

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 30974

CALL No. Sa2 V/Blo/Edg.



RECEIVED BY DELIVERY

AT THE OFFICE OF THE

LIBRARY OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

1911

LIBRARY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

1911

25

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

EDITED BY

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING

Ohio State University

OLIN H. MOORE

Ohio State University

C. E. PARMENTER

University of Chicago

EDWARD SAPIR

Yale University

VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES

Volume III, 1934

39274

VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

AND

MURRAY BARNSON EMENEAU

D2891
30/35

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF THE
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

1934



RECEIVED
JULY 10 1888
LIBRARY OF THE
BUREAU OF LAND COMMISSIONERS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND COMMISSIONERS
WASHINGTON, D. C.
JULY 10 1888

LAND WARRANT

THIS WARRANT IS ISSUED
TO THE LAND COMMISSIONER

OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

1888
JULY 10

FOR THE PURPOSE OF
ISSUING A LAND WARRANT



VEDIC VARIANTS

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

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

*Late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in The Johns Hopkins University*

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in Yale University*

AND

MURRAY BARNSON EMENEAU

*Research Fellow in Sanskrit
in Yale University*



Volume III

NOUN AND PRONOUN
INFLECTION

Sa2V
Blo | Edg

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

1934



CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 30974

Date 9. 4. 57

Call No. Sq 2 v

Bloo / Edg

COMPOSED AND PRINTED AT THE
WAVERLY PRESS, INC.
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

CONTENTS

Preface	13
Abbreviations and symbols	15
Chapter I. Introduction and summary, §§1-126	17
Formal variants, §§2-8	17
Syntactic and stylistic variants, §§9-126	18
Transfer of epithet	20
Form attraction or assimilation	21
Phrase inflection	22
Miscellaneous variants	23
Arrangement of materials	23
Summary of syntactic variations	24
Vocative and other cases	25
Nominative and other cases	26
Accusative and other cases	27
Instrumental and other cases	29
Dative and other cases	33
Ablative and other cases	35
Genitive and other cases	36
Locative and other cases	39
Number	42
Gender	45
Dedicatory expressions	47
FIRST PART: FORMAL VARIANTS, CHAPTERS II-X	
Chapter II. Duals in <i>au</i> and <i>ā</i> , of all declensions, §§127-136	51
Chapter III. Fem. endings <i>ai</i> and <i>ās</i> as dat. or gen. (abl.) sing., §§137-152	56
Chapter IV. Stems in <i>a</i> , §§153-174	63
1. Nominative and vocative plural in <i>ās</i> : <i>āsas</i>	63
2. Neuter plural in <i>ā</i> or <i>āni</i>	65
3. Instrumental plural in <i>ais</i> : <i>ebhis</i>	69
4. Ablative singular in <i>āt</i> and <i>tas</i>	70
5. Instrumental singular of <i>ā</i> stems in <i>ā</i> and <i>ayā</i>	70

Chapter V. Short and long <i>i</i> stems, §§175-223.....	72
1. <i>i</i> forms from <i>i</i> stems.....	72
2. <i>i</i> stems of uncertain quantity.....	78
3. <i>i</i> forms from <i>i</i> stems.....	79
4. Interchange between different <i>i</i> declensions.....	82
5. Other variants concerning <i>i</i> and <i>i</i> stems.....	86
6. Alternative case endings within the same declension.....	86
Chapter VI. Long and short <i>u</i> stems, §§224-251.....	90
1. <i>u</i> forms (normally fem.) from original <i>u</i> stems.....	91
2. <i>u</i> forms (normally masc.-neut.) from original <i>u</i> stems.....	92
3. Influence of <i>devi</i> declension on <i>u</i> and <i>u</i> stems.....	93
4. Alternative case endings within the same declension.....	95
Chapter VII. <i>r</i> stems and consonant stems, §§252-288.....	98
1. Stems in <i>r</i>	98
2. Consonant stems: variant ablaut forms.....	99
3. Interinfluence of stems in <i>vant</i> , <i>vāns</i> , (<i>v</i>) <i>as</i> , <i>van</i>	101
4. Stems in <i>n</i>	102
5. Heteroclitlic stems and the like.....	106
Chapter VIII. Diphthongal stems, §§289-295.....	109
Chapter IX. Adjectives and numerals, §§296-300.....	112
1. Feminine adjectives.....	112
2. Pronominal adjectives.....	113
3. Numerals.....	113
Chapter X. Pronominal forms, §§301-320.....	114
1. Enclitic and orthotonic.....	114
2. Sporadic pronominal form variants.....	119

SECOND PART: SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC VARIANTS,

CHAPTERS XI-XXIX

Chapter XI. Vocative and nominative, §§321-342.....	123
Direct address and indirect statement.....	123
Phrase inflection.....	128
Vocative and nominative of independent statement.....	135
Transfer of epithet.....	136
Miscellaneous.....	137
Chapter XII. Vocative and accusative, §§343-352.....	140
Direct address and indirect statement.....	140
Phrase inflection.....	141
Transfer of epithet.....	143
Errors.....	145

Chapter XIII. Vocative and other cases, §§353-371.....	146
A. Vocative and instrumental.....	146
B. Vocative and dative.....	147
C. Vocative and ablative.....	150
D. Vocative and genitive.....	150
E. Vocative and locative.....	153
Chapter XIV. Nominative and accusative, §§372-407.....	155
1. Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology.....	155
2. Phrase inflection.....	161
3. Interchange of subject and object.....	165
4. Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative.....	168
5. Case attraction.....	172
6. Transfer of epithet.....	176
7. Neuter acc. adverbs varying with nom. adjectives.....	185
8. Miscellaneous and doubtful.....	186
Chapter XV. Nominative and instrumental, §§408-419.....	190
1. Instr. of means or agent and subject nom.....	190
2. Associative instr. and (collateral) subject or predicate nom..	192
3. Instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.) and nom. of bahuvrīhis.....	194
4. Nom. and instr. of part dedicated in offering.....	195
5. Transfer of epithet.....	195
6. Nom. of independent sentence and instr.....	198
7. Miscellaneous.....	198
Chapter XVI. Nominative and dative, §§420-431.....	201
1. Dative of purpose varying with nominative.....	201
2. Dative varies with nom. of secondary adjective in dedications.	203
3. Dative varying with nominative of independent statement...	203
4. Phrase inflection.....	204
5. Transfer of epithet.....	204
6. Miscellaneous.....	206
Chapter XVII. Nominative and ablative or genitive, §§432-449..	208
A. Nominative and ablative.....	208
1. Abl. of source and subject nom. (passive : active).....	208
2. Independent nominative and dependent ablative.....	208
3. Phrase inflection.....	209
4. Transfer of epithet.....	209
5. Miscellaneous.....	209
B. Nominative and genitive.....	211
1. Partitive genitive and nominative.....	211

2. Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative.....	212
3. Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive..	215
4. Transfer of epithet.....	216
5. Miscellaneous.....	218
Chapter XVIII. Nominative and locative, §§450-458.....	221
1. Independent nominative and dependent locative.....	221
2. Phrase inflection.....	221
3. Case attraction.....	222
4. Transfer of epithet.....	222
5. Miscellaneous.....	225
Chapter XIX. Accusative and instrumental, §§459-477.....	229
1. Associative instrumental : complementary accusative.....	229
2. Other aces. and instrs., substantially equivalent.....	231
3. Acc. of bahuvrhis : instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.).....	234
4. Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals.....	235
5. Case attraction.....	236
6. Other miscellaneous variants.....	236
7. Phrase inflection.....	238
8. Transfer of epithet.....	239
Chapter XX. Accusative and dative, §§478-492.....	241
1. After verbs of motion and the like.....	241
2. Dedicatory expressions.....	243
3. Dative of purpose : accusative (object or goal).....	243
4. Miscellaneous final dative : accusative.....	244
5. Miscellaneous dative of interest : accusative.....	245
6. Transfer of epithet.....	247
Chapter XXI. Accusative and ablative, §§493-499.....	249
1. With verbs of separation, guarding, etc.....	249
2. With prepositions.....	249
3. Miscellaneous.....	250
4. Transfer of epithet.....	252
Chapter XXII. Accusative and genitive, §§500-522.....	254
1. With verbs governing both cases.....	254
2. With nouns containing verbal force.....	256
3. Dedicatory expressions.....	256
4. Descriptive or possessive genitive : modifying accusative..	256
5. Partitive genitive : modifying accusative.....	259
6. Phrase inflection.....	260
7. Miscellaneous.....	260
8. Transfer of epithet.....	261

Chapter XXIII. Accusative and locative, §§523-555.....	264
Accusative and locative of goal.....	264
1. With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like.....	265
2. Adverbial acc. : loc.....	269
3. With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root <i>dha</i>).....	270
4. With various prepositions.....	272
5. With verbs other than those of motion.....	272
6. Locative absolute and accusative.....	273
7. Case attraction.....	273
8. Miscellaneous.....	274
9. Corruptions.....	275
10. Transfer of epithet.....	276
11. Phrase inflection.....	277
Chapter XXIV. Instrumental and other oblique cases, §§556-611.....	278
A. Instrumental and dative.....	278
1. As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities.....	278
2. With expressions of uniting.....	281
3. Other syntactic shifts.....	282
4. Case attraction.....	283
5. Corruptions.....	283
6. Phrase inflection.....	284
7. Transfer of epithet.....	284
B. Instrumental and ablative.....	285
1. Instrumental of means and ablative of source.....	285
2. Instrumental of means and ablative of cause.....	286
3. With expressions of separation.....	287
4. Dependent on prepositional adverbs.....	288
5. In adverbial forms.....	288
6. Case attraction, and miscellaneous.....	289
C. Instrumental and genitive.....	289
1. Objective genitive.....	289
2. Subjective genitive.....	290
3. Partitive genitive.....	290
4. Instr.-gen. of time.....	291
5. Case attraction.....	292
6. Miscellaneous.....	293
7. Transfer of epithet.....	296
D. Instrumental and locative.....	296
1. Time expressions.....	297
2. Place expressions.....	298
3. Instrumental of means or cause and locative.....	299

4. Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative . . .	301
5. Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining . . .	302
6. Miscellaneous	302
7. Phrase inflection	303
8. Transfer of epithet	304
9. Textually doubtful or corrupt	304
Chapter XXV. Dative and ablative, genitive, locative, §§612-655 . . .	305
A. Dative and ablative	305
B. Dative and genitive	306
1. With adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like	307
2. With nouns of uniting	308
3. Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive	308
4. Dative of purpose	312
5. Dative and genitive with verbs	313
6. Phrase inflection	314
7. Miscellaneous	314
8. Errors	315
C. Dative and locative	315
1. After verbs	315
The roots <i>dhā</i> and <i>dā</i>	316
Other expressions of placing and giving	317
Verbs of uniting	318
Verbs of bringing and the like	319
Verbs of saying	319
Miscellaneous verbs	319
2. With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like . . .	320
3. Miscellaneous	320
Chapter XXVI. Ablative, genitive, and locative, §§656-684 . . .	322
A. Ablative and genitive	322
Ablative of source or separation and genitive	322
Case attraction	323
B. Ablative and locative	323
1. Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case	323
2. With prepositions	325
3. In adverbial forms	325
4. Case attraction	326
5. Phrase inflection	326
6. Miscellaneous	326
C. Genitive and locative	327
1. Locative of position : adnominal genitive	327

2. After the preposition <i>antar</i>	329
3. Adverbial uses.....	330
4. Dependent on verbs.....	330
5. Transfer of epithet.....	331
6. Miscellaneous.....	331
Chapter XXVII. Singular and plural, §§685-743.....	332
1. Generalizing singular and plural.....	332
Āmreḍita compounds.....	332
Words connected with the ritual.....	333
Divine personages.....	338
Words meaning people . . . , geographical terms, etc.....	339
Words denoting living beings.....	342
Words meaning enemy, demon, evil, etc.....	345
Words meaning a boon of some sort.....	348
Words meaning act of heroism, power, etc.....	350
Words denoting various abstract concepts.....	352
Words denoting parts of the body etc.....	352
Seasonal and meteorological.....	354
Utensils and other articles.....	355
Plurale tantum.....	355
Adjectives and pronouns.....	356
Personal pronouns, referring to priests and associates.....	358
2. The neuter singular (and plural).....	368
3. Plural of <i>viśva</i> with singular noun.....	370
4. Elliptic plural.....	370
5. Adverbs.....	371
6. Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group.....	371
7. Transfer of epithet.....	372
8. Phrase inflection.....	374
9. Pluralization, or the reverse, in same context.....	377
10. Form assimilation.....	378
11. Change of words or meanings of a word.....	379
12. Doubtful or erroneous.....	380
Chapter XXVIII. Dual and other numbers, §§744-778.....	381
1. Elliptic dual and devatā-dvandvas.....	381
2. Collective singular varies with dual.....	383
3. Dual and plural of parts of the body.....	384
4. Other entities conceived as dual or plural.....	385
5. Generalizing dual (for sing.) and plural.....	385
6. Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets.....	386

7. Transfer of epithet.....	387
8. Phrase inflection.....	388
9. Dualization, or the reverse, in same context.....	391
10. Form assimilation.....	396
11. Corruptions and errors.....	397
Chapter XXIX. Gender, §§779-852.....	399
1. Male and female persons and animals.....	399
2. Variation of nouns in grammatical gender.....	400
3. Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as 'common gender'.....	407
4. The indefinite neuter.....	408
5. Adverbial forms.....	412
6. Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender.....	416
7. Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun.....	417
8. Compound nouns.....	417
9. Nom. agentis (masc.) : nom. actionis (fem.).....	418
10. Substitution of one noun for another.....	418
11. Transfer of epithet.....	423
12. Phrase inflection.....	426
Index of subjects.....	435
Index of words and stems.....	436
Index of mantras.....	437

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.Abt., 1934, Heft 6). We felt able to make only the most important additions from its materials; these are indicated by references to "Oertel" followed by a page-number. They include all appropriate variants not previously noted by us.

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

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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

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

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA, FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT, TO THE PRESENT TIME. IN TWO VOLUMES. THE FIRST VOLUME. BY JAMES OSGOOD, ESQ. OF THE BARR, AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, IN GREAT BRITAIN. LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1783.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT, TO THE PRESENT TIME. IN TWO VOLUMES. THE FIRST VOLUME. BY JAMES OSGOOD, ESQ. OF THE BARR, AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, IN GREAT BRITAIN. LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1783.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT, TO THE PRESENT TIME. IN TWO VOLUMES. THE FIRST VOLUME. BY JAMES OSGOOD, ESQ. OF THE BARR, AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, IN GREAT BRITAIN. LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1783.

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 *ebhis*. 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 *ayā* 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*, (*e*)*as*, and *san* stems. Next a section on *n* stems; the principal variations here are in the neuter plural (*a* and *ā*, partly phonetic in character; very rarely *ā* or *a* and *āni*); oblique cases with and without intermediate ('euphonic') *a*; instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems; and loc. sg. in *an* or *ani*, 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 *i*, 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 saṁ taṁ siñcatu rādhasē* 'may he sprinkle it unto bounty' is changed in KS., in the like context, to *saṁ tat siñcatu rādhasā* '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 illumine 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 in another. Thus, RV. 10.125.3cd reads *tām mā devā vy adadhuh purutrā, bhūristhātrām bhūry āvesayantīm*. In the repetition of this in the AV. 4.30.2cd, *āvesayantīm* is changed to *āvesayantah*. The RV. original means 'the gods have established me (Vāc) variously in many places, me of many stations, bestowing abundantly.' The epithet *āvesayantīm* 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 exegetes of the passage), the AV. has a secondary *lectio facillior*, the meaning of which is simple

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. *amṛtām*) *sam vyayantām* (AV. °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(h)*. 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 *asmabhyam indav indrayuḥ* (SV. *indriyam*) RV. SV.; here the RV. *indrayuḥ* is an epithet of the subject of the verb (*pavasa*); 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. *cittasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mātaram*) *suhavā me* (AV. *no*) *astu*

AV. TB. SMB. (preceded in SMB. by *ākūtiṃ devīm manasā prapadye*): 'I do homage with my mind to the goddess Ākūti, 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: *haviṣā yajña* (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yaiḥ*) 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 *haviṣā*: '... 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 kṛavyādāṃ aśiṣamam* AV., *yah kṛavyāt tam aśiṣamam* Kauś., '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 śfuiḥ yo antaḥ sindhuḥ sūnuḥ satyasya yuvānam* AV.; *tam u śfuiḥ antaḥsindhuḃ sūnuḃ 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 dadhṇā*, 'full of milk, water, and sour milk,' is repeated in the next stanza with *pūrṇā* for *pūrṇā(h)*. The stanzas are otherwise different; in the first the nom. case agrees with the nouns in the preceding pāda, *ghṛtahrādā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ*, while in the second the acc. agrees with the preceding acc. (*caturāḥ kumbhāṇāḥ caturdhā 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: *āyusmatīdām* (ApMB. HG. *āyusmān idām*, MG. once *āyusmann idām*) *pori dhatvea vāsaḥ* 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 *ūhas* 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.

Vocative and other cases

§27. Variations between the vocative and other cases usually signalize shift between direct address and indirect reference, as in *māte-vāsmā adite* (ŚG. °tiḥ) *śarma 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 tiḥṭha mitravardhanaḥ* (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: *reā yāmi maruto brahmaṇaspatiṁ* (SV. °te), *devān* (SV. devā) *avo vareṇyam* 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: *namasyāmas tvedyaṁ* (KS. °ya) *jātavedaḥ* 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 *mo gū ṇa indrātra* (TS.† indrā) *pṛtsu devāḥ* (KS. devāḥ, TS. MS. deva) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., '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.: *jagatyainam* (AŚ. °ty enam) *vikṣv ā vekayāmaḥ* (°mi, °nā) 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: *agnaye* (AV. Kauś. agne) *samidham āhārṣam* (āhārṣam) AV. Kauś. AG. GG. SMB. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB., 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great Jātavedas'; *kṣayadevīra* (TS. °vīrāya) *sumnam asme te astu* RV. TS. (§§358-9).

§31. And with the genitive, the shift between direct address and indirect reference is found in *ghṛtaviṭi savitar* (MS. KS. °tur) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °tyaiḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'in [thy] overlordship, O Savitar' or 'in Savitar's overlordship' (§363); while direct address is found in both variants in *brhaspatīsutasya ta* (KS. om. ta) *indo* (KS. MS. inda) . . . TS. MS. KS., *brhaspatīsutasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK. inda) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. (§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: *nirṛtiṃ tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ* VS. MS. ŚB., *nirṛtiṃ itī tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ (sarvataḥ)* AV. TS. KS., 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti' (§393). Or the dependence may be created by the insertion of an active verb: *iyam vedih paro antaḥ pṛthivyāḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ., *vedim āhuḥ param antaḥ pṛthivyāḥ* 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 śfuhī yo antaḥ sindhau* AV.: *tam u śfuhy antaḥsindhum* AŚ., both meaning 'praise him who is within the waters' (§394).

§33. With the instrumental: *gavā te krīṇāni* TS. ApŚ.: *iyam gaus tayā 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 bharata tadvaśāya (tadvaśo dadāhi)* 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: *viṣṇo (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos) sthānam asi* (MS. MŚ. *sthāmāsi*, KS. *sthāmnaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (§433). In KS. connected syntactically with the following, *ila .. vīryam akṛṇot*.

§36. With the genitive: *agnīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān (vṛtrahā) bhūyāsam* TS. ApŚ., *agnīṣomau vṛtrahanau tayor (vṛtrahanāv agnīṣomayor) aham devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS. MŚ. (§445).

