyāṁ (MS. "jaṁ);
svāhānāṁ na bhēṣjām (MS. "jaṁ), all VS. MS. TB. The words hātā yakañ, 'let the hotar worship', are understood with all, and it seems that the instrs. of MS. must be understood as associative. Without the comparison of the two forms of the variant, we might be tempted to interpret them differently, as instrs. of means or cause ('with' or 'by reason of')...

hastagāṅgadattaraṁ rathaiḥ RVKh. Cone. (Aurfr.): hastaṅgadgave ratham RVKh. Scheff.: bahvāṅgayaṅgaṅkaṁ MG.

saptā ca nāmaṣṭī (AG. ŚG. MG. vāraṇīr, PG. vāraṇār, v. l. ॐ) imāḥ (PG. MG. imāḥ prajāḥ) ApMB. HG. AG. ŚG. PG. MG. Followed by: 229
sāvā (ApMB. HG. tisrā) ca rājābūndhavath (PG. *vaiḥ, MG. *vah, ApMB. *bandhavāḥ, HG. *bandhavait) ApMB. HG. AG. ŚG.†.PG. MG. (Conc. puts prajāḥ with the second pāda in PG. MG.) The preceding verb is apa jahi in all but the plainly corrupt MG. (see Knauer’s note). The instrs. are associative, equivalent to correlative objects.

māsureṇa parisrutā (TB. pariśktā, KS. parisvaratam) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by gobhīr na somam aśvinā, and followed by som adhātāh sarasvatīyā, svāhendre sutam madhu. Parisrutā is the name of a kind of liquor; and is one of a series of gifts made by the Aśvins to Indra. Some (somam, sutam, madhu) are made direct objects in all, others associative instrs.; parisrutā is treated in both ways in different texts. In TB. pariśktā must be meant as nom. dual with aśvinā; this is a reminiscence of māsureṇa pariśktāḥ (so VS. TB., in MS. parisrutā), which shortly precedes in the text.

vi kumāram jādyūnā AV.: vi garbhān ca jādyu ca TS. KS. The verb, continued from pāda a, is bhīnāmi: ‘the child with (that is, here, from) the afterbirth’, ‘the embryo and the afterbirth (I separate).’

idam aham rakṣo ‘bhī’ (MS. rakṣobhiḥ) sam dāhāmi (MS. KS. MS. sam dāhām) TS. MS. (bis) KS. MS. The instr. occurs in the brāhmaṇa passage corresponding to the mantra rakṣo ‘bhī; it seems as if this latter must be intended both times (VV 2 §383). Yet it is strange that, to judge from the editor’s silence, there is no v. l. At a pinch rakṣobhiḥ could be associative, with idam felt as the direct object.

ganān me mā vi titṛ̤ṣṭah (MS. *ṣat, Vait. vy atīṭṛṣṭah) TS. Vait. MS.: ganāv mā mā vi titṛṣṭata MS. ‘Cause not my troops (me with my troops) to thirst.’

§460. Peculiar are the following two cases; it seems doubtful whether the acc. in them is of quite the same character as in the preceding:

sam mā sṛjāmy adbhīr (TS. apa) oṣadhibhiḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. If TS. means ‘I unite myself, [unite] the waters, with the plants’, as it seems to on its face, it is rather bathetic. Keith, both here and in the following, seems to understand apaḥ as a secondary acc., as if of goal (cf. the use of the locative in §462); at least he renders ‘I united [unite?] myself with waters and plants’, which is the meaning of VS. MS. KS. Is it, literally, ‘I unite myself unto waters, with plants’? Cf. §59.

sam te naṁ sarthāmy adbhīr (TS. apa) oṣadhibhiḥ TS. MS. MG. As prece.

§461. Sometimes, especially where a verb of joining occurs in the
phrase, there is an interchange of acc. with instr. and of instr. with acc., the two case-forms changing places:

tvaṣṭā rūpena samanaktu yajñam AS.: tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi samanakto yajñaih
SB. TB. SS. KS. 'Let Tvaṣṭar unite the sacrifice with form' or 'forms with sacrifices.'

§462. In at least two such cases a locative appears to be involved. In the first it, rather than the instr., varies with the one acc. after a verb of joining, while the other variant has instr. plus acc.:

āṅgīṇa ātman (MS. āṅgīrī ātmanam) bhīṣajā tad āsvinsa VS. MS. KS.
TB. 'The physician Āsvins joined his limbs upon his body (self), or '...his body with his limbs.' MS. is evidently influenced by the following pāda: ātmānam āṅgīth samadhāt sarvasvatt (in all).

§463. In the other, where there is no verb of joining, the locative nevertheless is bracketed with the acc. in one form, while in the other we have acc. plus instr.:

samudrē yasya rasiṁ id ātuk AV.: yasya samudram (MS. KS. Pp.: samudrāṇa yasya) rasiṁ saḥākih RV. Pp. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Whose, they say, is the ocean, together with the (stream) Rasā.' AV. as it stands would mean '... the Rasā in the ocean', which may be defended; but note that the meter needs an extra syllable, which the instr. samudrēṇa would furnish. If we dared emend AV. thus, we should have a double interchange exactly like that of §461.

2. Other accs. and instrs., substantially equivalent

§464. The associative instrumental, as we have seen, may in theory vary with any other case as a correlative to another form in that case. We now come to other variants in which, in one way or another, an acc. and an instr. may be nearly or quite equivalent in meaning. We here approach a sphere in which the uses of these two cases converge more specifically: to be sure, among the variants last quoted, especially those containing expressions of joining two entities, we already entered a more restricted region where we should scarcely expect to find, normally, other cases than these two (altho curiously we found the locative also cropping up).

§465. We now take up, first, some cases in which what is sometimes called a 'cognate' or 'inner' accusative varies with an instrumental of means or manner, both meaning much the same thing. The type is exemplified by such expressions as 'sing songs' or 'sing with songs', 'walk a path' or 'walk on (in Sanskrit, 'by') a path.' Thus:

ghṛtenārkam abhy arcantii vateam AV.: tam arkaib abhy arcantii vateam
TB. 'They sing with ghee a song unto the young'; 'they sing with songs unto the young.'

yam putriṇa ākrāmantā visokāh AB.: yenākrāmantō putriṇo (ye) visokāh
ŚŚ. Preceded by esa paṇthā urugāṇāh suṣeṇāh (ŚŚ. vitale devaṇāh).
'The path' which they tread' or 'by which they tread'.
tanṭuṁ tataṁ peśasā saśvayanti VS.: peśāvati tantuṁ saśvayanti (KS.
TB. saśvayanti) MŚ. KS. TB. Dawn and Night are referred to
as 'weaving a thread' or 'weaving (rolling up) with a thread.'

yena tuḥāḥkṛnī (KS. ma?), TS. ApMB.* yam abuddhini, MŚ. MG. yaj
jaigranta) savitā suṣeṇāh (AV. "vāh, TS. ApMB.* suktāh, MŚ. MG.
satyadharma) RV. AV. TS. MŚ. KS. ApMB. (bis) MG. 'the bond'
with which he bound thee... 'or 'which he bound... ' Note that
the 'inner' acc. is not used with the acc. of the person.

§466. Quite close to the preceding are cases of a sort of 'resultative'
accusative, varying with an instrumental, of the offering made, after
forms of roots hu and yaj:
tasmā īndraṇya sutam ā juhota (TB. ApŚ. juharni) VS. VSK. MS. KS.
ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: tasmā īndraṇya havisā (TB. havis ā) juhota MS.
TB. 'Offer (with) the drink (oblation) to Indra here.'

srucāyānī juhvataḥ AV.: srucāyāna juhvataḥ TB. (so Poona ed. for the
corrupt srucāyāna juhvata of Bibl. Ind. ed.) 'Offering (with) ghee
with a spoon.' Preceded by medasvata yajamānāḥ; the instr. medas-
vata (which because of gender cannot agree with srucā, and seems
to need a noun) may have caused the change to āyāna, which
we believe is clearly secondary.

§467. With a verb of motion an acc. of goal is a very natural con-
struction. If however there is contained in the verb also the notion
of joining, that is if it means something like 'go to join', an instrumental
is equally admissible:

marya iva yuvatibhiḥ sam arsati (AV. iva yosāḥ sam arsate) RV. AV. SV.
'He rushes as a male to join the maidens', RV. (Grassmann, 'mit
jemand ellend zusammenkommen'). The AV. comm. reads yosā,
instr., and Whitney calls the construction with yosāḥ 'lame', which
seems to us unjust. The acc. of goal is surely quite natural; indeed
with this verb the instr. strikes us as more reihereh, the com-pre-
hensible (suggested by the associative idea in sam).

kunāh kiṁīd abhi (AV. anu) yantu (MS. kināho abhy etu) vāhaṁ (AV.
TS. vāhaṁ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Prosperously let
the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals.'

trayo ghanā anu reta āguḥ AV.: trayo ghanās anu āyotāgauḥ (MS.
KS. retasāgūh) TS. MS. KS. ApMB, 'Three cauldrons have followed (with) the seed (light).’ In a mystical passage; the real meaning is obscure.

*achāyam avi śavast gṛṭena (AV. gṛṭā cīt) AV. Ppp. VS. MS. TS.*

*achāyam yatī śavast gṛṭācīh KS.* In the sequel, as we have shown §399, both AV. and KS. seem to be secondary. In VV 2 §824 we have treated AV. gṛṭā cīt as secondary to KS. gṛṭācīh. We now think, however, that gṛṭā cīt may well be the original reading: 'here comes (Agni) with might unto the ghee (offerings).’ It is perhaps easiest on this basis to explain both gṛṭācīh (agreeing with svuco which is made the subject in KS., 'the ghee-filled ladies,’ see §403) and gṛṭena, which would be at least partly due to form-assimilation to the case of śavast. It would be harder to understand the change from either of these to gṛṭā cīt, a lectio difficultior.

§468. To these may be appended the following, in which the verb is not one of motion but one of speech; we may however remember that such verbs in Sanskrit have constructions parallel to verbs of motion, taking an acc. of the goal of speech. In this variant that case varies with an associative instr., if the reading is acceptable:

*grāṇa vaded (KS. Conc. with v. 1. grāṇaṣaḥ) abhi somasyānāsūn (ApŚ. 'sunā) KS. ApŚ. Followed by īndrāḥ (KS. ed. īndrāḥ, Conc. with v. 1. īndrāḥ) ṭikṣyamudūnā suteṇa.* Caland assumes the KS. reading for ApŚ.: 'may the pressing-stone cry out in greeting to the shoot of soma; may we present Indra with the pressed drink,’ But it seems that the instr. can stand: 'may the pressing-stone cry out along with the shoot of soma,’ etc.

§469. Other instances, in which the associative idea of ‘joining is hardly felt in the instr., which nevertheless interchanges with an acc., are:


*ye taprāthaśām (AV. ArŚ. 'thām) amītebhīr ojodbāh (AV. amītā yojanānī, ArŚ. amītam abhi yojanam) AV. ArŚ. TS. MS. KS. ‘Who have spread out unto unmeasured leagues; who have spread out with unmeasured strengths.’ The change in the noun is connected with the change of case. Add to VV 1 §331.

*pṛa rādhāsā (SV. rādhāsā) codayāte (SV. ‘yate) mahītānā RV. SV. ‘Let him promote (he promotes) us with favor (unto favors), with might;’ or, SV. might mean ‘he sends favors unto us with might.’
See Oldenberg, Proleg. 287 f., against Grassmann's suggestion that SV. is original.

pra śmaśra (SV. śmaśrubhir) ādhibhūtā ādhibhūtā bhūt (SV. ādhibhūtā bhūt) RV. SV. 'Shaking (with) his beard.'

su virājam (KS. 83) pary eti (MS. etu, KS. pari yati) praśanān TS. MS. KS. 'He goes about with majesty': 'he goes about with majesty, intelligent' or 'intelligent with majesty'. The VS. parallel has samemi rājā pari yāti vidēṣu, which is evidently based on a misunderstanding of KS., taking virāja as nominative.

aham (AB. AŚ. idaṁ) tad (MS. tam) asya manasaś śivena (MS. gṛtvena) VS. MS. (bi) KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. AŚ.: tenāham adya manasaś sutasya KS. The contexts are the same; both are followed by somam rājanam ika bhakṣayāni. The pronouns tad (tam, tena) refer back to the preceding 'what is left over of the juicy draft, of which Indra drank mightily,' that (with that) of him with auspicious mind—'I here partake of King Soma.' KS. tena seems to be a rationalizing reading, avoiding the harshness of tad followed by somam, both really referring to the same thing. For a similar reason MS. changes tad to tam, to agree with somam.

[vanana pāvīr arya manisā (p.p. 83) RV. The s.p. has manisā apnir, implying manisā, which is vigorously defended by Oldenberg Proleg. 385, SBE. 46. 71, RVNoten on 1. 70. 1: 'may we, the poor, succeed in many pious thoughts.' The p.p. must understand an instr.; it is followed by Geldner Ved. St. 3, 87, 89.]

3. Acc. of bahuvrthis : instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.)

§470. The nature of the instr. is such that in a karmadhāraya cpd., it may express the same idea which may be elsewhere expressed by a bahuvrhi cpd. agreeing with a noun, which might in theory be in any case at all. We found above (§413) such variations between instr. and nom. forms; here we record one of instr. and acc., as well as another somewhat similar case in which instead of the instr. karmadhāraya we have the cpd. broken up into its parts; an adjective (acc.) with dependent instrumental:

rākām anahī suhanām (AV. 83) susūtaḥ kure RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. ApMB. N. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. read 8vāṁ; if 8vā can stand, it has been attracted to the case of susūta. 'I call upon Rākā of good call (with good call), with fair praise.'

adhṛṣṭanā dhṛṣṭanājasaṁ (SV. dhṛṣṭanājasaṁ) RV. AV. SV. Epithets of Indra: 'endowed with restless might' or 'resilient with might.' The meaning is practically identical. Cf. VV 2 §818.
4. Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals

§471. The adverbial accusative, called 'accusative of specification', is precisely equivalent to the instrumental of the same meaning, and varies with it sometimes without difference of meaning:

juhūr, upabhṛd, dhruvāsi ghṛtāc nāmā TS. (intending juhūr asī ghṛtāc nāmā, upabhṛd asī . . . etc.): ghṛtāc asī upabhṛn nāmā (VS. nāmā) VS. VSK. ŚB. (also with dhruvā and juhūr for upabhṛd);

juhūr asī ghṛtāc nāmā TB.: dhvās asī janmand juhūr nāma . . . MS. (also with pythiyā . . dhruvā . . and antarikṣam upabhṛn . . .)

prā hāndīma trpaḷam (SV. Ṛaśā) manyaṁ (SV. vagnam) oṣa RV. SV.

The RV. trpaḷam is apparently an adverb, 'joyfully'. In SV. if the p.p. is correct it must also be considered an (instr.) adverb (but trpaḷāh, 'joyful', n. pl. adjective, may be intended by the s.p.).

§472. In other cases only one of the varying case forms is adverbial, while the other has various non-adverbial constructions:

yat va 'kāddha (VSK.↑ 'dhaḥ) parā jaghūr (VSK. jaghānaitad) idam

vas tāc evaḥāmi VS. VSK. ŚB.; yad akāddha parā jaghāna tad eva etena kṣudhāntām KS. In the latter etena is hardly adverbial:

'by this (procedure).' In VS. etc. it seems to be represented by idam, which is apparently an out-and-out adverb; 'Whatever of yours the impure have (has) defiled, that here do I now (idam) purify': 'whatever the impure has defiled, as to that for you thus this let them purify themselves (or, let them purify that for you thus this).'

In MS. yad va 'kāddha aśeke tañ ścudhāntām there is no such pronoun.

yaś te rājaṁ varuçā devaṁ pāhas taṁ ta etenaśaya (KS. ta etad avaya) MS. KS. In KS. etad is a pure adverb: 'I now (or, here) sacrifice that (letter) of thine away.' In MS. etena (as in the preceding) means 'by this (rite).'

See also the similar entries surrounding this in the Conc., and those beginning yas te deva varuçā, which occur in TB. and have etena.

priyena dhāmnā (TS. TB. ApŚ. nāmā, VSK. nāma) priyam sada tāśā (VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ. priyam sada tāśā) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (bis): sadaḥ priyena dhāmnā priyam sada tāśā (VSK. priyena priyam sada tāśā) VS. VSK. ŚB. In TS. etc. texts priyena nāmā = 'with thy dear name', associative instr. Conc. suggests reading nāmā in VSK., but this is unnecessary; 'with which is dear by name' is good Vedic thought.

yat akam dhanaṁ prapaṇasī carāṁ ApMB.; yad va devā prapaṇasī carāṁ HG.: yena dhanaṁ prapaṇasī carāṁ AV. yad is used as a conjunction; yena with dhanaṁ.
5. Case attraction

§473. We come now to cases in which there is a more pronounced reinterpretation of the variant passage, and first to instances in which the change seems to be due to more or less external attraction to the case-form of an adjoining word (a motive which, as we have seen, is frequently perceptible in the variants listed above).

vyaciṣṭhaṁ annāī (TS. MS. KS. annāṁ) rabhasaṁ drśānam (TS.† KS. vidānam) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original annāṁ is instr. of means with either vyaciṣṭhaṁ or rabhasaṁ, which refer to Agni; 'broadly extended by food, impetuous, beautiful.' In TS. MS. KS. it seems to be mechanically assimilated to the case of these adjectives, becoming thus a complementary object along with agniṁ of pāda a. Keith takes annāṁ as object of vidānam; but the position seems to be against this, and certainly in MS. no such construction is possible.

haviśa yaśī (TB. yaśī) indriyaṁ (VS. ८yaśī) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by tam indriyaṁ paksah saca, aśvinobha sarasvati, dadhānā abhyanuṣata. In most texts indriyaṁ is a collateral object: ‘... (praised Indra), his heroism, with oblation, at the sacrifice.' In VS. it is attracted to the case of haviśa: ‘... with oblation, at the sacrifice, for his heroic deeds.' In TB. in a similar way the loc. yaśī is attracted to the case of indriyaṁ: ‘(praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, his heroism.' In such ritualistic rigmarole it makes little difference how the words are construed; this is a striking example, and proves little about the use of cases, but much about ritualistic psychology and style.

agner jihvāṁ abhi (MS. jihvābhī, p.p. jihvāvai, abhi; AV. KS. jihvayābhi) ।grātaṁ (AV. grāta) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by daivayā (AV. daivā) hotārā (AV. ८ra) ārdhvaṁ (KS. hotārordaṁ inam, MS. ārdhvaṁ inam) adhvaranu naḥ. The instr. of AV. KS. is original; 'greet our high oblation with the tongue of Agni.' In the others the preceding aces. have attracted jihvāyā into their case: 'greet the tongue of Agni, our high oblation...'. On MS. see §174.

6. Other miscellaneous variants

§474. The rest contain miscellaneous reinterpretations, sometimes accompanied by rather radical reconstructions of the material:

vidhvaṁ team asmākam nāma (AB. AŚ. nāmā) MS. KS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by vidhvaṁ te nāma; in AB. AŚ. the words dyāṁ gacha are added, and with this phrase the instr. is construed. 'Let us
reverence thy name; do thou reverence our name': (in AB. AŚ.)

...do thou do reverence, with our name go to heaven.'
taved u stomāṁ (SV. stomāṇi) ciketa RV. AV. SV. The root cik governs
either acc. or gen., so that it is permissible for SV. to reinterpret
tāṛa (originally possessive) as object of ciketa. 'I have thought
only on thy praise': 'I have thought only on thee with praises.'
cakṣuṣ cīt sūrya sacā RV.: cakṣuṣā sūryam śṛśe SV. In RV. cakṣuṣ is
governed by ā dade of the preceding: 'he unites our eye to the sun,'
cf. Bergaigne, Rel. věd. 1. 184. The SV. has a lect. fac.: 'that we
may see the sun with our eye.'

pratipraṇātāḥ paśunehi KŚ. ApŚ.: pratipaṇātāḥ paśum upakalpa-
yassa MŚ. 'Come with the cow': 'Come with the cow near.' Change
of verb.

yajñam yad yajñavāhasah AV.: yajñair vā (TB. vo) yajñavāhasah RV.
TS. TB. The context of RV. TS. is wholly different from that
of AV. TB. In RV. TS. followed by vipraya vā maṛināṁ, maṛutāṁ
śṛṣṭaḥ kavam; for the interpretation see Oldenberg, RVNoten on
1. 86. 2. In AV. TB. followed by śīkṣanto nopa (TB. ośīkṣanto na)
ṣekīma. AV. makes yajñam object: 'in so far as we, O sacrifice-
bearers, desiring to effect the sacrifice, have not been able to effect
it.' TB. is variously interpreted; the comm. is worthless. To us
it seems to mean, if anything: 'seeking power by sacrifice to you,
O sacrifice-bearers, we have not succeeded.' But the real explana-
tion is that TB., in repeating the AV. stanza, has contaminated it
with the similar pāḍa from a totally different context, which is
remembered from RV., or more likely from TS.
stomair (gīrō) sarhanty atrayaḥ, gībhaḥ (girah) kUMBhanty atrayaḥ RV.
(both). 'The Atris increase (the god) with praises, the Atris deco-
rate (him) with songs': 'the Atris increase songs (for the god),
decorate (i.e. fashion) songs (for him). The first is preceded
by an acc. referring to the god, the second by a dat.
dīyaṁ suparyāṁ vāyasāṁ (AV. payasāṁ, VS. TS.* KS. ŚB. vayusā,
TS.* MS. vayasanā) bṛhanṭam RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. KS. ŚB.
AŚ. Suparn. The original vāyasāṁ 'bird' is changed into the instr.
vayusā with strength', from a wholly different stem.
pra laṁ viṣṇu (viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇu스) stavato vīryena (AV. vīryani, TB. ApŚ.
vīryaya) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NṛpU. The
original means: 'Viṣṇu is praised here for his deed of heroism',
stavate having passive force. In AV., unless pra stavate is under-
stood in its later sense of 'begins' (which seems unlikely), it must
apparently be taken with active force: 'V. here praises his (own) heroic deeds.' Instead of this foolish perversion, TB. ApŚ. have another one, with a dative of result: 'V. is praised unto (so as to perform) heroism.' Cf. §558.

ghṛtena tvain tanvam (TS. tanwvo) vardhayasev RV. VS. TS. MS. ŠB. ApŚ. MS. N.: ghṛtasyādne tanvē saṁ bhava KS. MS. Kauś. MG. Parallels rather than true variants, tho the texts are in some texts the same.

nīcōd uccā svadhyābhi pra taštahau Ppp. TS. KS.: nīcāir uccāh svadhā abhi pra taštah AV. The meaning of the always troublesome word svadhā is doubly doubtful in this obscure verse of an obscure hymn. AV. svadhāḥ is generally taken as acc.: 'he set forth unto the sacrificial drinks (? cf. gharman of the preceding verse).' The others: 'he set forth according to his own will (?)'. Bloomfield in a note suggests that svadhā may be nom. sg. in spite of the sandhi, which in more than one connexion is problematic. Maedonell, Ved. Gr. 251, notes that this word, originally apparently a stem in radical a, sometimes appears in the nom. sg. without ə in the p.p. but with hiatus in the s.p., and refers to RPr. 2. 29. TPr. 10. 13 teaches the sandhi svadhā āsi. If nom., the word would mean here '(the first-born’s) will set forth ...' The variant may be partly phonetic in character; it suggests the use of y as 'Hiatustilger' (VV 2 §§338 ff.; this might have been mentioned in §342).

vīśā dāsāḥ pramūṣiṁcan mānūṣiḥ bhīyaḥ VS. TS.: vīśā (MS. vy) amīśaḥ pramūṣiṁcan mānūṣiḥbhīḥ (KS. śebhyāḥ, MS. śānām) AV. MS. KS. See §573. The VS. TS. reading has all the earmarks of a lect. fac.; with mānūṣiḥ understand kṛṣṭis: 'freeing men from fear'. Cf. VV 2 §§783, 832.

udgrābhānya namayan vadhamsaḥ (SV. snum) RV. SV. There seems to be no object for namayan in RV.; SV. feels it necessary to specify who is 'brought low', and makes it 'the weapon-bearer', doubtless thinking vaguely of demoniac enemies.

dame-dame suṣtuṭir (tyā, tīr, tī) vām vyānā (vārdhānā, nāu), see §413. The instr. is clearly original, acc. secondary.

[mā me 'vān nābhim atīgāh TS. KS. MS.: mām evā gnābhīr abhīgāh Vait. Read in Vait. mā me 'vāg nābhim.]

7. Phrase inflection

§475. We find a single case which seems to belong in this group (§§21-2):
8. Transfer of epithet

§476. Of the instances of transfer of epithet (§14) causing a shift between acc. and instr., all but the first involve change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

\textit{iha teś gopariṇasā} (SV. \textit{sam}) RV. AV. SV. \textit{Followed by mahe mandantu rādhase}. ‘Here thee with (soma-juice, supplying sutenā with Grassmann) rich in milk’: ‘here thee rich in milk’. Oldenberg suggests as an alternative \textit{gopariṇasāḥ} (sc. \textit{somāḥ}), nom. pl., implying that RV. p.p. is incorrect.

\textit{yam nirmanathato aśvinī RV. ApMB. HG. MG.}: \textit{yāḥhyāṁ nirmanathalām aśvinau devau ŚB. BrhU. Preceded by hiranyāya araṇi, and followed by tan te garbhamḥ havīmahe (dadhīmahe). In the first \textit{yam} refers to garbham, in the latter yāḥhyāṁ to aroṣi.}

\textit{pathāmadhumadāḥ bharan} (MS. madhumad abharan) VS. MS. TB. \textit{Followed by aśvinendrāya viryam}. The adjective goes alternatively with \textit{pathā} or \textit{viryam}.

\textit{yebhir vācam viṣvarāpebhir} (TB. \textit{rāpāṁ}) avyayan (TB. samavyayan) KS. TB. The adjective is transferred from \textit{yebhir} (TB. comm. \textit{yāḥ karmakauśalāḥ}) to \textit{vācam}.

\textit{ave bādhhe pratyayataḥ} (ApŚ. \textit{ūt}) MS. ApŚ. And others, see Conc. Preceded by \textit{indreṇa manyunā yuṣdā}. In MS. \textit{pr} means ‘enemies’; in ApŚ. ‘(friendly) champion’, agreeing with \textit{indreṇa}. Caland translates the MS. reading without comment; we see no reason to abandon the text of ApŚ., tho it is of course secondary and based on MS. For \textit{pratyayati} with Indra as subject and a hostile object cf. RV. 1. 54. 4. The next following word in both is \textit{ghnataḥ}, agreeing with \textit{indreṇa}.

\textit{yavyāśa dampaṭi vāmam aśnutāḥ AV.: yam aśirā dampaṭi vāmam aśnutāḥ TS.}: \textit{yad aśirdā dampaṭi vāmam aśnutāḥ VS. The original \textit{yavyāśa} is transferred to agree with vāmam; on the gender-change cf. §809.}

\textit{abhi tvādham sahiyasā RV. ApMB.}: \textit{upa te ‘dhāṁ sahiyasām AV. Preceded by upa (AV. abhi) te ‘dhāṁ sahamānām. ‘I have laid under (AV. over) thee the strong (plant), I have covered thee with the stronger (thing; AV. I have laid under thee the stronger [plant]).’}

The instr. in the original does not go with the plant, as the gender shows (§808); by a natural shift it is transferred to it in AV.

§477. There are also a couple of instances of the type described in §15,
in which a word which in the original is not properly an ‘epithet’ at all is altered in form so as to become a true ‘epithet’ of another entity: hastaciyuti (SV. ०cyutam) janayanta (SV. ०yata) praksastam RV. SV. KS. KB. ApŚ. MS. N. The original form is a Vedic instr., ‘by hand-motion’; like the parallel didhitibhiḥ in the preceding, it goes with janayanta, whose object, Agni, is modified by a series of acc. epithets (of which praksastam is one). In SV. hastā is made into another epithet of Agni.

suvātarau na tejasā (TB. ०si) VS. TB. The word svātarau (said by the scholiasts to mean ‘having a common calf’, with dhenā preceding) is one of a series of epithets of uṣe ‘dawn and night’ (in hota yakṣad uṣe...). VS. tejasā is an instr. of means with the following verb (vatsam īndram awardhatām), of which svātaraus may also be considered the subject; ‘they two have increased Indra with splendor’. It can hardly be doubted that TB. tejasā is a simple case of form-assimilation to the fem. dual; the comm. takes it as an adjective (tejasvinau), but the accent shows that it is rather a noun, ‘the two brilliances’.
CHAPTER XX

ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

1. After verbs of motion and the like

§478. Among the cases in which accusative and dative constructions approach one another, doubtless the most striking and familiar are those in which after a verb of motion an accusative of goal may vary with a dative. In the Veda, this dative is, as a rule, perhaps not to be regarded as a psychological equivalent of the accusative; Delbrück (AIS. 143) has made out a plausible case for the theory that it regularly contains a suggestion of the interested party, rather than the goal of motion, pointing out that it generally occurs with persons. Or, in other cases, the dative may be final in character (Delbrück 147 f.), approaching, or even attaining, the status of an infinitive. We shall not enter into these questions, contenting ourselves with recording the variants which occur.

kāmena má (TA. me) kāma āgan (TA. āgā!) AV. TA. 'By love love has come to (for) me.'

ado māyachatu MS. KS. MŚ.: ado ma āyachatu ApŚ. (Delete ApŚ. 4. 13. 8 under the former heading in Conc. and add it under the latter.)

If ApŚ. has anything other than a peculiar sandhi variation (cf. VV 2 §990), it would belong here.

§479. Examples of a more strictly final dative varying with an accusative of goal after a verb of motion are:

sā paprathe pṛthivī pārthinaṁ (KS. MŚ., "ṛtya) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
'This earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region).'

sindhu avabhṛtham avaprayan TS.: sindhur avabhṛthādyatyataḥ VS.
'Sindhu going down into the purification-bath': 'Sindhu lifted up for the p.b.' The verbal expression is changed in VS. to one which more naturally goes with a dative.

sūbhaṁ yātāṁ (MS. sūbe kam) anu rathā aurtṣata RV. TS. MS. KS.
Here both sūbhaṁ and sūbe may be classed as infinitives.

§480. Here may be mentioned the following, in which suṣaś is rather ambiguous; Keith takes it as an independent interjection ('hail!'); to us it seems most likely to be an adverbial ace.:
tam (TS. to) aśvinā pari dhātām evaṣti (MS. ॐäyē) TS. KS. MS. ‘O Aśvins, encompass this one comfortably (unto well-being).’

§481. After a verb of sending, a dative of ‘indirect object’ varies with an acc. of goal tagged with the postposition upa:

*aṭhem enām (AV. aṭhemam enām) prā hiyutāt pitrūhayā (AV.† pitrār upa).

RV.† 10. 16. 1d, AV. TA. ‘Then send him forward unto the fathers.’ AV. comm. reads pitrūhayā but also comments upon upa! (as if blending the two readings).

§482. Verbs of placing, especially dāṇ, may be construed with either acc. or dat. of person, with (we may suppose) different psychological turns (see §72):

swargam me lokam yaṣamāṇāṃ hi dhehi (and, dhehi māṃ) TB. ApŚ (both in each). ‘Grant the world of heaven to me the sacrificer’: ‘place (me) the sacrificer in the world of heaven.’

§483. Verbs of revering or the like are also found with either dat. or acc. of person:

yaṭāsatya tvā (MS. te) yaṭāyatate sūktakā (TS. hāvibhiḥ, KS. saha) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by sūktavāke (omitted in VS. MS. ŚB.) namavāke vidhemi (VS. ŚB. adi yat svāhā, MS. adds svāhā).

brahmanat (MS. MSŚ. tvātraśe, ApŚ. tvātraśe) tvā sāpemā VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: tvātraśa (TS. ApŚ. tvātraśe), and so TA. Poona ed. with v. l. “[rt]” tvā sāpemā TS. TA. ApŚ. We need not accept Pischel’s improbable theory that tvā is acc. (see Oldenberg’s judicious critique, RVNotes 1. 25 ff.). The construction of sap ‘devote oneself to (a god)’ with dat. is exceptional, but may easily have been suggested by this construction with sace (see e.g. RV. 8. 60. 18).

§484. Other verbs:

abhāṣantas te (TB. teṣa) samutau navāyam RV. AV. TA. TB. The usual interpretation makes te a gen. with samutau, which is dependent on the participle: ‘presenting ourselves to thy fresh favor’. Without denying this possibility we suggest that te may be a dat. depending directly on the participle, used in the same sense as the simple bhūṣ with dat. (BR. studere, colere). For this in TB. an acc. is substituted (comm. on TB. sarveṣaḥ prasāṅsanteḥ): ‘attending thee in a new song of praise.’

tam īndrām abhi gāyata RV. 8. 32. 13; īndrāyam gāyata RV. 1. 4. 10, 5. 4; AV. Both: ‘singing praises to this Indra.’ The compound abhi-gai takes acc., the simple gai dat. RV. 8. 32. 13 = 1. 4. 10 entire.
2: Dedicatory expressions

§485. In formulæ of dedication, accusatives and datives are variously used in substantially equivalent phrases (see §126):

*digbhyaḥ hrotram* (sc. *ālabhate*) TB.† 3. 4. 18. 1; *dikhaḥ hrotram* (sc. *avasaptat) AB. TB. AS. SS. ‘(He takes) the ear for the directions’; ‘(send) the ear to the directions.’

*aṅgīṃ svāhā* MS.; *aṅgīṃ aṅguṣ sevāḥ* (here a verb of placing is understood) ApŚ, MS. ApMB.; *svāhāgniṃ* KS. SB. TB. SS.; *aṅgaiye svāhā* AV. etc. Likewise: *svāhā praśāpataye* (TB. *Śpatim) TS. KSA. TB.; *svāhā sarasvataye* (KS. *śim) TS. KS. etc.; *svāhā viṣvān devān KS.* *svāhā viśvebhūjo deśevbhūya* VS. TS. KSA. SB. And many other similar phrases. The contexts are often quite different. The dat. is felt as governed by *svāhā*, ‘hail to...’ The acc. is sometimes dependent on some verb supplied from the context, but at times no such verb is clearly suppllicable, and then the acc. is commonly understood in a sort of interjectional fashion; however, one may always understand, if one wishes, a verb such as *we worship*. Cf. next, and §377. The TB. comm. supplies *uddīṣya*. Cf. also §459, *svāhāgniṃ...*

*ākutīṃ* (MS. MS. MG. *śom) aṅgīṃ praṇitam svāhā VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. MS. MG.; *ākutīyai praṇitaj naṅgaiye* (MS. KS. aṅgaiye) svāhā VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. Cf. preë., and see especially TS. 4. 1. 9. 1, where the acc. form occurs in a list of several such acc. formulæ, followed by two in the dat.

3: Dative of purpose: accusative (object or goal)

§486. The dative of purpose is sometimes used to express the same idea which is otherwise expressed by the same word in the accusative, either felt as immediate object or goal, or in apposition to another word so used. Theoretically the dative in this use might, indeed, vary with any other case; see §70. Thus:

*rāyus pavañām et syatū (RV. MS. TB. *śyatam, AV. MS. *sva) nābhīṃ asme* (AV. asya) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) TB. (bis) ApŚ.; *teṣāḥ poṣāya visya nābhīṃ asme* KS. ‘(Our seminal fluid, terrāman) release (let him release, etc.) for increase (as increase of wealth)...for us (etc.).’

*mahyam śūrey abharat jyotiṣe kam AV.; mahyam jyotirm abharat sūryas tat* KS. ‘The sun brought (it) to me in order to light’. ‘to me the sun brought that light’. The AV. (probably original) understands the object from the preceding pāda; KS. by a lect. fac. makes *jyotis* the object.
asamātīṁ grhēṣu naḥ AV.: grhrāṁ asamāryai TS. In AV, the acc. is governed by the preceding abhā rakṣatu; Bloomfield, following Sāyaṇa: ‘... preserve for us (possessions) without measure [literally, unmeasuredness] in our house.’ In TS is added another pāda, bahavo no grhrā asas, the two constituting an independent sentence: ‘may our houses be many, for unharmness of our house,’
tam te grhrāmi yajñīyaih ketubhiḥ saha KS.: tam te (AS. etc) karaṁi brahmaṇaṇa TB. Vait. AS. ApŚ. MS. The preceding pādas are ya aśvathaḥ kavīgarbha āruroha vac saci (KS. ivayy aṣa). ‘The aśvatha ... that has grown up by thee (TB. comm. be tvayi nimittabhūtayatam satyaṁ), that for thee I take ... In AS the meaning is essentially the same, but instead of the dative (TB. comm. teadarthe), referring to the firestick, we have an appositional acc. ‘that I take as thee (the firestick).’ The firestick of course is made from the aśvatha.

vṛṣṇe kṣaṇāyayane varcasse TS.: vṛṣṇam suṣṇam āyuṣa varcasse kṛdhi MS. Preceded by mā mā rājana vibhīsa mā me kārdi (MS. ‘dīṁ) tvā (MS. dīṣa) vadhiḥ. ‘Terrify me not, O king, smite not my heart... unto (i.e. so that I may have) much fury, life, splendor’; ... make (for me) much fury, unto life, splendor.’ It is hard to say which is original; if MS. be considered so, TS. could be explained by case-attraction to the accompanying datives.

[prā tad viṣṇu (viṣṇuk) stanaṁ vṛṣṇena (vṛṣṇi, vṛṣṇā), see §§474, 558. The instr. is the original form.]

4. Miscellaneous final dative : accusative

§487. There remain a few miscellaneous cases in which a final dative varies with an accusative, variously construed; other changes in the phraseology unite with this to produce a rather extensive reconstruction of the variant:

sukrāṁ vyanaly anurāya nīrviṣaṁ RV.: sukra vi yanly asurāya nīrviṣe SV. ‘They weave a bright garment for the Asura’: ‘the bright (somn-drops) stream variously to adorn the Asura.’ The noun of RV. becomes an infinitive in SV., perhaps by case-attraction to the adjoining anurāya; but cf. also nīrviṣe in RV. 10. 49. 7.
tam (MS. tan) mā dedi avantu bodbhāyai (MS. "yata) TS. MS. TA. ‘May the gods aid me unto splendor.’ The MS. form seems to be neut. acc. of a stem *bodbhāyin, doubtless adverbal, ‘splendidly’;

prabhāmi tva citaye (LS. "yan) devasukha VS. ŚŚ. AS. SS. Vait. LS. The dat. citaye may be considered an infinitive: ‘I ask thee for
understanding (i.e. that I may understand).' I Ś. citayaṁ (repeated in the comm.) would seem to be from an unrecorded *citaya, an adjective agreeing with ād: 'I, thee that understandest'. Cf. next.

kavin prchamī vidaman (AV. vidana) na vidvaṁ RV. AV. 'I ask the sages, I ignorant, to one that knows (those that know).' The AV. is a lect. fac., attracting the adjective into agreement with kavis. The change resembles that in the last.

§488. Similarly a dative of the interested party varies in miscellaneous ways with an accusative; usually there is extensive reconstruction of the passage, involving sweeping changes in other forms also:

*_dyauṣ ca ma Ṣadā prthiḥ ca pracetasaṁ AV._: _dyauṣ ca naḥ (KS. TB. tvā) prthiḥ ca pracetasaṁ RV. KS. TB._ The RV. passage is in a different context from all the others. In KS. TB. the pronoun is object of _papartu_ 'protect'. Ppp. according to Roth ap. Whitney has mā, acc., for AV. ma Ṣadā; this latter Whitney finds 'embarrassing', but without reason as it seems to us; Ṣadā is object of _papartu_, _me_ dative of interest. We may render with Ludwig 'Dyauṣ und Prthivī...forder mir dies'; or we may take _papartu_ from _pr_ 'fill' in the sense of 'fulfil, grant'.

ajījapadendraṃ vājam VS. ŚB.: (ajījapata) indrum vājam (MS. MŚ. indrīya vacan) vinucyaadham TŚ. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. 'Ye have caused Indra to win the prize; (be released).' So essentially all but MS. MŚ., which mean 'ye have caused Speech to win for Indra'.

vanaspatin vānaspatyān, oṣadhīr uta virudhaḥ AV. 8. 8. 14ab, 11. 9. 24ab;

devān puvyajitānām pitr AV. 8. 8. 15b, 11. 9. 24d: vanaspatibhyaḥ vānaspatyayāḥ oṣadhībhyāḥ virudbhayo sarvebhyo devēbhayo devājanebhyāḥ puvyajyeyāḥ Kauś. In Kauś. a dedicatory formula, based on vaguely remembered fragments of AV. passages (used in AV. in quite other, and mutually different, contexts).

yajñam hīmanta adṛkhiḥ RV.: yajñaya sanu adrayah SV. "They promote the sacrifice with stones'; 'let the stones be for the sacrifice.' See §419; same context, loosely rephrased.

madhu tvā madhalā cakāra (Ppp. karat, MS. karotu, TA. ApŚ, karotu) RV. Ppp. MS. TA. ApŚ.: madhu me madhalā karaḥ AV. Change of person in pronoun; 'the honeyed one has made (shall make) thee into honey'; 'mayst thou, honeyed, make honey for me.'
pāramāṇyaḥ (SV, MG, uñh) punantu ma (SV. naḥ, MS. te, YDh. te) RVKh. SV, TB. MG. YDh. 'May they purify me (us, thee)'; 'may they purify for thee', with indefinite and unexpressed object. Cf. next.

sa te (Kauś. no, ViDh. me) rakṣatu surśatāḥ AV. Kauś. ViDh. In ViDh. no object is expressed, unless me be taken as acc. as Jolly seems to take it (cf. above, §483; we take no stock in me, te as accs.). As in the preceding: 'may he protect for me on all sides.'

kas te yunakti, and kas te vinīucati, MG.: kas te yunakti, and kas te vinīucati, VS. TS. KSA. SB. TB. ApŚ.: ko vo yunakti, and ko vo vinīucati, ApŚ. MS. MG. On the 'yoking' and 'unyoking' of a rite see Culländ on ApŚ. 4. 16. 10; it is simply a mystically grandiloquent expression for 'beginning' and 'ending'. In most texts te is used referring to the rite. In MG. twice te is used referring to the desatā, the object (the rite, as in the others) being understood. MG.: 'Who yokes (unyokes) [the rite] for thee?'

asmin yaśe yajaṁaṇya sūrīm AV.: imam yaśīnāṃ yajamāṇum ca sūram ApŚ. Preceded by inārya bhūgaṃ pari tvā naṇīmī AV., indraṇya bhūgaṃ avite daudhātana ApŚ. Both unintelligent and scarcely translatable; yajamāṇa and sūri ought to refer to the same person, but only Ppp. (as reported by Roth ap. Whitney. . . yajñapati ca sūrīḥ) has them in the same case (the nominative; in other respects Ppp. is hardly more intelligent).

tanā (SV. tmanā) kṛyāvanto arnate (SV. ullah) RV. SV. Preceded by sugā tokāya vijnah. Subject is the soma-drops; with which vijñah agrees in RV.: 'creating welfare uninterruptedly for the offspring, they the swift ones, and for the steed.' SV.: 'the swift ones, creating welfare and horses for the offspring by themselves', or 'creating welfare and swift horses . . . ?

amā ma ehi ma mṛdhā na (AŚ. ma) indra AŚ. SG.: apāma ehi ma mṛdhā na indra SMB. 'Do not abandon us (me)!' 'do not die for us!' (f). See VV 2 §78.


agnau tvā gārhapatya 'bhicerūḥ AV.: yāni te cakrur gārhapatyā AV. The latter: 'what (spell) they have made for (against) thee . . .', while in the former tvā is object of abhicerū 'bewitched'.

samidhā (ApŚ. MS. samidhīḥ) presya SB. SS. ApŚ. MS. In all texts addressed by the adhvaryu to the maitrāvaruna: 'order (the hotar to recite the formula) for the firesticks.' The dative is usual with
the stereotyped praṣṭa to denote the devatā to which offering or prayer is made, the acc. to denote the rite or action ordered (e.g. sāna or the like; see BR. s. v. िः + pra). Here saṁiḍhjayah is originally the proper form, the kindling sticks being the devatā of the formula which the hotar is commanded to recite. But by figurative transference saṁiḍhjayah is treated as the name of the rite: 'order (the recitation of the formula for) the firesticks.' See on this sort of 'name' Edgerton, Māmānita Nyāya Prakāśa, §§204, 300.

In MB.: 'let that be strong for me again.' Note hintus in Vait. If it really intends mā, it must understand the verb in an active sense, as in Mbh. 5. 508: 'let that make me strong again.'

[yatra vr̥kṣet tannavī yatra vāsah HG.: yatra śr̥paṣya tana vo ya ca vaśasah (ApMB. tannavī yatra vāsah) AV. ApMB. tannavī might be gen. with ending ai (§144), cf. the AV. reading which is certainly gen. But since HG. is otherwise corrupt (Oldenberg adopts the AV. reading), little reliance can be placed upon it.]

6. Transfer of epithet

§489. Transfer of epithet (§14) between dative and accusative forms appears in the following cases. First, some in which number and gender are not changed:

dakṣāya dakṣāpydham (TS. ॥dhe) TS. MS. KS. Preceded by praṣṭapatyate tva jyotismate jyotismantaṁ gṛhyāmi. In MS. KS. the adjective agrees with tva, carried over from the preceding; in TS. it is attracted into agreement with dakṣāya.

dyaus te (AS. PG. tva) doddāya pythiet (PG. adds tva) pratigrhyātu AS. PG. HG. The dative refers to the recipient of the gift, the acc. to the gift; 'may heaven give (to) thee.' The next two are similar, śukram te śukreṇa gṛhyāmi TS. KS. APŚ.: śukram tva śukra śukṛya gṛhyāmi MS. MS.: śukram tva śukra ādhanomā VS. SB. As in prece. and next, the pronomina refer to different things.

śukram te (MS. te śukra) śukreṇa kriyāmi (MS. omits kri) candram candrenāṃśam amaśena (MS. adds kriyāmi ... ) TS. MS. KS.: śukram tva śukreṇa kriyāmi ... VS. SB. tva refers to the seller of the soma, tva to the soma; cf. preceding two.

athaṁtān aṣṭau virāṇān (TB.) 3. 4. 19. 1 athaṁtān arūpebhyaḥ ābhante VS. VSK. TB. In VS. VSK. the adjective refers to the eight 'malformed' men who are dedicated (in these texts) to Prajāpati; in TB. the same eight are dedicated to devatās called 'formless.'
The epithet vacasya is attracted in AV. into agreement with rayin; in the original it referred to the recipient of the gift.

The original the adjective agrees with yajñāya, in SV. with tvā of the preceding (hotraṁ tvā yajñimahe).

The acc. goes with tvā, the dat. with indrāya. Add to VV 2 §805 (stems ukhayau: ukthā-vi).

With change of number and gender as well as case:

Followed by dyāvā hotraya prthvī (ApŚ. vīm; see §746). In SV. the adj. agrees with hotraya, in ApŚ. (if maṁ be read) with dyāvā.

In the following an originally independent noun seems to be attracted into functioning as epithet of another word, if we are right in taking KS. TB. ApŚ. as secondary. Cf. §15:

ayakmāya tvā amatāni prayāhyah VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.: ayakmā vaḥ prayāya amatāni KS. TB. ApŚ. 'I unite thee unto health, unto progeny': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with progeny'.

Contrariwise, in the next what is in the original form an epithet is made into an independently construed noun (here, a dative of purpose) in the following:

The waters are originally described as 'king-creating'; in TS. this adjective is replaced by the noun 'for kings-crowning', which depends on citānā (‘causing for, having regard to’); cf. BR. s. v. 4 cit. 2. See next.

Supply apah in all; we have here a reminiscence of the formula just quoted, q. v.
CHAPTER XXI

ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

1. With verbs of separation, guarding, etc.

§493. The accusative and ablative approach interchangeability chiefly in connexion with certain verbs and certain prepositions. Thus, first, verbs of separation, guarding, purifying, or the like, since they suggest separation of two things or of a thing and a quality, may in principle put either of the two separated entities in either the acc. or the abl. Hence the following variants:

iyor duraktät (PG. *tāṃ) purbādhamāṇāt ŠG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. 'This (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer).

āpas tat tasmāj jivalāh AV.: āpas tat sarvam jivalāh ApŚ. Followed by punantu (ApŚ. sundhatu) ।cayāḥ ।cucim. 'May the pure living waters purify thee pure from that' or 'purify (thee) pure as to that all'; in ApŚ. tat sarvam may either be understood as a quasi-adverbial acc., or as a second direct object, so that we should then have in ApŚ. a blend of the two constructions, 'purify that (thing which is impure)' and 'purify thee (from that).

naktiḥ te mā yosāḥ sakhyām te mā yosāḥ ŠMB.: sakhyāt te mā yosām sakhyām me mā yosāḥ TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. The root yu is either transitive, 'separate', or intransitive, 'be separated'. In SMB. the two clauses, one with active and one with middle verb, seem to be equivalent in meaning (transitive in both!): 'Withhold not thy friendship.' The others: 'may I not be separated from thy friendship, nor thou from mine.'

2. With prepositions.

§494. Similarly both cases are used after various prepositions, with or without difference of meaning. Notably ś in the meaning 'up to, until' may take either acc. or abl., while in the meaning 'from' it takes only the abl., never the acc. Also pari is used with both cases, though with different meanings:

ūrjo mā pāhy odraṁ MŚ.: ārdhvo mā pāhy odraṁ TS.: ārdhvo mā pāhy

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addhanah, āsya yajña-yudhac VS. SB. a-yudhac (cam) in all means 'until the end (of this sacrifice)." The variant ārjo for ārdhva (obviously a silly blunder if not a misprint) should be added to VV 2 §160.

orr antarikṣam SS.: ādāt sadhasti āror antarikṣat TB. ApŚ. Here the contexts are quite different, and the preposition has different meanings, 'to' with acc., 'from' with abl. Probably not true variants.

ye jātās tanvas (PB, *cam) pari RV. MS. PB. SB. TA. 'Who are born from the body (of Aditi)'; 'who are born about (near) [her] body.' But Caland is doubtless right in assuming that PB. has a mere corruption of the RV. reading.

3. Miscellaneous

§495. Of the rest—barring those classified under 'transfer of epithet'—there is little to be said. They concern miscellaneous reinterpretations of the passages, usually with other changes besides the one with which we are concerned, and oftener than not yielding very poor sense in the secondary version, so that the term 'corruption' begins to apply. In not a few cases the variation is between s and t, suggesting possible graphic variation (VV 2 §871).

rūpaṃ varṇaṃ paśūnām mā nirṛtyaṃ SS.: rūpād varṇaṃ mā nirṛtyaṃ SS. 'May I not wipe out the form, the color of the cattle': 'may he not wipe away the color from the form.' ApŚ. is a little less banal than MS.

gasād yanti janād (AV, APMB, janān) anu RV. AV. APMB. In RV, abl. of source: 'from the (malicious) folk,' anu.. yanti, 'follow.' AV, APMB. construe anu as postposition with acc. janān. Altho Bloomfield (The Atharvaveda 50) mentioned this as an instance of a superior AV, reading as compared with RV., we think he would perhaps retract this opinion now; see Oldenberg, RVNoten on 10. SS 31. If there is a single case in which AV. shows itself superior to RV. in a variant reading, we do not know of it.

śravhyām satām (MS. sūtāt) sabemā (TB. Poona ed. sabuva) tad ārād VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by apātmaṇi durnaṁśi bādhvamānaḥ. 'Driving away undigested food, wind, and digested food' (? but sabemā is quite uncertain). Does MS. sūtāt mean 'arising from wind,' referring to śravhyām and sabemā? Or is it to be taken as abl. with bādhvamānaḥ, or with ārād felt as an adjective (a sort of 'case attraction')? In any event it is secondary and poor.
diwak cid antād upamān (TA. ụpā mām, RV. antān upamān) udi anāc
RV. AV. SV. TA. Some AV. mas. read ụpā mām with TA., and
Whitney adopts this. Benfey, Glossar, defines upamān as ‘nahe’
(adverb), but he translates ‘zu allen Himmelsenden drang er auf-
wärts,’ which seems to imply antān. The RV. alone is easily inter-
pretable: ‘he has attained unto the utmost bounds of very heaven.’
The others perhaps: ‘even from the bounds of heaven he has
attained unto me (? unto the highest).’

la ānāytran sadānād ātasya (TS. sadānāṁ kṛtā, KS. sadānāṁ rāti)
RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. (his) N. ‘They have turned hither from
the abode of the rāta (having established their abodes, etc.).’ Add
to VV 2 §§421, 665.

rudrasya gūṇapatyān (VS. ŚB. ґaṁ, KS. ґe) mayobhūr ehi VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB. In TS. ґatāya is certainly intended; this is read not only
in the p.p. but in the pratika 5, 1, 2, 3, which see for the rather
forced interpretation required by the form. But for this we should
assume that ґatān is acc. pl., which is probably the intention of
MS. (whose p.p. would seem to read so, judging from the silence of
von Schroeder; see §§526, 705).

antān prthiyā dināḥ TB. ApŚ. tad antāt prthiyā adhi MS. Preceded
by yad ghranah paryavartayaḥ (MS. parydv). pari-caus. probably
= ‘has brought hither.’ The TB. ApŚ. stanza is very obscure;
it’s last half is different from that of MS.

ādābhānād prthikhir pātudhānān RV.: utārābhānān prthikhir pātudhānān AV.
Preceded by utārabhām (AV. utārabdhān) sṛṇaḥ jātavedūḥ. ‘Win
away, O J., him who is seized from the sorcerer who has seized
him with spears.’ So RV. The secondary AV. takes sṛṇaḥ zeng-
mutically as meaning ‘win away’ = ‘set free’ in a, but ‘win’ =
‘conquer’ in b: ‘win away both those who are seized, and (conquer)
the sorcerers who have seized (them) with spears.’

viduḥ prthiyā dīva janitram (PB. ĭtrā) RV. PB. Followed by kyvanāt
(PB. ĭe) dīva adha (PB. ĭdīva) kyvanāt. RV.: ‘they know the
birthplace of earth and heaven.’ In PB. janītrād would seem to
be felt as abl. of source with kyvanāt, ‘flowing from the birthplace.’
But this leaves viduḥ apparently without object. Caland calls it
incomprehensible and adopts the RV. reading.

yato (KS. yad id, TS. yadi) bhūmīḥ janayan viśakarma RV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. On KapŚ. cf. Oertel 16. For the abl. pronoun KS.
(and TS.) have adverbial forms used as conjunctions.

§496. Yet more dubious, or certainly corrupt, or based on misunder-
standings or misquotations, are the following:
4. Transfer of epithet

§497. Transfer of epithet involving change between accusative and ablative forms (sometimes also shift of gender) has been noted mainly in cases where one of the variant forms cannot properly be called an 'epithet' but is rather a form of independent construction. The following is perhaps the only case of true 'transfer of epithet', and even in it this term perhaps requires stretching. It is in any case clear that the acc. forms of VS, MS, KS, SB are original, and that they are correlative with, if not exactly 'epithets' of, the accs. of the preceding pāda; also that the abl. forms of TS have been drawn into agreement with the preceding itas:

rtasya ṣāṁno amṛtasya yoneḥ TS.: rtasya yonin mahiṣasya dhārāṁ VS. KS, SB.; gṛtasya dhārāṁ mahiṣasya yonim MS. Preceded in all by śam-ūrjan aham ita ādam (ūdade, ādi).
§498. In the next group a word originally of independent construction has been drawn into agreement with another word (§15):

prākta apācim anayam tad snām AV.; prācim avācim ava yam originat

TA. The adverbial prākta of the original AV, is attracted to the case of avācim, which in both texts agrees with yavatim of pāda a. imam adhindam yam agāma dūram (LŚ. dūram) RV. LŚ.: yam adhindam

agāma dūram AV. Again the adverbial form of the original RV. is
made in AV. LŚ. into an adjective agreeing with adhindam.

anamitrām no adharāt AV.; anamitrām me ṭadharāk (KS. no adharāk)

VŚK. KS.; followed by:

anamitrām na uttarāt AV.; anamitrām udak kṛdhi VŚK. KS. Again the
original has ablative adverbs. This time the acc. forms might also
be regarded as adverbs, but it is at least as likely that they are
adjectives going with anamitrām. 'Freedom from enemies...
(from) below,... (from) above.'

yakṣamām śrūṇbhīyām (ApMB. śrūṇa) bhāsadāt RV. AV. ApMB.: yakṣam

am bharadāyam śrūṇbhīyām bhāsadām AV. The original 'from the
rump' is turned into an adjective agreeing with yakṣamām, 'of the
rump'. The verb is ni vṛhāmi. In the text of AV. there are in
fact two such adjectives, synonyms; one is doubtless an ancient
gloss (Whitney ad loc., and Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda, 47).

§499. We have noted only two instances, closely parallel and in the
same context, of the reverse of this, in which what is originally an
epithet is changed into a noun of independent construction (§15):

avatān mā vyathi tam (VS. ŚB. "tāt") VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: avatād vyathitam

MS. KS. ŚB. 'Protect me distressed' or 'from distress'.

avatān mā nāthitam (VS. ŚB. "tāt"), same texts.
CHAPTER XXII
ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE

1. With verbs governing both cases

§500. Accusative and genitive touch each other most closely with certain verbs which may be construed with both cases. See in general Delbrück AIS. 158 ff.; our variants supplement and modify slightly, at certain points, his treatment. We shall refrain from discussing, as Delbrück does, possible differences of connotation between the two interchanged cases after these verbs, since in the nature of things there can be no proof of such distinctions; any one is at liberty to assume them subjectively if he desires.

§501. Verbs of eating and drinking and the like (partaking) constitute the largest group among the variants. Here there is, of course, no doubt that the genitive is partitive in character. Yet the accusative may also be used in cases where the partitive idea would seem to us to be especially demanded, as in the first variant, where KŚ. ApŚ. certainly cannot mean that the whole of the River Sarasvati was drunk!

पपिलक सरसवत्याः नद्याः (MŚ. "त्यां नद्यां, KŚ. ApŚ. "तिम नादिम"

Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. "They drank (of, or MŚ. in) the River Sarasvati."

सा भद्राम अकार यो नाह सोमाः (AŚ. somasya) पायविषयति AŚ. SS. ApŚ. 
indra pība sutānām RV.: imam indra sutam pība RV. SV. PB. AŚ. SS. ApŚ.

yad indro apibae chaicitkhī VS, KŚ. AB, SB, AŚ. Ap ś.: yasyendro apibae chaicitkhī KŚ.: yam asyendro apibah sacitkhī MS.

vācasparye teḥ kutaṁ prāśnāmi TS. ApŚ.: vācasparye te hutasya prāṇaya prāśnāmi (SS. hulasya prāśnāmi prāṇaya, SB. hulasyaṁ-

nāmy...) SB. AŚ. SS.

rasamadganyaya... upahātanyapahūto bhakṣayāmi (MŚ. upahāta upa-

hūtām bhakṣa) TS. MŚ.

mano jyotir (VS. SB. IŚ. jātir) jagatām ājāvaya (TS. TB. ājāva, AŚ. ājāvaṁ me) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KŚ. TB. SB. AŚ. Vait. IŚ. KŚ.
The texts that have ace. and those that have jyotir with gen. must
mean 'may mind and light enjoy (partake of) the butter.' Those with jūtīr and gen. may be construed in the same way (so Mahādhara and Hillebrandt), but other interpretations have been suggested; see Eggeling, SBE. 12. 215 n. 1.

lekāh sakaleh sukakus te na aātiya ājyaṃ jūrāṇā vyantrā TS.; salīlah saligah sugaras te na aātiya haviṣo jūrāṇā vyantrā svāhā MS. KS.

In the same context also passages beginning ketaḥ saketaḥ... see Conc.

§502. Verbs of offering; cf. Delbrück 160, where the gen. construction with ku is noted for Brāhmaṇa prose but not for RV., although the RV. version of the first variant seems a clear instance;

tasmā indrāya suvatā juhata (TB. ApŚ. jukomī) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS.; tasmā indrāyāndhavo juhata RV.; tasmā indrāya haviṣa (TB. haviṣā ḍ) juhata MS. TB. See also §406, etc.

indrāgniḥśyam chāgasya haviṣ (ApŚ. MS. haviṣah) preṣya KS. ApŚ. MS. Also: indrāgniḥśyam chāgasya vāpāya madusah (KS. vāpāya medah) preṣya; indraḥ puroḍāḥasya preṣya (KS. puroḍāṃ, supplying preṣya), same texts. And similar items containing anu brūhi instead of preṣya. We should render the first variant 'prompt, (to the offering) of an oblation of a goat to Indra-Agni.' The gen. seems to be dependent on an expression of offering understood; cf. Schwab, AITieropfer 119. Otherwise Delbrück 161.

apo (TS. KS. uñno) dattodadhim bhūutta (KS. KapŚ. dehy uadhim bhūndhi) VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. (Oertel 76.) Cf. §711; apas best taken as acc. of plural of tantum stem ap.

§503. Verbs of ruling:

indro viśvam virājati AX.; indro viśvasya rājati SV. VS. AS. Svidh.

§504. Verbs of 'intellectual activity' (Delbrück 158):

pra tad voced amṛtasya (Ppp. VS. amṛtam nu, TA. MahānU. voce amṛtam nu) vidvān AV. Ppp. VS. TA. 'Knowing immortality.' No significance can be attached to the fact that the adjectival-participle vidvān is used; obviously it is construed just as a finite verb form would be.

§505. Verbs of robbing are recognized as taking two accusatives, but we have found no recognition of their use with an acc. of the person and a gen. of the thing. In TB. the following variant seems to show such a use, unless we take goh as acc. pl. (1) as the TB. comm. seems to do: yad amṛṣṭtam avasaṃ panin goh (TB. goḥ) RV. TB. 'When you two stole the food, (robbed) the Pañi of his cow(s).'
2. With nouns containing verbal force

§506. In several variants we find the acc. varying with the gen. after nominal periphrases of verbal ideas; cf. Delbrück 181, Whitney 27.1b: mām anuvṛtā bhave HG. ('be faithful to me'); cf. agnam (AV. patyur) anuvṛtā bhave AV., TS., KS., TB., MS., ApMB. Tho in different contexts, AV. and HG. both use the formula in the marriage ceremony.


śāntir no astu MS.; śāntir me astu śāntī TA.; aś mā śāntir elsī VS.

The acc. seems to depend on the verbal force still felt in śānti; Mahābhārata mā māṁ prati.

§507. With nouns of agent in tar, a difference of accent is said to distinguish dātā vasūni from dātā vasūnām, and according to Pāṇ. 3. 2. 135 unaccented tar should denote a habitual condition, accented tār a specific act. The actual conditions are hard to reconcile with this theory; see Wackernagel, AI.Gr. 3. 201, 597. We find one such variant pāda; the phrase refers to Aryaman, who surely must be characterized as a habitual 'giver of good things' in both texts; in our opinion it would be pedantry to try to find a distinction in meaning between the two forms of the variant:

dātā vasūnām paruhūs ahaṇ TS.; dātā vasūni vaidāhe tanūpāh MS.

TS. accents the second syllable of dātā, MS. the first, which accords with the rule of accent. The accusative cannot be taken with vaidāhe in MS., since that word is accented, and this can only mean that it begins a new sentence.

3. Dedicatory expressions

§508. In many lists of dedicatory formulas we find an acc. of the deity and instr. of the offering varying with gen. (or dat.) of the deity and nom. of the offering (see §126). We content ourselves here with two examples:

andhāhin (TS. २he, KSA. २he but MS. २he) uthūlagudāya (TS., KSA., sthūragudā, MS. sthūragudāya) VS., TS., MS., KSA. 'We gratify the blind-worms with the large intestines' - the large intestines are for the blind-worms.'

pūṣanām vakṣṣita VS., MS.; pūṣa vakṣṣita TS., KSA.

4. Descriptive or possessive genitive : modifying accusative

§509. In a considerable number of cases we find a descriptive or possessive genitive, sometimes approaching what is called the 'apposi-
tional genitive", varying with an adjective or noun or pronoun in syntactic correlation with the other (accusative) form. Such genitives may be found in principle varying with any other case, depending on the case of the noun on which they depend; see §85. The practical meaning of the two forms of the variant is in many cases substantially the same: *ānu (SV. PB. *ānuṁ) vāruna sv dhātei RV. SV. PB. ‘He (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (woolen sleeve).'

nṛṣṭaṁ dīvah paraśva rītim apah (SV. apah) RV. SV. ‘Let stream the rain of heaven, the stream of waters (SV. the stream, the waters).’