§37. With the locative: *krte yonau* (KS. *krto yonir*) *vapateha bījam (vījam)* 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 (yath, TB. yad) vajrahasta* (TB. *°taḥ*) 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*) *agnīm tarpayāmi* BDh., 'I gratify Agni,' but *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG., '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 im vahanta āśubhiḥ* RV., 'who travel by horses,' but *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* 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,' *asmāt tvam adhi jāto* 'si VS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. Karmap., same sense, but *ayam vai tvām 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 santi 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 *subhūḥ mayam̐bhūḥ 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 adverbial way, as in *ghṛtācy asy upabhṛn 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 adverbial accusative, as in *taṁ* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (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: *tena devā devatām agra* (VS. MS. KS. *agram*) *āyan* AV. VS. MS. KS.; *tapasā* (TS. *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS. TB. TA. MahānU., 'by this (by tapas) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning (*agra* 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 *śunam kināśā abhi* (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kināśo abhy etu*) *vāhaih* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., '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 śmaśru* (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvatā 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: *ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* AV., *tam arkair abhy arcanti vatsam* TB., 'they sing with ghee a song (sing with songs) unto the young' (§465). And *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB. *haviṣā*) *jūhota* 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*) *kāma āgan* (TA. *āgāt*) AV. TA., 'by love love has come to (for?) me'; *sā paprathe pṛthivī pāṛthivāni* (KS. MŚ. *°vāya*) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., '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 *iyaṁ duruktāt* (PG. *°tam*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG., 'this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer)' (§493).

§50. 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: *papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh*

(MŚ. **tyām nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. **tīm nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ., 'they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvatī river' (§§501, 544).

§51. Verbs of offering take acc., gen., or instr. of the thing offered: *tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (TB. ApŚ. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV., *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB. *haviṣā*) *juhota* MS. TB. (§502).

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

§53. Nouns with verbal force: *mām anuvratā bhava* HG., *agner* (AV. *patyur*) *anuvratā bhūtā* AV. TS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB. (§506).

§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 āpaḥ*, §§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 ṣū na indrātra* (TS.† *indra*) *pṛtsu devaiḥ* (KS. *devāḥ*, 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 barhīr bhruvi kesarāṇi* 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, *rūpāir apiṇśad* (TB.* *rūpāṇi piṇśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* 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 bahuvrīhi 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 bahuvrīhi 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 ūrdhva ud ait puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS. VS. TA., *tribhiḥ padbhir dyām arohat* AV., 'with three quarters (Puruṣa) went aloft (mounted the heaven)' (§413). Acc., *rākām ahaṁ suhaviṁ* (AV. °vā) *suṣṭuṭi huse* 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:

aṅgāny ātman (aṅgaṁ ātmānam) bhīṣajā tad āsvinā, 'the physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)' or 'his body with his limbs.' See §462.

saṁ mā sṛjāmy adbhīr (apa) oṣadhībhiḥ, perhaps 'I unite myself with (unto?) waters, with plants.' See §460. Acc. and instr.

tvaṣṭā rūpeṇa samanaktu yajñam: tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi samanaktu yajñaiḥ, 'let Tvaṣṭar unite sacrifice with form (forms with sacrifices).' Here the acc. and instr. interchange doubly, the result being substantial equivalence. (§461.)

susambhṛtā (°te) tvā saṁ bharāmi, 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.' Dat. and instr.; §560.

saṁveśane taveś (°vā) cārur edhī, 'in joining of (with) thy body.' Gen. and instr., with a nominal expression. The dat. is also used; §§455, 560, 578.

saṁ devānām sumatyā (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:

saṁ jagmāno (°nā, °nav) divā (diva ā) pṛthivyā (°vyāḥ), '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):

lebhir no adya (lebhyo na indrah) savitota viṣṇuḥ (lebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ soma indrah), sc. *vi muñcantu*, '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.):

vi kumāraṁ jarāyuṇā (vi garbhaṁ ca jarāyu ca), sc. *bhinadmi*, '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.:

pra rādhasā (rādhānsi) codayāte (°yate) mahitvānā, 'let him promote us with favor (unto favors), with might' (§469).

vaiśvānaro na ūtaye (ūtyā) [ā pra yātu parāvataḥ], 'let V. come... unto (with) aid' (§558).

me dakṣe (svair dakṣair) dakṣapīṭha śīda, '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 interchanges 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: *pra no rāyā pariṇasā* (SV. *rāye paṇīyase*), followed by *raśi vājāya panthām*, 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 *vājāya*, 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 viśas tapasaḥ* (TB. °sā) *sambabhūvūḥ* AV. TB., 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy

tapas.'—*bhūvas tvam indra brahmaṇā* (MS. °*yo*) *mahān* 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 *juṣṭam devedhīr* (AV. *devānām*) *uta mānuṣebhiḥ* (AV. *mānuṣāṇām*) 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 *āpo devīḥ prathamajā ṛtena* (AV. *ṛtasya*) RV. AV., 'the divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta' (§580). And with verbs of offering, the partitive gen. (as well as the acc., §466) may vary with the instr., as in *tasmā indrāya haviṣā juhota* MS., *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* 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 *maruṭām prasave* (VS. ŚB. °*vena*) *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. *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS. om. *prati*) *grhṇāmi* 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 uta praśastiḡu* (RV. †*praśastaye*, AV. VSK. °*tibhiḥ*) 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 purandhyām* (SV. °*dhyā*) RV. SV. AV. JB., preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvat*: 'may he stand by us in our work, unto riches, in (with) liberality' (§603). The last word means virtually *liberaliter*; note the parallel dative *rāye*.

§68. In adverbial or quasi-adverbial forms denoting time the instr. varies with abl., gen., and loc. Thus, *yad ahnā* (and *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA. MahānU., *yad ahnāt* (and *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA.

(on the latter forms see §575);—*madhu naktam ulōṣaṣaḥ* (KS. °sā, TS. TA. °si) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. Here it seems fairly certain (see §584) that all three forms mean 'at dawn'; the only question is whether *uṣaṣaḥ*, 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 paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *vidadvasuḥ* MS. KS. (§575).—*adhi kṣamī viṣurūpaṁ yad asti* (MS.† *asta*) RV. AV. MS. TB., *adhi kṣamā viṣvarūpaṁ yad asya* ArŚ.; both *kṣamā* and *kṣamī* '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 pāśinaḥ 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 *mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam* AV. 'to me the sun brought (it) in order to light,' *mahyam jyotir abharat sūryas taḥ* 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: *kṣayantam rādhaso* (TS. °se, KS. *śavase*) *mahaḥ* (TS. KS. *mahe*) RV. SV. 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 tvā [dānāya samidhīmahi]* 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 asunod indriyāya* (LŚ. °yeṇa) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ., 'Sarasvatī 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 āgan* (āgāt) 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*) *havyavāhanah* 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; otherwise the constructions of *dā* and *dhā* are or may be identical. Even this exception disappears with some compounds of *dā*, as in *taṁ devebhyah paridadāmi* ApŚ., *taṁ deveṣu paridadāmi* *vidvān* AŚ. MŚ., '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 *svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi* Vait., *svarge loke yajamānam hi dhehi* (and *dhehi mām*) TB. ApŚ. (§482). And with noun compounds containing *dā* or *dhā*, an adnominal 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 sukrtaṁ* (*naḥ sukrto*) *brūtāt* (etc.), 'declare me (us) virtuous to the gods' (§647).—*prthivyām* (KŚ. °*vyā*) *amṛtaṁ juhomi*... AŚ. KŚ. 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 *apriye prati muñca tat* (*muñcatam*) AV. Kauś., *dvīṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam* (*pāpam*) SMB. BG. ApMB., '(I) 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*) *tanuvai* (*tanve*, *tanvaś*, *tanvā*) *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 sūtrāmā svavān indro asme* (*asmā*), followed by *ārdc cid deśaḥ sanutar 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: *juṣṭo vāco* (vāce) *bhūyāsam* 'may I be pleasing to Speech' (§616); [*priyam mā kṛṇu...*] *uta śūdra utārye* (śūdrāya cāryāya ca), 'make me dear... to both Śūdra and Aryan' (§654).

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, *yās te viśas tapasaḥ* (TB. °sā) *sarh-babhūruḥ* AV. TB., 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy tapas' (§569).—*karkandhu jajñe madhu sārāgham mukhāt* (MS. *mukhe*) VS. MS. KS. TB., 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§600). Also an adnominal genitive may replace the ablative in similar phrases: *tato mā yajñasyāśīr āgachatu* MS. KS. ApŚ., 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me'; *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ., '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: *bhūvas team indra brahmaṇā* (MS. °go) *māhān* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'become thou great, O Indra, by (from, as a result of) our holy word' (§571).—*taḥ* (VS. ŚB. *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya prṣṭhāt* (TS. KS. *prṣṭhe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., '(the ships proceed) from (upon) the back of the mountain bull' (§661).—*apām yo madhyato* (KS. *madhye*) *rasas...* 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, *tebhīr na indraḥ* *savitota viṣṇuḥ* KŚ. ApŚ., *tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ*

soma indraḥ Kauś., 'may...free (*vi muñcantu* is the verb) us (today) from these (fetters)' (§573).—*sa sutrāmā svavān indro asme (asmat)*, followed by *ārāc cid dveṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu* (°ta), 'may Indra...keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612).—*mā parā seci mat payaḥ* (no *dhanam*, *naḥ svam*, *me dhanam*), 'let not the sap 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: *īyaṁ duruktāt* (PG. °taṁ) *paribādhamānā* 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 *ā* 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 *ārdhvo*) *mā pāhy odṛcam* MŚ., *ārdhvo mā pāhy odṛcaḥ* TS. (and others; *ā* + *udṛcam* or *udṛcaḥ* '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*, *aradḥ* 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 (§657). 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 faded out to an indifferent adverb: *āre* (TS. *ārāt*) *te goghnam* (TS. °na) *ulā pūruṣagham* (TS. °ne) RV. TS. (§667). Here *ārāt*, like *āre*, can only mean 'far away', not 'from afar'.—*ayam paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *vidadevasuḥ* MS. KS. (§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, *team uttamasy oṣadhe* RV. VS., *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV., 'thou art most excellent, O plant (most

excellent of plants)' (§367).—*subhūr* (*svayambhūr*) *asī* (*nāmāsi*) *breṣṭho* *raśmīr* (*raśmīnām*)... '...the best ray (best of rays)' (§439).—*imam* *mā* *hinsr* *ekaśapham* (also, *dvipādām*) *paśum* (TS. KS. *paśūnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'this whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals)' (§515).—*vasantena* (*grīṣmeṇa*, etc.) *tvartunā* (KSA. °*nām*) *haviṣā* *dikṣayāmi* TS. KSA., 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (of the seasons), with oblation' (§581).

§85. 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, *vṛṣāsy ūrmīh* TS. TB., *vṛṣormīr asī* MS. KS. MŚ., *vṛṣṇa ūrmīr asī rāṣṭradāh* VS. ŚB., 'thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)...' (§440).—*avyo* (SV. PB. *avyam*) *vāraṁ vi dhāvati* RV. SV. PB., 'he (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (the woolen sieve)' (§509).—*asyā* (MG. *ṭasyām*) *nāryā gaṇīnyoh* (MG. °*nyām*) AV. MG., *asyān nāryān gaṇīnyām* 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, *ATS*. §§54, 103, 232b, and our §§629, 659 below: *rāye* (ApŚ. *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā* (*dānāya samidhīmahi*) 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 bibhṛhi punar ā mad aitoh* (*ā mamaitoh*), '...until my return.' Here also the assimilated ablative *mad* is the original reading (TS., while the secondary AŚ. MŚ. 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 adnominal, 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 *datā vasū-nām (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, *sahvasānam* (SV. °no) *vivasvataḥ* (SV. °tā) RV. SV., 'fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat' (§578).—*juṣṭam devebhīr uta mānuṣebhīḥ* (AV. *devānam uta mānuṣāṇām*) RV. AV., 'accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men' (§579).—*yan me (mayā) manasā vācā* [. . . *ṛtam*], '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 dat.; we quote an example or two at random: *devebhyo* (VS. *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS. °dhā) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†, 'be he a giver of portions to the gods' (objective gen.), §619.—(*eṣa sya te madhu-mān indra somaḥ*), *vṛṣā vṛṣṇe* (SV. °ṇaḥ) *pari pavitre akṣāḥ* 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 yajñasyāśīr āguchatu* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ., 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me' or 'may its blessing aid and increase me' (possessive gen.), §656.—*agnir etu prathamo devatābhyah* SMB., *agnir aitu prathamo devatānām* AG. etc., 'let Agni go (come) first from among the gods (first of the gods)' (partitive gen.), §656.

§91. With the locative: *asmākaṁ* (TS. *asmāsu*) *santv ākiṣaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ., 'let blessings be ours (be in us)' (possessive gen.), §671.—*ahiḥ śayata uparṣk pṛthivyāḥ* (TB. °vṛām) 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: *papuh sarasvatyā nadyāḥ* (MS. °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. °*tīm nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MS., '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.: *tēna itṛpyatam anḥahau* TB. ApŚ., *tasya itṛmpatam ahāhahuhū 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 uṭṣasah* (°*sā*, °*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. Somewhat 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 jajñe madhu sāragham mukhāt* (MS. *mukhe*) VS. MS. KS. TB., 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§660). Or, *śivaṁ prajābhyo 'hinsantam (ahins°) prthivyāḥ sadhassthād* (TS. MS. KS. °*sthe*) *agnim (°gnim) . . . kṣanāmah (°mī)* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., '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 vrataṁ (vrate) paśavo yanti sarve*, 'into (not in!) whose control go all cattle' (§526). Or with dat., *mahyaṁ vītaḥ pavatām (°te) kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV. AV. TS. KS., '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, *śam u yāḥ kumbha ābhṛtāḥ* and *śam yāḥ kumbhebhīḥ ābhṛtāḥ*, '... brought in a pot (with pots)' (§600).—*apām uta praśastiṣu (°taye, °tīdhīḥ)*, 'in (by, unto) praising of the waters [become ye strong, O gods (horses)]' (§601).—*rāyas poṣeṣa (poṣe) sam iṣā madema*, 'may we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food' (§603).—*śve dakṣe (śvair dakṣair) dakṣapiteha sīda*, '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 'pleasing' and the like (for other cases used with them, gen. and instr., cf. §§88, 65): *supṛito manuṣo viśi* (SV. *vīke*) RV. SV., or *priyaṁ mā brahmaṇi (°ge) kuru* 'make me beloved to (with, among) the brahman caste' (§654). And with various verbs, such as *hu* 'pour (in, upon)' or 'offer (to)', *prthivyām* (KŚ. *°vyā*) *amṛtaṁ juhomi* AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ., 'I pour nectar on (offer . . . to) the earth' (§650). Or *ci* 'pile, build': *sahasrākṣa (°kṣo) medhāya (medhā ā) ciyamānaḥ*, '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, *mayy āśīr astu mayi (mamāśīr astu mama) devahūtiḥ*, 'may prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine)' (§671).—*nanāndari samrājñī bhava*, and *nanānduḥ samrājñy edhī*, '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 lokam yajamānāya dhehi* Vait., *svarge loka yajamānam hi dhehi* (and *dhehi mām*) 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 gharne* (*gharman*) *siñca paya usriyāyāh* '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 *saṁ-dhā*, construed as a verb of joining: *aṅgāny ātman* (*aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhīṣajā tad āvīnā* (followed by *ātmānam aṅgair samadhāt sarasvatī*), '...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, *āghnānāh pāṇinorasi* and *urah paśaurāv āghnānāh*, '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, *pratiprasthātāh paśau* (MŚ. *paśum*) *saṁvadasva* 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* (*deveṣu*) *mā sukrtaṁ* (*naḥ sukrto*) *brūtāt* (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.: (*tvayā*) *vayam saṁghātām-saṁghātām* (*saṁghāte-saṁghāte*; *saṁghātām*, omitting the 2d form) *jeyma* (*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 devā devatām agra* (*agram*) *āyan*, *tapasā* (*tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan*, '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*, *maghābhīr*) *hanyante gāvah* (*gāvo gṛhyante*), 'in the (asterism) Maghās (Aghās) cows are slain (taken)', §596.—*madhu naktam utoṣasaḥ* (**sā*, **sī*), see §584 (also gen.).—*adhi kṣamī viṣurūpaḥ* (*kṣamā viṣvarūpaḥ*) *yad asti* (*asya*, *āsta*), 'on the earth...', §598.

§108. With abl., *āre* (*ārāl*) *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: *nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau* (TS. **dhānam agnim*, MS. KS. **dhāno agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (followed by *rāyaspoṣāya bṛhate 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 uta yajñāḥ* (KS.† *yajñāḥ*) *sacantām* TS. KS. ApŚ., *yuzmān rāya uta yajñā asācala* 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 dakṣaiḥ punīhi 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 *śradathe 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 *kr̥ṣṭapacyāś* (TS. KS. °*yam*) *ca me* 'kr̥ṣṭapacyāś' (TS. KS. °*yam*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. (preceded by *oṣadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś 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. *ta*) *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 tasthau* Ppp. TS. KS., *nīcāir uccāiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* and *nīcāir*, *uccā* and *uccāiḥ*, 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, *candreṇa jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ* (°*nā*), *śukraṁ na jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānā* (°*nāḥ*); here *dadhānā* agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject, while *dadhānāḥ* includes her and the Aśvins. Or, *yasya dyaur urvī prthivī ca mahī* AV., *yena dyaur ugrā prthivī ca dṛḍhā* (TS. *dṛḍhe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.; here the final adjective is singular, agreeing with *prthivī* alone, in all but TS., which makes it dual, including *dyaur*.

§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 complementary singular referring to another member of the group, as in *mitraḥ*

(SV. *mītrās*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV. (preceded by *yam maruto yam aryamā*). Here *mītrās* means Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, and *aryamā* is a complementary singular (§733). So also *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś 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 *dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (°*vīm*), §746; or such a double dual may vary with two singulars, whether the two form a devatā-dvandva compound as in *indrāsūrā janayan vīśvakarmā* TB. but *indrah sūrah prathamō vīśvakarmā* AŚ. (§749), or whether the two duals are separated by other words as in *viṣṇum agan varuṇaḥ pūrvahūtiḥ* AV., *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (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 dakṣo mayi kratuh*, *mayi dakṣakratū* (§750); and the two types vary with each other, *kṣētipipāsābhyām* (and °*pāsāya*) *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 nāsikā* (MS. °*kām*) 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 Phalgunī, 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): *phalgunir* (TS. °*nī*) *nakṣatram* 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 dattāṃ yasya* (and *yayoh*) *prāṇo 'si svāhā*, *tasya te dadātu yeṣāṃ prāṇo 'si svāhā*, *tasya te dadātu 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*) *saptadaśaḥ* (sc. *stomaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ., §794, the stem *vyoman*, 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 *saptadaśaḥ* (*stomaḥ*). It hardly justifies us, therefore, in attributing real variation in gender to the stem *vyoman*. 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, tho referring to feminine entities. Thus it has long been recognized that the anomalous *yusmās*, acc. pl. of the 2d personal pronoun, is a feminization of the regular *yusmān*, which has common gender tho 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 *indrasya* (and *viṣṇor*) *dhruvo* 'si' (*dhruvam asi*), '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. *ta*)

siñcatu rādhasē (°sā) RV. KS. Vait. ApŚ., 'let him besprinkle that unto (with) bounty'. Here the pronoun refers to soma-drops (*drapsa*, *añsu*, masc.) and hence has masculine gender in RV., but once, in repeating the mantra in the same context, KS. uses the neuter *ta*, '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 *ahir jaghāna* (*dadarśa*) *kañ* (*kiñ*) *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 bahuvrīhis based upon them. The karmadhāraya, naturally, keeps the gender of its final member, while the bahuvrīhi 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).