In view of the rarity of singular forms of stem ap, we prefer to construe apah thus as an acc. pl. (in apposition), rather than with Benfey as a gen. sing.

[āpāṣya (ApŚ. apāṣamā) nāriṛtōn pāśān,] mṛtyor (ApŚ. mṛtyūn) ekaśatam caye, [āpāṣya ye śindhā pāśāh] mṛtyor (ApŚ. mṛtyūn) ekaśatam eva KS. ApŚ. Also, in a different tho similar verse, [āpāṣyāh satvānah pāśān,] mṛtyūn ekaśatam ude Kauś. ‘I remove from him the bonds of destruction, the 101 (bonds) of death (the 101 deaths).’

nāsām āmitro (TB. nānā āmitro) vyathir ā dudharpati RV. AV. TB. ‘No enemy does violence to their wandering course (to them [or] to [their] wandering course).’ TB. comm. takes vyathir (on the meaning of which see Oldenberg, RVNoten on I. 117, 15) as a nom. attribute of āmitro, which is obviously absurd.

ārjo bhagam prthivyā (KS. ApŚ. *vim) yāty (KS. ety, ApŚ. etc) āpranān MS. KS. ApŚ. ‘He (Savitur) goes filling the earth’s lot with food’: ‘he goes (let him go) to the earth, filling it (and) its lot with food,’ or the like. Here the occurrence of the verb of motion makes a complication; the acc. is doubtless felt as goal of that verb, but perhaps also as one of the objects of āpranān.

agni (VS. ŚB. agnor) jyotir nicītita [prthivyā abhyābharcit] VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. ‘Fire (and) light’ or ‘Agni’s light.’

somānam (SV. *nām) swaraṇam RV. RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MS. N. The SV. is certainly worthless; on the crucial somāname see Oldenberg, RVNoten on I. 18. 1.

§510. In a couple of cases of this sort, the noun on which the genitive depends is in the other form of the variant made into an adjective agreeing with the (now accusative) form which replaces the genitive: awa devānām yaja heḍo agne (KS. yaje hidyāni, MS. yaje heḍyāni) AV.

KS. MS.: agne devānām awa heḍa iṇakṣva (KS. iṇekva) KS. ApŚ.: awa devān yaje heḍyān TB. ApŚ. In the last variant heḍyān is an adjective agreeing with the acc. devān: ‘the wrathful gods’ instead of ‘the wrath of the gods.’
praṃrāja (SV. "jam) asurasya praśastim (SV. "tam) RV. SV. KB. Here too SV. has an adjective ('the praised lord') for the acc. noun of RV. ('praise of the lord').

§511. Essentially similar are the following cases involving pronominal forms:

ādityā rudā upariśprāha naḥ (KS, "sah-mā) AV, KS.: nāsawo rudā ādityā upariśprāha mā RV. VS. TS. 'Make me a... king' or 'make our king...'

ā te agra idhāmah RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. MS.: a trāṇa idhāmah AV. Kauś. Followed by dyumantaḥ devajaram. This is one of the passages cited by Pischel (ZDMG. 35. 714 ff.) as containing acc. te; but see Oldenberg, RV Noten p. 28 (a word for 'flame' or the like is to be supplied with the following adjectives). AV. has a lect. fac.; feeling the need for expression of an accusative noun or pronoun with the adjectives, it supplies the need by changing te to tva.

puṣyema (AA. puṣyanto) rayiṃ dhīmaha te (AA. tam) indra SV. AA. ŚŚ. Keith (AA. 285 n. 7) would make this an instance of variation between acc. and gen. after a verb of 'intellectual activity' (cf. §504), understanding the verb as connected with root dhā. He follows Śaṇya in this. Most western scholars have taken dhīmaha from dhā; te is then possessive gen. with rayin, and tam also refers to rayin.

devaṃa te (AG. MG. tu) savitūḥ prasava 'svinor bāhūbhūtān pūṣno hastābhūtān hastan gṛhaṇyān asu AG. SMB. GG. MG. 'At the command of god Savitar... I take hold of thy hand (of thee [by the hand]).'

§512. In the following the secondary reconstruction goes farther:

tiro mā santam āyu r mā pra āhāṭ (AŚ. santam mā pra āhāṭ) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: tiro me yajña āyu r mā pra āhāṭ (Conc. reads āhāṭ with one ma.) MS. āhāṭ in MS. may be kept: 'desert not my life at the sacrifice...'

§513. Sometimes the acc. is the sole goal of the verb; either no goal is expressed in the variant containing the gen., or the goal of that variant is made into an associative instrumental (equivalent to a coordinate acc., §459) in the alternate form in which acc. is substituted for gen.:

etam (GB. etasya) tvam praJayanaya AB. GB. The context is the same. The pronoun refers apparently to the yajamāna, who is to be 'generated' by the recitation of the Sukṛiti (RV. 10. 131) and other hymns which follow. (Otherwise Keith, who seems to us to mis-
understand AB.) With the gen. of GB. is doubtless understood an acc. of đīman and other parts of the yajamāna, specified in the sequel. 'Propagate him' or 'propagate his [body, etc.],' or possibly 'propagate [such things] for him.' In such mystic rubbish almost anything is possible.

ganān me mā vi ṛīṛṣaḥ (MS. ṛat, Vait. vr ṛṛṣaḥ) TS. Vait. MS.: ganapr mā mā vi ṛīṛṣaṇa MS.; ganā mā mā vi ṛīṛṣan VS. TS. SB. 'Make not my troops to thirst (etc.);' 'make not me with (my) troops to thirst;' 'let not my troops thirst.'

§614. We may append here a case in which a descriptive gen. varies with a postpositional phrase containing an acc.:

ye vā (MS. omits vā) vanaspātār anu (MS. NīlarU. vanaspattānām) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. NīlarU. ApMB. 'Or (serpents) which are of the trees (among the trees).'

5: Partitive genitive: modifying accusative

§615. Quite similarly a limiting genitive which is 'partitive' in character ('genitive of the whole,' 'des geteilten Ganzes') varies with a coordinate acc., as with other cases (§84):

imam ināna vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ me (TB. kṣatriyānām) AV. TB. Kauś. 17. 25 (only practica in Kauś. 14. 24). 'Increase this kṣatriya for me:' 'increase him of (all) kṣatriyas.' TB. comm. kṣatriyānām madhye.

imam mā hānśīr evaśaphaṁ (also, dvipādam) pākum (TS. KS. pākānām) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. 'This whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals),'

vṛudhaṁ (AV. śṛdaṁ) balavattamām (AV. sa mah) RV. AV. (bis) ApMB. 'Most mighty herb (of herbs),'

atho yeva saradāḥ katam VSK.: udāḥ śīvam saradaṁ katāṁ AV. Others śiśuṁ, see Cono.

§616. The following is in reality doubtless only a case of sandhi, or perhaps better of orthography:

ośīṣhaṁ varisantārahām (TB. sārahān) VS. TB. Preceded by deva varṣman samidhyate, and followed by vev ājyasya. 'Upon the height of heaven is kindled the mightiest of the rulers of men; let him taste the butter.' An acc. is quite impossible; yet both edd. and the comm. have the same reading in TB. The comm. seems to regard the acc. as equivalent to a partitive gen.: tān udditāya teṣāṁ (devaṁ) madhye. Final m and n before s in the Veda might both be pronounced alike, as a nasalization (Wackernagel 1 §§281a, 283e).
thus confusion between the two may have arisen, and the TB. may have incorrectly restored $n$ instead of $m$. This variant might have been mentioned in VV 2 §944, tho the original final is clearly $m$, not $n$.

§517. In a few others an acc. direct object varies with a partitive gen. depending on a relative word:

\begin{itemize}
\item *yat tvā* (KS. te) krudthāḥ puravoṣapa (AV. krudthāḥ prakrutoḥ) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In KS.: 'whatever of thee I in anger have rejected.' The others: 'whatever (to whatever extent) thee I in anger (thee angry men) have rejected,' or possibly with *yat* as conjunction, 'if I in anger have rejected thee.'
\item *yat tvā* (ApŚ. te) śikṣāḥ paraśadhit ĀV. ApŚ. Followed by taksā hastena vīṣyā. 'Inasmuch as (or, to whatever extent) the skilful smith has struck thee off...' 'what of thee the skilful smith has struck off...
\item yatraśprkṣat tamo yac ca vāsūsaḥ (ApMB. tānuvai yatra vāsah) AV. ApMB.: yatra śr̥kṣas tānuvai yatra pāṇaḥ HG. 'Wherever on thy body, whatever of thy garment it has touched': 'wherever it has touched thy body, thy garment.' On HG. see §144.
\end{itemize}

6. Phrase inflection

§518. Phrase inflection (§§21–2) occurs in the following:

\begin{itemize}
\item bhīndhi darbha sapatnāṁ (sapatnā me) AV. (both). Initial pādas of consecutive verses; different constructions required by what follows.
\item kṛyākarṣaṇa vālaṁjanaṁ AV.; kṛyākṛtya vālaṁjanaḥ AV. Different contexts.
\item sumatiṁ satyadharmaṇaḥ (TS. ApMB. satyaprāhāraḥ, VS. satyaprāha-saṁ, AV. vīṣvarāhasaṁ, AŚ. vājirāveṇadha) AV. VS. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. SG. ApMB. N. The VS. form is in a different context.
\end{itemize}

7. Miscellaneous

§519. There remain a considerable number of variants between acc. and gen. which involve miscellaneous, and often quite radical, reconstructions of thought:

\begin{itemize}
\item *indrasya vāgyah* (SV. vāgum) sakhyāya kartare (SV. vardhayaṇ) RV. SV. 'For doing a friendly act for Indra (and) for Vāyu: 'increasing Vāyu unto the friendship of Indra.'
\item *sakṛṣa yat tvā* (KS. te) manasā garbha (KS. 9bham) āskyat TS. KS. The word *garbha* shifts in meaning; 'an embryo has entered into thee,' 'it has entered into thy womb.'
\item *vīṣo naḥ* (MS. me, KS. mā) saptā prudīṣaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *catasra vā parāvataḥ, vīṣo no* (MS. KS. mā) vīṣvair devasvar, dhana-
\end{itemize}
sūtur (*td) ihāntu. KS. makes the pronoun in pāda a object of avatu, anticipating mā in pāda e; MS. makes it possessive gen. with vṛja; the others, with nāh, are ambiguous and may be taken either way.

gāyopāya gacamānas vacamā (TS. *mānasya sāntu) AV, TS, MS, MS. 'Let increase of wealth attend the sacrificer (be the sacrificer's),'
[yo adya suvayo vadho 'ghayūnām uditre] viśukhām iva dhanvanā [vyayāy paripanthinam udusaspatey navyaḥ] AŚ: [yo 'dya suvayo vadho 'ghayūnām uditre] viśukhaśya dhanvanā ['pa tān varuno dhama] PB. The obscure word viśukhaḥ(a) seems proved to refer to some hostile power by LS. 3. 11. 3. This makes PB. (rendered by Caland '...blow them away by means of the bow of Viśukha') seem corrupt, as it suggests that V. is a friendly power. AŚ, thus seems more plausible. But the word cannot be interpreted with any confidence.

tad āsata (Pp. N. atriāsata) gṛayah upta rākam AV, Pp. N.; tasyāsata gṛayah (TS, TAA, *sate haryāya) upta tīre TS, SB, BṛhU. TAA. In AV, tad is direct complement of āsate, in place of the more usual loc. (cf. BR. s. v. 2 ās, 1); the loc. tīre has this construction in the other texts, and tasya (substituted for tad) depends on it. 'Sit upon it (its bank)....' Pp. and N. have the loc. adverb atri instead.

apāṁ na yantu urmayaḥ RV.; apo nayanta urmayaḥ SV. Preceded by pra somāko vipā̤ṣaitaḥ. RV.; 'the somas rush forth like waves of water.' SV. by a false word-division (VV 2 §829) produces 'the somas, (as, i.e. in) waves, carry forth the waters.'

imam rātam (SV. asya rāma) sutam piṇa RV. SV. In RV, imam rātaṁ agrees with sutam; in SV. rātaṁ is a different word from rātaṁ: 'at this man's offering.'

dhēnām antah sabardughah RV.; dhēnām antah sabardughām SV. We take it that dhēnām depends on sabardughah, antah being an adverb. That SV. is botched is shown by the false accent of dhēnām, on the final syllable; but doubtless dhēnām (dependent on antah) was meant. Even the RV. passage is obscure; for a different interpretation see Oldenberg, R.V. Noten ad loc.

ritir janītrī tasyā apas (GB: apas, but Gāsṭra apas) pari RV. GB. See VV 2 §810.

8. Transfer of epithet

§520. Transfer of epithet (§14) between accusative and genitive forms occurs in the following. In the first group there is no change of gender or number:
amanamahi mahata (MS. KS. mahaH) rastyu nama TS. MS. KS. TB.
The gen. agrees with rastyu, the acc. with nama.
manyam janasya dushyah (SV. yam) RV. SV. KS. "The wrath of the evil-minded man"; 'the evil-minded wrath of man.' The ed. of KS. has manyam, doubtless by misprint.
bhraspatiretvanyo tva (KS. omits tv) inda indriyinata pathinivatam (KS. vato) graham grhyami (MS. vadhyasam. KS. graham rhy- 
san) TS. MS. KS.: bhraspatiretvanyo deva soma tv indor (inda) indriyinata pathinivato graham rhyadram VS. VSK. SB. pathinivat-modifies graham in TS. MS.; te (unexpressed) in KS. and probably te in VS. VSK. SB. (so Eggeling; otherwise BR.).
paucajanasya bahudha yam indhate AV.: yam paucajanam bahavah sam indhate TS. MS. KS. In the YY. texts pauca is drawn into agreement with yam, which refers to Agni; in AV. it agrees directly with agner of the preceding pada, so that the real sense is the same.
praharsinam madirasya madrasi stable avastha ata te theh yogadini KS.: prahar-
sinvo madirasya madrasi stabe avastha stava Apâ. Von Schroeder emends KS. to praharsino; and indeed it seems scarcely possible to construe the word with te, which would be necessary if we keep the text.
§521. The rest involve variation of number or gender as well as case:
vaseh (SV. TS. vasoH) tumin sahase jatvedasam RV. AV. SV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. 'Good son of strength'; 'son of good strength.' This seems the simplest interpretation of vasoH. The preceding pada is agniH hotaram manye davanatam; Benfey and Keith make vasoH a noun depending on davaHnatam, despite the pada division. A third alternative would be to make it a noun correlative with sahase: 'son of good(ies), of strength.'
vasumatas (VS. SB. matim agner) te chayam upasthesam VS. MS. SB:
'May I enter the shadow of thee, the rich one (thy rich shadow, O Agni).'
shardhaney agner ajarani (SV. ajaranasya) dakhysatah (Apâ. dakhysate) RV.
SV. MS. Apâ. 'O Agni, thy ageless troops (i.e. flames) as thou burnest'; 'O Agni, the troops of thee, ageless, burning.' For Apâ:
cf. VV. 1 §77.
pâtho (Ppp. SS. pâtom, TS. vitam) ghratasya guhyini (AV. guhyasya) 
nama AV. Ppp. TS. MS. KS. SS. 'Ye protect (etc.) the secret names of ghee'—so most texts; AV. seems to take pâtho from pâ 
'drink' (so Ludwig and Whitney), and makes guh agree with ghratasya: 'ye drink of the ghee that is secret by name.'
indraśya vāṁ vīryakṛto bāhū abhyupāsrāmi (VSK. vāṁ bāhū vīryakṛto
upā). VS. VSK. ŚB. ‘I draw you down, two arms of prowess-
working Indra (two prowess-working arms of Indra).’ Also:
indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upāsrāmi TB. (here the king, identi-
fied with Indra, is addressed).
parīmaṁ yajamānāṁ rāyo manuṣyānāṁ VS. ŚB.: parīmaṁ rāyo manu-
ṣyāṁ KS. See §§402 etc.
§522. There remain two cases of the sort referred to in §15, in which
a word originally of independent construction is attracted into agree-
ment with another word, becoming an ‘epithet’ thereof, in a secondary
version; in both either gender or number varies as well as case:
dāgūṣānāṁ asvāsalanta vāṁ RV.; aṅgoṣṭānāṁ asvāsalanta vāṁ SV. In
RV., ‘the music of the hymns’; in SV. an epithet of Soma (vṛṣṇānām)
has been extracted from the genitive.
paramaṁ padam asa bhāti (VS. ŚB. bhāri) bhāri (TS. bhārē) RV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Preceded by uṭrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoh
(RV. N. viṣṇoh). In the original bhāri is best taken as an adverb:
‘The bull’s (Viṣṇu’s) highest footstep shines down mightily.’ TS,
makes the word an epithet of viṣṇoh: ‘of mighty Viṣṇu.’
CHAPTER XXIII

ACCUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

Acc. and loc. of goal

§523. By far the largest and most important group of variants showing syntactic contact between these two cases is that concerning the accusative and locative of goal. After verbs denoting motion (in a wide sense), both cases are familiarly used. Many interpreters try to distinguish between them. Thus Delbrück, AIS. 122, says that the loc. is used ‘wenn es sich um ein Ankomen bei, ein Eindringen in u. s. w. handelt, während in den A. das Ziel tritt, dem man zustrebt, z. B. deveśu gachati er geht unter die Götter, aber devān gachāti er geht zu den Göttern hin.’ Others, whether consciously or unconsciously, seem anxious to avoid admitting the loc. of goal at all. Thus Whitney on AV. 6. 48. I-3 renders evasti mā sam vahāṣya yajñasyodācī suḥā ‘carry me along to welfare at the close of this offering’, whereas it obviously means ‘carry me prosperously to the end of this rite’ (cf. Bloomfield JAOS. 16. 3, 23); this would be clear even without the ŚŚ variant evasti mā sanpūranyāṣya yajñasyodācī, with acc. instead of loc. Even worse is Whitney’s rendering of AV. 7. 40. 1b yasāya eva upastigmahanta āpah ‘in whose course stand the waters’; to avoid recognising the loc. of goal (all the parallel texts evastami!) Whitney ignores the established meaning of upa-sthā (approach, always of motion, never ‘stand’). Clearly we must read ‘into whose control the waters enter.’

§524. In other cases the matter is less clear, and there is more reasonable ground for distinguishing between the two cases. Yet we feel that it is a false and specious conservatism which insists on rendering a loc. by something like English in, or German in with dative, wherever the meaning can possibly be twisted in that direction. We believe that in not a few cases where at first glance this meaning seems quite plausible, a closer examination will reveal grounds for holding the loc. to be substantially equivalent to an acc. Take for instance the variant vārṣaṣyaikā-carati niṣkṛteṣu (MS. KS. niṣkṛteṇī) TS. MS. KS. PG. We shall not stress the fact that MS. KS., generally the older and better YV. texts, have the acc.; after all, even if TS. PG. are secondary, they may
quite well have interpreted the passage in a new way. So there seems on the face of it to be no objection to the rendering ‘one moves among the seats of the sun’ or the like (so Stenzler, Oldenberg, and Keith, on PG. and TS.). But note that a preceding verse in the same context, dealing with the same situation, has the pada trīṅkāt svasaṇa upayanti niṣkṛtam, with the acc. niṣkṛtam in all alike. To our minds this, combined with the indubitable fact that the loc. is used of the goal of motion, suggests that it is at least likely that TS. PG. mean by cauli niṣkṛteṣu about the same thing that is meant by cauli niṣkṛtani in MS. KS. Naturally, no one would claim certainty for such an interpretation.

§525. While, therefore, we should not deny that some such distinction as that suggested by Delbrück may have been concerned in the origin of the locative of goal, and while we freely admit that in some instances of shift between the two cases a distinction may, nay at times even must, have been felt, we nevertheless believe that our variants tend as a whole to indicate similarity, rather than distinction, between them. It is easy to be over-subtle in such matters; we shall for the most part try not to impose our views upon the materials, preferring to let them speak for themselves. At the same time we shall occasionally call attention to what seem to us significant features, particularly when they support the view we hold, namely that scholars have failed to recognize with sufficient clarity the close similarity between these uses of the acc. and loc. Special attention may be called here to the pada vaṇāsi ya avicōya ya mṛgeṣu MS. KS. ApŚ., in which the acc. vaṇāsi and the loc. mṛgeṣu occur in two precisely parallel phrases; surely no one would suggest that there can be the slightest difference in meaning between them.

1. With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like

§526. We begin with verbs meaning something like ‘go, enter, mount’, and list first cases in which the acc. and loc. seem most nearly akin in meaning:
svasti mā sam vahāsva yañāsyodṛci svadhī AV.: svasti mā sampāriyāsva yañāsyodṛcam ŚŚ. See §523.
yasya svatam (RVKh. Scheftelowitz, Ppp. KS. "te) pañavo yanti surve RVKh. AV. Ppp. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ‘Into whose control go all cattle.’ Cf. next.
yasya svatam (AV. vratam) upatiṣṭhanta dpaḥ, same texts, immediately after preceding. See §523.
tīṭhi vratam (TB. rathe), adhi tāni (VS. ŚB. yaṁ, TB. yat) vajrāhasta (TB. ṭaṭ) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. ‘Mount upon (adhi-stha) this chariot.’
endraṣya jaṭhaṛe (SV. "ram") viśa RV. SV. 'Enter the belly of Indra.'
sva ruhāṇa adhi nākam uttamam (TS.† MS.† KS. nākā uttame) VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. 'Mounting to heaven, to the highest sky.' The
verb is adhi-ruḥ.
uttamam nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. uttame nāke) adhi rohayemam (VS.
MS. KS. ŚB. rohayāṇām, TA. rohemam) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. TA.
akṣaraḥ brahma saṁmitam TA. TAA. MahānU.: akṣare brahmavasiṁmite
MG. Preceded by āyatu varadā devi (MG. āyāhi vīruje devi).
yā āvīṣṭo vayassu (Ppp. yo vīṣṭo vayasi) yo mṛgeṣu AV. Ppp.: vayāṇe ya
āvīṣeṣa yo mṛgeṣu MS. KS. ApŚ. See §525.
ā mitrāvarunā bhagam RV.: ā mitre varune bhage SV. Followed by
madheḥ (madhoḥ) pavanta ārmayaḥ. The SV. comm. reads aces.
like RV., and Benfey renders 'In Mitra...fliessen...'
viśo-viśh pravisiṁten sam imahe AV.: viśvavaiśī viśī pravisiṁten sam (KS.†
pravisiṁten) imahe TS. MS. KS.
prāṇāpānyor (ŚG. nā) uṣrayacī tayā (ŚG. tayā; so AG. must intend,
and so Stenzler translates it) prapadye AG. ŚG. 'I...take refuge
with (flee to) prāna and apāna with thee.'
upu āyām upa vetasam AV. Vait.: upa jman upa vetaṃ VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB. The verb avatara 'descend into' is found in the following
pāda in all but AV. Vait. TS., and in these some such verb is
understood.
Preceded by te yantu prajānantaḥ.
purīṣam vasaṇāḥ sukrtaśya loke (MS. KS. lokam) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.:
purīṣam vasaṇāḥ svām yoniṁ yathāyaḥam ApŚ. Preceded in MS.
KS. ApŚ., followed in VS. ŚB., by tatra gacha yatra pūre paretaḥ.
The ace. is certainly one of goal of motion. Mahīdhara on VS.
rightly takes loke as loc. of goal; Griffith and Eggeling construe it
with vasaṇāḥ as loc. of situation. They also, most violently and
against Mahīdhara and all probability, detach sukrtaśya from loke
and make it depend on purīṣam.
rudraśya pāṇapatyaṁ (VS. ŚB. pattyān, KS. patyāye) mayobhūr ehi VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Come, gladdening, to the lordship of Rudra's
troop' VS. ŚB. KS.; on TS. MS. see §§495, 705.
keṣv (LŚ. kinā svid) antaḥ purusa ā viveṣa VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.
sudughendre (MS. dravi, p.p. dre) śarasvati VS. MS. Followed by
əśvinā āyatiyatastam (VS. tah). See Neisser's illuminating treatment
of av (ZWbsch. d. RV., s. v.), which establishes the fact that it
is fundamentally a verb of motion. This receives new support from our variant, where the loc. can only be interpreted as equivalent to the acc. of goal: 'strive towards Indra.'

§627. In the next group the loc. can be, or has been, with more plausibility interpreted as one of situation, differing psychologically from the acc. We nevertheless believe that in some of these variants, as in the preceding, there is little if any real difference between the two cases: sūryasyaikā carati niṣktroṣu (MS. KS. niṣktāni) TS. MS. KS. PG. See §524.

viṣṇu aṅga varunaḥ pūrvaḥītau (MS. ṇāhītim) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. ĀŚ. ŚŚ. 'It has gone to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa, to (at) the first oblation.' The generally old and primary MS. may be taken as a kind of commentary on the others; yet the loc. of situation is possible. A still different interpretation of pūrvaḥītau is offered by the comms. on ŚB. and TB., which take it as a dual adjective agreeing with viṣṇu varunaḥ.

anāgā devāḥ sakuno grheṣu (AV. grhaṁ naḥ) RV. AV. Ppp. MG. Preceded by śivaḥ kapota iṣito no astu. 'Favorable for us be the dove, harmless the bird, sent to our home, O gods.' So essentially Grassmann, taking grheṣu closely with iṣito; the AV. supports this. But Ludwig 'im Hause.'

dīvās. (dīvāḥ) prasthaṁ (PB. prṣṭhe) bhandamānaḥ (PB. mandā) suṇamabhīṁ RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Preceded by vaśiṁnarāḥ pratnathā nākam āruhāt (PB. āruha). In the original prasthaṁ is acc. of goal with āruhāt, parallel with nākam. In PB. prṣṭhe could be so construed, as loc. of goal; but here we incline to agree with Caland in taking it with mandamānaḥ, 'rejoicing upon the back of heaven.' satyadhaṁno adhveṇam (TS. 're) RV. TS.: vāmaṁ prajyaṁ adhveṇa VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in RV. by taddhītaya a gata, in the others by a tvā deśāṁ śmahe. RV.: 'come to the sacrifice, O (gods) of inviolable statutes.' The loc. may also be one of goal: 'we come to you...to the sacrifice.' But a loc. of situation is also possible; not indeed with satyadhaṁno, 'ye that have true ordinances at the sacrifice' (Keith), since this would require accentless adhveṇa (Whitney 314d), but rather: 'we approach you at the sacrifice, O gods of true ordinance.' Cf. also (kavim agnim upa stūhi) satyadhaṁnaṁ adhveṇa, in a different context; here the loc. is clearly one of situation.

prātaryāveṇo adhveṇam RV. VS. TB.: prātaryāvebhīr adhveṇa SV. See the whole verse, quoted §415. The acc. is certainly one of goal
with prātaryāvāna: 'coming betimes to the offering,' The loc. may be taken in the same way, or (with Benfey) with a vidātu, and parallel with barhiṣṭa, 'at the offering'.

d蒸发yā savitūḥ save (SV, savam) RV, AV. SV, TS etc. etc. This common phrase ordinarily contains a loc. of situation: 'at the instigation of God Savitar.' The acc. savam occurs once in SV., in a verse found also in AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait., all of which read savam; it is preceded by ānīr maryaḥ ā vājīna vājīna agman, and followed by svaryam (AŚ. ŚŚ. 9gān) arvanta jayema (jayuna, jayata). Clearly SV. has acc. of goal with agman: '... have come into the instigation (control) of Savitar.' In the other texts, however, we must doubtless understand the usual sense: 'at the instigation of...' Cf. next.

lasya pūṣṭ prasāde (TS, 9van) yāti vidvān (TS, KS. devah) RV, VS, TS, MS, KS. ŚB. Similar to preceding.

antarikṣe (KS. 9kṣam) viṣṇur (MS. viṣṇur antarikṣe) vyakrānta...VS, MS, KS, ŚB, ŚŚ.: tatra śubhena chandasaṃtarikṣam anu vi kramē TS. 'Viṣṇu strde thru (durchschnitt; or, strde forth in) the atmosphere.' Similar formulas with dīso (dīkṣo), prthvīm ('eyām), divān ('divi), and different meter names. See also: deva viṣṇa uva adyātmin...§549.

§528. In another group we find different words used, either different governing verbs or different variant nouns, resulting in a shift between acc. of goal and loc. of situation; in these cases we no longer feel doubt that the force of the two cases is quite distinct:

priyena dhānma (TS. TB. ApŚ. nāmā, VSK. nāma) priyam sada āśīda (VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ. priye sadasī sīda) VS, VSK. TS, ŚB, TB. ApŚ. (bis): sadaḥ priyena dhānma priyam sada āśīda (VSK. priyena nāma [for nāma?] priye sadasī sīda) VS, VSK. ŚB. It seems to us impossible to consider it an accident that the simple sad is here construed each time with loc., the compound sad-sad with acc. Evidently the addition of the preverb is felt as reinforcing the motion-idea in the verb sufficiently to require the acc.; instead of 'sit on,' it means 'take one's seat upon.' It is true that both verbs are otherwise found with both cases, so that this variant might be put with §527; but the concomitant variation of case and verb-form seems to us surely significant.

yāv (MS. yā) ātasthatur bhuvanāni viśvā (TB. bhuvanasya madhye) AV. MS. TB. 'Who entered into all beings (took their stand in the midst of the universe)'

ukṣaḥ bhavatī bhuvanāni (SV. ArŚ. mimeśi bhuvanesu) vājayuh RV. SV. ArŚ.


A2CUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

fīvam (ApMB, fīvām) rudānti vi mayante adhve (AV. nayanty adhvaram) RV. AV. ApMB. The AV. clearly has a lect. fac., but the original is quite obscure in meaning; cf. Bloomfield AJP. 21. 411-9, Oldenberg RYNoten ad loc.

antarikṣasya tvā sānūr aavyāhāmi (KS. ṛkṣasya sānūpeṣa) TS. KS. ApŚ.;

§529. The following case is like those of the last section in that agram is acc. of goal with rohatah, a verb of motion, while agre is loc. of situation with krīdah; it receives separate rubrication because it leads over to the next following group:

agram ṛkṣasya rohatah VS. TS. MS. KSA. SB. TA.: agre ṛkṣasya krīdah (VSK. ŚŚ. krīp) VS. VSK. SB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

2. Adverbial acc.: loc.

§530. In another group of variations between these two forms agram and agre, it is possible at times to doubt whether both or either are felt as expressions of the goal. In some instances, at any rate, it seems hard to avoid construing them as vaguely adverbial, ‘in the beginning’ or the like:

agra imam yajñam nayatāre yajñapatin dhatta TS.; agra imam adya yajñam nayatāre yajñapatin sukhātām yajñapatin desavyaṃ VS.;

agrah yajñam nayitāram yajñapatin MS. ‘Lead forward this sacrifice...’ But here, with the verb nayata, the word may be felt as ‘to the front’.

ākāñān ketur úpasām ety (AV.† esy) agram (TS. agre) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Here too, with a verb of motion, the idea of goal may be present in the acc. form, at least: ‘As banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at (to?) the head of the dawns.’

jayanṭinām maruto yante agram (TS. agrē, AV. MS. KS. yantu madhye) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ‘Let the Maruts go at (to?) the front of the conquering armies.’

tenā devā devatām agra (VS. MS. KS. agram) ṛyan AV. VS. KS. MS.;
tapasi (TS. tayā) devā devatām agra ṛyan TS. TB. TA. MahāN. ‘By this (by tapas) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning.’ Since devatām expresses the goal, it seems that agram can hardly be anything but an adverb.

agnir agram (SV. agram) úpasām abhi RV. SV. Perhaps motion is felt in the verb ā-bhi: ‘Agni was enkindled at (unto?)’ the beginning of the dawns.’
§531. Similarly ārām or āre may be used in a quasi-adverbial way with a verb of driving, which yet permits the idea of goal to be involved: badhava (AV. bādhahāṁ) āre (AV. ārām, TS. Ppp. dēṣo) nirṛtīṁ pardeah RV. AV. Ppp, TS. 'Drive perdition afar off.'

§532. We have noted one other variation of strictly adverbial ace. and loc., in a páda where the absence of any verb of motion makes it impossible to feel an idea of goal:

ye aravī madhya (TA. omits madhya) uva cā parāṇam (TA. 6ne) AV. TA.
'Whoever in recent times, in middling times, or in ancient times.'

3. With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root dhat)

§533. The root dhat and its synonyms are familiarly used either with the ace. of the person and the loc. of the thing ('set, establish...in'), or with the dat. of the person and ace. of the thing ('establish...for', 'give...to'); see §482, where this variant is quoted showing both idioms:

svargaṁ me lokam yaṣaṃnāya dhehi Vait.: svarga leke yaṣaṃnām hi dhehi (or, dhehi māṁ) TB. ApŚ.

§534. We find also several variants in which, after dhat, the thing 'placed' is put in either ace. or loc., while the person is expressed by the pronoun nah, which might be either dat. or ace. It is commonly, and perhaps rightly, assumed that this form is felt as a dat. in the variant containing ace. of the thing, and as an ace. in the form with loc. of the thing: 'set us in' or 'establish for us.' It should however be noted that two accusatives may be used after such verbs, as the next paragraphs will show, tho this usage has not been generally recognized; so that nah with ace. of the thing might be taken as an ace. (something like 'set us unto...'):

indraṇāmbhā draviṇe (MS. 9nani) no dadhātu AV. MS.
sa nah pāneko draviṇān (AV. 9ne) dadhātu AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.
sa no bhūmih pūrva-peye (MS. 9yanī) dadhātu AV. MS.

§535. As we said in the last section, there are at least a few variants in which, with verbs of placing or the like, we find two accusatives varying with an accusative and a locative. That is, instead of the loc. of the remoter goal, that into which something is set, an ace. is used:

sutrāmendre (MS. 9rainī) sarvaśat VŚ. MS. TB. Followed by balaṁ na vācaṁ āṣya uśāḥyāṁ dadhur indriyam. This, it seems, can only mean...have put strength in Indra, speech in his mouth... It may be however that MS. has been influenced by the following verse, a variant of this one, in which arudhāyaṁ (with ace.) replaces dadhuh. Similarly, in the same passage:
bhūṣajendra (MS. *ram) sarvasatī VS. MS. TB. Followed by prāṇa
...dadhur. See prec.

ut sakthya (ŚŚ. *gyr) ava gudam (TS. KSA. ApŚ. sakthyar gudam) dheki
VS. TS. KSA. SB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: adhāna sakthyar ava gudam dheki
Vait.

rathāntarai sāma (also vairāja, vairāpas, and bhat sāma, and ikk-
vararaivaśa śāmanī) pratiṣṭhita antarikṣa (KS. *kṣaṃ; TS. *kṣātyai;
om. antarikṣa) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. A verb like sthānātā is
supplied from the preceding, and it seems that KS. antarikṣa can
only be construed as an acc. of remoter goal: 'let the Rathāntara
sāman (fix thee) for firm station in (into) the atmosphere.'

ā gharma (ĀŚ. *man) viśca pava uṣāṇyayāh AV. ĀŚ. ŚŚ. 'Pour the milk
of the brindle-cow into the hot drink.' ā-sic is here construed as a
verb of placing.

§536. The compound sam-ādha, as a verb of joining, is construed
either with acc. and instr., or acc. and loc.; it is the loc. form which
varies with the acc. in the following variant, on which see §462:

antya atman (MS. aṅgair atmānam) bhīṣajā tad aṅvīnā VS. MS. KS.
TB. Followed by aṅvīnam aṅgaṁ samadhip sarvasati.

§537. A couple of times, in ritualistic formulas, we find reciprocal
shift between loc. and acc. forms;

uṣṭho (VS. SB. surgo) uṣṭhpaṣa yajñe yajñapatiś dāh VS. TS. SB.:

uṣṭhpaṣa uṣṭhpaṣa yajñam yajñapatalau dāh MS. KS. Addressed to
the atmosphere. 'Being more extended, establish the patron of the
sacrifice in a more extended sacrifice'; 'being more extended than
the more extended, establish the sacrifice in the patron of the
sacrifice.' In such rigmarole the inversion of terms makes little
difference.

asmin yajñe yajamanāya sūrin AV.: imañ yajñam yajamanām ca sūrau
ApŚ. See §488. Neither reading is intelligible; but the reciprocal
interchange of the forms of yajña and sūri seems to be similar to
that in the preceding. The verb (preceding) is dadhātana in ApŚ.,
pari navāmi in AV.

§538. Tho the verb is a form of dhā in the next variant, the psychology
of the variation seems to be different:

dadhāt ratnam (ĀŚ. ratna) daksapitṛghya (AV. daksajā paśu) āyuni (AV,
āyūṣij) AV. ĀŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he assign wealth and dexterity to the
pitrā (wealth to the Daksapitṛs), and long lives (in [respect to?] their
life).' Neither the acc. āyūṣij (complementary object), nor
(apparently) the loc. āyuni (tho its meaning is not very clear),
can here be understood as the remoter goal of dadhā.
4. With various prepositions

§539. There are a few variants involving acc. and loc. after various prepositions. In the first, with adhi, the verb is daithiti, "assigns"; possibly the feeling that motion is involved in this verb is responsible for the secondary use of the acc. in SV.:

\[ \text{vāma trīyam adhi rocane } (SV. \text{ "nam" } \text{ divah } RV. \text{ SV. } \text{ "Assigns" a third name upon the bright expanse of heaven."} \]

§540. Similarly in the next, we find in SV. an isolated use of the loc. with acha, perhaps owing to the fact that the RV. verb of motion (ajanti) is replaced in SV. by mṛjanti "purify", which was felt as requiring a loc.:

\[ \text{ajanti vahinā sadanāy acha RV. } \text{ mṛjanti vahinā sadanāy acha SV. } \]

"They drive (purify) the carrier unto (upon?) the seats."

§541. A third variant shows antara with acc. and loc.; only the former seems to be known to the earliest language, but the latter is familiar later:

\[ \text{antara dīvāyapṛthivī apah swah (MG. "prthivyor apasyuḥ") TB. ApMB. HG. MG. } \]

§542. Finally, one variation is due to the use of different prepositions, anu with acc., adhi with loc.:

\[ \text{ye ke ca prthivim anu (KS. prthivīm adhi) RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. } \]

Both mean ‘on (or throughout) the earth.’

5. With other verbs than those of motion

§543. Other verbs than those of motion may in various ways show interchange between these two cases. Thus, samvad ‘converse (about), discuss’ governs either. In passing we may note the absence of any variant showing acc. loc. of the person spoken to (‘goal of speech’), which we might have expected on the analogy of the frequent interchange of the two after verbs of motion. In the later language these cases are quite interchangeable in this construction, but in the Veda such a use of the loc. is perhaps hardly to be found.

\[ \text{pratiprasthātah pākau (MS. pākou) samvadava ApS. MS. } \text{ ‘Pratiprasthātar, speak about the victim (with the slaughterer).’ } \]

§544. Also verbs of eating and drinking show, besides the gen. (§501), the loc. varying with the acc.:

\[ \text{papuḥ sarasvatyā nadyaḥ (MS. "tyāh nadyām, KS. ApS. "tim nadim) Vait. KS. ApS. MS. See §501. } \]

\[ \text{prajñāvatiḥ sāyaśasaḥ (AV. "se) ruṣantih (RV. and TB. comm. riś?) RV. AV. TB. See VV 2 §627 on ruṣantih. TB. comm. explains by } \]
bhakṣayantīḥ; so also AV. comm., tho it reads ras. 'Grazing (shining?) on good pasturage.'

§545. A verb of beating:
āgnānāḥ pāṁśīrvasi AV.; uṣṇa puṭouvāt āgnānāḥ AV. 'Beating upon their breasts with their hands'; 'beating their breasts and thighs (?).'

§546. A verb of conquering is construed with a loc. or with (a sort of 'inner') accusative:
ivaṣṭ (omitted in VSK. TS. KS. TB.) vayaṁ saṃghātaṁ-saṃghātaṁ (VSK. saṃghate-saṃghate; TS. TB. omit one saṃghātaṁ) īṣṭena (KS. ṛjayema, and ṭaśajayema) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) SB. TB. 'May we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight.'

§547. The root ruc (rocate, ruruce) is normally middle and intransitive, taking no accus. except a 'cognate' or 'inner' acc. ('shine forth light' or the like). The original form of the following variant accordingly has a loc., 'on the earth'; but KS. substitutes an accus. (elliptic) dual, and must understand ruruce as transitive (equivalent to the causative): 'He (Agni) has illumined heaven and earth as with the light of dawn.'

ksāman (KS. ksāma) ruruce uṣāso na bhāntuṁ (MS. KS. ketunā) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

6. Locative absolute and accusative

§548. Several times an accusative in regular syntactic relationship varies with a loc. so loosely construed that it may not unfairly be called a locative absolute:
naṁbha pṛthivayāḥ maṅişūrāna aṅgaṁ (TS. sanidhrāna aṅgaṁ, MS. KS. na aṅgaṁ) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Followed by yāyaspoṣya bhate havimāhe. 'When Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him) ...': 'We call upon Agni enkindled etc.' On MS. KS. see §§393, 450.

sāmṛṣṭā sa yudha indro ganeḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.; sāmṛṣṭā su yudha indro ganeṣu MS. See §607; loc. abs. in the secondary MS.; yudha(h) object of the agent noun sāmṛṣṭā.

yāḥ staccaṁti bodhayati (HG. aspatsu jāgati) ApMB. HG. 'The shedemon who awakens the sleeper': 'who wakes while people sleep.'

7. Case attraction

§549. Most of the remaining variants are so miscellaneous as hardly to permit classification. We may group separately a few in which formal, external attraction to adjoining case-forms seems to be involved:
HAVIJA YAJNA (TB. YAJNAM) INDRIYAM (VS. 404) VS. MS. KS. TB. See the passage, discussed §473. TB. has assimilated YAJNE TO INDRIYAM.

DEVADE VIVRA MADHUKEASYADYEMAN YAJNAM (APθ. "KAŚAYAŚDAŚMIN YAJNE) YAJMANĀGA MIMIKRATAM PB. KS. APθ. MS. "O divine ASVINS, with the honey-whip mingle (?besprinkle) this sacrifice for the YAJMĀNA." Only the acc. seems sensible; APθ. seems to leave the verb objectless; 'mingle (what?) at this sacrifice'. It is no doubt influenced by some of the parallel formulas in the same passage, which have similar expressions with intransitive verbs and locative nouns. Most perversely, in some of these APθ. uses acc. forms instead of the locs. of the other texts! Thus:

DEVA VIŅA AVE ADYEMIN YAJNE (APθ. VIŅA AVADA ADYEMAH YAJNAN) YAJMANĀGAĐIHI (APθ. "GAŅIY) VIKRAMASA (MS. YAJMANĀGA VIKRAMASA), same texts. Here, to be sure, the loc. as well as the acc. may be defended, with vi-kram; cf. §530 above. But in the next the acc. seems as impossible as the loc. in the preceding, and is doubtless to be explained in the same way:

DEWA ADILE SADITYAM ADYEMIN YAJNE YAJMANĀSYAISHVASA (APθ. ADILE "NE ADYEMAM YAJNAM YAJMĀNAIDHI), same texts.

S. Miscellaneous

§550. The rest are miscellaneous, and generally involve rather radical reorganization of the passages:

DYUMANAM VṚTILA PUSYASE RV. VS. TS. MS. SB.: DYUMAN (and DYUMNE) VARETA PUSYATU KS. (both). 'Let him choose glory, that he may prosper'; 'let him choose glory, let him prosper'; 'let him choose (him, Neter) in glory, let him prosper.'

VṚṬI PANUNA ṬUṆI (SV. ṬUṆI) RV. SY. The pple. is intransitive in RV. but transitive in SV.

LOKAṆA PĪTRA VIṬTE AV.: PĪTRA HY ĀTRE GUCHASI TA. 'Having found a place among the fathers'; 'for thou shalt go there to the fathers.' SĀ SANṬI (SV. "W, TB. APθ. "X) MĀYAS KARAD APA SRIDHĀ RV. SY. TB. APθ. 'She made (for me) blissful (SANṬI) joy (joy in bliss). We should expect SANṬIṬI, 'bliss'.

UPA TĒ KĀṂA ṬUṆA SASRMAHE SV.: UPA TĒ KĀṂA MAḤAṆ ASERJMAHE RV. AV.

NĪṢKĀ ime (AV. etc., MS. hy etc) YAJMANĀŅAṆU BRADHNE (MS. "NAM, AV. loke) AV. TB. APθ. MS. 'These are jewels in the sacrificer's sun (or heaven; TB. comm. the world of the Ādityas, as the fruit of sacrifice)'; in MS. preceded by Darbhāh ṬRṆA..., bradhnam being
object of this verb: 'Strew with darbha-grasses—for these are jewels—the sun (heaven) of the sacrificer.' Caland strangely takes bradhue as nom. pl. (adjective with nīkāh!).

**sūṣadā** yonā suhā eśi (TS. TB. yonīm suhā) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: suhān yonīm sūṣadām prthiviṃ (ms. "et") suhā KŚ. Preceded by aviyam nāh pūtaṃ kru(v) (KŚ. kṛthi); Cone. quotes the whole mantra of KŚ. under this. We see no way to construe sūṣadā yonīm; Keith assumes sūṣadām, which is supported by KŚ. (but note there also prthivi in the ms.): ‘make our food poisonless, the lap pleasant to sit in.’ On the loss of anusvāra cf. VV 2. §307. It looks as if VS. ŚB., starting from TS.'s reading, had interpreted sūṣadā as loc. of an unknown *sūṣadī, and changed to yonā to match it.

samudre yasya rastin id ākāh AV.: yasya samudrān (Ppp. MS. KŚ. sam" yasya) rasyaḥ sahākāh RV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. See §463. cakṣuḥ eśi vṛgya sva(V) RV.: cakṣuḥ vṛgya dvē śV. See §474.

tayā dvēḥ suhulaā ṣabhāvah VS. KŚ. TB.: sā na asmin vata ṣabhāvah VS. MS. See §419.

dṛkhasa prthiviṃ VS. KŚ. ŚB.: dṛkha prthiviṃ PB. ‘Be firm on earth!’ ‘make firm the earth.’ Contexts are identical.

dvartanam nivartanam RV. AV.: dvartane nivartane TB. ApŚ. The forms are differently construed; cf. Caland's note on ApŚ. The latter form of the verse is radically altered.

revati preedā yajñapatim àsika MS. KŚ.: revati yajamāne priyam dha dēśa VS.† ŚB.† revate yajñapatim priyadhātata TS. ApŚ. ‘O rich one(s), kindly approach the sacrificer;’ give what he desires to the sacrificer, approach (him).'

**upa ṣabhasya** (TB. IŚ. uparṣa): retasī (AV. yad retaḥ), followed by: upendri tara vṛye (AV. "yam) RV. AV. TB. IŚ. The stanza is extensively altered (Whitney on AV. 9. 4. 23). The verb is upa prṣyatām, 'let be mingled', in all but AV., which reads upa prtā; this we take as active, and hence construe yad retaḥ and vṛye as acc., not nom. with Whitney. If we are right, the acc.-loc. variation is psychologically similar to those listed §§533-8.

0. Corruptions

§651. The following seem clearly corrupt:

ṣīrṣā śrīro 'purasēko ardayan AV.: śīrṣā śrīro (ApŚ. gīrṇa) vakaṣa vakaṣa śjaya KŚ. ApŚ. The blunder of ApŚ., the uninterpretable, is interesting because it is obviously a reminiscence of RV. 8. 45. 5 gīrṇa apṛṣa na ṣudhāṣat, on which see Neisser, ZWoch. d. RV. s. v.
apsas. The variant should be added to VV. 2 §§153a (apsas: sakṣas, synonyms), 360, 732.

ya ajagmā (N, "muh) suvane mā (TS, KS, savanedan, N, savanam idam, VS, MS, Sb, ajagmedan savanam) jujānāh AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, Sb, N. Whitney renders AV. (p.p. suvane, mā) 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation', but observes that it is a corruption of suvane 'mā ("nā + inā), which the comm. reads. So also Conception catvāro rajasa vimānāh (MS, "ne) KS, MŚ. Other versions of the pāda (see Con.) all end with devayānāh. All Knauer’s ms. read deviānāh; for this K. emends "ne, 'im Dunstkreis.' But it would be at least as simple, and more in accord with the parallels, to emend to vimānāh.

10. Transfer of epithet
§552. Nearly all the cases of transfer of epithet (§14) between ace. and loc. involve also change of number or gender:
amugya tvā prāne (Sb, KS, ārān) sādayāmī TS, Sb, TA, KS, ApŚ:
idaṃ aham amugyāmugyānaya prāne sādayāmī MS. In Sb, KS, ārān (the life of an enemy) defines tvā: 'I put thee down, the life-breath of so-and-so;' cf. the next mantra, amugya tvā prānam apidadhāmi. These texts magically identify the soma-vessel addressed with the life of an enemy, making prānam appositional to tvā. The others: 'I set thee (this) upon the life-breath of so-and-so...'

ni tad dādhiṣe 'varam param (AV.* Ppp. 'vare pare) ca RV, AV. (bis) Ppp. Followed by yasminn āvithāvai śucone.

ahhi yonim ayohatam (SV, VS, "te) RV, SV, VS. Followed by drone (RV, durna) sadhastham asadat (RV, aśuṣe). The adjective is switched from yonim to drone.

varūthyam (SV, "ye) varuṇe chaṇḍyam vacaḥ RV, SV,
[yasyān karmāni kurnate (ApŚ, kurnate) KS, ApŚ: yāni karmāni ca kriye AV. Preceded by anāptā ya (AV, ye) vaḥ prathamā. Obscure; the forms of pāda a are neut. pl., going with karmāni, so that AV, yāni really corresponds to KS, ApŚ. ya of pāda a; AV, ye of pāda a of course goes with the subject. What yasyān refers to is not evident. AV. p.p. ms. have anāptā but prathamāh; the latter would be possible, going with the subject.]

§553. What is originally a word of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, as its epithet (§15), in:
yatraṁāna (AG, KauŚ, SM, HG, MG, yatraṁān) vettha nibhitān paraṁ
(SMB. parācaḥ) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. parācaḥ
with stān; parāke adverbial, ‘far away’.
ā te vācam āśyām (HG. āsya) dade HG. ApMB.: tām te vācam āśya ādatte
(read ādade?) hṛdaya ādāthe PG. Followed in HG. ApMB. by ā
(HG. om.) manasyām hṛdayād adhi. Kirste suggests āsyaḥ; more
likely āśyām is intended, with one ms., as in ApMB. If PG. is
original (‘in the mouth’), then HG. ApMB. have made āsya over
into an adjective, ‘of the mouth’, agreeing with vācam; cf. mana-
syām which must certainly be taken as an adjective from manas.

athem anya upare vicakaṇam (AV. &ne) RV. AV. PraśU. Followed by
saptacakra sudara ādhur arpitam. In the original vicakaṇam (referring
apparently to the cosmic year) is object of ādhur. AV. stupidly
attracts it into agreement with the following locatives, leaving the
object (still the same entity) to be supplied from the preceding
line. Ppp. as RV.

§554. Conversely, in the following what is originally an epithet is
changed so as to be construed independently (§15):
śīrṣa rūn (SV. asya rūtā) sūlam pība RV. SV. ‘Drink this presented
soma: drink the soma at this man’s offering.’
aṅgam iede pāraccitt. (TS. ‘attau) namabhik VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
‘I revere with homage Agni whose is the first (ancient?) devotion
(TS., at the first devotion).’

11. Phrase inflection

§555. Occurs once:
ṛtasa rāde (RV. ‘padam) kavayo ni pānti RV. (both) TA. JUB. The
pāda with the loc. is preceded by an object maniṣām; different
contexts.
CHAPTER XXIV

INSTRUMENTAL AND OTHER OBLIQUE CASES

A. Instrumental and dative

1. As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities

§556. With nouns meaning something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality, a final dative often varies with an instrumental. Thus: sami tāṁ siṅcatu rādhase RV. Vait., 'may he pour it (āṅku, or the like) together unto bounty,' becomes in KS. ApŚ. (in a different context, yet closely modelled on the same original) sami tat siṅcatu rādhase, 'may he pour it together with bounty (bounteously).'

The practical meaning of the two versions is the same, and both types of expression are very common; correspondingly common are variants showing both in different passages. They constitute the one large block among the variations between these two cases. The nouns in question mean regularly something like 'strength, support, aid, sustenance, food, bounty.' The instrumental seems at times to be felt clearly as one of means, sometimes as one of accompaniment, but often it shows a rather vague and undifferentiated adverbial function.

§557. In some instances, which deserve separate rubrication, the presence of a dative of purpose in the vicinity seems to be responsible for the alteration of an original instrumental into a dative:

kṛtāṁ varīṣṭham vara āmūrīm uita RV. AV.: kṛtāṁ vare ʻthehām āmūrīm uita SV. Preceded in all by jajanā ca rājase. In RV, kṛtāṁ seems best taken with varīṣṭham, 'the most extended in power (wisdom, magic power)'; yet it might even there be felt as going with the preceding verb ('created [Indra] unto rule, by [magic] power, the most extended...').

Certainly the dative of SV, must be taken with the preceding, and evidently it is assimilated to rājase; 'created (Indra) unto rule, unto (magic) power...

svargayāya (VSK. svār), VS. MS. KS. ŚB. svaryāya) saktāya (TS. sāyai, MS. saktāya) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. '(We strive) unto the heavenly, unto (by) might,'

āpa undantu jīvase (AV. varcasē, AG. varcase) AV. TS. KS. AG. ŚG. 278
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SMB. GG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Let the waters wet (the beard) unto (with) long life (splendor).' In most texts including AV, a dative phrase, dirghāyutāya caḵuṣe or sarcoṣe, occurs in the vicinity. Delete in Conc. the AG. reference for āpa uṣṭe jhūṣe.

prajāpate vṛtā ('les τῶν) prāṇenābhiḥprāṇini puṣṭah poṣeṇa (MS. poṣeṇa) mamahī dirghāyutāya... TB. ApS. MS. 'I breathe upon thee... with (unto) Puṣan’s prosperity... unto long life...'

pra nu rāya pariṣād (SV. rāye pariṣāse) RV. SV. KB. Followed by rāṣi viṣāya pantiḥam. 'Break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength.'

§568: In the rest we have not noted any special influence determining the alteration in case:

tam hi sarājaṁ varāḥam tam ojase (SV. ojāt) RV. SV. AV. Followed by dhīgane niṣṭākātath. 'For the two vessels (heaven and earth) have created him (Indra), the independent bull, unto (with, by) strength.'

pra taś viṣṇu (viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇau) etavate viṣṇeṇa (TB. ApS. viṣṇo, AV. viṣṇo) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. SB. TB. AŚ. ApS. NpU. See §474. supāryaṇa tvāpase (AV. *sa) viṣṇe niṣṭāh RV. AV. sarasvatah asumod indrīṣṭāḥ (LS. *yena) VS. MS. KS. SB. TB. SŚ. Vait. LŚ. 'Sarasvati pressed (the soma) for (by) strength.'


tāye (TB. ApS. revaj) jātah suhaše (TB. ApS. *sa) vṛddhaḥ KS. TB. ApS. 'Born unto riches (richly), increased unto (by, with) strength.'

tās tvā devir (AV. om. devir, SMB. MG. devro) jaraśe (SMB. HG. *sa) sam vyayantu (PG. vyayāseau) AV. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. 'May these goddesses wrap thee up unto (with) old age.' On PG. see VV 1 §70.

ā mad soma amrāttena (TS. *tāya) gomap VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

andhyasam brahmaṇā (TB. HG. ApMB. *ne) tvā kṛṇomi (TB. HG. ApMB. karaṇi) AV. TB. HG. ApMB. 'I make thee guiltless by my charm,' AV. For brahmaṇe Oldenberg on HG. says ‘before the Brahman’; rather something like ‘unto holiness’ or ‘holy power’. TB. comm. pārīdhyāya jātakarmādīsāmakaṛīya.

tena te vapaṇi brahmaṇa (MG. *mī vyāṣe, ApMB. *mī caṇi vyāṣa sar- casā) VS. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. tena te vyāṣe vapaṇi AG.; tenādyāṣe vapa ApMB. In the texts which have vyāṣe or vyāṣa, the dative is one of a series of datives, the instrumental one of a pair of instrumentals.
tendemai yajamāṇāya (MS. KS. yajñapalaya unri) rāye (TS. rāyā) kṛdhī VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. "Hereby make broad (room) for this sacrificer unto (by, with) wealth."
apām stoko abhyapuptad rasena (ApMB. 5vace chivena, HG. abhyaputac chivyā) AV. APMB. HG.
apām uta prakāṣāya (RV. praṃkṣāya, AV. VSK. ətibhih) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by nina (devi) bhavala (ətha) vājinaḥ. "Unto (by, in) praising of the waters, O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong." Here the locative is also brought in, without essential difference.
śatāni bhavāya ətibhih (SV. VS. śālaye) RV. AV. SV. VS. (bis; add in Cone. SV. 2. 34c, VS. 27. 41c, with śālaye) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.
kāmāṇa (TS. MS. kāmāya) tuś prāti (TS. om. prāti) yṛkṣāmi AV. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. ṠŚ. ApŚ. "I receive thee with (unto) affection."
maghavā (ərav) cāyādi tava tan na ətibhih (SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. śālaye) RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ.
yam utram na praṅkṣāḥ (SV. ətayē) RV. SV. Followed by mārtāṇa dadhīre purah. "Whom like a friend mortals have magnified with (advanced unto) praise."
īha priyaṃ prajāyā (AV. prajāyai) te sam rāhyātām RV. AV. AG. APMB. sādā pāhy abhiṣayē (ətibhih) RV. (both). See RV Rep. on 1. 129. 9.
vānemā te abhiṣṭibhih (SV. ətaye) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MS. "May we win by (unto) thy aid."
avo arṣīṭātīlaye (RV. *AV. *ətibhih) RV. *AV. *PB.

§559. Both the dative and the instrumental have a tendency, in the ritualistic language of the Veda, to become formulaic and rigmarole in such instances. Even some of the above variants approach such a classification, which becomes more definitely applicable in the following; here little really intelligible sense can be got out of either form:
pretinā dharmanā (MS. pretiyā dharmane) dharmanā jīvā VS. MS. This is one of a long series of formulas used with the laying of the stomacha bricks. "With advance by righteousness (for righteousness) quicken thou righteousness." VS. (and ŚB.) vary between dat. and instr. in different formulas of the series; MS. has the dative consistently throughout. To the same group belong: samhīnāntarikṣenāntarikṣan (MS. samhīnāntarikṣeṇāntarikṣan) jīvā VS. MS.; viṣamabhena vṛṣṭā (MS. vṛṣṭaya) vṛṣṭin jīvā VS. MS.; anvītyā divā (MS. dive) divām jīvā VS. MS. ŚB.; pravāyahā (MS. pravāyāhne) 'har jīvā VS. MS.; pratidhānā prāthiyā (MS. əṛṣaya) prāthivā jīvā
in Instrumental and Other Oblique Cases

2. With expressions of uniting

§660. A special case of this interchange which seems to deserve separate mention, tho' it is not essentially different from the variants quoted above, concerns passages containing expressions of union, where the final dative varies with the associative instrumental (cf. §59):

susanamhi (MS. "te") te sam bharami TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.'

ayakṣamya te samajāmi prajābhyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.: ayakṣam vah prajaya samajāmi KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee unto diseaselessness, unto offspring.' 'I unite you, diseaseless, with offspring.'

samekhanas (RV. AV. "ne") tanusā (AV. tann, SV. KS. MŚ. tanne, RV. tanus) cārur edhi RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Be happy in union (or, as a unit) with (of, to) thy body.' Of course the RV., with an objective genitive, is the original (see §617); but it is interesting that either an instr. (AV.) or a dat. (most texts) may be substituted for this rather unusual form. There seems no objection to taking samekhanas as a nom. agentis, with commas. on TB. and TA. (samyagajātā); this would not alter the construction.

samyānānam nah svehbhyaḥ (AV. svehbh, TB. sēh), followed by:

samyānānam arunabhyaḥ (AV. "svehbh, TB. "naiḥ) RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. In AV. TB., 'harmony for us with our own men...with strangers,' in the others, 'harmony for us unto (= with) our own men' etc. The instr. is more natural in sense but metrically inferior and probably a secondary lect. fac.

ojāraśṇa sam anakte aṅkana RV. SMB. ApMB.; akorātēbhyaṃ sam
anakta aryaman AV. 'May Aryaman unite unto old age (with day and night).'</p>

3. Other syntactic shifts

§561. More real difference of meaning appears in the remaining variants. But sometimes the difference is still so slight that the variation could almost be classified with the preceding instances:
apo maha vyayati ca kase tamaha RV.: apo maha vyayate ca kase tamah SV.
'She (Usas) folds away (removes) the great darkness, unto seeing';
she, the mighty one, discloses (removes) the darkness with sight.'

§562. A somewhat different understanding of the verb seems responsible for the shift of cases in the following:
hastaya (SV. hastena) vajra prati dhivyad arsdaha RV. AV. SV. 'The splendid vajra was placed in (grasped by) the hand (of Indra).'</p>

§563. Others evidently intend to express really different ideas in the two forms; other variations in the phraseology often accompany the change in case:
vacaspalteva huta prasannami TS. ApS.: vacaspatesa huta prasannami (SS. hutasya prasannam ye prandanya, SB. hutasyadnamy arju utdnya) SB. AS. SS. 'I eat (of) thee, offered to (by) the Lord of Speech.'
yad a itur vahsam namo tayata no mrida (MS. tayata vidhema, KS. tasyati te vidhema) TS. MS. KS. 'Thy arrow...with it (to it) would we do reverence (with it be merciful to us, TS.).'
yah samgraman (TS. MS. 'manah) nayati (KS. joyati) sam yudhe vaasti (TS. MS. sam vaasti yudhe, KS. sam vaasti yudhas) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Who brings together the hosts for fighting (conquers the hosts by fighting).’ The change in verb (riming; add to VV 2 §853) conditions the change of noun case.
pratiprashte daradharmyamudehi (MS. daradharmaya dadiy upakalpayawa) ApS. MS. Again a different verb makes the sense wholly different; MS. 'fix the curds for the curd-porridge,'
vitam samite (MS. 'trito, KS. 'tani) samitita (MS. 'tani) yajadhyai TS. MS. KS. 'Welcome (is it) for the immolator, let the immolator sacrifice', TS.: 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered by the immolator for sacrifice', MS.: 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice'; KS. Cf. vitam huvam samitita yajadhyai VS. SB., 'the welcome offering has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice' (otherwise Mahidhara and Eggeling).
array deva asya visarjanena (TB. 'naya) RV. MS. TB. The comm. on
TB. is not troubled by the dative, simply taking it as the equivalent of an abl. (which varies with the instr. after arṇāk, cf. Speyer VSS. §39, and below, §574). But doubtless TB. misunderstood the sense of the mystical verse and took it to mean 'the gods (came) hither (or, subsequently) unto its creation (i.e. to create it?)',

_tebhih (AV. VS. VSK. tebhyaḥ) snarā ṣasunītīm stām (AV. asunītīr na-adya) RV. AV. VS. VSK. Followed by yathāvekam tanavā (AV. tanvaḥ) kalpayati (RV. ṣyasva). The interpretation is difficult in any reading; see the commentators.

patīḥ suraṇā (TB. ṣyai, VS. suraṇā) bhṛjajām VS. MS. TB. Mahādhara takes suraṇā as associative instr. A dat. or gen. seems required; see §622.

sajār deveabhiṣ sāyamāvabhiṣ (ṢṢ. devebhyaḥ sāyamāvabhyayā) TB. ṢṢ. ApŚ. And the same with prātāyāvabhiṣ (ṢṢ. ṣyāvabhyaḥ). 'Together with (for) the gods that come in the evening (morning).' The instr. may be suggested by sajār, if the dative (dedicator) be taken as the original; but the formula is rigmarole and anything is possible.

namāḥ kṛtavatāyata (VSK. ṣyatāya, KS. kṛtsavatāya, TS. MS. kṛtsna- vitāya) dhāvate VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Certainly a dative is required, tho the variations show that the meaning was not understood. VS. comm. struggles with the instr. as an abstract noun, dependent on dhāvate; he analyzes it as from kṛtavatāya (kṛtvayata) + tā, apparently assuming haplography (or is there a misprint, for ṣyatāyata?). The original dat. is an epithet of Rudra.

4. Case attraction

§564. In a couple of cases external case attraction seems responsible for the change:

yunajmi vājum antariṣṭena te (MŚ. tena) suha TS. ApŚ. MŚ,: yakto vāto antariṣṭena te suha PB. 'I join wind (wind is joined) for thee with the atmosphere (wind with this atmosphere).' Formal assimilation of te to tena, influenced by antariṣṭena.

dṛśa ca bhāsa brhatā suśikmanā MS.; dṛśe ca bhāsa brhatā suśukvayant (KS. ksabhik) VS. TS. KS. SB. dṛśe is infinitival with suśuk, and dṛśa seems due to formal assimilation: apparently 'with great appearance (and) brilliance' (on suśikmanā see VV 2 §240).

5. Corruptions

§565. A few cases seem more or less certainly corrupt:

aghāya bhūma harivah paradai (MŚ. ṣdaiḥ) RV. AV. TS. MS. On MS.
('by betrayal?') see VV 2 §384; it is probably corrupt, or else a mere phonetic variant.

dikṣayedam. (KS: dikṣayā) havir āgachatam nah KS. TB. AŚ. There is no stem *dikṣa, and it seems that KS. (all mss. and ed.) must be an error.

[endheleam uhar aṣīya svāhā KS.: idāhana id āharam aṣīya MŚ. ed. by em.; the mss. corruptly point to the same text as KS. See VV 2 §709.]

6. Phrase inflection

§666. Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs:

ṛtuḥīṣ (vārtavah) AV. HG.; ṛtuḥīyas tvārtavebhyaḥ AV. In two different stanzas, AV. 3, 10. 10 and 5. 28. 13; one (it is not certain which) is repeated AV. 19. 37. 4 (see notes in Whitney-Lanman).

asme kṣatriya varcasya balāya RV.: saha kṣatriṇa varcassā balena AV. In different contexts.

sahāsrūkṣṣaṇa mādhuse (NīlarU. vājīne) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.: sahāsrūkṣṣena vājīndā AV. The same stanza as in VS. etc. occurs in NīlarU., but has apparently been influenced (as to vājīne) by vājīndā of the quite different AV. stanza.

7. Transfer of epithet

§667. The only cases of transfer of epithet noted between dat. and instr. seem to be instances in which the variant word is a true epithet only in one of the versions, in the other having independent construction (§15):

yo aṅgaye dadāka havyadātibhyāḥ (SV. 2dātayā) RV. SV. 'Who has done homage to Agni with oblation-offerings (to Agni the presenter of oblations). So it seems best to take SV., with havya as a noun of agent, as in RV. 6. 48. 2 dākṣema havyadātayā. If however we take the SV. form as a noun of action, the variant would belong in §558.

vīṭy arṣa caniṣṭhayā (SV. paniṣṭaye) RV. SV. 'Go with sustenance most desirable', RV. The SV. is usually understood to mean 'go with sustenance unto praise' (VV 2 §86), the epithet being changed to an independent noun. If we dare take paniṣṭaye as an adjective, it might go with the 'folk' (janāya) of the preceding: pra-pra kṣayāya panyase, janāya juṣṭo adruhe (SV. 2khaḥ); this would be a genuine 'transfer of epithet'.
B. Instrumental and ablative

1. Instrumental of means and ablative of source

§668. Since the source of anything may be regarded, from a slightly different angle, as the means by which it is produced or brought about, it is natural to find the ablative of source and the instrumental of means interchanging. Such variants form the largest block of variations between these two cases, of which it is to be noted that our materials seem to indicate a very marked affinity, to judge by the fact that most of the variant passages show very slight differences in meaning between the two forms.

§669. We find first a group containing a verbal form expressing source, and an ablative of source varying with an instrumental of means:

ywás te vyúas tapasáh (TB. *sa) sambukhúvuh AV. TB. ‘Whatever clans have sprung up from (by) thy tapas.’

payásá (MS. *sah) śukram anyātan janitram, followed by

surajá (MS. KS. surajá) mūtráj janayantí (VS.† MS. *ata) rataḥ VS. MS. KS † TB. ‘By (from) milk they create(d) the bright immortal productive seed, by (from) surá, from urine.’ Here the original clearly had abl. mūtráj (all texts), but instr. payásá (all but MS.), while the form of the stem surá was either instr. or abl., in either case being assimilated in two of four texts to the following or preceding parallel form. MS. KS. are more apt to be original than VS. TB.

surajá (MS. surajá) somaḥ suta āsuto madāya VS. MS. KS. SB. TB. The SB. understands surajá as associative instr.; so also comm. on TB. and Griffith. Despite the authority of this ancient interpretation, we feel that the MS. variant, and the similar passage just discussed, make more likely this interpretation: ‘Soma, pressed forth by (MS. from) surá, distilled unto enjoyment.’ This seems supported by Mahiddhara on VS.; āsataḥ surajá kṣīraktāḥ san.

yataḥ prajā akhidrá (MS. yena prajā achidrá) ajāyanta lausmai tvā... juhomi TS. MS. KS.

punṣā kartur mātari āsiśka JB.: punṣā kartur mātari mā nipiśca (*cata to be read?) KBU. ‘From (by) a man as creator (father) ye have implanted (implant) me in (my) mother.’ On the verb-form see VV 1.372c.

tābhya enā ni tvataya RV.: tābhya sa tvatayāmasi KS.: tābhīr a var- tayā punah TS. ApMB. ‘From (by) them (the four quarters of the earth) bring them (we bring thee) back.’ The Tait. reading is clearly secondary and poor.
§570. Similarly in other passages where no verbal expression of origination is present:

śāṁ yaṣṭubhyaḥ (TA. °bhiḥ) VS. ŚB. TA. 'Welfare (be to us) from (by) the sacrificial formulas.'

pauroṣeṣyād daivyāt KS.†: pauroṣeṣyena daivyena TS. MS.: [yena-yena na kṛtān] pauroṣeṣyān na daivyāt AV. Preceded by yad idam abhidāsati KS., yad idam mābhīsocati TS. MS., yan medam abhiśocati AV.

anyad evāhur vidyāyāḥ (VSK. IśāU. vidyāyā),

anyad āhur (IśāU. āvāhur) avidyāyāḥ (VSK. IśāU. avidyāyā) VS. VSK. IśāU. 'Different, they say, is (the fruit) arising from (by means of) knowledge and ignorance.' That the words are felt as abls. not gens., is proved by the parallel pādas anyad evāhur sambhavat, anyad āhur asanābhavat, which occur in the vicinity.

svāhā yaṣṭāṁ manasāḥ (KS.² [2. 3] yaṣṭāṁmanasāḥ) VS. MS. KS.† (bis) ŚB. ApŚ. MS.²: svāhā yaṣṭāṁ manasāḥ (KS. ²si) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. A verb such as ā ṛbhe (but with the loc. manasī, viṣṭe—§607) is to be understood. In KS. 23. 5 svāhā yaṣṭāṁ manasāḥ (which certainly should be read also in KS. 2. 3 for ed. yaṣṭāṁmanasāḥ, cf. VV 2 §819), 'I take sacrifice from mind,' is explained by the brāhmaṇa: manasā vai yaṣṭā ālakhyate—a striking proof of the equivalence of the two cases in such expressions.

2. Instrumental of means and ablative of cause

§571. The ablative of cause is only a slight development of the ablative of source, into which it shades over imperceptibly; and it varies quite as easily with the instrumental of means. The following variants seem to contain what may best be classified as causal abls.:

tena (TB. tato) no mitrāśarṇavā (‘nā) avīṣṭam (TB. avīṣṭam) RV. MS. TB.

Preceded by yad bankiṣṭham nātīvidhe (TB. °vidhe) sudānā, achidram śarma bhuanasya gopā. 'By (thru) this (aid, śarman), O M. and V., help us.'

bhuvas teṇam indra brāhmaṇā (MS. °no) mahan RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words.'

pari satyasya dharmāṇā (PG. sakhyasya dharmāṇāḥ) AŚ. PG. The PG. reading is regarded by Stenzler as corrupt, and we have followed him in VV 2 §143; the context makes it easy to assume a change from satyasya to sakhyasya, and the reverse change is not easy to understand. Yet pari is not very easy to construe in AŚ., while in PG. it goes very naturally with the abl. dharmāṇāḥ, either in
the sense of 'turning away from the condition of friendship' (so Oldenberg), or (perhaps better) 'in accordance with the law of friendship (or of truth, if satyasya be read).’ In the latter interpretation, the abl. of cause with pari would be equivalent to the instr.

§572. To this group would belong three other variants, if their ablative were to be accepted as textually sound; they are however all suspicious for one reason or another:

abhī śravabhīḥ prthivīṁ RV.; uta śravasa (MS. śravasa [p.p. ṛṣah] d) prthivīṁ VS. TS. MS. TA. ‘And (has spread over) the earth also by reason of his glory.’ MS. like the others has in the preceding the parallel mohinā (instr.) divah, 'over the heavens by his greatness.' If śravasah be accepted it would have to be an abl. of cause; but see VV 2 §991.

hiranyapāṇīr amīrita sukratubh kṛpā (AV. kṛpā) svah AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. AS. ŚŚ. Whitney adopts kṛpā for AV., which is read by some mss. and comm. (the variant might be added to VV 2 §420). AS. ŚŚ. add the uha kṛpā svah for kṛpā svah, which should have been recorded in VV 2 §138. Can the anomalous final t of AV. be explained as due to misunderstanding of a ms. reading in which t was inserted, interlinearly or marginally, as a substitute for k in kṛpā, and later taken as an addition at the end of the word? satyā esām ādiṣṭaṃ santu kāmāh (SMB. kāmāḥ) SMB. ApMB. HG. So Conc.; but Jørgensen reads kāmāḥ in SMB., with only one ms. recorded as reading kāmāt. Cf. §412.

3. With expressions of separation

§573. The instrumental is sometimes used with expressions of separation or release, of the thing separated from, by analogy with the associative instrumental used after (antonymic) expressions of joining. See e.g. Whitney, Gr. 283a, Speyer, VSS. §33. In this way it comes to be interchangeable with the ablative of separation:

tebhir na adya (ApŚ. tebhyo na indrah) savitota viṣṇuḥ KŚ. ApŚ.: tebhyo avamān varunāḥ soma indrah Kauś. The verb vi maścantu follows. ‘May (Indra,) Savitar and Viṣṇu free us (today) from these (fetters of Varuṇa),’ or the like.

viśā (MS. vy) anvāh pramuṇicaṁ mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. Ppp. ṣebhyah, MS. ṣāṇām) AV. Ppp. MS. KS.: viśā ṣāḥ pramuṇicaṁ mānuṣīr bhījah VS. TS. Followed by śteṭbhir (Ppp. VS. KS. MS. śīṣbhir) adya pari pāhi no gayam (VS. TS. MS. KS. vṛdhī). All evidence points
to mānuṣṭhīḥ as the original. The AV. comm. followed by Whitney supplies āṭībhiḥ. But the noun most naturally understood with mānuṣi is viṣ or krṣi, ‘tribe’ (see Grassmann, WsCh. s. v.). The instr. is then probably one of separation: ‘freeing all diseases from human tribes.’ KS. Ppp. must be interpreted similarly, taking mānuṣebhiḥ as abl., ‘from men’. On VS. TS. see §474. MS. has a possessive gen.: ‘freeing (removing) men’s diseases.’

The following pāda is a reminiscence of RV. 6. 71. 3b, śivebhīḥ adya pari pāḥi no gayam, where śiveḥīr goes with a preceding पायुक्षस (the context is wholly different). Here śivebhīr or śivebhīr must be taken either as an adverb, ‘auspiciously’, or as a noun, ‘with kindness’. Note that only AV. has mānuṣṭhīḥ and śivebhīḍ in the same case form.

4. Dependent on prepositional adverbs

§574. The prepositional adverbs paraṇa, avas, arsāk govern either abl. or instr. without difference of meaning. This use of the abl. is apparently related to the abl. of comparison, cf. Speyer, VSS. §39.

paro dīv (AV. vulg. dīva by mśprint, MS. dīvaḥ) para ena prthivyā (MS. ṛṣā) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ‘Higher than the heaven, higher than the earth here.’ Followed (except in one of the two RV. occurrences, and AV. which repeats this) by:

paro dvebhir (MS. ṛḥyo) asurair (MS. ṛāh) yad aśi (TS. asurair gūhā yat) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
avas ca yaḥ paraḥ srucaḥ (Vait. srucaḥ, KS. paraḥ dīvaḥ) RV. KS. Vait.
arsāk teṣaḥ parebhīyaḥ ‘vidām (VSK. teṣaḥ parebhīyaḥ) paro carebhīyaḥ (TS. teṣaḥ parebhīyaḥ para ‘carebhīyaḥ ‘vidām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. ‘I have found thee on the near side of the farther, on the far side of the nearer.’

5. In adverbial forms

§575. Temporal or local adverbs are formed with the endings of both cases, usually without clear difference of meaning:

nīcād uccā svadhayabhī prasthau Ppp. TS. KS.: nīcār uccaiḥ svadhī abhibhī pra tathaḥ AV. Here nīcād has distinct ablative force: ‘(from) below above (nach oben)’, or ‘below (and) above’.

āyaṁ paścād (MS. paścā) vidadvasaḥ MS. KS. In this and the next two the p.p. of MS. reads paścāt.

āyaṁ paścād (MS. paścā) viśvavyacāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. See prec. marga na yoṣām abhy eti paścād (MS. paścā) RV. AV. MS. TB. See prec. two.
yad ahū (and, rātriya, v. l. rātrya) pāpam akārtam TA. MahānU.: yad ahū (and, rātriya) kurute pāpam TAA. The comm. repeats the strange forms ahū and rātriya (blended forms under the influence of ablatives of a-stems), saying that they are 'Vedic'.

6. Case attraction, and miscellaneous

§576. Almost the only variants in which the two cases seem to have really quite distinct meanings are the following, in the first of which it seems likely that external case-attraction (formal assimilation) has been influential:

sa budhnād (AV. Ppp. ənyād) ṣa januṣābhī (AV. januṣo 'bhy) agram AV. Ppp. (JAOS. 37. 260) TS. KS. AŚ. The instr. is doubtless original; note that even Ppp. has it. 'From the bottom to the top he has reached by his nature' or the like. The isolated januṣo is doubtless due to attraction to the abl. budhnād, now taken as an adjective: 'from the lowest generation to the top he has reached.' Otherwise Ludwig.

vāyur na 'dīta īditavyair devaiv antarikṣyaih (ApŚ. āntarikṣaih) pātu KS. ApŚ.: vāyus āntarikṣat pātus vāyāh divah MŚ. sanjagmano (KS. ənā, MS. TB. ApŚ. ənau) diva (TB. ApŚ. diva a) prthivyā (ApŚ. ənəyā) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. All but TB. ApŚ. have two instrs.: 'uniting with heaven and earth'. The subject is the śukra and (or) the manthi graha, either together in the texts that have a dual, or separately (in VS. ŚB., which repeat the formulas with each). TB. keeps the instr. prthivyā (the final ā is fused with the next word āyuh), while ApŚ. (which reads prthivyā āyuh) understands an abl. (so Caland; less likely gen. or dat.); both must take āyuh as abl. Caland renders 'Zusammentreffend von dem Himmel, von der Erde her'. The TB. comm. understands 'uniting with the earth, as far as (i.e. including) the heaven': ā diva dyulokasahītayā prthivyā. The secondary TB. ApŚ. reading contains the reverse of double sandhi (false vowel resolution) and should be added to VI 2 §991; the variant might also be added to VI 2 §732.

C. Instrumental and genitive

1. Objective genitive

§577. In contrast with the ablative, the genitive shows few variants in which it is used interchangeably with the instrumental. Most of our
variants are miscellaneous in character and show quite different syntactic applications of the two cases.

§578. The objective genitive, which easily interchanges with various other cases (§§87 ff.), varies with an associative instrumental after noun expressions of union or association, with practically no difference of meaning:

\[\text{sanve\'ana} \text{nai} \text{h} (SV, ^{\circ}\text{no}) \text{vivasa\'atah} (SV. ^{\circ}\text{ta}) \text{RV. SV. 'Fellow-dweller of}}\]

\[\text{sanve\'an} \text{e tanv\'a} (AV. tan\'a) \text{c\'arur edh\'i RV. AV. 'In joining of (with) thy body...'}\]

\[\text{sanve\'anas tanve} (tan\'a) \ldots, \text{with final dative; see §650.}\]

\[\text{vi\'ise\'an} \text{h deva\'n\'am aha\'i} (KS. \text{v}^\circ \text{aha\'i dev}) \text{deva\'jyay\'i pr\'a\'na\'i} (KS. pr\'a\'na\'n\'am) \text{sa\'nyay\'a game\'ya KS. Ap\'S. '...may I go into association with (of) the life-breaths.'}\]

§579. After expressions of gratification, the objective genitive interchanges with the instrumental of means:

\[\text{tena \'}\text{\'hrpa\'t\'am anhaha\'u TB. Ap\'S.: tasya \'}\text{\'hrpa\'t\'am aha\'haha\'h\'u swaha \'S\'.} \]

\[\text{j"uf\'a} \text{dev\'a\'h} (AV. deva\'n\'am) u\'ta m\'ana\'se\'bhi} (AV. m\'ana\'se\'n\'am) \text{RV. AV. 'Accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men.'}\]

2. Subjective genitive

§580. Again, the subjective genitive varies, without essential difference of meaning, with an instrumental of means or agent, after a particle or its equivalent; the difference is one between nominal and verbal psychology:

\[\text{ya\'na ma\'ya} \text{du\'skra\'ta} \text{krta} \text{TA. Mah\'\'anU. BDh.: ya\'n me k\'in cana du\'skra} \text{ta} \text{V\'IDh. 'Whatever evil has been done by me (or, of me, as it were 'my deed').'}}\]

\[\text{ya\'na me (TA.}^* \text{BDh.}^* \text{ma\'ya} \text{mna\'sa} \text{v\'ac\'a} \text{TA. (both) Mah\'\'anU. BDh. (both). As in preceding; the particle krta follows.}}\]

\[\text{cha\'ndobhi} \text{yu\'ja\'i} \text{su\'krt\'a} \text{krtena AV.: brahma\'na gupta} (\text{APMB. sam\'pr\'i\'ca} \text{nas}) \text{su\'krt\'a} \text{krtena APMB. HG. 'With the deed of the righteous': 'by (with) the holy speech which is made by the righteous man.' There is no need to emend HG. to su\'krt\'a with Oldenberg.} \]

\[\text{apo devi\'h pratha\'ma} \text{ja\'t} \text{tena (AV. \'rta} \text{sya) RV. AV. 'The divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the \'rta.'}}\]

3. Partitive genitive

§581. The partitive genitive (almost appositional at times) exchanges in various ways with an instrumental, sometimes with little difference
of meaning, as in the first instance, where the instr. is appositional to another instrumental; in phrases of this type the gen. may exchange with any other case (§§4):
vasantena (also griśmaṇa, varṣābhīs, varada, kemantaśiśirāṣṭhyān) tvartunā (KSA. 9nāṁ) haviṣa dhikṣayāmi TS. KSA. 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (with the spring of the seasons), with olibation.'

§582. Psychologically similar also are the uses of the two cases with verbs of offering:
tasmā indraya haviṣa juhota MS.: tasmā indraṇyāndhaso juhota RV. 'To Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma).'
Others with the acc.; §§466, 502.

§583. Somewhat less close are:
yad asya yama 'tyārīcaro ApŚ. HG. AG. ApMB.: yat karmanātyārīcaro ŚB. BrhU. PG. 'Whatsoever of this performance (by my performance) I have done in excess,'
sukalpam agne tat etva (AV. tvayā) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'That (part) of thee is easily made good'; that is easily made good by thee', Addressed to Agni.

anuṣṭup (also triṣṭup, gāyatri, jāgaṭi, paṅkti) tvā chandasām avatu (KS. chandasāvatu) TS. MS. KS. 'May anuṣṭubh (etc.) of the meters (with meter) help thee.' Formulaic rigmarole.
sujotir jyotisā (TA. ApŚ. 9pāṁ) svāhā VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. 'Fair-lighted one with light (of lights).'
As prec.
tesāṁ chidram prati dādhamo yad atra KS.: tesāṁ chinnam sam etad (ŚŚ. sam imān, TS. praty etad) dādhāmi VS. TS. ŚŚ.: tebhiḥ chidram apidādhamo yad atra MS. AS. 'Of (by) these (33 threads)...'

4. Instr.-gen. of time

§584. The question whether the gen. can be used adverbially in expressions of time was formerly mooted but may now be considered as settled affirmatively; see §§78, and cf. especially Oldenberg, RVNoten on 1. 79. 6. In this sense it is therefore interchangeable with the instr. We have however noticed only a single variant, and even its form is not certain:

madhu naktaṃ uṭoṣasaḥ (KS. 9ūrī, TS. TA. 9srī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BrhU. MahānU. Kauś. The RV. uṭasaḥ has been taken (e.g. by Grassmann) as nom. pl.: 'the night and dawns are honey.' This is impossible because there is no nom. nakta (Wackernagel 3 p. 234): that form can only be adverbial acc., and consequently
usasaḥ is also adverbial. It might (with Wackernagel's, c. and others) be taken as acc. pl., but may at least as well be gen. sg.; in either case it means practically the same as usā (or ॐsi), ‘at dawn.’

5. Case attraction

§885. The rest contain miscellaneous shifts which are hardly classifiable in terms of definite syntactic relationships. We shall mention first a group in which formal, external attraction or assimilation seems to be responsible for the change:

cakṣuṣaḥ (Kap. ॐsā) pitā manasaḥ hi dhīraḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
viśvasyaśāna ojasā (SV. ॐsah) RV. AV. SV. ‘Ruler of all by might’: ‘ruler of all might.’ We take it that ojasā has been altered to ojasāḥ by attraction to viśvasya.

saṃvatsareṇa savitāḥ no ahnām (MS. ahnā) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ‘By the year of days’: ‘by the year, by the day’. The MS. form seems to be assimilated to saṃvatsareṇa; so in the next two. But note that in all three the formal difference consists in loss of a final nasal, and cf. VV 2 §307, where these variants might have been quoted: the change may be largely phonetic in character, since the final nasal seems to have been weakly pronounced.

triven no viśṭhāya (KS. trived viśṭhāya) stoma ahnām (MS. ahnā) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. As prec.

mitrāvarṇā śaradāhnām (MS. ॐhnā) cikīṭnā (with varr.) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. As prec.

traistubhena chandasendreṇa devatayānṛk pākṣenāṅgneḥ pākṣam upa dādhāmi TS.; traistubhena chandasāḥ chandavāṅgneyeḥ pārṣvenāṅgneyeḥ pāvam upa dādhāmi KS.; traistubhasya chandaso ‘gneḥ pākṣenāṅgneyeḥ pākṣam upadadhāmi MS. ‘With the trīṣṭubh meter, with the side of Agni...’, so TS. KS., original. In MS. the first phrase is assimilated to the following agneḥ: ‘with the side of the trīṣṭubh meter, of Agni...' So also with the meter-names jāgata, gāyatra, ānuṣṭubha, pāñkta.

devasya teva svayam prasava ॐśvin bāhubhyāṁ pāṣṇo haṣṭābhyāṁ sarasyāt vācā (VS. TS. SB. sarasyāt vāco) yantur yantrena... abhiṣēcāmi VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.;... sarasyāt vāco yantur yantrīye (VSK. vāco yan turye turyyāṁ) dādhāmi VS. VSK. SB. Assuming that MS. KS. are original, we have assimilation of vāc to the preceding sarasyāt(ə) or ॐgai (§143) and the following yantur in
the others. If, as is less likely, the gen. is original, it has been assimilated to the preceding instr. in MS. KS.

§586. In the next the formal association is of a rather different sort. Here the assimilating force is exerted by the construction of a parallel formula in the vicinity, to which the variant formula is brought into closer parallelism by the change; it is not a question of influence of another word in the same passage. The three formulas here quoted belong to the same context:

pāvamāṇasya tvā stōmena gāyatrasya vartanyopanśor vīryena... MS.;
pāvamāṇena tvā stōmena gāyatrasya (KS. ṛgyā) vartanyopanśor vīryena... TS. KS.

bhradrathantarayos tvā stōmena trisūbhō vartanyā sukraṣya vīryena... TS.; bhrata tvā rathantarēṇa trisūbhē (KS. triśūbhā) vartanyā sukraṣya... MS. KS.

agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyaī [gen.] vartanyāgraṇaṇasya vīryena (KS. jagatyā vartanyā)... TS. KS.; agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyaī vartanyā... MS. In these three associated formulas, the gens. pāvamāṇasya (MS. only) and bhradrathantarayos (TS. only), 'with the hymn of the P.' and 'of the B.-R. (sāmans),' are clearly secondary and modelled on the parallel agnes tvā mātrayā etc. of the third formula; the instr. forms (found consistently in KS.) are original. The second phrase of all three formulas consists of vartanyā modified by an adjectival or appositional instr. in KS., and again this seems to be the original form. In the first formula the instr. is replaced by a dependent gen. in both TS. and MS., in the second and third formulas in TS. alone. These gens. are modelled on the next following phrase, upānśor (sukraṣya, āgraṇaṇasya) vīryena.

6. Miscellaneous

§587. In listing the remaining miscellaneous variants, we begin with those in which no other change, or no serious change, in addition to the shift of case-form, occurs in the variant:

vayam nāma pra brāhmanā (KS.† *ma; add to VV 2 §446) ghrtaṣya (TA. ApŚ. ghrtena) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. (All but one ms. of MahānU. used by Jacob read ghrtena, which therefore should probably be read as in TA. ApŚ., tho the comm. has ghrtaṣya.) Caland translates ApŚ. as if gen.; but the agreement of the Tait. texts suggests that ghrtena is the true reading of the school, nonsensical as it seems to us. TA. comm. says the 'name' means the praṇava (om).
pra *yuno (SV. *yujā) vāco apiyah RV. SV. Followed by the verb *cakradat (SV. acikradat). RV.: ‘let the leader (Soma) of his associate, the song, sound forth.’ *yujā may be an adverb (so Benfey), ‘the leader of the song has sounded forth together,’ or perhaps better a noun, ‘the leader of the song together with his associate (the song).’

*sarvasvatyā (TB. *tyāḥ) supippalaḥ VS. MS. TB. Preceded by devo devair (TB. indro) vanaspatih, hiranyaparno aśvibhyām. The instr. is associative, and TB. glosses the gen. by sarvasvatyāh sambhandhi.

*rasam pariṃrutā (MS. *lo) na rohitam VS. KS. MS. TB. The instr. depends on the verb vayati in the prec., felt as a verb of mixing or uniting: ‘as the red sap with pariṃrut.’ However, VS. comm. glosses pariṃrutā with pariṃrūtaḥ (‘as the red sap of pariṃrut’).

*a jo bhāgas (TA. *bhāga) tapaśa (AV. *sas) tama tapasa RV. AV. TA. ‘The goat is (thy) portion (TA. portionless); burn him with heat’: ‘the goat is the portion of heat; burn him.’ Whitney considers the AV. superior, but wrongly; cf. Oldenberg Noten on RV. 10. 16. 4.

*pattiṃ surāyā (TB. surāyai, VS. surāyā) bheṣajam VS. MS. TB. See §563.

*sam brahmāṇā (AV. *nāṁ) devaṃtāṁ (RV. AV. devahitam) yad asti RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. The instr. is associative, with sam nesā (nēsā) of prec.: ‘bring together with the prayer which has been made by the gods.’ In AV. it becomes a partitive gen. with yad: ‘whatever prayers have been...’, no instr. being expressed tho one must still be understood.

*vīśā (MS. vy) amīvah pramucan mānuṣībhīḥ (KS. *ṣebhyāḥ, MS. *ṣañām) AV. MS. KS. See §573.

§588. Different words, or more extensive and radical reconstructions, are involved in the following:

agnir āyuṣmān sa...tena tvāyuṣāyuṣmantah karomi (KS. tasyāyam āyuṣ- āyuṣmān aṣṭ aṣau) TS. KS. PG. ApMB. ‘By this life’: ‘by his life’. The meaning is practically the same, but different pronouns are used.


ya indrena sarathāṁ yāti devaḥ AV.: yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvah MS. KS. ApŚ. See §419.
sativā tā dharmānās pati ApŚ.: satyād ā dharmānās pati (ŚŚ. dharmānā, Vait. MŚ. dharmānās pari, but MŚ. mss. dharmānā pari) ĀŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

sam tvā nāhāmy apā (MŚ. MG. adbhīr) oṣadābhīhih TS. MŚ. MG.: sam tvā nāhāmi payasaṣadhīnām AV. Cf. sam tvā nāhāmi payasa pṛthivayāh (TS. ghrtena), which immediately precedes this; see §460. pūṣā samānām (TS. ApŚ. sanyād); soma rādhasām (TS. 8) TS. KS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. (only the first two words in ApŚ. MŚ.; delete MŚ. in Conc. under soma rā)°. In MŚ. KS. probably a noun, ‘giver’, rather than a verb of giving as v. Schroeder suggests, is to be supplied: ‘Pūṣan (is the giver) of gifts’ etc. In TS. ānuvṛtta precedes: ‘Pūṣan has surrounded me’ with gain’ etc.
ghrtyāyāne tāvā sam bhava KS. MŚ. Kauś. MG.: ghrtena tāvā tāvāhā (TS. tāvāa) vṛdhavasā RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. sam it tāvā rāyā srjati svadhāvān (AV.° rāyā srjati svadhābhīk) RV. AV. (both).

āyurdā aṅge haviṣa jūjāṇāḥ (ŚG. haviṣa vṛdhānāḥ) TS. TB. TA. ĀŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.
yena (AV. yasya) dyaur ugra (AV. urvī) pṛthivī ca drṛhā (TS. drṛhe, AV. mahi) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. In passing we note that the change from ugra to urvī is a sign of the increasingly unpleasant connotation of ugra.

§889. The forms themselves are doubtful of interpretation, or textually suspicious, in the following:

arijāth syāma tāvā svērāḥ RV. AV. TS. KS.: arijāth tāvā bhūyāsma LŚ. The LŚ. tāvā is doubtful as to form and meaning. Is it gen. with arijāth, ‘without harm to the body’ (Whitney Gr. 296b)? Or abl. of source or cause? Or adverbial accus.? Or even nom. pl. (‘may we be unharmed, bodies, persons’)? It may, finally, be a mere error or misprint in the unreliable edition.

nediyā it sṛṇyaḥ (TS.° yā) pakṣam sṛṇat (AV. ā yavan, TS. MS. KS. āyat) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Here sṛṇyaḥ may be variously interpreted in the RV. form; it is often taken as gen., ‘may the ripe grain come near to the sickle’. But acc. pl. is also possible; likewise nom. sg. (stem sṛṇyād) may be considered (cf. Oldenberg, Noten on 1. 58. 4). The AV. makes it a nom. pl.


[vācām indriyāviśá (TS. MŚ. vāc mend°) TS. KS. MŚ. Read KS. like the others; see v. Schroeder’s note on 31. 15, p. 18 n. 1.]
7. Transfer of epithet

§590. The only case which may be called in the strictest sense a 'transfer of epithet' is the uncertain one which follows:

\[\text{amaṛśāṃ cittām prabudhāṃ (TS. KS. *dhā) vi neśat (KS. naśyatū)}\] RV.
AV. TS. KS. 'At home let the plan of these clever (enemies) come to naught.' In TS. KS. prabudhā may be taken as personal, 'by the wise one', referring to Agni, to whom the verse is addressed; or else, with Keith, as impersonal, 'by (his) wisdom.'

§591. In the rest an originally independent word is transformed into an epithet of another word, to the case of which it is attracted (§15):

\[\text{stomo yaṁśā ca (TB. yaṁśasya) rūḍhyo hāvīṃnatā (TB. *tah)}\] RV. TB.
'Praise and sacrifice (are) to be offered by the sacrificer.' Once the gen. has been introduced in TB. (see §449), hāvīṃnatā is assimilated to it.

\[\text{vṛṇayāh sutasyavajāśī (SV. PB. *sah)}\] RV. SV. PB. In SV. ojas is made an epithet of soma: 'of the bull [that is] strength, pressed out', instead of 'pressed out by strength.'

\[\text{vedāṁ savitrā prasūtaṁ maghonnā AG. : vedāṁ prasūtaṁ savitrā maghonnā SG.}\]
Stenzler and Oldenberg both adopt for AG. the reading of SG., with no ms. authority. To us it seems that AG. is not only sound but original: 'holy knowledge pressed forth by Savitar for liberal patrons.' SG. has secondarily assimilated maghonnā to savitrā, transposing the latter word into juxtaposition with what is now its epithet: '... pressed forth by the liberal Savitar.'

\[\text{ghṛtasya vibhrāśīṁ anu sukraśociṣāḥ (RV. AV. VS. KS. vaṣṭi kociṣā)}\] RV.
AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by ājyuhāvānasya sarpiṣāḥ. The two independent words of the original are replaced by a compound epithet of sarpiṣāḥ.

D. Instrumental and locative

§592. The variations between instrumental and locative are instructive in showing a much closer association between these two cases than has commonly been assumed. Speyer (VSS. §75) notes uses in which the locative vies with most of the other oblique cases, but does not mention the instrumental. And yet our variants show that they are interchangeable, often with little or no difference of meaning, in a variety of ways.

§593. 'In the instrumental is put that concept which is associated with the principal concept in the action' (Delbrück, AIS. p. 122). The locative designates primarily the sphere within which an action takes
place. But the sphere of the action may also be regarded as an accompanying concept of the action. Conversely, the accompanying concept may be treated as the circumstance within whose sphere of operation the action takes place. The occasion (loc.) is at the same time the means, cause, or manner (instr.) of the action. The phrase marutāṁ prasave jaya (TS. jaya) of TS. MS. KS. MS. means 'in (upon, German auf) the impulse of the Maruts conquer.' Is there any essential difference between this and the variant of VS. ŚB., with prasavana? Only a faint and elusive one, we should say; just as we imagine a Latinist would be puzzled to make a very clear distinction between in hoc signo vinces and hoc signo vinces.

§594. Adverbial expressions of time and place, as well as manner, occur with both cases. Distinctions are often drawn between them. Thus it is said that the instr. denotes the time or place through which the action takes place. Delbrück uses the terms Raum- and Zeitestrechung of such instrumentals. To be sure he admits (AIS. p. 130), at least for time concepts, that this distinction cannot always be felt, noting that dosa, instr., 'in the evening' is the precise counterpart of uṣasi, loc., 'in the morning'. We are very doubtful whether the distinction has any value. At any rate our variants show a number of cases in which it seems forced.

§595. We recognize, of course, that these two cases developed some quite distinct uses, and we should not claim that in all or even most of the instances in which they vary with each other, their meanings are precisely identical. To some extent we shall keep in mind the conventional terminology which speaks of instrumentals of 'manner, cause, accompaniment' etc., and of locatives of various sorts. And where it seems to us likely that the two cases had somewhat different connotations, we shall not hesitate to point them out. Yet we believe that the mass of our variants will be found to confirm the view that the two cases approach each other much more than has been generally recognized; so that it is anything but surprising that in a number of ritualistic, rigma-role formulas, either will do as well as the other (§604).

1. Time expressions

§596. We have already referred to the use of the two cases in expressions of time, and noted that the distinction made by Delbrück and others is not supported by the variants (§594):

*maghāsau (RV. aghāsau, ApG. maghābhir) hanyante gāvah (ApG. gāvo grhyante).*
phalguniṣu (RV. arjunyoh, ApG. phalguniḥbhyaṁ) sy (RV. pary) uhyate (ApG. āhyate) RV. AV. ApG. Kauṣ. 'In the asterism of the Maghās (Aghās) the cows are slain (taken), in that of the Phalguni (Arjuni) the marriage takes place.' Distinction of meaning is scarcely conceivable.

madhu naktam uṭosasah (KS. °śā, TS. TA. °śī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BrhU. MahānU. Kauṣ. Here uṣasah (probably gen. sg.) is the original, and is replaced by either instr. or loc.; see §584.

2. Place expressions

§597. The instr. is particularly frequent in expressing the 'way' with verbs of motion (Speyer, VSS. §42); but the loc. may equally well be used:

samudraṁ gandharvesṭhāṁ anvāteśṭata (KS.† ṛṣṭhatha) vātasya patma-neṣṭā (KS. patmann ṛṣṭā) MS. KS. 'On the path of the wind.'

avyo vāreṣu (SV. avyā vārebhir) asmasyaḥ RV. SV.; and

avyo vāre (SV. avyā vāraib) pari priyah (and priyam) RV. SV. 'In (or, thru) the sieve of wool.' The verbs are paraswa, punānah, hīnanti; the subject, soma.

druṇā (SV. drone) sadhastham uṣnaye RV. SV. 'By (in) the wooden vessel thou attainest thy place.' The vessel is the 'way' thru which the soma flows.

druṇā (SV. VS. drone) sadhastham āsadat RV. SV. VS. As prec.

§598. And without the concept of motion, in simple expressions of location, the instr. may replace the loc.:

adhi kṣamī viṣvarūpam (ArS. kṣamā viṣvarūpam) yad asti (ArS. avyā, MS.† āsa) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. Here kṣamā, 'on the earth', must apparently be instr., and is well known in the RV. itself. It cannot be regarded as dependent on adhi, which is not found with the instr. (tho it may reinforce the loc., as probably here with kṣamā).

paro yad idhyate divā (SV. divi) RV. SV. Here divā is commonly regarded as dependent on paras: 'beyond the sky' (so Ludwig, Grassmann Wbch., and Bergaigne 2. 187). Yet it may quite well mean simply 'in the sky', with paras an independent adverb (so Grassmann's translation); in that case it would be the precise equivalent of divi.

tīre tūḥyam gāṅge HG.: tīre tūḥyam asau PG.: tīreṇa yamunec (and, tīreṇāsau) tava ApMB. Preceded by viṛṛtacakrā dēṇās HG. ApMB., avimuktacakrā (v. l. °rā) dēṇan PG. It seems scarcely
possible to take ApMB. śrenā otherwise than as an expression of location, 'sitting on thy bank.'

§699. The instrumental adverb guhā is used sometimes in ways which suggest that it may have been originally local. This, to be sure, is not proved by the fact that it varies twice with the locative guhāsu, 'in secret places':

\[\text{gandharvo dhāma paramam guhā yat (VS. dhāma sibhrtaṁ guhā sat) AV.} \\
\text{VS.: gandharvo nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu TA. MahānU.} \\
\text{trīṇi padān (TA. MahānU. padā) nihita guhāya (TA. MahānU. guhāsu) AV. VS. TA. MahānU.}\]

3. Instrumental of means or cause and locative

§600. We now approach cases in which the instrumental is no longer strictly local or temporal, but is tinged with its more familiar meaning of means. Even so it often varies, with little shift of meaning, with a locative, which then ordinarily denotes the occasion rather than the literal, physical 'place'; cf. (in) hoc signo vinces, §593. As a transition case we mention first the following variant, where the loc. kumbhe, 'in a pot', is still used of physical location, while the instr., 'with pots', regards the noun as the means by which water is carried. It is obvious that the difference is subjective and that either way of looking at it is simple enough:

\[\text{tām u yāḥ kumbha abhṛtāḥ AV.: tām yāḥ kumbhēbhīr abhṛtāḥ AV.}\]

§601. Others, in which the literal local sense is not, or not so clearly, present, are:

\[\text{na vai śvetasyādbhācaēre (AG. śveṭāś cābhāgyāre, HG. śvetasyādbhācaēre,} \\
\text{MG. śvetasyādbhācaēre) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Followed by} \\
\text{ahir jaghāna (PG. dādarā) kām (AG. MG. kām) caṇa. Kirste} \\
\text{assumes that HG. is corrupt, and Oldenberg renders a loc., 'within} \\
\text{the dominion of the white one.' The instr. is indeed bad metrically} \\
\text{and doubtless secondary. But abhācaēra in the sense of abhicāra,} \\
\text{'attack of hostile magic,' is guaranteed by AV. 10. 3. 2, and there} \\
\text{is no need to abandon it, the more since MG. has the loc. of the} \\
\text{same word: 'by (MG. in) the hostile magic of the white one the} \\
\text{snake has killed no one (nothing).'} The other texts have different words.

marutāṁ prasāve (VS. ŚB. vena) jaya (TS. jayata) VS. TS. MS. KS. 
ŚB. MS. See §593.

apām uta praśatīśu (RV. taye, AV. VSK. tibhiḥ) RV. AV. VS. VSK. 
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by aśvō (devō) bhavāta (tha) vājinaḥ.
The RV. original has a dative of purpose (§558); for it the later texts substitute instr. or loc., which are virtually equivalent; with the loc., the praising is the occasion and so the means of the becoming strong: 'Become ye strong in (by) the praising of the waters,' šikṣā sakhibhya āvali (MS. KS. १०) svadhāveh RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Teach, O S., (thy seats) to thy friends at (by) the oblation.' The oblation is the occasion, and so the means, of the teaching.

vairūpe sāmanna iva (MS. adhi; KS. vairūpeṇa sāmanṇa) tac chakayam (TS. chakena) TS. KS. MS. AS. 'May I (we) have this power in (by) the vairūpa sāman.' The next páda, which is closely parallel, has an instr. (jagataya) in all.

mesaṁ vipra abhisvarā (SV. ४re) RV. SV. AV. Preceded by nemīṁ namanti cakṣasa. 'With (in) their song of praise.'

vāsīnāṁ tādhilena rudrāṃ śānti dhāvāṃ tejasā viśvesāṁ devānāṁ kṛatuṁ marutām emnā juhomi svāhā TB. ApŚ. vāsīnāṁ ādhihlau rudrāṃ karmān ādityānām cetasi (sc. te hūhomi) MS. 'I offer thee with (in) the meditation (?) of the Vasis' etc.

ahna rūpe (TS. rūpeṇa) sūryasya rāṣṭreṇa (TS. १ raṣṭreḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. The verb is gṛhyāmi or ādhunomi. 'I take (stir) thee in (with) the form of day, in (with) the rays of the sun.'

svapnāḥ svapnādhikarane RVKh.: svapnā svapnāhikaraneṇa AV. 'In (with) the superintendence (incantation?) of sleep [let sleep put to sleep all the people].' Cf. Edgerton, AJP. 35. 438 f.

somasya ṛṣmaḥ svarā (MS. svāryā) sutasya VS. MS. KS. ŠB. TB. 'The power of soma pressed out by (in) surā.'

svargena lokena samprṛṇavādham Vait.: svarge loke prṛṇavādham (VSK. prṛṇavādham, MS. prṛṇavādham) VS. VSK. MS. ŠB.: svarge (KS. १ svarge) loke samprṛṇavādham (KSA. १ ṛṇavādham) TS. KSA. TB. 'Wrap yourselves up with (in) the heavenly world.'

agnir ukthena rāhasā VS. TS. MS. KS. AS. ŠŚ.: agnir uktheṣa aṅhasu AV. Contexts essentially the same.

§602. Several times, at the end of pádas, the loc. sg. ending e varies with the instr. pl. aiḥ. While both forms are interpretable just as in the preceding, we have little doubt that phonetic moments (e : ai, and the light pronunciation of final visarga) are involved; see VV. 2 §§381, 706, to which the first two variants should be added:

bodhāmapi tvā haryāśva yaṁaiḥ (MS. yajñye) RV. SV. MS.
mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ (AS. १tye) TS. MS. KS. AS.
gṛtvāvati savitar (MS. KS. १tur) ādhipatye (TS. १tyaiḥ) TS. MS. KS. AS.
4. Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative

§603. In the next group the instrumental comes even closer to its fundamental, original meaning, as denoting an attendant circumstance, and so varies if possible even more easily with the locative of the occasion. There is, however, of course no sharp dividing line between the instr. of association and that of means or cause, and some of the following cases might perhaps as well be put in the preceding group:

rāyas poṣena (KS. poṣe) sam iṣā madema VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. PG. 'May we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food.' Associative feeling is perhaps indicated by sam. The meter indicates that KS. is secondary.

vivasva (‘rann, ौदीन) aditya... tasmin (TS. tena) mātava (TS. KS. mandava) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. 'Delight in it.'

ny adhir mātrayāṁ (KS. mātreyā) kavyo vayodhasah (KS. 'sam) MŚ. KS. 'Established him in fixed order' will translate both, but KS. has an instr. of manner, MŚ. a loc. of situation.

sva daksē (VS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. svar daksāir) daksāpihā sida VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'Be seated in (with) thine own power(s).'

Add to VV 2 §706.

sa rāye sa puraṇdhyaṁ (SV. 'dhyā) RV. SV. AV. JB. Preceded by sa gha no yoga ā bhuvat. 'May he stand by us in our work unto riches, in (with) liberality.' puraṇdhya = liberaliter.

ṛteṇa (MG. ṛte 'va) sthunām (ApMB. HG. 'nā, MG. 'nā) adhi roha vaṁsā (MG. vaṁsah) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. All Knaurer's mss. ṛteva; Knaurer says 'wohl nicht ṛtā īva'. If he is right, ṛte is loc. of the sphere of action.

tevā (RV. tve ā) bhishanti vedhasah RV. SV. 'Worshippers devote themselves to (busy themselves with) thee.' Phonetic moments are involved here; VV 2 §911.

§604. In some ritualistic formulas the sense of the rigmarole is so feeble that one case will do about as well as any other:

pracyāṁ diśi (MŚ. KS. MŚ. pracyā diśa, SS. pracyā diśa saha) deva ṛtvijō māṛjayantāṁ TS. MŚ. KS. AS. SS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'The gods, the priests, shall purify (me?) in (with, by?) the eastern quarter.' In SS. saha proves that the instr. is associative; in MŚ. KS. it might also be one of means. Similarly the formulas beginning uḍicīyāṁ diśi, uṛdhvāyāṁ diśi, pratrīcyāṁ diśi, daksīṇāyāṁ diśi, with variant instrs.

svāyāṁ yat taneṁ (tanvāṁ) tanūṁ airayata TS. KŚ.: svāyā tanvā tanvām airayata AV.: svā yat tanvā tanvam airayata KS. KSA. 'Produced a body in (with) his own body.'
5. Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining

§605. Special rubrication is deserved by a group in which a verbal expression of joining is used, now with an associative instrumental, now with a locative of goal (cf. the similar use of the accusative of goal, §467). In all but the first case the verb is one of placing or of motion, compounded with the preposition sam; in these the locative may be felt as going more closely with the notion of the verb, the instrumental with the preposition.

*bṛhaspate yāmyān (KS. ms. yāmyā) yuṅṇādhī (yuṅṇā) vācet TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Von Schroeder emends KS. to yāmyān, but the instr. is perfectly sound: 'yoke up holy speech in (with) yāmī', whatever yāmī may mean.

samt devānāṁ sumatau (AV. VS. MS. SB. sumatau) yajñīyānāṁ RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB. ‘(Bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods.’

samt patīn patyā sukṛteṣu (TB. ApŚ. sukṛteṇa) gachatām MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. ‘Let the wife with her husband come together to (with) good deeds.’

śivena (VSK. śive) me sam tiṅṭhassa VSK. TB. TAA. ApŚ. ‘Come together with (in, unto) luck for me.’

aṅgāny ātman (MS. aṅgair ātmanāṁ) bhiṣajā tad aṅśinā VS. MS. KS. TB. The verb is sam-dhā; see §462.

§606. In one variant involving the root sprādh 'vie', the two cases are differently used. This root takes the instr. of the person vied with, the loc. of the person or thing striven for. For the exegesis of the variant see VV 2 §109.

spardhante dhiyāḥ (TS. KSA. divah) sūrye na (SV. sūre na, TS. KSA. sūryena) niśah RV. SV. TS. KSA.

6. Miscellaneous

§607. There remains a relatively small group in which the instr. and loc. seem to be used in definitely different constructions; often different words are used or the passage is otherwise reshaped.

garbha iva suḥḥto gṛbhiṁbhīḥ (RV. iva suḥḥito gṛbhiṁbhī) RV. SV. KU. ‘Well borne by (well established in) pregnant women.’

śayam rājabhīḥ (AV. rājasu) prathamā dhanānī RV. AV. (both). ‘We along with (our?) kings, the first...’: ‘we first among the kings.’ It is not clear who the 'kings' are. The p.p. of both RV. and AV. read prathamāḥ; Grassmann and Geldner (VSl. 1. 150) understand prathamā, n. pl.
sāmśraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.; saṃreṣṭā “yutve indro gaṇeṣu” MS. “This Indra, mingler of the fight (yudhas, objective gen.) with his band (instr. of means).” MS. has distorted the pāḍā, starting with a phonetic corruption (VV 2 §660; some AV. mss. have saṃreṣṭā): ‘Indra, in the mingled fights and bands’ or ‘when the fights and bands are mingled.’

yathā prthivyāṃ agneya samanamam eva mahyāṃ saṁnamah saṁ namantu AV.; yathāgnaḥ prthivyā samanamad evaṃ mahyāṃ bhadrak samnātṛyaḥ saṁ namantu TS. KSA.† 5. 20. The latter seems to have an associative instr.: ‘As Agni with the earth made obeisance...’ But the mantra is obscure rigmarole; for a different interpretation see Keith on TS. Other parallel formulas in the same context.

yat kusīdam apratītan (MS. MŚ. TA. “tāśī, TA. Poona ed. “tīti with v. l. “tīti, SMB. apratītan) mayeṣa (TS. mayi) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB. ‘The loan which has not been paid back by me.’ In TS. mayi perhaps ‘the unpaid loan which (rests) upon me.’

mayī gāvo gopatāṃ sacalāhram AV.; mayi gāvo santu gopatāv AŚ.; mayi tiṣṭhantu gopatāv MS. Different verbs. For the loc. with santu cf. §671.

mahān maitive tāsatāhānah (KS. mahīte saṁstambhe) KS. TB. ApŚ. ‘Great, taking thy stand on greatness’; ‘great with greatness on firm foundation.’

kruṣṭi (SV. “cī) jātāsa indavah swarvidah RV. SV. kruṣṭi is taken as instr. of an i-stem, ‘quickly’; Benfey understands kruṣṭe as loc. of an a-stem, ‘der Satzung gemäss.’

svāhā yañāmin manasā (KS. “si) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Others with gen., see §570. Different verbs understood; in TS. a rabbe, in KS. viṣajye.

§608. The change seems to be due to ease attraction in the following; vaisvānarasya tejasā (MS. “si) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by śiras tapasy āhitam. The preceding tapası has influenced MŚ.

7. Phrase inflection

§609. What we call ‘phrase inflection’ (§§21–2) seems to be found in the following variants, used in different contexts:

vaisvānarasya daṇḍrayah (and daṇḍrāhyām) AV. The form with loc. is followed by agner api dādāhāmi tam; of these two pādas an unmetrical recast seems to be found in vaisvānarasyainām daṇḍrayor api dādāhām AV.

dēvī devahīr yajate (and “lā) yajatāhī RV.: dēvī devēṣu yajatā yajatra RV. AV. MS.
yat te pavitra ram arciṣi (AŚ. ⁸ṣā) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. LŚ. VHDh.
In all but AŚ. followed by agne vitatam antar ā. In AŚ. followed by kalakeṣu dhāvati, which is probably meant to be part of the same formula; in that case AŚ. does not intend a pratika of the RV. verse.

8. Transfer of epithet

§610. We have noted only one instance of this, and in it the original form is an independent word, which is attracted in a secondary text into a form which is an epithet of the adjoining word:
adṛśihatāḥ sarkarāḥhis triviṣṭaṇi (MŚ. trībṛṣṭiḥ) KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
"Thou hast made thyself firm with pebbles over heaven"; ‘...firm with three-pointed pebbles.’

9. Textually doubtful or corrupt

§611. The few remaining variants are textually doubtful or corrupt:
tviṣim indre na (MŚ. s.p. indrena) bheṣajam VS. MS. TB. Mere ritual jargon; it does not matter what is read, but MS. p.p. agrees with the others. Cf. VV 2 §826.
varṣman kṣatrasya (AV. rāṣtrasya) kakudi (TS. TB. Ponna ed. kakubhi, TB. Conc. kakubhiḥ, MS. kakubhiḥ) śīriyāṇaḥ (AV. TB. śrayaṇa) AV. TS. MS. TB. Comm. on TB. kakubhir uttamāṅge (intending kakubhy ut°). One ms. of MS. kakudhi. Probably MS. like the rest intends a loc.; the strange-looking form kakubhi would easily suggest an instr. pl. to a thoughtless copyist. Cf. VV 2 §400.
‘Resting (rest thou) on the summit, on the head of royalty.’
samudre na (and samudrena) śindhavo yādamāṇaḥ RV. Read samudre na both times; VV 2 §826.
na mānṣeṣu na snāvasu ApMB.: neva mānṣe na pibasi AV.: naiva mānṣena pivari PG. The last simulates a voc. sg. fem. pivari. This initial corruption brings in its train mānṣena, dependent on the following participle āyatam. But the reading hardly deserves consideration.
[tanur me tanvā saha MŚ.: tanvā tanvā (tanuvā) me saha (AV. sahed antāḥ) AV. (mss.) TS. TAA. Vait. PG. The vulgate emends AV. to tanvā tanvāni me bhaved antāḥ; but tho the end of the pāda is obscure and doubtless corrupt, we must surely keep the instrumental tanvā with the other texts.]
CHAPTER XXV

DATIVE AND ABBLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE

A. Dative and ablative

§612. Since most nouns do not distinguish dative and ablative forms except in the singular, it is not surprising to find few variants between these cases. They present only one well-defined group, in which a dative of interest varies with an ablative of separation with verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free'. The practical meaning of the two forms of these variants is identical. But most of them are formally uncertain, since the forms classed here as either datives or ablatives may also be considered genitives.

sa sutrāṇā savatān indro asme (AV.* MS. asmat) RV. AV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by ārāc cid dvesah sanular yuyota (RV.* yuyota). 'May Indra, well-saving,...keep very far away from (for) us all hatred.' This is perhaps the clearest case we have, since the ambiguous asme in such a connexion can scarcely be anything but dative, and asmat is unmistakably ablative.

ud uttamah mumugdhī nah (MS. mat) RV. KS. TB. MS. 'Loose the utmost (bond) for (from) us (me). But here nah may (with the commas on both RV. and TB.) be considered genitive.

idam aham sendyā abhitvariyai (MS. yā) mukham apokahi TB. ApS. MS. 'I remove the front from (for) the hostile army.' But a genitive would be as possible as a dative or ablative ('the hostile army's front'), and is preferred by Caland; note, further, that the ending -yai may be considered ablative or genitive as well as dative (Chapter III).

yāsyā apābavyā (etc.) tanuś tām asyā apajahi ŚG. SMB.: yāsyai...tām asyayināsyayāvahā PG.: yāsyai...tām ito nāṣayā HG. For full quotations of this group see §148, where it certainly belongs since the first asyās or asyai is clearly genitive. The second asyā occurs before a vowel but is doubtless intended for asyās rather than asyai. It may be meant as ablative ('from her'), but also as genitive ('that [form] of hers'), or even dative (§§151-2). Similarly the second asyai of PG. may be meant for any one of the three cases.
Only HG. has an unmistakable ablative, ito. Since this cannot be said to prove the intention of the other texts, their interpretation remains obscure.

§613. There remain only a couple of miscellaneous cases in which real differences of interpretation seem involved:

*īṣṭāpūrtam kṛṇatād āvir asmai AV.: iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛṇatāvīr asmai AV.*

*īṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvīr* (VSK. SB. kṛṇavāthāvīr, TS. TB. MŚ. kṛṇatād āvir) asmai (MŚ. asmāt) VS. VSK. TS. TB. SB. MŚ. The original: ‘make clear his iṣṭāpūrta for him.’ The abl. of MŚ. (all mss.) is rather surprising; perhaps ‘the iṣṭāpūrta (that proceeded) from him?’ (abl. of source?).

*yadi varuṇasyaśi rājno varuṇat tvā rājno ‘dhikrāṇāmi Kauś.: yadi vārūny asi varuṇat tvā nīṣkṛnāmi* (Rvidh. varunāya tvā parikṛnāmy aham ...) ApG. Rvidh.: *yady asi vārūni varunāya tvā rājne parikṛnāmi* GG. And similarly with *yadi somasyāti saumy asi, yady asi saumī* etc. In a pregnancy rite. ‘If thou art Varuṇa’s (Soma’s), from King V. (S.) I ransom thee’ or ‘for King....’ The ablative seems more natural; possibly it was changed to a dative to avoid what might be felt as an implication of hostility to Varuṇa and Soma. Some of the texts have other similar formulas.

**B. Dative and genitive**

§614. The intimate relations between these cases are well known, but our variants make them appear even closer than has commonly been assumed, for the Vedic language at any rate. Later Sanskrit allows the genitive to absorb all the functions of the dative, except perhaps that of purpose; see e.g. Speyer VSS. §§71 f. Our variants show at least one case (§627) where a gen. seems to replace a dative even in an expression of purpose (cf. Speyer, fine print at the end of §72); and they suggest that in other functions originally pertaining to the dative it is older and commoner than has been supposed. At the same time there are not wanting instances of the reverse, dative forms where we should expect genitives (cf. *tat puruṣāya vidmahe* etc., §634). The Prakrit languages, as is well known, have merged the two cases pretty completely, genitive forms as a rule taking over all the functions of the dative except that of purpose; but occasionally, especially in personal pronouns, old dative forms survive, usually with genitive functions; see Pischel Gr. d. Pkt. Spr. §361, and under the pronominal inflections.

§615. A special complication is the recognized use in Brāhmaṇa texts of the dative ending *ai* of feminine nouns in genitive function, and the
less recognized reverse of this. Undoubtedly the confusion between the endings ai and ās in feminine nouns goes far beyond anything that is found between other genitive and dative forms, so that we have felt constrained to agree with Wackernagel that some special factor must have been at work in them; this special factor may reasonably be found in the sandhi conditions of final ai and ās. Accordingly we have inclined to group variations between these endings as formal rather than syntactic variants, in §§137 ff. rather than here. Yet since not only ai forms as genitives but also ās forms in dative use are found, and since some other variants between the two cases are precisely similar to some of these, it is impossible to separate them wholly. To some extent surely the same syntactic confusion is concerned in that formal interchange, and §§137 ff. must be considered together with the sections which follow here.

1. With adjectives meaning ‘pleasant’ and the like

§616. We begin with a group of variants in which both dative and genitive are standard from early times, so that the variation is easy and constant at all periods. Cf. Speyer VSS. §§46, 71:

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. ṣ-patih, KB. ŚŚ. ṣ-pateh, TB. ṣ-patyuh) TS. MS. KB. JB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. ‘Pleasing to V.’

juṣṭo vāco (GB. AŚ. Vait. KŚ. vāce) bhūyāsam TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. (2. 3. 6. 18).

juṣṭain devēbhya (TS. devānām) idam astu hanyām VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS.

janāya juṣṭo adruhe (SV. ṣ-hāh) RV. SV. See the context, quoted under vīty aṣa caniṣṭhayā (SV. paniṣṭaye), §567. SV. probably takes the dat. with the verb vīty, rather than with juṣṭo.

priyam sarvasya paśyāḥ AV.; sarvasmai ca vipāśyate AV. (the latter preceded by priyam mā kṛṣṇu...) Delbrück AIS. p. 146 says he knows no certain case of priya with dat. A whole series occurs in AV. 19. 32. 8.

agner jihvāsi suhār (KS. supār, VSK. TS. TB. suhār) devēbhyaḥ (TS. TB. devānām) VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. ‘Thou art Agni’s tongue, invoking (purifying, being) pleasant(-ly) for (to) the gods.’

kivas tokāya tanve (KS. tanve) na ehi (KS. MS. ehi, v. 1. ehi) KS. MS. Kauś.: tan tokāya tanuve (SMB. tanve) syonah TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

tasyād (MS. tasyāi) tvaṁ harāsa ṭapaṁ VS.† 12. 16c, TS. MS. KS. Followed by jātavedah śivo bhava. ‘Glowing with warmth, be gracious
to her (the ukhā), Jātavedas.' So VS. comm. and Griffith; Keith on TS. takes tasyās as possessive with harasā. If this be correct for TS. it would be equally possible for all the others, and tasyās would be a gen. in ai (Chapter III). But (§141) MS. does not favor these gens. in ai.

2. With nouns of uniting

§617. Similar is the use of the dative in variation with the objective genitive (also the instrumental of association) with nouns of uniting:
samvekanas (RV. AV. *ne) tanuvaI (SV. KS. MS. tanve, RV. tanvaḥ, AV. tanva) cārur edhi RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MS. 'In joining of (with) thy body', RV. AV.: 'uniting to thy body.'

3. Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive

§618. Often a dative of interest (or, at times, indirect object) varies with a genitive which may frequently be felt as possessive. So especially in YV. dedicatory formulas where no verb is expressed; thus in the first quoted, 'the fox is Aryaman's' or 'the fox to Aryaman':
aryamṇo (KSA. *ne) lopāsah TS. KSA.
puruṣamṛgāḥ candramasya (TS. KSA. *se) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
eny aṣṭha (TS. KSA. ahe) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
kṣiṇya (TS. KSA. *nasya) vartikā VS. TS MS KSA.
vāsānāṁ (MS. vasubhyah) kapiṇjalah VS. TS. MS. KSA.
samanrāyā (TS. KSA. sīndhoh) ṛṣumārah (KSA.† kṣetra, TS. kṣetra) VS.
TS. MS. KSA.
somāya (KSA. somāya rājñe, TS. somasya rājñaḥ) kulunγah (MS. kulānγaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
himavato (VS. MS. *te) hastī (TA. hastinam) VS. TS. MS. KSA. TA.
nilaṃghoh (MS. *gave) kṛmiḥ (TS. krimiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
pīkaḥ (KSA. pīgaḥ) kṣiṇākā niśātranyā te 'ryamne (KSA. *nah) TS. KSA.
ulo halikṣaṇa (TS. ulo halī) vṛṣadaniṣas de dhātṛ (TS. KSA. dhātuh) VS.
TS. MS. KSA.
viśvebhyaḥ deśe bhyaḥ prātān (MS. also *tah) VS. MS. (bis): viśveṣāṁ
devānāṁ prātāṁ VS.
dhūmārā bāhurikākāsah pīṭṇām somavatām, and bāhvravo dhūmanikāsah
pīṭṇāṁ bāhriṣadām VS.: pīṭbhyaḥ bāhriṣadbhya dhūmrān bāhvrva-
nākāsāṁ, and pīṭbhyaḥ somavadbhvo bāhvrvo dhūmannākāsāṁ ApŚ.
agnaye te ā TŚ. TB. MŚ.: idam agneḥ VS. SB. KS. ApŚ.
agniṣomābhyaḥ (te) TŚ. TB.: idam aṅguṣomasyah VS. SB. KS. ApŚ.
pitav (VS. MS. pidvo) nyākkuḥ kakkaśas (MS. kakuśas, TS. kaśas) te
'numatyaï VS. TS. MS.; bideva nyoṅkuṅ kākas te 'numatyaḥ KSA. So Conc.; but KSA. actually reads 'numatya followed by a° and may just as well stand for 'numatyaï; there is no p.p.]

§619. Similarly with a copulaic verb and a nominal form containing the root da 'give' (or dhā used as its equivalent, cf. VV. 2 §§100 ff.):
devabhya (VS. devānām) bhāgada (TS. bhāgadhā) asat VS. TS. MS. KS.†

'Be he a giver of portions to the gods.'
asmabhyaṃ su maṅhavaṁ bodhi godāḥ RV. VSK.: asmākan su maṅhavaṁ bodhi godāḥ (and gopāḥ) RV.