Dedicatory 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) *agnim tarpayāmi: agnis tṛpyatu*, §373.

himavate (°vato) *hastī* (*hastinam*), §§376, 618.

svāhā devā ājyapāh (*devān ājyapān*): *agnim svāhā: svāhāgnim: agnaye svāhā*, etc., §§377, 485.

pūṣaṇam vaniṣṭhunā: pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuḥ, §§414, 508.

kapota ulūkaḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai (*nairṛtāh*), §424.

digbhyah śrotam (sc. *alabhate*): *dīśah śrotam* (sc. *anvvasṛjatāt*), §485.

tasmā indrāya sutam ā (*haviṣā, haviṣ ā, indrāyāndhaso*) *juhota* (*juhomi*), §§466, 502, 582.

aryamṇo (°ṇe) *lopāśah*, §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 *āu* 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 *i* stems *au*, not *ā*, is regular in pause. Before *u* vowels this *au* is represented in the RV. by *ā*, before other vowels by *āu* (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 *Nl.* 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* (*āu*) by a vowel, in accordance with the original distinction:

tasyām suparnāu adhī yau niviṣṭau TB. ApŚ.: *tasyām suparnā vṛṣṇā ni śedatuḥ* RV.

abhayaṃ mitrāvaruṇāu ihāstu 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* (**ṇau*); 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 *devau*, instead of regular *devā*, and is followed by all later texts (two substituting *ubhau*) except AV., which introduces the regular *ubhā*. (Hence, possibly, the assimilatory change in the ending of the preceding word in AV., whose meter suggests a pronunciation with hiatus, *aśvinā ubhā*.)

garbham te aśvinau devau (AV. *aśvinobhā*, PG. HG. *aśvināu ubhau*) RV. AV. ŚB. BṛhU. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. PG.: *garbham yonyām aśvināsyām* AVPpp. 13. 2. 4c (Barret, *JAOS*, 48. 38).

§131. The remaining cases require little individual comment. Almost all show the ending before consonants or in pause. Final position in the pāda is always treated as 'pause'; *ā* is here regular even when the next pāda begins with a vowel, with which the final *ā* is fused in the saṁhitā 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 pathirakṣi (AV. *pathiṣadi*) *nṛcakṣasau* (AV. TA. °*sā*) RV.

AV. TA. This is the only exception, except that noted in §130, to the rule among the RV. variants. It is noted by Lanman 576. The hymn (10. 14) containing it is Atharvamic (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.

ubhobhayāvinn upa dhehi danṣtrā (AV. °*rau*) RV. AV.

yo akṣṇeva cakriyā (SV. °*yau*) *śacibhiḥ* RV. SV. TB.

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

somaṁ pibataṁ madyam dhṛtavaratā (AV. GB. °*tau*) RV. AV. GB.

uto te vṛṣaṇā (ArS. *haritau*) *harī* RV. ArS.

yajñasya hi stha riviṣā (TS. ApS. *ṛviyau*) RV. SV. KS. PB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApS.

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

prātaryujā vi bodhoya RV. TB. AŚ. N.: *prātaryujau vi mucyethām* TS.

a dhātām (RVKh. Scheft. °*ām*) *puṣkarasrajau* (RV. RVKh. Scheft.

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

AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.: *kr̥tām puṣkarasrajā* AVPpp.

3. 18. 5 (Barret, *JAOS.* 32. 364). Add to VV 1 §332.

dyauś ca naḥ (KS. TB. *tvā*) *pr̥thivī ca pracetasā* RV. KS. TB.: *dyauś ca*

ma idam pr̥thivī ca pracetasau AV.

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

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

yam nirmanthato aśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: *yābhyām nirmanthatām*

aśvinau devau ŚB. BrhU.

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

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

ubhā hi hastā vasunā prṇasva VS. TS. ŚB.: *hastau prṇasva bahubhir
 vasavyaish* AV. TS. MS. KS.

vītho ghr̥tasya guhyā juṣāṇā (AV. °*ṇau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.
dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV. KS. *suṣṭutyā*, TS. *suṣṭutir*, MS. °*tī*) *vām iyānā*
 (TS. MS. KS. *vāṛdhānā*, AV. *vāṛdhānau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
 ŚŚ. On *vām iyānā* see VV 2 §236.

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

§133. Yet, contrariwise, AV. occasionally shows *ā*:
chandasaṭi (AV. *chandaḥpakṣe*) *uṣasā* (MS. KS. °*sau*) *pepiśāne* AV. TS.
 MS. KS. ApMB.

And, in the same verse:

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

ya indrāgnī asanam̐ sakhāyau KS.: *yo agnīsomāve ajuse sakhāyā* AV.

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

ukhyasya ketum̐ prathamam̐ juṣāṇau (KS.† KapS. °*ṇā*) VS. MS. KS.
 KapS. 25. 1, ŚB. Oertel 83.

imān me (ApŚ. *nō*) *mitrāvaruṇau* (ApŚ. °*ṇā*) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.
nirastā śaṇḍāmarkau saha tena yaṁ dvīṣmaḥ KS.: *nirastau śaṇḍāmarkau
 sahāmuna* ApŚ.

apanuttau (KS. °*tā*) *śaṇḍāmarkau* (MS. *ṣaṇḍ°*) *saha* . . . MS. KS.: *apa-
 nuttau śaṇḍāmarkau sahāmuna* TS. TB. ApŚ.

devā (VS. *devau*) *devam̐ avardhatām* VS. TB.

śubham̐ gamiṣṭhau (KS. °*thā*) *suyamebhir̐ āsvaiḥ* (KS.† *āśubhīḥ*) TS. MS.
 KS. TB.

aṅkau nyan̐kār (PB. LŚ. *aṅkā nyan̐kū*, MŚ. MG. *aṅkū nyan̐kār*) *abhito
 ratham̐ yau* (MG. *ye*) TS. TB. PB. MŚ. HG. PG. MG. ApMB.
 LŚ. ApŚ.

saṁjagmānau (KS. °*nā*) *divā* (TB. ApŚ. *diva ā*) *prthivyā* MS. KS. TB.
 ApŚ. MŚ.

yathāyatham̐ nau tanvau (AŚ. *tanvā*, MŚ. *tan nau*) *jātaredaḥ* MS. AŚ. MŚ.

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

sulughe mātārā (TB. °*rau*) *māhī* VS. TB.

indravan̐tā (TB. °*tau*) *havir̐ idam̐ juṣethām* TB. ŚŚ.

sam̐ vasūthām̐ (MS. *vasethām̐*) *svarvidā* (TS. *svar°*; KS. °*vidau*) VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB.

hotā yakṣad aśvinā (VS. KŚ. °nau) *chāgasya haviṣa* . . VS. KŚ. KS.
hotā yakṣad aśvinau (KS. °nā) *chāgasya vṛpdyā* . . VS. KS.
hotā yakṣad aśvinau (TB. °nā) *sarasvatīm* . . VS. MS. TB.
hotā yakṣad aśvinā (MS. °nau) *sarasvatīm* . . MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§135. The following do not properly belong here:

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

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

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

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

[*kaṁ devau pracetasau* (VSK. °sā) VS. VSK. TB. As preceding; add
 to l. c.]

§136. We come now to the few sporadic cases in which *ā* (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:

śundāsireha sma me juṣethām AV. (pratika Vait.): *śundāsīras indm sdam*
juṣethām (TA. om. *ju*°) RV. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The AV. seems to
 be 'hiflutin', misapplying the hieratic *ā* where it does not belong.

uśāsānaktāgnā (KS. AŚ. °gna, ŚŚ. °naktā *agna*) *ājyasya vītām* MS. KS.
 AŚ. ŚŚ. And in the same passage, *daiṣyā hotārāgnā* (°gna, °hotārā
agna), etc. The ŚŚ. form (RV. school) should be *ā*, 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 Brāhmaṇas). The other alternative
 would be to hold that ŚŚ. intends the ending *ā*, not *au*, and shows
 anomalous lack of sandhi.

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

aśvinūdhvayū MS. TA.: *aśvināv adhvayū* ŚŚ. (Also quoted in Conc.
 under *agnir hotāśvina*°.)

[*añkāṇkam* (KS. *añkaṇkam*, MS. *añkāvañkam*) *chandaḥ* TS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Only MS. seems to understand a dual *añkau* here; if *añkāṇkam* is also intended to contain a dual in the first part, the form *añkā* must be understood. Even MS. has only one accent, *añkāvañkāṁ*; tho one ms. has *āñkāḥ āñkāṁ*, and p.p. analyzes *añkau*, *añkāṁ*. 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 'Hiatusstilger' *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 signaled 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 *āye* show no such general use as genitives) speaks for the peculiar nature of the confusion, as contrasted with any general tendency to fusion of the two cases. It should also be noted that the *ai* forms clearly, tho less commonly, may be used as ablatives no less than as genitives. We therefore feel with Wackernagel that a formal confusion, probably that suggested by him, must have been concerned in this matter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā (KŚ. °*yai*) *medaso 'nubrūhi* KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Assign to Indra and Agni (part) of the goat's omentum and fat.' Also, *agnīṣomābhyām chāgasya vapāyai medaso 'nubrūhi* ŚB. *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 tvā mātrayā jagatyai vartanyāgrayanasya vīryeṇa* (KS. *jagatyā vartanyā*) *devas tvā savitotsrjatu* (etc.)... TS. KS.: *agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyā vartanyā devas tvā savitonnayatu*... MS.

idāyās (ApS. °yāh) *padam ghṛtavac carācaram* AŚ. ApS. MS.: *idāyās padam ghṛtavat sarīsrpam* AV. SMB.: *idāyai srpam ghṛtavac carācaram* TA. HG. Comm. on TA. takes *idāyai* as dat. of purpose, *gosampādanārtham*; but this seems fanciful.

priyo dātur dakṣiṇāyā iha syām AV.: *priyo devānām dakṣiṇāyai dātur iha bhūpāsam* VS. The AV. reading is masked by sandhi, but p.p. *dakṣiṇāyāh*.

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

yamyai pātārah TS.: *yamyāh pātorah* KSA.

sarasvatyai (MS. KSA. °yā) *nīpakṣatīh* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

indrānyai (MS. °yāh) *ṣaṣṭīh* VS. MS.

nīrtiyai (MS. °yāh) *pañcamī* VS. MS.

adityāh (VS. °yai) *pañcamī* VS. MS.

adityai (KSA. °yā) *deśdaśī* TS. KSA.

yamyai (MS. °yās) *trayodaśī* VS. MS.

adityā (VS. °yai) *bhasat* 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 savituh prasave . . . sarasvatyā vācā yantur yantreṇ** (VS. TS.

ŚB. *sarassvatyai vācā yantur yantreṇ**) . . . °bhīṣiṇcāmī VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB.—P.p. of MS. *sarasvatyāh*.

(*devasya tvā savituh prasave 'ēvinor bāhukhyām . . .*) *sarasvatyai* (KS. °yā)

bhaiṣajyena . . . VS. KS. TB.: *sarasvatyās tvā vīryeṇa yabase 'nnādyā-*

yābhi ṣiṇcāmī MS.

yatra bhūmer juṣase (TA. *bhūmyai vr̥ṇase*) *tatra gacha* AV. TA. (*bhūmyai* for *bhūmyās* = *bhūmes*; cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 136, and §182 below).

§144. Genitives of *ā* stem nouns:

putir yad vadhvo (ApMB. *vadhvai*) *vāsasā* RV. AV. ApMB. The variant (gen.) ending here and in the next two is *(v)as*, not *(v)ās*.

yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac cā vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV.

ApMB.: *yatrā vr̥kṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG. The latter has a

stupid corruption in *vr̥kṣas* for *-sprkṣat* (VV 2 p. 105). Its *tanuvai* can only be defended as for *tanvās* = *tanvas*, a partitive gen.

(cf. §517).

na hi te agne tanvaḥ (JB. *tanvai*, TA. ApS. *tanuvai*) AV. KS. JB. TA.

ApS. Kauś. Followed by *krūram ānāṣa* (KS. ApS. *ānāṣa*, JB

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

§145. Genitives of pronouns:

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

imam amum amuṣyāyaṁ amuṣyāḥ putram... KS.: *imam amuṣya* (VSK. *imam amum amuṣya*) *putram amuṣyai* (VSK. *°yāḥ*) *putram*... VS. VSK. ŚB. In one of the two occurrences in ŚB. *amuṣyai* is printed for *amuṣya*, doubtless by a misprint.

tasyai (MS. KS. *tasya*) *vān mātṛā* (TS. *māṭi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Its, the mind's, daughter, speech.'

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

asyā janatāyāḥ śraīṣṭhyāya svāhā MS.: *asyai janatāyai śraīṣṭhyāya* ApŚ. 'For preeminence over this folk.' But this may be the 'assimilated' dative with following dative of purpose; cf. Speyer, *Skt. Synt.* 66 supra, Delbrück, *ATS.* 149. (Quoted in Cone. also under *agne balada*...)

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

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

indrānyai (MS. MŚ. MG. *°yāḥ*, KS. *°yās*) *samnahauam* VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.

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

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

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

yasyai (VSK. *yasyās*) *te yajñīyo garbhaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. PG.

yasyai (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS. VSK. ŚB.

yasyai bahvīs (MS. *yasyā bahvīyas*) *tanuṣo* (MS. *tanuṣo*) *vīśaprsthāḥ* MS.

TB. And others, §671. Comm. on TB.: *yasyai yasyā devyāḥ tanuṣaḥ*.

yāsyā apaśavyā tanūḥ tām asyā apajahi ŚG. SMB. (also with *yāsyā aputryā*, *yāsyāḥ patighnī*): *yāsyāḥ pāpī lakṣmīr yā patighnī*... *tā asyā apahata* SMB.: *yāsyāḥ pāpī lakṣmīs tām asyā apajahi* SMB.: *yāsyai gṛhaghñī tanūḥ tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG. (also with *patighnī*, *pakughnī*, *prajāghñī*, *yāśoghñī*): *yāsyai ghorā tanūḥ tām ito nāśaya svāhā* HG. (also with *nīnditā*, *patighnī*). The first *asyai* is clearly gen. On the second see §612.

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

yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsād agniṁ sā ṛchatu MS. (also with *īndraṁ*, *marutaḥ*, *mītrāvaruṇau*, *somaṁ*): *agniṁ sa ṛchatu yo maitasyai* (KS.† *°syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS. ApŚ. (also with *īndram*, *aditiṁ* etc.): *agniṁ sa diśām devaṁ devatānām ṛchatu yo maitasyai diśo 'bhidāsati* TB. (also with *īndraṁ* etc.): *īyam diḡ*. *yo maitasyai* (KS. *°syā*) etc. KS. TB. ApŚ.

§150. From *i* and *ī* stem nouns:

gāyatryai (MS. KS. *°yā*) *gāyatrām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sūryas tvā (MS. *tvā raśmibhiḥ*) *purastāt pātu kasyās cid abhiśastyai* (TS. MS. KS. *°astyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Striking because the modifying pronoun *kasyās(cid)* has *ās* even in VS. ŚB. Cf. next. *āśanyān mā mantrāt pāhi* (MŚ. *pāhi purā*) *kasyās cid abhiśastyāḥ* (AŚ. *°tyai svāhā*) TS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

prthiviyai (MS. KS. *°yā*) *mā pāhi* TS. MS. KS.

pañktyai (MS. KS. *°yā*) *nīdhanavat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

apahato 'raruḥ prthiviyai TS. ApŚ.: *apahato 'raruḥ prthiviyai devayajanyai* TS. ApŚ.: *apahato 'raruḥ prthivyā adevayajanāḥ* TS. ApŚ. (p.p. of TS. *prthivyāḥ*): *apāraram adevayajanam prthivyā devayajanāḥ* (ApŚ. *†adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ. (the latter ambiguous): *apāraram prthivyā* (p.p. *°vyāḥ*) *adevayajanam* MS. MŚ.: *apāraram adevayajanam prthivyā* [iti; ambiguous] ApŚ.: *apāraram prthiviyai devayajanād bādhyāsam* VS. ŚB.

pāpāt (KŚ. *pāpāḥ*) *svapnyād* (KŚ. *°nād*) *abhātṛyāḥ* (KŚ. *°yai*) AV. KŚ. *agne 'dabdhāyo*... *pāhi prasityai pāhi durīṣṭyai pāhi duradmanyai* (TS. TB. add *pāhi duścaritāt*) TS. VS. ŚB. TB.† (in VS. text has *duradmanyā iti*): *agne 'dabdhāyo*... *pāhi prasityāḥ pāhi durīṣṭyāḥ pāhi*

duradmanyāḥ KS. (text °*manyā* *it*).—Also listed in Conc. under *pāhi*...

adbhyaḥ sambhūtaḥ prthivyai rasāc ca TA. ApŚ.; *adbhyaḥ sambhūtaḥ prthivyai* (MS. KS.† °*yā*) *rasāc ca* (KS. *rasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS.

kṣetriyāt tvā nirṛtyā jāmisānsāt AV.; *kṣetriyāi tvā nirṛtyai tvā* TB. ApMB. HG. (*kṣetrī* = *kṣetriya* occurs only in this passage.)

[*amoci* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB. No *ās* form here.]

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

§152. The variants are:

yā te agne rudriyā tanūs tayā naḥ pāhi tasyās (MS. KS. *tasyai*) *te svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛḍa (MS. *tayā vidhema*) *tasyās* (MS. *tasyai*) *te namaḥ* TS. MS.

tasyai (TS. *tasyās*) *te devi haviṣā vidhema* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

Keith's note takes *tasyās* with *haviṣā*, rendering 'oblation for you.'

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

tasyās (MS. *tasyai*, KS.† *tasmai*, read *tasyai*) *te devīṣṭake vidhema haviṣā vayam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Keith makes the same suggestion as in *préc.*, q. v.

īśāyai (MS. *īyā*, but p.p. *īyai*) *manyuṃ rājānum* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *barhiṣā dadhur indriyam*. 'They have bestowed (upon thee) King Wrath and power along with (or, by) the barhis, unto authority.' It seems impossible to construe *īśāyā(h)* as gen.; note the p.p. of MS.

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvaṃ pāhi VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS. *īpāya*, p.p. *īpāyāh*) *kṣatrasya tanvaṃ pāhi* MS. TA.: *pratīkas, brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyā [itī]* ApŚ. MŚ. (could stand for *īpāyai* or *īpāyāh*). In the same passage the next two:

dīvas tvā paraspāyāh (MS. *īpāya*, not repeated in p.p.), *antarikṣasya* . . . MS. TA. (and ApŚ. *pratīka*, with *īpāyā [itī]*): and

prānasya tvā paraspāyai (MS. *īpāya*, v. l. *īpāyāh*, p.p. *īpāyāh*) *cakṣuṣas* . . . MS. TA. (and ApŚ. *pratīka* as before). In these three adjoining formulas only a dative of purpose can be intended: 'for the protection of . . .' Note that TA. has *īpāyāh* twice and *īpāyai* once—all in the same passage. VS. has only one of the formulas, in which it uses the dat. of a neuter stem *īpa-* (§801), equivalent to *īpā-*. This same neuter form is read thrice in MS. s. p., but once the v. l. *īpāyāh* occurs (curiously, in the one case in which TA. has the regular dative form *īpāyai*!), and its p.p. reads *īpāyāh* in the two cases which it repeats at all.

CHAPTER IV

STEMS IN A

1. Nominative and vocative plural in *ās* : *āsas*

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

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

yena devāso amṛtatvam ānakuh RV.: *yena devā amṛtam anv avindan* AV. *dhruvāsah* (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KA. TB. ApŚ.

SMB. MG. Here TB. ApŚ. compensate for the lost syllable by the patch-word *ha*.

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

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

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

ye devānām rtviṣo yajñīyāsah (and, *rtviṣo ye ca yajñīyāh*) AV. (both).