§620. The exact force of the gen. in this particular passage is less clear, but we are inclined to feel it essentially as in the preceding two sections:
medabhyaḥ svāhā VS.: medasah svāhā VS. VSK. MS. TB. The dat. is simple and regular, but occurs in a different context; there is no real variant in the passages containing the gen. With it the VS. comm. supplies devaṅ as object of the verb yaj (the formula begins hota yajyaṇa apniṃ (VS. indraḥ) svāhāyasya svāhā etc.): 'let the hotar worship (the gods) of marrow with hail!' So with the other parallel gens. (there are no datives in the passage). But TB. comm. supplies a copula, paraphrasing...svāhātir astu, and this seems more likely to be approximately right.

§621. Less jejune and formulaic, but not very different in psychology, are the following, in which a dative of interest (or a dative which may be felt as an indirect object, or even, when the verb is one of motion [see the first case], of goal) varies with an adnominal (possessive or objective) genitive:

vṛṣṇe (KS. vṛṣṇo) codasa suṣṭūtim RV. TS. MS. KS. Pāda a is tasmāi (KS. kasmāt) mūnam abhidhyayet. KS. is anomalous both in using the interrogative stem kasmāi (which seems due to the initial of the following stanza, kama u evad asya senayā), and in detaching vṛṣṇe from the preceding pronoun with which it should agree. Its gen. vṛṣṇo is felt as dependent on suṣṭūtim. 'Inspire fair praise to (for, KS. of) the bull.'

imam ū (MS. u) gu tvam asmākam (TA. ApŚ. gu tvam asmabhyaṃ) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MS. Followed by sanāṁ gīyatraṁ navāyaṇasam (navāyaṇasam), agne (agniṇ) devey pra vocah (vocah). 'Proclaim this new...song of ours (for us).'

tavā guṭṭaye dampati sarh krayethām AV.: tasmāi gotrāyeḥa jāyāti satrabhethām TA. 'For protection of it': 'for it, for the family (?)'. Comm. on TA. refuses to connect tasmāi directly with gotrāya, probably rightly.
vedic variants iii: noun and pronoun inflection

vrṣa vrṣe (SV. vrṣah) pari pavitro aksaṁ RV. SV. Preceded by eṣa sva te madhumān indra somaḥ. 'This honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve), O Indra.'

vaśvānaro aṅgirasāṁ (AV. 'ṅgirś, ĀS. aṅgirbhyaḥ) [stomam uktham ca cākpat, with varr.] AV. ĀS. SŚ.

indrasya te bhaṅgam somenā tanacmi (VSK. tanakmi) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: indrāya te bhaṅgam somenātanacmi MS. MS.: somena teṭtanacmin- drāya dudhi TS. TB. ApŚ. 'As Indra's portion': 'as portion (curds) for Indra.'

§622. The following we have also grouped here since they may easily be interpreted as containing a real syntactic shift; but since they concern the fem. endings ai and as, they might also be regarded as purely formal (with §§137 ff.):

patim. surāya (TB. surāyai, VS. surāyā) bhēṣajam VS. MS. TB. 'A remedy for (of, i.e. against) surā.' VS. comm. takes the instr, as associative; it seems that dat. or gen. is required, but either of them would be satisfactory.

uttāṇayā (TS. 9yai) hrdayaṁ yad vikastam (TS. vilisṭam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by saṁ te vāyur mātariśeva dadhātu. '...heal the broken heart of (for) thee, lying supine.'

so 'syai (MG, 'syāḥ) prajām muṇicatu mṛtyupāśād AG. SMB.† PG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'May he free the offspring for her (her offspring)....'

athāsyai (TS. TB. MS. 'syā) madhyam odhatām (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ĀS. SŚ. Vait. LŚ.: adhāsyā madhyam odhatām KŚA.

§623. The following variants still show a dative of interest varying with a possessive genitive, but other changes in the form or meaning of the variant word, or changes in the other words and the construction of the passage, make the variations somewhat different in character:

pra sunvānasayāndhasāḥ (SV. PB. sunvānyāndhā?) RV. SV. PB. Followed by marto na vṛṣa (vaṣṭa) taṁ vacaḥ. 'Let him accept this song of the pressed-out herb (for, on behalf of, the presser of the herb).'

In RV. sunvāna is generally active in sense, e.g. 8. 31. 16; this is the only passage in which Grassmann assigns passive force to it. Hence the change in SV., which makes it active.

gharamah śriṇantu prathamāya dhāsyave (ĀŚ. SŚ. śriṇanti prathamasya dhāseḥ) AV. ĀŚ. SŚ. 'For the first drinker': 'of the first drink.'

asambādah yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS.: asambādham badhyato (read ma), VV 2 §241) mānaveṅm (Pp. mānavesu) AV. Pp. Kauś. 'Who (earth) is unobstructed for men in the midst': 'unobstructedly
in the midst of men (Pp. among men, in [their] midst).’ Differing from Whitney, we take asambhādhān as a neuter adverb (§404). 

$\text{indra}ya bhāgham pari tvā na yātīm \text{AV} : \text{indra}ya bhāgha swayate dadhātana} \text{APŚ. The gen. is apparently felt as possessive with bhāgha;}$ §393. 

$\text{devo devānāṁ paritram asi TS. MS. KS. : devo devēbhyaḥ paramsa VS. ŠB.}$ 

As in prec., the gen. is possessive.

$\text{rāya}ya poşāṁ (KS. tvassṭaḥ pośāya) vi śyuṭu (RV. MS. TB. sṛyatāṁ, AV. MS. KG. śya) nābhīṁ asme (AV. asya) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB. (bis) APŚ. ‘Let him release (release thou, etc.) [our seminal fluid, turīpaṁ] as offspring for us (of it).’ Ppp. has asme,}$ 

and Whitney calls asya ‘senseless’, but this is too harsh. It refers to turīpaṁ and is not harsher than many another secondary change in AV.

§624. In one variant it seems scarcely possible to interpret the dative forms except as equivalents of the possessive genitive. It is perhaps worth noting that the dative is the pronominal tubhyam, which is precisely one of the Sanskrit dative forms that lives on in Prakrit, with genitival function (Pischel, §420 f.); indeed, even in epic Sanskrit mahyam and tubhyam seem to be used as gens. (Speyer, VSS. §46 note): 

$\text{tire tubhyam asau (HG. tubhyam gāṇe) PG. HG. : tireṇāsau tava ApMB.}$ 

Simply ‘on thy bank’ seems to be the only possible meaning.

§625. Conversely, one variant in which the sense seems to require a dative of interest shows now the pronominal me, now other forms which are unmistakably genitive. Naturally me is here interpreted as dative of interest; yet the only reason for taking it so, rather than as genitive, is the prevalence of the dative in this sense. On the other hand it is difficult to take the gens. pīṣṇāṁ etc. in any other sense; Oldenberg on HG. frankly does so, and Bühler’s rendering of BDh., ‘mayst thou never fail to the (manes of our) fathers,’ is hardly more than an evasion of the problem (dragging in a possessive genitive by a very forced ellipsis). In later Sanskrit the gen. replaces the dat. in just such uses (Speyer VSS. §72), and we have little doubt that the unmistakably gen. forms of the variant, at least (and perhaps even me?), must be so interpreted:

$\text{akṣitam asi mā pīśṇāṁ (ApMB. maśāṁ, HG. BDh. also pitāmahānāṁ, prapitāmahānāṁ) keṣṭhā amatramuṣṇāṁ loke ApMB. HG. BDh.: akṣītir asi mā me keṣṭhā...VSK. AS. ŠS. KS.: aksito ‘sy akṣitvai tvā mā me keṣṭhā...TS. GB. Vait. MS.}$

§626. Similarly in the next, the dative depends on prati-bhar ‘bring (as a gift)’, and if the gen. is textually sound it must be an early case
of the absorption of this dat. function by the gen., as in classical Sanskrit. The SV. reads the form narab at the end of a stanza, and the next stanza begins with ā; but it would probably be over-bold to suggest that it originally read nara for nare, with sandhi between the stanzas, and that this was later misinterpreted as narab. The SV. comm. glosses with narāya:
apāscūddaghvane (SV. apaścūdaṃ) nare (SV. narab) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ.

4. Dative of purpose

§627. As has been noted above (§614), the dative of purpose is not usually replaced by the genitive even in later Sanskrit; and when we find it varying with the genitive in the Veda, we can usually see a difference of psychology, as is to be expected. Yet in one case, at least, we find it hard to avoid the feeling that the gen. is the exact equivalent of the dative of purpose. This concerns a series of formulas beginning with savitā tṛa savānām (prasavānām) savatām, and continuing with parallel formulas in which savatām or the like is understood. The dependent nouns (savānām etc.) are all genitives in most texts, but in three of the formulas some texts have datives. The dative of purpose is what we should expect in all, and the commentators are hard put to it to explain the gen.; Mahādhara on VS. supplies adhipatyā; similarly Eggeling, 'for (powers of) quickening' etc. Keith makes the gen. partitive: 'May Savitar of instigations instigate thee,' which in some of the formulas seems clearly impossible (e.g. rudraḥ pākuṇām, 'Rudra of cattle'). PG. reconstructs the initial formula thus: agnir bhūtānām adhipatih sa māvatu, which makes the gen. simple but is clearly a secondary avoidance of the difficulty. We feel that the only natural interpretation is to take the gen. as mere equivalents of the dative of purpose:

bṛhaspatir vācām (VS. ŚB. vāce) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
rudraḥ pākuṇām (VS. ŚB. pākubhyāḥ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.
indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS. KS. jyeṣṭhyānām, VS. ŚB. jyeṣṭhyāya) VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

§628. The other cases involving dative of purpose are few and miscellaneous. In the first the gen. is the object of a verb of ruling; the variant is precisely parallel to those between dative of purpose and accusative of direct object (§§70, 420), except that here the verb requires a genitive object:

kṣuyantām rādhaso (TS. se, KS. kāvase) mahāḥ (TS. KS. mahe) RV. SV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Ruling over (unto) great bounty.'
§629. The next two involve the well-known construction of a dative of purpose with a dependent genitive or a second dative, on which see Delbrück AJS. §§103 and (with infinitives) 54:

rāye (ApŚ. rāyo) agne mahe te (dānāya samidhīnāḥi) SV. ApŚ. 'We kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches).'

divas (MS. dive) te (jyotiṣe TS. MS. A verb like 'I place' is understood: 'thee (the brick) for heaven's light' or 'for heaven, for light'.

samvedāyopaveśaya gāyatrīyai (also triṣṭubhe jagatyā anusūkhbe) chandase 'bhūbhūve svāhā KS.; arīṣṭāv avyathyai samvedāyopaveśaya gāyatrīyai chandase 'bhūbhūve (ApŚ. gāyatrīyā abkībhūtīyai) svāhā KS. ApŚ.: samvedāyopaveśaya gāyatrīyai (PB. SS. KS. also triṣṭubhe and jagatyāi, TS. ApŚ. gāyatrīyāś triṣṭubhe jagatyā anusūkhah pāūkṣāya) chandase (TS. ApŚ. om.) 'bhībhūtoye (with varr.) svāhā TS. PB. SS. KS. ApŚ. On the meaning see Caland's note on ApŚ. 14. 19. 1. 'For the gāyatrī (etc.) meter, for conquest': 'for the conquest (conquering power) of the gāyatrī (etc.).'

§630. The next is not very different; here the dat. or gen. depends not on another dat. but on an acc.:

vidā rāye (AA. rāyaḥ) svūryam RVKh. (Schefelowitz p. 135, vs. 4a) AA. Mahānāṃśyaṇaḥ. 'Grant us hero-abundance of (unto) wealth.' But rāyaḥ may also be acc. pl., 'wealth (and) hero-abundance'; the variant would then belong with §486.

§631. In the next it is possible to find the influence of formal case attraction:

akūpārasya dāne (SV. "naḥ) RV. SV. N. Here dāne is an infinitive, 'unto giving, that thou mayst give'. SV. attracts it to the case of akūpārasya, making it a noun of agent (as often in cpds. of the type aśva-dāvan): 'inexhaustible giver'.

5. Dative and genitive with verbs

§632. The confusion between these two cases appears in a few variants in which one case is regularly construed in dependence on a particular verb, and is replaced by the other in one variant form. Cf. Delbrück §110, Speyer VSS. §72.

§633. Thus, in two pādas of one verse, the root radh 'be subject to', which regularly takes the dative, has the genitive in secondary texts. 

dviṣantām (AV. sapatnāṁ) mahyaṁ (TB. ApŚ. mama) randhayān RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.: dviṣantā ca mahyaṁ radhayatu AV.: dviṣanto radh- 

yatāṁ mahyaṁ MS. (Add to VV. §79, 238, 349.) Followed by:
mo ahaṁ (AV. mā cāhaṁ, MŚ. mā tu ahaṁ) dviṣato (TB. ApŚ. *to, MŚ. utāṁ) radhaṁ RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The verb radha is otherwise recorded only with the dat., for which the gen. is here clearly a substitute. TB. comm. interprets mama as possessive gen., 'my enemy', which would be possible but for the parallel dviṣato, which obviously cannot be taken so; TB. comm. takes dviṣato as abl., dative sakāśān mo radhaṁ mama hīṁsāṁ prāppavāni, which is absurd.

§634. Conversely, the roots vid and dhi, as verbs of intellectual activity, may be expected to govern the genitive. In the case of vid, perhaps the nearly homonymous root vīdh, which governs the dative, may have been influential in introducing the dative in the stray occurrence which follows. It is noteworthy that in the same context TA. and MahānU. present parallel formulas with the regular genitive:
tat puruṣasya vidmaka, mahādevasya dhīmahi MS. KS. TA. MahānU.
Immediately preceded in MahānU. by tat puruṣasya vidmaka, sahaś-rākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi, in TA. by puruṣasya vidma, sahaś-rākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi.

6. Phrase inflection

§635. In a couple of instances we find what we have called phrase inflection (§§21–2), that is the use of formulas in different contexts requiring different construction of the nouns in question:
puṇāṇaṁ prabhūcaso RV. SV.: puṇānasya prabhūcasoḥ RV.
avaruna mitra dāśuṣah (and *ṣe) RV. (both). Śāyaṇa and Grassmann take dāśuṣah as gen. sg.; Ludwig as acc. pl.

7. Miscellaneous

§636. The remaining cases are miscellaneous, involving individual reconstructions which fall into no general categories:
pra na vacah vidathā jātavedasah RV.: pra na vaco vidathā jātavedasah ArŚ. sūryo devo (KS.* dico, so read both times; once ed. reads devo, but there is a v. l. dico, and one is a repetition in a Brāhmaṇa passage of the other) dviṣadbhya dhātu kṣatrāya (KS.† kṣatrāya) saṁy dhārakhyah (KS. prajānām) [byhaspatis tvā prajāpataye... juhotu] TS. KS. (bis).
In KS. understand dviṣadbhya with each genitive: 'Let Śūrya offer thee for the sky-dwellers of the sky, Dhātar for (those) of royal power' etc. In the secondary TS. the datives are attracted to the case and construction of prajāpataye: 'Let... Dhātar offer thee for royal power' etc.

mayi dohaṁ padyāyai vīrājaḥ (MG. adds kalpatām) AG. HG. MG.; mayi
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pad̄yāyai virājo dokaḥ ŠŚ. ŠG. PG.: mama pad̄yāya vi rāja ApMB.
‘In me [may] the milk of Pad̄yā Virāj (see Oldenberg SBE. 29 p. 97, note on ŠG. 3. 7. 5) [dwell],’ most texts. ApMB. reconstructs the formula: ‘Shine forth for my foot-water’ or the like. Used in a foot-washing rite. Note that pad̄yāyai is clearly felt as genitive; but the apparently dative form is responsible for the change to pad̄yāya in ApMB.

8. Errors

§637. There remain a few cases which seem to involve errors, or at least seem uninterpretable:
tujo janā (ArS. jane) ranam svah AV. ArS.: tujo yujo ranam (ŠŚ. balan, conjecture of Hillebrandt) sahaḥ AA. ŠŚ. Both forms and meanings of the words are wholly obscure.
devasya (ŠŚ.* dvebhyaśas) tvā savitvah prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṁ pāśno hastābhyaṁ ā dade VS. TS. MS. KS. KSA. ŠŚ, (both) TB. TA. Kauś. The dat. form occurs at ŠŚ. 14. 2. 1. 6 which quotes VS. 38. 1 incorrectly; VS. has devasya. Note further that the latter part of the formula in ŠŚ, omits the word adityas before rāṇāyin, tho it is found not only in VS. 38. 1 but in the same phrase almost immediately following, ŠŚ. 14. 2. 1. 8 = VS. 38. 3. Eggeling seems right in assuming that ŠŚ. has a mere misquotation of its source, VS., rather than a real variant based on contamination with such phrases as dvebhyaśas tvā: ... (see Conc. under these words).
[atha (AV. adha) mano vasudeyāya kṛṣṇa (AV. krṣṇasa) RV. AV. Conc. vasudeyasya for RV.]
nīkīti ēte yajamānasya loke (KS.† yajamānasya santu) AV. KS. Conc. yajamānāya for KS.]

C. Dative and locative

1. After verbs

§638. The extent of the interplay between dative and locative in adverbial constructions has hardly received the emphasis it deserves. That both cases are used to express the goal of motion and of actions of various kinds is indeed well known (cf. Delbrück, AIS. §§80, 96; Speyer, VSS. §§76, second part, 81b); and that the dative of the interested party, and the locative as expressing that in relation to which the action takes place, may interchange, would doubtless be recognized by all. Our variants however suggest that the scope of such interchanges is greater than has ever been clearly stated. Without claiming
precise equivalence in psychology between the two cases, or even attempting to differentiate rigidly between different aspects of the use of each, we shall assort our variants according to the various verbs with which dative and locative are interchangeably used.

The roots dhā and dā

§639. In VV 2 §101 we have already referred to the use of these two cases with the roots dā and dhā, and pointed out that while both are freely used with dhā ‘place’, the simple root dā ‘give’ is not properly used with the locative (tho as we shall see some of its compounds may be so used). In the same place we showed that but for this difference of construction, dā and dhā are often genuine synonyms. Moreover the dative and locative after dhā are hardly distinguishable in meaning. Such a phrase as yako mayi dhehi PB. Vait. SMB. is equivalent to yako me dhehi (TA. dhāh) TA. ŚŚ., whether we prefer to translate ‘put splendor in me’ or ‘assign splendor to me.’ And so with the following variants after dhā:


aθā nah (AV. adhā nah, TS. aθāsmabhyaṁ, RV. * tad asme) īvan yor arapo dadhāta (RV. * MS. *tana) RV. (bis) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. But asme may be dative.

§640. While the preceding instances show dhā alone, in the next we find, beside dhā with both dative and locative, forms of dā (or rarely other expressions of giving) with dative (not locative, VV 2 §101):

ārjan mayi dhehi VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. LŚ. ApŚ. MS.; ārjan me dhehi (TS. * dhattam) VSK. TS. (both) KS. GB. TB. Vait. KŚ.; ārjan me dehi (VSK. TS. yacha) VSK. TS. PB. LŚ. śrotarān mayi dhehi TS. KSA.†; śrotarān me dhattam (AV. MS. dāh) AV. TB. ApŚ. MS.
cakṣur mayi dhehi TS.; cakṣur me dhehi (VS. ŚB. dehi, AV. MS. dāh) AV. VS. MS. KS. KSA. ŚB. āyur mayi dhehi VS. TS. ŚB.; āyur me dhehi VSK. TS. KS. KSA. MS.
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 tejo mayī dheki AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. LS. ŚŚ. ApMB.: tejo me yacha (TA. dāh, AŚ. dehi and dāh) TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.

 rāyaś pośaṁ cikituse (AV. "śi) dadhātū (ŚŚ. dadatū) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: rāyaś pośaṁ yajamāne dadhātū AŚ.


 §641. In other cases the dāh form is found only with the locative, while the dative occurs with dā, or occasionally with other expressions of giving:

 svas te dadāmi MG.: svas (svasās) teṣayi dadhāmi ŚB. BṛhU. PG. HG. Also with bhūs and bhūvas for svas, and with bhūr bhuvāś svas.

 saho mayī dheki (AV. me dāh svāhā) AV. VS. TB. Also with balam for saho; and ef. next.

 ojo mayī dheki VS. TB.: ojo me dāh AV. VS. TB.

 payo me dāh (ApŚ. mayī dhehi) MS. ApŚ.


 indro balam balapatīr balam asmīn yajñe mayī dadhātū (TB. yajñe yajmānāya dadatū) svāhā ŚB. TB. KS. Likewise with sarvaratī puṣṭīṁ, savitā rāṣṭram, puṣṭā bhagam (viśāṁ), bṛhaspatīr brahma, varuṇāḥ samrāg, soma rājā, mitraḥ kṣatram, agnīr annādo, teṣām rājéśvāṁ (paśūnāṁ).

 §642. The compound dā-dāh has the same two constructions:

 bhījyastam ā dhehi īṭarūṣu (SV. īṭarūṣe) RV. SV.

 rāṣṭrayo āsmā ā dhehi (MS. asmin dhehi) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

 tāsāṁ tā īṭara ādadhāmī TB. HG. ApMB.: tāśu tvāṁtar īṭaryā ā dadhāhī AV. (Ppp. has īṭara.)

 Other expressings of placing and giving

 §643. Other verbs of establishing or placing with loc. vary with expressions of bringing or giving with dat.:

 sa tā na rāṣṭraya subhṛtāṁ bhīhāṛu AV.: sa no rāṣṭreṣu suḥhitāṁ (intending "tāṁ") dadhātū TB. 'May he support thee well supported unto (establish as well established in) rule.'
yasmin (Kauś. yasmal) bhūtaṃ ca bhavyam ca Kauś. HG. ApMB. The following verb is pratiṣṭhitam ('handed over, entrusted') in Kauś., kritāḥ in HG. and samāhitāḥ ('based, established') in ApMB.

§644. Other verbs of giving and the like, including some compounds of dā, are used with both cases:
tāh devēbhyaḥ paridadāmi ApŚ.; tāh devēṣu paridadāmi vidvān AŚ. MŚ. 'I give him over to the gods.'

astṛto nāmāham asmī sa ātmānaṃ ni dadhe dyāvyāsyāvibhyāṇ gopūkhyā (KS. sa idām dyāvyāspy ātmānaṃ parīdade tayoh traye tayoh parākrame) AV. KS. The verbs ni-dhā and pari-dā are both used with both cases. Here the dat. is doubtless favored by the accompanying dat. of purpose, the loc. by the loces. with the two other verbs.

ihāsmāsu (MS. ihāsmabhyaṃ, TB.* iha mahayaṃ) ni yachatam RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. (bis).

sa yajña dhukṣra mahī me prajyaṃ (ŚŚ. prajyaśi) VS. ŚŚ. 'Milk forth (= bestow bounty) generously upon my offspring.'

ta āyajanta draviṣaṃ (MS. KS.† *na) sam asmai (MS. asmin) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'They offered (sacrificed) riches to him.' But MS. v. 1. asmai.

rāṇas tmanā devēbhyaḥ (VS.† TS.† KS.† devēṣu) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. the dat. depends on the following svadāyatu; but in the YV. texts it as well as the loc. must depend on rāṇas (the pāda division is here different from AV., see Whitney's note on AV.).

kām padam māgahī ta rayiṣaṇi na kāmam (AA. rayiṣaṇi na somah) SV. AA. 'Grant prosperity...to him who seeks wealth.' Keith understands rayiṣaṇi as loc. with copula understood, the sense being the same as in SV. Perhaps a verb like dhā could as well be understood.

Verbs of uniting

§645. Verbs of uniting may take dative or locative as well as instrumental (§59):
apriye prati muṣa taḥ (Kauś. muṣacatam) AV. Kauś.: dviṣadbhyāḥ prati mūnāmi pākam (HG. pāpam) SMB. HG. ApMB. '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy.'
apriye (AV.* dviṣate, RV. āpyye) sam nayāmaṣi RV. AV. (bis).
yad dha krāṇā viveśaṇi (SV. *te) RV. SV. Followed by nābhā savindāyī (SV. *ya) nayāṣi (SV. *se). Apparently both dat. and loc. depend on sam-dā 'unite'; cf. Ludwig 4 p. 193 and Oldenberg ad loc.
Verbs of bringing and the like

§646. In these, which cannot be sharply distinguished from verbs of giving, the locative begins to appear more clearly as one of goal of motion.

The variant is included here because the governing word, havanāhah, tho a noun, is clearly verbal in force.

mahyam sāṭah paratāṁ (KS. 9te) kāme asmin (AV. kāmāyasmait) Rv. AV. TS. KS. 'Let the wind blow (the wind blows) for me to this desire.'
yajñya stīrṇabarhiśe vi vo made Rv. AŚ.: yajñeṣu stīrṇabarhiśam vivakṣase SV. The governing verb is yajñāmaha 'we wish' = 'we call, bring' (thue to the sacrifice). Cf. §489.
yad vo devāsa āgure (MS. 9ri) TS. MS. Followed by havāmaha 'we call', felt as a verb of bringing; cf. prec.

Verbs of saying

§647. It is well known that either dat. or loc. (as well as acc.) may be used of the person spoken to. Whether we should render the locs. in the following by 'among' rather than 'to' may be left an open question:

devebhya mā sukṛtam brūtāḥ (ŚB. with uḥa, voceh) VS. ŚB.: deveṣu naḥ sukṛto (VSK, mā sukṛtaṁ) brūtāḥ (KS. brūta, PB, MS. brāyāt) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MS.: sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāḥ TS.


Miscellaneous verbs

§648. The root sthā in the sense of 'serve, obey' governs not only the dative (Delbrück AIS. p. 143) but also the locative:

jaisthye kraisthye ca gāthinaḥ ŚŚ.: dhṛtyai kraisthyayā gāthinaḥ AB.

Preceded by desvarāyā yathire.

deva devebhya (MS. deveṣu) adhvaryanto (KS. 9riyanto) astuḥy VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§649. The verb jāgr 'watch (over)' also takes either case:

yajamāṇaya jāgrta ApŚ.: evam asyāṁ sāṭikāyām, saputrikāyām jāgrathā PG.: evam asyai suputrikāyai jāgrata HG.

§650. The verb hu 'pour, offer' takes either case, according as the offering is thought of as 'poured in' or 'offered to':

rudra yat te kriyā (kriy, krāni, giri-) paraṁ nāma tasmaī (VS. MS. ŚB. tasmin) hutam asi VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
prthivyām (KS. "vyāt") amṛtaṁ juhomi AŚ. KS. ApŚ.

§651. The root ci ‘pile up, build’:
sahāstraṇa (VS. MS. ŚB. "kṣo) medhiṇya (TS. KS. medha ś) eiyamānah
VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ‘Piled up at (for) the sacrifice.’ Cf.
VV 2 §342.

§652. With the root grah ‘take’ both dative and especially locative
mayi (ApMB. mahyaṃ) gṛhṇāmi tvām aham VS. ApMB. ‘I take thee
(the oblation) to (for) myself.’

§653. With the root jan ‘produce’ the psychology of the two cases is
more distinct. The variation in the first instance may be primarily
phonetic, cf. VV 2 §342:
ratśvānaram rta ā (TS. rēya) jālam agnim RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS.
PB. ŚB.
aśījano amṛta martyręṣu ā (SV. martyrāya kam) RV. SV. ‘Thou hast pro-
duced among men (for man) . . . ’

2. With adjectives and nouns meaning ‘pleasing’ and the like

§654. That the locative as well as the dative and genitive (§77) may
be found with adjectives (and nouns) meaning ‘pleasing’ or the like is
recognized by Delbrück AĪŚ. §79:
suprīto maṇuṣī viśī (SV. viṣe) RV. SV.
priyani ma brahmāṇi (ApMB. "ne) kuru ApMB. HG. Parallel pādas
have locs. in both texts. But there is no need to read brahmāṇe
or brahmāṇi in ApMB. (cf. Winternitz p. xxiv), since the dative is
equally sound.
uta sūdra utārye AV.: sūdṛāya cāryāya ca AV. VS. Both preceded by
priyani ma kṛṇu . . .
ahaṁ vo asmi sakhyaṁ keva MS.: yuṣṭmāṇam sakhye aham asmi śevas AV.
dhiṛā deveṣu (KS. "indrāja) sumnayā (AV. "yau, VS. sūmnayā) RV. AV.
VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.
śyāvasinta maṇaśe (RV. TA. maṇuṣe, KS. mānuṣe) daksyaḥ (TA. "ye,
TS. MS. KS. yālasye) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. In RV.
maṇuṣe is dative, like maṇaśe; the others (including TA. maṇuṣe)
have locatives.

3. Miscellaneous

§655. The remaining variants are miscellaneous:
mayi doah padyāyai virājāḥ (MG. adds kalpatim) AG. MG. HG.:
mayi pādyāyai virājō doah ŚŚ. ŚG. PG.: mama padyāya vi rāja
ApMB. See §636.
pūṣaṇā śarase (MS.: śarasi, p.p. 'sah) svāhā MS. TA, ApŚ.: svāhā pūṣaṇe śarase VS. ŚB. KS. 'Hail to Pūśaṇ, to the skin of milk (MS. apparently 'to P. in the skin of milk').'
sam yuṣyāva (TS. bhadda) sanībhya d RV., TS.: sam sanuyāva varīye d KS. sanībhyaḥ is dat. of purpose (not abl., as Grassmann takes it); cf. Oldenberg Noten on 1. 17. 2 and Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV. s. v. ā. On the meaning of KS., 'in the waters', see von Schroeder's note.
īse rāye (rayai) ramave sahase dyumāyorje (VS. ŚB. 'dyumma ārje) 'patyāya ... (see VV. 2 p. 429) VS. ŚB. TB, AŚ. ApŚ. 'For splendor, for might': 'for might in splendor.'
tanānapre sākmane sākvarāya sākmanā (KS. sākman) ojīṣṭhāya MS. KS.: tanānapre sākvarāya sākman (VS. ŚB. sākmana) ojīṣṭhāya VS. VSK. ŚB. (see Conc. under āpataye te ā paripataye): sākmane sākvarāya sākmanā ojīṣṭhāya te īṛṇāmi MŚ.: sākman ojīṣṭhāya te īṛṇāmi TS.: sākman ojīṣṭhāya TS. GB.: sākmana ojīṣṭhāya te ā Vait. The original (TS. KS. VSK.) has loc. of noun, 'in strength'; the others assimilate to the surrounding dative adjectives, 'for the strong',
prathivyām agnaye sāmanaman sa ārdhnot AV.: prathivyai sām ananat TS. TB.
vāce svāhā VS. etc.: svāhā vāce GB. AG.: vāci svāhā TS. In the latter the context is different and vāci depends on the following verb dhāḥ, not on svāhā.
[uttānāyai kūyānāyai ŚŚ.: uttānāyām kūyānāyām AV. RWh. by em., but mss. uttānānaye kūyānāyai, intending the ŚŚ. reading.]
CHAPTER XXVI

ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE

A. Ablative and genitive

Ablative of source or separation and genitive

§656. The only considerable group of variants under this heading shows an ablative of source or separation varying with an adnominal genitive which is its virtual equivalent. The genitive may be possessive, subjective, or partitive:

\[ tato \text{nāyānąyaśār āgachatu } MS. \text{KS. ApŚ.}: \text{tasya māśī avatu varidhatām} \]
\[ \text{AS.} \quad \text{‘From it may blessing of sacrifice come to me’; ‘may its blessing aid and increase me.’} \]
\[ \text{yasya (KS. yato) deva dadhiśe pūrṣapeyam} \text{RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.} \]
\[ \text{‘Of (from) which (soma) thou hast taken to thyself the first draught, O god.’} \]
\[ \text{tato no dehi jīvase} \text{RV. TB. TA.}: \text{tasya no dēhi jīvase AV. SV. KauŚ.} \]
\[ \text{‘From (of) it give to us that we may live.’} \]
\[ \text{mā parā secī mat payah} \text{(ŚŚ. LS. ŚG. no dhanam, ApŚ.∗ nah svam, ApMB.∗ me dhanam) ŚŚ. LS. KŚ. ApŚ. (bis) MS. ŚG. ApMB. (bis)} \]
\[ \text{PG. HG. MG. ‘Let not the sap from me (our wealth, etc.) be poured away.’ The ApMB. reference with mat payah should be} \]
\[ \text{2. 9. 14d.} \]

agnir etu prathamo devatābhyaḥ SMB.: agnir aitu prathamo devatānāṁ \]
\[ \text{AG. ŚG. HG. ApMB. ‘First from among (of) the gods.’} \]
\[ \text{apāsmaṇ (KS. apāsya) nairūtām pātān KŚ. ApŚ. ‘Away from him (KS. \])} \]
\[ \text{literally, away his) bonds of destruction.’} \]

§657. Once after the preposition pari (and with a verb of separation), where obviously only an ablative construction is possible, gen. dual forms occur in one form of the variant. They can only be taken in ablative sense. The variant is instructive for the confusion of the two cases, which is helped by the fact that in the singular the two have identical forms in most paradigms (in the context adjoining the variant \[ pāda occur such forms as gīreb, svasuk etc.): \]
\[ \text{pari sarvebhyaḥ jñātābhyaḥ HG. ApMB.: pari pitoṣ ca bhrātoṣ ca PG.} \]
\[ \text{Followed in PG. by sakhyebhya visṛjāmy aham.} \]
§668. Once the ablative of comparison after a comparative varies with the partitive genitive after a superlative. The contexts are different:

bhīṣagbhyo bhīṣaktarāh AV.; bhīṣajān subbhīṣaktarāh AV.

Case attraction

§669. Two other variants show different sorts of case attraction:

tat tvaṁ bībhṛhi punar ā mad aitoḥ (AŚ.† MS. ā mamaitob) TS. AŚ. MS.
Both mean 'until my return'; in TS. (doubtless the original) we
find mad by attraction to the case of the ablative infinitive (cf.
Dellbrück AJS. pp. 90, 431 and our §86). See Oertel 92.

tvāṁ nṛpaṁ nṛpate (KS. tvāṁ nṛbhyo nṛmaṇo) jāyase sūciḥ RV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. TAA. N. Preceded by tvāṁ nṛṣeṣṭhas tvām opadhībhyaḥ.

'thou art produced pure from trees and plants, O lord of men (KS.
'and from men, O thou mindful of men').' KS. has nṛbhyo by
attraction to the case and construction of nṛṣeṣṭhaḥ...
opadhībhyaḥ.

B. Ablative and locative

1. Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case

§660. The source of anything (ablative) may also be regarded as its
original or typical location, and so may be expressed in the locative,
as in:
karkandhu jājīśe madhu sārāghan mukhāḥ (MS. mukhe) VS. MS. KS. TB.

'Jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth.'

§661. Here there is little practical difference. Likewise, even when
no idea of origination is clearly expressed, an action may be spoken of
alternatively as proceeding from, or as taking place in, a place, as in:
tāḥ (VS. ŚB. pra) parvataṣāṃ vṛṣabhayaḥ praṭihāt (TS. KS. praṭhe) VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by nārāḥ ca ranti (nārā-viṣanti).

'the ships proceed from (upon) the back of the mountain-bull.'

Note that the ablative is found in the texts which read pra ('forth'),
but also in MS. which does not.

§662. Yet more clearly does the locative differ in meaning from the
abative in such a variant as:
yadā mahāḥ saṁvaranāḥ (KS. "ye) vy aśṭāḥ RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
KB. ŚB. 'When he (the horse) stepped forth from (in) the enclo-
sure.' (mahāḥ in KS. must be nom. sg.; in the others it may be
this or abl. sg.; Oldenberg decides for the latter.)

§663. These examples will suggest that the psychology of the two
cases generally differs more or less, tho the extent and practical importance of the difference varies greatly, being no doubt least when used with expressions of source or separation or protection. For even with a verb of protecting the threatening danger from which protection is desired may be put in the locative, as denoting the state in which the person finds or fears to find himself:

*eṣā tvā pātū nirṛter upasthāḥ* (TA. nirṛtyā upasthā, AV. prapathe puratāt)
RV. AV. TA. ‘Let this one protect thee from (in) the lap of destruction.’

§664. The following additional examples occur; we quote first those in which the practical difference between the two cases seems least:

śivam praśāhyo ‘kisasantar (KS.† ahiṃs) pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthāḥ (TS. MS. KS. ॐ sthe) aghni (TS. ॐ gni) purṣyam anūgiravat khanāmah (TS. KS.† ॐ mi) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ‘We (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni...’ In the same context:

devasya tvā savitūh prasare ‘śinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyyām pṛthi

vyāḥ sadhasthāḥ (TS. MS. ॐ sthe) aghni (TS.† ॐ gni) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Add to VV 2 §910. Cf. prec.

apāṁ yo madhyyato (KS. madhye) rnas tam aham asmā... gṛhyāmi KS. TB. ‘I take the sap that comes from (is in) the midst of the waters...’

vibhrājamānaḥ sarirasya (MS. salilasya) madhye (TA. ॐ yāt) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ‘Shining in (from) the midst of the waters.’

dīvah (MS. dīvi) śilpam avatamata TB. ApŚ. MS.

tam te (TS. idam te tad) ei śāmy āyuṣo na madhyyāt (MS. KS. nu madhye)

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ‘I loose that (bond of destruction) for thee as from (in) the midst of life.’

bāhucyuto (VS. ŚB. grāvacyuto) dhīṣanāyā (VS. TS. ŚB. dhīṣanayor)

upasthāḥ (KS. ॐ sthe) RV. VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. Vait. MS. Preceded by yas te drapaa skandati yas te aṁśuḥ. Here it seems that KS. must intend a fundamentally different meaning: ‘The drop (of soma) which falls from (but KS. on!) the lap of the bowl (two bowls).’

agniḥ prātāḥsvarane (MS. MS. ॐ nāt) pāte asmān AV. TS. MS. KS. KS. ApŚ. Perhaps MS. asks for protection ‘from (hostile) soma-pressings’; cf. MS. 4. 7. 7; 102. 5 ff., the brāhmaṇa dealing with this mantra, where it is stated that by the mantra the gods obstructed the savannas of the Asuras, and so the sacrificer can obstruct those of his enemies.

a mā sucārite (MS. ॐ tād) bhaja VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS. Pre-
ceded by pāhī māgne duṣcaritāt (VS. ŚB. pari māgne duṣcaritād bādhava). No doubt mechanical attraction to the case of the preceding duṣcaritāt is responsible for the ablative in MŚ. Yet it can be defended in a way: ‘Give us a share from (out of, of) good deeds.’

2. With prepositions

§665. Quite similar to the preceding are variants between ablative and locative after the prepositions adhi and antar. Both cases are found with them, but in different senses; and in the first variant adhi with the ablative varies with the simple locative, without adhi:

tam te vacam āsyā ādatti (read ādade) īrdaya ādatti PG.: ā (HG. om.)

manasyān īrdajād adhi: HG. ApMB. ‘In (from within) thy heart.’

tasyāḥ (TB. tasyāṁ) samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti RV. AV. TB. ŚŚ. N.

‘From (in) her the seas flow forth.’

yam āśeṅā namuci āśuvād adhi (ŚŚ.† namucē āśure adhi) VS. MS. KS. SB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Followed by sarasvaty asunod indriyāya.

Cf. Bloomfield JAOS. 15. 144 ff. on the Namuci story. Some verb, doubtless a form of su, is understood: ‘which (soma) the Āśvins (pressed out) from (in) the Āsura Namuci.’ The word ādhi in ŚŚ. certainly contains a corruption of adhi.

ye derā devege (MS. KS. devebhyo) adhi devatram āyan VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ‘What gods have arrived at godhood over the gods (from among the gods).’ The abl. with adhi seems about the equivalent of a partitive gen,

samudrasya dhi viṣṭapi (RV.∗ pahi) RV. (bis) SV. In different contexts.

Cf. also samudrasya dhi viṣṭapi (SV.∗ pe) manīcina RV. SV.

ya uṣiriya apiya (SV. api ya) antar aśmanah (SV.∗ ni) RV. SV. ‘The cows from within (SV. the cows within) the rock.’

§666. On the other hand, ā with the ablative may mean ‘up to’ and so may interchange with the loc. (and the acc.) of goal with no difference of meaning:

āsyā yajñasyodreca VS. ŚB.; svasti mā sam vahāsa yajñasyodreça svāhā AV.; svasti mā sampūrayōsa yajñasyodreca ŚŚ. See §523.

3. In adverbial forms

§667. Adverbially used ablatives have a tendency to pale out, so that no distinctly ablative function remains. They then become interchangeable with locative adverbs or locative phrases:
āre (TS: ārāt) te yoghnam (TS. ०na) uta pūrṣaghnam (TS. ०ne) RV. TS. Both mean simply ‘far off’, not ‘from afar’.
yās te rudra purastāt (AG. pūrvasyān diśi) senās tābhya eṣa balis tābhyaṣ te namah (AG. senās tābhya enad) AG. PG. Here there may be in the abl. a suggestion of ‘from the east’, but it is hard to be sure of it.

4. Case attraction

§668. The following (cf. also ṛ mā sukāre etc., §664) seems to be an instance of mechanical case-attraction:
āre asman (MS. NīlarU. asmin) ni dhee tam VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. One ms. and p.p. of MS. read asman (asmat). If asmin is sound it must be attracted to the case of āre: ‘in this distant (place)’ instead of ‘far from us’.

5. Phrase inflection

§669. Phrase inflection is found in the following:
(sīse mṛdhvam nade mṛdhvam) agnau sanākasuke ca yat AV.: (āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu) agneḥ sanākasukac ca yat AV. Both times Pp. reads agnih sanākusakā ca yah. Caland KZ. 34. 450 f. considers both AV. pādas ‘phrase-inflections’ of what Pp. (substantially) reads. See §§433, 450.
tritiyāyā ito divāh ApMB.: tritiyāyāṁ ito divī AV. HG. Wholly different contexts.
aṅgād-aṅgād lomno-lomnaḥ RV. AV. ApMB.: aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni AV. In the first passage the abs. depend on vi vṛhāmi; the second is followed by yas (sc. yakṣmas) te parvāṇi-parvāṇi.

6. Miscellaneous

§670. A few miscellaneous cases remain:
ma te yuṣoma sanādrāh AV.: ma te yuṣoma sanādrī (LŚ.† sanādaka [īti]) AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG. ‘May we not be separated from sight of thee’: ‘may there be no yuṣoma (lacuna? TA. comm. chūdram) in thy sight.’ In LŚ. a form of sanādrā, (either ०saḥ or ०se would be possible) must be intended. If not a mere misprint, as we suspect (so Whitney on AV.), this should be added to VV 2 §631.
varṣīyo (VS. ŚB. varṣo) varṣīyai yajcna yajñapatiś dhāḥ TS. VS. ŚB.: varṣīyo varṣīyau yajñam yajñapatau dhāḥ MS. KS. Addressed to atmosphere: ‘Being more extended, establish the sacrificer in a more extended sacrifice’: ‘being more extended than the more extended, establish sacrifice in the sacrificer.’ The latter is doubt-
C. Genitive and locative

1. Locative of position: adnominal genitive

§671. Most of the variants between these two cases are approximately equivalent in meaning. The person or place in which something is located may be thought of as the possessor of it (possessive gen.), or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen.). Naturally the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw; in the first mentioned cases the gen. seems clearly possessive:

*mayy ādīr.* (Pp., Ks., mamāśir) astu mayi (Pp., Ks.,† mama) devahūtih

RV. AV. Pp. TS. Ks. ‘May prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine).’

asmakum (TS. asmās) sanu ādīrəh VS. TS. MS. Ks. ŠB. SS.

yad devanāini (VS. devašu) tryāyusam VS. VSK. ŠG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Preceded even in VS. by tryāyusam jamadagneh, kaśyapasya tryāyusam (with slight variations in order). VS. is isolated and so may be suspected of being secondary. Were it original we might think of case attraction to the preceding gens. in the others.


yat prthivyaṃ (MahānU. vyā) rajaḥ svam TA. MahānU. ‘What rajas is (of) the earth.’

yā te patiṃhī tanuḥHG.: yā te patiṃhī tanuḥPG.: yā te patiṃhī tanuḥSG.: yā te patiṃhī tanuḥApMB. ‘What husband-slaying body (form) is thine (in her).’

dtrgham yac caṣṣur aditer anantam AS.: yad āhūṣ caṣṣur adīrəv anantam

PB. JB. (See Oertel, Disjunct Use of Cases §48. 24R.)

mā tvaṃ harṣiḥ śrutam mayi PG.: śrutam me mā pra hāsīḥ RVKh.

dhruvaśīḥ poṣya (PG. poṣye) mayi RVKh. SG. PG. ApMB.: maneyam astu poṣya AV. ‘Be steadfast...in (with, bei) me’: ‘let this woman be mine, prosperer.

vihaya rogam tanuḥ svāyāḥ (TA. tanuḥ svāyāḥ) AV. TA. ‘Abandoning disease of (in) their own body.’

anvātānśiśi tvayi (MS. ‘tānsus tava) tantum etam VS. TS. MS. Ks. ŠB. ‘He (they) spun out this thread in thee (of thine).’
aham prajä ajanayaṁ prthivyāṁ (MG. "vyah, ApMB. pṛṣṇām) RV. ApMB. MG. 'I produced offspring on (of) the earth (the fathers).'
akah su (TA. sa) lokah sukṛtaṁ prthivyāḥ (VS. ŚB. "vyāṁ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'He hath made an excellent place of (on) the earth.'
The gen. may perhaps better be called partitive than possessive.
yasyā dās (KS. imās) tanno vitaprsthāḥ AV. KS.: yasyā bahyvas (RVKh. VS. yasyāṁ imā bahyvas, TB. yasyāi bahēs) tanno (tanno) viitaprsthāḥ RVKh. VS. MS. TB. 'Whose (in whom) ... are smooth-backed forms.'

asamātin yṛheṣu n행 AV.: yṛhān asamāryaṁ TS. See §486.
patyau (ApMB. patyur) me śloka uttamaṁ RV. ApMB. 'My supreme renown rests in my husband (is my husband's),'
sarasvatyāṁ adhi manāv acarkṛṣṇuḥ AV.; sarasvatyā adhi manāv (KS. māṇā, v. l. manā; SMB. Jörgensen manāv) acarkṛṣṇa (varr., VV 1 §136) KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. SMB. PG. Preceded by madhunā samyutan yaryam, 'Barley mingled with honey they plowed on the Sarasvati (river)', AV. The form sarasvatyā has been interpreted in all sorts of ways, as gen. 'with honey of Sarasvati' (TB. comm., Stenzler, Caland), as instr. (in spite of the sandhī; Oldenberg SBE. 29. 338), as abl. (Jörgensen on SMB.), and as dat. (VV 1 §136). We now think gen. or abl. most likely.
tāsu (sc. dikṣu) tvāntar jarasy ādadāhāmi AV.; tāṣāṁ (sc. diṣṭaṁ) tvā jarasa ādadāhāmi TB. HG. ApMB. 'I establish thee in old age within them (unto their old age, i.e. unto as long life as the directions possess; so rightly TB. comm.).'

§672. Peculiar and deserving of special rubrication are the following cases, in which the loc. is parallel with another loc., on which the gen. depends in the other form of the variant (cf. §85):

asyā (MG.‡ asyāṁ) nāryā gavinyoh (MG. "nyām) AV. MG. (the latter also has a v. l. nāryāṁ); asyāṁ nārayāṁ gavinyām RVKh. ApMB. 'In this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)'; 'in this woman, in her canal.' Assuming that the gen. is original, we may see case-attraction in the loc.

kūsaṁ na madhye nābhyāṁ (MS. "yāḥ) VS. MS. TB. 'In the middle, (viz.) in the navel'; 'in the middle of the navel.' As prec.

ye 'do (MS. amī, KS. vādo, VS. ŚB. vāmi, NīlarU. cāmi) rocane dīvah (NīlarU. dīvi) RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. NīlarU. As prec. The phrase rocane dīvah is standard from RV. on; clearly case-assimilation in NīlarU.
prāthe prthiviya (AV, nābha prthiviyaṁ) niḥito davidyatat AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. As prec.; Ppp. is reported by Whitney to read prthiviyaḥ, which is standard after nābha (see Conc. under this initial).

§673. To these we may append a case in which the loc. noun which governs the possessive gen. is omitted in the variant form, thus compelling the use of loc. instead of gen.;
viṣvalopa viṣkādāvasya tvāsaṁ jayah mi TS. GB. Vait.: viśukā viṣkādāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā MS. 'I offer thee in the mouth of the burner of all (in the burner of all)'

§674. Essentially similar, also, is the following in which the gen. depends on an adverb (madhyato) which, while abl. in form, is essentially loc. in meaning; Ppp. uses a loc. of the noun instead of the gen.;
asambādham badhyato (read ma") mānavānām (Ppp. "oṣu") AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623. 'In the midst of men'; 'in the midst, among men.'

§675. The gen. after adjectives of nearness or similarity is doubtless to be felt as objective in character:
syāma sumnasyādhṛigo (SV, sumne te adhṛigo) RV. SV. Preceded by ni nediṣṭhatam īṣāh. 'Let us be nearest to the draught, to (in) thy grace.'
taṁ id arbhe hariṣī a samānām it, tam in mahē ṇṛnate nāṇyaṁ tvat RV.:
tvāṁ arhaśya hariṣā samānām it, tvāṁ maho ṇṛnate (TB. Ap ś. add naro) nāṇyaṁ tvat SV. KS. TB. Ap ś. 'Him they choose alike at the small oblation and at the large'; 'thee they choose alike for (equal to, equally capable of? Caland 'als gleichen für') the small' etc. For the gen. with words of likeness cf. Speyer VSS. §70c.

§676. Definitely objective is the genitive in the following cases, with nouns or adjectives containing verbal force, in which the two forms are practical equivalents:
aiśī̄ kṣayaṇa upapṛk prthiviyaḥ (TB. "vyām") RV. MS. TB. N.;
nanāndari samrājñi bhava RV. SMB. ApMB.: nanānduḥ samrājñi edhi AV. 'Be queen over thy sister-in-law.' In the same verse:
samrājñi śvaśravāṁ (śvaśravāṁ) bhava RV. SMB. ApMB.: samrājñi uta śvaśravāḥ AV.
pracyāṁ disī (AV, pracyā disas) tvam iṇḍrāsī rājā AV. TS. MS. KS. In the same verse:
utodicṣāṁ vṛtrahān vṛtrahāśi TS. MS. KS.: utodicṣā diso vṛtrahān chatriko 'si AV.

2. After the preposition antar

§677. Delbrück AIS. p. 445 f. ignores the construction of antar with the gen., which is however indubitable, cf. §142. In the following
variant gen. and loc. with antar interchange. Tho another loc. follows, the gen. cannot depend upon it:

\[ \text{ukhāyāḥ} (\text{TS. } ^{9}\text{pați}, \text{MS. } ^{7}\text{yām}) \text{ sadāns } \text{see } \text{VS. } \text{TS. } \text{MS. } \text{KS. } \text{Preceded by antar agne rueḍ tvam.} \]

3. Adverbial uses

§678. In several variants we have, certainly or possibly, both cases used adverbially to express time. On the gen. of time see especially Oldenberg RVNoten on 1. 79. 6.

dive-dīva (AV. dīva-dīva) \( \text{ā svaḥ bhūri pasvāḥ} \) AV. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
dive-dive is certainly loc. in sense, whatever be the historic origin of the form (see §395, and for the most recent theory of the form Sturtevant, TAPA. 62 [1931] 20).

\[ \text{madhu nakam utojasah} (\text{KS. } ^{9}\text{sā}, \text{TS. } \text{TA. } ^{7}\text{si}) \text{ RV. VS. } \text{TS. } \text{MS. } \text{KS.} \]

\[ \text{ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahāṅU. Kauś. } \text{See } \text{§584.} \]

\[ \text{aktor vyuṣṭau paritakmyāyāḥ } (\text{and } ^{9}\text{yām}) \text{ RV. (both). Uncertain; see } \text{RVRep. on 5. 30. 13} \]

\[ \text{and literature there quoted, especially Oldenberg RVNoten.} \]

§679. The following variant is also obscure and dubious. We are inclined to feel that both \( \text{parinasaḥ} \) and \( ^{7}\text{si} \) are adverbial (not, of course, temporal), meaning approximately ‘with plenty’ or ‘plentifully’. Despite Oldenberg RVNoten ad loc. we incline to separate the word from \( \text{kasya} \). But it may be felt as ablative rather than genitive. Ludwig’s interpretation makes it abnominal gen. with \( \text{dhiya} \), which is perhaps also possible:

\[ \text{kasya } \text{nunam } \text{parinasaḥ} (\text{SV. } ^{7}\text{si}) \text{ RV. SV. } \text{Followed by } \text{dhiya jīvasi} \]

\[ \text{dampate (SV. satpate).} \]

4. Dependent on verbs

§680. Verbs of drinking take a (partitive) genitive, which varies with a locative once or twice (as well as an accusative, §501):

\[ \text{papuḥ sarvasvatyā nadyāḥ} (\text{MŚ. } ^{9}\text{tyāṁ nadyām, KS. } \text{ApŚ. } ^{7}\text{tin nādim}) \]

\[ \text{Vait. } \text{KS. } \text{ApŚ. } \text{MŚ.} \]

\[ \text{tava} (\text{SV. tve}) \text{ viśe sajoṣasaḥ RV. SV. } \text{Followed by } \text{devaṁuḥ pūtim asata.} \]

Here \( \text{pūtim } \text{āsata} \) ‘obtained a drink’ may be regarded as a paraphrase for ‘drank’, and it seems to us that the gen. and loc. are both best regarded as comparable to the same cases in the preceding variant; so Ludwig construes \( \text{tava} \), while Grassmann takes it as possessive, ‘thy drink’, and Benfey takes \( \text{tve} \) as dependent on \( \text{sajoṣasaḥ}. \)

Wackernagel 3 p. 462 quotes \( \text{tve} \) here as the only new post-Rigvedic occurrence of the form.
§681. The gen. in the following, with root ra, seems also to be partitive; it may be influenced by the gen. in the following clause:
yā sarasvatī visābhagīṇī tasyā no (ApŚ. visābhagīṇā tasyāṁ me) rāśva
tasyāṁ te bhaktiveṇo bhūyāsma KS. ApŚ. 'Grant us (me) [a share]
of (in) her.'

§682. With the verb adhi-i 'think on' the gen. (or acc.) is regular. In the following variant MG. has a loc., perhaps influenced by thought of the literal, etymological meaning 'go upon' (adhi + loc.). It should also be noted that the following pāda (yēṣu saumanaśanā mahat in MG.) has a loc. which is approximately parallel and may have exercised some influence:
yēṣāṁ (MG. yēṣu) adhyeti pravasan AV. VS. ApŚ. LS. SG. HG. MG.

5. Transfer of epithet

§683. Transfer of epithet (§§14–6) is found in the following:
sukīṁ sukre ahany ojasīna (MS. ahann ojasīne, KS.† sukro ahany ojasye,
AŚ. 'hany ojasīnām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §447.
svasty apesv vrjane svaravi (MG.† vrjane svarvataḥ) RV. AB. MG. 'In
the bright place': 'in the path of the bright one.' The original has
an epithet of vrjane, which MG. changes to an independent form.
Some MG. mss. point to the RV. reading.

6. Miscellaneous

§684. The rest are unclassifiable:
ava tara (TS. avattaraṁ) nadiśvā VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.: avattaro nadināṁ
AV. Too obscure to make any interpretation of nadināṁ worth
giving; see VV 2 §833.
samrājyaṁ vatvā indro ganešu MS.: samrājyaḥ sa yudha indro ganeṇa
RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KA. See §607.
agnā u (SB. also agner) vauvane vauvadheyaṣya vauvācjhak ŚB. (both)
AŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole; various case-forms of agni are used in
mechanical modulations of the formula.
asūrte (MS. KS. *tā, KapŚ. *tāḥ) sūrte rajasi niṣatte (MS. niṣattā, KS.
nasattā) RV. VS. MS. KS. KapŚ. N.: asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne
TS. The latter is a reconstruction containing a reminiscence of
RV. 10. 123, 1, which contains rajaso vimāne.
mā no (mā) hiśiṣṭ janītaḥ yah prthivyāḥ (KapŚ. *yāṁ) RV. VS. VSK.
TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. ŚB. ApŚ. Raghu Vira emends to *yāḥ (cf.
Oertel 19), but the loc. can be construed with the following pāda.
CHAPTER XXVII

SINGULAR AND PLURAL

1. Generalizing singular and plural

§685. Among the variations between singular and plural (see §§112–7 for a summary), the great majority concern the use of a generic singular, in variation with a plural which may be specific, referring to particular individuals of the class, or may itself be general, including them all. As a rule there is little real difference of meaning between the two forms. The singular tends to think of the class as a whole, the plural of the individuals which compose it. Sometimes the singular seems to be a distinct collective; but more often it merely indicates the genus, without centering the attention upon the individuals which compose it. For instance, as in military language today, 'the enemy' may mean the whole hostile army. Likewise 'the sacrifice', as an institution or type, varies with 'sacrifices' as individual acts (but usually not conceived specifically; rather all 'sacrifices' in general). And so one may say equally well 'good deed', generically, or 'good deeds'; 'food' or 'foods'; 'praise' or 'praises'; 'heroism' or 'heroisms' (that is, deeds of heroism), and so forth.

§686. In some of the cases which we shall feel obliged to list under this heading, it is very possible that the singular may have been felt specifically, of a single definite individual. So notably with the word āgni 'fire' (§691). At times it cannot be doubted that reference was made to one particular fire, especially one of the three sacred fires, while the plural form refers to several individuals (say, to the three sacred fires). Where we find definite evidence that the change between singular and plural was of this sort, we shall classify the variant in the appropriate place below (§740). It is, however, usually hard to identify such cases,—to separate them from instances of the generic singular; and the latter is so common and so characteristic of the Vedic language that as a rule we tend to assume it in default of clear evidence to the contrary.

Āmredita compounds

§687. Sanskrit has a special device for expressing clearly the notion of generalization in connection with a noun: the use of repeated
(āmṛedīta) compounds. They may be used in either the singular or the plural to denote every individual of the genus. Once a plural āmṛedīta varies with a singular modified by the word viśeva 'all', so that the two expressions are equivalent. In another case a singular āmṛedīta varies with an obviously generalizing plural which, tho there is no word like viśeva, can only mean substantially the same thing:

viśo-viṣāḥ praviśāṃsas āmhe AV.; viκasayām viṣ praviśāṃsas (KS.† praviśāṃsas) āmhe TS. MS. KS. ruho ruroha (TB. rohān-roham) rohita ā ruroha AV. TB.

§688. We now proceed to give the lists containing a presumably generalizing singular in variation with a plural, arranging them under semantic categories, beginning with:

§689. (1) Words connected with the ritual. Among ritual words we find first the 'sacrifice' itself (yajña) and its more specific designations (havya, havis, etc.):

asman rāya uta yajñaḥ (KS.† yajñaḥ) sacantām TS. KS. ApŚ.; yuṣmān rāya uta yajña asaṣcata MS.
yajñaṁ yad yajñavāhasah AV.; yajnair vi (TB. vo) yajñavāhasah RV. TS. TB.
tvaṣṭa rūpāṇi (AŚ. rūpena) samanaktu yajñaḥ (AŚ. yajñam) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KS.
bodhāmasa te haryasva yajñaḥ (MS. yajñe) RV. SV. MS. See §602. yajñāya stīrṇāharhiṣe vi vo made RV. AŚ.: yajñesu stīrṇaharhiṣam vīvakṣate SV.

brahma yajñaḥ (MS. yajñāḥ) prthivīṃ dhārayanti AV. MS.
dvebhyaḥ havyaṁ (MS. MS. MG. havyaḥ) vahatu prajānaṇa RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Vait. MS. Kauś. MG.
havya marteṣu rāṇyati RV.: havyain martāṣa indhate SV.
jātavedah prati havyā gṛbhāya AV. SMB.: jātavedo havir idam juṣasa AŚ. ApŚ. MS. HG.
agnir havih (AV. VS. TS. MS. havyaṁ) kamātā sūdayati (AV. svadayatu) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: agnir havyāni sīṣvadat RV.: agnir havyaḥ sūṣudati RV.
atandro havyaḥ (SV. havyaṁ) vahasi haviśkṛte RV. SV.
yajnair juhoti haviṣā yajusā (TB. juhoti yajusā havirbhīḥ) AV. TB.: yajñair vidhema namasā havirbhīḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.
purā sātyād (TB. disṭād) āhutīṁ hantiḥ avya (TB. āhutir avya hantu) AV. TB.

ya āhutīṁ (JUB. ॐ) atyamanyanta devāḥ AV. JUB.: tās te gachante āhutīṁ (KS. ॐ) gṛṭaya TA. KS.
pitara āyuṣmantaḥ te svadhāyāyuṣmantatḥ (PG. svadhābhīr āyuṣḥ) TS. PG. §890. The words used at the sacrifice, whether spoken or sung (stoma, praṣasti, arka, uktha, brahmaṇa, mati, sūkta, yajus, sāman). Here also may be placed the variants involving the words dhi, veda, chandas, and several others that have to do with meter.

laved u stomaṁ (SV. stomaiś) ciketa RV. AV. SV. stomena prati bhūṣati RV.; stomebhīr bhūṣati prati SV. apāṁ uta praṣastiṣu (RV.† praṣastaye, AV. VSK. ॥tibhiḥ) RV. AV. VVS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tava praṣastayo mahī (SV. ॥sastaye mahe) RV. SV. yan mitraṁ na praṣāstibhiḥ (SV. ॥taye) RV. SV. ghṛtenākram abhya arcaniḥ vatsam AV.: tam arkaṁ abhya arcaniḥ vatsam TB. agnir ukthena vāhasa VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ, ŚŚ.: agnir ukthaya anhasum AV. vocad brahmāṇi (SV. brahmatis) ver u tait RV. SV. See §269. saṁ brahmaṇa (AV. ॥nāṁ) devakṛtan (RV. AV. devakītan) yad asti RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See §587. idām brahma pīrpī subhagāya MS.: imā brahma pīρpi saubhagāya VS. KS. ŚB. (Eggeling wrongly considered brahma u vocetivo.)

ato matir (SV. matim) janayata svadhābhī (RV. SV. imā (TS. imāṁ) rūḍrāya tavasse kapardine, kṣayadevāya pra bharāmahe matiḥ (TS. matim) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. sūkta (KS. sūktam) brahī VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MS. rksāmbhuyāṁ santartanto yajurbhī (TS. ॥bhūyāṁ yajuṣaṁ santarantat) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.


udgātaḥ sāmāṁ (MŚ. 2. 5. 4. 25, 4. 4. 11 sāma) gāya GB. MŚ. (MŚ. 4. 2. 10 has sāmāṁ, but v. 1. sāma.)

tatataṣa savita dhiyāḥ (VS. dhiyam) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. vedāṣya (MG. vedāṇāṁ) nidhīpy bhūyāsam AG. PG. MG. chandāṇā (KS. chando) gacha svāhā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. chandasa (MS. chandobhir) harisah śuciṣat VS. MS. KS. TB. gāyatrīṁ chando anu sanrābhadhwam MS.: gāyatrīṁ chandāṇy anu sanrābhantām KS. ApŚ.

drīpadā yā ca tatuspadā (VS. yās tatuspadāḥ), tripadā yā ca satpadā (VS. yāḥ ca satpadāḥ), vichandā yā (VS. yāḥ) ca sachandāḥ (TS. KSA. sachandā yā ca vichandāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Supply re or reah.

avanuvastra bhṛhat ir na śakvariḥ (MS. KS. bhṛhati na śakvari, AŚ. bhṛhati tu śakvari) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by:

imāṁ yajñam avatu (TS. avantu) yā (TS. AŚ. no) ghrācī (TS. ॥cīḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.: dīśāṁ devy (MS. tevy) avatu no ghrācī TS. MS. AŚ.
vi śloka etu (AV. eti, TS. ŚvetU. ślokā yanti) pathyeva (KS. patheva)
sūre (AV. MS.† sūrī, TS. ŚvetU. sūrāḥ, KS.† sūrāḥ) RV. AV. 
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ŚvetU.