As between these two, it seems clear that *yajñīyāsah* is older, the other showing evidences of patch-work. But even it is certainly

secondary to: *ye devānām yajñīyā yajñīyānām* RV. The AV. introduces *rtviṣo*, 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:

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

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

mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durevāḥ (Ppp. *durevā yātudhānāḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp.: *mā tvā dabhan durevāsah kasokāḥ* AV.

punar agnayo dhiṣṇyā (ŚŚ. °*yāso*) [*yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV. *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva*, ŚŚ. *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva*)] AV. ŚB. BṛhU. ŚŚ.: *athaite dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ihaiva svāhā* HG.: *atho yatheme dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva* MG.: *ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read °*ntām*) 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 vipaścitaḥ RV.: *te pūtāso vip°* SV.

ye antarikṣa uta ye (Kauś. °*kṣe ye ca*) *divi śritāḥ* (Kauś. °*tāsah*) Kauś. MG. In different contexts. Pronouncing the *a* of *antarikṣe*, MG. makes a good jagati; eliding it, Kauś. makes a good tristubh. 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: *harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB. *dhṛṣṭā*) *marutevaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV. The ms. of Ppp. has *ṛṣamāṇāso ṛṣadā marutvan*, emended by Barret, JAOS. 35. 60, to *hṛṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā* (for which *dhṛṣṭā* or *hṛṣṭā* would seem at least equally possible) *marutvan*.

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

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

trayo għarmāso anu jyotiṣāguḥ (MS. KS. *retasāguḥ*) TS. MS. KS. ApMB.:
trayo għarmā anu reta āguḥ AV.

viśve devāso (AV. *devā*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* AV. Ppp. TS. MS. ApMB. Cf. also
viśve devāḥ sajoṣasaḥ AV. MS. TA.

ye devā (RV. VS. AB. AŚ. ŚB. *devāso*) *divy ekādaśa stha* RV. AV. VS.
 TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. MŚ. AŚ. Sāyana at AV. 19. 27. 11 appar-
 ently read *ye devā divyā divy ekādaśa stha*.

yena devāso (AV. *devā*) *asahanta dasyūn* RV. AV.

vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa (KS. *avasṛṣṭā*) *āhutaḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

devāso barhīr āsadan RV.: *devā barhīr āsata* PB.

te devāso (TS. *devā*) *yajñam imam* (Ppp. *havir idam*) *juṣadhvam* (AV.
juṣantām) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *te devāso havir idam*
juṣadhvam AV.

viśve devā iha mādayantām (KS. *vīrayadhvam*) TS. KS. TB.: *viśve devāsa*
iha vīrayadhvam (AV. *mādayadhvam*, VS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. *mādayan-*
tām) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. ApMB.

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

ye stha traya ekādaśāḥ (ŚŚ. *ekādaśāsaḥ*) 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.

śuddhā bhavata yajñīyāḥ AV.: *śuddhā bhavantaḥ śucayāḥ* (N. *bhavanto yajñīyāsaḥ*) *pāvakāḥ* AV. N. Cf. also *abhūma yajñīyāḥ śuddhāḥ* AV. Since *pāvakāḥ* must be read metrically *parākāḥ*, the line is triṣṭubh and the AV. reading is correct. Very likely N. intended it as jagatī, 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:

āmanasya devā (MS. *deva*) *ye putrāḥ* (KS. *putrāso*) . . . MS. KS.

2. Neuter plural in *ā* or *āni*

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

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

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

brahmacjyeṣṭhā sambhṛtā vīryāni AV.: *bra^a vīryā sambhṛtāni* TB.
sahyopayanto duritāni viśvā RV. MG.: *samlōbhayanto duritā padāni* AV.
atīkrāmantō duritā padāni (N. *duritāni viśvā*) AV. N.

§162. Sometimes the different ending goes with a different meter; and there is no clear reason for attributing greater originality to either: *indrasya vocam pra kṛtāni vīryā* RV.: *indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam* RV. Ppp. ArS. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.: *indrasya nu prā* (so read, see Whitney) *vocam vīryāni* AV. Jagati and triṣṭubh.

nakir asya pra minanti vratāni RV. AV.: *nakiṣṭa etā vratā minanti* RV. Triṣṭubh and dvipadā virāj.

sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS. MS. Jagati and triṣṭubh. Cf. also: *sa no nediṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (and, *havanāni joṣat*) KS. (both).

duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma MS.: *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS. TB. TA. Jagati and anuṣṭubh.

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

sa hi viśvāti (RV. **viśvāni*) *pārthivā* RV. (both) KS.

kṛtāni kartvāni ca RV.: *kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* RV.

atī (RV. **agne*) *viśvāni duritā tarema* (RV. **rājānah*, **svastaye*, **pipar-tana*, **tāni parṣan*) RV. (5 times) PB.

skannemā viśvā bhuvānā TB. TA. ApS.: *askannemā* (so text, for *skannemā* or *āsk^a?*) *viśvā bhūtāni* KŚ. Different words, *bhuvana* and *bhūta*, the latter being shorter and so requiring the longer ending.

āṇḍa śuṣṇasya bhedati RV.: *śuṣṇasyāṇḍāni bhedati* RV.

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

agnir havyāni siṣvadat RV.: *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV.

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

abhi yo víśvā (and, *abhi víśvāni*) *bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV. (both). See RVRep. 117.

lato vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu (AV. °nāni) *víśvā* RV. AV.

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

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

aṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanti Vait. and AVPpp., JAOS. 30. 221;

priyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayantiḥ TB. (probably secondary).

tatrāhatās trīni śatāni śaṅkavah AV.: *tasmīn sākam trīśatā na śaṅka-*
vah RV. N.

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

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

ata inoṣi karvarā purūṅṣi RV. AV. Ppp.; *ata invata karvarāṇi bhūri* AV.

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N. °nam) *akarma* (Ppp. MS. *kṛnomi*, KŚ. Kauś.
sadanāni santu) AV. Ppp. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *svagā vo*
devāḥ sadanam akarma (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.: *sugā vo*
devās sadanedam astu KS.

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

yatremā víśvā bhuvanādhi tasthuh RV. AV. N.: *yenemā víśvā bhuvanāni*
tasthuh TA.

yas tā vijānāt sa pītuh (TA. *savituh*) *pītāsāt* RV. AV. TA. N.: *yas tāni*
veda sa pītuh (VS. *pītuh*) *pītāsāt* AV. VS.

[*achidrā uśijah padānu lakṣuh* TS.: *achidrośijah kavayah padānutakṣi-*
ṣuh, em. from ms. *padāni lakṣiṣvat*, KS.]

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

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

priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūṅṣi (Vait. *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṅṣi*) TB. Vait.

punantu víśvā bhūtāni (MS. *bhūtā mā*, TB. *viśva āyavaḥ*) AV. VS. MS.
KS. TB.

śataṁ pavitrā vitatā hy (MS. *vitatāny*) āsu MS. ApŚ. ApMB.
ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (TS. MS. *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV. VS. TS.
 MS.

ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni cākṛpe AV. ŚirasU.: *yo rudro viśvā bhuvanāniveśa*
 TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Probably not a real variant.
prajāpate na tead etāny anyah (MS. **na hi teat tāny anyah*, KS. *nahi*
tead anya teta) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. SB. ŚB. TB. TAA.
 BṛhU. AŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. N.

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

hinvā (Vait. *hinvā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
 Vait.

aṣṭau śatā yon mitam tad vadanti ŚB.: *aṣṭau ca śatāni* [samvatsarasya, inserted in Gaastra with all but two mss.] *muhūrtān yān vadanti* GB.

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

viśvāny anyo (AV. *viśvānyo*) *bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (AV. MS. *bhuvanā vicaṣṭe*)
 RV. AV. MS. TB.

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

yasmīn viśvāni bhuvanāni (MS. *viśvā bhuvanādhi*) *lasthuḥ* RV. VS. MS.
 Cf. prec. but one; the unmetrical *viśvā* may have been influenced by *bhuvanā*, the first alteration (?).

tirāś cittāni (KS. ms. *cittā*) *vasavo jighāṁsāt* RV. AV. MS. KS.: *tirāḥ*
satyāni maruto jighāṁsāt TS. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *cittāni*, which seems rather arbitrary.

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

agnir vṛtrāṇi jaṅghanat RV. SV. etc. In Svidh. occurs the pratika: *agnir vṛtreti*, i.e. apparently, *vṛtrā-iti*. Perhaps a corruption.

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

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

abhi savaṇāni (TS. *savanā*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose in both. *ariṣṭāni me sarvātmānibhṛṣṭaḥ* AV.: *ariṣṭāni 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 vājebhiḥ (MS. *vājaiḥ*) *puruścandrair abhidhyubhiḥ* RV. AV. MS.† 2. 2. 6b: 20. 4. KS.

samjñānam naḥ (KS. *naḥ*, TB. *na*, Poona ed. *naḥ*) *svebhyah* (AV. *svebhiḥ*, TB. *svaiḥ*) RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. Followed by:

samjñānam arañebhyah (AV. *arañebhiḥ*, TB. *arañaiḥ*), same texts. The AV. forms in both these variants are not good metrically, but TB. is much worse.

tvasṭar devebhiḥ sahasāma indra ApMB.: *tvasṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* MG.

somo rudrair (TS. *rudrebhir*) *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?

gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvīnebhiḥ (MS. *pūrvēbhiḥ*) MS. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *gambhīraiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvyaiḥ* (AV. *pūrvāṇaiḥ*) AV. TS. HG. The meter requires *gambhīrebhiḥ* thruout. Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 63 suggests emendation of MS. to *pūrvyebhiḥ*, which was evidently the original on which TS. HG. *pūrvyaiḥ* 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: *aṅgirobhir ā gahī yajñīyebhiḥ* RV. TS. MS.: *aṅgirobhir yajñīyair ā gahīha* AV.

prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhiḥ (AV. *pūrvāṇaiḥ*) RV. AV. MS. AŚ. AG.

vīryebhir (MS. *vīrebhir*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci*°, Poona ed. *śavi*°) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

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

jambhyais (KS. °*bhyebhis*) *taskarān* (KS.† °*rān*) *ula* VS. TS. KS. In KS. the suffixal *y* is metrically inferior, being consonantal in pronunciation; perhaps KS. archaizes secondarily.
sajoṣā devair (VS. ŚB. *sajūr devebhir*) *avaruḥ paraiś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tebhiḥ tvam putram janaya ŚG.: *taiś tvam putram* (ApMB. *putrān*) *vindasva* AV. ApMB.: *taiś tvam garbhini bhava* HG. Note that ŚG. is forced to read *tram* as a monosyllable.

satyaṁ pūrvair (KS. *pūvebhir*) *ṛṣibhiḥ sanvidānaḥ* (KS.† °*bhiḥ cakṣpānaḥ*, ApŚ. °*bhiḥ cakupānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Here KS. spoils the meter.

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

mitrāvaruṇau dhiṣṇyaiḥ (KS. °*yebhir agnibhiḥ*) MS. KS.: *anḡiraso dhiṣṇyaiḥ agnibhiḥ* TA. (prose in the latter).

mṛdam barvaḥ (TS. *barsvebhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Prose. The majority are more apt to be original.

maṇḍūkāṁ jambhyebhiḥ (KSA. *jambhaiḥ*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

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

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

viśvakarmā tvādityair uttarataḥ (MS. KS. *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB.: *viśvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadadhatām* TA.

jāgrviś ca mārundhatī cottarād (MG. *collarato*) *gopāyatām* KS.† MG.† *tasmād* (ArS. VS. VSK. *tato*) *virād ajāyata* RV. ArS. VS. VSK. TA. *prāktād apāktād* (AV. *prākto apākto*) *adharād udaktāt* (AV. *udaktah*) RV. AV.

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

§174. Only one or two dubious cases:

agner jihvām abhi (MS. *jihvābhi*, p.p. *jihvām, abhi*; AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*)

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

svāreṣayā (VS. ŚB. °*veṣā*) *tanvā samvīśasva* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Wackernagel 3 p. 118 supra takes *svāreṣā* as instr., as the parallel suggests. But below, §415, we have suggested taking it as nom.

[*āśīrdāyā dampatī vāmam aśnutām* TS.: *yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS.: *yam āśīrā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* TS.: *yayāśīṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* AV. Keith takes *āśīrdāyā* as dual adj. with *dampatī*; we prefer to take it for *āśīrdāyāyā* with Wackernagel 3 p. 116 infra. In any case there is no variation between case-forms *ā* and *ayā*; rather *-dāyā* and *-dā* are from the different stems *-dāyā* and *-dā*.]

CHAPTER V

SHORT AND LONG *i* STEMS

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

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

1. *ī* forms from *i* stems

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

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

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

ayās cāgne 'sy anabhiśastiś (AŚ. ApMB. HG. °āś) ca MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

abhiṣṭīr (HG. °ṣṭīr) yā ca me dhruvā (HG. ca no grhe) RVKh. HG.

plāśīr (TB. °śīr) vyaktah śatadhāra utsah VS. MS. KS. TB.

vīśvā abhiṣṭīh pṛtanā jayati MS.: *vīśvā hi bhūyāh pṛtanā abhiṣṭīh* TS.

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

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

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

§178. Nom. sg. in *ī* from *i* stems. The forms in which *ī* of the *devī* type is substituted for *i* 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:

ātīr (TA. KSA. *āti*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāh*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Stem *āti* is Rigvedic.

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

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

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

rantīr asi TS.: *rantī ramatīh sūnuh sūnari* ApŚ.: *vasē rantīh sumandh* MS.: *sumanmā vasē rantī sūnari* SV. JB. But the SV. is very uncertain; it may be taken with the comm. as a dual; see Benfey, Glossar, s. v. *ram*. The form *rantī* of ApŚ. is for *rantis* by the usual sandhi.

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

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

ākūtim devīm subhagām (TB. *manasaḥ*) *puro dadhe* AV. TB.: *skūtīm devīm manasā prapadye* SMB. Perhaps *i* in SMB. by form-attraction to *devīm*.

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim ula RV. AV.: *kraten vare sthemany āmurim ula* SV. Here the meter favors *i*, and is perhaps responsible for the SV. form.

§180. Voc. sg. in *i* from *i* stems. We find a number of cases in which the regular voc. *e* in *i* stems is replaced by *i*, from the *i* declension:

pūrṇā darvī (AV. MS. *darve*) *parā patā* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. In RV. only stem *darvī*.

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

abhy enam bhūma ūrṇuhi (TA. *bhūmi vṛṇu*) RV. AV. TA. Cf. prec. *iḍe rante* 'dīte *sarasvatī priye preyaś mahi viśruti* TS.: *iḍe rante* (MŚ. *rante juṣṭe*) *sarasvatī mahi viśrute* PB. MŚ. The form *viśruti* may be formally assimilated to *mahi* (and *sarasvatī*?).

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

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

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

devavīṭaye (MS. °vīṭyai) *tvā* (KS. *vo*) *grhṇāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ApŚ.: *devatābhyaḥ tvā devavīṭaye grhṇāmi* KS. Only MS. is intended to be metrical.

ṛṇaye (TB. *ṛṇyai*) *stenahṛdayam* VS. TB.

anuṣṭup (TB. °uk) *pañktyai* (MŚ. *pañktaye*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

bhūtyai (AŚ. *bhūṭaye*) *namah* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. AŚ.

adītyai (ŚG. °ṭaye) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ŚG.

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatrīyai (etc.) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. omit) 'bhībhūṭaye (TS. ApŚ. *abhibhūṭyai*, ŚŚ. 'bhībhṛtyai, KŚ. 'bhībhṛtyai) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

vasyaṣṭaye (misprinted *vaspa*°) *tvā* IŚ.: *vasyaṣṭyai tvā* Vait.

cittaye svāhā HG.: *cittyai svāhā* ApŚ.

gopīthāya vo nārātaye MS.: *bhātāya tvā nārātaye* VS. ŚB.: *rakṣāyai tvā nārātīyai* KS.: *sphātīyai tvā nārātīyai* TS. TB. ApŚ.

anumataye (TB. °tyai) *svāhā* ŚB. TB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. Kauś.: *asūyantyai cānumatyai ca svāhā* AŚ.

svargēyāya (VSK. *sva*°) *śaktyai* (VSK. ŚvetU. *śaktyā*) VSK. TS. ŚvetU.: *svargyāya śaktyā* (MS. *śakṭaye*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Metrical; *śaktyai* three syllables.

§183. A couple of infinitive variants in *e* : *ai* may be added here, altho they are probably not really comparable. The origin of the *ai* of certain infinitive forms is really unexplained; that *-dhyai* is formed by affixing the dative ending (IĒ. °ai or °ei =) Skt. *e* to a stem final °dhyā or °dhyā, as commonly assumed, is hardly more than a placebo, and still less likely is it that the frequent ending *-tavai* (with double accent, on stem and ending both) is from a stem °tāvā or °tāvā, since the parallel and similar *-tave* obviously belongs to stem *tu* (see below, §238). But whatever be the history of these forms, the important

point for our purposes is that from RV. on the infinitive of this type is always *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 uśmasi gamadhye TS.: *tā* (VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Two mss. of KS. also have *gamadhye*.

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

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

yonyā (TA. *yoner*) *iva pracyuto garbhaḥ* AV. TA.

eṣā teā pātu nirṛter upasthāt (TA. *nirṛtyā upasthe*, AV. *prapathe purastāt*) RV. AV. TA.

sūryāyā ādho 'dityā (VSK.† KS.† *adityā*, MŚ. *ādhar aditer*, KS. *ādho aditer*) *upasthe* VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

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

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

aśsau grīdāś ca śronyau (VS. *śronī*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

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

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

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

upa (TS. MS. *upo*) *devān daivīr viśaḥ prāgūr vahnaya* (TS. *vahnīr*) *uśijah* (VS. ŚB. *prāgūr uśijo vakailamān*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

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

ṛtūn prṣṭibhiḥ (KSA. *prṣṭibhiḥ*, ms. *lhiḥ*?) TS. KSA. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2. 359, take *prṣṭi* for an *ī* stem, but the usual theory (e.g. Wackernagel 3 p. 136) that makes it an *i* stem is more plausible.

prṣṭibhiyah (KSA. *prṣṭiḥ*?) *svāhā* TS. KSA. See prec.

svāhākṛtibhiyah (TS. ApŚ. *ṛtibhiyah*) *preṣya* TS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Most MŚ. mss. *ṛtibhiyah*.

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

§189. Instr.-dat.-abl. dual in *ibhiyām* from *i* stems. The forms *akṣibhiyām* and *śronibhiyām* 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 *akṣi*, *śroni*. If other *ī* forms from short *i* stems were unknown, or even rare, this suggestion might be considered. But since just the opposite is the case, we see no reason to look for any more specific motivation of these dual forms. Note that the stem *śroni* even has a nom. dual *śronyau*, following the (*vṛki*, or later) *devī* declension (§185).

aucakṣā aham akṣibhiyām (MG. *akṣiḥ*?) *bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG. N. In the older language the form with *ī* is commoner than that with *i*.

mitrāvaruṇau śronibhyām (KSA, °ṇi°) TS. KSA.

śronibhyām (TS, °ṇi°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

yakṣmaṇ śronibhyām (ApMB, °ṇi°, v. 1. °ṇi°) *bhāsadāt* RV. AV. ApMB.:
ya° bhasadyaṇ śronibhyām bhāsadam AV.

2. *i* stems of uncertain quantity

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

vi te bhīnadmi takarīm (KS, °*rim*, AV. *mehanam*, PPP. *tagarim* [Roth])
 AV. TS. KS. ApS.

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

īmām kṣanāmy oṣadhīm (ApMB, °*dhīm*) RV. AV. ApMB.
oṣadhībhyah (ŚG, °*dhī°*; sc. *namah*) MG. ŚG.

§193. As to the nom. pl., the forms *ayas* and *is* 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:

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

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

yā oṣadhīh pūrvā jātāh RV. VS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. N.: *yā oṣadhayah prathamajāh* MS. KS. MŚ. MG.: *yā jātā oṣadhayah* TS. TB. ApS.

Note that MS. etc. by a further change make passable meter.

kalpantām āpa oṣadhayaḥ (TS. TB. °dhīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

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

śam no bhavantu āpa oṣadhayaḥ (AV.* °dhīḥ) śivāḥ AV. (bis). (Read *apa* at 2. 3. 6; see Whitney's note.) The meter is certainly better with *is*.

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

śam oṣadhayo rasena VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *śam oṣadhībhir oṣadhīḥ* VS. ŚB. Probably not real variants; both metrically passable.

oṣadhayaḥ (RV. VS. °dhīḥ) *prācucyavuh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The RV. original is here rather poor metrically (Oldenberg suggests *prācu*°), and the change to *-ayaḥ* was doubtless meant to improve it. *indrāgnī dyāvāprthivī āpa oṣadhīḥ* (KS. °dhayaḥ) TS. KS.: *sūryāgnī dyāvāprthivī uro antarikṣāpa oṣadhayaḥ* MS. Vocatives. This is the only prose variant; the isolated TS. is apt to be secondary.

3. *i* forms from *ī* stems

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

§195. Nom. sg. in *is*:

tato rātry (TA. *rātrir*) *ajāyata* RV. TA. ManānU. Two mss. of MahānU. *rātrir*.

rātri (TB. *rātri*, KS. v. l. *rātriḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. °ḡi) RV. KS. TB. Voc. in RV.

śam rātri (VS. *rātriḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātriḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA. On VS. see §206.

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

rātrim-rātrim (MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MG. *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MG.

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

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

rātrīm dhenum ivāyafim (AV. *upāyafim*) AV. HG. ApMB.: *rātrīm dhe^o ivā^o* SMB. PG. MG.

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

ye rātrīm (KS. *rātrīm*) *anutīṣṭhanti* (KS.† *ṣṭhatha*) AV. KS.

§197. Nom. pl. in *ayas*:

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

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

Acc. sg. in *im*:

varūtrīm (KS.† *varutrīm*) *tvastur varuṇasya nābhīm* TS. KS.: *varūtrīm tvastur varuṇasya nābhīm* VS. ŚB.: *tvastur varutrīm varuṇasya nābhīm* MS.

Nom. pl. in *ayas*:

varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr . . . TS.: *varūtrīṣ tvā* (KS. *ṛtrīs tvā*) *devīr viśva-devyāvatīḥ* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. Wackernagel l. c. suggests that *varūtrayas* is influenced by the adjoining *janayas*. But this will not explain the other variants here.

varūtrīr avayan KS.: *varūtrayas tvāvayan* ApŚ.

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

veṣāsrīr (TS. *ṣrīr*) *asī* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait. LŚ. Wackernagel l. c. suggests influence of the neighboring *vasyaṣṭīr asī* in TS.

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

namaḥ senābhyah *senānibhyaś* (VS. TS. *ṇibhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. See VV 2 §527 and (for the same shortening of the stem in composition) §523.

namah śvanibhyo (MS. *śvanī°*)...VS. MS. KS.: *namo mṛgayubhyaḥ śvanibhyaś ca vo namah* TS. See VV 2 §528. Boehtlingk's postulation of a stem *śvanin* 'having dogs' is most implausible, particularly in view of *śenānibhyaś* 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 *ih* for *i*:

prati tvā parvatī (TS. TB. °*tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *settu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. One ms. of KS. *parvatī*.

nārīr asi VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA. MŚ.: *nāry asi* VS. KS. ŚB. The stem *abhrīr* or *babhrīr* almost always found in the context may have caused form assimilation (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

ambā ca bulā ca nītatnī ca...MS.: *ambā dūlā nītatnīr*...TS. In AV. 6. 136. 1 *nītatnī* 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 *skambhani* (°*nī*) is variously given. Maedonell, *VGr.* §375A3, implausibly thinks that it is a epd. of *skambha* and the root-noun *nī*. We prefer to hold (with BR. and Wackernagel 3 p. 183) that it is fem. to RV. *skāmbhana*. If the accent of VS. VSK. (*skambhani*°, TS. °*nī*) is correct, the rule would require *ṛkī* declension, so that in our variant VS. would be regular, VSK. irregular. KS. has no accents in this mantra but in 2.7 accents *skāmbhani*, 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*) *skambhanir* (VS. ŚB. °*nīr*, VSK.† KS.† °*ny*) *asi* VS. VSK. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. In KS. 1. 6 read *skambhany asi dhānyam asi*, acc. to note on KS. 31. 5.

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

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

devānām patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *dīśāś* (MS. KSA.† *viśāś*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The meter requires three syllables; *patnayāś* is otherwise familiar (Wackernagel 3 p. 183 f.).

nārīs (VS. *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS. *patnyo*) *loma* VS. TS. KSA. *mahānāmni revatayah* TS. MS. KSA.: *mahānāmnyo revatyāś* VS. See Wackernagel 3 p. 184.

§203. Instr. pl. in *ibhis* for *ibhis*:

śamibhiḥ śamyantu tvā VS.: *śimibhiḥ* (KSA.† *imi*°) *śimyanu tvā* TS. KSA.

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

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

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

4. Interchanges between different *i* declensions

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

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

adurmanāgalīḥ (AV. °li, Ppp. °liḡ) *patilokam ā viśa* (AV. *viśemam*) RV. AV. Ppp. SMB. ApMB.

gaurīr (AV. *gaur in*, TB. TA. *gaurī*) *mināya salilāni takṣati* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

viśvarūpā śabalīr (KS. *śovaly*) *agniketuh* TS. KS. PG.

śinhīr asi TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *śinhy asi* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.: *śinhīr* (KS. *śinhy*) *asi rāyaspoṣavaniḥ* TS. MS. KS.: *śinhīr* (VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. *śinhy*) *asi sapatnasūhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. KŚ.: *śinhīr* (KS. *śinhy*) *asi suprajāvaniḥ svāhā* TS. MS. KS.: *śinhy asi suprajāvaniḥ rāyaspoṣavaniḥ svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *śinhīr* (VS. KS. ŚB. *śinhy*) *asi ādityavaniḥ* (MS. adds *sojātavaniḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mahiṣīr (KS. °ḡy) *asi* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. On this see Lanman, *NI.* 368.

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

saṁhītāsi viśvarūpī (TS. ApS. °*plh*) VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApS. As in the KS. form of the preceding, VS. accents the word on the ending, as if it were a *vrkī* form.

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

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

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

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

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

vāmī (KapS. *vāmyā*) *te saṁdṛśī viśvaṁ reto dheṣṭīya* (KS. KapS. *dhiṣṭīya*) *tava vāmīr* (KS. KapS. *vāmy*) *anu saṁdṛśī* MS. KS. KapS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇīyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu saṁdṛśī viśvā retānsi dhiṣṭīya* TS.† Keith's translation of TS. is scarcely possible. We must apparently take *vāmī* : *vāmīr* as nom. sg. fem., and *anu* as adverbial; *dhā* middle with *retas*, as commonly with *garbham*. 'Lovely in thy sight, may I receive all seed, lovely furthermore (or, again) in thy sight', MS. KS.: 'lovely in the sight of thee, O Agni, that art all, possessest all, hast virile power, furthermore may I receive all seeds', TS.

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

§208. The nouns *śrī* and *lakṣmī*, nom. sg. Two variants in the same passage concern these two words, the one a monosyllabic *ī* stem, the other originally a *ṛkī* noun, so that both should have nom. in *s*, and do so in Classical Sanskrit, where *lakṣmī* is the only *ṛkī* 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:

śrīr me bhajātu TA.: *śrī me bhajata* MahānU. Followed by: *ṭalakṣmīr me naśyatu* TA.: *alakṣmī me naśyata* MahānU.

§209. Dat. sg. in *ai* (of *devī* type) from *ṛkī* and *śrī* nouns. The *devī* ending in this and other oblique cases is well known as an alternative form in Classical Sanskrit with monosyllabic *ī* stems. So in the Vedic *ṛkī* 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 meṣyai VS. ŚB.: *sugam meṣāya meṣyai* (RV. *meṣye*) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. On mss. of KS. *meṣye*. It may be noted that TS. MS. KS. read *meṣyai*, retaining the accent of *meṣye*, while VS. VSK. ŚB. accent *meṣyai*, as is proper for a *devī* form.

vegaśriyai (LŚ. °*ye*) *tvā* Vait. LŚ. Add to VV 2 §705.

śriyai (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vellavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) MG. ApMB.

§210. Abl. sg. in *as* (of *ṛkī* type) from *devī* noun. Contrariwise, a *devī* stem shows a *ṛkī* 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?):

āyugmatyā (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tya*) *ṛco mā gāta* (Vait. *māpagāyā*, Kauś. *mā satsi*) *tanūpāt* (ŚŚ. °*pāh*) *sāmnah* (AŚ. *sāmna om*) TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Kauś.: *āyugmatyā ṛco mā chaitsi* etc. JB.

§211. Loc. sg. in *yām* and *ī*. We find one stray variant in which AV. shows *ī* against RV. *yām*. Wackernagel 3 pp. 168, 170, admits only *yām* for *devī* nouns and only *ī* for *ṛkī* 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 Atharva-veda* p. 49.

āṣṭryām (AV. *āṣṭrī*) *paṭam kṛṇute agnidhāne* RV. AV. MG. The accent is on the final in both RV. AV.

§212. Nom.-acc. dual in *yau* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns. In this case the original *vrkī* ending began to displace the old *ī* of *devī* stems as early as AV., and became universal in classical Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p. 175). As we saw above (§185), it even affected sporadically short *ī* stems.

ghṛtācī stho dhuryau pātam VS. ŚB.: *ghṛtācyau stho yajamānasya dhuryau pātam* MŚ.

pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau (TB. ApŚ. °vī) VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *oṣadhya* (!) *vaiṣṇave* [from *ā* stem] *sthaḥ* MŚ.

yadārāghaṭī (read *yadā rā*²) *varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākṣāṭīyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.

An obscure n. pr.

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

tisro rohiṇīr (KSA. *rohiṇyo*, ms. *rau*²) *vaśā maitriyaḥ* (KSA. °tryaḥ) TS.

KSA. To be added to VV 2 §§728, 791.

tisro rohiṇīs (KSA. °nyas) *tryanyas tū vasūnām* TS. KSA.

rohiṇīs (VS. °nyas) *tryavayo vāce* VS. MS.

pañcāviś (KSA. °vyas) *tisra ādityānām* TS. KSA.

anyataenyo maitriyaḥ (MS. °nīr maitriḥ) VS. MS.

pāvamānīḥ (RVKh. TB. YDh. °nyaḥ) *punantu naḥ* (*tvā, mā, te*) SV.

RVKh. TB. MG. YDh.

nāris (VS. *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS. *patnyo*) *loma* VS. TS. KSA.

devīr vamrīr asya bhuvanasya (TS.† *bhūtasya*) *prathamajā ṛtāvarīḥ* MS.

TA.: *devyo vamryo* (VSK. *vamriyo*) *bhūtasya prathamajā makhasya vo 'dya śiro rūdhyāsaṁ* . . VS. VSK. ŚB. Voc.

tisraḥ śilpā vaśā vaiśvadevyāḥ TS. KSA.: *śilpā vaiśvadevīḥ* (VS. °devyaḥ) VS. MS.†

mahānāmni revatyaḥ TS. MS. KSA.: *mahānāmnyo revatyāḥ* VS.

tāḥ prācyā (Vait. °yaḥ, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† °hīre, Vait. *saṁjigāire*) Vait. KŚ. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

phalavatyo (MS. KSA. °vaṭr) *na oṣadhayaḥ pacyantām* VS. MS. KSA.

ŚB.: *phalīnyo na* . . TS. TB.

yasyā (RVKh. VS. *yasyām imā*) *bahvyaś tanvo vitaprṣṭhāḥ* RVKh. VS. MS.: *yasyai bahvīś tanvo vitaprṣṭhāḥ* TB.

devānām patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśaḥ* (MS. KSA.† *viśaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

yā devīr antān abhīto 'dadanta AV.: *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhīto*. . . MG.: *yāś ca devīr antān*. . . ApMB. HG.: *yāś ca devīś tantūn* (SMB. *devyo antān*) . . . PG. SMB. See VV 2 §63.

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

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

dūrehetīḥ patatrī vājīnīdān MŚ. MG.: *dūrehetīr indriyāvān* (PB.† *°yavān*) *patatrī* (PG. *°trīḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

tan no dantī (TA. *dantīḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Stem *dantī* otherwise unrecorded.

vyānāśīḥ (SV. *°śī*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmānā*) RV. SV. *suparṇo avyathīr* (SV. *°thī*) *bharat* RV. SV. Pāṇ. 3. 2. 157 records *avyathīn*.

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

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

6. Alternative case endings within the same declension

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

yah samidhā ya āhuti (KS. °*tyā*) RV. KS. AŚ. AG.

drābhyām iṣṭaye viśatya (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °*satī*) ca AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

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

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

sam sūribhir maghavan (RV. MS. KS. *harivah*, AV.† *harivan*) *sam svastyā* (RV. *svasti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

tēna yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS.: *tenaitu yajamānāḥ svasti* (KS.* ApŚ. °*tyā*) TS. KS. (both) ApŚ.

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

pretinā dharmaṇā (MS. *pretyā dharmāṇe*) *dharmāṇ jinva* VS. MS. ŚB. *vṛkṣam ivāśanyā* (HG. °*ninā*) *jahi* AV. HG.

cāṣeṇa kikidīvina (MS. °*divyā*) RV. VS. MS. KS.

maṇinā (KS. *maṇyā*) *rūpāni* TS. KS. KSA.

§219. The stem *patī* 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 marutaḥ sudānava (KS. *svatavasa*) *enā viśpatinābhy amuṁ rājānam* TS. KS.: *preta marutaḥ svatavasa enā viśpatyāmum rājānam abhi* MS. MŚ.

agne grhapate sugrhapatir aham teayā (with varr.) *grhapatinā* (VSK. °*patyā*) *bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

sugrhapatir mayā tvam (with varr.) *grhapatinā* (VSK. °*tyā*) *bhūyāh*, same texts.

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

ito mukṣiya mā pateh ApŚ.: *mṛtyor mukṣiya mā patyuh* MŚ.: *preto muñcatu mā pateh* PG.†

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

agne tam sūktavāg asy upaśruti (MS. °ti, TB. *upaśrito*) *divas* (TB. *divah*) *prthivyah* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§221. Loc. sg. in *ā* : *au*. On the original distinction see Wackernagel 3 p. 152 f.; *au* belongs to the position before a pause (contrary to the usage in the nom.-acc. dual, §128), and internally before a vowel (being then represented by *ā* before *u* vowels, *āu* before others, in RV. SV. VS.; for other schools see VV 2 p. 414), while *ā* 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 *ā*.

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

aya(h)ethūnam (TS. °ndv) *udītau* (RV. °tā) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. *śīdan yonā* (SV. *yonau*) *vaneṣu ā* RV. SV.

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

sattā nī yonā (SV. *yonau*) *kalāṣeṣu śīdati* RV. SV.

devo narāṣaṅso 'gnau (ŚŚ.† 'gnā) *vasuvane*... AŚ. ŚŚ.

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

[*mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito* (AV. °cittā, MS. °cittau) *nikāriṇah* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The accent of AV. *pūrvacittā* corresponds neither with *pūrvacito* nor with *pūrvacittau*. Following p.p. it is usually taken as nom. pl., for °cittāh, 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 *in*. 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 *sīnasim* 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 *dyumnah* (TS. KS. *satyam*) *citraśravasīnam*:

aro (TS. MS. KS. TA. *śravo*) *devasya sāsasi* (TS. TA. *°sim*) RV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. TA.

[*mā me hārdi* (MŚ. *hārdim*) *triṣā* (MŚ. *triṣā*) *vadhīḥ* TS. MŚ. But here the different, masculine stem *hārdi* would be meant, if MŚ. really intended *hārdim* (three mss. *hārdi*).]

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

CHAPTER VI

LONG AND SHORT *u* STEMS

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

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

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

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

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

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

phalgūr (KSA. °*gur*) *lohitornī balakṣī* (with varr., §206) *tāḥ śārasvatyaḥ*
VS. TS. MS. KSA.

śundhyur (VS. TS. °*yūr*) *asī mārjāliyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

avasyūr (VS. ŚB. °*yūr*) *asī duvasvān* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ. MS.
v. l. °*yūr*.

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

devāśrud imān pravape MS. MŚ.: *devāśrūr etāni pravape* TS. HG.

devāśrut tvam deva gharma devo devān pāhi (MS. *gharma devān pāhi*
lapojān) VS. MS. ŚB.: *devāśrūs tvam deva gharma devān pāhi* TA.
ApŚ.

havanāśrun (TB. *hāvanāśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhī* RV. TB.

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

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

virudhah pārayiṣṭvāh (TS. MS. KS. °*navah*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. *lasya prajā apsarasā bhīrutvāh* (MS. *bhīravo nāma*) TS. MS.

sumnāyuvah (KS. °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnāh* (KS. °*nyam*) *dhatta* MS. KS. *tad viprāso vipanyavah* (SV. °*yuvah*) RV. SV. VS. NṛpU. VāsuU.

SkandaU. ĀraṇU. MuktiU.

tā vām gīrbhīr vipanyavah (SV. °*yuvah*) RV. SV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

§231. Among the variants occur chiefly compounds of monosyllabic ('radical') nouns in original *ū*; in addition there is one case of *tanuḥ* varying with *tanūḥ*, 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 *uḥ* (two texts) varies with *ūḥ* (one text; cf. *ibid.*). Nearly all the forms are of masculine or neuter gender, as is to be expected. Only three cases are represented: nom. sg., dat. sg., and nom. pl. In the two latter the phonetic moment of *a* : *u* before *v* plays a rôle; see VV 2 §§601, 604, and above §229.

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

iyam te yajñiṇā tanūh (VSK. *tanuh*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ApŚ.: *iyam* (VS. ŚB. *egā*) *te kukra tanūr* . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agnih sadakṣaḥ sultanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ. Masc. adjectives.

ābhūr (MS. KS. *ābhūr*) *asya nṣaṅgathih* (VS. °*dhih*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Masc.

śambhūr (KS. °*bhur*) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Masc.; note retention of *ū* in *mayobhūr* in KS.

vibhūr (PB. *vibhur*) *asī pravāhaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. MŚ.† HG. Masc.

vibhūr (KSA. *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA. *prabhuḥ*) *pitṛā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Masc.

sumnahūr (KS.† °*hur*) *yajña* (TS. *yajño devān*) *ā ca vakṣat* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. ŚB. MŚ. Oertel 139. Add to VV 2 §554.

śitipāc chityoṣṭhaḥ śitibhrus (KSA.† °*bhrūs*) . . TS. KSA. Masc. Add to VV 2 §554.

§233. Dat. sg. in *ave* from *ū* stems. Only in masc. and neut. compounds of *bhū*. The writing *ave* for *re* concerns phonetics; see VV 2 §789.

abhibhūve (MS. *abhibhve*, KS. *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *vibhūve* (KS.† *vibhave*, MS. *vibhve*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

samreśāyopaveśāya . . °*bhibhūve* (MŚ. °*bhibhave* . .) *svāhā* KS. MŚ.: *ariṣṭyā avyathyai* . . °*bhibhūve svāhā* KS. Add to VV 2 §604.

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

śitibhravo (MS. °*bhruvo*) *vasūnām* VS. MS. Cf. last variant in prec. § but one.

samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ RV.: *samudraṁ na suhavaṁ* (AV. *subhuvas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhavaṁ*) *tasthivāṁsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *māhiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ tasthivāṁsam* MS. Ppp. reads as MS. except *subhavas*, for which Barret emends *subhuvas*, suggesting also *subhuvaṁ* (JAOS. 35. 46); *subhavas* would do perhaps as well as *subhuvas*, altho the AV. comm. understands the word as fem. (if the nom. is to be retained it is not clear what it refers to, so that the gender is uncertain; in RV., perhaps not a real variant of this passage, *subhvaḥ* is fem.; the acc. form must be masc.).