§691. The sacrificial fire. See above, §686. It is often impossible
to say whether a single fire, or the individual god Agni, is meant by the
singular, or ‘fire(s)’ in general:
te asmā (KS. 'smā) agnaye (ApŚ. MS. v. l. "yo) dravīṇām (KS. "nāṁ)
dattvā MS. KS. ApŚ.
agnīr me hotā sa mopahyataṁ ŠB.: agne gṛhapata upa mā hṛvayaṁ KS.
ApŚ. MS.: agnaya upāvṛdayadhvam Vait. The last no doubt refers
definitely to the three sacred fires.
agnaye svistatyte svāhā TB. TAA. etc.: agniḥbhāyaṃ svistakṛdyāya svāhā
KS. The latter refers to the three fires.
agnīṁ (ApŚ. agnīn) sanādeḥēḥ MS. MS. ApŚ.
īhaiva san tatra sato yo anagnayā TB. ApŚ.; īhaiva san (MS. sans; so also
TB. Poona ed.) tatra sanantā tvāgane TB. AŚ. MS.
raudrānākena pāhī māgne (VS. Vait. pāṭa māgnyah) VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚŚ. Vait. 18. 8. Followed by:
pipṛta māgnayāḥ (KS. pipṛṭī māgne) VS. KS. Vait.
ye agnayo aṣev antar ye vṛtre, ye puruṣe ye aṣmasu AV.: yo aṣev antar
agnir yo vṛtre, yah puruṣe yo aṣmāni MS. KS. ApŚ. Ppp. also
intends the latter reading,

§692. Various utensils and appurtenances of the ritual.
ukhyāṁ (AV. ukhyān) hastesu bīhrataḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.
samidham (Kauś. HG. "dhā) ē dhehi ŠB. ŠG. Kauś. SMB. PG. GG. HG.
asāv etat te vāsāh GG.: etat vaḥ pitaro vāsāḥ (VS. vāṣā adhāta) VS.
VSK. AŚ. SMB.: etāni vaḥ pitaro vāsāni ApŚ. HG. The ‘clothing’
is the threads, wool, or hair placed on each cake offered to the
Pitrās.
ā me graha bhavaṁ (KSA. graha bhavantu) ā puroruk TS. KSA.
byhaspatisutasya... graham grhṇāmi (KS. grahaṁ rādhyāsam, VS. VSK.
ŠB. grahaṁ rādhyāsam, MS. grahaṁ rādhyāsam) VS. VSK. TS. MS.
KS. ŠB.
nir āhāvān (KS. "vanī) kṛṇotana RV. TS. KS. Followed or preceded by:
san varatā (KS. "trān, i.e. "trān) dadhātana, same texts.
śravaṇte āpo dhīṣanāḥ ca deviḥ (MS. dhīṣanā ca deviḥ) VS. TS. MS. (bis)
KS. ŠB. In MS. both passages show both readings in the mss.;
von Schroeder finally adopted the singular in both passages.
upāstārṇa kalasāḥ (MS. "vāḥ kalasāḥ) somo agnīḥ (MS. somadhanāḥ)
TS. MS. ApŚ.
srkvāṇaḥ ghamam abhi vāvāśāṇā RV. AV. N.: trīṇ ghamān abhi vāva-
śāna AV. Tho the passages are obscure, there is little doubt that
gharma is a ritualistic word, probably the pot in which the milk
is heated (so Oldenberg RVNolen), or perhaps the hot milk itself
(Bloomfeld SBE. 42. 590 is doubtful which is meant).
ayan, ŚG. yaman, PG. ypa, HG. ayann iva, MG. airayam) AV. AG. 
ŚG. PG. HG. APMB. MG. But see §412.]

§693. The drink soma and associated concepts. As for agni (§691),
it is difficult to distinguish the drink from the god who is the drink.
ukthaśā yaja soma.nām (AA. * KS. * APŠ. * MS. * soma.sya) AA. (bis) KS.
(bis) APŠ. (ter) MŚ. (ter): om ukthaśā yaja soma.sya AA.
soma.sya.gne (ŚŚ. * soma.nām agne) vihi AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (bis) Vait. APŠ.
suta indrāya vāyave, ...somo arṣāti viṣṇave RV.: suta indrāya vāyave,
...somo arṣāti (SV. 2 tu) viṣṇave RV. SV. The pāda suta indrāya 
vāyave appears in PB. as a pratīka, and again in RV. followed by:
somās da.da.yāśīrāh,
te (RV. *sa) viśvā dasūṣe vasu, soma (RV. *somo) divyānī pārthivā RV.
(bis) SV. The teca containing the plural is surrounded by tecas
referring to soma in the sing. It may be suspected (cf. RVRep.
on 9. 36. 4) that the plurals accompany a plurality in the ritual.
indra pība su.lānām RV.: imam indra sutaṁ pība RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
APŚ.
yu ḍajagana (N. 2 mūḥ) savane mā (read in AV. savanemā, TS. KS. sav-
anedam, N. savanam idam, VS. MS. ŚB. ḍajagmedam savanam) jūsānāh
AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.
made suśipram (SV. madeṣu śipram) andhasā RV. SV. See VY 2 §339.
[pavamāna (SV. 2 nā, misprint) viḍhharṣyati RV. SV.]

§694. Other materials offered, including ghee, medas, māsara, idā,
purodaśa.
tvām agne pradive ṛtuṁ gaḥtreno (RV. gaḥтраh) RV. TB. APŚ.
achāyam eti kāvasā gaḥtreno (AV. gaḥtra cit) AV. VS. TS. MS.
ād it gaḥtreno prthivī vy udyate (AV.† prthivīn vy śudh) RV. AV. MS.
KS. N.: ād it prthivī gaḥтраr vy udyate TS.: gaḥtreno dyāvaprthivī vy
undhi (KS. vijundan) RV. KS.

ghtraîn (SV. gaḥtra) vasānāḥ pari yāsi nirṛjyam RV. SV.
śruccaḥyāṁ juhvataḥ AV.: śruccaḥyena juhvataḥ TB. Poona ed. (Cone. with
Bibl. Ind. ed. corruptly śruccaḥyena juhvata).
viśvēbhya devēbhya (MS. 2 bhyaḥ) uṣrānāṁ chāgānāṁ meṣānāṁ (MS. ch
mō uṣrā) vāpāṁśaṁ medasiṁ anubṛhī (MS. medaso 'nubṛhī) APŚ.
MS. Also with presṣya for anubṛhī.
candrarapagor medasām anubha (and preṣya) ApŚ.: hayasya chāgasyora
rasya candrarapāṇāṁ medasā 'nubha (and 9sah preṣya) MS.
medasāṁ (VSK. medasa) seāh VS, VSK. MS. TB.; medobhyāh svahā VS.
asīh majjānam māsara (MS. māsaram) VS, MS. KS. TB.
sajār agnir vaśvānara iḍābhīḥ TS.; sajār vaśvānara iḍāyā (VSK. iḍāyā)
VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.
iṣaṁ no mitrāva varuṇah pinvatodhā ŚV. avipatāh puroḍāśena (VSK. 9vrdhata puroḍāśena) VS. VSK.; avierdhanta
puroḍāsaiḥ (9tāsīḥ) VS. VSK. KS.; avierdhetāṁ puroḍāśena (AŚr.
9dāśīh) MS. AŚ.
agnim adya hotāram...puroḍāsanaḥ (9sān) grhṇān (bhadrnaṁ, etc.)...
VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. Six items, see Cone.
§695. Priestly personages and the yajamānāṁ.
somaś ca yo brāhmaṇāṁ (TA. 9naṁ) ārveśa RV. AV. TA.
brāhmaṇāṁ (MS. brāhmaṇāṁ) sāntiḥ MS. TA.
punar brahmāno (AV. brahma, Ppp. brahmāno) vasunītha (vasunītir,
dhilam, 9dhile) yajñāiḥ (agne) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
gṛbir vīpṛḥa pramatim ičhamāṇāḥ (TB. 9vpiruḥ...ičhamāṇāḥ) RV. MS.
KS. TB. (bis) AŚ.; dhībir vīpṛḥa pramatim ičhamāṇāḥ RV. MS.
sa indra stomaṁvasaṁ (SV. 9hosa) iha śrudhi RV. SV.
mā te rīṣann upasattāro agne (and, upasattāro grhṇāṁ sāle) AV. (both):
mā ca rīṣad upasattā te agne VS. TS. MS. KS.
praiṭu hotuṁ ca namaḥ pra brahmaṇaḥ proddāṭṭañāṁ (ApŚ. MS. proddāṭāḥ;
ApŚ. also 9uha, proddāṭānāṁ) pra yajamāṇasya (ApŚ. adda pra sada-
syaśa) SB, KS. ApŚ. MS.
agnir daivāṁ (ŚB. KS. ha daivāṁ) viśāṁ puraätyayam (MS. 9yam
suvan) yajamāṇo manusyāṇāṁ SB, KS. ApŚ. MS.; agnir daivāṁ
viśāṁ puraätyayam suvanato yajamāṇa manusyāṇāṁ MS.
mucceevasaḥ yajñāṁ muñca yajñapatiṁ atihasoḥ svahā KS.; muñcevasa
aḥhasaḥ TS. TB.; muñcevasam amūn aḥhasoḥ svahā AV.
hravase no maṅkonaḥ (SV. maṅkonaṁ) RV. SV.
tenya yantu yajamāṇaṁ svasti MS.; tennātu yajamāṇaṁ svasti (KS. 9ApŚ.
svasṭya) TS. KS. (ter) ApŚ. On this plural see VV 1 p. 258.
nayanto garbhaṁ vanaṁ dhīyāṁ dhūṁ RV.; nayantam gṛbir vanaṁ dhīyāṁ
dhūṁ SV. See §399.
§696. The daksīṇāṁ.
yat pārtaṁ yāṁ ca daksīṇāṁ VS. ŚB.; yad dattam yā ca daksīṇā TS.
daksīṇābhyaḥ (KSA. daksīṇāyai) svahā TS. KSA.
ry vaśā brahmandaḥ tare garbhaḥ praiṣanivido jarāyu yajñye vatsa daksīṇa
(ApŚ. daksīṇāḥ) pīuyāḥ KS. ApŚ.
yajñaṁ ca daksīṇā ca (ApMB. 9naṁ ca daksīṇe) ŠG. ApMB.
§697. (2) Divine personages.
yad devā devam ayajanta viśe RV.: yad devā devān haviṣṭāyantā AV.
Different contexts; no specific god seems to be meant in RV.
ādityam (RV., VS. TS. MS. ŚB. adityān) viṣṇum sūryam RV. AV. SV.
VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
nama ādityāya diviśkṣite lokasprte (MU. śmṛte) KSA. MU.: nama ādityāyā
debhyāś ca viśeśbhyāś ca deveśbhyo diviśkṣidbhya lokaksidbhyaḥ ChU.
vi parjanyān (TS. yāḥ) srjantī (MS. KS. prā parjanyah srjatāṃ) rodayati
ānu RV. TS. MS. KS.
dīkṣāpālāya vanatam (TB. pūlabhyo 'vanatam) hi sakrā TB. AS.
āmanasya devā (MS. sa) yā (MS. yāḥ, KS. yās) strīyah... TS. MS. KS.
āmanasya devā (MS. sa) ye putrāḥ (KS. putrāsah).... MS. KS.
āmanasya devā (MS. MS. sa) ye sajātāḥ... TS. MS. KS. MS. 'The
god(s) of affection' seem to be nonce-gods, whose number of course
is also invented for the occasion.

vratānām vratapate (Kauś. taya) vratam acārī sam (MS. acārīm) MS.
TA. Kauś.
anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatiṃ manyatām (KS. dīkṣāpatayo manyadhvam)
anu (ŚB. patīr amanastānu) tapas tapaspatiḥ (KS. patayāḥ) VS.
TS. KS. ŚB. GB. Vait.: anu ma idam vratam vratapatiṃ manyatām
anu dīkṣām dīkṣāpatiṃ aṇiṣād MS.: upa mā dīkṣāyāṃ dīkṣāpatayo
hoṣadheva MS.
niṣāṅgine (HG. gībhyaḥ) svāhā Ap.MB. HG. niṣāṅgīn = Rudra; the
plural = the Rudras, or Rudra's hosts.
niṣāṅgīna upa sṛṅsata HG.: niṣāṅgīn upa sṛṅsā Ap.MB.
ārtavā dhihaṣiṣṭā dhihaṣiṣṭā TS.: ārtavā dhihaṣiṣṭaṇya āsan VS. ŚB.: rtaṃ dhihaṣiṣṭa
Āgaina āsan MS. KS. Perhaps better to be placed with §709.
vaseṅdṛa pariṭram asi TS. MS. KS. TB. Ap. MS.: vasoḥ pariṭram asi
VS. KS. ŚB. KS.
vaseṅa ca viśeṣhāṃ vasuḥhātaraḥ ca AV.: vasuḥ setiṣṭha vasuḥhātamanath
cā VS. TS. MS. KS. The latter is original; Pp. agrees with it (JAOS.
42. 108).
indraḥoṣas (MS. KS. pu) tīrvasubhiḥ purastāt pātu (KS. tēvasaḥ
pu pātu, MS. tēvasubhiḥ purastād pātu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.:
indragoṣas vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām TA. The meaning of
indragoṣa and the corresponding terms in the next two variants
is uncertain; some sort of nonce-deity, or strained epithet of a deity.
The commentators suggest the gods that are appropriate to the
directions named (Agni, Yama, Varuna respectively).
manajas te pīrībhīr (KS. pīrāro) daksīṇatāḥ pātu (KS. pātu)
VS. TS.
KS. ŠB.: pitaras te v manojava dakṣinatoh pāntu MS.: manojavasoh vah pitvirhīr dakṣinata upadadhātam TA.

pracetās tva rodrāvā paścāt pātu VS. TS. KS. ŠB.: rodrās tva pracetasaḥ paścāt pāntu MS.: pracetā vo rodrāh paścad upadadhātam TA.

dhiṣanās tva devir viśvadevyāvatī (MS. dhiṣanā tva dev viśvadevyāvatī) prthivyāḥ sadhasthe aṅgiravād (TS. 'aṅgiri') abhīndhatām (MS. a bhīndhaḥ, *abhīndhatām) ukhe VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. ŠB. Cf. VV 1 p. 255.

varūtriḥ trā (KS. trās tva, TS. trayo janayās tva) devir viśvadevyāvatī... VS. TS. KS. ŠB.: varutri (and varu?) tva dev viśvadevyāvatī... MS. (bis). Cf. prec.

revati pradhā yajñapatiḥ a viśa MS. KS.: revati yajanaṁ priyam dhā a viśa VS. ++ŠB. †: revatiḥ yajñapatiḥ priyadhāviśata TS. ApŚ. The singular, according to ŠB., is Vāc. The plural is variously interpreted of different semi-deified entities.

[ādakām khādena TS. † KSA. No variant. The word is explained by TS. comm. as bhakṣayitri devatā, as if 'eater'.]

§698. (3) Words meaning people, community, place, world, region, geographical terms, and the like.

pra no yacha bhuvas (AV. viśaṁ) pate AV. TS.: pra no yacha (KS. rāvya) viśas pate RV. MS. KS.

svastidā viśas (AV. MahānU. viśaṁ) pateh RV. AV. ŠB. AdB. TB. TA. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. VHDH.


janāya vrktabharise RV.: janāso vrktabharisah RV.

yakṣma yanti janād (AV. ApMB. janāh) anu RV. AV. ApMB. bhūmīr iti vrddhipramanate janāḥ (TS. tva janā viduḥ) AV. TS.: yām tvā jano bhūmīr iti pramanate VS. MS. KS. ŠB.

yāḥ samigrāmān (TS. MS. 9maṁ) nayati (KS. yavati) sam yudhe vaśī (TS. MS. sam vaśī yudhe, KS. sam vaśī yudhā) AV. TS. KS. MS. samvīrāgya sa yuddha indro ganaṇa RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: samvīrāgya yuddha indro ganaṇa MS.

trayatān (AV. trāyantān) marutān ganaḥ (AV. ganaḥ) RV. AV. aśastihā vṛjanāṁ (SV. vṛjanā) rakṣamānāḥ RV. SV.

grāmam sajñayato gachanti ApMB. †: grāmān sajñayato yanti HG. vidma te dhāma vibhṛta purutrā RV. VS. ŠB.: vidma te sadma vibhṛtam purutrā TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

ta āvaytran sadanād ṛtasya (TS. sadanāni kṛtvā, KS.† sadanāni rātvā) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. (both) N.

yeṣām (RVKh. teṣām) apsu sadas (TS. ApMB. ๑dah) kṛtam RVKh. VS. TS. ŚB. NīlārU. ApMB.: ye apsu sadāṃsi (KS. ๑psu sadāṃsi) caṅkire MS. KS.
apāṃ sadhiṣi sīda TS.: apāṃ tev sadhiṣi (MS.† sadhirṣu) sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
sadhasṭeṣu (RV.๑ sadhasthe vā) maho divāh RV. (bis) SV.
etam sadhasṭha (AV. KS. ⊕sthāḥ) pari te (AV. KS. vo) dadāmi AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. sadhasṭha = loka.
tābhir vahānaṁ suktām u lokam (TA. vahemāṁ suktām yatra lokāḥ) RV. AV. TA.: vahāsi mā (KS.† vahānī sā) suktām yatra lokāḥ (KS.† lokāḥ) KS. TB. ApŚ.

jātavedo vahemāṁ (ŚŚ. vahasvaṁam) suktām yatra lokāḥ (TA. lokāḥ) TA. ŚŚ.: jātavedo nayā hy (read nayasy?) enam suktām yatra lokāḥ JB.

śundhatāṁ lokāḥ pitṛsadanāḥ TS. ApŚ.: śundhatāṁ (AV. kumbhantām) lokāḥ pitṛsadanāḥ AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
vi jīhīṣa lokāṁ kṛṣṇa (TA. jīhīṣa lokān kṛdhi) AV. TA.
te brahma lokākeṣu (TA. ๑loke tu) parintakāle TA. MahānU. MūndU. KaivU.
vīduṣṭaṁ diva śravghnāṁ RV.: vīduṣṭaṁ śravghnāṁ divāh RV. KS.
yasyāṁ idam vīśvāṁ bhuvam adhi śrītam TS.: yasyāṁ vīśvāṁ bhuvanāṁ (MS. vīśvā bhuvanādhī) tathūḥ RV. VS. MS.
antarikṣaṣṇa dhartrīṁ viśambhāṇiṁ diśāṁ adhipatnāṁ bhuvanānām (MS. diśāṁ bhuvanasyādhīpatnāṁ) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: viśambhāṇi diśāṁ adhipatnī bhuvanānām TS.

tvaṣṭedah vīśvāḥ bhuvanāṁ jājāna VS. TS. KŚA.: tvāṣṭemāḥ vīśvāḥ bhuvanā jājāna MS.

sa idam vīśvam (TS. TB. sa vīśvāh bhuvah) abhavat sa abhavat AV. TS. TB.: sa vīśvā bhuvah abhavah RV. AV.
sa vīśvāḥ (AV. vīśvāḥ) prati cāṭkpat (AV. ๑pe) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.
na tan vidāthā ya īmā (TS. KS. idam) jājāna RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.
īmā = bhuvanāni; idam = vīśvam, or the like.
bhūtasya (PB. bhūtaṁ) jātah patir eka āsti RV. AV. VS. VŚK. TS. MS. KS. KŚA. PB. ŚB. N.
tena (TS. tayā) rohan āyam upa (AB. rohān ruruhur) medhyāsah AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. roha = svarga.

swargam arvanto jayama Vait.: svargān (ĀŚ. text, svagān) arvanto jayata (ĀŚ. jayataḥ) SV. ĀŚ. ŚŚ.: svargān (text svagān) arvato jayati ĀŚ. abhīman (TS. MS.† 2. mān, MS. MS. v. l. 2. mān) mahinā (VS. 2. mā, delete MS. v. l. in Conc.) divam (MS. divah) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MS.

sa vājī rocanā (SV. rocanam) divah RV. SV.
ye aprāthethām amitā yojanānī (ArŚ. amitam abhi yojanam) AV. ArŚ.
vidānā asya yojanam (SV. 2. nā) RV. SV.
tredhā ni dadhe padam (AV. MS. padā) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. N. The adverb tredhā probably suggested the change to the plural.
mṛtyoḥ padam (MG. padānī) yoypayanto... RV. AV. TA. MG.
parācin (RV. cit) anu samātaṃ (RV. 2. tah) RV. AV.
ūṛiṇā (SV. 2. urvāin) dayanta gonaṃ RV. SV. VS.
adhvana skabhnita (VS. skabhnwanti) VS. TS.: vājan vājina jaya-
tādhvānāṃ (KS. 2. dhvanas) skabhnwanto yojanā mīmānāḥ MS. KS.
The MS. passage is entered in the Conc. also under adhvānam etc.): vājina vājajīto ‘dhvana (VS.K. vājina vājan jayatādhvana) skabhnwanto yojanā mīmānāḥ kāṣṭhām gachata VS. VS.K. ŚŚ.
āgata vājyo adhvnām (TS. ApŚ. adhvāna) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MS.
adhvānāṃ adhvaパate pra mā tira svasti me ‘smin pathi devayāne bhūyāt
VS.: adhvānāṃ adhvapate svasti me ‘dyāsmin devayāne pathi bhūyāt
PB.: adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no ‘dyāsmin devayāne pathi stāt
(read suḥ) ŚŚ.
tiraḥ purā cīd arnavah jaganaṃ (SV. arnavān jagamyaḥ) RV. AV. SV.
ghṛtasya kulyām anu... TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: ghṛtasya kulyā upa VS. VS.K.
śeṣeṣeṣa (VS. TS. KS. kṣethrānī) pataye namah VS. TS. MS. KS.
samā bhavantādvato (TS. 2. sata) nīpādāḥ TV. TS. KS.
antā prthivyā divah TB. ApŚ.: tad antāt prthivyā adhi MS.
vairān anantān (AV. vavram anantam) ava sā padīṣṭa RV. AV.
[ātā (AV. tāra) yamāḥ sādānā (TA. 2. nāl) te minuṭa (AV. kyṇuṭa) RV.
AV.† TA. See §496.]
hradās ca puṇḍarikāṇī RV.: hrado vā puṇḍarikāṇī RV. ‘Ponds (and)
lotus-pools’: ‘a pond full of lotuses’.
eṣa te janate rājā MS. KS. MS.: eṣa vo janataḥ rājā ApŚ. This formula,
used in the rājasūya ceremony, is meant to have the appropriate
name of the tribe substituted for the collective janata. In ApŚ.
the formula is preceded by actual formulas of the type: 

§699. (4) Words denoting living beings (plants, animals, men); and first, plants.

antariśyāya tvā vanaspataye (KS. "patibhyah) KS. MŚ. vanaspataye uñkān MS.: vanaspatibhyah uñkān VS. vanaspataye (sc. namah) ŠG.: vanaspatibhyah (sc. namah) MG. MDb. vanaspataye svahā Kauś.: vanaspatibhyah svahā VS. TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

adāhi tvām aghnye viśvadānam RV. AV. KŚ. ApŚ. N.: attu tvānī SMB. GG., and cf. the other references in the Conc. under this last quotation, all of which have the plural.

anūkṣi (AV. anūkṣi) babhasti (ApŚ. gabhasti) haritebhār āsahhāh AV. KS. ApŚ.

dūrvā rohantu puspiniḥ (AV. rohatu puspiniḥ) RV. AV. Some mss. of AV., followed by comm. and SPP., read as RV., and Ppp. likewise, as reported by Whitney.

kamāla katānkūta TA. MahānU.: katamulāh katānkāh MahānU.
The pādas refer to the dūrvā-plant, singular or plural.

awakān (MS. KSA. awakān, but MS. p.p. awakān) dantamulaḥ VS. MS. KSA. SB.

aghodāṣṭā devajātā, viruc chapatjayopani AV.: athaveyusta devajātā, viḍu chapatjayambhartaḥ ApŚ. Tho ApŚ. is corrupt in this line, it undoubtedly intends a plural, as the verb of the following line shows. Caland translates as tho singular, evidently using the AV. readings in part.

adāḥ (atha) ṭatakrato ("kratavo, ṭkrato) yāyam, see §229a. Plants are addressed everywhere in the plural, yet all texts have sing. amba in pāda a; to this MS. KapŚ. assimilate the adjective.

§700. Animals. Here also some words denoting all living beings as a collective whole, and some pādas in which man is included in a list with other animals. The word praṇā is placed in §702 below.

javatān (MS. KS. jagat) pataye namah VS. TS. MS. KS. 

ā vato jagatā (AG. ṣyavatān, PG. jagadoīh) saha AV. AG. PG. HG. MG. ApMB. PG.'s jagada (cf. VV 2 §60) is said to mean 'attendant, companion'; then 'the calf with its companions.'

gaur aśvah puruṣah pāhuḥ AV. TA.: gām aśvam puruṣam jagat (AV.
SINGULAR AND PLURAL

paśuṁ, RVKh. aśvān puruṣāṇ aham) RVKh. AV, TA. MahānU.
ApMB. HG.: gā aśvān puruṣāṇ paśuṁ MŚ.
trāyā gām aśvān puruṣāṇ (HG. gā aśvān puruṣāṇ) sanema AV, HG.
ghṛtenāktau paśuṁ (VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. paśuṁ) trāyethāṁ VS. VSK.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
paśuṁ (TS. paśuṁ) na gopā śyāṁ purāṁ RV. TS. KSA.
oḍadhibhyaḥ paśāve no (KS. MŚ. ApŚ. paśubhyo me) jāṇyāya (KS. MŚ.
ApŚ.† dhanāya) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
askan gām tṛshabho yuvā KŚ.: askān tṛshabho yuvā gah TB, TA. ApŚ.
yad amuṣṇān avasaṁ paṁiñ gah (TB. goh) RV. TB. See §505.
upahātā gāvah sahaṁśabhaḥ ŚB.: upahātā dhenuḥ sahaṁśabhaḥ (AŚ. ŚŚ.†
sahaṁśabḥ) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
nṛbhīr yataḥ kṛṇute nirnityāṁ gah (SV. gām) RV. SV. gah (gām) = milk.
vasaṁ jātāṁ na dhenaṁah (SV. mātaraḥ, AV. jātāṁ ivāghnyā) RV. AV.
SV.
payo ēṛṣeṇu payo aghnīyāṁ (TB. ApŚ. aghnīyuśu) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.:
payo aghnīyuśu payo vātseṇu MŚ.
marataṁ prṣatāṛ (VSK. prṣatāṁ) gachha VS. VSK. ŚB.
andāhāṁ (TS. "he, KSA. "heḥ) sthūlagudayā (MS. sthūraga, TS. KSA.
sthūragudā) VS.† TS. MS.† KSA.
rabhīyasa (MS. TB. Poona ed. "bhīyāṁsam) iva kṛtvā karad evam devo
vanaspatir jīvaṁāṁ āvahī VS. MS. KS. TB. The Hotṛ is to 'make
stronger' a number of sacrificial animals.
tatraṁāṁ (VS. KS. "tāṁ) prastutyevopastutyevopāvasraśca VS. MS. KS.
TB. In the same passage as the preceding.
babhraṁ sauṁyāṁ VS. MS. ApŚ.: bahbuh sauṁyā VS. TS. KSA.
vivebhyaḥ devebhyaḥ prṣatāṁ (MS.° "taḥ) VS. MS. (bis): vivebhāṁ deva-
ṇāṁ prṣatāḥ VS.
ākkuḥ srjayaḥ savyāndakas te maitṛāḥ (KSA. ms. savyāndakas te maitṛāḥ)
TS. KSA.: saryāḥ srjayaḥ savyāndakas te maitṛāḥ VS. MS. Von
Schroeder emends KSA. to the TS. reading—with doubtful justice.
kapota (MS. °tā) ulākhaḥ śakas te nirṛtyāṁ (TS. KSA. nirīṛtāḥ) VS. TS.
MS. KSA. The p.p. of MS. reads kapotāḥ; but despite this it is
probably only MS.'s peculiar sandhi for kapotāḥ ulākhaḥ.
§701. Human beings. General words, such as puruṣa, martyya, as
well as the word mṛta in one variant; also one variant involving a design-
nation of an occupation, and one referring to men as 'sleeping' (svapant):
mā hiṁśaṁ puruṣaṁ jaγat VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU.: mā hiṁśaṁ puruṣaṁ
mama NīlarU.
aṁśano amṛta martyyava (SV. martyya kam) RV. SV.
nivāsayanam amṛtaṁ martyam (TB. amṛtāṁ martyāṁ) ca RV. VS. TS. MS. TB.

jīvāṁ yteḥbhyaḥ (rread mṛteḥbhyaḥ) pariṇīyamanāṁ AV.: mṛtyaṁ jīvāṁ pariṇīyamāṇāṁ TA.

śūnam kinhā abhi (AV. anu) yantu (MS. kinhā abhi etu) vahāṁ (AV. TS. vahāṁ) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

yā svapatantam bodhayati (HG. svapatatu jāgarti) ApMB. HG. See §548.

§702. Words denoting family relationships, including sakhi; and praś in its various meanings.

suprajaḥ praśabhīḥ (VS. praśabhī, ?misprint for ṛbhī; VSK. praśabhī, ŚŚ. praśabhī) syāṁ (VSK. ŚŚ. bhūyāsaṁ), . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.; suprajaḥ praśabhīḥ syāma (VSK. praśabhī bhūyāsaṁ), . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.

dive prthivayai kāṁ ca praśayai (SV. praśabhyaḥ) RV. SV.

dhāta praśahyā (AŚ. praśānam) uta rāga tāse TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB.

praśa (Vait. praśāṁ) jinva TA. KS. PB. Vait.

praśabhyaḥ svahā TS. KSA. TB.; praśayai svahā TB.

praśaḥ (AG. PG. praśāṁ) pra ṇa janayāvahai JUB. AG. PG.; praśāṁ a janayāvahai AV.

praśaḥ (KapŚ. praśāṁ) pāparti bahudhā (RV. VS. pūpoṣa purudhā) vi rājaṁ RV. SV. ArŚ. VS. MS. KS. KapŚ. ApŚ. Oertel 12.


garbhānaḥ (ŚŚ. garbhānaṇ) dhatvaṁ svastaye TB. ŚŚ.

sa naḥ piteva sūnave (AV. KS.* putrebhyah) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (ter) SB. The contexts are different.

putraṁ pautram (ApMB. HG. putraṁ pautraṁ) abhitarpayantiḥ AV. KauŚ. ApMB. HG.

piteva putram (AV. KauŚ. putraṁ) abhi (ŚG. iha) raksiṣṭhād īmāṁ (VS. ŚB. imāṁ) AV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚG. KauŚ.; piteva putraṁ jarase ma ēmam (Ppp. KS. HG. ApMB. nayemam) Ppp. MS. KS. HG. ApMB.

vīramaḥ (VSK. vīramaḥ) vīdeya tāva devi (TS. KS. TA. om.) saṁdrāṣi VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.

vīramaḥ dhatta (AŚ. vīramaḥ me datta, MS. vīramaḥ no datta) pitarṇaḥ AŚ. ApŚ.
MŚ.: vīrān naḥ pitaro dhatta ViDh.: vīrān me pitaro (also tatāmahā and pratatāmahā) datta Kauś.
tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (TA.: pitaram ca putram) AV. TA.
svadhā pitarāmahāya (Kauś. 3mahebhyaḥ) AS. MŚ. Kauś. In the same
texts with the same variation in number: svadhā pītre (pītrebhyaḥ),
and svadhā prapitāmahāya (3mahebhyaḥ).
prapitāmahān bīharta pīvamānāḥ (TA.: 3mahaṁ bīharet pīvamāne)
AV. TA.
syonaṁ patye (AV. patībhya) vahatuṁ kṛunṣvā (AV. kṛnu tvam) RV. AV.
SMB. ApMB. MG. N.
samrājñi śatāre bheva RV. ŚG. SMB. ApMB.: samrājñy edhi śatāreṣu
AV.
o cit sakhāyaṁ sakhyāṁ vavṛtyāṁ RV. AV.: तवा sakhāyaḥ sakhyāḥ vavṛtyaḥ
SV.
pratikṣante śatārva devaraśa ca AV.; pratikṣantāṁ śatārva devaraśa ca
ApMB. Change of gender also (§782). As to devaraśa (3rāṣ), both
are plural, one from stem dev, one from devara (correct Whitney’s
note).

point of view that sin is of the nature of an external evil, see Bloom-
field Atharvaveda, p. 83), ‘disease’, and the like. It is often difficult to
distinguish between ‘enemy’ and ‘demon’, as in the case of the words
arāṭi and rakṣas.

ayāṁ śatārū (KapŚ. śatruṁ) jayatu . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ.
ŚB. TA. AS. Oertel 76.
bhīyasam ā dhehi śatruṣv (SV. šat rave) RV. SV.
tādīnā (TB. Poona ed. tādīkna) śatrum (TB. śatrūn) na kilā vivitse (TB.
vivatse, Poona ed. vivitse) RV. TB.

dviṣantas tapandyāṁ bahu MŚ.: dviṣan me bahu śocatu TB. ApŚ.
dviṣatāṁ pātve anhasah RV.: duriṭāḥ pātve anhasah AV. The reported
reading of Ppp. is dviṣatas pātu tebhyaḥ.
yavaya (v. 1. 3ya) deṣo asmat MS.: yavayāśmad deṣam (v. 1. 3ah) KS.:
yavayāśmad deṣah (TA. agha deṣāṁ) VS. TS. ŚB. TA. Kauś.
dviṣantāṁ (AV. saptānāṁ) mama(RV. AV. mahyam) randhayān RV. AV.
TB. ApŚ.: dviṣanāḥ ca mahyam radhayatu AV.: dviṣanto radhandāṁ
mahyam MŚ.

mā cāhaṁ dviṣate radham AV.: mā tv aham dviṣatāṁ radham MŚ.: mo
aham dviṣate (TB. ApŚ. 3to) radham RV. TB. ApŚ.
avāham bāḍha upabhṛtā saptānāṁ (KS. dviṣantam) KS. TB. ApŚ.
ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhassa AV.: yo no dveṣṣi tanūṁ rabhassa MS.: 
yo no dveṣṣy anu tan ravaśa (read rabhassa?) APŚ.
prayaṇa dveṣah VS.: pruyāṇa dveṣāṇi MS. KS. APŚ. MS. The VS.
comm.: 'hostility is removed.' This may be the interpretation of
the plural also; or both singular and plural may mean: 'the enemy
(is) are destroyed.'
mākīṁ brahmādवiśa (SB. 8.8.3) vanah RV. AV. SV.
turyāma dasyūṁ tanūbhiḥ RV.: sāhyāma dasyuṁ tanūbhiḥ SV. (Ben-
fey's text has dasyuṁ. Is this a misprint for dasyuṁ? B.trans-
lates by a singular.)
(yo nāḥ supārṇā jāgrato vābbhidaśād... tān pratīcavo nirdaha jātavedaḥ AV.:
(agni yo no anti kāpati yaś ca dūre...) tām pratyaṅcaṁ sam dāha
jātavedaḥ APŚ.
mā tev pariparīna (TS. paripari) vidān (TS.† vidat, KS. tev pariparīna
vidān mā pariparīnah, MS. tev pariparīma mā pariparīnah)
VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
tvaṁ tān agneyaṁmin kṛṇu sahā AV.: tam agne menyāmeniṁ kṛṇu
TB.: tayagne tvaṁ menyānum ameminiṁ kṛṇu TB. Preceded in all
three passages by a relative clause with yo... abhidāsati (AV. abhi-
dādāḥ) and various methods of attack in the instrumental.
ye 'śmān abhyāghāyanti AV.: yo asmān abhyāghāyati AV.
pra sakṣate pratimānāṁ prthivyāḥ AV.: pra sakṣate pratimānāṁ bhūri
RV. AV. N.
am ye vīvṛata (MS. ṭāḥ, KS. ṭās) sthana (MS. stha) AV. MS. KS.:
asau yo vīmaṇā janaḥ RVKh.
bhettāram bhāṅgurāvataḥ (VSK. ṭām) VSK. TS.: hantāram bhāṅgurā-
vatām (AV. ṭāḥ) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. The precise nuance of
meaning denoted by bhāṅgurāvat is uncertain; 'treaeorous' and
'destructive' have been suggested.
sphāravarjan (AV. ṭrujo) yena paśyasī yātudhānām (AV. ṭān) RV. AV.
utārebhāndāṁ rṣīkhir yātudhānāṁ AV.: ālebhāndāḥ rṣīkhir yātudhānaḥ RV.
See §495.
yātudhānāṁ kimīdinam AV.: yātudhānāṁ kimīdināḥ AV.
amān kṛtyākṛto jahi AV.: ava kṛtyākṛtam jahi (Ppp. prati kṛtyākṛto daha)
AV. Ppp.
ni duryoṇa dṛṇaṁ mṛdhraवiśa (and ṭvīcam) RV. (both).
yāvayārātīḥ (MS. Kauś. ṭīm, MS. p.p. and KS. yāvayāরātīm) VS.TS.
MS. KS. SB. Kauś.
sahasvārātīḥ (MS. KS. ṭīm) sahasva prtranāyataḥ (TS. sahasvārātīyataḥ)
VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.
zugārhapatyō vidahann arāṭhī (AV. vītapann arāṭim) AV. TB. ApŚ. alakṣmīr (RVKh. Scheft. *mīn, i.e. *mīn) nāsāyāmī aham RVKh. TAA.
Comm. on TAA. interprets by alakṣmīm.
sahajānānau vijahatār arāṭhī TB. ApŚ.: āprīṇānau vijahatā arāṭim MS. KS.
pratyuṣṭām rakṣaḥ pratyuṣṭā arāṭayaḥ (MS. KS. pratyuṣṭārātīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. KauŚ.
hantē rakṣo bàdhate pary arāṭhī (SB. *tim) RV. SV.
nirdagdha arāṭayaḥ TS. TB. ApŚ.: nirdagdharātīḥ MS. KS.
parāpūtā (VSK. pratipūtā) arāṭayaḥ VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: parāpūṭārātīḥ MS. KS.
avadhūtā arāṭayaḥ (MS. KS. avadhūtārātīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.
sahaseva no abhimātīm AV.: sahaseva me arāṭhī VS.
ni mitutqur arāṭīn atārīt MS. KS.: vi mitra evair arāṭim atārīt TS. TB.
Different words.
śīṣe śīṣe rakṣase (AV. rakṣobhjoyo) vinikṣe (KS. *nakṣe) RV. AV. TS. KS. N.
idam aham rakṣasāṁ (VSK. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. *so) grūṇa api kṛntami VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS.
sṛjad dhārā ava yad dānāvan han SV.: srjö vi dhārā ava dānāvan han RV. N.
tam īto nāsāyāmāsi RV. AV. MG.: tān īto nāsāyāmāsi AV. Both tam and tān refer to lists of demons and superhuman foes.
apām nāpacī pratirakṣann asuryam (MS. *kṣad asuryān) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. asuryam is usually translated 'the demons' power.' Is it not rather collective 'the demon(s)', with MS.'s variant referring to the individual demons?
apa prokha (AV. sedha) dundubhe duchunā (AV. duchunām, TS. duchunā, p.p. *nān) itaḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. duchunā, 'misfortune', is perhaps personified as a demon.
apaśaśān anudattānṛpānī MS. (p.p. anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni).
enānī cakṛmā vayam AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.: enāś cakṛmā vayam TS. KS. TB.
cakṛmā yac ca duṣkṛtam AB.: cakṛma yāni duṣkṛtā KS. TA.
yat kusīdam apratītaṃ (apratītāṃ, apradattām) mayī (mayeha) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: yānī aprimālānī apratītānī (*śītānī) aṃi TB. ApŚ.: apramālāṃ apratītaṃ yad aṃi AV.
idan āham tam valaṃ (MS. KS. tān valagān) ut kirāmi (VSK. TS.
MS. KS. ApŚ. ud rapāmi...) yam (yān)... VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
anirvad vah krimayo (Pp. atrirat teā kṛme) hannī AV. Pp.: atrinā teā kṛime hannī TA. ApŚ.: hatas te atrinā kṛimih (GG. kṛimih) SMB. GG.
tā no amivām (TB. amivā) apahādhamānaus MS. TB.
apāmivām (TB. ApŚ. apāmivā) apa rakhānī sedha RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.
apa snehītir (SV. snihitiṁ) nṛmanā adhhatta (SV. adadhroh, KS.† nṛmanām adadhram) RV. AV. SV. KS. The meaning of the word snehīti or snihiti is uncertain; it appears clear, however, that it must be something dreaded.
ava devānāṁ yaja healo agne (KS. yaje khyāṇī, MŚ. yaje hedyāṇī) AV. KS. MS.: agne devānāṁ ava healo iṣṭaya (KS. iṣṭe) KS. ApŚ.
tasmin pāsān pratimūcāma etān MS. KS.: yam dvīmas tasmin pratī muṇcāmi pāsān TS. ApŚ.
adīḥ pāsān (MS. KS. pāsān) prā munokta etam (MS. KS. etān) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.
درहु ध पासां (TS. KS. pāsān) prati sa (KS. ṣā) muṣṭa (AV. prati muṇcātāṁ saḥ) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.
ayasmayān viṛṭā (KS. viṛṭā) bandham etam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: ayasmayān viṛṭā bandhapāsān AV.
[Indrānamitrāṁ naḥ pascāt (VSK. ⁵trāṁ paschaṁ me) AV. VSK. KS. The sole ms. of KS. reads ⁵mitrān, and so Cone.; but v. Schroeder is obviously right in emending to ⁵trāṁ.]

§704. (6) Words meaning a boon of some sort, such as ‘aid’, ‘sustenance’, ‘food’, ‘wealth’, ‘bounty’, etc.
śatam bhavasyā ubīhiḥ (SV. VS.* ālaye) RV. AV. SV. 2. 34c. VS. (bis, add in Cone. 27. 41c with ālaye) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.
maγhavaṁ ( ‘vaṁ) chajaxi tava tan na ubīhiḥ (SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. ālaye) TV. AV. SV. PB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ.
evamā te abhiṣṭōhiḥ (SV. ⁵(aye) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ.
sadā pāḥy abhiṣṭīhiḥ (⁵(aye) RV. (both).
vyacīṣṭham annai (TS. MS. KS. annai) rabhasaṁ drāṇam (TS.† KS. vidānam) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
annāṁ (MS. annaśya) pataye namaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.
śatam kumbhāṅi asiṇcātāṁ surāyāḥ (and madhūnāṁ) RV. (both).
iṣan no mitrāvarunā kartaneśāṁ AA.: ūrja mitra varunāḥ pivetedāḥ SV. teṣāṁ iṣṭāṁ sam iṣā madantī RV. VS. TS. MS. N.: sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahāntāṁ KS.
raṣy (AV. raṣiṇī) devi dadātū nāh (AV. dadhātū me) RV. AV.
raṣy (AV. raṣiṇī) dāṇḍya codaya RV. SV. AV. Grassmann considers
raṣy genitive singular; Oldenberg, however, considers it accusative
plural, and the AV. reading, tho its verse shows some corruption,
bears out his view.
ta āsmā (KS. āsmā) āgnyaye (ApŚ. MS. v. l. āgnyayo) draviṇām (KS. āṇāṁ)
dattāc AK. KS. ApŚ.
dhattād āsmabhyaṁ dravineha (TS. ApŚ. āsmāśu draviṇāṁ yac ca)
bhadram TS. MS. ApŚ.

tasya ta īṣṭasya vitasya dravineha bhakṣya TS.: tasya na īṣṭasya prītasya
dravinehāgamec VS.: tasya mā yaṣṭasyaśeṣasya vītasya dravinehāga-
myāt MS.: tasya meṣṭasya vītasya dravīnom o gamyāt (KS. dravineh-
śeṣasya vītasya dravīnom maṃgachatu KS. (for the reading see
VV 1 §104a). The first TS. passage has the plural, and MS. may
possibly have a plural; see §346.

ta o yaṣyantā draviṇāṁ (MS. KS.† draviṇā) sam āsmāi (MS. asmin) RV.
VS. TS. MS. KS.
datto asmahyam (KS. dattvāyāsā, AŚ. dattāyāsā, SMB. dattāśa")
dravineha bhadrām AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: dadatha no draviṇāṁ yac
can bhadrām MS.

ahān dadhāmāi draviṇām (AV. draviṇā) hanīmate RV. AV.
dhāṣṭraśa dhiyate dhanā (SV. dhanam) RV. AV. SV.
yo devakāmā na dhanā (AV.* dhanam) ruṇaddhi RV. AV. (bis).
maḥo ye dhanām (MS. KS. dhanā, TS. ratnam) samītheṣu jahārire RV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
dahdha ratnam (AŚ. ratnā) dākṣaṁ priyabhya (AŚ. ŚŚ. dākṣapriyabhya)
yāṇun (AV. ayaṇī) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

pra rādhāsā codayāte (SV. rādhāṇī codayate) maḥītanā RV. SV.
somo rādhaśām (TS. *sā) TS. MS. KS.
pūṣa sanīṁ (TS. ApŚ. sanyā) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MS.
dhumnāṁ sudhatra manhaya SV.: dhumnā sukṣatra manhaya RV.
ayāṁ (AŚ.* ahāṁ) vājāṁ (VS. VSK. ŚB. vajān) jayatu (AŚ.* jayāṁ)
vājāśām VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis).

brīṃaḥ ca lakṣmīṁ ca puṣṭiṁ (TAA.* ṛṣe ca lakṣmī ca puṣṭiḥ) ca kārīṁ
caṁrṇyātāṁ brahmaṇyam bahuputratāṁ TAA. (bis): ṛṣe ca puṣṭi
caṁrṇyāṁ brahmaṇyam bahuputrinam Mahānū.

tavāhaṁ śoṇtyā sarvasāntyā mahāyam dvipade catuspade ca kāntin karomi
TA.: tavāhaṁ śoṇtyā sarvasāntyā mahāyam dvipade ca catuspade ca kāntin
karomi MS.
svāhāṁ niṁ na bhavejam (MS. ॐ jāh) VS. MS. TB.
svāhā vanaspatiṁ priyam pātho na bhavejam (MS. ॐ jāh) VS. MS. TB.
hiranyena varcāni (KSA. varcaḥ) KS. KSA.
alaś ca viśeś (MuṇḍU.† sarvā) oṣadhiyo rasāś (MuṇḍU. MahānU.† rasaḥ,
MahānU. v. I. rasāḥ) ca TAA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.
divo dhāra (KS. ॐ rām) āvasūcita TS. MS. KS.
ānandā modāḥ pramudāḥ AV.: ānando modāḥ pramudāḥ TB.: modāḥ
pramudā ānandāḥ TB.

suṣebhir (AV. suṣena) dūgam atitām RV. AV. SMB. ApMB.
atho ariṣṭatātaye RV. AV. PB.: atho ariṣṭatātibhiḥ RV. AV.
marmāṇi te varmaṇā (TS. varmaḥiṣ) chādayāmi RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.
vibhūṁ kāmāṁ (VS. vibhūṁ kāmāṁ) va aṣṭa (VS. KS. TB. aṁavaṭ) VS.
MS. KS. TB.

ane abhair anu sarveṇa (TB. ApŚ. sarvair u) puṣṭaiḥ VS. TB. ApŚ. In
VS. sarveṇa is paraphrased by the comm.: anyeṇāpi kāmena. In
TB. ApŚ. we may have merely the plural of this, or sarvair may
agree with puṣṭaiḥ (so TB. comm. and Caland). In the latter case
this is an instance of number attraction.

puṣṭi svāhākaraiḥ (TA. svāhākāreṇa, KS. ApŚ. svāhākāraṇaḥ) MS. KS.
TA. ApŚ.

ubhā hi hastā vasunā prasāsa VS. TS. ŚB.: hastau prasāsa bahubhir
vasarvaiḥ AV. TS. MS. KS.

ūrjam puṣṭam vasv āveśayanī AV.: viśā ṛpāṇi vasūnā āveśayanī TS.
sam patiṁ patyā suktreṇu (TB. ApŚ. suktreṇa) pachatām MS. KS. TB.
ApŚ. MS. This and the following variants are not quite at home
under this heading but may be placed here better than elsewhere.
tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS. ŚB.: tam anu prehi suktāsya lokam
TS. KS. Cf. prep.; tho sukṛt and suktā are distinct words, the
phrases in which they appear with lokā are equivalent.

tābhyaṁ (MS. KS. add rayam) patema suktām u lokam (Kauś. pathy-
āma suktāsya lokam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Cf. prep.
chandobhir guṇaṁ suktāṁ krtyena AV.: brahmaṇā guṇaṁ (ApMB.
samprācānaḥ) suktā krtya HG. ApMB. Here sukṛt ‘righteous
man’ is personal in both forms of the variant, which strictly speaking
does not belong here; cf. the preceding three, and see §580.

§706. (7). Words meaning act of heroism, power, rulership, majesty,
fame, ordinance, and the like.

pra tad vīryu (vīryuh, vīryus) stavae vīryeṇa (AV. vīryañi, TB. ApŚ.
vīryāya) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NṛPU.
ita indras tiṣṭhan viryam akṣṇod devatābhīḥ samārabhyāḥ MS.: ita indro akṣṇod viryāṅi TS. TB.: ita indro viryam akṣṇot VS. KS. ŚB.
haṅga yajña (TB. yajñam) indriyam (VS. yāiḥ) VS. MS. KS. TB.
vāhī somam indriyam (MS. yāiḥ) VS. MS. TB.
rudrasaṃ gāṇapatiyān (VS. ŚB. yān, KS. yo) mayobhūr ehi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. probably acc. pl., tho in TS. abl. sg.; see §§ 495, 526.
ghṛtvatī sanitar (MS. KS. tūr) ādhāpatiye (TS. tyaīḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
Phonetic in character; as are also the following; VV 2 §706.
mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhāpatiyāḥ (AŚ. tye) TS. KS. MS. AŚ.
sve daksī (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. svair daksāi) daksāpitāha sīda VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.
asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya (KS. rāṣṭram adhīṛayā) MS. KS.: asmin rāṣṭram adhīṛayā TS.
sa tvā rāṣṭraya subhrant bhāhurau AV.: sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītaṁ (read tān) dadhātū TB.
tad aśoṣaṇa tavam rudra pranītau (RV.† KS. nitiṣu) RV. TS. KS.
ut parjanasya dhāmaḥbhiḥ (MS. dhāmā, TS. TA. ApMB. kusmaṇa, KS. prīṣyā, PG. dṛṣṭyā) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.
ko aṣa dhāma katūhā vyuṣṭiḥ AV.: kati dhāmāni kati ye vīvāsāḥ MS.
See §269.
etavān (ArŚ. ChU, tāvān) asya mahimā VS. TA. ArŚ. ChU.: tvānto asya mahimānaḥ AV.
abhī śravabhiḥ prthivīṁ RV.: uta śravasa (MS. śravasa ṛ) prthivīṁ VS. TS. MS. TA.
vyānabhiḥ (SV. st) pavaśe soma dharmabhīḥ (SV. dharmanā) RV. SV.
dyān. (AV. dīvan) ca gacha prthivīṁ ca dharmanā (AV. dharmanabhiḥ) RV. AV. TA.
dā jaṅglir vipra yā (SV. rlam; PB. kṛlam, misprint for rlam?) maṁnām RV. SV. PB.
rlam (RV. rīs) vāndanto anṛtan rapena RV. AV.
pitṛe putrāso api aviteṇam rlam (AV. rlāni) RV. AV.
vrataṁ rākṣatā viśeṣāḥ AV.: vrata tadante agneḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.: vratā rākṣante viśeṣāḥ RV.
mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāṇi vai kṛṇomi AV.: mama vratē te hṛdayām (AG. ŚG. vrate hṛdayam te) dadhāmi (SMB. MG. dadhātug) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: mama hṛdaye hṛdayām te astu HG.
ksatram (TA. ApŚ. ksātrāṇi) dhāraya VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.
brhama (MS. asme brahmāṇi) dhāraya VS. MS. ŚB.
naras tokṣaya tanayasya sāta (anī sātiṣu) RV. (both).
§706. (8). Words denoting various abstract concepts.

aty acittīm aty arātim agne (MS. KS. atī nirātim adya) VS.† TS.† MS. KS.: aty acittīr ati dviśaḥ AV.

amiśāṁ cittaṁ pratilobhayanti (AV. cittaṁ pratimohayanti) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

mama cittaṁ anu cittebhir etaḥ AV.: mama cittaṁ cittanāṇvēhi HG.

brāhmaṇena vācām (KS. vācaḥ) TS. KS. KSA.

[vācā mendriyenaśa (KS. vācāṁ indrā) TS. KS. MŚ. But see §589.]

bṛhaspati vācām (VS. ŚB. "ce") VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śīle ca (v. l. śīleṣu) yaṣ ca pāpakam SMB. (The Conc. records the text as reading śīleṣu.)

bhīyo (AV. bhīyam) dadhānā ḍṛdayaṣu satravaḥ RV. AV.
sahā sakhyur na pra mināti samigram (AV. "raḥ") RV. AV. SV.
indro jyeṣṭhaṁ (MS. KS. jyeṣṭhyānāṁ, VS. ŚB. jyeṣṭhyāya) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

piṭā vivājam ṛṣabho rayinām TB.: vato virājo ṛṣabho matināṁ AV.
namas (KS. NilanU. namāṇi) ta āyuḍhāya VS. MS. KS. NilanU. MŚ.

BṛhPdh.

deva savaṁ tuṁ dīkṣayā (KS. dīkṣānāṁ) dīkṣāpati asī MS. KS.
ud rathānāṁ jayatāṁ yantu ghoṣāḥ (TS. jayatāṁ etu ghoṣāḥ) RV. SV.
VS. TS.: ud vīrānāṁ jayatāṁ etu ghoṣāḥ AV.

kriya (AV. TB. kriyam, Ppp. kriya) vaśāṇah carati sarociḥ (TB. "cāḥ")
RV. AV. Ppp. VS. KS. TB.

asmākena vṛjanāṁ jayema RV. AV.; arīṣṭāso vṛjaniḥbhīr jayema AV.

sam ākūtir (RVKh. Schettelowitz "tim"., Conc. with Aufrecht "tir" namāmasi (RVKh. Scheft. munimasi, MS. anaṁsata) RVKh. AV. MS.

samāṁ ca ākūtīṁ RV. AV. TB. AG.: samāṁ vā (KS. va) ākūtīṁ MS.
KS. MG.

sampaśyaṁ paṅktīr (AV. paṅktim) upatiṣṭhamānah RV. AV. The meaning of the whole verse is obscure; we suspect meter-names, in which case this would belong in §690 above.

aksitī ca me kūvaṇā ca me TS.: kūvaṇāḥ (MS. v. l. kū"a") ca me 'ksitīk (VS. 'ksitam) ca me VS. MS. KS.

§707. (9). Words denoting parts of the body and physiological or psycho-physical entities.
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sām vah orjāmi hrdayāni (KS.  "yam, MS.  "yānī vah) KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. mama vaśeṣu hrdayāni vah kṛnem AV.: mama vrate te hrdayāṁ (AG. ŚG. vrate hrdayāṁ te) dadhāmi (SMB. MG. dadhatu) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: mama hrdaye hrdayāṁ te astu HG.

pratī prāneṣu (SMB. prāne) pratī tīṣṭhami puṣṭe (SMB. puṣṭau, MS. tīṣṭhāny ātman) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. SMB. HG.

prāṇam (MS. prāṇān, p.p. prāṇam) na viryaṁ nasi VS. MS. TB. prāṇā (MahānU. prāṇo) eā ópaḥ TA. MahānU. All Jacob’s mss. but one prāṇa(h).

tvaṣṭā rūpāṇī (AŚ. rūpeṇa) samanaktu yajñaiḥ (AŚ. yajñam) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

tvaṣṭur aham devayajyayā pacuṇām rūpān puṣeyam (MS. devo sarvāni rūpāni pacuṇām puṣeyam) TS. MS.

nakṣatraṇī rūpeṇa (TS. KSA. pratirūpeṇa, MS. rūpāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

maṇḍaya (VS. maṇsebhyaḥ) svāhā VS. TS. KSA.

na maṇseṣu na śadasya ApMB.: neva maṇse na pibasi AV.: naiva maṅsena pivar PG. The reading of PG. is clearly a corruption of AV.; see §611.

śam te parebhyo gātrebhyaḥ, śamaste avaraebhyaḥ VS. TS. KSA.: śam me (Ppp. te) parasmai gātṛāya, śamaste avarāya me (Ppp.parāya te) AV. Ppp.

niśtrya (MS. praśtrya) kalyāṇān mukha (MS. KS.† mukham) VS. TS. MS. KS. NilU. mukha is used figuratively; ‘the point(s) of the arrows.’

kṣiprāḥ śīrṣan hiranyaḥ RV.: kṣiprāḥ śīrṣasu vītāḥ hiranyayāḥ RV. See RVRep. on 5. 54. 11.

valmikīn klomnā (VS. klomabhiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

maricir vipruḍbihiḥ (MS. "pruḍ) VS. MS.

§708. Also the word tanā.

kṣatraśya teṣa parāspāya brahmaṇas tanvāṁ pāhi VS. ŚB.: brahmaṇaṁ teṣa parāspāyāḥ (MS. "pāya) kṣatraśya tanvāṁ pāhi MS.

tena cinēnas taneo (TS. tanuve, MS. tanvāṁ) ni śidā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tan nas trāyatāṁ tanvāṁ sarvato (ApŚ. tan no viśvato) mahāl KS. ApŚ.: tan me tanvāṁ trāyatāṁ sarvato bhṛtā AV.
yathāvaśaṁ tanvāṁ (AV. "vāḥ) kalpayassā (AV. VS. kalpayāti) RV. AV. VS.
yat kiṁ ca (KS. cīt) tanva (TS. tanvāṁ) rapaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ghṛtena tvam tanvāṁ (TS. tanvē) varihayāsya RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS. N. The 'body' or 'bodies' belong to a plurality of persons; hence the secondary plural in TS. instead of the generalizing sing.

§709. (10). Seasonal and meteorological.
aḥā (AV.* ahā) mimāno āktubhiḥ TV. AV. (bis) ArŚ. N.
sūrāḥ aham prartitāṁ uṣasāṁ divaḥ AV.: somo ahaṁ (SV. aham) prarartiścava (SV. *saw) divaḥ RV. SV.
sajūr abdo (MS.* abdā) ayavobhiḥ (TS. ApŚ. 'ayāvobhāh, MS.* MS. ayāvobhāh, MS.* KS. ayāvobhiḥ) VS. TS. MS.* KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS.—MS. 3. 4. 4 reads abdo ayavobhā, error or misprint for abdā ayaḥ or abdo ayaḥ.
samāvaśreṇa savāta no aham (MS. aham) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Case- and number-attraction; see §585. Similar are the two following:
triven na viśṭhayā (KS. trierdvā viṣṭhayā) stoma ahām (MS. aham) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
mitrāvaruṇā saradāhām (MS. *hnā) cicitnā (MS. cicitam, KS. jīgatnā, AŚ. cicitam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
saradbhyaḥ (ŚG. sarade) śvāhā TS. KSA. ŚG.
rtuṣ ca me vratam ca me TS.: vratatā ca ma ṭavaḥ ca me VS.
samā (VS. KS. samāḥ) ca mā (VS. KS. ma) indrā ca me VS. MS. KS. samā (VS. TS. samāḥ) chandaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. KS. has v. l. samāḥ. uṣasāḥ śreyasiḥ śreyasiṁ dādhat TB. ApŚ. (TB. Poona ed. reads as ApŚ.; so read?): uṣāṃ-utsāṃ śreyasiṁ dāhāy asmai AV.
hiranyavarnam (RV. hiranyarūpam) uṣaṣo vyuṣṭau RV. MS. KS. MS.: hiranyaraḥpa uṣaṣo viroko VS. ŚB.: hiranyavarṇavā uṣasāṁ viroko TS. TB.
rathā aśvaṣa uṣaṣo vyuṣṭau (and vyuṣṭiṣu) RV. (both). 'At the first light(e) of dawn.'
jyotiṣam na prakāṣate RVKḥ.: na jyotiṣi cakāsati Suparn. vātā (MS. vātā, KS. vātās) sprātah VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: vātā sprātah TS. māsāḥ (TS. māsāṁ) caturthaḥ TS. KSA. Gens.
mahām na vātā vi ha vātī bhūma RV.: mahī no vātā īha vāntu bhūmau AV. abhispaṭo vrṣṭāḥ (RV. vrṣṭibhis) tarpayantam RV. AV. TS. KS. dūṣikābhīr hrādunim (KSA.† krod) TS. KSA.: hrādunir dūṣikābhīh VS. MS. 'Hail-stones (we gratify) with the rheum of the eyes.'
abrubhiḥ pruṣām (KSA. pruṣāṁ) TS. KSA.: pruṣā abrubhiḥ VS. MS. 'Hear-frost (we gratify) with tears.'
vi ṭoka etu (AV. eti, TS. ŚvetU. ṭoka yanti) pathyeva (KS. pathyeva)
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sūreh (AV, MS,† sūrīh, TS, ŚvetU, sūrīh, KS,† sūrah) RV, AV, VS.
TS, MS, KS, ŚB, ŚvetU. In KS., 'as the sun on its path'; TS, ŚvetU. have 'successive suns', i.e. the sun day by day.

sa sūkṛbhīh śīrvabhī (TS, sūkṛṇa śīrvanā) revad usme (TS, MS, agnīh) RV, TS, MS.

§710. (11). Utensils and other articles, not including those used in the ritual.

vi te muṇcāmi raṣanām AV.; vi te muṇcāmi raṣanām (TS, ṣānā) vi raṣmin
TS, MS, KS, MS, MG.

ā raṣmin (RV, raṣmin) deva ṣamase (TB, ṣamase) saśvān (RV, TB, saśvāh) RV, VS, ŚB, TB;
rathe akṣesu ṣrābhasya (KS, TB, akṣesu ṣṛṣ) vajye AV, KS, TB.; rathev
akṣesu ṣrābhasya VIdh.

ānṛni sthāltr (KS, TB, sthālitr) madhu pinnamānāḥ (KS, TB, pinnamānā) VS, MS, KS, TB,
jāmī bruvata āyudham (SV, ṣūdhā) RV, AV, SV. The reference is to
Indra's weapons.

as the others.)

ā tvā pariṣṛtaḥ (MG, pariṣṭaḥ, PG, ApMB, pariṣṛtaḥ) kumbhah
(AM,† ṣṛṣ) AG, PG, MG, ApMB. Cf. pāṇā pariṣṛtaḥ
kumbhān ŚB., in an entirely different context.

§711. (12). In a number of interesting cases of variation between singular and plural, the plural is of the type known as plural tantum. E.g. grīva is probably originally used in the plural only, 'the joints of the neck', and the singular 'neck' is later, and developed from the plural. So also grha is the plural 'the apartments of the house', ṣvāra in the plural 'the hairs which make up the sive', ṣmaṭru in the plural 'the hairs making up the beard'. In these latter cases the evidence of the oldest texts does not support a dogmatic assertion that the plural usage is more original than the singular, but on a priori grounds it is probable that the use of the singular grew out of the use of the plural tantum rather than vice versa. The psychology underlying such a development is parallel to that demonstrated in the preceding sections, which causes variation between generic singular and specific plural. In fact, some of the cases treated above are not far removed from those collected here; e.g. those involving lokāḥ, rakṣāṇi, etc. See §716 for pronouns referring to nouns of this class.

anāgā devāḥ sakuno ṣrheṣu (AV, ṣṛheṣu nah) RV, AV, Ppp, MG.
indrasya grha 'si ... AV. TB. TA.: indrasya grhā vasumanto ... ApMB.
PG.: indrasya grhāh śivā ... ŚG.
ma te grha (SMB. grheṣu) nīśi ghoṣa uṭṭhāt SMB. ApMB. HG.
grīvāyāni (KS. grīvāsu) baddho apikakṣa āsānī (MS. apēpakṣa āsan) RV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.
pra śmāru (SV. śmārubhir) dādhusad ārdhāthā bhūt (SV. ārdhāthā bhūvat) RV. SV.
avyo (SV. avyā) vārē (SV. vārāḥ) pari priyāḥ RV. SV. (bis).
avyo vārē (SV. avyā vārāḥ) pari priyam RV. SV.
vārān (SV. vāraṁ) yat pūto atyēṣy avyān (SV. avyam) RV. SV.
avastā (SV. astā) rājeva satpatiḥ RV. SV. The plural of asta is unusual
if not isolated; it is likely to be due to thought of the use of grha in
the plural.
apo (udno) datatoddhik bhīta (dehy udadhit bhīndhi), see §502. Here
TS. KS. have the sing. stem udan, the others the plurale tantum
ap (acc. pl.).