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

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

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

savitṛā prasūtā dānyā āpa undantu te tanūm (VSK. *tanvaṁ*; the *jaṭā-pāṭha* has *tanūm*) *dirghāyutvāya varcase* VSK. KŚ. PG.

svayā tanvā tanvam airayat AV.: *svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata* MS.

AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA.: *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS. *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ.

na te tanūm tanvā saṁ papreyām AV.: *na vā u te tanvā tanvaṁ* (AV. *te tanūm tanvā*) *saṁ papreyām* RV. AV.

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

śam v astu tanvai tava VS.: *śam u te tanve* (TS. *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS. KSA.:

śam astu tanve mama AV. In VS. the svarita accent is retained in *tanvāi*.

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB. *tanvai*) *eyonah* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

saṁveśanas tanuvai (SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*) *cāruṣ edhi* SV. KS. TB. TA.

ApŚ. MŚ. In the accented texts (TB. TA.) the svarita accent of *tanve* is retained in *tanvāi*.

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

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

agneṣ tvā mātrayā... jīvātave TS. KS.: *agneṣ tvā mātrayā... jīvātvai* MS.

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

havyāyāsmāi voḍhave (KS. °*vai*) *jātavedaḥ* TS. MS. KS. Kauś.

puṁse putrāya vettavai (ŚB. BrhU. *vittaye*, KS.† *kartave*, MG. *kartavai*, v. 1. °*ve*) KS. ŚB. TB. BrhU. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.

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

agne yan me tanvā (TS. *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚS. *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan...*

VS. TS. ŚB. ŚS. PG.: *yan me agna ūnam tanvas tan...* MS. KS.

The accented texts (VS. TS. ŚB.) retain the svarita accent of the older *tanvās* (TS. *tanūvā*).

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

svān yat tanūm tanvām airayata MS. AA. AŚ. ŚS.: *svayā tanvā tanvām*

airayat AV.: *svā yat tanū tanvām airayata* KS. KSA.: *svayām yat*

tanvām (TS. *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ. As above, the

svarita accent is retained in accented texts (TS. *tanūvām*).

[*svayām tītanūn* (RV. *tanū*)... RV. ApMB. MG. Knauer mistakenly regards *tanūn* as a 'shortening' of *tanvām*; but see VV 2 §308.]

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

mānda vāśāḥ kundhyār (KS. *kundhyavo*) *ajirāḥ* TS. KŚ. Nom. pl. fem.

adjective; the ending *ās* is anomalous in either *u* or *ū* stems, and

is clearly due to the analogy of *devī* forms; more specifically, to the parallel *īs* (and *ās*?) forms in the context.

4. Alternative case endings within the same declension

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

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

kratvān rihanti madhunābhy (SV. *madhvābhy*) *aijate* RV. AV. SV.

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

madhvah (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayāḥ* RV. SV.

madhvah (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavusva dhārāyā* RV. SV.

madhvah (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pibanti gauriyāḥ* RV. SV. AV. MS.

madhvah (VS.* MS. ŚB. TA. IŚ. *madhoḥ*) *pibatam aśvinā* RV. VS.

(both) MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚS. IŚ.

madhvaḥ (AV. SV. *madhoḥ*) *cakānaḥ cārur madāya* AV. SV. AŚ. ŚS.

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

ed u madhvo (SV. PB. *madhor*) *madintaram* RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚS.

vasvaḥ (TB. TA. MahānU. *vasoḥ*) *kuvid vandti naḥ* RV. KS. TB. TA. MahānU.

vasor vaso puruṣpr̥hāḥ SV.; *vaso vasvaḥ puruṣpr̥hāḥ* RV.

§245. Loc. sg. in *ā* : *vī* (*vi*), and in *vī* : *vī*.

śrucīva ghytām camvīva (TB. ApŚ. *camū iva*) *somaḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The loc. of this word is otherwise *camū* in RV. The isolated *camvīva* is parallel to and perhaps influenced by *śrucīva*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 188. Yet the similar *tanvī* is regular.

na dhr̥asmānas tanvī (TS. *tanvī*) *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 (*kavis* span the yokes etc.) before the gods, before (presumably = for the benefit of) the pious man.'

dhīrā deveṣu (KS.* *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV. °*ya*, VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.

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

§248. Nom. acc. pl. neuter in *u* : *ūnī* (: *ū*). *viśvā vasu* (TS. ApMB. *vasūnī*) *dadhīre vāryānī* RV. VS. TS. KS. ApMB. (KS. v. 1. *vasū*.) The meter is better in the original form; *vasūnī*, the later and secondary reading, makes the cadence difficult.

[*sam gṛbhāya purū* (TB. *puru*, Poona ed. *purā*) *śatā* RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.]

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

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

prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvam (MŚ. ^{°vām}) *hutam 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 *tanūn*, loc. sg., for *tanū*, see VV 2 §308.

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

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

§251. Alternative writing of *uv* and *e* in stem final of *u* and *ū* 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, *HOS.* 18, cxli, cxlviii); the variants show the same form sporadically in TA. and MS. It should be noted that ApŚ. according to Garbe's text (which reports no variants) fails to follow TS. in this respect in its two variants. Is this due to editorial carelessness?

svāveśo 'sy agregā netṛnām (TS. *netṛ°*) TS. MS. KS.: *agregṇīr asi svāveśa unnetṛnām* VS. ŚB. Three mss. of MS. also *netṛ°*.

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

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

pitṛnām (TS. *pitṛ°*) *sadanam asi* TS. ApŚ.

devānām tvā pitṛnām (ApŚ. *pitṛ°*) *anumato bhartum śakeyam* TA. ApŚ. *yā no dadāti śravaṇam pitṛnām* KS.: *sā no dadātu śravaṇam pitṛnām* (TS. *pitṛ°*) TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

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

prajānanam vai pratiṣṭhā...pitṛnām (TA. Poona ed. *pitṛ°*, v. l. *pitṛ°*)... TA. MahānU.

astāy agnir narām (MS. *nṛnām*) *sūsevaḥ* RV. VS. MS. Both these genitives of *nṛ* are Rigvedic.

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

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

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

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

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

asamrṣṣo jāyase mātroh (TB. *mātrvoḥ*) *śuciḥ* 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 (*guṇa*) grade, varies with *ā* which on its face is *vṛiddhi* grade, tho it may be actually due to secondary analogy of one sort or another. The same *guṇa* form in *a* may also vary in weak cases with zero grade. We begin with a case of nom. sg. masc. of a stem in *-sad*, lengthened to *-sād* in two texts. It has been noted in VV 2 §499 that the grammars do not recognize ablaut in this stem:

viśvā āsā dakṣiṇasat (AB. AŚ. **sāt*, ŚŚ. *dakṣiṇataḥ*, LŚ. *dakṣiṇadhak*) VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

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

anaḍvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. Note *anaḍvāns* in the same *pāda*.

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

dvīpac catuṣpad (AV. Ppp. VS. Kauś. *dvīpāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. VSK. TS. Kauś.

dvīpac catuṣpad (SV. *dvīpāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV. SV.

yachā naḥ śarma saprathāḥ (VS. KS. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. **thāḥ*) RV.

VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.: *yachāśmai śarma saprathāḥ* 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 *śarma*, it seems best to take it so here in all texts, tho it would be possible to understand *saprathās* as a fem., agreeing with the subject of *yachā*, the earth (so apparently Keith on TS.). Cf. VV 2 §502.

[*śarmā* (TA. **ma*) *saprathā āvr̥ṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathāḥ* AV. But all mss. of AV. **thāḥ*, which should be read; VV 2 §502.]

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

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

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

ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayāsā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. Cf. also *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe*, with variants, below §416, and VV 2 §502.

§260. The stem *vṛṣan* regularly has no vridhhi in its strong cases. But occasionally, by analogy with other *n* stems, such forms as *vṛṣāṇas* occur (Wackernagel 3 p. 267):

vṛṣāṇah (TB. *vṛṣāṇah*) *samidhīmahi* 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*) *adyāne acāriṣam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ. MG. ApMB. Note that RV. itself has *āpo* as acc.

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

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

rakṣoghno (MŚ. MŚ. add *vo*) *valagaghnaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* MS. KS.

ApŚ. MŚ.: *rakṣohaṇo* (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahanaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ.*† *vaiṣṇavam*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. (bis).

rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vasiñcāmi' (and, 'vāstrñāmi') *vaiṣṇavān* KS. (bis):

rakṣohaṇo (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahano* 'vāstrñāmi' *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 *vahato* . . . *ukṣamāṇāḥ*, with both epithets acc., going with *gṛhān* in the first pāda.

irām vahanto (ApMB. *vahato*, MG. *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ.

AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: *irām vahantaḥ sumanasyamāṇāḥ* HG.

§264. Finally, from *mant* 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 *a*. Cf. Whitney §454c (the statistics are incomplete), and Wackernagel 3 p. 258 f.:

ava droṇānī ghṛtarāntī sīda (SV. °*vantī roha*) RV. SV.

mīteva sadma paśumāntī (SV. °*manti*) *hotā* RV. SV.: *pari sadmeva paśumāntī hotā* RV.

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

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

hotak cikīlvo (AV. °*vann*) *avṛṇimahiha* RV. AV.

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hrṣṭāso marutvan* AV. (Ppp. also °*van*.)

namas te astu bhagavaḥ (GB. MG. °*van*) VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. TA. MG.: *namas te bhagavann astu* VS.

agnāśi patnīvan (VSK.† *agne vākpāni*, MS. KS. MŚ. *patnīvāśn*, TS. *patnīvāśh*) *sajūr devēna* (MS. KS. *sajūs*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ye te sarasva (KS. °vann) *armayah* RV. TS. MS. KS. N.
vīśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvah (SV. °van) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. N.
sam sūribhir maghavant (RV. MS. KS. *harivah*, AV. *harivant*) *sam*
svastyā (RV. *svasti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
vivasva ādityaiṣa te somapīthas... TS. KS.: *vivasvann* (VSK. °vān) *ādi-*
tyaiṣa te somapīthah VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. MŚ.
divo jyote (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya*... KS. (bis): *devajūte vivasvann*
āditya... MS.

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

svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu AV.: *svasti no maghavā dhāte indrah*
 RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.: *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS. TA.
 MahānU.: *idam havir maghavā vete indrah* SV.

satrācyā maghavā (SV. *maghavānt*) *somapītaye* RV. AV. SV.

§267. The others are purely sporadic. The stem *sv-avas*, an *s* stem in which the preceding *v* is radical, not suffixal, is once, in RV. itself, drawn into the *vant* (or *vāns*?) declension, showing a nom. in *vān* (Wackernagel 3 p. 287). In the other variant a perf. pple. in *vāns* shows in a secondary reading a nom. in *vā*, as if from a *van* stem (perhaps aided also by *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 *vāns* stems elsewhere, and we see no reason to doubt that *-vā* is such a form.

sumrḍikah (VSK. °likah) *svavān* (VS. VSK. *svavā*) *yāte arvān* RV. VS. VSK.

dadhanvān (VS. ŚB. TB. °vā, MS. KS. °vān) *yo naryo apse antar ā*
 RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

4. Stems in *n*

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

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

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

vocad brahmāni (SV. *brahmēti*) *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 vyusṣīḥ 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 *ā* and *a*, where the long vowel cannot be regarded as rhythmically lengthened (VV 2 §459 f., Wackernagel 3 p. 276). In each of our variants short *a* of RV. is replaced in AV. by *ā*; the variations are all noted in Lanman NI. 540:

yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma (AV. *nāmā*) RV. AV.

varma (AV. *varmā*) *śreyadhvaṁ bahulā prthūni* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ.

triṇśad dhāma (AV. *dhāmā*, MS. *triṇśaddhāmā*) *ei rājati* RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (The AV. variant is not recorded in VV 2 §460.) *Pratika* in MŚ. The compound of MS. MŚ. is to be taken as masc. nom. sg.; but AV. has a neut. pl.

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

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

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

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

ṛtasya tvā vyomane (MŚ. *vyomne grhṇāmi*) TS. MŚ.

ojase balāya tvodyache vṛṣṇe śuṣmāyāyuse varcase (MS. KS. *vṛṣṇe śuṣmāya*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here the *a* (in TB. ApŚ.) is uncalled-for, after a short syllable, and clearly secondary.

§273. Instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems, type *mahinā*. On these forms see Wackernagel 3 p. 268 f., and literature there cited, especially Bloomfield JAOS. 16, clvi.

vaiśvānaro mahimnā (TS. *mahinā*, KŚ. *mahīnām*) *viśvakṛṣṭih* (TS. KŚ. *viśvatambhūh*) RV. TS. KŚ. This is the only occurrence in RV. of the metrically bad *mahimnā* after the cesura; see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1.50.7.

etāvati mahinā (AV. *mahimnā*) *saṁ babhūva* RV. AV. Cf. *pree*.

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

dyaur iva bhūmnā prthivīva (VSK. *bhūmir iva*) *varimnā* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *dyaur mahnāsi bhūmir bhūnā* (KS. Kauś. *bhūmnā*) MS. KS. Kauś.: *bhūmir bhūmnā dyaur varinā* TS.

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

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

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

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

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

taṁ pratyāñcam arcīṣā vidhya marman (AV. *marmani*) RV. AV. According to Roth Ppp. reads *marman*.

satyadharmānā parame vyomani (MS. *vyoman*) RV. MS.

sa jāyamānaḥ 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:

apān tvā bhasman (MS. KS. *bhasmani*) *sādayāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

It is possible that MS. really read *bhasmant* (see v. Schr.'s note). *asmin brahmany asmin karmany*... AV.: *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre 'smin karmany*... ŚŚ.: *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre*... KS.: *asmin brahmann asmin kṣatre 'syām āśiṣy asyām purodhāyām asmin karman* (PG. *karmany*) *asyām devahūtyām* TS. ApŚ. PG.: *te naḥ pānte asmin brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmin karmany*... MS. The preponderance of texts seems to point to older *ani*.

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

taṁ ātmani (TS. *ātman*) *pari grhṇīmahe vayam* (MS. *grhṇīmasiḥa*) TS. MS. KS.

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasinā (MS. *ahann ojasine*, KS.† *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ. *'hany ojasinām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Clearly *ahani* is required by the meter.

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

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

yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KS.: *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS.: *yasyās ta āsani ghore juhomi* AV.: *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsaṁ juhomi* TS. ApŚ.: *yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi* VS. ŚB.

ātman (IśāU. *ātmany*) *evānupaśyati* VS. IśāU.

[*dirje dhāmann* (TB. Conc. **dhāmany*) *upahūtaḥ* (TB. **ta*) TS. MS. TB. (bis). Poona ed. of TB. *dhāmann* both times.]

[*tṛtīye dhāmāny abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TA. † *MahānU.* † Conc. *dhāmany* for *dhāmāny*.]

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

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

[*vācaspatē 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:

lājīṣā chācīṣn (MS. *lājīṣ śācīṣ*) *yavye gavye* (TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. *śācīṣn yaśo mamāṣn* . . .) VS. TS. MS. KSA. 4, 9 (add in Conc.) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. See Keith's note on TS.; but the MS. form may intend a voc. in *i* (not *in*).

5. Heteroclititic stems and the like

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

teṣāṁ saṁ hanmo akṣāni (AV. *saṁ dadhmo akṣīni*, Ppp. *saṁ dadhmo akṣāni*) RV. AV. Ppp. Both accents regular.

aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni (VS. and v. l. of MS. *'sthīni*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

So far as accents are written they are regular, except that MS. p.p. writes *dsthāni*.

asthabhyaḥ (KSA. *asthi*^o) *svāhā* VS. KSA. No accent in KSA.

bhadrāṁ paśyemākṣabhīr (KS. † and v. l. of MG. *'akṣībhīr*) *yajatrāḥ* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. MG. NṛpU. NṛuU. Accent *akṣībhīr* in KS. anomalous.

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

caḥṣur ā dhattam akṣyoh (MŚ. *akṣṇoh*) TS. MŚ.

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

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

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

anṛkṣarā rjavah santu panthāh (AV. *panthānah*) RV. AV. ApMB.

ye te panthāh (TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *panthānah*) *savitah pūrvyāsaḥ* RV. VS. TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

ye te panthā adho divah SV. Svidh.: *ye te panthāno* 'va *divah* AV.

emaṁ panthām arukṣāma AV.: *sugam panthānam arukṣam* ApMB.

panthānam bhrūbhyām VS.: *panthām* (p.p. *panthānam*) *bhrū°* MS.

taṁ panthānam (Ppp. Roth, *panthām*) *jayemānamitram ataskaram* AV. Ppp.

ye panthāno bahavo devayānāḥ AV.: *ye calvārah pathayo devayānāḥ* TS.

SMB. PG. BDh. Wackernagel p. 308 plausibly suggests influence of the phrase *pathibhir devayānāḥ*.

§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.:

vī śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. °*kā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (*sūriḥ*, *sūrah*, *sūrāḥ*, VV 2 §328) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

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

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

pari svayaṁ cinuṣe annam āsyē (SV. *āsani*) RV. SV. In a jagati stanza; read *āsiye* in RV., cf. Edgerton, *Language* 10.253 ff.

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

ny ūhathuḥ purumitrasya yoṣām (and *yoṣānām*) RV. (both)

§287. The stem *yūṣaṇ* : *yūṣa*. See Wackernagel 3 p. 317. *apo yūṣṇā* (TS. KSA. *yūṣeṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

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

agne samrāḍ iṣe rāye (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. (Cone. 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* (*dyu*), except one isolated case of instr. sg. *nāvayā* varying with *nāvā* from *nau*. On this latter see Wackernagel 3 p. 224. The RV. original has *nāvayā*, which has been used to posit an otherwise unknown stem *nāvā*. Wackernagel however suggests that it is a poetic nonce-formation, substituted for *nāvā* on the analogy of the instr. forms in *ā* : *ayā* from *ā* stems. The AV. *nāvā* is formally more regular, but metrically poor.

sā nah sindhum iva nāvayā (AV. *nāvā*) RV. AV. TA. For other related formulas see Debrunner, *Festschrift Winternitz*, 7.

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

sūryo rūpaṁ kṛṇute dyor (MS. *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV. AV. VS. MS. TB.

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

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

atī didyūn (MS. *dyūn*, TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *divas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The accent in TS. TB. is *divás*, not the Rigvedic *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 astabhñā uto divam (RV. *uta dyām*) RV. SV. ArS.

dyām (AV. *divam*) *ca gacha prthivīm ca dharmanā* (AV. *dharmabhiḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

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

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

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

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

divam skabhāna KS.: *dyām stabhāna* KS.: *divam dṛṇha* VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

divam gacha VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *dyām gacha* MS. KS. AB. AŚ. MŚ.

divam (KS. ApŚ. *dyām*) *te dhūmo gachatu* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *divam agreṇa mā lekhīḥ* (MS. MŚ. *hīnśīḥ*) TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *dyām mā lekhīḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.

divam agreṇāsprkṣaḥ VSK.†: *divam agreṇāprāt* (VS. *agreṇāsprkṣat*) VS. TB.: *dyām agreṇāsprkṣaḥ* (MS. KS.* TB. °*ṣat*) VS. KS. (ter) MS. TB. ŚB.

ud divam (KS. *dyām*) *stabhāna* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. PB. ApŚ.: *divam agreṇāstabhāna* MS. MŚ.

sūryeṇa dyām (KSA. *divam*) TS. KSA.

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

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

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

dyām) *mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *araro divaṁ mā paptah* VS. ŚB. Vait.

§295. The stem *diva* for *div* (*dyu*) is according to Wackernagel (2.1 pp. 109, 113, 146, and 3 p. 220) found in the Veda only in compounds. On *diva-diva* 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 *diva* in KS.; no other interpretation is at all possible:

divi (KS. *diva*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS.†
°*thām*) 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. Scie.* 279 f. The variants reveal no general principles so far as we can see.

samhitāsi viśvarūpā MS. KS. ApŚ.: *samhitāsi viśvarūpī* (TS. ApŚ. °pīh) VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

upasthāvarābhyo dāśam VS.: *upasthāvarābhyo baṇḍam* TB. (so Poona ed.)

śivā rutasya (VSK. *śiva rtasya*, TS. and v. l. 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.

sakhā saptaṭpadī (ApMB. °padā) *bhava* AG. ŚG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. MG.: *sakhe saptaṭpadā bhava* PG.

pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau (TB. ApŚ. °vi) VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *oṣadhyā* (!) *vaiṣṇave sthaḥ* MŚ.

annādā (KB. °dā) *cānnapatnī ca bhadrā ca* . . . AB. KB. AŚ.

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

saṁgayī (MS. ŚB. °gavī, TB. °gayo) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīvadānū*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

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

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

achīdrām pāraviṣṇum (SMB. °ṣṇīm) TS. SMB.

dhīṣaṇe vīdū (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vīdvī*, KS. *vīte*) *salī* (KS. om.) *vīdayethām* (VSK. *vīṭ*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

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

[*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśantām* (KSA. *viśantām*) RV. TS. KSA.† Conc. *ūrjasvatīr* for KSA.]

2. Pronominal adjectives

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

viśvadrāḍ asi viśvānām (ApŚ. *viśvāsām*) *nāṣṭrāṇām hantā* TS. ApŚ.

ye kekināḥ prathamāḥ (MŚ. °*me*) *satram āsata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This and the next are quoted from an unpublished part of MŚ.

viśvasṛjāḥ prathamāḥ (PB. MŚ. °*me*) *satram āsata* (MŚ. °*te*) PB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

dakṣiṇāyām (AŚ. °*ṇasyām*) *dikī māśāḥ pīlaro mārjayantām* TS. AŚ.

[*te virājam* (KS. *saṃrājam*) *abhi saṃyantu sarve* MS.† KS. Conc. *sarvāḥ* for MS.; but the reading is *sarvā* before a vowel, and *sarve* is intended; so p.p.]

3. Numerals

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

aṣṭābhyah svāhā TS. KSA.† (Conc. *aṣṭa*° for KSA.; ed. with ms. *aṣṭā*° in all three occurrences; first hand once *aṣṭa*°.)

aṣṭābhyah śatebhyah svāhā TS. KSA. Here the ms. of KSA. reads *aṣṭa*°; ed. em. to *aṣṭā*°.

CHAPTER X

PRONOMINAL FORMS

1. Enclitic and orthotonic

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

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

§303. Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in metrical passages: *punar mām aiv* (AV. Vait. Kauś. *maiv*, TA.* *mā praitv*) *indriyam* AV. ŚB. TA. (bis) BrhU. ŚŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. GG. HG. Cf. also *punar draviṇam* (and *brāhmaṇam*) *aitu mā* (AG. MG. *mām*) TA. AG. SMB. HG. MG. The AV. Vait. Kauś. form is metrically deficient and may be haplogical.

vrtraghna (MS. KS. °ghnah) *stomā upa mām upāguḥ* (AV. *mema āguḥ*, KS. *mām ihāguḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Here both forms are made metrical.

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

taṁ mā saṁ sṛja varcasā RV. AV. etc.: *saṁ māgne varcasā sṛja* RV. AV. KS. ApMB.: *saṁ mām āyuṣā varcasā* (TS. adds *prajayā*) *sṛja* TS. MS. KS. The first two forms are both metrical, the last (prose) occurs in a different connexion.

viśve devā abhi rakṣantu (KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV. **veha*, Ppp. 5. 4. 4d. *mām iha*) AV. Ppp. KS.†

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

tāni mām avantu SMB.: *te māvalām* AV.: *te māvantu* AV. TS. PG.: *te māvala te mā jinvata* KS. ApŚ.: *te mām avantu* KS. ApŚ.: *lau māvatām* AV.

āyur bṛhat tad aśiya taṁ māvatu (MŚ. *mām avatu*) ApŚ. MŚ.: *taṁ māvatu* (MŚ. AG. MG. *mām avatu*) PB. TA. TU. ApŚ. MŚ. AG. MG.: *taṁ māvit* MG.: *taṁ mām āvit* TA. TU.

ihaiva kṣemya edhī mā prahāsīr (ApŚ. °*hāsīr*) *mām amum āmuṣyāyaṇam* (AŚ. *prahāsīr amum māmūṣyāyaṇam*, ApŚ.† *māmum āmuṣyāyaṇam*) MS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland assumes for ApŚ. the same text as MS.

yā devy aśiṣṭaka (°*ke*) . . . *sā mām upaśeṣva* (MS. *mopaśeṣva*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. (four entries in Conc.)

§305. Variations of *mām* 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 mām (AV. *ā mā roha*) *mahate saubhagāya* RV. AV.

uddhriyamāṇa ud dhara pāpmano mā (MŚ. *mām*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *bṛhat saha divā* . . . *hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. The next five all occur in the same passage in the texts which contain them:

upa mām sakhā bhakṣo (TB. *mā bhakṣah sakhā*) *hvayatām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *rathamtaram saha* . . . *hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *vāmaderyam* . . . *hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *dhenuh* . . . *hvayatām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *divyāḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. omit) *sapta* . . . *hvayantām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

evam mām brahmacāriṇaḥ TA. TU.: *evā mā brahmacāriṇaḥ* Kauś.:
evam mā śrīdhātaraḥ SMB.: *evam mā sakṛāyo brahmacāriṇaḥ* SMB.
gopāya mā (VāDh. *mām*) *śevadhī te* (with varr.) 'ham asmi' Saṁhito-
 paṇiṣadB. VāDh. ViDh. N.

ṛptā mā tarpayata (MG. *mām tarpayantu*) KS. MG.

dīvo nu mām (HG. ApMB. *mā*) *bṛhato antarikṣāt* AV. HG. ApMB.
 Prs.: *dīvo nu mām* GB. Vait. Kauś.

na mām (N. *mā*) *brūyā śrīvavati tathā syām* ViDh. VāDh. N.

punantu mā (RV. *mām*) *devajānāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.: Prs.

punantu mā (BṛhPDh. *mām*) Vait. Kauś. BṛhPDh.

punar dravinam aitu mā (AG. MG. *mām*) TA. AG. SMB. HG. MG.

The same with *brāhmaṇam* for *dravinam*.

prthivī mātā mā mā hīnsīḥ (VS. ŚB. *hīnsī mo aham tvām*) VS. TS. ŚB.

ŚŚ.: *mā mām mātā prthivī hīnsī* TS. MS.

mā mā (KS. *mām*) *hīnsīḥ svām* (KS. *yat svam*) *yonim* . . MS. KS.:

mā mā hīnsīḥ svām (svam) *yonim* . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

samiddho mā (ŚG. *mām*) *sum ardhaya* VSK. ŚG.

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

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

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

jayantaṁ tvānu devā madantu (TS. *tvām anu madantu devāḥ*) RV. AV.
 SV. VS. TS. The original was read *tvānu*; TS. implies the irregu-
 lar or later pronunciation *tvā-* (Edgerton, *Language* 10.247f.), and
 tries to 'correct' the meter.

tābhiḥ tvābhiḥśicāmī MG.: *tena tvām abhi*° YDh. The MG. is 'cor-
 rected' in YDh. as in prec.

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

yam tvām ayam (TS. KS. *tvāyam*) *svadhītis tejāmāḥ* (*tetiḥjānaḥ*, *tigma-
 tejāḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.: *ayam hi tvā svadhītis tetiḥjānaḥ* VS. ŚB.
 Sievers' Law would make RV. hypermetrical.

viśvantu (read *viśantu*) *tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ* . . MU.: *viśvam tu* (read

*viśantu) tvāhulayaḥ sarvā(h)...*PrāṇāgU. The latter is metrically poor.

[*tena grhṇāmi tvām aham* (AV. *grhṇāmi te haslam*) AV. VS. ApMB.: *tena tvāham pratigrhṇāmi tvām aham* HG.]

§307. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in prose passages: *etat te tata (talāsau) ye ca tvām anu* (KS. *tvānu*) TS. KS. TB. ApS. ApMB. The same with *talāmaha*, *pitāmaha*, *pralalāmaha*, *propitāmaha*, for *tata* (only KS. reading *tvānu*): *ye ca* (Conc. wrongly omits *ca* for ŚŚ.) *tvām anu* (ŚŚ. *tvām utrānu*) ŚB. KS. ApS. ŚŚ.: *ye cātra tvānu...* MS. GG. KhG.

prajāś tvānu (TS. ApS. *tvām anu*) *prāṇantu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KS. ApS. MS. The TS. form simulates meter, and also makes better assonance with the preceding formula, *prajāś tvām anu prāṇīhi*. It is of course secondary.

§308. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* before consonants and final: *ajasram tvām* (ApS. *tvā*) *sabhāpālāḥ* TB. ApS. *atas tvā viṣṇuḥ pātu* MS.: *viṣṇus tvām indriyeṇa pātu* (TS. KS. *tvām pātu*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

avalāś tvām (VSK. KS. ApS. *tvā*) *dyāvāprthivi* VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. ApS. *viśvāś tvām* (KS. *tvā*) *prajā upāsvrohantu* VS. KS. ŚB. ApS.

viṣṇus tvā (SMB. v. 1. *tvām*) *nayatu* SMB. PG.: *viṣṇus tvām unnayatu* MG. Note that in MG. *tvām* is used before a vowel; 'hiatusstilger'? [*tvā* (!) *manasānārtena vācā...* KS. Read *tvām* or *ā tvā* (so Weber in note), or *tvāmanasā**.]

[*tvām* (so Poona ed.; Conc. *tvā*) *bhūtāny upaparyāvarante* TA.]

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

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

anamitāḥ pradiśaḥ santu mahyam ApS.: *asapatnāḥ* (Vait. text *sapa**) *pradiśo me bhavantu* AV. Vait.

tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam TS.: *sarvaṁ tad astu te ghṛtam* (AV. *astu me śivam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tubhyam (and *ye ta*) *āranyāḥ paśavo mṛgā vane hitāḥ* AV. (both).

mahyam dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān TB. ApS.: *sā me dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān* (KS. *dhukṣva sarvān bhūtikāmān*) KS. TB. ApS. Both sound.

śivam mahyam madhumad aśu annam AV.: *syonam annam madhuman me kṛṇomi* MS.

§310. Variants of dat. sg. forms in prose passages:

agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām adāt Kauś. : agnir janitā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadātu svāhā ŚG.

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

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

tat punīdhvam yavā mama ViDh. : punīdhvani ea yavā mama ViDh. : sarvaṁ punatha me yavāh BDh. All metrically sound.

tava syāma (TS. syām) śarmanś (TS. °man) trivarūtha udbhau (TS. udbhī) VS. TS. : śarman (MS. °manś) te syāma trivarūtha udbhau MS. KS. TA. The pāda is hypermetric in VS.; TS., apparently based on VS., corrects the meter by another change which introduces inconsistency in number (VV 1 p. 253). Apparently MS. KS. have the original.

śam u te tanve (TS. tanve) bhuvat TS. KSA. : śam v astu tanvai tava VS. Both metrically sound.

syāma te sumatā api RV. TS. : syāma sumatai tava AV. Both may be read metrically.

tava-tava rāyaḥ MS. KS. MŚ. : to-to (TS. ApŚ. to te) rāyaḥ VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. : tava rāyaḥ MS. MŚ. Prose.

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

abhyaiti na (SV. abhyeti na, AV. asmān aity abhy) ojasā spardhamānā RVKh. AV. SV. VS. The AV. is metrically poor, tho it can at a pinch be read metrically.

arāyo ʃasmān abhiduchunāyate TB. AŚ. ApŚ. : arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ. Both metrically sound.

asmān (SV. sā naḥ) sīte payasābhyāvaṛṣṭava AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. evāsmān (KS. evā mām) indro varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ MS. KS. : tenāsmān indro varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ AV. : tena nō rājā varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ TS. ŚŚ. All metrically sound.

mā nō andhe tamasy antar ādhāt (mss. ādāt) MŚ. : mā sv (Poona ed. mo ʃv) asmāns tamasy antar ādhāh TA. : mo ʃvatram asmān tarādadhāt (so, with p.p.) MS. No metrical considerations involved in the variation.

tebhīr nō adya savitota viṣṇuḥ KŚ. : tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ soma indraḥ Kauś. : tebhyo na indraḥ savitota viṣṇuḥ ApŚ. All sound.

yo nō dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. BDh. : yo 'smān dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām ŚB.† 1. 6. 20d. Both sound.

sa no aryamā devāh PG.; *so 'smān devo aryamā* MG.; *sa imān devo aryamā* (ApMB. *adhvarah*) AG. SMB. ApMB. Deficient meter in PG.

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

athā naḥ (TS. *athāsmabhyam*, AV. *adhā naḥ*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.; *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV. Hypermetric in TS.

datto asmabhyam (KS. *dattvāyāsmā*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsmā*°, SMB. *dattāsmā*°) *draviṇcha bhādrām* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.; *dadhathā no dravināḥ yac ca bhādrām* MS. All sound, but MS. evidently secondary.

śāntā naḥ śānto oṣadhīḥ AV.; *śivā asmabhyam oṣadhīḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. Both sound.

§314. Variants between gen. pl. *asmākam*, *yusmākam* and *nas*, *vas*; in metrical passages; both forms are metrically sound each time:

apī jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh.; *apī naḥ sa kule bhūyāt* MDh.

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevāḥ MS.; *yusmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* 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 *tubhya* for *tubhyam* is found once in PG., HG. reading *tubhyam*. The PG. form is noted in Wackernagel 3 p. 459:

tubhyam (PG. *mama tubhya*) *ca samvrananam* PG. HG.

§316. The Rigvedic locative *tvē* 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 *tvē* after the RV.:

ārurōha tvē sacā (KS. *tvayī apī*) KS. TB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

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

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

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

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

athā naḥ (TS. *athāsmabhyam*, AV. *adhā naḥ*) *saṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. ⁹*tana*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.: *tad asme saṁ yor arapo dadhātana* RV.

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

na parā jigye katarāś 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 divi* TA.: *amū ye divi 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 collections are not complete in this regard.

Direct address and indirect statement

§322. As might be expected, a large proportion of the variants concerns shifts between direct address and third-person statement, of the sort treated from the point of view of verb forms (with shift between second and third persons) in VV 1 §§292, 327 ff. For example: *māte-
vāsmā adite* (ŚG. *aditih*) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. *yānsat*) 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: *vasā* (ŚG. *sakhā*, ApMB. *prīyā*) *devī* (HG. ApMB. *devānām*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB. ApMB. PG. ŚG. HG.: *kivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG. Here MG. changes the statement of 'fact' (really a magic formula implying a strong wish that it may be a fact) into a direct prayer, in which the personified power addressed is put in the vocative; but instead of saying 'protect us from harm!', the phrase 'may we not be harmed' is used. This of course means the same thing.

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

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

§324. The last quoted instance may fairly be called a case of syntactic incongruity, since the nom. *indrah* of TS. is not really construable in an intelligent way. Other cases in which form assimilation to adjoining words seems to have determined the shift, and in which direct address is found in both forms of the variant, are quoted in §§335-6. In §333 will be found variants which shift between direct address and third-person statement, the case of the subject being in one form of the variant incongruous (voc. with 3d person or nom. with 2d). Sometimes three of the four theoretical possibilities are found in the same variant, e.g.: *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇanaḥ* (AV. *prai°*), followed by: *narāśaṁso 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 change based on KS. and designed to correct its poor syntax.

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

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

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

indra vājam ajayit TS. TB.: *indra vājam jaya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi KAu.: *bhavan bhikṣāṁ dadātu* AG.

indrah (SV. PB. *indra*) *suteṣu sameṣu* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed, in RV. SV., by *kratum punita* (SV. *puniṣa*) *ukthiyam*.

agne tām asmāt pra nudaṣva lokāi ApŚ.: *agniṣ tām asmāt pra nunottu lokāi* MŚ.: *agniṣ tām* (VS. *tām*, AŚ. *āf*) *lokāt pra nudaṭy* (AŚ. *²tv*, SMB. *nudate*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.

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

annapate 'nnasya (annasya) *no dehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrāyāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *annasyānnapatih prādai* PB.

āyātu varadā devī, akṣaram brahma saṁmitam, gāyatri chandasām mātā, idam brahma juṣasva naḥ TA. TAA. MahānU.: *āyāhi viraje devy, akṣare brahmasammite, gāyatri chandasām mātā, idam brahma juṣasva me* MG. All the noms. in TA. etc. go with *āyātu*, which in MG. is changed to 2d person.

agnir hotā vetu... AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agne rihī* AB. ŚB. AŚ. MŚ.

jayanlu upaspr̥ṣatu HG.: *jayanlopa spr̥ṣa* ApMB.

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB. ApŚ.: *avasānam me 'vasānapatir vindat* MŚ.

sāvitṛm bho anu brūhi AG. ŚG. ApG. HG.: *sāvitṛm me bhavan anu bravitu* GG.

saṁ devī (KS. *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyastva* (KS.† *²vaśyākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

uṣṇena vāya udakenchi (SMB. GG. *udakenaidhi*, ApMB. *vāyav udake-*

nehi, MG. *vāg ur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. The form *it* of MG. is a dubious imperfect; perhaps rather the particle *id*, cf. Kanuer p. 165 s. v. *id*, and VV 1 p. 87. In any case MG. has an indirect reference instead of direct address.

prthivi mātā mā mā hīnsih. . VS. TS. ŚB. ŚS.: *mā mām mātā prthivi hīnsih* TS. MS.

agnināgniḥ samvadatām TA.: *agne agninā samvadasva* TA. ApŚ. HG. *pra candramās tirate* (TS.† *tirati*, AV.† *candramas tirase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. N. See VV 1 p. 221.

purukṣu teaṣṭā (MS. *teaṣṭah*) *suriryam* (VSK. TS. *suriram*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.: *purukṣu deva itvaṣṭar* [text *teaṣṭā*, accentless; followed by *r-*] AV.: *teaṣṭah poṣāya viṣya nābhīm asme* KS. Verb *viṣyatu* or *viṣya*.

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

araro divah mā paptah VS. ŚB. Vait.: *ararus* (MS. *ararus te*) *dyāu mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *ararus te divah mā skān* TS. ApŚ.

yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matinām MS.: *yajñah pratyasṭhāt* (v. 1. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajña pratistṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB. ApŚ.

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

tasya na iṣṭasya pṛṭasya dravinēhāgameh VS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vṭasya dravinam ā gamyāt* (KS. *dravinēhāgamyāh*, ApŚ. *dravinēhāgameh*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vṭasya dravinēhāgamyāt* MS.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya vṭasya dravinam māgachatu* KS. See VV 1 pp. 61 f., 232.

divo jyote (KS.* *jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) *āditya te na devā(h)*. . *āsumudhvam* MS. KS. (bis): *vivasodā aditir devajūtis te na ādityā*. . *viyantu* TS. See VV 1 p. 239.

uṣo dadṛkṣe (PB. *uṣā*, read *uṣā?*, *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatira* RV. PB.

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

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

*kravya**, TS. TB. ApŚ. °vāhana) RV. VS. KS. TS. TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Followed in RV. VS. KS. TS. by: *piṣṭiṃ yakṣad* (TS. *yakṣy*) *ṛtāv-dhaḥ*; by a different pāda with 2d person verb in TB.; only pratika in AŚ. ApŚ.