§712. (13). Adjectives and pronouns, without clearly expressed noun.
Here we include cases of substantially equivalent singular and plural
forms of pronouns and adjectives, referring to entities not clearly
expressed in the context. Psychologically they belong with the pre-
ceding sections dealing with nouns. Thus in the first variant soma,
singular or plural, is referred to (cf. §693). Since the tṛcas containing
the plural passage is surrounded by tṛcas with singular, it is possible
that some ritualistic plurality is concerned in the change of number
(cf. RVRep. on 9. 36. 4, and te[sa] viśat etc., §693); yet the mere change
in number is, in the light of the numerous other changes of the same
sort adduced here, not enough to prove it:
śumbhamānā (RV. * o-na) rāyubhiḥ RV. (both) SV.: mrīyamānā (and
*no) pabhastayoh RV. SV. (both in each).

§713. So in the next, the 2d person pronouns are addressed to the
sacrificial fire or fires; the sing. to the āhavanīya alone, the plural per-
haps to the three sacred fires (but cf. our remarks §686):
ved eva yuṣmad (TS. TB. evad) apacetyātai TS. MS. TB. MS.: eva net
tvad apacetyātai VS. KS. ŚB. But MS. MS. use singular pronouns,
with the same reference, in the rest of the stanza.

§714. Similar are the following, where reference is to various sorts of
entities:
atho (TS. MS. atho) yuṣmad stha (MS. KS. tvam as) niṣkṛtih (TS. sanke,
MS. sankṛtib, KS. niṣkṛtib) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Addressed to
plants, or a plant; plurals occur in the rest of the stanza.
asmadrūtā (TS. asmadāitrā, MS. ŠŚ. add madhumātr, KS. madhumattā) devatrā yachata (KS. yachā, TS. adds madhumattā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. ApŚ. Addressed to daksinā, sg. or pl. (cf. §696); see VV 1 p. 256. mā vo riṣat (Kauśī. te riṣan) khanitā, yasmai cāham khanāmi vaḥ (Kauśī. ca tvā khanāmasi) RV. VS. TS. Kauśī.: yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham VS. To plant(s). jyotiṣā tvā (TB.* ApŚ. vo) vaisvānarenopatīṣṭhe TB. (both) AŚ. ApŚ. To the fire. tam vo (MS. te) grhnāmy (MS. grbhnāmy) uttamam VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. TA. To one or perhaps all five of the cups (graha). devatābhyaṃ tvā devaviṣaye grhnāmī KS.: devaviṣaye (MS. *vityai) tvā (KS. vo) grhnāmī TS. VS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. TB. ApŚ. To the obl. adityās tvopaste sādayāmī TS. MS. TB. ApŚ. MS.: adityā va upaste sādayāmī MS. MS. To the obl. āchetā te (TB. ApŚ.* vo) mā riṣam (riṣat, mārṣam) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both) MS. §715. Pronouns referring to collective nouns may either be singular if the collectivity is more prominent in the mind, or plural if the speaker is thinking of the individuals which compose it; cf. §836. Thus: yuwaṃ tām (SV. uhhau tām) īndra vṛtrahān AV. SV. Reference is to sēna 'army'; but AV. thinks of the individual men who make it up. To be sure the AV. comm. reads tām, and Whitney would emend to this, but it seems to us unnecessary. §716. The converse of this is the use of a singular pronoun referring to a pluriial tantum, conceived as a single entity. Thus: samudrastya vo kṣītyā (VS. ŠŚ. tvākṣītyā) un naye (VS. ŠŚ. nayāmī) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. ApŚ. MS. In the same ritual context, referring to water (āpah); hence plural in most texts, but the Vāj. school uses a singular, thinking of the water-libation as a single thing. §717. So adjectives of indefinite reference, especially anya and sara, may be used in either number without essential difference (cf. also the indefinite neuter, §727): anyāṁs (TS. AŚ. anyāma) te asmat tapantu hetayaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠŚ. AŚ. anyam asman (MS. anyāṁs te asman, KS. anye 'sman) nivapantu tāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. If anye is sound, it can be nothing but a Prakritic acc. pl.; cf. Pischel, Gram. d. Pkt. Spk. 425, 433 (and for nouns, 367a). sarvam tāṁ bhasmasā (TS. ŠŚ. masmasā) kuru VS. TS. ŠŚ.: sarvāṁ tām
mṛṃga (KS. TA. mṛṃga) kuru MS.† KS. TA. sarvān ni mṛṃga-
ṣākaran AV.
yat te (KS. te) krudhāh pracakruh AV. yat te (KS. te) krudhāh parovapa
(KS. ms. ṝvapa) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. 'If angry ones have
thrown thee out'; 'if in anger have (KS. ms. if an angry one has)
thrown thee out.' The other texts state bluntly what AV. puts
diplomatically, using the indefinite third person so as not to admit
in words the sin which it really implies. It is the speaker, never-
theless, who is conceived as the doer of the act, even in AV. Cf.
VV 1 §315.

§718. Other cases show pronouns or adjectives referring to the
person or persons, not definitely expressed, on whose behalf the rite is being
performed:
pātānaṁ prāṅcam VS. ŚB.: pāta prāṅcam (KS. prāṅcaḥ) MS. KS.
ApŚ. MS.
pāta mā tiryaṅcam TS. TB.: pātānaṁ tiryaṅcam VS. ŚB.: pāta tiryaṅ-
cam (KS. tirakṣaḥ) MS. KS.
pāta (pāta mā, pātānaṁ) pratyaṅcam (KS. pratyaṅcaḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS.
pātānaṁcaṁ (KS. prāṅcaḥ) MS. KS.: anāṁcam mā pāta TS. TB.
uttānabham (AV. utānabhaṁ) śṛṇuhi jātavedāḥ RV. AV.
yasyādhi asmi purohitah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: yeśām asmi puro-
hitah AV.
pīteva putram (AV. Kauś. putrān) ahki (ŚG. iha) rakṣatād imam (VS.
ŚB. imān) AV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚG. Kauś.: pīteva putram
jarase ma emam (Ppp. KS. HG. ApMB. nayemam) Ppp. MS. KS.
HG. ApMB.

§719. (14). This brings us to the use of pronouns, singular or plural,
referring in a more or less vague and general way to the priests and
their associates. In VV 1 §290 we have discussed this type of number
variant in the verb. In so far as nominative pronouns in varying
numbers accompany singular and plural verbs, there will appear some
duplication between the following lists and those quoted in VV 1; but
for the most part the materials are different, tho related psychologically.
They must be regarded as complementing each other, and must be
considered together. As we saw L. e., different persons may be used,
as well as different numbers. Hence we find, here also, cases in which
pronouns of different person as well as number are used. We quote a
few examples but have not attempted an exhaustive list (cf. §9):
§720. First and second persons:

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya suhṛtāṁ bibhartu (Ppp. pipartu) AV. Ppp.: sa no rāṣṭreṇu sudhītāṁ (read "tān") dadhātu TB.

d tvā (TB. na) svo vihātāṁ (TB. aśnulāṁ) varṣaḥ AV. TB.

§721. First and third persons. Here we find a number of variations between the forms asmai 'for him' and asme 'for us', which are obviously phonetic in character and have been therefore treated in VV 2 §704. The shift between e and a is very easy. Nevertheless in most cases the meaning fits equally well with either reading. See also §738 for some formally similar cases.

asmai (TB. asme) dyāsāprthīh bhūry vānam AV.† TB.
asme (AV. asmai) dhatta vasaṣa vasmāni AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.
asme (AV. asmai) dhārayataṁ (MS. "tān") rayīn RV. AV. MS. Different contexts.
asme (KBU. asmai) prayandhi mahāvamān rjīṣin RV. KBU. AG. PG. N.
asmai (MS. asme) rāṣṭrāya mahī kṣarma yachatat TS. MS. AS.
supīppalā oṣadhīh kartanāsme (AV. kartam asmai, VSK. kartam asme) AV. VS. VSK. MS.

savitrā prasavitrā...indrenāsme (VSK. "asmai")...VS. VSK.
asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya (KS. rāṣṭram adhāraya) MS. KS.: asme kṣatrāṇi dhārayer anu dyān RV. TS. MS. KS.: asmai kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam aṅge AV. Different contexts.
asme (AS. asmai) iṅḍrādyhaspatī RV. TS. MS. KS. AS. Doubtless misprint in AS.
yācā naḥ kṣarma saprathāḥ ("thāḥ") RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB.

HG. ApMB. N.: yācāsmai kṣarma saprathāḥ AV. TS.

ud enam uttarān ("rāṁ", §814) naya AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.

ApŚ. MS. Kauś.: ud asmāṁ uttarāṁ naya ApŚ. In same verse:
prajayā ca bahūṁ (ApŚ. bahūn) kṛdhī AV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

First person pronouns, singular and plural

§722. The vast majority of variants under this heading show first person pronouns, alternatively singular and plural, referring to the priestly authors of the mantras and their associates. Little need be said of them; they are as simple and natural as they are familiar, and there is no real difference in meaning, at least as a rule, between the two numbers. Compare our remarks in VV 1 §§344 ff., which deal with the same matter from the point of view of verb forms. Their number is, however, remarkable and impressive.

§723. As with the verbs (§346), in some cases one or the other number
is more or less inconsistent with the context. The inconsistency is sometimes original (and removed in a secondary text), sometimes secondary. We shall list these inconsistent variants first:
yā sarasvatī veṣabhaginī tasyā no (ApŚ, viśabhaginī tasyām me) rāśva tasyās te bhaktisāno bhūyāśaṃa KS. ApŚ. Note 1st plural verb, mayīdham indra indriyam dadhātu VS. SB. SS.: asmāśe indra indriyam dadhātu TS. MS. KS. MS.: mayīndra indriyam dadhātu TS. TA. TAA. AG. The first two occur in the same context, which has three 1st plural pronouns even in VS. SB. SS.
bhavatāṃ nah samanasaṃ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Vait. ApŚ. MS. Kauś. BDh.: avatam mā samanasaṃ samaukaṇaṃ TB. Surrounding formulas have plural pronouns even in TB.
sūryo mā (MS. nae) tebhyo rāṣṭrā VS. MS. KS. Also with vaiyur and agnir instead of sūryo. (Delete reference to KS. under agnir nae in Conc.) The following pāda has 1st plural in all.
devi vāg yat te vāco (yad vāco) madhumat (madhumattaman, "tamanā jujjñataman") tasmin mā (KB. SS. no adya) dhāḥ (dhāt) TS. KB. GB. PB. JB. AS. SS. Vait. KŚ. A 1st sg. verb precedes in all.
vaśo no (MS. KS. me) adya p raswati dānam VS. MS. KS. 1st sg. pronoun in the same verse in VS.
vati havyāṃ prayāṇam āhutaṃ me (SS. nae) AS. SS. Both have plural elsewhere in the verse.
krṣotu mātra aryamā bhago nah (KS. me) RV. VS. KS. N. 1st sing. verb in the verse even in RV.
kraddhe kradd dhāpayeha nah (TB. mā) RV. TB. 1st plural verb in both; here TB. is secondarily inconsistent.
cittasya (TB. SMB. pājñasya) mātā (SMB. mātaram) suhavyā no (TB. SMB. me) astu AV. TB. The AV. has me in the next pāda.
vaśvedanāraḥ parasyām nah paritrāṇaṃ TA.: vaśvedanāraḥ parītā mā paruṭā AV. The rest of the verse has 1 sg. in both. Ppp. intends to read with TA. (Whitney on AV. 6. 119. 3).
ā mā ghoṣo gachatī vān māsām (TS. KS. vān na āsām, MS. vār nu āsām, p.p. vāk, nu, āsām) AV. TS. MS. KS. Note that TS. KS. are inconsistent within the same pāda!
tvāṣṭā me (SV. no) daiṣyaṃ vacaḥ AV. SV. Kauś. Plural follows in both.
ayah te asmy upa mehy (AV. na ehy) avān RV. AV. Ppp. In the same verse:
manyo vajrinn abhi mām (AV. abhi na, Ppp. upa na) ab vaiṣṭva, same texts. The following pāda has 1st dual verb (representing a combination of 1st sing. with manyul!); RV. is the only really consistent text.
SINGULAR AND PLURAL

māṁ dhehi TS. TB. TA.: asmāṁ dhehi KSA. The latter is emended by von Schroeder to māṁ, because the next mantra has mayī. In the light of the variants here presented this seems very inadvisable.

ā no (VS. mā) Jane kravyatam yuvāṇā RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by two pādas with plural pronouns, and followed by one with singular.

paraiṭu mṛtyur amṛtāṁ na aitu (ŚŚ. SMB. amṛtāṁ ma ā gat) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. The two latter texts combine this with a pāda containing a plural.

pūtanā no (ApŚ. mā) dyāvāprthiṣṭi upasthe RV. MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by a plural in all.

evā tān tār baladevāya mehi (AV. baladāvā na ehi) RV. AV. Singulants in the rest of the verse in AV.

viśve devaśe adhi vocatā nah (TS. me) RV. TS. And others, §154. RV. is inconsistent, having sing. pronouns in the rest of the vs.; all later texts restore consistency.

dyaus ca nah (KS. TB. trā, AV. ma idam) prthiṣṭa ca pracetasā (AV. 8’au) RV. AV. KS. TB. See §488. Plur. pronoun follows in AV.

rāgo (AV. rā吉) devi dadātā nah (AV. dadātā me) RV. AV. Plural precedes in AV.

idam aham tāṁ valagāṁ (tāṁ valagāṁ) ... yāṁ (yāṁ) me (VSK. TS. KS. nah) ... VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. Note aham in all.

marutiṁ manve adhi no (AV. me) brvantu AV. TS. MS. KS. A plural follows in AV.

ādityā rudrā uparispṛśa nam (KS. 7’sam mā) AV. KS.: vasavo rudrā ādityā uparispṛśam mā RV. VS. TS. Plurals in the context; only the secondary AV. is consistent.

abhūn mama (KS. nu nah) sumatau viśvedāṁ TS. KS. PG. All have singulants in the rest of the verse.

amitrān no vi vidhyatām AV.: mamāmitrān vi vidhyata (and 8’tu) AV. (both). In different contexts; the sīns. are inconsistent with their surroundings.

apāma adhi mā mṛthā na ināda SMB.: anā ma adhi mā mṛdhā na (ĀŚ. ma) ināda ĀŚ. SG.: anāmayadhi mā riṣāma ādo Kauś.

§724. The rest show, as far as we have noticed, no inconsistency as to number in the context. The long list follows:

agne dakṣayā punahi nah (TB. mā) RV. TB.

adyanām adhyapate pra mā tira svasti me ... VS.: adyanām adhyapate (ŚŚ. adhyane adhipatir asī) svasti me (ŚŚ. no)... PB. ŚŚ.

pāvamānīḥ (‘nyah) punantu nah (RVKh. TB. mā, MG. trā, YDh. te) SV. RVKh. TB. MG. YDh.
upa mā (ŚB. ŚŚ. mām) bṛhat saha dieśa kravatām ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. (also with rathantaram saha prthivya, and vāmaderyam sahāntarikṣena): upāsmaṁ idā kravatām... AS.

pari ṇah (and mā) pāhī vīśvataḥ AV. (both). Different contexts.

tasya na iśāsya pritasya drāvīnehāgamēh VS.: tasya mā yajñasyesāṣasya vīṭasya drāvinēhāgamyaḥ MS.: tasya meṣṭasya vīṭasya... TS. KS.

ApŚ.: tasya yajñasyesāṣasya vīṭasya drāvinēṃ māgacatu (cf. VV I §104u) KS.

yo naḥ (AV. mā) kadā cid abhidāśati druhā (AV. druḥuh) RV. AV.

devasyākaṁ (VSK. devasya vayaṁ) savitṛh savo...VS. VSK. ŚB.

mā no hārdī tvīsī vadhiḥ RV.: mā me hārdī tvīṣa (MŚ. hārdīṁ dviṣa) vadhiḥ TS. MŚ.

tvarṇaṁ pavītraṁ (PG. purāṇaṁ) punati ma (ŚG. na) āgāt ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: kārma varūhaṁ (HG. kārma-varūthe) punati na āgāt

ApMB. HG.

āyantu naḥ pitarāh somyāsaḥ VS.: ā me yantu ViDh. (pratīkā of an unknown mantra similar to that of VS.).

śivah śaṃgmo hūvāsi naḥ TB. ApŚ.: śivā ca me śaṃgā vaidhī TB. ApŚ.

yud antarikṣyaṇaḥ tad u me (MS.† naḥ) pitaḥbhūt (VSK. pitaṣa) VS. VSK.

TS. MS. ŚB.

asme te rāyaḥ MS. KS.: asme rāyaḥ VSK. TS. ApŚ.: me rāyaḥ VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.  On me (loc.) see Wackernagel 3 p. 462.

imam slomaṁ juśassva naḥ (and me) RV. (both).

imam (HG. etam) yajñam pitaro me (HG. no) juśastaṁ AV. HG.

imam no (MS. KS. me) deva savitaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.


AV. MS. KS. TB. (bis).

rtena naḥ (ApŚ. mā) pāhī MS. ApŚ.

upa mā (Vait. no) rājan sukṛte hreyasva TB. Vait.

ārdhno naḥ pāhī anahaso ni ketuṇā RV. MS. KS. AB. KB. TB.: ārdhno mā pāhī añhasah VS. ŚB.

rīvare yajñasya mā (AV. naḥ) punātm AV. MS. TB.

evā me asu dhāryam Ppp. TAA.: evāsm kedāṁ dhāryam AV.

gṛṭena no (MS. KS. mā) gṛṭapeh (TS. "pweh") punantu RV. AV. VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

caksur no (KS. me) dhehi caksuṣe RV. MS. KS. MG.

tato no (KS. mā) etiṣṭyaśa (VS.† KS. "śve") VS. TS. MS. KS. (both)

ApŚ. MS.
tan ma (TA. na) īndro varaṇo bhavapatiḥ TA. MahānU. BDh.

tan ma ācakṣya (ŚŚ. nah prabrūhi) nārada AB. ŚŚ.
dyaur me (Av. nah) pita janaṇa nobhira atra RV. AV. N.
nadasya nāde pari pātu me (AV. no) manah RV. AV.
ye māmakāḥ pitarah ViDh.: ye 'smākam pitarah teṣāṁ barhīr asī ĀV.
idaṁ brahma jujāsa naḥ (TA: MG. and TA. v. 1. me) TA. TAA. MG.
MahānU.

puṣā bhagavi (AŚ. bhagam puṣā) savita me (TB. AŚ. no) dadātu ŚB. TB.
AŚ. ŚŚ. KS. PG.

prajām me dāh VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA.: prajām me yacha KS. ApŚ. MS.:
prajām asmāsu dhēhi VS.

varco asmāsu dhāta (AŚ. dhēhi) AV. AŚ.: varco mayi dhēhi VS. TS. PB.
ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: varco me dāh MS. MS.: varco me dehi VS. TS. ŚB.
ŚŚ. PG.: varco me dehi (TA. dhā̄h) VSK. MS. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ.:
varco me yacha MS. KS. ApŚ. MS.: prajām me narya pāhi MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. MG.: prajām no narya pāhi


paśūn me śaṇṣya pāhi MS. ApŚ. MS.: paśūn nah śaṇṣya pāhi ApŚ.


annan me (ApŚ.* no) budhya (ApŚ. budhnya) pāhi, tan me (ApŚ.* no)
gopāyāsmakaṁ punar āgamāt MS. ApŚ. (bis).


tām me (ApŚ.* no) gopāyāsmakaṁ punar āgamāt MS. ApŚ. (bis) MS.

Also with tām for tāṁ, but not in MS.

tām me (ApŚ.* nah) punar dehi KS. MS. ApŚ. (bis) MS. Also with

tām for tāṁ, but not in KS. or MS.

brahma tena punīki nah (LŚ. mā, VS. KS. punātu mā, MS. TB. puni-

mahe) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ.

mā pára seci no dhanaṁ (ApŚ. nah swam, ApMB. me dhanaṁ) ŚŚ. LŚ.

ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB.

mā vayaṁ āyuṣā varcasā ca MS.: māham āyuṣā (KS. udds varcasā

virāđiṣi) TS. KS.

yāḥ potā sa punātu nah (VS. MS. KS. ApŚ. mā) RV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.:
yāḥ pātaḥ sa punātu mā TB. (so ConC., but Poona ed. reads potā).

yena teasā deva (ŚŚ. om. deva) veda devabhya veda 'bhavas tena māhyam.

(ŚŚ. tenāsamahyiṃ) veda bhūyāḥ (VSK. bhava, ŚŚ. veda edhi) VS.

VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.
yo naḥ kaś cābhīyagnyati AV.: yo mā kaś cābhīdāsati AG. PG. MG. 
yo no anti śāpati tam etena jēṣam MŚ.: yo me 'nti dūre 'rātiyaṭī tam 
etena jēṣam TS.
yo mā caṅkuṣā ya manasaḥ TB.: yo 'smāṇī caṅkuṣā manasaḥ cītyākētyaḥ 
ca AV.
yo 'smāṇī dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ deśma idam asya grīvā api kṛntāmi TS.: 
idam ahaṁ yo me (KS. nas) samāno yo 'samāno 'rātiyaṭi tasya grīvā 
api kṛntāmi MS. KS.: idam enam adharam karomi yo naḥ samāno 
yo 'samāno 'rātiyaṭi TS.
tan me tanvah trāyaṭāṁ sarvato bhṛhat AV.: tan naḥ trāyaṭāṁ tanvaḥ sar-
vato (ApŚ. tan no viśvato) mahat KS. ApŚ.
viśte no (KS. mā) deve avasā gamantu (RV.* VS.* MS. KS. ApŚ. gamann 
īha) RV. (both) VS. (both) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.
vaśāṅgaro adābhahas (AV. no adābhahas, TA. me 'dādhahas, MS. ApŚ. 
'dādhahas) tanāpaḥ AV. VS. MS. SB. TA. APŚ. SMB. The pre-
ceeding pādase, which show much variation in their enumeration of 
protectors, show the following number variants:
punah prāṇaḥ punar ātmā ma (MS. TB. ApŚ. HG. punar ākūtam, TA. 
punar ākūtam ma) āgāt (VS. SB. āgaṇ) VS. VSK. MS. SB. TB. TA. 
ApŚ. HG.: punah prāṇaḥ punar ātmā na aitu (MG. punar ākūlir 
aitu) AV. MG. And the following:
punar manah punar āgur (SMB. ātmā) mā (MS. nā, ApŚ. om. the word) 
āgāt (VS. SB. āgaṇ) VS. VSK. MS. SB. TA. APŚ. SMB. The texts 
are consistent throughout in their use of singular or plural. 
kāṇṭīr na astu MS.: kāṇṭīr me astu kāṇṭhī TA.: sā mā kāṇṭīr edhi VS. 
śīv śīvam mahyam edhi HG.: śīv na śīvādhi AV. 
śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat ViDh. MDh. BrḥPDh. AuśDh.: śraddhā me 
mā vyāgat APŚ.
sarvasmā svīśṭam suhutan karotu (AG. HG. karotu me) APŚ. AG. APG. 
HG.: svīśṭam suhutan karotu svāhā (BrḥUK. karotu naḥ svāhā) 
SB. BrṛH. BrṛUK.
sarvam mac chapathyān adhi AV.: asmat su śāpathyān adhi APŚ. 
sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā (HG. naḥ) priyāḥ ApMB. HG. Followed by: 
abhi rākṣantu mā (HG. svavantu naḥ) priyāḥ ApMB. HG. 
sahasra no abhinātīm AV.: sahasra me aratiḥ VS. 
sā nas samantam anu parīhi bhadrāya APMB.: sā mā (MG. naḥ) saman-
tam abhi pary ehi bhadr̥ MG. SMB. 
sā naḥ (KS. mā) suprācī suprātya edhi (VSK. MS. KS. suprācī bhara, 
TS. suprācī sam bhara) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB, 
surāṣṭrā iha māvata (MS. no 'vata) TS. MS. KS.
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suhađa na ehi saha rāyasyoṣeṇa MS.: suhađa mehi saha prajeyā saha rāyasyoṣena KS.

sa mām pātu KS.: so 'smān pātu TS.

deva varunā devayajanam no dehi suhā (ApŚ. "yajanaṁ me dehi") PB. ApŚ. Cf. deva sarītār devayajanam me dehi devayajyāyai AB.

agnir mā tasmād enasaḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. AS. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. KauŚ. SMB.: agnir naś tasmād enasaḥ MS. KS. MS. evaṁ (KS. eva māṁ, AV. tenāsmān) indro varuno bhṛhaspatiḥ AV. MS. KS.: tena na vājā varuno bhṛhaspatiḥ TS. ŚŚ.

mā mā (SMB. no) hiṁśita VS. PB. AS. ŚŚ. SMB. Vait.

mā no (VS. VSK. ŚB. mā) hiṁśij janītā yah prthivyāḥ RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mā mā hāṣin (MS. hāṣir) nāthito net (MS. na) tva jahāni (MS. "āmi") AV.† KS. MS.: mā no hāṣin metthito net tva jahāma TB. ApŚ.: mā no hiṁśid dhūṁṣita dadhāmi (some ms. om. dadhāmi) na tva jahāni AS.

yajatra muṣicatha naḥ (TB. mā) AV. TB.


yo no (AV. mā) divā dīptati yā ca naktam RV. AV.

vājo naḥ (MS. me, KS. mā) saptā pradīṣaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. In the same verse:

vājo no (MS. KS. mā) visvair devair VS. TS. MS. KS.

vaśvānaro raśmībhūr mā (AV. naḥ) punātu AV. MS. TB.

kam ca no mayaḥ ca naḥ AV. KauŚ.: kam ca me mayaḥ ca me VS. TS. MS. KS.

ubhe ca no (ŚB. cainah, ŚŚ. cainah [na iti vā]) dyavāprthīvī anhasah pūtām... MS. ŚB. TB. AS. ŚŚ. ŚB. also has the reading ubhe ca mā etc., which it rejects, since mā would refer to the hotar, whereas the yajamāna should be indicated. The difference between 1st and 3rd person then seems to depend almost wholly on brahmanic theorizing. However, MS., TB., AS., a school contested by ŚŚ., and the Kāṇva recension of ŚB. read no, making no difficulty about including the officiating priests in the benediction.

rtān mā muṣicatāṁhasaḥ TB.: krtān naḥ pāhy anhasah (TA. enasaḥ) MS. TA.

osadhibhyāḥ paśāve no (KS. MS. ApŚ. paśubhya me) janāya (KS. MS. ApŚ.† dhanāya) TS. KS. ApŚ. MS.

kalpātān me yoṣakṣenaḥ AB.: yoṣakṣemo naḥ kalpatām VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB.
yṛhān naḥ pitaro datta VS, VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. SMB. GG.: virān me (MŚ. no) datta pitarah AS. MŚ.: virān naḥ (Kauś. me) pitaro dhatta (Kauś. datta) Kauś. ViDh.
goposāni ca me (MŚ. AS. goposāni ca no, TB.† ApŚ. goposāni no) vira-po-
sāni ca yacha (AV. MŚ. dhehi) AV. TB. 3. 7. 2. 7. AS. ApŚ. MŚ.
tāṣāṁ te sarvāśāṁ vayam (and ṭāḥām ahām) AV. (both).
tasya bhājayaḍeṣaḥ naḥ RV, AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. ApMB.: 
tasyaṅg ābhājayaḍe ca TB.
tasyaṅgah vrdhamānu bhāyuṣam āpāyuṣamānaḥ ca ApMB.: vṛdhitaṁ 
ca vayam ē ca āpāyuṣamānaḥ (MS. MŚ. ApŚ.† āpāyuṣamānaḥ ca) VS. MS. 
ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MS. SG. HG.
tan no (MahānU. me) varuṇo rājā TA. MānU.
tan me (VS. no) asu tryāyuṣam VS. VSK. ApMB. HG. MG.
tan (GB. etan) no gopāya MS. KS. GB. ApŚ.: tan me gopāya (Kauś. 
gopāya) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.
tarpayata me (ŚŚ. naḥ) pitṛn VS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. BDh.
tasya no (TS. me) rāṣa ca TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.
tasmai no (AV. ma) deveṅ paridatthe (KS. MŚ. ṭhātta, PG. ṭhātte) 
sarve (MŚ.† viśe) AV. TS. KS. MS. SMB. PG. BDh.
tābhīr no (MS. teḥkīr mā) devaḥ savitar punatu MS. ApŚ.: tābhīṣ teva 
savitar punatū ApMB.
agnir naḥ (VSK. ma) pātu duritād avadyāt VS. VSK. ŚB.
agnir nas (TA. mā) tasmād ēndraḥ ca MS. TA.
agni jātān prā ṅudā naḥ (AV. me) sapatnān AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 
TA. ApŚ. MŚ.
agni bhyāvartin abhi mā ni vartase (TS. abhi na ā vartasa, KS. abhi 
ni vartase, MS. abhi ni vartase, Kauś. abhi na ā varṣita) VS. 
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.
adhā cīd ēndra (SV. naḥ) socā RV. AV. SV.
anamitrām no adhārāt (VSK.† me adhārik, KS. no adhārank) AV. VSK. 
KS. In the same verse:
indrānāmitrām (KS. mā. ṭrān, see §703 end) naḥ pāscat (VSK. ṭrān 
paścāt me) AV. VSK. KS.
abhayam mitrāvarunāv hāṣū naḥ (AG. ṭarunā mahyaṃ astu) AV. AG. 
abhī prehi dekṣinaṁ bhāve (AV. naḥ) RV. AV.
abhīśār (HG. abhīśār) ya ca me dhruvā (HG. ca no yṛhe) RVKh. HG.: 
abhīśār ya ca no yṛhe ApMB.
āvācinām varṣividaṁ bhagam naḥ (AV. me) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TB. 
ApMB.
māṁ (AV. aṃmā) punihī (MS. punāḥ) viśvataḥ (AV. caṅsase) RV. AV. 
VS. MS. KS.
ahar no atyapīparat SMB. MahānU.: ahar māty apīparah AV.
adyāya tasman no (TB. mā) yuṣam AV. TB,
ā no (VS. ŚB. mā) goṣu viśāv ausadhiṣṇa (MS. ausadhiṣṇa, VS. KS. ŚB. ā
tanūga) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
āśr na (TS. KS. KŚ. ma, MS. nā) ārjan uco sauprajāstvam (TS. MS.
KS. KŚ. supra*) AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.
abhayaṁ vo (ŚŚ. te) 'bhayaṁ no astu (AB. ĀŚ. me 'stu) AB. ĀŚ. ŚŚ.
(both): abhayam no astu MS. KS. ŚŚ. ŚG.: abhayam me astu (AB.†
'stu) AB. ApŚ.
ño asman (MS. mā) mātaraḥ sundhayantu (AV. MS. KS. sūdayantu,
TS. ApŚ. sundhantu) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. ĀŚ. ApŚ.
āgantas pitarāḥ pitramān aham yuṣmābhīt bhāyāsāṁ surapajāso maṇḍ yuṣam
bhāyāsta TS.: āganta pitarāḥ somyāsas lesāṁ vah pratīvita arisṭāḥ
ṣyāma supitāro vayaṁ yuṣmābhīt bhāyāsma surapajāso yuṣam asmā-
bhīt bhāyāsta MŚ.
pūṣā nā ñdhāt suktasya loke MS.: pūṣā mādhāt (AV. mā ñdhāt) suktasya
loke AV. TS. KS.
bandhur me (AV. no) mātā prthivī mahāyam RV. AV. N.
bodha me (TS. no) asya vacaso yaviṣṭha RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
deveṣu naḥ sukto (VS. deveṣu mā suktoḥ) brūtāt (KS. brūta, PB. MŚ.
brūyaḥ) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: devebhya mā suktoḥ brūtāt (ŚB.
with āha, vocēh for brūtā) VS. ŚB.: suktoḥ mā deveṣu brūtāt TS.
pra mā (TS. ApŚ. no) brūtād bhāgadāṁ (TS. dhān, ApŚ. "dhān, KS.
dhovirda) devatāsu (KS. *tabhyah) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.
§725. Of essentially the same sort are a few variants in which adjectives
agreeing with the subjects of 1st person verbs vary between
singular and plural:
edhamānāḥ (Kauś. *nāḥ) svagyhe (Kauś. sve grhe) ŚB. BrhU. Kauś.;
edhamānā sve vacē ApMB.
īcā (TB. ApŚ. jīco) jīvantīr upa vah sadema (TB. ApŚ. sadeyam) AV.
KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
deva dhanena dhanam ichamānāḥ HG.: dhanena deva dhanam ichamānāḥ
AV. ApMB. The verbs caṇāma, "mi occur in the preceding.
āyuṣmān jaraḍaḥī rathāsāni AV.: āyuṣmanto jaraṁ upagachāma devaṁ
(KS. jīcā) KS. ApŚ.
gātrāyām te gātrabhādo bhāyāsma (KS. gātrabhāg bhāyāsam) TS. KS.
ṭeṣṭramandasya (MS. MŚ. teṣṭro, ApŚ. teṣṭro) tvā sapena VS. MS. KS.
with v. l. teṣṭro) te sapena TS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. §849.
thaiva santāḥ prati tad yātayānaḥ (AV. prati darkma ena) AV. TB. ApŚ.:
ihāva saṁ niravādaye tat TS. On this variant see Whitney’s notes to AV. 6. 117. 1 and 2.

§726. And a couple of others of the same sort in which there is inconsistency with the context:

yatāmaḥ te juhumaṁ tan no astu RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. TAA. SMB. ApMB. N.: yatāmaṁ idam juhomi tan me samārthyaṁ TB. The context of the latter is partly the same and has a plural. yac cāham eno vidvāṁś ca kāraṁ ya ca vīrāyaṁ... VS. ŚŚ.: yac cāham eno vidvāṁśa ca vīrāyaṁ ca cāraṁ ca... MahānU. The comm. to the latter attempts to remove the glaring inconsistency by supplying akāraṁ with aham.

2. The neuter singular (and plural)

§727. The neuter gender often carries with it (cf. §807) a tinge of generalization; and neuter singular forms (nouns or indefinite adjectives), which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, vary with plural epithets of the same or other genders. (On neuter adverbs see §734.)

krṣṭapacyāk (TS. KS. *yam) ca me krṣṭapacyāk (TS. KS. *yam) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by oṣadhaṁ ca me vīrudaḥ ca me.

‘(Plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation’: ‘that which ripens’ etc.

ekasaphaṁ asṛtyaṁ VS. ekasaphaṁ paśavo asṛtyaṁ VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

In MS. ‘(the whole-footed [kind of cattle])’ followed by a parallel formula, kṣudraḥ paśavo asṛtyaṁ.

āśayai brāhmaṇāṁ snapanīr (ApMB. "nama") harantu AV. ApMB. ‘Let the brahmans bring her bathing-water.’ With snapanīr sc. āpaḥ.

Cf. next.

āpaḥ pādyā ApŚ.: pādyam (Kauś.—not HG.—pādyam bhoḥ) Kauś. HG. ‘(Water) for the feet.’ Cf. prec.

hoṁrādanam hariṁ khranjanīyaṁ AV.: hoṁrādanā hariṁ śvarṇaṁ TB. ApŚ. With the latter supply darbhāḥ ‘(grass) for the hotar to sit on, yellow, golden’ AV. feels hoṁrādanāṁ, which means the same thing, as a neuter abstract: ‘a seat for the hotar’ etc. Cf. darbhāṁ śrīṇīl hariṁ śvarṇāṁ (KS.† śvarṇaṁ) KS. MŚ. samṛddhikaraṇāṁ tuva (HG. *karaṇāḥ mama) PG. HG. Preceded by tināṁ lājāṁ a vāpāṁ agnī (HG. vāpāṁ, om. agnī); followed by tubhyāṁ (PG. mama tubhyāṁ ca) sanvītanām. ‘I cast these kernels...as increase-makers (a making of increase)...a harmonizing.’

tṛmpantu hoṁrā madhva yaḥ svesṭāṁ (VSK. yaḥ svetiṣṭā) VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

Followed by:
yāḥ supṛūṭāḥ suhutā yat svāhā VS. ŚB.: yat subhṛtaṁ yat svāhā VSK. In VS. ŚB.: ‘Let the priestly offices, which have been well offered, rejoice’ etc. In VSK, yat etc. might refer to the unexpressed and indefinite object of the verb: ‘let the priestly offices rejoice (in that) which is well offered’ etc. But the change was surely suggested by suhutā yat svāhā of VS., in which yat is a conjunction, ‘when well offered with svāhā’. Most likely, therefore, yat is to be taken thus all three times in VSK, and the neutrals are indefinite: ‘let the priestly offices rejoice when good sacrifice has been made’ etc.

duraś ca víśā arṇṇod apa svāh RV. AV.: turaś cid víśam ṣaṇṇavat tapavan AV. The AV. is corrupt; but víśam seems clearly an indefinite neuter.

praṇā víkṛtvan (ApŚ. vikurevan, MS. praṇāḥ kṛvan) janayan vírūpāḥ (KS. *pam) MS. KS. ApŚ. vírūpam indefinite neuter in KS. (probably original); in the others praṇāḥ is understood with it. tā (RV. tā) jugasa yavīṣṭhyā RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The RV. tā refers back to dārūṇi; the other texts substitute the indefinite sing. tād, with the same reference, possibly; but see §737. In different context, tāṃ juṅ yaḥ RV.

salakṣmā (MS. KS. *ma) yad víṣurūpā (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *paṃ) bhavāti (MS. KS. bahkūca) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: víṣurūpā yat salakṣmaṁo bhavathā TS. The pāda originally (in RV. AV.) occurs in the Yama-Yamī hymn; the fem. adjectives apply to Yami. The YV. texts apply it to a wholly different context, by ‘phrase-infection’ (§848). Here it applies to the members of the slaughtered animal, here assembled, and most YV. text use the indefinite neuter singular: ‘that what is manifold may become of one sort’. (In VS. ŚB. only this can be intended, as víṣurūpaṁ shows; salakṣmā is anomalous, perhaps due to influence of the RV. original, perhaps to be explained as having rhythmically lengthened final a, VV 2 §§459-60; the comm. interprets as neuter.) In TS. the members of the animal are directly addressed, and the adjectives are masc. pl.: ‘that ye, manifold, may become of one sort.’

§728. So the indefinite sarvam ‘everything’ varies with sarvāṇ ‘all (men)’; but the variant sarvāṇ, nom. sg., ‘heading everywhither’, is likely to be more original than either:

amāśi (SMB. āṃśiḥ avi, ŚG. amo ‘ei) sarvāṇ (AŚ. sarvāṇ, SMB. sarvam) avi (SMB. anu) praviśāḥ AŚ. ŚG. SMB. Kauś.

§729. Also tād and tāni, neuter sg. and pl., both indefinite, are interchangeable (see also yasmāj jātāḥ [jātā] etc., §810).
Vedic Variants: III: NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

370 yas tad veda (AV.* VS. ānā veda, RV. AV.* TA.* N. tā viśñānāt) sa pituḥ (VS. MahānU. pituh, TA. savituh) pitāsāt RV. AV. (bis) VS. TA. (bis) MahānU. N.

§730. In substantive use, a pronoun introducing a predicate noun commonly agrees with that noun in number and gender, but may also be neuter singular without regard to the number and gender of the predicate, as in German ('das bin ich, das sind die besten Leute' etc.); cf. §§776, 812. So:

tad (VS. tā) ēpah sar (VSK. tat) praṇāpatah VS. VSK. TA. MahānU.

Note that TA. MahānU. are inconsistent, having the neuter in one of the two phrases, but agreement in gender (and number) in the other. VS. and VSK. are (in different ways) consistent.

3. Plural of viśeṣa with singular noun (?)

§731. Twice the text of TS. presents the form viśeṣa, apparently nom. pl., where other texts have viśeṣa (in the sense of 'every, each'), agreeing (even in TS.) with a singular (martāḥ); both are parts of the same stanza. The TS. version of the stanza is otherwise inferior, and Keith calls viśeṣa 'senseless'. Yet the repetition seems to guarantee it as the genuine Tait. reading; moreover ApŚ. has the same. Either it is a Mañjulism, intended as nom. sg. (cf. Pischel, Gram. d. Pkt. Spr. §363), or else a plural epithet going with a singular subject. Tho this would be a bizarre construction, it is not inconceivable that TS. may have so intended; it would be an illogical blend of viśeṣa martāḥ 'every man' with viśeṣa martāḥ 'all men.'—The same viśeṣa apparently with a sing. noun occurs a third time in TS., atha viśeṣa arapt edhate grhaḥ, §457, q. v. viśeṣa (TS. ApŚ. viśeṣa) deasya netuḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MS. MG. (delete KSA. in Conc.).

viśeṣa (TS. viśeṣa) rāya iṣudhyati (TS. ṭsu) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

Other shifts of sing. and pl. with no essential change of meaning

§732. With this we conclude the subject of the generalizing singular and plural. There are however a few other variants in which, for one reason or another, singular and plural may interchange with virtually no difference of essential meaning. We shall take them up before proceeding to the cases of real and important change of meaning.

4. Elliptic plural

§733. First, an elliptic plural may vary with the singular of one member of the group:
mitraḥ (SV. mūtṛaś) pāṇty-adrurah RV. SV. Preceded by yam maruṭa yam ayaṃā; in SV. ayaṃā is a complementary singular to the elliptic plural mūtṛaś, which means Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman; cf. §§746-7.

5. Adverbs

§734. Adverbial forms, singular and plural, and equivalent in meaning, may vary; or a neuter singular adverb may vary with a plural adjective without essential difference of meaning: nīcād uccā svadhāyābhi pra tapaḥ Ppp. TS. KS.: nīcār uccāh svadhā abhi pra tapaḥ AV.

trīni padānī (TA. MahānU. pada) niḥita guhāsyā (TA. MahānU. guhrā) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Both guhā and guhrā are quasi-adverbial. agraṇe vo jūṣṭān prokṣṭāmy amūsmai vo jūṣṭān MS. MŚ.: agraṇe vo jūṣṭaṃ prokṣṭāmi TS. TB. ApŚ. jūṣṭān agrees with vo = offerings of food; jūṣṭaṃ is doubtless an adverb; ‘agreeably to Agni’ (otherwise Keith).

bhūyaḥ ca saradaḥ sattā VS. MG.: bhūyaḥ (ms. 22i) saradaḥ sattā AV. sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS. havanā jujōṣa) TS. MS.: sa no nediṣṭhān havanāny āgamat (and havanāni joṣat) KS. nediṣṭhān adverb in KS.

6. Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group

§735. An adjective or participle may variously agree with all the members of a coordinate group of nouns (plural), or with only one, the nearest. In the latter case, however, we may assume that its application to the others is not really excluded. Cf. Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2: King, Thanks, Rosencrantz, and gentle Guildenstern. Queen. Thanks, Guildenstern, and gentle Rosencrantz. — The same variation in verb forms, agreeing either with a plurality of subjects or with the nearest one alone, was noted in VV 1 §335ff.

candrena jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ (KS. TB. Poona ed. and comm. 6nd) VS. KS. TB.: śukram na jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānā MS. (p.p. 6nd). The sing. agrees with Sarasvati, the nearest subject; the plural with S. and the Aśvins. On the phonetic aspect (final visarga present or absent) cf. VV 2 §381.

tvaṭṭa viṣṇuk (MS. viṣṇus tvaṭṭa) praṣayā samvardānaḥ (VS. KS. ŠB. 6nd) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. ApŚ. ApMB. The verb, in the following pāda, agrees in number with the participle in all texts, except that in KS., which has the mantra three times with plural pple., the verb
is twice singular in the edition (but with v. l. plural in one case). See VV 1 p. 262 under yajamāṇāya draviṇāṃ dadhāta ('tu). Probably the plural should be read all three times.

(idā saravati mahīḥ) bhūrati grāṇā AV. MS.: (idā saravati bhūrati) mahī śrāṇā (KS. mahīr grānāh) VS. TS. KS.: idā saravati bhūrati mahīḥ (TB. mahī) VS. TB. In the last formula (in which the Poona ed. of TB. separates mahī from the preceding, making it part of the next pāda), the TB. comm. interprets mahī as a plural (mahātṛah), going with all the nouns (!).

Singular-plural variations with more definite change of meaning

§736. The phraseology used in this heading does not mean, of course, to deny that a change of ‘meaning’ in some sense occurs in the variants heretofore mentioned; we suggest only that such changes are not, as a rule, of the sort commonly and conventionally associated with the simple contrast between singularity and plurality of objects. The variants now to be considered fall roughly into the following groups. First, ‘transfer of epithet’: the variant word is applied to a different entity, in essentially the same context, necessitating a change of number. Second, ‘phrase inflection’: the formula is used in a different context, involving a different application of the variant word. Third, pluralization or the reverse in the same context: without change of context or verbal attraction to a different entity, the word is nevertheless understood of a plural entity in one form and of a singular one in the other; the entity referred to may be otherwise the same or different. Fourth, other, miscellaneous changes are involved; in some of them form attraction to some other word (other than what we term ‘transfer of epithet’) seems to have been influential.

7. Transfer of epithet

§737. We have met this phenomenon frequently under variations between the cases; see §14 for a general statement. Many of the transfers listed under the various shifts of case involve also change of number; these will not be repeated here. The following are those which involve shift of number only (or, in a few cases, also of gender), between singular and plural:

indrena devaiḥ saratham turebhīḥ (AV. tureṇa) RV. AV. Tho the contexts of the mantra are different, the epithet tura is transferred within its pāda from devaiḥ to indrena.

viśva rūpāṇi sambhṛtā (JB. ोtam) SV. JB. SB. LS. Preceded by gṛya-
trami traistubham jagat; JB. makes the epithet apply to (presumably) the last of the singulars in the preceding pāda.

taj (RV. tā) juṣava yaritūyha RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Preceded by yad agne kāni kāni cid, ā te dārūṇī dādhamasi (with slight variants). RV. refers tā to dārūṇi; the others with taj refer either to the same indefinitely (§727), or specifically to what is denoted by yad.

niśkritāh sa (TS. niśkrüto 'yan, KS. MŚ. niśkrītās te) yajñīyam bhūgam etu (KS. MŚ. bhūgam yantu) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. Singular refers to paśupati, plural to the cattle themselves.

ā yat trpan maruto vāvakānāh (MS. ñañah) RV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by priyā vo nāma hūve tūrānām. The epithet is apparently transferred from the Maruts to the subject of trpat; Ludwig makes the plural refer to this! The verse however is very troublesome; see Oldenberg.

ilāno (KS. ñañ) vahnir (KS. ññim) namasā AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The latter makes the epithet agree with srucō in the next pāda; see §399.

uruyacaso dhāmnā patyamānāh VS. TS. MS. KS.: uruyacacāyne dhāmnā patyamāne AV. The YV. texts make uru the agree with deśas; AV. has a false verse division and makes it agree with dhāmnā.

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāh (KS.ñañah, mss. vaṃsaḥ) VS. MS. KS. SB.: anabhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānāḥ TS. Pischel VSı. 2. 213 has made it probable that the original had vasānāḥ, epithet of Varuṇa in the following pāda. In VS. MS. it is transferred to ṣśah in the preceding; the adjoining plural forms helped in the shift.

mayobhuvu ṣaṭṭayaḥ santv asme RV. KS.: mayobhūr vālo viśvakṣṭayaḥ santv asme TA. In the latter the adjective is made to agree with vālo, which is itself a secondary intrusion in TA.

dhanur hastad ādādāno (TA. ñañ) mṛtasya RV. AV. TA. AG. 'Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man.' With Oldenberg on RV. 10. 18. 9 we understand team in the following half verse (atraiva team iha vayaṃ surīrāḥ [sukto]) of the dead man; TA. comm. understands it of the widow and makes ādādānā fem. sg. agreeing with it; we take the pple. as ādādānāh nom. pl. masc. going with vayaṃ; cf. Oldenberg's remarks; the sg. doubtless refers to the son of the deceased.

lābhis tavahśiṣṭeśāmi MG.: tena tvām abhiśiṣṭeśāmi YDh. Preceded by sahasrāśiṃ kādañāram ṛṣibhiḥ pāvanam kṣtam, and followed by
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páramēnīḥ pínantu trā (with minor variants). YDh. has adopted for tenta the number and gender of pávanam, instead of páramēnīḥ.

§738. In the following, the variant word is in one form of the variant an independent form rather than, strictly speaking, an ‘epithet’ of another word (§15):

asme (ApŚ. asmāi) karmane jātah MS. ApŚ.; ‘Born for us for the rite (for this rite).’ Cf. VV 2 §704, and above §721.

asme devāso vasūpe cikitsata TS. ApŚ.; śrad asmāi naro vacase dadhītana VS. Keith and Caland assume asmāi as intended; cf. prec. But asme might at a pinch be interpreted as ‘ethical dative’: ‘O gods, regard the wonder which we tell.’ The change is really phonetic in character, however.

kṣuptipāsāmalā jyesṭhāḥ (TAA. *malaṃ jyesṭhām) RVKh: TAA. Scheffelowitz reads jyesṭhām, which is doubtless the correct reading (= Misfortune, eldest sister of Lākṣmī); if jyesṭhāḥ be kept it can be construed as an adjective, with the following alakṣmār (for which Scheft, adopts the monstrous alakṣmīn). If *malā can stand it is doubtless a fem. acc. pl., epithet of alakṣmār (‘stained by hunger and thirst’); the alternative would be to take it as Vedic n. pl. (for *malānī); *malam would be an independent coordinate noun, ‘the stain of hunger and thirst.’

8. Phrase inflection

§739. This has also been met above, under variations in the cases; cf. §§21–2. It is essentially a matter of adaptation of old material to a new context.

adharāṇīḥ paraśu suva VS. MS. KS. (sc. yāttudhānyah): adharāncaḥ paraśu AV. (sc. taxmānam).

vīpṛṇa viprasya bhato vipaścītah RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚvetU.: vīpro viprasya sahase vipaścīt AV. The latter refers, in a new context, to a goat (ajā).

vīśvāḥ dhattam anapaspuruṇantim RV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: vīśvāḥ santo anapaspuruṇantih AV. TA. ‘Ever not shrinking from being milked’; of a cow or cows, in different contexts.

trīr varāṃ vṛṣṇo Kau.: varam vṛṣṇo ApMB. HG. Not true variants.

sarīḥ (RV. VS. sīväh) patatriṇah (h) ethana (KS. etha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: sarā patatriṇhi bhūte AV. Reference is to a plant or plants, in different contexts.

indro vah (AV. me) karma yachatu RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. Different contexts.
trīr ā dīvo vidathe paryamānaḥ (**nāḥ) RV. (both).
yatamāṇā (**no) rasmithiḥ sūryasya RV. (both).
ratnaṁ devasya savitur yajnāḥ (**nāḥ) RV. (both).

raṣṭohano (VS. ŚB. *hano vo) vañgahanah prosāmi vaṁṣanān (ApŚ.*
*ram) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. (bis). In ApŚ. 11. 12. 5, where vaṁṣanān is found, the ritual context is the same as in TS. and the rest; the plurals refer to the 'sound-holes'. In 12. 2. 15 the skin (carṇa) for the soma-pressing is addressed in a different context, and the formula is partially adapted, the sing. vaṁṣanām beng appropriate. Nevertheless the plural forms of the first two adjectives are inappropriately retained from the original form of the formula; perhaps they are understood indefinitely, as referring to any 'demon-slaying' entities.

rāyas pūse yajñapatiṁ abhijanatiḥ (TS. *ri) VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. ŚB.
rodena kṛvaṁti (kṛṇayati, kṛṇantu) agraṁ AV. (ter).
samijāmāno abhīhyusṣ RV. AV. AV. N.: samijāmāno abhīhyusṣḥ (MS.
avirhatāḥ) AV. MS.

kas te yunakti sa te yunaktu (VS. ŚB. *ti) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.:
ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu ApŚ. MS.: kas te yunakti MG. Also
with forms of vi-muc; to different ritual entities.

adabhēna teā (KS.* ApŚ.* vaś) cakṣusūpaśārati VS. VS. ŚB. ŚS.
MG. (delete KS. reference in Conc.).

śuṃḍikāni abhiṣṭaye RV. TS. MS.: śuṃḍikāṁ abhiṣṭaye RV. VS. BSK.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tasya vaṁṣan samatvau yajñiyasya RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.:
taṣṭāṁ vaṁṣan samatattvau yajñīyānām RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. SMB.
PG. N. Several different contexts.

yatāhām aṣṭa vaṁsāṇya RV. ApMB.: yathāhām esāṁ bhūṭānām (AV.
vaṁsāṇa) RV. AV. The sing. is said by a woman of her husband;
RV. bhūṭānām by a king of his subjects, and so AV. vaṁsāṇa, but
apparently influenced in its choice of epithet by reminiscence of
vaṁsāṇya in the different RV. context.

eva trīnāmaṁ aṁṛṣṭyaṁmakāḥ (TS. *yah) AV. TS.
gṛīṭa-pruṣa manasaḥ (TB. madhunā) kavyam undan (VS. manasaś mod-
makāḥ) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. Several different contexts.

ānhoś cid asmā urucakrir adbhūtaḥ RV.: ānhoś cid urucakriyaḥ RV.:
ānhoś cid urucakriyaḥ 'nehasah RV.

go vibhaya adhi yat pradhāvati TB.: ago yad avadhāvati AV.: amī-ye
ke sarasyaking avadhāvati HG. ApMB.
anahhyam gātuvittamāḥ (RV.* māh) RV. (bis) SV. As both refer to soma, the variant might perhaps be put with §712, tho the contexts are different.

śānāṁ vāryānām RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. JB.: śānā vāryānām RV. AV. MS. TB. TA.

tāṁ te paridadāmy aham ApŚ.: tāṁ te paridadāmy aham (TA. paridadāmi) TA. ApŚ.

ya (AV.* ye antarikṣa) oṣadhīṣu pāṣuṣe apsr antah (KS. pāṣuṣe óviveka) AV. (bis) KS.

bhakṣyaya te (and vo) 'vaso dāivyasya RV. (both). Sinā. Indra; pl. the Maruts.

bhātyai tvā (Kauś. vah) KS. TA. ApŚ. Kauś. Hardly true variants.

tāṁ (TS.* tāṁ) rākṣadhvan mā vo dabhan (TS.* dabhāt) VS. TS. (bis) MS. KS. SB.

mayi vah kāmadharamān bhūyat (ŚŚ. om. bhūyat) VS. SB. ŚŚ.: mayi te kāmadharamān bhūyat VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TB.

āyatu (TB.* āyuntu) yajñam upa no jusānāh (TB.* nāh) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both).

subhāśyā tvā (ŚŚ. vah; HG. adda paridadāmi) ApŚ. ŚŚ. HG. Hardly true variants.

anēhasan tvatayah RV.: anēhaso va utaya RV.


mayi eo (TS.* te) rāyāḥ krayantām TS. (both) MS. KS. LŚ.

indraghoṣas (KS. MS. *jās) tvā vasubhiḥ purasatī pātī (KS.† tvā vasavaḥ puṣāṁ pāntu, MS. tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pāntu) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.: indraghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadhatām TA. This and four parallel formulas are used all together, in TA. (with plural acc. pronoun) addressed to a layer of bricks, in the others (with sg.) to the altar. The settings are wholly different; obviously TA. has borrowed the whole passage and applied it to a new purpose. Two of the parallel mantras are quoted §412 under manojanās... and pracetās. The other two are:

tvaṣṭā tvā rūpāy upariṣṭāt pātī KS. ApŚ.: tvāṣṭā vo rūpāy upariṣṭād upadhatām TA. And:

viśvakarmā teṇāḥ teṣāṁ uṣāratāḥ (MS. KS. uṣarat) pātī VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.: viśvakarmā va adityāya uṣāratā upadhatām TA.

derṣa tvā savita punāte (MS. GG. KhG. savitotpunāte) achatrena... TS. MS. KS. MŚ. GG. KhG.: devo vah savita punāte achatrena... MS. KS.
upahāta (IŚ. "tō) upahavan te (IŚ. vo) śīya TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. IŚ.

akṣaṁ tān VS. KS. TB.; aghaḥ tam VS.; aghastām tam MS. TB. 3. 6.

15. 1. The pronouns refer to sacrificial animals, in different but related contexts.

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāṁ vah kṛṣnomi AV.: mama vrate te hṛdayāṁ (AG. ŚG. vrate hṛdayam te) dadhāmi (SMB. MG. dadhētu) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: mama hṛdaye hṛdayāṁ te aṣtu HG. The AV. addresses the subjects of a king; the others the guru’s śīya at the upanayana.

rakṣāni tayo (and tābhīr) daksā jātavedah Kauś. (both).

śrīṁ vahanto (ApMB. vahato, MG. vahantit) gṛtam ukṣamāyāṁ AS. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: śrīṁ vahantaḥ sumanāyāmāṁ HG. In different contexts; MG. refers to the bride. But the adaptation of the formula in MG. is imperfect; we fail to see how Knaurer can defend the correctness of his text as he does.

ayakṣenāya tvā samṛjāmi praṇāḥyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: ayakṣenā vah praṇayā samṛjāmi KS. TB. ApŚ. Different contexts.

9. Pluralization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§740. Thirdly, in some cases where the context is the same, and where there is no formal ‘transfer of epithet’, the ritual entity designated by the variant word is pluralized in one variant by the inclusion of other individuals, or by the substitution of a plural entity for a singular one; or vice versa. For example: rtena (MG. rtēna) sthūnaṁ (ApMB. MG. sthūnā, MG. sthūnā) adhi roha vaṁśa (MG. vanśaḥ) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG., ‘mount, O pole, upon the post(s)’ or the like. The dual form of ApMB. HG. can have no standing and is best regarded as a phonetic corruption (v for m, VV 2 §237). The verse is used in mounting the ridge-pole of the house on the middle post (and others); either singular or plural makes sense, but not dual. The plural of MG. may be defended, tho KG. 11. 3 has sthūnām; Ppp. is quoted by Roth as sthūnā dhi.

Other instances:

mahād adya bharatasya (and bhāratānām) ŚB. (both): mukhäuserma bhara-
tasya AB. The singular refers to Bharata Daubhantı, the plural to the Bharata family.

atharvaṇe svāhā ŚB.: atharvabhyaḥ (sc. svāhā) BDh. Hardly to be con-
sidered variants. The plural means the (hymns of the) Atharva Veda, the singular the rṣi Atharvan.

ādityaḥ ca me svarītraḥ ca me TS.; ādityaḥ ca mā indrāḥ ca me MS. Same context; sc. in both ‘prosper by the sacrifice’. In TS. grahaḥ is understood: ‘the cup for Āditya (or Aditi)’; in MS. ‘the Ādityas’.
brāhmaṇas tvā nāthakāmā upadhāvāmi (ApMB. ²kāmaḥ prapadye) SMB.  
PG. ApMB. HG.; brāhmaṇo vo nāthakāmā upadhāvāmi SMB.  
Singular is addressed in several successive mantras to various gods; plural to them all collectively.

abhayaṁ vo (ŚŚ.* te) bhayam no astu (AB. AŚ. me 'stu) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
(both). The formula with te is repeated at each of the three altars, and then with vo referring to all three as in the other texts.  
idam tam (and tān) ati srjāmi tam (and tān) mābhya avanikṣā AV. (both).  
Both in the same litany, addressed to various ritual entities.

eṣa vo deva savitra somaḥ TS. ApŚ.: deva savitar eṣa te somaḥ VS. MS.  
KS. SB. MŚ. Followed by ma tvā (TS. vo) daḥhan (TS. daḥkha)  
VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The plural pronoun refers to the gods  
including Savitar.

mitrasya tvā cakṣaṇa praṇīkṣe (with variants) VSK. TS. KS. KB. TB.  
AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KS. ApŚ./ MŚ. AG.: mitrasya va ca cakṣaṇa praṇīkṣe  
(cakṣaṇāmyavāta) MS. AŚ. MŚ. Reference to various ritual entities,  
in same context.

uṭemāḥ paśya TS.: uṭemāṁ paśya MS. MŚ. In the same context, but  
with different reference; in TS. to waters, in MS. MŚ. to yajña.  
devaśya tvā (MS. vah) savitur prasava...samāvātī VS. MS. TB. SB.  
(Delete reference to MS. under devaśya tvā in Conc.) Singular  
refers to rice, plural to rice and water.

aniñāti sapatnaksit VS.: aniñāto 'si sapatnaksit VS. SB.: aniñātah (KS.  
ApŚ. add sīha) sapatnaksayanīh MS. KS. ApŚ. Used in the same  
rudimental concept of various implements, one or several (sruc, sruva).  
rakṣohanaṁ tvā valaṇaḥanam avastiṃcāmi (and avastriṃcāmi) vaishnavam MS.  
MŚ.: rakṣoṅhno valaṇaghno 'vastiṃcāmi (and 'vastriṃcāmi) vajignān MS.  
KS.: rakṣoṅhano (VS. SB. add vo) valaṇaghano 'vastiṃcāmi vaishnavān  
VS. VSK. TS. SB. Four holes are referred to; MS. MŚ. address  
them one by one.

yā (ApMB. HG. yām) āharaj jamadagnīḥ PG. ApMB. HG. In the  
same context; singular refers to a wreath, plural to flowers.

pratnam ni pāti kāryam RV.: pratnāmi (Conc. prā tvā ni) pāti kāryah  
KS. See §403.

10. Form assimilation

§741. Among the remaining, miscellaneous variants between singular and plural, some seem to involve external form attraction—that is, the  
shift is due to the influence of some other form in the vicinity; altho  
the variant cannot be classified as showing 'transfer of epithet'. Thus:
triḥ sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi vindan RV.: triḥ sapta paramam nāma jānan ArS. Preceded in both by te manavata prathamām nāma dhenoh. 'They thought out the first name of the cow, they found the thrice seven supreme (names) of the mother (cow)', or 'they knew the thrice seven (names), the supreme (name, of the cow).' The change to singular in ArS. is due to the preceding singulars.

abhī priyā (SV. priyam) dīvas pedam RV. SV. It is obvious that SV. has assimilated the adjective to pedam. This is a lect. fac.; the sense requires such a construction. The RV. priyā must be taken with Lanman NInfI. 349 and Oldenberg Noten ad loc. as acc. pl. neut., sc. padāni: 'unto the dear (places), the place of heaven.' Cf. RV. 9. 12. 8.

vāto vā (VSK. vā vo) mano vā VS. VSK. ŚB.: vāyur vā tvā manur vā tvā TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. N. The pronoun tvā refers to the horse mentioned in pāda e (āsvam in all); vo of VSK. can scarcely have any other reference; the plural may be due to thought of the 'horses' mentioned in the preceding verse.

kavīn prchāmi vidmane (AV. videano) na vidvān RV. AV. See §487.

11. Change of words or meanings of a word

§742. In the rest different words are used, or else the same word in different meanings, requiring different numbers:

urjasaśti rājasvak (TS. rājasūryā, MS. KS. rājasūryā) citānāh VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. '(Waters) rich in food, king-creating, wise (or, wise unto king-creation). In this rājasū or rāsāya as adjective varies with the commoner abstract noun rājasūrya. Cf. next.

svāhā rājasūryāh MS. MS.: svāhā rājasūryāya citānāh TS.: svāhā rājasvak VS. ŚB. Cf. preceding, which comes shortly before this in the texts.

drapṣaṅ caskanda prthīvīm anu dyām (RV. caskanda prathamān anu dyām) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Here the two meanings of the stem div are concerned. RV. 'thruout the earliest days'; the others 'thru earth and heaven'.

tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś (TA. brahmā) ca AV. TA. Whatever brahmā of AV. may mean, which is uncertain, TA. has a different word and means the personalized Brahman.

indrasya ārdy (AV. ārdim) āniśan maniśibhiḥ (AV. maniśayā) RV. AV. SV. 'By the wise (priests)'. 'by wisdom'.

jaghiṇa viśram yatīr na SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.: viśram yo jaghiṇa yatīr na AV. Obscure; cf. Whitney on AV. 2. 5. 3.
prāvanēbhīḥ (MS. KS. pravaṇaṇa) sajōṣasah RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Uncertain; see VV 2 §491.
yo aγnaye dadāka havyadātībhīḥ (SV. 9taye) RV. SV. See §567.
mitraḥ satyānām (VS. ŚB. satyāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. PG. Abstract noun: adjective.

12. Doubtful or erroneous

§743. Doubtful or erroneous variants:

trayastrīṅḥaḥ tantava ye vi tatnire (MS. yam viyantvate, KS. AŚ. yān viyantvate) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The singular makes no sense; tho MS. p.p. also reads yam, it seems as if yān must be intended. Perhaps it is to be connected with the peculiar sandhi of final ān before vowels (in MS. this appears as am), cf. von Schroeder 1 p. xxix. [pari vo rudrasya hetir vrñakuṭu AV. KS. (bis). Add KS. 30. 10, for which Conc. has pari tvā...]

[arkaṃ (TS. brahaḥ arkaṃ) yuvāṇāḥ svār (svār) ābhārann idam TS. MS. KS. Conc. yuvāṇāḥ for TS.]
CHAPTER XXVIII
DUAL AND OTHER NUMBERS

1. Elliptic dual, and devatā-dvandvas

§744. The most interesting group of variants between the dual and other numbers is that which concerns the elliptic dual and double-duals, known to the Hindus as devatā-dvandvas. These double dual forms denoting a pair of entities have been explained by Edgerton (KZ. 43. 110 ff., 44. 23 ff.) as an outgrowth of the Indo-European elliptic dual, in which a pair is denoted by the dual form of one member alone, an idiom which is still very much alive in the Veda. The first step in the development was the addition to the elliptic dual of the singular of the second member of the pair (mitrā [= Mitra and Varuṇa], followed by varuṇaḥ ca). We then have an illogical association of a dual and a singular form, referring together to only two entities. There is evidence for the view (Edgerton, l. c.) that this illogical association existed in Indo-European. In most languages, however, it was supplanted by an association of two singulars; so also to a large extent in Sanskrit. In Indo-Iranian, however, the assimilation of the two forms may work the other way, the complementary singular being replaced by a dual, so that the result is a double dual, e.g. mitrā-varuṇau.

§745. The variants illustrate these rather complicated processes at various points. To begin with, an elliptic dual may vary with the singular of the prior member of the pair. The meaning is then of course different; the singular can scarcely have been felt as including the unexpressed member:

āṇghrīnā viṣṇo mā tevā (KS. viṣṇu mā vām ava) kramiṣam VS. KS. ŚB.;
agnāviṣṇu mā vām ava kramiṣam TS. TB. ApŚ. In most texts
including KS, the pair Agni and Viṣṇu are addressed (in KS. by
the elliptic dual viṣṇu), while VS. ŚB. address Viṣṇu alone.

kṣāman (KS. kṣāma) ruruca uṣaso na bhūnā (MS. KS. keṭunā) RV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. See §547. The original kṣāman = ‘on the
earth’; KS. has an elliptic dual, ‘the two earths’ = heaven and
earth. More commonly dyāvā ‘the two heavens’ is used in this
sense.
tatra pakyema pitarau ca putrān (TA. pitarāh ca putram) AV. TA. The elliptic dual pitarau (= father and mother) is replaced in TA. by the singular ‘father’.

§746. Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual. In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV.) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual; yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain:

dyāva hotāya prthivī (ApŚ. *vīm) SV. ApŚ.

§747. More or less the reverse of this is found in a variant in which the undoubtedly older form has an elliptic dual with complementary singular: a secondary text removes the logical inconsistency by substituting a singular for the dual, thus presenting two coordinate singulaires: ubhār īndrā (ŚB. īndro) udithaḥ sūrīyā ca VS. ŚB. There is no reason to emend the ŚB. reading with Eggeling and the Conc.; īndrā means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mitra and Varuṇa.

§748. More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulaires, both referring to the same pair. The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words:

viṣṇuṃ ahaṃ varunāṃ pūrvahātaḥ AV.: viṣṇu ahaṃ varunā pūrvahāta (MS. *vīm) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnīm īndrāṃ vṛtthanaḥ huve ‘ham (MS. *kaṇam huveḥa) AV. MS.: agnī īndrā vṛtthanaḥ huve vām TB. The double dual īndrā...agnī occurs twice in RV., and the compound īndrāgni (often pronounced as four syllables) is common. Note the singular adjective in MS.; cf. §757.

§749. It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulaires:

ā mitrāvaruṇā bhaqam RV.; ā mitre varune bhage SV.

īndrāśūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB.: īndroh sūrāḥ prathamo viśvakarnā AŚ.

kātam īndrāgni (AV.* kāthā ta īndro agnih) satitā bhṛhaṃpatiḥ RV. AV. (both) N. Note that AV. is metrically bad.

īṣāṇaḥ no mitrāvarunā kartanēdān AA.: īṣāṇa mitro varunah pinvateḍāḥ SV.

ayāk ṣaṇḍa marka upaṇeṇa ulākhalah ApMB.†: ṣaṇḍāmarkā (HG. ṣaṇḍo marka) upaṇeṇa PG. HG. The ed. of PG. prints ṣaṇḍā markā as separate words.

nāma dīvā namah prthivīyaḥ AV. VSK. TS. MS. GB. TA. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.: nāma dyāvaprthivīyām VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. SG.
§750. The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (devata) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom.-acc. dual form in the prior member. This also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph:

\[ \text{ṛṣi-bodhapratibodhau AV.} \quad \text{ṛṣir bodhaḥ prabodhaḥ ApMB.} \quad \text{bodhaḥ ca tvā (KS. MG. mā) pratibodhaḥ (MG. prati)} \quad \text{ca AV. KS.} \quad \text{† MG. ApMB.} \]

Note sing. ṛṣir in ApMB. ; see §757.

\[ \text{sākvaraiṇa rai-vataṁ sāma KS.} \quad \text{sākvaraiṇate sāmanī VS. TS. MS. KS.} \]

Again cf. §757.

\[ \text{mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ VS. MS. TB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.} \quad \text{mayi-dakṣakratā} \]

ApŚ. AG. HG.

\[ \text{vairūpaṁ ca vairājaṁ cāparau AB.} \quad \text{vairūpavairāje asūci LŚ.} \]

\[ \text{śarma varūtham (HG. ī śarma-varūthāḥ) pinati na āgāt ApMB. HG.} \]

But for the separate accents, śarma-varūtham of ApMB. might be considered a singular dvandva, cf. next §.

\[ \text{bhratā tvā rathāṅtareṇa traśūbhāya (KS. trīṣūbhā) vartanyā...MS. KS.} \quad \text{bhradṛathāṁtaroṣu tvā stomena traśūbhō vartanyā...TS.} \]

\[ \text{bhrav ca te rathāṅtareṇ ca pāravau pāduau bhavatām AB.} \quad \text{bhradṛathaṁtare te pāravau pāduau...LŚ.} \]

§751. Still later, no doubt, but already found even in early Vedic texts, is the singularization of dvandva compounds (as neuter collectives). We find several variations between such neuter singulars and dual dvandvas:

\[ \text{ksutpipāsābhyaṁ (TAA. ⁴sāya) svāhā SMB. TAA. GG.} \]

\[ \text{isīlpārte kṛṇavāthāvīr (kṛṇavāthāvīr, kṛṇatād āvīr) asmāi (MŚ. asmāt)} \]

\[ \text{VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. MS.} \quad \text{isīlpārtaṁ sma kṛṇātāvīr asmāi AV.} \quad \text{isīlpārtaṁ kṛṇatād āvīr asmāi KS.} \]

\[ \text{dakṣakraṭā} \quad \text{(MS. ed. † tu, v. l. ⁴tu) te maitrāvāruṇah pātu MS. ApŚ.} \]

\[ \text{jīmūlāṁ hṛdya-aupasābhyaṁ (VS. ⁴sena, VSK. ⁴sena) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.} \]

The p.p. of TS. divides hṛdya-aupasya. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahidhara takes the epd. as a tatpurusa, ‘the fleshy parts of the heart’, but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva.

2. Collective singular varies with dual

§752. Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars. A simple example is the word for ‘nose’, which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two
nostrils) dual. Such variants occur especially with parts of the body, but also with other entities. We shall mention first a case which is particularly interesting as presenting a neuter singular collective instead of a fem. dual. This reminds us of the use of the neuter singular in dvandva compounds, mentioned in the last paragraph; and so far as we know neither this nor any similar form has been noticed heretofore:

viśākhe nakṣatram TS.: viśākham nakṣatram MS. KS.† So von Schrèder reads in KS. with two mss.; one ms. viśākhā, which must be fem. and may be understood as either sing. or plu. Only one ms. of MS. has viśākhe. The constellation is made up of either two or four stars, and its name occurs in sing., dual, and plural, but is otherwise recorded only in the fem. gender, cf. §798.

§753. The other words recorded here keep the same gender in sing. and dual:

apānena nāśike (MS. 部副) VS. MS.

asyā (MG.† asyāni) nāryā gāvinyoḥ (MG. 部副) AB. MG.: asyāni nāryān gāvinyān RVKh. ApMB. The word gāvīṇ (and gāvīṇikā, AV.) is regularly dual; it denotes some obscure pair of organs in the abdomen.

ānandam nandathonā (KSA. 部副) TS. KSA. nandathu is nowhere recorded, not even in Hindu lexicons, as name of a part of the body, and its meaning can only be guessed from the context. The dual of KS. suggests perhaps ‘testicles’; ‘penis’ would be more natural and may be intended in TS. (comm. guhyendriyam). A series of duals follows, and possibly the dual of KS. is due to mechanical form-assimilation to these.

aśtrām tadam pratināhā (ApŚ. tālam pratināham) MS. ApŚ. Refers to some unknown part of the plow. Caland adopts the MS. reading for ApŚ., but since no one knows what the word means, we see no good reason to question the sing.

punarvasa (TS. 部副) nakṣatram TS. MS. KS. Usually dual.

3. Dual and plural of parts of the body

§754. Like the singular (ante), the plural also varies with the dual in names of parts of the body; usually both are comprehensible. Thus the word jambha or jambhya means either ‘tooth’ or ‘jaw’ (originally ‘crusher, grinder’); in the former meaning it is naturally plural, in the latter dual:

jambhābhyaṁ (VS. TS. 部副, KS. 部副) taskarān (部副, 部副) uta VS. TS. MS. KS.
javam jaughabhiih (VS. *bhyam) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'shanks' of the horse, here referred to, are of course four, hence the plural is proper; VS. must have carelessly used a form appropriate to human beings only.

girin plāśibhih (MS. *śibhyām) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The stem plāśi is usually sg. or plu.; its meaning is quite unknown and the guesses of the comms. are not worth quoting.

4. Other entities conceived as dual or plural

§755. Besides parts of the body, other entities may be thought of as dual or plural groups. Thus the constellation phalguniś is a group of two plus two stars, and may be thought of as dual because consisting of two pairs, or as plural:

phalgunīr (TS. *śi) naksatram TS. MS. KS.


marutah sadahavirdhānaiḥ (TA. *dhānāḥhyām) MS. TA.: adītib. sadahavirdhānāḥhyāṃ KS. The havirdhāna itself is referred to as either sg. or dual (cf. TS. 3. 1. 3. 1); combined with the sg. sadas, the compound is either dual or plural.

vi yo mame rajasī sukratayagā RV.: vi yo rajasīy aminīta sukratuḥ RV.

The 'spaces' (rajas) are either two or three (or even more) in number.

5. Generalizing dual (for sing.) and plural

§756. In one group we find dual and plural forms varying in essentially the same way as the 'generalizing singular and plural' forms treated above, §§685 ff. Here, instead of the singular, we find the dual because the 'single' entity happens to be a pair; otherwise the psychological relation between the two variants, and the motivation of the change, is exactly the same. The dual may be a single uncompounded word, an elliptic dual, or a dvandva compound; in all cases there is substantially no difference of meaning:

ud eṣām bāḥu (MS. M Ś. bāḥuṃ) atirām VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. ApŚ.

MS. Since the 'arms' belong to a plurality of individuals, the plural is comprehensible; but since each person has 'two arms', the dual may also be used exactly as the 'generalizing singular' would be possible in the case of a singular entity.

apocatau (AV. *ntu) mithūna yā kimīdinā (AV. ye kimīdinah) RV. AV.

The kimīdins are apt to go in pairs (§764); the RV. dual here is the
substantial equivalent of a generalizing singular, since it really means any pair of demons, or all of them.

ahorâtrayoh sandhībhya jatūḥ VS.: ahaḥ sandhībhram jatūḥ MS.
Since there are two 'joints' or twilights of day and night, the dual does duty as the equivalent of a 'generalizing singular'.

ahorâtrās (KS. TA. °trāni) te kalpatām VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: ahorâtre te (TB. me) kalpetām MS. TB. 'Day-and-night': 'days and nights'. sam ahobhyāḥ (TS. ahobhyām) VS. TS. ŚB. KS. Here the relation is not quite the same; TS. has an elliptic dual which must mean 'day and night'; the plural of the other texts doubtless means 'days' in the sense of days of 24 hours, that is a plurality of days and nights. That ahaḥ may mean this is proved e.g. by the preceding variant but one, since the 'twilights of day' can only mean twilights of the 24-hour day.

uktālanikālebhyaḥ triśthinam VS.: utkālavikālebhyaṁ triśthinam TB.
Fanciful entities to which homage is offered at the Puṣgamedha. The plural apparently can only mean a collection of the dual entities.

6. Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets

§757. An adjective or other epithet sometimes agrees alternatively with a dual, or with one member of the pair; cf. the like variation between singular and plural, §735. Some cases of this sort will be found in §750. Also:

yasya dyaur urvṛ prthivī ca mahī AV.: yena dyaur ugrā prthivī ca dṛḍhā (TS. dṛḍha) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Here the original makes dṛḍhā apply only to prthivī; TS. applies it to dyaus also.

§758. Similarly an adjective or epithet may vary between dual, applying to a dual entity, and plural, including some other entity:

viprāpāṇa (VS. °nāḥ) sarasvatī VS. MS. The dual refers to the Aśvins, the plural to them and Sarasvatī.

(āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatī śadhāvarṇatvā) gopā me stāni...atmasadāme me stām AV.: (āyuṣ [ad āyuṣpatī [read āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatī?] śadhāvo) gopā naḥ stha rakṣitāraḥ KS.: (āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatī śadhā vo) goṣṭryo me stha...atmasadā me stha ApŚ. Explained VV 1 §357.

§758a. Once a sing., doubtless felt as an abstract, in predicative apposition to a dual, varies with a dual concrete epithet:

savitur bṛhaḥ sāh devajñānām vidharanīḥ (KapŚ. °vyi) KS. KapŚ. (Oertel 137.) Two blades of grass are addressed; KapŚ. surely intends a dual, 'two supporters'; KS., 'a support'. The stem vidharanī is not recorded in the lexicons.
§759. Two dual epithets of an adjoining dual noun may vary with two singulars, each then applying to one of the pair:

ugrampanye ugrajitau tad adya AV.: ugrampanya (MS. text ugrah
paśyāc, VV 2 §405) ca rāṣṭrabhrc ca tānī MS. TA.: dārepaśyā ca
rāṣṭrabhrc ca tānī TB. Followed by aprasāde...; the epithets
agree with this word (AV.), or apply to the two individuals denoted
by it (probably felt as proper names in the latter case).

§760. Once what appears to be an adjectival dvandva, in dual form,
is allowed to agree with a singular noun (!); in the other form of the
variant the uncompounded, single adjective is singular. The variant
strikes us as bizarre, but is psychologically comprehensible:

anuvatarināṁ svastim āśāste TB. ApŚ.: anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim
āśāse MS. 'He desires well-being lasting for an anuvatsara': 'I
desire well-being lasting for an anuvatsara and for an udvatsara.'

§761. Perhaps somewhat similar is the following, if the reason for the
dual in MS. is the dual character of the adjective compound rather
than its reference to two entities. The context deals, however, with the
śukra and maṁthin drafts of soma, and it may be that MS. thinks of
the word as applying to two oblations only (the neuter gender
makes it impossible to supply śukramanṭhīna [grahā] with it, and in
fact the mantra can hardly be applied specifically to those two drafts,
which are not, of course, offered by the camasādhivarsya):

madhyataḥkāriṇāṁ camasādhivaryavo vaṣaṭīkṛtāṁvaṣaṭīkṛtāṁ (MS. "te"
juhuta ApŚ. MS. '...offer the (MS. two?) oblations (in ApŚ.
somān is apparently understood) accompanied by vaṣaṭ and by the
secondary vaṣaṭ.

7. Transfer of epithet

§762. As with cases of transfer of epithet between singular and plural
(§737), we shall list here only variants which do not involve change of
case, these latter being treated above under case variations. Variations
between singular and dual are:

te asya yoṣaṇe dīrṇe (KS. dīrṇah) VS. TS. MS. KS. The sing. of KS.
agrees with yonir in the next pāda.

ubhā kavi yuvānā (PG. yuvā) AS. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. PG.: mahā kavi yuvānā
MS. Followed in PG. by yo no dharmah parāpatat; Stenzler trans-
lates yuvā with dharmah but observes that the text is corrupt, and
Oldenberg abandons it.

dīrṇaprayajyam ati yo vanupayati RV. TS. MS. N.: dīrṇaprayajyā
hariṇā vṛdhānā MS. TB. The latter occurs in a modification of
the RV. verse (which MS. elsewhere repeats without change), with transfer of the epithet to the dual divinity addressed (originally Indra-Varuna, here Mitra-Varuna).

viśvakarmānśi tanuḥā asi ŚB.: viśvakarmānaḥ tanuḥau me sthah ŚŚ.

Explained VV 1 §351.

īndrasya vāṁ (TB. te) vīrjadeto...VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. See §521.

aśvinendram na jāgrī (TB. cē) VS. MS. TB. Comm. on VS. takes jāgrī as dual adjective, but it is rather an adverb (so BR. and VV 2 §525). In TB. it is made to agree with aśvinā.

§763. Transfers of epithet between dual and plural are:

navena pūraṁ dayamāṇah syāma (VS. TB. dayamāne) VS. MS. KS.†

19. 13. TB. (both). The plural agrees with the subject, the dual with devī to whom the passage is addressed.

sa viśvār (KS. cē) abhi caste gṛtācē (KS. cē) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The original probably applies to sacrificial ladles, tho no noun is mentioned; cf. ŚB. 9. 2. 3. 17. KS. attracts the adjectives into agreement with rodasti. For the phonetic aspects of the change see VV 2 §352.

S. Phrase inflection

§764. Here are presented cases in which the shift of number is due to adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes all three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, occur in different forms. Thus:

sakhāyau saplapadāv abhāva (ApMB.† pādā babhāva) ApMB. HG.:

sakhā (PG. sakhe) saplapadi (ApMB. PG. cē) bhava AG. ŚG.


See VV 1 p. 274.

yatudhānam kimidinam AV.: yatudhanān kimidinā AV.: yatudhānā kimidinā RV. Different contexts. Fiards are otherwise known to go in pairs (mithuna proceeds in RV.), cf. apochatu etc., §756.

tā no mrṣāta idṛśe RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.: te no mrṣantā idṛśe AV.: sa no mrṣātādṛśe RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.

§765. Variations between dual and singular:

gṛṇāṇā (RV. SV. cē) jamadagnīna RV. (both) SV. (both) AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG.

tanvāno (TB. cē) yajñah purupesavanā dhiyā RV. TB. The latter lifts the pada from an Agni verse and uses it in a different one to dyājyāpraṇi.

yajñasyāryuk pratiran (KS.‡2. 7, MS. pratirantau) MS. KS. (both) MS. Two wholly different contexts in KS.; MS. agrees with one, MS. with the other.
viśvair devaḥ pīṭbhīḥ samvīḍānāḥ RV. TS.; viśvair devaḥ yaṣṭīyaḥ samvīḍānau (TS. KSA. "naḥ) TS. KSA. TB. AS. In TS. KS. two different verses, one adopted from RV.; in TB. AS. this single padā is used in a wholly different context.

devaḥ devebhir yaṣṭāḥ (and ṭe) yaṣṭrajāḥ RV. (both): devaḥ deveṣu yaṣṭāḥ yaṣṭrajāḥ RV. AV. MS.
tasyāṁ (ApŚ. tayor) devaḥ adhīsaṁvasantaḥ TS. TB. ApŚ.: tasyāṁ devaḥ sanvāsanto māhitvā AV.: yasyāṁ (v. 1. asyāṁ) devaḥ abhīsaṁvāsantāḥ MS. Half a stanza is adapted to a different purpose in ApŚ.

jyotiṣe teśa VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MS.: jyotiṣe vāṁ KŚ. ApŚ. Different contexts; dual only in one passage of KS. ApŚ. Also tejase teśa (vāṁ), cakṣuse teśa (vāṁ), sarvase teśa (vāṁ), and prajābhijas teśa ("bhīyo vāṁ"); sings in various texts, duals only KS. ApŚ.

dāśādāra medhapatībhīyāṁ (MS. KS. *pataye) medham MS. KS. AB. KB. TB. AS. ŚŚ. The uhas medhapataye and *patībhīyāḥ are prescribed in the sequel in AB.; see Schwab, Tieropfer, 102. Really this involves all three numbers and so belongs in §764.

bhadrā te pūṣāna (TA. bhadrā vāṁ pūṣānaṁ) iha rātir astu RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (both) N. Here a whole stanza is adapted to a different context in TA. The sing. is addressed to Pūṣan, or according to the TA. comm. to saṁvatsara; the dual, to dyāvāpythīvi. The next two occur in the same verse:

sukraṁ vāṁ anyad rajataṁ (Poona ed. yaṭ, v. 1. raj) vāṁ anyat TA.: sukraṁ te anyad yaṣṭāṁ te anyat RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. TA. AS. Svidh. N. And:

viśvā hi māyā asavi svadhāvah (SV. *van, TA. *avathāh svadhāvantau) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (both) N. See pree.

devas tvā (ApŚ. devo vāṁ) savitā madhuvinakta VS. TS. MS. KS. MS. ApŚ.

viśvet tā te (RV. *vāṁ) savaneṣu pravocayā RV. (both).

stomebhir havanaśrutam (and ṭā) RV. (both).

āyuyāḥ vāṁ (and ta) āyuh savitā kṣrutu AV. (both). In different parts of the marriage ceremony; sing. is the wife, dual husband and wife. Might perhaps be called a vikāra and placed in §769.

pati (RV. *patini) taraśya rādhasaḥ RV. (both) KS.

rājantam adhvarṇāṁ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: rājantāv adhvarṇāṁ RV.

sāṃrījuva sukraṇāḥ (RV. *ta) RV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. arvāṇcāḥ vāṁ (and arvāṇcam tvā) saptaya ‘dhvarāśriyaḥ RV. (both). See
RVRep. on 1. 47. 8, which calls the sing. an uta of the dual; it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called utas.

āyur vāṃ (AV. MG. *āyus ṣe) karadah satam AV. MG. (both).
anu (MS. nu, read anu, KB. SS. upa) vāṃ jihēd gṛhtam ā cārayat MS. KS. KB. SS.: prati te jihēd gṛhtam uc cārayet (MS. KS. ṣyat, VS. SB. ṣyat suāhā) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.: prati vāṃ jihēd gṛhtam uc (AV. * TS. * ṣā) cārayat (AV. * ṣyat, TS. * ṣyet) AV. (bis) TS. (bis)
MS. KS. KB. AS. SS.
catuḥśikhandā yuvatih supešāh (KS. supatni) KS. TB. ApŚ.: catukhi-
khande yuvati kanine ApŚ. In the latter a largely new verse is constructed for a different context. See next.
gṛtrapraśīka (ApŚ.* *ke) bhuvanasya madhye TB. ApŚ. (both). Follows the preem.
dīrgham āyuh kṛṣṭu me (AV. * APMB. vāṃ) AV. (ter) JB, Kauś. APMB.
imā upa sarpatah SV. JB.: emām anu sarpatah MS. It seems that MS. has adapted the SV, original to a different ritual context. The interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS. is obscure; see ApŚ. 4. 10. 4, with Caland’s translation, which deals with the same ritual With Benfey we understand imā as dual; ēmām of MS. would seem to refer to ṣidā.
nīlalohtam bhavati RV. AV.; nīlalohtie bhavatah APMB. Whitney says that APMB. speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away were two (or better, made of two parts). Perhaps the variant did originate in that way; but APG. uses the mantra in referring not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each wheel-track of the ear on which the bride is brought to her husband’s house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding rites.
mā te tvā vyāsah (TA. vyāsau) sam bādiḥṣa (TA. ṣām, and bādheṣṭham) AV. TA. (bis). According to Kauś. 82. 32 the AV. verse is used in burying the bones of the burned corpse at the foot of a tree. TA. uses it twice in a different part of the funeral rites, namely in constructing the funeral pyre; the ‘two pieces of wood’ refer to the paridhis (of which there are four) surrounding the pyre; the verse is applied once to the north and south pair, once to the east and west pair.

vidhātri asī TA. SS.: vidhātri sthāḥ MS.

§ 766. Phrase inflection; variations between dual and plural:
indravantā (TB. ṣau) hāvir idām jyuṣṭhām TB. SS.: indravanto hāvir idām juṣṭantām TB. ApŚ.
9. Dualization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§767. The next group includes variants in which the form shifts from dual to singular or plural, or vice versa, in the same context, in accordance with the change in the number of the entity designated, which may be the same or different. Included are some ritual āhas and vikāras where the context seems to us to be the same, the number of the entity only shifting. It is perhaps doubtful where the line should be drawn, or whether it should be drawn at all, between this and the preceding group; we have tried to draw it at the point where the context ceases to be 'different' and becomes essentially 'the same', but these terms are not strictly definable, and ritual āhas perhaps belong rather with the preceding.—When the change of number involves transfer of an epithet, it is of course treated above, §§762 ff.; and when, without such transfer, the change of number seems to be due to some sort of formal or external adaptation or assimilation, it is included below in §§773 ff.

§768. Variations of all three numbers:
tasya te āravaṇa yasya (and yayoḥ) prāno 'si svāhā TS.; tasya te āravatī yasya prāno 'si svāhā TS.; tasya te āravaṇa yasya yayoḥ 'si svāhā TS. Modulations in the same passage. For yasya after āravaṇa, yayoḥ is to be expected; perhaps a mere error?
tasyā devatāyānigiravanā dhruvaḥ sida VS. TS. etc.;...dhruvaḥ sida VS. ŠB. TA.;...dhruvaḥ sida VS.;...dhruvaḥ sida VS. Also tena brahmaṇaḥ etc., see Conc.
āgneyah kṛṣṇagrīvāh VS. TS. KSA.: āgneyau kṛṣṇagrīvau TS. KSA.: kṛṣṇagrīvā āgneyo varāte (MS. lalate) purastāt VS. MS.: kṛṣṇagrīvāvād āgneyo VS. MS. ApŚ. All in lists of animals at the śāvamedha. TS. KS. have sg. and dual in adjoining formulas. Probably the plural is a substitute for the dual; but this may itself be a mere uха of the sing.

yāni gharme kapālāṁi TS. MS. KS. KŚ. MS. In MS. two ūhas: yad gharme, and ye gharme.

agnin adya hotāram avṛṇāyaṁ yajamānāh... MS. (and the next five items in Conc.): agnim adya hotāram (avṛṇām śāma yajamānau, and avṛṇateṇe yajamānāḥ...) ŚŚ. See Conc.

agnaye prahriyamānāyānubrāhi ŚB. KŚ. MS.: agnibhyāṁ prahriyamānāyānubrāhi KŚ.: agnibhyaḥ prahriyamānāyānubrāhi ŚB.

aśī (aśī) anu mā tanu (LS. tanuḥ jyotisā) MS. KS. LS. MS. ApŚ.: amū anu mā tanutam, and anśi anu mā tanuta MS. ūhas.

punah kṛṣṇaṁ tva pitaraṁ yuvānum TS.: punah kṛṣṇaṁ pitara yuvānam VS. MS. KŚ. śB. TS. ApŚ. We cannot interpret this passage. It seems that the dual, as in VS. KŚ., is probably original; Mahādhara takes kṛṣṇān as plural, for nāḥ! Even such violence helps little.

§769. Dual and singular:

samajmayo (KŚ. nā, MS. TB. ApŚ. MS. nāu) dieṭ (TB. ApŚ. diva i) prthiyā VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TS. ApŚ. Same context, but in VS. ŚB. the formula is repeated, once each with the śukra and manthi grahas, while in the others it goes with both together. See §576. In VS. MS. KŚ. immediately followed by:

śukraḥ śukrāsciśag VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TS. ApŚ.: śukrau śukrascīśau MS.

As preceding, but here KS. follows with a separate formula manthia manthisiśag, while TB. ApŚ. do not connect this immediately with the preceding.

kṛṣṇān lāv adhevarā jātavedasau MS.: kṛṣṇu so adhvarā (VS. TB. rā) jātavedāh VS. MS. KS. TB. AS.: so adhevarā (AB, ḍhvārā kavati) jātavedaḥ AB, ŚB. See VV I p. 263, under ayād agnir...; also next.

yakṣat svāṁ mahimānam VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AS.: yakṣatāṁ svau mahimānau MS. In same context as prec. mahimān pertains to the subject and varies in number with it.

prāṇāya me varcoddh varcase parasva VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: prāṇāpānābhyaṁ me varcoddasau pavethāṁ MS. See VV I §368.

tasyai (tābhyaṁ; in 11. 2. 27 read tasmai) namo yatamasayāṁ diśṭaṁ
AV. (all three). All in the same hymn, referring to Bhava or Rudra and Bhava or their weapon; practically ūhas, but perhaps better to be placed in §755.

veçāya vāṁ (TS. TB. ApŚ. teu) VS.† 1. 6, TS. MS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Kaũś. Sing. used by TS. addressing ladle and winnowing-basket separately, dual by VS. in addressing both together. Also used in other contexts, the dual having other applications.

te te dhāmānya uṁmāsi gamadhyae TS.; tā (VS. SB. yā) te (RV. KS. N. vāṁ) dhāmānya (RV. KS. N. vāstūny) uṁmāsi gamadhyai RV. VS. MS. KS. SB. N. In a Viṣṇu hymn; the dual is understood to refer to Indra and Viṣṇu, who are however nowhere mentioned in the hymn. Even the latter part of this verse mentions Viṣṇu alone in the sing. The secondary change to the singular pronoun is therefore very natural.

aśmeva tevaṁ sthirā (MG. ApMB.* HG.* †1. 4. 1 sthiro) bhava AG. ŠG. SMB. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. (bis) MG.: aśmeva yukṣaṁ sthirau bhavatam MG. Sing. fem. refers to the wife, dual to wife and husband, in the same context. The masc. sing. is used in a different context.

varuṇasya skambhasarjam (KS. 8ny) asi TS. MS. KS. MahānU. MŚ.: varuṇasya skambhasarjam sthaḥ VS. SB. Explained in Keith's note 7, HOS. 18. 27.

eṣā te agne samiṁ tāyā (MŚ. tāyā teuñ) vartāwava ca ca pyāyasno VS. SB. SS. MŚ. ApŚ. ŠG. ApMB. HG.: ete vāṁ apniṁ samidhau tābhyāṁ varthethāṁ ca ca pyāyothāṁ KS. (an ūha quoted in KS. comm.). ayukṛtd āyuḥpatiṁ svadhāvantaḥ AV.: āyuḥ ād āyuḥpatiṁ (ms. 9nih) svadhāvāh KS.: āyuκṛta āyuḥpatiṁ svadhā vah ApŚ. The reference seems to be to the sacred fires; so at least in ApŚ.; obscure in the others. AV. continues with dual forms, KS. ApŚ. with plurals; see gopā me stana (gopā naḥ stha, goptryo me stha...), §758.

ā mātaṁ sthāpayase jigatnā RV. AV.: āsthāpayata mātaṁ jīganm AV. In RV. the ‘two mothers’ (parents?) are heaven and earth. In RV. mātaṁ possibly refers to Indra’s mother, suggested by Indra’s heroic deeds in the following pañca; cf. RV. 8. 45. 4, 77. 1.

grāvacyuto dhīṣanayor upasthāt VS. SB.: bāhucyuto dhīṣanayā (TS. dhīṣa-nyayor) upasthāt (KS. 9sthe) RV. TS. KS. GB. Vait. MŚ. See Hillebrandt, VMYth.† 1, p. 426 ff. According to H. dhīṣaṁ originally means ‘earth’ (dual in RV. only ‘heaven and earth’); then the vedi identified with the earth. If so, VS. TS. have reinterpreted the old word in a new sense; the comm. makes it refer to the ‘pressing planks.’
Vignor manasā pūte sthā (Kauś.* pūtam asi) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. (both) GG. KhG. Refers to two ‘purifiers’ of kusa grass, or once in Kauś. to a single one.

Gaṣṭī cādhevyu (ApŚ. 9yo, AŚ.1 9yor) navatī ca pāsāḥ AŚ. SS. ApŚ. Spoken by the hotar as he touches the adhvaryu and the agnīdh; in the dual form both are addressed. Since the agnīdh belongs to the class of adhvaryu priests, the dual need not be considered elliptic. The AŚ. probably has a misprint (§369).

Uparjān (ŚG. upa srjām) dhurunāṁ mātre dhuruno mātaraṁ (IŚ. MŚ. mātre mātaraṁ dhuruno, ApŚ. mātre mātara dhuruno) dhayan VS. SB. JB. IŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.: uparjān (AŚ. uparjām) dhurunāṁ mātaraṁ dhuruno dhayan AB. AŚ. The ‘dam’ is earth. Caland suggests that the dual mātara may mean ‘heaven and earth’; this may be the intention but it seems inappropriate. Obscure.

§770. Variants between dual and plural:
Samuprca (cah, ca) stha... VS. VSK. KS. SB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: sampcāu sthā... VS. SB. Also, in same passage:
Viṣṭa (cah, ca) stha, and vipcāu sthāḥ, same texts. See VV 1 p. 259.
Etā asadan sukṣtasya loke TS. TB.: etā asadan, and (niha) etāv asadatām (pratikas) ApŚ.

Srucāh saṁmṛdhāḥ SB. KS. MŚ.: srucau saṁmṛḍhāḥ MŚ.: srucaḥ ca srucaḥ ca saṁmṛḍhāḥ ApŚ.

Ā mā gantāṁ (VSK. gantāṁ) pitarā mātara ca (VSK. ṭyuvam) VS. VSK. 10. 3. 12e, TS. KS. SB.: ā mā gantā pitaro viśvarāpyāḥ MS. It is not clear who are meant by the ‘parents’ or ‘fathers’. For the added ca after a double dual see Macdonell Ved. Gr. p. 156. Add to VV 1 §§337, 352.

Mathavān stokān apa yan varūda AV.: madhavānu stokār (MS. stoka) apa tau varūda TS. MS. Why TS. MS. should think of the lost drops of soma as exactly two is not clear to us. Followed by:
Sam nas tāhāṛ (AV. tekhī) srjatu viśakarmā AV. TS. MS. The interpretation depends on that of the preceding.

Swāsaṁ mātarihbharē (AV. text ṣvarē, read doubtless as RV.) arīpṛ AH. AV.: swasatru mātarihbhar (text em. ṣvarē, read with ms. and Whitney ṣhvarē) arīpṛ AV. Part of a mystic verse; it is not clear who the ‘sisters’, dual or plural, are. Ludwig suggests ‘heaven and earth’ and apparently believes the dual to be original, relying doubtless on the preceding verse, ā mātara sthāpayase jīgatnū, cf. §769. But this would involve the rash assumption that AV. is more original than RV.

§771. In a number of variants the plural which varies with the dual is a first-person form or epithet of the subject, referring to the priests and their associates generally, and 'generalizing' or 'editorial' in character, like the variants treated in §724; while the dual is specific, including in the pair the speaker:
yathāyathām nau (KS. no) vratapace (KS. "pā) vratāni (TS. MS. vratinor vratāni, KS. vratināṁ vratāni) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The dual includes Agni (vratapace) and the yajamāna; KS.'s plural either refers 'editorially' to the yajamāna alone or to his associates. From the phonetic standpoint this and several others in this paragraph belong in VV 2 §732.

tan (AV. tatra) nau saṁskṛtam AV. VS. 4. 34, KS.: tan nah saṁskṛtam TS. MS. The dual is taken to refer to the sacrificer and the offering addressed (perhaps better to him and his wife?); the plural refers to him and his associates, or perhaps really to him alone.

sā no (AV. nau) nābhiḥ paramaṁ jāṁi tan nau RV. AV. The ('editorial') plural occurs also earlier in the verse. The dual of AV. is doubtless secondary (cf. Oldenberg on RV. 10. 10. 4); it refers to Yama and Yami, and is doubtless assimilated to the following nau, which has the same reference.

punastā bahuṁ mātara svāma (MG. "rau svāma) ApMB. MG. Addressed to the wife by the husband; the dual means 'parents', the plural is 'editorial'.

rṣabhā janayanti nau (ApMB. "yantu nau, HG. "yantu nau) ApMB. (bis) HG.: puruṣaṇa janayanti nau ŚG. Spoken by the husband, as in prec. ApMB. has the two forms in adjoining verses in the same context.

asthūri no (no, KS. nau, MS.† nau) gāhapatvāṇi santu (VSK. adds kāmā Hināh), tigmesa nas tejasā (TS. no brahmaṇa, KS. nau brahmaṇa) saṁ śiśādhi RV, VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. MS. The dual doubtless thinks of man and wife together as possessors of 'household affairs'; the plural is 'editorial'. Note the inconsistency of MS.

§772. Similarly the next, where the dual is 2d person, apparently referring to the sacrificer and his wife (and spoken by a priest):

idāvesān (RVKh. Müller, followed by Scheft., idāva vām) anu vaśeṁ vratena (RVKh, as before ghrtena) RVKh. AV.: idāvam anu vaśēṁ ghrtena ApŠ. MS.
§773. In a group of cases the number is changed by attraction to the number of some other word in the context, in a rather external way; the change in meaning, tho apparently real enough, is not dictated by the logical requirements of the situation; in essence the variation is one of mechanical form assimilation. Thus, all three numbers of the vocative of vāyu are found in the HG. form of the following. With cunning inanity, HG. makes the number of the vocative agree each time with the number of the pronoun, which refers to sacrificial posts. Oldenberg fails to understand HG., not having in mind the MS. parallel, and translates all the nouns as nominatives, emending vāyo to vāyuḥ, so as to make the nouns predicates to the pronouns:

e etc te vāyo (HG. vāyavah) MS. HG.: esa te vāyo MS. MS. HG.: etau te vāyu HG.: vāyar esa (and etc, etau) te vāyo ApŚ. 'This is (these are) thine, O Vāyu (HG. also O Vāyus, dual and plural).' Note that, inconsistently, the pronoun te is always singular, even in HG.

§774. Other cases, first those involving singular and dual, are:

vṛṣaṇam (MS. ṛṇā) āṇḍābhyaṁ VS. MS. In the aśvamedha. 'I gratify the bull (the two bulls) with his testicles.' The bull or bulls are imaginary, transcendental beings, and there is no reason for the duality except the duality of āṇḍābhyaṁ. So with the next two, which occur in the same context.

karnābhyaṁ śrotām (MS. śrote) VS. MS. See pree.

vidyutām kanīnakābhyaṁ (MS. KSA. kanīn°) VS. MS. KSA.: vidyutān kanīnakābhyaṁ TS. Cf. pree. two.

śrotām (AV. śrotra) te cakre āṭām RV. AV. The AV. makes śrotra dual because of the predicate cakre, 'thy two wheels'.

yena striyaṁ (PG. śriyaṁ, ŚŚ. striyāe) akṛtutam (PG. ālām, ŚŚ. aku-

rantam) ŚŚ. PG. SMB. GG. 'By which ye two (Aśvins) made woman (two women).' ŚŚ.'s variant is phonetic in character (VV 2 §237), with the help of attraction to the number of the Aśvins.

§775. In a couple of instances, however, the assimilated dual form seems to be the original, and the singular is substituted for it in secondary texts because for one reason or another they feel that the entity designated should be singular, despite its reference to a duality:

putraḥ pītarāv (AV. 'ram) apṛṇita pūṣa RV. AV. In both texts the reference is to the Aśvins; the singular of AV. is secondary and may be due to a feeling that paternity should be single, the phonetic considerations are also involved (VV 2 §237).
DUAL AND OTHER NUMBERS

duhāthāṁ phṛmadughe iva dhenu AV. (in Conc. preceded by viṁmaṁ, which belongs to the preceding pāda): samudhāthāṁ phṛmadugheva dhenuḥ TB. The dual entity heaven and earth is compared to a milch cow, or in AV. to two cows; the assimilation in this case is natural enough, and is doubtless the original form.

§776. A special case of this form-assimilation is constituted by the variation in the form of substantive pronouns, which may be either neut. singular (indefinite) without reference to the number and gender of the predicate noun, or on the other hand may agree in gender and number with the predicate; the latter is the more common usage in the Veda, and is found in the original (RV.) form of the following variant, while secondary texts use a neuter singular (cf. §§730, 812):

mukhāṁ kim asya (VS. asyāṣe) kau (AV. VS. kīṁ) bāhū, kā (TA. kāṁ, AV. VS. kīṁ) tāṁ pādā (TA. tāṁpādā) ucyeta RV. AV. VS. TA.

§777. Form assimilation between dual and plural occurs in the variant sā no (nau) nābhiḥ etc., §771, and in the following:

kēṣe vaneṣu mātroḥ (SV. mātṛṣu) RV. SV. 'Thou lurkest in the sticks of wood, thy (two) mothers.' Dual in RV. because reference is to the two arānis; plural in SV. by attraction to vaneṣu.

vājino vājajito vājam...VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: vājinau vājajitau vājam...MS. KS. MS. See the several entries in Conc. Two associated formulas; in KS. (probably original) one (dual) is addressed to one pair of the racing team, the other to all the team (cf. KS. 14. 7: 206. 22 f.). The other texts assimilate in one direction or the other; both are dual in MS., both plural in VS. TS.

11. Corruptions and errors

§778. The following seem to be due to corruptions and errors:

devī devāru (Vait. devir devāro) mā mā samāṭplam TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual of the word for 'door' may be used, with reference to the two panels (here the two doorposts are actually addressed). The plural is equally familiar. But the dual verb makes it almost impossible to construe the plural of Vait., and Caland's translation seems silently to abandon it. The form devāro may be regarded as a phonetic corruption for devāru (VV 2 §732).

saha nau vratapate (TS. MS. add vratinor; KS. text vratapā vratināṁ) vratāni VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural of KS. is inexplicable, in view of the dual nau; the best ms. in fact omits vratināṁ, and so KS. should probably be read; vratināṁ probably crept in in the
inferior mss. of KS. from the mantra *agnē vrataṁ... punar vrataṁ vratināṁ vrataṁ*, which shortly precedes.

tā mandasānā manośa duona ā RV. ApMB.: sā mandasānā manast ēvenā AV. The original refers mandasānā (dual) to the Aśvins, to whom AV. also refers in the sequel. Apparently sā, nom. sg. fem., is due to a stupid misunderstanding of the endings -ā; no feminine entity can be concerned here.

apsarasāv anu dattāṃ rṇāni (AV. rṇam naḥ) AV. TB. TA.; apsarasaṁ anu dattāṁrṇāni MS. Phonetic corruption in MS.; VV 2 p. 122, 1 p. 282.

[śākhābhyaḥ svāhā VS. TS. MS. KSA. Conc. quotes śākhābhyaṁ for VS. TS.]

[krotrāya me varcodā varcase (MŚ. me varcodāḥ) pavanav VS. VSK. SB. MŚ.: krotrāya (me varcodau varcase pavethāṁ) TS. Conc. Similarly under aṅgēbhya mo. See VV 1 §372a.]
CHAPTER XXIX

GENDER

1. Male and female persons and animals:

§779. We shall begin our treatment of gender (see §§118–25 for a summary) with variations between names of male and female animals or persons, varying with each other. They usually occur in contexts where either is equally appropriate; sometimes we think we can see the motive of the change, but often we find none. Thus, first, male and female animals:

ḥotā yakṣat sarasvatīṁ meṣasya (KS. meṣyā) vapiyaḥ... VS. KS. It is likely that KS. uses a female animal as more appropriate to the sex of Sarasvatī. So in the next two:

aṇāḥ sarasvatīṇāḥ meṣasya (KS. meṣyā) haviṣabh... VS. KS.

yatra sarasvatīṇāḥ meṣasya (KS. meṣyā) haviṣabh... VS. KS.

ṛṣabhāya (MS. ṛṣabhā) gavayā VS. MS.; ṛṣabhāya ṛṣīṇe gavaḥ VS. KSA.

yod dharīno (TS. KSA. TB. &; yum ati VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŠB. TB. SS. Possibly gender-attraction from śūdra, in a parallel sentence in the second half-verse.

anāḥur aśvo 'yāmi (SS. and AV. mss. aśvāyāmi) AV. † SS. †; svāḥur aśvah savyāmi (SS. aśvā yāmi) AV. SS.

aṃśuḥ sṛjayaḥ savyādakas te maitrāḥ (KSA. ms. savyādakāḥ te maitrāḥ) VS. KSA.

S. KSA.: sāṃśuḥ sṛjayaḥ savyādakas te maitrāḥ VS. MS. Name of an unknown animal, male or female. The ed. of MS. follows the p.p.; the other mss. have sṛjaya.

ajo (TS. ajā) hy agher ajanīṣṭa sokā (TS. garbhāt) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SS.

§780. Dependent on the change of gender in the last-quoted pāda, in which TS. makes the goat female, are the three following pādas, in the same stanza, with pronouns referring to ajo or ajā:

so (TS. asta) apanayaj janitaram agre,

tena (TS. tayā) deśa devatām agra (agram) āyan,

tena (TS. tayā) rohām āyann upa (AV. rohān ruruḥur) medhyāsah; all in the same texts.

§781. Similarly with an adjective referring to unexpressed animals, male or female:
§782. Names of human or superhuman beings, varying male and female:
śīlāyānjīnīkārīm (TB. *ram) VS. TB. ‘An ointment-maker’ (female VS., male TB.).
piśācebhīyo bīdalakārīm (TB. *ram) VS. TB.
yātudhānebhīyaḥ kaṇṭakakārīm (VS. kaṇṭakikārīm) VS. TB. Note the curious accord in the grammatical gender of the word for ‘thorn’, which is fem. in the compound ‘female thorn-worker’, masc. in the other.
pra devāḥ (AV. devāḥ) prota sūnāta RV. AV. TS. MS. Possibly gender-attraction to sūnāta in AV.
kātyāyāndya (MahānU. *yānay) vidmahe TA. MahānU. Epithets of Śiva or his consort.
ākrayāyā ayogūm VS.: ākrayāyāyogūm (Poona ed. ākrayāyā*) TB. A nonce-deity, ākraya or *yā.
yamāya (TB. yamāy) yamasmūṁ VS. TB.
pratikṣantā śākuro devurāḥ ca AV.: pratikṣantām śvaśrūvo devarāḥ ca ApMB.

2. Variation of nouns in grammatical gender

§783. We come now to variants involving shift of grammatical gender in nouns. This shift may be signalized by a change in the form of the noun itself, as when a masculine or neuter a stem varies with an otherwise identical feminine ā or ā stem of like meaning; or when an a stem appears now with a nominative in ā (masc.), now with one in a (neut.). It may on the other hand appear only in the gender of a modifying adjective or pronoun, because the noun itself has the same form in either of the varying genders; this is true for instance of many case-forms of the ā and ū declensions and of the diphthongal stems. We shall not separate these two types in our list, but shall divide the materials first according to the genders which interchange, and secondly according to what appears to be the regular or primary gender of the word. In some cases the change in gender seems to be due to assimilation to another word in the context.

Masculine and feminine

§784. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or primarily masculine, the feminine forms being apparently exceptional or at least
historically secondary. Thus the word *yon* is always masc., in RV., and the fem. is rare in the older language; its origin may be connected with the word's meaning, 'womb', which suggests fem. gender. Among the variants, MS. and KS., the oldest YV. texts, show only masc. gender, with one exception (the first) in MS:

.sapta yonir (KS. yonitr) ā pyra ("vi") gṛṭena VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

swāṁ (TS.† only swāṁ, thrice) yonim thāsadāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.

swāṁ (MS. KS. swāṁ) yonim gacha... AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: svaya-

nir gacha... MG. (with v. l. swāṁ yonin, which Conc. suggests reading because of the MS. reading).

agne swāṁ (TS. TB. swāṁ, ŚB. svāṁ, for swāṁ?) yonim ā śida sādhyā

(VS. ŚB. sādhyā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

dhruswāṁ (TS. dhruswāṁ) yonim ā śida sādhyā (VS. ŚB. sādhyā) VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB.

yaṃno bhūtev yajñam ā śida svāṁ (MS. svāṁ) yonim... TB. ApŚ. MS.

mā mā (KS. mām) hiṁśiṣṭam svāṁ (KS. yat svāṁ) yonim āśiṣantau (KS.

āśiṣiḥ) MS. KS.: mā mā hiṁśa svāṁ (KS.† svāṁ) yonim āśiṣiṇī

(KS. TB. ApŚ. āśiṣan) VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: mainam hiṁśiṣṭam

svāṁ yonim āśiṣiṇau AB.

abhno (Kauś. abhno) yonibhno adhi jātavedāḥ VS. MS. KS. AŚ. Kauś.

yasyai (VSK. yasyai) yonir hiranyayi VS. VSK. ŚB.: aho yonir hira-

nyayi TS.: yonir yas te hiranyayah KS.

§785. Next the stem rayi or ra'. Wackernagel 3 p. 216 notes that the word is regularly masc. in RV. and suggests that the fem. is due to influence of puṣṭi or the like.

sa no dadātu tāṁ (AV. tām) rayim AV. AA. ŚŚ.

athāsambhyaṁ sahāvīrāṁ (AV. VSK. MS. KS. "virāṁ) rayim daḥ AV.

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Wackernagel 1. c. mentions rayim

sahāvīram and sahāvīram (see next) among the RV. phrases in which AV. keeps masc. gender; otherwise the word is regularly fem. in AV. But note that this pāda, as a whole, is not Rigvedic. rayim ca naḥ sahāvīram (TS.† "rāṁ) ni yachatu (AV. yachā) AV. TS.


11. 15. 11d, and see prec.

§786. The stem *die* ("du") is regularly masc. in the early language, later fem.; see Wackernagel 3 p. 221.

abhāmanī. (TS. MS.† "mām, MS. MS. ŠŚ. v. l. "mām) mahimā (VS. "mā,

delete MS. v. l. in Conc.) divām (MS. divah) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ.

MS.
§787. The word kalaśa is regularly masc.; in the following ApMB. seems to show a fem. form kalaśā, but this may be a phonetic corruption for kalaśaīr, cf. §412 and VV 2 §701:
ā dādhnāḥ kalaśaīr (ApMB. ᵝśir, MG. ᵝsam) ayuh (ayāṃ, etc.) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

§788. We come now to words in which ‘fem. gender appears to be regular or at least historically original:
va (MS. va) iṣavo yātudhānāṃ VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilasU. ApMB. The word iṣu is regularly fem. in the older language (always in RV.). Here the masc. pronoun may have been due to the series of masc. ye’s in the preceding and following formulas.

avākām (MS. KSA. avakān, but MS. p.p. avakāṃ) dantamālaiḥ VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.

vy amītāś (TB. ᵝvaṁś) cātayāvati viśucīḥ RV. TB. Both edd. of TB. amītāḥ, and comm. likewise amītān rogān, finding no difficulty in making viśucīḥ agree. No masc. is otherwise recorded, and in view of the fem. adjective viśucīḥ we may assume an ancient corruption. pravatāhār jīvā VS. pravatāhār jīvā MS.: pravatā TS. KS.

Vait. (prāya ‘sy akāraṇi GB. Gaastra, corrupt.). The masc. is otherwise unknown, but MS. p.p. gives pravatāva.

[ṛtena (MG. ṛtena) sthūnām (ApMB. HG. sthūnār, MG. sthūṇā) adhi roha vanā (MG. vanāḥ) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. See §740.]

§789. In the rest we find no criterion to determine clearly the original gender. In some cases both seem equally regular; one is a āryaṃ.

emāṃ parisrutah kumbhah AV.: enam parisrutah kumbhahā ŚG. Other GS. texts preserve kumbhah which seems to be original in this formula.

dādhi manthān (ŚŚ. manthām) parisrutam (ŚŚ. parisrutam) AV. ŚŚ.

agner akenah kaninakam (VS. kām, TS. MS. KS. nikām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vytrasyāsi kaninakah (MS, MS. MG. nikā... ) VS. MS. ŚB. MS. MG.:

mitrasyaśi kaninakā KS.: vytrasya kaninikāsi (VS. nakāsi) VSK. TS. ApŚ.

śimāḥ (VS. simāḥ) kṛnvantu (VS. *kamyantu) šimyantah (VS. kamyantih) VS. (bis) TS. KSA.† An unknown word; cf. VV 2 §§278, 572.

Mascine and neuter

§790. Among the masc.-neut. variants appear a number in which we think we see reason for believing that the shift is due to assimilation in gender to another word in the context, most commonly a predicate noun. Special attention will be called to these.
§791. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or originally masculine. Thus, first, the word asu as neuter is recorded heretofore only in a Hindu lexicon (see BR.). Even Benfey's Glossary to SV. gives the gender as masc. Yet the following is the only occurrence in SV., and here it is obviously neuter; the VSK. reading in the second variant confirms such a possibility. We see no chance of interpreting either case as due to assimilation:

aso (SV., asu) riṇanaṁ apah RV, SV.

vipānas (KS. apānañ) ca me 'su (VSK. 'su) ca me VS, VSK, TS, MS, KS, krtya so adhvarga (VS, TB. 'rta) jātavedāh VS, MS, KS, TB, AŚ.: krtyatāṁ tāv adhvarga jātavedasau MŚ.: so adhvarga (AB. 'dhvarga karati) jātavedāh AB, ŚB. Nowhere has adhvarg been recorded as neuter; but this case is well attested and certain. VS. comm. interprets adhvarga; TB, comm. considers the form a loc.!

griñyo daksinah pakṣaḥ (MS, daksinam pakṣam) MS, TB, TA. Followed in MS. by varṣa uttaram (sec. pakṣam). MS. unmistakably makes pakṣa neuter. Neither BR, nor pw. record such a usage; Monier Williams states that it occurs 'in one passage' which is not cited.

[gātuḥ yajñāya gātum (TA. once gātu . gātu) yajñapalage RVKh, TS, MS, ŚB, TB, TA. (both) N. But TA. Poona ed. has only gātuḥ, which is doubtless the true reading.]

§792. In several cases a masc. noun is made anomalously neuter, apparently under the influence of the neuter gender of a predicate noun: nikaṇā (MS, KS. "yam) chandah VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB. In this and the next it is quite likely that the original form of the variant pāda had the variant word in neuter gender, by assimilation to chandah, and that the regular masc. form is actually secondary.

samudram (VS, ŚB. "ra) chandah VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, vivadāk chandah VS, TS, ŚB.: vivadhām (KS. "dha) chandah MS, KS, yajñas (TA, yajñam) tapah TA, MahānU. Poona ed. of TA. has v. i. yajñas; and so the comm. reads in both edd.

§793. Next words which are regularly or originally; neuter there are several cases of hārdi:

indranyā hārdī (AV, hārdim) avīyan maniśibhiḥ (AV, maniśayd) RV, AV, SV.


mā me hārdī tvīṣā (MS, hārdin tvīṣā) sudhiḥ TS, MS.: mā no hārdī tvīṣā sudhiḥ RV. Three mss. of MŚ. hārdī.
awakrandena tālu (TS. KSA. tālam) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Regularly neuter; occasionally masc., but BR. cite no Vedic instance.

ratso jārāyu (KS. garbho jārāyuh) pratidhuk pīyāsah AV. TS. MS. KS. jārāyu is regularly neuter; the Hindu lexicons allow it to be either masc. or fem. KS. may be thus interpreted; or it might be considered an adaptation to the neuter us-stems, cf. the next.

[sem. (JB, TA. punar) jārāyu (TA. yur, Poona ed. text yu, but note seems to indicate that all mss. read yur) gaṣ ur iṣa AV. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ. Here the word is accusative; consequently if jārāyu he read, it could only be understood as if from a neuter us-stem.]

yāni koṭvāni yā vanā AV.: yāni dhanvāni ye vanā (read vanāh with two mss.) ApMB. vanā, regularly neuter, is quoted once as masc. in BR., from the Rāmāyaṇa.

catuśri ēṛgā trayo asya pādāḥ RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. Mahānū. ApŚ. N. Cone, quotes ēṛgās for GB.; but Gaṇḍar reads ēṛgā with all mss., and obviously this is the only possible reading.]

§794. In the following we seem to find assimilatory influence of other words in the passage:

dharaṁ (TS. raḥ) catuśloham AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The predicate noun assimilates the regularly neuter dhiṛaṁ in TS.

vyomā (TS. vyomā) saptadasah AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KS. MS. The regular neuter gender of vyomā is found only in TS. Undoubtedly the original reading of the formula was vyomā, masc. by assimilation to saptadasah (etomah).

ayāṁ sahasramānava (so read) ... vidharmā (ApŚ. mā) SV. ApŚ. MS. Probably assimilation of gender in ApŚ. to the subject ayaṁ.

nako 'si bradnāḥ (MS. bradno 'si) pratiṣṭhā samkramanam (ApŚ. naḥ, MS. kramanātamanam) KS. ApŚ. MS. No masc. samkramanā is recorded, and the word can scarcely be an adjective; but it seems likely that ApŚ. assimilates either to the gender of nako and bradnāḥ, or more vaguely to the personalization of the goldpiece here addressed in personalized guise.

§795. We come now to words in which both masculine and neuter gender are, as far as we can see, equally standard, or at any rate we cannot tell which is more original in the absolute, the textual criticism may suggest that one form or the other was first used in these particular formulas:

yat sānoḥ sānum āruḥat (SV. sāne āruḥah) RV. SV. Both genders in RV.
yeṣu saumanasə bahuḥ (MG. saumanasam mahat) AV. VS. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚG. MG.: eti saumanasə bahuḥ HG. As an abstract the word would be expected to be neuter, but the masc. is otherwise known (e.g. AV. 3. 30. 7) and is clearly primary in this variant.
aditya uṣṇīṣam aśi MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: indrasya uṣṇīṣah VS. ŚB.
Both genders are familiar; probably the neut. is primary here.
akeśī ca me kūyaś ca me TS.: kūyavah (MS. v. 1. kū) ca me 'kṣītā (VS. 'kṣītan) ca me VS. MŚ. KS. The word yava is masc., and is followed by kūya in TS. This stem seems to occur only here except that RV, has kūyav as a demoniac name or epithet (here of course masc.). Most likely the majority of texts have the original gender (neut.).
[prajanamah (MahānU. *nam) TA. MahānU: So Conc.; but both eidd. of TA. read prajanaḥ; MahānU. has vv. II. prajanaḥ and prajananah. Either prajanaḥ or prajananam must be read; both would be regular.]
§796. We may mention here a few cases concerning the masc. and neut. stems brahmaṇ, which are properly different words distinguished by shift of accent; in unaccented texts their oblique cases are indistinguishable. See VV. 2 §460 for some of these and other somewhat similar cases considered from the phonetic aspect (a : ā).

yam (MahānU. yad) antaḥ samudre kavayo sayanti (MahānU. vadanti) TA. MahānU. Referring to brahmaṇ or brahmaṇa; even in TA. other neutron pronouns occur in the context.

rōṣa brahma prathamaḥ jayne TB.: bhūtānāṁ brahmaḥ prathamo ka (mss. *mota) jayne AV.

taṇ no brahma (TAA. *ma) pracyayāt MS. TAA. (not TA.!) MahānU. brahma (ApŚ. *ma) devānāṁ prithamajā rōṣa PB. ApŚ.: brahmadeva prathamajā rōṣa JB. 2. 258 (Caland, PB. transl. 21. 3. 7 note). brahma devakṣyam upahātam TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: brahma devakṛtyopahātā ŚB. The context is the same and refers to the cow; in ŚB. only is the subject of this pāda personalized by assimilation to the cow, the pple. being made fem. and the stem brahmaṇ personal (quasi-fem.?): 'she, god-created, has been invoked as Brahmā'. VV. 2 §460 is incorrect.

Feminine and neuter

§797. Here also the shift in gender seems to be due sometimes to assimilation to adjoining words. We begin with words which are usually or originally fem.:
Vedic Variants III: Noun and Pronoun Inflection

The rainy season is meant; the gender is usually fem., but occasionally neut., doubtless because varṣa 'rain' is neut. in the early language; and in this variant the original form doubtless had neut. gender.

Ojham uktham anyathāyai (TS. avyathāyai, KS. avyathāya) stabhnātā (MS. *notu) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. Instead of avyathā, which is to be expected, KS. uses an otherwise unknown avyatha 'firmness' (probably neut., less likely masc.). The same with praṭīgam uktham, marutaviyam uṣṇa, niṣkevalyam uṣṇa, vaśvadesāṅnimārute ukthe, etc.

§798. Due to assimilation to an adjoining word:

niṣṭhām (KS. *yaḍ) nakṣatram MS. KS. This rare name for the constellation vedī occurs as niṣṭhād in TB. (see BR. s. v.). We assume that KS. has the 'proper' form and that MS. assimilates to nakṣatram, as in the next.

viśākham (TS. *khe, KS. v. l. *khā) nakṣatram TS. MS. KS. See §752.

§799. The regular or original gender is neuter in the next group:

tābhīr yāsi dātyām (MS. *yanim) sūryasya RV. MS.: yābhīr yāsi dātyām sūryasya TB. See Pischel VSt. I. 22. The regular form is dātyās; but in this variant, of course, the fem. is older.

asmākena vṛjānena jayema RV. AV.: ariṣṭaḥ vṛjanibhir jayena AV.

[ātya m i s r a p r a s a p a n m (J B. *nt) RV. J B. I. 3. 169 e. Oertel and Caland emend JB. to *ñam, as the gender of idam seems to require.]

[iki tisro *tī rocañā TB. Apṣ.: etu tisro *tī rocanā AV. So Conc.

There is no actual variant in the form, since it is followed by y-; AV. p. p. to be sure reads rocanā, as if neut., which is the regular gender of the word; but the fem. adjective tisro proves that rocanā fem. must have been understood.]

§800. Due to assimilation:

vīko yantrc (KS. yantrā) nudamāne arātīm KS. TB. Apṣ. The word is in apposition with deś (dual fem.), and is assimilated to it in gender in KS.; yantrc is neuter, but the change may have been helped along by the fact that it is formally ambiguous, since it might be derived from a fem. *yantrā as well as from neut. yantra.

prthiṇy udaparam annena viṣal TS.: udapurā nāṁasy annena viṣal MS.

KS. A nonce-word, but the neuter gender of TS. is rather to be expected (pura neut.); it is assimilated in gender to the subject in MS. KS. (probably original).

§801. In the rest either gender seems justifiable; mostly nonce-words are concerned, but the first contains ssasti or *tīh, in which both genders are known.
parakur (TS. parkur) vediḥ paraśur nāh svasti (TS. ॐi) AV. TS. The loss of final visarga is an easy phonetic change (VV. 2 §381), and svastiḥ occurs just before, even in AV. On the other hand TS. may have svastiḥ by assimilation to this preceding form.

diyāde atra rohatu RV.: kyāmbūr atra rohatu (TA. jāyatām) AV. TA.

The word is known only here.

asyopasadyān mā chaiteś ŚB. BriU.: asyopasade mā viśāman ĀG.† 3. 7. 3c, Kau. upadesi: upasadēya, probably ‘worship’; neither known elsewhere.

kṣatrasya teś paraspāya brahmaṇas tanaṃ pahi VS. ŚB.: brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāḥ (MS. ॐpāya, p.p. ॐpāyadh) kṣatrasya tanaṃ pahi MS. TA. (prātika, ॐpāya [iti], Ap. MS.). Stem paraspa : ॐpā; as abstracts (‘protection’) both recorded only here. See §152. In the same passages:

prāṇasya teś paraspāyai (MS. ॐpāya, v. l. ॐpāyē, p. p. ॐpāyadh) caksusas ... MS. TA. (prātika Ap.). And:

dīvas teś paraspāyāḥ (MS. ॐpāya) antarikṣasya ... MS. TA. (prātika Ap.).

§802. Apparently due to assimilation:
varuṇasya skambhanam (KS. ॐny) asi TS. KS. MahānU. Ap. Noneword; either gender is formally good; KS. doubtless assimilates to the gender of samyā ‘yoke-pin’, which is addressed. So in the next, in the same context:
varuṇasya skambhasarjanam (KS. ॐny) asi TS. MS. KS. MahānU. MS.: varuṇasya skambhasarjanī sthā VS. ŚB. On the dual see §769.

3. Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as ‘common gender’

§803. An interesting little group of cases concerns words which refer to feminine entities and appear in one variant in distinctively feminine forms, while the other variant shows forms that are masculine or at least not distinctively feminine; they may be called ‘common gender’ forms. Thus the acc. pl. of the 2d personal pronoun is, of course, regularly yuṣmān without regard to gender. But since the ending suggests masculine rather than feminine gender, the form yuṣmās is twice used in VS. (followed by ŚB.) when referring to feminine entities (Whitney 492a, Wackernagel 3 p. 408):

yuṣmān VS. ŚB. yuṣmā) indro ’vṛṣita vṛratyāye VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

TB. śivam āyantam abhy atra yuṣmān VS. ŚB. yuṣmā) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
§804. Somewhat similarly, the technical priest-name *hotraśāsinīn* is once feminized when it is made to refer to āpah, fem., in a ritual passage: āpo me hotraśāsinināh (AG. *sinyaḥ*) SB. ApŚ. AG.

§805. In the preceding the masculine (‘common’) form is regular, the feminine unusual and analogical. In a couple of other cases the feminine form is regular. Thus stems in the agent suffix tar regularly have feminines in tṛi (Whitney 375c, Wackernagel 3 p. 202), but in one variant the ‘common gender’ form is used with a feminine noun:

<adbhīr viveṣṇasya bhārtrībhīḥ ApMB.: adbhīḥ sarrasya bhārtrībhīḥ ŚG. The latter doubtless feels bhārtrībhīḥ as an appositional noun: ‘the waters, bearers of all.’>

§806. Yet more anomalously, MS. once uses the masculine form adhipati instead of the fem. adhipatīni referring to Aditi. The formula occurs in a list of similar ones with different god-names, mostly masc., so that adhipati is properly found in most of them; this doubtless helps to determine the use of the common gender form in MS. But all the other texts have the ‘proper’ fem.:

<adītir adhipatīny (MS. *patīr) āṣīt VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.>

4. The indefinite neuter

§807. A neuter epithet, most commonly an adjective or pronoun, tho sometimes the adjective is practically substantivized, is not infrequently used in an indefinite or absolute sense, translatable in English by a periphrasis containing the word ‘thing’ or the like, or by a pronoun in like construction. Such a passage may, in a variant form, appear with a masc. or fem. form, which indicates that the author has more clearly in mind the gender of the entity referred to. The masc. or fem. form with definite reference may be dual or plural when the number of the entity referred to requires it, while the indefinite neuter is regularly singular in any case; such variants, involving difference of number as well as gender, have been listed above in §§727 ff. and will not be repeated here; they belong, of course, equally in this group.—We shall append here also a group of cases in which an indefinite neuter varies with an equally indefinite masculine, the only difference being that the latter is personal (‘such and such a one’), the former impersonal (‘such and such a thing’). Substantive pronouns, which may either be indefinite neuter singular, or agree in gender and number with predicate nouns, will also be mentioned here (cf. §§730, 776).—Hirt, IGGr. 3 §226, regards the indefinite neuter as an inheritance from a prehistoric period in which grammatical gender did not exist.
§808. Adjectives of definite reference varying with indefinite neuters occur as follows:

indrasya (also víṣṇor) dhruvo 'śi (TS. ApŚ. dhruvam asi) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. A knot (granthi, m.) is addressed; hence masc. in most texts. ‘Thou art Indra’s (Viṣṇu’s) firm one (firm thing; Keith ‘fixed point’; Caland ‘Festes’).’

brahmaṇavi teśa kṣatrāvani rāyaspoṣavani paryūhāmi VS. ŚB.: brahmaṇavi teśa kṣatrāvani (TS. KS. add...rāyaspoṣavani) paryūhāmi TS. MS. KS. MŚ. teśa refers in all to a post of udumbara wood, audumbāri (sc. sthāna), and is fem. (cf. TS. 6. 2. 10. 3, and KŚ. 8. 5. 31). In VS. ŚB. it is made neuter: ‘thee, a brahman-winning thing’ etc. Mahādhara, in his commentarial way, takes it quite simply as for rāvanin with loss of ending, referring to Pāñ. 7. 1. 39.

abhi tvādham sahyāsā RV. ApMB.: spa te ‘dhanā sahyāsām AV. The RV. original has a neuter indefinite, ‘with that which is stronger, a stronger thing’, but really means a plant just like AV., which makes the adjective agree in gender with upadhī.

ya (yas, yat) strīnaṁ jivabhajanah VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.: yat strīnaṁ jivabhajanam Vait. The ‘antecedent’ is aḍhim, ‘the slippery one’, referring to the male member; it is masc. even in Vait. which follows with these indefinite neuters, ‘the thing that is...’

agnir ekākṣareṇa (MS. KS. कृṣयात्) pṛ̣ṇam (MS. TS. KS. vācam) udajayat (VS. ŚB. add tām ujjesam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so aśvinau dryakṣareṇa (कृṣयात्), viṣṇus tryakṣareṇa etc., 17 items in same passage: With the fems. doubtless vocā is to be supplied: ‘with monosyllabic (etc.) utterance’. The accent (ēkā) shows that possessive adjective compounds are meant in all texts (not, then, ‘with one syllable’). Mahādhara supplies chandāsa with them, but it seems more likely that they are indefinite: ‘with the monosyllabic (thing).’

indrasya vajro 'śi vārtraghnam TS. MS. KS. TB, MS. ApMB.: indrasya vārtraghnam asi VS. ŚB. Since a bow is used in the ritual of the Vaj. school, VS. ŚB. may understand dhanus; yet it is at least as likely that the adjective is indefinite (‘thing relating to the Vṛtra-slayer, victorious’).

§809. Pronouns, relative and demonstrative, varying between indefinite neuter and definite masc. or fem.:

tad aśvinā paridhattanā svasti TS.: tam aśvinā paridhattanā svasti (MS. svastaye) KS. MŚ. The masc. refers to wind, here invoked in the ritual. The indefinite neuter must really have the same reference.
sam tam (KS. ApŚ. tat) saṅcatu rādhase (KS. ApŚ. ॐ) RV. KS. Vait. ApŚ. tam refers to soma-drops (draspa, anāhu); this is repeated in KS. once with the indefinite neuter tat. Another KS. passage adapts the formula to a different context, where tat refers to chidrām; this is repeated in ApŚ.

yam āśām emi kevalī sā me astu AV.: yad ichāmi manasaḥ sakāmaḥ TB. Followed by:

videyam enāṁ manasaḥ praviśāṁ (TB. enāṁ dhṛdaye niviśāṁ) AV. TB.
The definite 'what desire I go to' of AV. is replaced by 'what (thing) I desire' in TB.; hence neut. for fem. in the following pāda.
pumān enāṁ tanuta ut kṛṇāti RV.: pumān enāṁ vayayā udgrāṇati AV.
'This' in RV. refers to yajña in the preceding. In AV. no word for sacrifice occurs in the context, and enāṁ is indefinite, tho it must mean something of the same sort.

yam āśīrā (VS. yad āśīrā) dampati vāmam aśvunah VS. TS. In VS., 'what good thing'; in TS. gender influenced by the following putra, which is the specific boon obtained.

yad indro api bāc charīkhiḥ VS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: yam asyendro api baṁ śacīkhiḥ MS. Preceded by yad atra śīṣṭāṁ (riptāṁ) rasiṇāḥ sutasya. The relative is made masc. in MS. in reference to sutasya (m.) which immediately precedes. Followed by:

ahaṁ (AB. AŚ. īdān) tad (MS. tam) asya manasaḥ śivena (MS. *ghṛtena), same texts.

deva savitar etami (IŚ. etat) te yajñaḥ prāhur...ŚŚ. IŚ.: etami te deva savītar yajñaḥ prāhur...VS. ŚB. The context of IŚ. refers to samidh (fem.), and the pronoun must be indefinite ('this thing').

ya etal (TA. MahānU. enam, MahānU. v. 1. etal) vidur (ŚB, BrhU. ye tad vidur) amptāṁ te bhaveṣṭi ŚB, TA. BrhU. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU. 'Those who know this (him; TA. comm. paramātmān).'

tad (MS. tam) ahaṁ manasaḥ prabṛavāṁ VSK. TB. ApŚ. KS. MS. Vait. 'I proclaim this (truth; MS. him, referring to Savitar).'

kam (KapŚ. ms. k ignited yad garbhāṁ prathāmāṁ dadhram (KapŚ. ॐ) ēpāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. Raghv Vira em. to kam, wrongly; Oertel 18. In RV. etc. kam is adjectival to garbhaṁ; in KapŚ. substantival, 'what (thing)?' On dadhram see Edgerton, Language 10.243f.

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokām VS. ŚB.: tam anu preha sukṛtasya lokām TS. KS. It seems that tam must go with lokam; there is then no expressed object of the verb in TS. KS. The VS. has a lect. fac.; tad is the object and refers back to yad... of the preceding.
eṣa (MahānU., etat) te kāma TAA. MahānU.: kāmaīyat te AV, etc. The TAA, comm. supplies ājyabhāgah; that on MahānU., haviḥ, but the latter with etat is surely indefinite. The formula kāmaīyat te occurs in a different context and is perhaps not really to be brought in here. In the same passage:
eṣa (MahānU., etat) te manyo TAA. MahānU.

§810. In other cases an indefinite neuter varies with a masculine which is equally indefinite, but personal. This occurs especially in negative expressions, where the meaning is 'no one' : 'nothing':

akir jagāna (PG. ādaśā) kām (AG. MG. kīm) cana AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. "The serpent has killed (seen) no one (nothing)."

rtav nāyeti kīm (GG. kāś) cana TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. GG.
nakī (SV. na ki) indra tvad uttaraḥ (SV. 9ram) RV, SV. AS. SS. Followed by:

na jiyāṇa (SV. ṣpāyo) astī vītrāhān RV. SV. And:
nakī (SV. na ky) eva (SV. evaḥ) yathā tvam RV. SV. Wackernagel 3 p. 562 considers (na) ki (found only in SV.) a mere corruption. To us it seems clear that it is a deliberate variant, a neuter to RV.'s mas., formed on the analogy of the endingless neut. nom. of i stem nouns. See also §820 where both nakī and RV. nakī are adverbial.


§811. But also with positive expressions, meaning 'such and such a one' or 'thing'; sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the variation, as in the first:
gopīyamānānaṁ (KS. 9naś) ca ma rakṣamānānaṁ (KS. 9naś) ca... gopīyetām ('yataṁ) KS. PG. MG. "The protecting one (thing) and the guarding one (thing) shall protect..." Occurs in a list of formulas, the subjects of which are all personal (masc. or fem.) in all texts except
for this formula in PG. MG. Parallels in AV. 8. 1. 13. Why PG. MG. provide this one formula with an impersonal, neuter subject does not appear.

avasphūrgan (MS. KS. "jad) hetih (TS. prahetih, MS. KS. dhetih) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'The one who (that which) thunders is his weapon.' Griffith and Keith render simply 'thunder'. The surrounding formulas generally have personal subjects. The following one has vidyut; perhaps MS. KS. have adapted the form of aso\(^8\) in an external, mechanical way to the ending (-4) of this word. But vidyut is regularly fem. (exceptionally neut., according to pw., without quoting any occurrence).

bhād (ŚB. mahad) dha taṣṭhau bhuvaneśe antah RV. ŚB. AA.: bhān ḫa taṣṭhau rajasa vimānah. (JB. vimānaśa) AV. JB. Both 'the great one', masc. or neut.

śukro bhān daksinayā (TB. bhād daksinā tvā) pīparu AV. TB. The comm. on TB. understands by bhād the sāman of that name. That on AV. takes śukro bhān as Śūrya; Whitney, Soma.

[yan (ŚŚ. yanī) nah pitā samjānte AB. ŚŚ. Indefinite in both. AB.: 'what (i.e. the situation which) our father approves.' ŚŚ, might be interpreted: 'whom (whatever person; really thinking of Śuñākṣeṇa) our father approves.' But the ŚŚ. comm. reads yan, clearly understanding yad (gloss: yan no 'smākam pitā samjānte tasminn ādeśe vayam tiṣṭhāmahe). It seems that yan is only a bad writing for yan.]

Substantive pronouns in equational sentences

§812. In introducing equational sentences, pronouns may be in the indefinite neuter singular without regard to the gender or number of the noun referred to, or they may agree in gender and number with the latter. Cf. §§730, 776, where other examples are quoted, and §826.

kā (TS. TB. kim) svid āsī pitippilā,

kā (TS. TB. kim) svid āsī piśaṅgīlā,

kā (TS. TB. ApŚ. kim) svid āsī pāsvacittiḥ, all VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB.

TB., the last in ApŚ.

kāh (VS. kim) svid prthiṇyai varṣīyān (VS. "yah) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The answer expected is 'Indra'; hence masc. kāh in most texts.

5. Adverbial forms

§813. Related to the indefinite neuter are the numerous neuter forms used as adverbs; it is the indefiniteness of the neuter gender which
makes it the favorite form of adverbs. When forms of other genders are used adverbially, we take it that in principle they must have been originally definite, with ellipsis of some noun; altho, to be sure, there are such cases where it is difficult for us to suggest the noun to be supplied, and we may admit that such forms come to be used as stereotyped adverbs. Among the variants we find distinctively fem. as well as neut. adverbs, varying with adjectives of any of the three genders, as well as with other adverbs.

§814. We begin with the rare instances of fem. adverbs varying with masc. adjectives:


divāk cid antād upamām (TA.† upa mām, RV. antān upamān) udānāt RV. AV. SV. TA. Whitney adopts the v. l. upa mām for AV. Benfey takes upamān as an adverb. See §495.

§815. Neuter adverbs varying with masculine adjectives:

āgne yāhi suvidatrehhir arvān (MS. arvāk, p.p. arvān) RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

yuktā (so Poona ed. of TB. for yuktā Conc.) hari vṛṣṇā yāhī arvān (MS. arvāk, p.p. arvān; KS. ms. arvāt, ed. arvāk) RV. MS. KS. TB. prān (VS. TB. prānīk, MS. prāk, p.p. prān) somo atidrather VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pratyak (p.p. pratyān) somo atisrather MS.: pratyān (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.† TB. pratyān) somo atidrather (VS.*† 10. 31b, MS. atisrather) AV.† (see Whitney's note) VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ.

etat tvā dera savitar vṛñate…ŚB.: dera savitar etam tvā vṛñate…AS. ŚŚ. N.

tam u tyan (SV. tava tyan) māyayāvaśāh RV. SV. Preceded by: yad dha tyan māyanam mṛgam. SV.'s tyan can only be construed as an adverb. It is due in some part to the preceding tyan.

tam idaṁ (ApMB. imam) ni vṛñami te RV. AV. ApMB. 'I here (now) pluck it out for thee.' idaṁ is an adverb; ApMB. makes it into a pronoun agreeing with tam.

svasti nah pūrnamukkham pari krāmāt (HG. mukhaṁ pari krāmānto) ApMB. HG. See §404.

asa tara (TS. avarataram, MS. p.p. avarataram, AV. avarato) nadiṣṭa (AV. nadiśnām) AV., VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. avarataram is apparently an adverb. See §404.

lad āsata ṭayāyaka saptakām AV.; tasyāsata ṭayāyak (TS. TAA. āsate harayāk) saptakām AV. TB. Bhū. TAA. lad seems to be adverbia.
aśvinedram na jāgṛtī (TB. *yī) VS. MS. TB. See §762.
tam teā prā viśiṃi savaṇuḥ...saha yan me 'sti tena AV.: tam (KS.†
tat) teendṛgraḥa propadye (ApŚ. praviṃi) saguh...saha yan me
'sti (asta) tena KS. ApŚ. tat in KS. adverbial.
viśvak patantu didyāvaḥ RV.: viśvaṇo aśmac charayaḥ patantu AV.
dyumad viśvāti bhāratabhāṇaḥ śucih (VS. śuci, comm. śucih) RV. SV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. śuci may be an adverb; but cf. VV. 2 §381.
tam (MS. tan) mā devā avantu kohāyai (MS. *yī) TS. MS. TA. Perhaps
bad writing (tan for tam).
tam (JB. tan) mā puṇṣi kartavya erayadhram JB. KBU. As pree.
somaḥ prathamino vide RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: somaśya jāyā prathamam
AV. 'Soma was the first to marry thee'; 'thou wast Soma's wife
first.'
ye 'do (MS. amī, KS. vādo, VS. ŚB. vāmi) rocane dīvah RVKl. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.: ye cāmi rocane divi NilarU. adas adverb,
'there'.

§816. A special group under this heading may be formed of the
variants involving the pronominal neuter yad, used as a conjunction,
in variation with masculine forms of the same pronoun:
aranāhat ye (ApMB. yad) dhruvatām ha ninyuḥ ApMB. HG. 'The
rēṣis who have led...': 'since (the rēṣis) have led...'
toke vā goṣu tanaye yad (and yam) apṣu RV. (both).
nava yat puro navatīṁ ca sadyaḥ RV. AV.: nava yo navatim purah RV.
AV. SV.
pūrvo yat (MS. yah) sann aparop bhavāsi ApŚ. MS.
pra ye (SV. yad) gāvo na bhūrnayāḥ RV. SV.
yad (MS. ya) āgachāt patibhir devayāniḥ VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. MS.
ya (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. yad) rte (PB.† yakṣate) cid abhiśriyāḥ RV. AV.
yena teśadhināt (KS. ma°, TS. ApMB. yam abadhinīta, MS. MG. yaj
jagrantha) savitā suśevas (AV. "vāh, TS. ApMB. suketaḥ, MS. MG.
satyadharmā) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. (bis) MG.
viśvakarmā vimanā dā vihāyāḥ (KS. vimanā yo vyomā, MS. vimame yo
vihāyāḥ, TS. manasaḥ yad vihāyāḥ) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. N.
yad (SV. yo) devaśya kavasā prārīnāḥ RV. SV.
yad agne kavyavāhana TS. TB. ApŚ.: yo aṃpih kravyavāhanaḥ (VS. KS.
kavya°) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.
yad (IŚ. yam) devōśo lalāmaṇum AV. VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. IŚ.
anu yam viśve madany (AV./* anna yad enam madanti †viśva) ûmāḥ RV.
AV. (both) SV. VS. AŚ. ApŚ. MS. N.
tiṣṭhā ratham (TB. ApŚ. rathe) adhi tam (VS. ŚB. yam, TB. yad) sajrak-hanta (TB. ॐtāḥ) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.
viprā ०ṣaṭham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA. ॐsat) AA. ŚŚ.: viprāya ०ṣaṭham gāyata yam jujoṣate SV.

§817. Feminine adjectives varying with neuter adverbs. The first case involves the conjunction yad, as in the last paragraph:
andhena yat (TA. yā) tamasaḥ priyāśāt (TA. ॐtāsi) AV. TA. 'When she was (thou who wast) enveloped in blind darkness.'
yajñasya jiheḥm avidāma guhyām (MG. guhyam) RV. TS. MS. KS.
'We have found the secret tongue (in secret the tongue) of the sacrifice.'

viśvair devair anumātā (KS. TA. ॐtam) marudbhīḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The original fem. adjective applies to stūtā 'furrow.' In TA. it occurs in a different connexion which requires a masc. (§849). In KS. the connexion is the same, and the neut. must be taken as an adverb.
asambādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS.: asambādhām badhyato (read mā) mānāvānām AV. Kaus. See §623.

achidrāṁ tvācidrensā... jujāṁ (KS. ॐtāṁ, v. I. ॐtam) ०ṣaṭmām MS. KS. ApŚ. The fems. refer to surā. Caland on ApŚ. would read jujāṁ (adverb) in KS., and since the best ms. reads so, with the parallel texts, he may be right. But jujāṁ as fem. adjective would be equally construable.

§818. And once a fem. noun, in the dative (qua-adverbial), varies with a neuter adverb:
tam (MS. tan) mā devā avantu kabhāyai (MS. ॐyē) TS. MS. TA. 'Unto splendor' virtually equals 'splendidly.' See §487.

§819. Neuter adjective varying with fem. adverb:
upamāṁ (SV. ॐmāṁ) devatātaye RV. SV. upamāṁ goes with savaḥ preceding; upamāṁ must be an adverb.

§820. In the rest both variant forms seem to be adverbial. The only clear case of masc.-neut. variation here concerns the Rigvedic nakīś, formally a nom. sing. masc., but sometimes used adverbially; twice in the same verse SV. replaces it by na ki, on which see §810 above:
nakīr (SV. Svidh. na ki) devā mināmasi (SV. Svidh. ini') RV. SV. Svidh. nakīr (SV. na kṣ) a yopayāmasi RV. SV.

§821. Once, also, SV. substitutes nakīh for RV. (nā) cit:
nā cit (SV. nakih) sa dāhhyate janāḥ RV. SV.
§822. We may mention also the following, which simulates a masc.-neut. variation with the forms kam : kim, altho of course kam cannot be, historically, an acc. sg. masc. of the stem ka:
prajāyaī kam (AV. kim) amṛtāṁ nāvṛṣṭa RV. AV.
§823. As to fem.-neut. variants, we find chiefly a group involving the equivalent adverbs prātāṁ and ṛam (once sanārāṁ : ṛam):
pra tāry agne prataraṁ na āyuh RV. MS. KS. ApŚ.: prātāry agne pratarāṁ na āyuh TS.
jāvāte pratarāṁ (SV. SMB. ṛāṁ) sādhaṁ ādiyāḥ RV. SV. SMB.
indremah pratarāṁ (VS. TS. SB. ṛāṁ) kṛdhī (naya) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
drāgtiṣa āyuh pratarāṁ (TA.† ṛāṁ, MG. prātāṁ) dadhānāḥ (AV. te
dadhāmi) RV. AV. (ter) TA. AG. MG.: āyur dadhānāḥ pratarāṁ
naevānāḥ AV.
sāmarṭyāya pratarāṁ (ApŚ. ṛāṁ) dadhānāḥ RV. KS. ApŚ. MS.
adhi kṛṣṇi pratarāṁ didhyānāḥ RV. AV.: asmin kṛṣye pratarāṁ didhyānāḥ
SV.
pra tant (RV. no) naya pratarāṁ (TS. ApMB. ṛāṁ) vasya acha RV.
(bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.
sambitam cit sanārām (VS. TS. KS. ṛāṁ) sam kīśādhi AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS.
§824. Otherwise we have noted only the following, in which both
variant forms are parts of the pple. of a compound verb and are per-
haps hardly to be classified here; ef. VV 2 §505:
svāṅkṛto 'sī KS.: svāṅkṛto 'sī VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MS.

6. Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender

§825. Pronouns which refer to a series of nouns of different genders
may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the
plurality of the nouns; or else they may be masc. if the series includes
both masc. and fem. nouns:
tās (ApMB. te) tvā vadh ru prajāvāsaṁ AV. ApMB. Preceded by yā
aśadhayo yā nadyo yāni kṛṣṭrāni yā vanā (ApMB. yāni dhanvāni
ye vanāh, so read). In AV, tās follows the gender of the fems. of
the first pāda; in ApMB. te follows that of the nearest noun, vanāḥ
(on which see §793), or is masc. as including both masc. and fem.
(see next).
rohit kundṛṇāc golatīka ṭā apsarāsam (VS. te ṣparauṁ) VS. TS. MS.
KSA. Since rohit is regularly fem., the fem. pronoun is expected
(with only fem. nouns). The masc. of VS. is apparently due to
taking rohit as masc. (so VS. comm.); with a series including masc. and fem. nouns, a masc. pronoun is justified by usage (Renou, Gram. p. 500).

7. Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun

§826. When the antecedent and the predicate of a substantive pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (cf. §812).

nāmas te bhātā yat ta uttaratā yat ta uttāraḥ pākṣaḥ LŚ.: nāmas te bhātā yas ta uttāraḥ pākṣaḥ AA.: nāmas te bhātā yas ta uttāraḥ bāhur yas ta uttāraḥ pākṣaḥ SS. bhātā means the sāman of that name. Similarly nāmas te rathāntarāṣṭa (rāthāṃ) . . . , and nāmas te vāmadevāṣṭā (rājāndya) . . . , see Cone.

(yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptaḥ phalam tat) yady anārīkṣat sa u vāyuḥ eva AV.: (yadi vṛkṣādād abhyapaptaḥ phalam) yad vāntarīkṣat tad u vāyuḥ eva HG.: (yadi vṛkṣād yady anārīkṣat) phalam abhyapaptaḥ tad u vāyuḥ eva ApMB. The neuter tad of ApMB. HG. refers back to phalam and keeps its gender, despite the masc. predicate vāyuḥ. The masc. sa of AV. is doubtless to be explained by the gender of the predicate, altho apāṃ stokāḥ of the preceding verse may also have been influential.

st̄riyāḥ satas tāḥ (TA. tā) u me puṁsa śhāḥ RV. AV. TA. N. ‘Those that are women, they declared to me to be men.’ The original makes the pronoun agree in gender with the predicate; TA. changes it to agree with the antecedent.

§827. Somewhat similarly, an adjective epithet in the following variant agrees in gender either with the subject (Agni; so most texts), or with an adjoining noun—predicate of a different clause this time, but one which immediately precedes and is closely associated in TA., the text which makes this agreement:

saṁprīyāḥ paśubhir bhava (TB. ApŚ. bhuvat, KS. yah paśubhiḥ) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: saṁprīyām praśajā paśubhir bhuvat TA. Subject is Agni in all; the formula puṇṇam asi precedes in TA. and KS., and follows in MS.

8. Compound nouns

§828. On the familiar use of neuter singular dvandvas as the equivalent of duals (or plurals) of any gender see §751. Peculiar is the case of the dual stem ahorātra; for the masc. or neut. gender of compounds in -rātra, see Wackernagel 2, 1, p. 40. Note that there is nothing in
the context of the following variant to disprove that -rātras and -rātre may be fem. (which gender the word has at least in VS. 14. 30):

ahorātras (KS. TA. *trāṇi) te kalpantām VS. KS. ĀB: TA.: ahorātre te (TB. me) kalpetām MS. TB.

§829. Occasionally shift of gender is due to taking a form in one case as a karmadāraya, then keeping the gender of the last member of the compound, and elsewhere as a bahuviśhī, then agreeing in gender with the noun it modifies. Thus:

ayakṣmayā (KS. *mena) pari bhūja VS. TS. MS. KS. NilārU. Preceded in all by yā te hetir mṛdhuśāma, haste babhūva te dhanuḥ, tayānman viśvatas team (with slight variants). Since KS. has fem. tayā (referring to hetir) in pāda e, like the rest, the neut. ayakṣmena of pāda d can only be taken as a karmadāraya, 'with non-disease'. pivoanānā (VS. *nā, MS. *nam, p.p. *nān) rayāyṛdayāḥ sumedhāḥ RV. VS. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ All texts but VS. intend pivoannān, a bahuviśhī, 'he seeks men with rich food...'. Mahādhara, followed by Griffith, takes VS. in the same way, calmly stating that the final n of the acc. masc. is lost! Unless it is a phonetic variant or corruption (cf. VV 2 §307, to which this should be added), it must of course be a karmadāraya, acc. pl. neut.: 'he seeks rich foods.' tatrāpi dahre (MahānU. dahram) gaganam viṣokah (TA. Poona ed. *kam, v. l. *kah) TA. MahānU. viṣokah 'freedom from grief', coordinate with gaganam, which is modified by viṣokam 'free from grief'.

9. Nom. agentis (masc.) : nom. actionis (fem. or neut.)

§830. Occasionally the same (or virtually the same) word is used either as a noun of agent (masc.) or a noun of action (neut. or fem. according to formation):

esa vas tadeivacanah ŚŚ.: esa vah saduvacanam AB. Comm. on AB. paraphrases by adhyāpanam and supplies kariṣyati. Better, 'he (shall be) to you instruction in what is right.' ŚŚ., '...instructor in that.'

sā (MS. yā) prathamā samśkritir viṣvanārā (MS. yajñe asmin) VS. MS. ŚŚ.: sa prathamah samśkritir viśvakarma TA. TB. ApŚ. The latter make a noun of agent out of samśkriti.

10. Substitution of one noun for another

§831. Sometimes the change of gender in an epithet is due to the substitution of one noun for another, altho the context is in general the same. Thus, as between masc. and fem.:
avasṛṣṭa (TB. ApŚ. ətah) parā pata RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. TB. Vait. ApŚ. AG. Followed by:
śarasye brāhmaṇaṁśīte (TS. ətah) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: śāro brāhmaṇaṁ-
śītaḥ TB. ApŚ. For śarasye TB. ApŚ. substitute the synonym śāra.
ūrvān gavyam pariṣadanto agman RV. KS. (‘surrounding it they penet-
trated into the prison-cave of the kine’): ürvān gavyam pariṣadam
no akraṇ AV. (a far-reaching Verballhornung; Whitney, ‘they have
made for us a wide conclave rich in kine’).
gireḥ pravartamānakaḥ RV.: gīrer avacarantikā AV. Preceded by kus-
umbhakas tad abravīt RV., karṇā kvāvīt tad abravīt AV. The fem.
gender of śadviḍh is otherwise unrecorded and is ignored by the
dictionaries.

§832. As between mase. and neut.:
ṣam (AV. TS. ApŚ. yat) te devī nīrṣṭīr a babandha,
pāṇam (AV. TS. dāma) grīwās avicartyam (VS. ŚB. avicṛtyam, AV. av-
imokyam yat),
ottam te (AV. tat te, TS. idam te tad) vi śūmy āgyeṣa na mādhyaṭ (MS. KS.
nu mādhya, AV. āgye varcase balaya) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.,
and the first in ApŚ. MŚ. Here the two synonyms are pāsa mase.
and dāman neut.

§833. As between fem. and neut.:
yathanan stri pautram agham na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.:
yathedaṁ stripaṭram agrama rudriyaya MG. The latter has a
far-reaching reconstruction; idam agrees with stripaṭram.

§834. These cases, where the nouns to which the variant epithets
apply are clearly expressed, are simple enough. More dubious are some
cases in which, without change of the general context, an epithet changes
its gender, apparently in agreement with nouns which in at least one
form, and usually in both, are not expressed in the context at all. A
simple instance, requiring no comment, is the following, in which the
late RV. hymn 6. 75 speaks of the bow as ‘father of many daughters’
(arrows?), bahuvinām fem., for which MS. substitutes ‘of many sons’,
bahūnām masc. (no one would want many daughters!):
bahuvinām (MS. bahūnām) pītā bahur aṣya putraḥ RV. VS. TS. MS.
KSA. ApŚ.

§835. In other cases the nouns denoted by the variant epithets are
in one or both cases often uncertain. Masculine and feminine;
tvam uttamāsya oṣadhe RV. VS.: uttamo aṣya oṣadhinām AV. The AV.
6. 15. 1a repeats RV. 10. 97. 23 with change of gender, apparently
referring to an unnamed plant with masc. name (according to the
comm. patāśa, but KauŚ. uses barley).
[ati dhanaveva tān ihi RV. AV. SV. VS.: dadhanaveva tā ihi TA.: nidhanaveva tān imi TA. The TA. repeats the verse in the same context, once recording tā(ṣ), fem., which seems to us to make no possible sense. We believe that it has merely lost final n by the phonetic process treated VV 2 §309, to which this variant should be added.]


tāsān viśiṃnānām (KS. viśiṃnyānām) MS. KS.: teṣān viśiṃprijānām (VS. SB. 6nām vo 'ham') VS. TS. SB. Preceded in same verse by yās (TS. yeṣām) tisrah paramajāḥ (MS. prathamajāḥ). Reference is to soma-cups (graḥa), and we do not understand the fem.; yet note tisrah even in TS. (The TS. comm. supplies prakṛtayāḥ.) Keith ignores the point. Perhaps a fem. synonym of graḥa, such as āṣuti, is understood.

jīvām (ApMB. jīvām) rudanti vi mayante (AV. nayanty) adhvare (AV. 'ram) RV. AV. ApMB. In an obscure stanza used in the wedding rite; see Bloomfield AJP. 21. 411 ff., Oldenberg Noten on 10. 40. 10. The fem. of ApMB. surely means the bride; it is still problematic who is meant by jīvām.

emām (ŚG. enam) kunāras taruṇāh AV. ŚG., and:

emām pariṣrūtah kumbhāḥ AV.: enam pariṣrūtah kumbhayā ŚG. The fems. refer either to the house (kāla) or to the chief post (sthūnā); the masc. apparently to the latter under its name sthūnārāja.

utemān paśyā MS. MS.: utemāḥ paśyā TS. See §740.

asyai (TS. asmai) sam datta vīryam (TS. bheṣajam) RV. VS. TS. asyai refers to an herb, into which all herbs are to put their healing power, of course for the benefit of the yajamāna, to whom TS. refers directly with asmai.

śivebhīṛ (AV. VSK. TS. śivebhīṛ) adya pari pāhi no gāyam (vṛdhe) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. (both) MS. KS. TB. The masc. agrees with pāyubhīḥ in the preceding in some texts; in others some such masc. (or neut.?) word has to be supplied, or else it is an indefinite, quasi-adverbial neuter. With the fem. the AV. comm. supplies utībhīḥ; it might however be considered adverbial.

anu manyatām anumanyamānāḥ (TS. 6māṇā) AV. TS. And:

tasya (TS. tasyai) tayam heḍasi māpi bhūma AV. TS. These two pādas occur in a hymn addressed to Anumati, to whom the fems. refer; the masc. forms of AV. are well attested but we may explain them no better than Whitney (see his note).

viśvā (MS. vy) amīvāḥ pramūnak mānuṣebhīḥ (KS. 6ṣebhyāḥ, MS. 6gaṇām) AV. MS. KS. See §573.

sam eva viśve vacasā (SV. viśvā ojasā) patiṁ divaḥ AV. SV. By viśve
AV. undoubtedly means 'all men'. Benfey suggests either that 
\( \text{viśva(h)} \) is a nominal instead of a pronominal form, in that case 
masc., or else that \( \text{stutayāḥ} \) is to be supplied with it. Ppp. is 
reported by Roth as reading \( \text{viśvā} \).

\[ \text{[anābhī mṛḍa dhūṛta (MS. dhūṛte, v. l. ०ta) MS. MS.: (anārbhava mṛḍa) dhūṛta (KS. ०te) namas te āstu (०stu) KS. ApŚ. Knauer on MS. would read dhūṛta also in MS. Rudra is addressed and no voc. fem. seems possible; if a voc. form is concerned it can only be dhūṛta. But dhūṛte occurs in KS., KapŚ. (4.6:45.1, see Oertel 101), and in two ms. and p.p. of MS. The persistence of the form suggests that dhūṛta is a lect. fac. Perhaps we have an obscure corruption of some form containing the pronoun te, or some sort of noun form, dat. sg. or loc. sg.]} \]

\[ \text{[mānasya patī saraṇā syonā AV.: mā naḥ sapatiḥ saraṇā syonā syonā HG.} \]

Followed by:

\[ \text{[derī devēbhīr nimitāsy agrī AV.: devo devēbhīr vimitāsy agrī HG. The fems. vimitā and syonā are sufficient to prove the corruption of HG.; Oldenberg adopts the AV. readings.]} \]

§836. A special case under this heading is formed by an interesting 
group in which occur pronouns or adjectives referring (in the fem.) to 
a collective noun such as \( \text{senā 'army'} \), or (in the masc.) to the individuals who compose the collectivity. Cf. §715:

\[ \text{indra āsān (AV. MS. KS. āsān) netā bṛhaspatih RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The fem. pronoun refers to senā 'armies', in the context; the masc. to the men who compose them.} \]

\[ \text{yuanā tan (SV. ubhau tan) indra vṛtraḥ AV. SV. As in prece.; here senā sing.} \]

\[ \text{āmūr aja pratyātvayemāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: prāmūn jayabhīme jayantu AV. The original amūr probably refers to armies (Geld-} \]

\[ \text{ner). Whitney takes the AV. form as amūn, referring to the individual enemies; but p.p. amūm (comm. ītrusenām),} \]

\[ \text{nama āvyādhiṃbhīyo vividhyantibhīyas (KS. vividhyādbhīyas) ca vo namāh VS. TS. MS. KS. In this litany to Rudra and his associates, the} \]

\[ \text{plural doubtless refers to Rudra's hosts, understanding senā plu.;} \]

\[ \text{the masc. of KS. to the individual members.} \]

§837. Masculine and neuter:

\[ \text{māteva putaniḥ bībhṛtāsv enat (MS. bībhṛtā sv enat, TS. KS. bībhṛtā sv enat) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. The neut. refers to the ashes put} \]

\[ \text{into water (mentioned in the context); the masc. apparently to} \]

\[ \text{Agni, the fire here carried in a pan.} \]
vārdhamāno (TS. ८नाम) mahān (TS; MS. maha) ś ca puṣkare (TS. १रम) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The half-verse accompanying this one in VS. 11. 29 is addressed to a lotus leaf (puṣkara or puṣkara-paṇḍa, both neut.) on which is laid a lump of clay representing Agni. Our pāda is followed by dīvo mātrayā varinā (varinā) prathāvā. Mahādhārā on VS. thinks that vārdhamāno still refers to the lotus leaf, with ‘Vedic’ change of gender. With Griffith we must rather understand Agni, in the form of the lump of clay, as addressed. In VS. 13. 2 the verse is used in laying a lotus leaf on the site of the śāhāvaniya fire-altar, and Agni is doubtless again addressed in the 2d half verse. TS. uses neutrals, referring to the lotus leaf as in the other half verse.

ya enad veda sa id enad (AV. enam) arhatī RVKh. AV. The neut. refers to hiranyam; the masc. apparently to an unexpressed maṇi or some masc. name of a jewel (Bloomfield, SBE, 42. 669).

svāsty uttarān (TS. MS. ९रम, TS. ApŚ. १रं) aśeṣa TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. Used in the shaving ceremony; the neut. we take to refer to śmaśrūṇi, with Caland and Henry (otherwise comm. and Keith). The masc. pl. (intended also in MS. MS.) may refer to keśān; it is hardly necessary to emend as Schröder suggests.

devaśrud imān (sc. keśān) pravaśe MS. MS.: devaśrūr etānī (sc. śmaśrūṇi) pravaśe TS. HG. As prec.

[veśo (SV. diśo) viśā anu prabhuh (TB. prabhu) RV. SV. MS. TB. Followed by s-; doublet phonetic corruption in TB., cf. VV 2 §381.]

[sanśītan kṣatrān jīsnu (Ppp. MS. KS. TA. kṣatram me jīṣṇu, AV. kṣatram ajaram astu jīṣṇu) AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. jīṣṇu can only be a bhuṇḍ; VV 2 §381.]

§838. Feminine and neuter:

gāthayāti pariṣktam (AV. ८ता) RV. AV. See Oldenberg, Notes on 10. 85. 6. Apparently the neut. refers to Śūryā’s garment (viśāh). AV. makes the fem. refer to Śūryā.

haśī (haśik) kṛṇvantah pariṣktarṣīnam (MG. १यम, HG,† SMB,† १रं) AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Both Kirṣte and Jörgensen confess inability to interpret the fem., and we can do no better. But its occurrence in two texts, of different schools, is very strange. [ya ababhūva (PB. āvā) bhwanānī viśā (PB. viśāh) VS. PB. JB. ŚŚ. Vait. viśāh is perhaps a misprint, certainly an error (VV 2 §381); the comm. has viśānī.]

§839. Masculine, feminine, and neuter:

ūṛṇamradasam (१रं) tvā stṛṇāmi (KS. १ṛṇamradaḥ prathāvā, Kāuś.
11. Transfer of epithet

§840. The preceding group of variants leads over naturally to those in which the change in gender is explained by the application of an epithet to different nouns in the context. These are of the same type as those classed under 'transfer of epithet' between various case forms, many of which, it will be remembered, show change in gender as well as case; these will not be repeated here. Transfer of epithet appears in the following variants between masculine and feminine forms:

\[\text{idāno (KS. } \text{ānā) vahār (KS. } \text{ānām) namasā AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.}\]

See §399.

\[\text{aṅgāny akrūta yasya (TS. and vikāra of ŚB. yasyai) VS. TS. KS, ŚB.}\]

Followed by \text{tam mātrā (KS. tam devās, TS. and vikāra of ŚB. tam devaiḥ) sam aṣṭigamam (KS. aṣṭikpan).}\ The masc. (original) makes the pronouns refer to the embryo (garbha) of the cow; the vikāra of ŚB. contemplates the possibility that the embryo will be female (and belongs with §782). TS., on the other hand, contains a genuine and obvious 'transfer of epithet', making the pronouns refer to the cow herself (who, to be sure, is referred to in the stanza only by second person pronouns).

\[\text{tad āgni anumanyatām ayaṁ (PG. iyaṁ svādā) PG. HG.}\]

The simpler, and presumably original, reading is \text{ayaṁ}, referring to Agni; \text{iyaṁ} is difficult; Stenzler omits the word in translating and regards it as an intrusion; Oldenberg renders by 'N. N.', apparently as standing for the name of the bride (the verse is spoken by the bridegroom); the comm. on PG. makes \text{iyaṁ} agree with \text{svādā} as n. pr., 'and this Svāhā (Agni's consort).'

\[\text{dvāro devār anv asya viśve (MS. KS. viśvāḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.}\]

The masc. \text{viśve} is a coordinate subject, along with \text{dvāro}; in MS. KS. it becomes an epithet of the latter.

\[\text{tāṁ tuṁ svadāṁ tais sahopa jīva ApMB.: tāṁ svadāṁ aksītam tāṁ sahopajīvinau HG. Most likely HG. is original: 'upon that (wave, ārmi, which is) sweet drink (and is) inexhaustible live thou with these.' ApMB. makes the pronoun agree with svadāṁ.}\]

\[\text{kasmāi (KS. tasmāi) deva vasyaḥ astu tubhyam VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.: tasmāi ca devi vasyaḥ...TS.}\]

The voc. masc. refers to Prajāpati (or
'Ka'); the fem. of TS. to Prthivī (denoted by uṭṭānāyai in the preceding).

garbham svavantam agadām akah (AŚ. akarma) TS. AŚ. ApŚ.: garbhām svavantam agadām akarma ApŚ.: ukkām svavantām agadām akarma (KŚ. aganna) KŚ. MS. The masc. forms go with garbha, the fems. with ukkā (which is clearly understood even when not expressed).
apāsa ya teśinah pāśah KS. ApŚ.: apāsañā satvanah pāśān Kauś. The fem. refers to Nirṛti, preceding; the masc. apparently to the yajamāna.

indrena dattāṁ prayatāṁ (TS. dattāṁ prayatāṁ) marudbhīṁ TS. MS. KŚ. Preceded by ghratasya dhārāṁ amṛtasya panthāṁ (MS. nābhīṁ). The masc. pples. agree with the last word, the fems. with dhārāṁ.

mā hiṁsiṣur vahatam uhyamānam (ApMB.† uhyamānam) AV. ApMB. ‘Let them not injure the procession as it proceeds’: ‘let them not injure the procession and her (the bride) that is being carried off.’

§841. In some of the above the ‘epithet’ is in one form more or less independent; in a couple of others it is quite distinctly so, that is not really an ‘epithet’ of another word at all (cf. §15):

pratyāṇā ud eṣi māṇuṣān (AV.* ९शिं) RV. AV. (both) ArS. N. Preceded by pratyāṇā devāṇāṁ viṣāh. The RV. māṇuṣān = ‘humans, men’; in AV. so. viṣāh.

mṛga na bhīmās taviṣṭhīḥ arcināḥ (TB. taviṣṭebhīr ārmiṣṭhīḥ) RV. TB. The orig. taviṣṭhīḥ is apparently a noun, ‘with might’; TB. feels that a form of the adjective taviṣa is required, and supplies ārmiṣṭhīḥ, perhaps recollecting RV. 6. 61. 2.

§842. Transfer of epithet, masculine and neuter:

anāptā yā (AV. ye) vah prathamā (AV. p.p. ८māḥ) AV. KS. ApŚ. See §552, end.

eṣa vasūni pibdanā (SV. ८naḥ) RV. SV. The adj. is transferred from vasūni to eṣa (= Soma).

śambhu mayohbu (TB. TA. śambhūr mayodbhūr) no kṛde RV. SV. TB. TA. Kauś. N. Preceded by vāla avātu hēṣajām; the adjectives go with hēṣajām, or with vātaḥ.

asmin have puruhūtaḥ purukṣuḥ (AV. TS. ८kuṣu) RV. AV. Pp. TS. KS. Preceded by uṛṣyeçaḥ no mahīṣāḥ śarma yaṁsat (yachatu). Transfer from mahīṣaḥ to śarma.

kakubham (kakubham) rūpatīrṣabhāsyā (rūpaṁ रूपम्) rocate bhraṭ (VSK. bhraṁ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In VSK. bhraṁ goes with somah following.
codad rādha upastutaḥ (ArS. "tam) cic arvāk RV, AV. ArS. MS. TB. The adjective is transferred from the subject (Indra) to rādhas. tad ayaḥ (MG. idam) rājā varuno 'namanyatām AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In MG. idam (with tad) replaces ayaḥ (with rājā varuno).

vīdhurāś tapa ugraḥ (AV. ugram) mayobhūḥ RV. AV.

matsva sukṣma (SV. "prāt) haricās tad (SV. tam) iṣāhe RV. SV. 'We wish that': 'we pray to [thee] here.'

yenā samatsu sāsah (SV. "hiḥ, MS. "hiḥ) RV. SV. VS. ApS. MS. The original sāsah is a verb form; in SV, it becomes an adjective epithet of the subject: 'whereby (thou shalt be) conquering in battles'. In MS, this adjective is made to go with the preceding manus.

brahmādhiguptāḥ (PG. brahmābhūts, MG. brahmābhigūrtam) svārā kyārāni (PG. surakṣitāḥ syēṁ, MG. svarākṣāṇah, most mss. svārākṣāṇah) svāhā (MG. omits) AG. PG. MG. In MG, the first word is attracted into agreement with the preceding neuters (bhūtām bhaviṣyad uta bhadrām astu me); in the others it goes with the 1st person subject.

dṛpaṇām (AV. "no, but Whitney translates "nām; AA. dādhyānam) dṛṣṭatām (AV. "tah, but Whitney translates "tam) śavaḥ AV. AA. MS. SŚ.† The masc. forms, if accepted, would apply to Indra, the subject of the preceding pāds, instead of to śavaḥ. The passage is very troublesome.

§843. In the next (cf. §15), the 'epithet' is in one variant made an independent word; amṛto modifies pantaḥ(h), but MS. uses amṛtam as an independent noun, 'nectar':

prānya pantaḥ amṛto (MS. "tam) prahābhyaṁ VS. MS. KS. TB.

§844. Transfer of epithet, feminine and neuter:


§845. The next may perhaps be classified as showing an original 'epithet' made into an independent word (§15); but the reconstruction of the secondary ApMB. is very sweeping. It means 'shine thou for my foot-water (padya, neut.).' In the original, padya is used as an epithet of the noun Virāj:
mayi dohah padyayaivirajaḥ (MG. adds kalpatām) AG. HG. MG.: mayi
padyayaivirajaḥ dohah ŠG. ŠŚ. PG.: mama padyaya vi raja ApMB.

12. Phrase inflection

§846. In many cases variation in gender accompanies and signalizes
the adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes several
pādas, or even an entire verse, is thus readapted. For example, the
Rigveda itself contains a verse which is used twice, once in a woman’s
charm against feminine rivals, and once in a man’s charm for dominion
and victory. The two verses are practically identical throughout, but
the subject is feminine in one case, masculine in the other. Hence the
variants:
asapatnā (RV. also śnah) kilābhuvam (ApMB. bhavam) RV. ApMB. ;
followed immediately in both RV. and ApMB. by:
asapatnāh sapatnāhī RV. AV.: asapatnā sapatnāghi RV. ApMB.

§847. Such a variation may properly be called a vikāra in the tech-nical
sense. Many of the variants here included are nothing but tech-nical
vikāras or ūhas; often they appear in the same passage, modulated
according to different nouns, as in the following, where the AV. in a
single hymn applies the epithets once to mitrāvarunau, masc., and once
to (diyāḥ and) prthivi, fem.:
jarāntyaṃ kṛṣṇah sanvīdānaḥ (and śne) AV. (both).

§848. We find the following variants of this sort; first some in which
all three genders appear:
vānaspatyo śi PB. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: vānaspatyam asi KS.: vānaspatyasi
MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

jāgataḥ asi MS. TA. ApŚ.: jāgatāi MS.: jāgato śi MS. MŚ. Also
gāyatram asi, gāyatro śi, gāyatry asi; traśūṭubho śi, bhām asi.
salakṣāna (MS. KS. ma) yad viśurūpā (VS. MS. KS. ŠB. panaḥ) bhavāti
(MS. KS. babhūra) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŠB.: viśurūpā yāt salakṣa-
māṇo bhavath TS. See §727.

§849. Between masculine and feminine, besides those just quoted,
occur:
trpto śam MS. KS. MŚ.: trptāhan (v. l. trpto śam) MŚ. In the last
the words are spoken by the patni; it is a simple īha of the other,
recollection of which is responsible for the v. l. with masc.
tāṣe (TS. MŚ. te nah) kṛṣṇantu bheṣajam RV. AV. TS. MŚ. PG. Different
contexts; perhaps not true variants.
agnīṁ kulāyaṁ abhisahvikāntih (ApŚ. śvasanah) MS. ApŚ.: agnīṁ
gṛhapatiṁ abhisahvasanāḥ TB. ApŚ. The entire verse is repeated,
with subjects respectively prajāḥ and paśavaḥ
aido me bhagavo 'janīṣṭhā maitrāvarūṇaḥ MS.: aidī me bhagavaty ajāniṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇi MS. Uṣas; followed by the respective directions: iti pumāṇam ātama abhimāntrayeta, and iti striyam ātama abhiṣa. In the same passages the next four: citrā citrām (and citrām) asūt MS.,
citrā citrā (and 'rān) asūvan MS.,
punyā punyām (MS. 'punyām) asūt MS. MS.,
punyāḥ punyā (and 'rān) asūvan MS.

jyotir viṣvasmai bhuvanāya kṛneati (and kṛnena) RV. (both). To Uṣas and Savitar respectively.

tam (KS. 'tām) apiṃ heṣaḥ pari te uṇaktu VS. TS. MS. KS. (both) SB. To Agni and maṅgā; in adjoining stanzas in KS., the others also have both stanzas but with a different pāda instead of ātama...KS. has allowed one stanza to influence the other.


tāṁs te paridadāmy ahām ApŚ.: tāṁ te paridadāmy ahām (TA. 'dādāmi) TA. ApŚ.

tvā dā dive viṣṇeh ṭuṣyāṇāḥ (and 'rāṇāḥ) RV. (both).


pari tmanā viṣurūpo jīgaśi (and 'rūpā jīgaśi) RV. (both).

vīśvair devair anumātā (KS. TA. 'tān) marudbhīḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. Different context in TA.; on KS. see § 817.

indrāya somaṁ sūpatam bhurantah (and 'tān) RV. (both)

aśīmek tvam sthīrā (Pp. MG. ApMB. ' HG. ' [1. 4. 1b] sthīra) bhara Pp. (for AV. aśīma bhavatu te tanāh) AG. ŠG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The fem. to the bride, the masc. in different context to a boy.

pari dhatu dhatu no varcasemam AV.: pari dhatu dhatu vāsasainām (HG. ApMB. 'nam) SMB. HG. ApMB. As prec.
vālāyusam (SMB. 'ūn) kṛṇata ārgham āyuḥ SMB. ApMB. HG. As prec.

āyuṣmatidam pari dhatuṣa vāśaḥ AV. SMB. PG. MG.: āyuṣmann idam...MG.: āyuṣmān idam...ApMB. HG. As prec.

upahūto 'yām yajamānaḥ (...) TS. MS. SB. TB. AS. SS. ApŚ.: upahūtyām yajamāna TB. The whole of the second passage in TB. is a vikāra of the other. It contains the next six.
diyāṣa dhāman ("many") upahātaḥ (TB.* "hūta") TS. MS. TB.*  
uttarasyāḥ devayājayāyam upahātaḥ (TB.* "tā") TS. ŠB. TB.  
tasminn upahātaḥ (TB.* "tā") MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
upahāto bhūyasi haviśkarane (haviḥk") MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: bhūyasi haviśkarane  
upahātaḥ (TB.* "tā") TS.† 2. 6. 7. 5, TB. (bis) ŠB.  
viśvasya priyasyopahūtaṣaṣyopahātaḥ (and "tā") TB. (both)  
viśvam asya (TB.* asyāḥ) priyam upahātam TS. TB. (both)  
vyāsī vyānayaṇan (Kauś. "vati") AV.† Kauś.†  
Different contexts, tho  
both in rites for virile power; AV. addresses the man concerned,  
Kauś. the magic herb.  

irāṇ vahanto (ApMB. vahato, MG. vahantī) ghṛtam uksamānāḥ AŚ. ApŚ.  

śāmanvī vāryāṇāṁ RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. JB.: śāma (sc. ēpaḥ)  
vāryāṇāṁ RV. AV. MS. TB. TA.  
māyī puśṭiṁ (AV. puṣṭām) puṣṭipatiḥ (AV. puṣṭa") dadhātu (AG.  
†dadhātu) AV. MS. KS. TAA. Mahānū. ApŚ. AG. SMB.: māyī  
puśṭiṁ puṣṭipatiṁ dadhātu KS. The latter in a different context.  

yatamānā (and "no) vaśmibhiḥ sūryasya RV. (both)  
rakṣāyā ahaṁ devayājayā praśātan (and "vati") bhūyāsam ApŚ. (both).  
Spoken by the yajamāna and his wife respectively, in adjoining  

passages. In the same the following:  
sintvalyā ahaṁ devayājayā paśumān ("māti") bhūyāsam, and  
uhūva ahaṁ devayājayā puśīmāna paśumān (puśīmāti paśumāti) bhū",  
rodena kṛṣṇatr ("vati, "vanto) agham AV. (ter).  
viśūcāni (and viścānām) vi νṛḥāmāni AV. (both)  
śivalah kāmna bhavati nāh TB. ApŚ.: śival ca me kāmna caidhi TB. ApŚ.  
samastāmavasya ṣaṣṭhāḥ (TS.* KS.* ṣaṣṭhī) TS. KSA. Both in a series  
of formulae; with the masculines different parts (mavaya, m.) of  
the shoulder are offered; with the fems. various ribs (vaṅkri).  

vasūmi cārur (SMB. cārye, ApMB. cāryo, v. l. cāuyo, HG. cāuyo) vi bhajāi  
(bhṛjāsi, bhajā sa) ājīvan AV. SMB. HG. ApMB. See §334.  
sa caṇkārārasam (and sa caṇkārārasam) viṣam AV. (both)  
sa jīva śaṇḍaṁ ṣatam ŚB. BrhU. KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.  
MG. N. Mbh.: sa jīva śaṇḍaṁ ṣatam ApMB. An ūha.  
saḥjagmano abhīhyuṣā RV. AV. SV. N.: saḥjagmano abhīhyuṣīḥ (MS.  
aviḥrutāḥ) AV. MS.  
sa (and sa) na viśā ati dvīṣaḥ RV. (both)  
sa (HG. sa) mām ṣa viṣalaṁ sha (MG. viṣalām shaiva) ApMB. HG. MG.,  
and RVKh. Scheftelowitz 10. 151. 3d.
sa (and sā) no dohatāṁ swāryam (MS. swāram) TB. ApŚ. MS. (both in all texts). Únas, in same passages.

sumṛṣṭikāṁ abhīṣayye RV. TS. MS.: sumṛṣṭikāṁ abhi RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.

yasmād bhūta (bhūto) niśidasi MS. (bothi)
yantā rāṭ TS. KSA. TB.: yanti rāṭ VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. MS. And, in same passages:
yantāṣi yamanaḥ VS. TS. KS. KSA. SB. TB.: yantāṣi yamana (TS. yamātri) VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. MS.
sa (AV. sā) naḥ śāma trivāritham vi yanasat (AV. ni yachāt) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

ārdhāṁ enam (VS.* SB.* LS.* ārdhāṁ enam) uc chrayatāt (chṛpaya) VS.* TS. MS. KSA. SB.* TB. AŚ. SS. Vait. LS.* ApŚ. In same passages the next:

athāṣayai (TS. MS. TB. *sya, KSA. adhāṣyā, VS. *LS.* athāṣya) madhyam edhatām (edhautu, exaatu, exatu) VS.* TS. MS. KSA. SB. TB. AŚ. SS. Vait. LS.*

ut tiṣṭha (VS. SB. KS. utthāya) brhati (TA. brhān) bhave VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA. MS. Followed by:

ārdhā (TA. *vas, VS. SB. ud u) tiṣṭha dhrvā (TA. *vas) team VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. TA.

yamena team yamyā saṁvidānā (TA.* *naḥ) VS. TS.† MS. KS.† SB. TA. (bi). The fem. of all but TA. applies to Nirūti. In the two TA. passages, which are different from the other contexts, a dead man is addressed; the form should according to the sense be masc., both times. Yet once TA. reads... saṁvidānottamah (combining with uttamaḥ, first word of the next pāda); for which the comm. says saṁvidānā saṁvidāna aikamayam prāptah. Here we must either understand saṁvidānā with 'double sandhi', or a mechanical reminiscence of the (more original) feminine form found in the other texts.

amṛtā martyabhyaḥ RV.: amṛtām martyabhyaḥ TB. ApŚ.
sorūḥ sati na nivartate TA.: urūḥ san na nivartate TA. Únas, in adjoining passages.

bhavati bhikṣām dehi Kau.: bhavān bhikṣām dadātu AG.

ahāṃ vo asmi sakhyaṅa kevaḥ MS.: yuṣmākāṁ sakhya aham asmi keva AV. The next is in the same passage:

ittham kreyo manyamānedam āgamam AV.: idam kreyo manyamāno vā āgam MS.
vedic variants III: noun and pronoun inflection

utraś ca bhūmaś ca VS. MS. MŚ.: utraś ca bhūmaś ca TA.
adharūcīḥ (AV. adharāṇācām) parā svā AV. VS. MS. KS.
niveśanāṁ saṃgamanāṁ vasūnāṁ TS.: niveśanāḥ saṃgamanano vasūnām AV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. ApŚ. MŚ.: rāyo budhnaḥ saṃgamanano vasūnām RV.
adīrīr aḍhinnapatrā priyā (and aḍhinnapatrāḥ priyō) devinām...KS.
(both). Uhas, in same passage.
etā u tyatha prayāt adṛśaṃ purastāt RV.: etat u tye prayāt adṛśaṃ RV.
sā (AB. so) tvaṃ asī āham (and the like) KS. AB. JUB. SB. BrhU.
AG. SG. PG. ApMB. MG. The fem. (original) refers to the bride; the masc. to the purohita, whose relation to his king is paralleled to that of wife to husband. In the same passages:
amo āham asmi sā (AB. so) tvaṃ AV. KS. AB. etc.: amāhaṃ asmi sā tvaṃ TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.
svāsāsūkas (TS. * "sthā) tanavā saṃvīkṣasa TS. TB. ApŚ.
asmin gosṭhe kariṣṭiṁ (Kauś. * "naḥ, MS. puriṣiṁ) AV. MS. Kauś.
Originally referring to cows; used in Kauś. in a new context, referring to gṛhe.

§850. Phrase inflection, masculine and neuter:
tasmin ma etat suhutam astu prāṣṭram GB. Vait.: tasmin ma eṣa suhuta 'ste odanaḥ Kauś. As in §846, an entire verse is here adapted to different contexts. Followed by:
tan (Kauś. na) mā mā hinniḥ parame vyomaṃ GB. Vait. Kauś.
anādhrēṣāsa (ŚŚ. * "tāny) ojas ē RV. ŚŚ.
bāṁhaspatyām asī MŚ.: bāṁhaspatyō 'si PB,
vājī tvā... ApŚ. MŚ.: vājinaḥ tvā... VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB.
adō yud avadhāvati AV.: adō (adverb) giriḥyō adhi yat (conjunction)
pradhāvati TB.: asaṣu yo vasarpati VS. TS. MS. KS.: asaṣu ye ke
sarasyākā avadhāvati HG. ApMB. Diff. contexts; hardly variants.
amṛtag asī VS. TS. MS. etc.: amṛto 'si SMB. Hardly variants.
gṛtṛdā udulpanaḥ madhumat swarṣam (AV. madhunā samaktam) RVKh.
AV.: gṛtṛdā udulpto madhumāṁ payasaṇ ā AV. In this and the

next two (same stanza) we have adaptation of almost an entire verse; the masc. words refer to an amulet of darbha-grass, the neuters to a 'triple' amulet called trír, neut.

bhūmidṛṅko (\textsuperscript{2}cyuta) cyavayānun\textsuperscript{2} AV.: bhūmidṛṅkham acyutaṁ pārayīṣṇu AV.: dhānānījaṇāṁ dhāroṇāṁ dhārāyīṣṇu RVKh. See prec. and next.

bhīndāt (AV.* nūlān, RVKh. ṛṇak, 10. 128. 10) sapatnāṁ adharānāṁ ca kṛṣṇat (AV.* kṛṣṇan), same (see prec.).

akṣitam asi mā pāthān... ApMB. HG. BDh.: akṣito 'sy akṣitayai tvā mā... TS. GB. Vaś. MŚ. Cf. akṣitir asi mā... VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KS.
taj (RV. tā, see §727) jūsavva yaviśṭhyā RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.;

tān jūsava yaviśṭhyā RV.

tad asmān pātu viśvataḥ AV.: so asmān pātu sarvataḥ AV.: so asmān sarvataḥ pātu AV.

tat te bādkāmāny āyuṣe varcasa balāya AV.: tāṁ te bādkāmānyā jāraṣe svastaye AV.: tāṁ te bādkāmāny āyuṣe (and āyuṣe varcasa) AV.

tena (and tais) tāṁ garbhāṇi bhava ŠH. (both).
tena is masc. (garbha);
tais neut. (vṛtyānī).

viṣucīnān (VSK. nā) vyasyatām (VSK. tā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. Diff. context in VSK.
satṇāṁ (RV. yaś) citrañcāravastamāṁ (RV. maḥ) RV. TS. KS. §851. Phrase inflection, feminine and neuter:
sam asya (Kauś. asya) tanvā (tanvā) bhava VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. MŚ. Kauś.

na vi jñānāmi (AB. jānanti) yataṁ (AV. ṛā) parastāt AV. AB. JB.

tiṣṭhitāḥ (AV. tā) pṛthivīṁ anu RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB.
tāyā (and tena) sapatnāṁ pari vṛñḍhi ye mama AV. (both). Modulations,
in the same hymn.

pṛthivyā adhy udḥḥitam (and tā) AV. (both).

subhagnākārāṁ mama AV.; subhagnākārāṁ mama SMB.†

§852. The following variants hardly belong here but may be added as an appendix because superficially they look like gender variants. In reality they are variations between (relatively) primary nouns and derivatives thereof. In the first two, gāyātri is the name of the meter, while gāyata is the adjective derived from it, meaning 'of the gāyātri (meter)'. In the third, gāyātra is the name of the sāman so called (fundamentally, of course, the neuter of the adjective just mentioned), while gāyātri may either be felt as adjectival ('the wheel, varṭāni, of the gāyātra-sāman [of the gāyātri?]'), or as an appositional noun ('the gāyātri [meter] as wheel').
vatsam gāyatrīṁ anu tā īhāguḥ AV.: gāyatrīṁ vatsam anu tās ta ēguḥ TB.
gāyatrīṁ chando anu sanṛabhadheam MS.: gāyatrīṁ chandānsy anu sanṛabhantāṁ KS. ApŚ. (Add to VV 1 §337.) The latter means ‘the gāyatrī (and the other) meters.’
pāvamānasya (TS. KS. pāvamāṇena) tvā stomena gāyatrasya (KS. ṛtryā) vartanyā. . . TS. MS. KS. See §586.
pāvamānyaḥ (ŚG. ṛnāḥ) AG. ŚG. Sc. trpyantu. ‘The pāvamāni hymns; the (ṛṣis) of the p. hymns.’
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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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