śrutakakṣo aram (SV. °kakṣatram) gave RV. SV. Preceded by *aram aśvāya gāyati* (SV. °ta). Note plural verb in SV.; cf. VV 1 §372c. [*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.; *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *indra . . 'vata.*]

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

linena mā (ApMB. *teḍ*) *cakṣuṣā paśyatāpaḥ* (ApMB. *paśyante āpaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. AB. ApMB. *āpaḥ* is nom. in ApMB., voc. in the rest. *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorn(u)vāthām* (MS. MŚ. °tām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

aśvinā pibatam (VS. KŚ. °tām) *madhu* (TB. ApŚ. *sutam*) RV. VS. TB. MŚ. KŚ.

devā deveṣu śrayantām (TB. *śrayadhvam*) KS. TB.

tasmai te dyāvāpṛthivī revatībhiḥ AV.; *armabhyam dyāvā** *śakvaribhiḥ* TB.

Cl. VV 1 p. 224, under *kāmam duhātām* etc.

aśvināu eha gachātām RV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.; *aśvināu eha gachātām* (TS. TB. °tām, in same stanza in which RV. N. have °tām) RV. TS. TB. N. *svātām cit. . . āpo devīḥ svadantām* TS. ApŚ.: *svātām sad. . . āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.; *āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK. *sad*) . . VS. VSK. ŚB.

(*abaddham mano . .*) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* (KŚ. *hāsīt*) TS. KŚ. BDh.; *dikṣen* (sc. *dikṣā-id*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ.; *dikṣe mā mā hineth* ŚG. See VV 1 p. 225. In KŚ. read probably *dikṣen*.

apātām aśvinā gharman VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.; *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. LŚ. ApŚ. Consistent in all but the first MS. form.

viśve devāo adhi vocatā naḥ (TS. *me*) RV. TS.; *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS. *ami tiṣṭhantu*) *teha* (AV.* KS.† *meha*; AV. **pakvam*; SMB. ApMB. HG. *paścāt*) AV. (thrice) KS. SMB. ApMB. HG.

vājīnau vājajitau. . . avajighratam (KS. °tām) MS. KS. MŚ.; *vājīno vājajitau vājam. . . avajighrata* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. Similarly:

vājīno vājajitau vājam. . . bhāgam avajighrata nī mṛjānāḥ (KS. *bhāge nī mṛjātām*; TS. *bhāge nī mṛjadhvam*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.; *vājīnau vājajitau. . . bhāge nīmṛjethām* MS. MŚ. In this and the prec. KS. has nouns, the rest vocs.

aśvinā bhignjātātāḥ (MS. °tām; TB.† °ta) VS. MS. TB. See VV 1 p. 71.

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG. *adya*) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB.: *tena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG. See VV 1 p. 229. The MG. form can of course only be nom.; the other is ambiguous except for the accent.

ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāḥ MS.: *ā mā gantām* (VSK. *gantām*) *pitarā mātara ca* (VSK. *yuvam*) VS. VSK.† 10. 3. 12c. TS. KS. ŚB. Add to VV 1 §337.

§328. In VV 1 §§295, 328 we have called attention to the apparent tendency of SV. to address Soma Pavamāna directly in second person forms, where RV. has third person references. The following (all listed l. c.) show correspondingly vocs. in SV. for noms. of RV.:

pavamāna vy aśnuhi SV.: *pavamāno vy aśnavat* RV.

ayā somaḥ (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV. SV.

svāyudhaḥ sotrbhiḥ pūyate vṛṣā (SV. *°bhiḥ soma sūyase*) RV. SV.

Phrase inflection

§329. In another group the mantras are found in different contexts. Thus we have the variant *hotrābhir agnir (agne) manuṣaḥ svadhvarāḥ*. The vocative form occurs in RV. AV., preceded by *sadāsi ranro yarasera pūyate*: '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 independent sentence (with copula unexpressed): 'Agni has fair sacrifices thru the offerings of man.' These constitute a sort of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

hiraṇyavarṇā subhagā AV.: *hiraṇyavarṇe subhage* AV. Quite different contexts.

evāyaṁ daśamāsyō [*asraḥ jarāyuṇā saha*] VS. ŚB.: *evā tvaṁ daśamāsyā* [*sahāvehi jarāyuṇā* RV., *sākam jarāyuṇā pūta* AV.] RV. AV. In Ppp. (see Whitney on AV. 1. 11. 6): *evā te garbha ejata nīr aitu daśamāsyō bahir jarāyuṇā saha*.

bhāratīde sarasvatī [*yā vah sarvā upabruve tā naś codayata śriye*] RV.: *sarasvatīdā mahī* [*īman no yajñam ā gaman*, etc.] RV.

indra (RV. **indro*) *viśvābhir ūtibhiḥ* RV. (both) AV. SV.

viśvāni deva (RV. **devo*) *vayunāni vidvān* RV. (both) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. In one RV. passage and all others except AV. preceded by *agne naya supathā rāye asmān*; in the other RV. passage, by *r̥bhuś cakra idyaṁ cāru nāma*; AV. has different surroundings but requires a voc.

upedam upaparcanam [*āsu goṣṭhāpaprcyatām*] RV. TB. LŚ.: *upahoparcanā* [*asmān goṣṭha upa pr̥cā naḥ*] AV. See VV 1 §85.

anturikṣena saha vājīnīvan (once, *vān) AV. (ter). Verbs are consistent. *sahamānu* (PG. HG. ApMB.* *nā, RV. AV. *devajūte*) *sahasvati* (HG. ApMB.* *fi, PG. *sarasvati*) RV. AV. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. See also §346, *devajūte*.

imam yajñam aśvinobhā bṛhaspatiḥ RV. TS.: *imam yajñam bṛhaspate 'śvinobhā* KS. Followed respectively by: *devāḥ pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt*, and: *indrāvata kāryair daśanābhīḥ*. Yet the contexts are fundamentally the same (cf. below under *devah savitā**, §399).

ā pavasva madīntama RV. SV.: *sa pavasva madīntama* RV. SV.: *sa pūnāno madīntamāḥ* RV.

samiddho agniḥ āhuta RV. AV. TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (followed by 2d person verbs): *samiddho agniḥ āhutaḥ [svāhākṛtaḥ pipartu naḥ]* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter is a blend of the former (as in RV.) with an unmetrical yajus text: *iṣṭo agniḥ āhutaḥ pipartu* (KS. TB. *svāhākṛtaḥ pipartu*) *na iṣṭam haviḥ* (TB. ŚB. omit last two words) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sa tvam no nabhasas pate (GB. *patiḥ*) TS. GB.: *tvam no nabhasas pate* AV. TS.: *ayam no nabhasas patiḥ* AV. GB. Vait. Kauś.

ghṛtāprstho ghṛtāprstho agne (KS. ApŚ. *agniḥ*) AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ghṛtāhavanō ghṛtāprstho agniḥ* AŚ.: *ghṛtām vādno ghṛtāprstho agne* KS.

hiranyoparna śakunc PG.: *hiranyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ* HG.: *hiranyavarṇaḥ śakunāḥ* MU.

agnis tigmena śociṣā RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agne ti* śo** RV. AV.

pamīmānaḥ (RV.* *na) *kanikradat* RV. (both) SV.

indram soma (and, *soma*) *mādayan daivyaṁ janam* RV. (both). Followed or preceded respectively by: *sindhor ivormiḥ pavamāno aryaṣi*, and: *ā vidyulā pavate dhāranya sutaḥ*.

devebhyo havyavāhana RV.: *devebhyo* (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanaḥ* RV. ApŚ.: *devebhyo havyavād āsi* ApŚ. See RVRep. on 3. 9. 6b. The second ApŚ. variant occurs in a context different from any of RV. and belongs to §339.

deva devebhyo haviḥ (SV. *devebhyaḥ sutaḥ*) RV. SV.: *devo devebhyaḥ sutaḥ* RV. SV.

sahasrote śatāmagha RV.: *sahasrotiḥ śatāmaghaḥ* RV.

sahasrapoṣaṁ (AV. Kauś. *sahasrā**) *subhage* (TS.* *subhagā*) *rarāṇā* RV. AV. TS. (both) MS. KS. Kauś. SMB. ApMB.

mitra satyānām patē (ŚŚ. *satyānām aulhipate*) TB. ŚŚ.: *mitraḥ satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Each in a series, with

2d or 3d person verbs expressed in the first member and implied in the rest. So next.

savitā prasavānām (AV. adds *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):

svasā (ŚG. *sakhā*, ApMB. *priyā*) *devī* (HG. ApMB. *devānām*) *subhagā mekhaleṣyam* SMB. ApMB. PG. HG. ŚG.: *śivā devī subhagā mekhale mā rīdma* MG.

upa brahmāṇi savanāni vtrahā (SV. °han), *paramajyā rciṣamaḥ* (SV. °ma) RV. AV. SV. Preceded in RV. by: *ā no viśvāsu havya indrah samatsu bhūṣatu*, 'May Indra associate himself with us . . . the slayer of Vṛtra' etc. SV. misunderstands *bhūṣatu*, taking it in its later sense of 'adorn' or 'honor'. To make this meaning fit, Indra must be made the object of this verb, the subject being now the worshippers; the resulting first half verse is: *ā no viśvāsu havyam indrah samatsu bhūṣata*, cf. VV 1 p. 199. But since *vtrahā* cannot (like *havya indrah*) be made accusative without metrical change, it is made voc., with very awkward supplying of an unexpressed verb; and *rciṣamaḥ* then follows it.

agnīr yajñedaṁ namaḥ KS.: *agne yajñar idam namaḥ* 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:

tasyās te devy adīte (Kauś. *aditir*) *upasthe* MS. KS. Kauś.: *upasthe te devy adite* 'gnim TS. Followed in Kauś. by *annādāyānnapatyāyā dudhat*, for which the others have versions containing *ādadhē* (1st person), see VV 1 p. 211. In all except Kauś. there is a direct address to Aditi, thru whose intervention the desired result is expected, tho a first person verb is used. In Kauś. Aditi seems to be made the subject of the 3d person verb; but note that Kauś. retains *te*, which apparently can only refer to Aditi! In fact Kauś. is hardly capable of intelligent interpretation.

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

sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ AV.: *sahasrākṣāyamartya* 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 kṛṇmas*.

aśveṣa citrāruṣi [mātā gavām rāvarī, sakṣābhūd aśvinor uṣāḥ] RV. SV.: [rayam hi te amanmahy, āntād ā parākāt,] aśve na citre aruṣi RV. The latter is secondary; see RVRep. 63.

abhūn mama (KS. nu nah) *sumatau viśvedāḥ* TS. KS. PG.: *bhūyāsmate sumatau viśvedāḥ* MS.† In the latter a direct address. See VV I p. 218.

indra somasya pīlaye RV.: *indrah somasya pīlaye* RV.: *indrah somasya pīlaye vṛṣyate* RV. A 2d personal pronoun accompanies the voc. *yajīṣṭham havyavāhana* RV.: *yajīṣṭho havyavāhanah* 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 *narākaṁso agniḥ* (agne), §324. Other cases of this sort are:

agne (TS. KS. *agnir*) *manyuṁ pratinudan pareṣām* (TS. KS. *purastāt*) RV. AV. TS. KS. In the next pāda RV. AV. TS. have *pāhi*, KS. *pātu*. All are consistent except TS., which has nom. with 2d person verb; cf. VV I p. 231.

sa no mayobhūh pīto (*pītas*) *āviśasva* (*āviśha*, MŚ. *pītur āviśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.: *sa nah pīto madhumān ā viśha* (Kauś. *viśa*) KS. Kauś. Only Kauś. is inconsistent; MŚ. (secondarily) restores consistency with nom. matching 3d person verb.

apālām indra (MG. *indras*) *triṣ* (*trīḥ*) *pātvi* (AV. *pātva*, ApMB.† *pūrtry a-*, MG. *pūrty 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. ŠBK. *agner*, MS. MŚ. *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS. MŚ. add *yat te*) VSK. TS. MS. ŠBK. MŚ.: *videt agnir nabho nāma* VS. KS. ŠB. See VV I p. 233. TS. is inconsistent.

vy aṣṭabhnā (VS. ŠB. *aṣṭa*°, MS. *aṣṭa*°, KS. *aṣṭa*°, TS. *aṣṭabhnād*, TA. *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasi viṣṇav* (VSK. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*, TS. *viṣṇur*) etc RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. 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.).

dyāvāprthivī uro antarikṣam AV. TS.: *dyāvāprthivī uro* (VSK.† *uro*) *antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŠB. Context of AV. different from all the others; there a simple third-person prayer. In the rest either (as in MS.) directly addressed to the deities, altho there also the verb is third person because the deities are not conceived

as the direct agents (the following *pāda* is *bṛhaspatir no haviṣā vṛdhātu* TS. MS.); or, as in VS. VSK. ŚB., the following *pāda* (*bṛhaspataye haviṣā vidhema*) contains a first personal statement. In TS. the nominatives, if not a direct reminiscence of the AV. form of the variant, would be due to assimilation to *bṛhaspatir*, subject of *vṛdhātu* 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* (°*naḥ*), 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 eṣi kṛṇvan* RV. SV. A slight tendency for SV. to prefer the voc. referring to Soma may perhaps be detected in this and the following; cf. VV 1 §328.

aprosivān gṛhapatir (SV. °*pate*) *mahān asi* RV. SV.

śuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ (SV. *somya*) RV. SV.

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS.: *sarūpa vṛṣann āgahi* SV. JB.

saṁrād asi kṛśānuḥ (ŚŚ. °*no*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

sūyavasād bhagavati (KŚ. °*ti*) *hi bhūyāḥ* RV. AV. AB. KB. AŚ. KŚ.

ApŚ. N. Addressed to the cow; KŚ. makes one of the predicate adjectives into a voc.

vaptā (ApMB. *vaptrā*, HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. °*ti*) *keśaśmaśru* (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.

āyusmān (MG. °*mann*) *idam pari dhatsva vāsaḥ* ApMB. HG. MG.; cf. also *āyusmatīdam* etc., AV. Lect. fac. in MG.

vasūni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, v. l. *cāryo*, HG. *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛjāsi*), 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.)

sakhā (PG. *sakhe*) *saptapadī* (ApMB. PG. °*padā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. The (predicate) nom. is clearly original.

purovāta (KS. °*to*, TS. °*to varṣaṇ*) *jinvā*... 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 brahmacārīn mama ca Kauś*. Perhaps hardly to be called variants.

[*dhruvaidhi poṣyā* (PG. *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. Stenzler and Oldenberg take *poṣye* as voc. fem., addressed to the bride. If this be correct, the variation belongs here. We have preferred to understand *poṣye* 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:

somañ piba vṛtrahā śūra (TS. TA. MahānU. °*hañ chūra*) *vidvān* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. §323.

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS. TB. *nicañkṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñkṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. IŚ. Preceded in all by *avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa* (etc., voc. in all). Doubtless the nom. is original and the voc. assimilated to that of the preceding pāda.

samjagmāno divaḥ kaviḥ (SV. IŚ. *divā kavē*) RV. SV. IŚ. Preceded by *rdhak soma svastaye*. It is likely that the voc. *soma* had something to do with the change to voc. *kavē*. The next pāda begins with *pavasva*, 2d person, which may also have helped.

agner agne puro agnir (KS.† KapS. [Oertel 73] *agne*, TS.† TB.† *puro-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*) *sayano marudbhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ. §323.

utso deva (SV. twice *devo*) *hiraṇyayaḥ* RV. SV. The surrounding noms. have been responsible for *devo*.

rjīṣi śavasas pate (SV. *patiḥ*) RV. SV. Preceded by *tvam indra yaśā asi*, *pavasva devāyusak* (SV. *deva āyusak*) RV. SV. PB. Benfey translates

deva as voc.; it is accented *devā*. If this is correct and it is a nom., it might be explained by assimilation to *āyusak* if that is a nom.; but Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 9. 25. 5 considers it a neuter adverb.

dyāvāpṛthivī uro (VSK.† *uro*) *antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.: *dyāvāpṛthivī urv antarikṣam* AV. TS. The TS. reading belongs here; see §333.

agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agnih sudakṣaḥ sūtanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ. The verb is 2d person in all; the nom. of MŚ. is attracted to the following noms.

vasupate vasudāvan RV. VS. ŚB.: *vasudāvā vasupatiḥ* TS. MS. KS. Preceded in all by *sa bodhī sūrīr maghavā*; TS. etc. assimilate to these noms.

kāmena kṛtaḥ (RV. and p.p. of MS. *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānaḥ* RV. MS. TB. *kṛtaḥ* partly suggested by *ichamānaḥ*.

prajāpatis (ApMB. °*te*) *tanvan me juṣasva, tvaṣā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* (ApMB. *tvaṣtar devebhis sahasāma indra*, cf. Winternitz, xx) ApMB. MG. Followed in MG. by: *viśvair devair ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ, puṇsām bahūnām mātaraḥ syāva*; in ApMB. by: *viśvair devai rātibhiḥ samrarānaḥ, puṇsām bahūnām mātara 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.

sahasrākṣa medha ā (VSK. *medhāya*) *ciyamānaḥ* VSK. TS. KS.: *sahasrākṣo medhāya ciyamānaḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in all by *imam mā hīnsīr dvīpādām paśum* (TS. KS. *paśūnām*). Voc. is likely to be original; attraction to *ciyamānaḥ* in VS. etc.

karavye brahmasamśīte (TS. °*tā*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: *śaro brahmasamśītaḥ* TB. ApŚ. Preceded in all by *avasṛṣṭā* (TB. ApŚ. °*ah*) *parā pata*. Voc. was original; in TS. the adjective, and in TB. ApŚ. both it and the noun, have been drawn into the nom. by the nom. adjective preceding.

ado (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devi* (ApŚ. MŚ. *devī*) *prathamānā purustāt* (KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *prthag yat*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Direct address and 2d person verb in all; voc. original; nom. attracted to *prathamānā*.

subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja kunaka ApMB.: *suṁvīraṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. Preceding pāda ends with *suṁvīraṇaḥ*, which certainly caused the change (it may be a mere corruption in tradition).

sakhe (AV. *sakhā*) *sakhāyam ajaro jarimṇe* RV. AV. In the latter attraction to the case of *ajaro*.

vṛkīṇām medha (MŚ. *medhaḥ*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *tasmin sīda*... Attraction to the following nom. in MŚ.

§337. In the rest a nominative is secondarily substituted for a vocative, in an expression of direct address, without any apparent assimilatory influence of surrounding forms:

indra (MS. *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV. KS. MS. In the latter, 'thou hast presented thyself as Indra.'

punar āgāh punarṇava (AV. *punarṇ*°; AV.* °*vaḥ*) RV. AV. (both).

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

agne ghṛtenāhuta (KS. °*taḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. In AVPpp. (Whitney on 6. 5. 1) *ghṛtebhir āhutaḥ*. Ppp. and KS. are awkward and secondary; the nom. must be taken as predicate to the subject of the preceding verb [*ud enam* (ApŚ. *asmān*) *uttaram* (VS. TS. KS. °*rām*, ApŚ. °*rān*) *naya*].

rātri (TB. °*ri*, KS. v. l. °*riḥ*) *stomam na jigyuse* (KS.† TB. °*ṣi*) RV. KS. TB. In all preceded by *upa te gā ivākaram*, *vr̥ṇīṣva duhitar divaḥ*. The nom. must be taken in apposition with the subject of *vr̥ṇīṣva*.

ṛlena (MG. *ṛleva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūnāv*, MG. *sthūnā*) *adhi roha vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. The appositional nom. of MG. is awkward.

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

agne (MS. *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (MS. *voca*) RV. SV. MS. TA.

Vocative and nom. of independent statement

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

tiṣṭhā ratham (TS. *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS. ŚB. *yam*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Here TB., introducing a conjunction *yad*, makes what was originally a vocative epithet into a syntactically separate, tho still dependent, clause: 'since thou art vajra-wielder' instead of 'O vajra-wielder!' The awkward reading of VS. ŚB. is intermediate and paved the way.

§339. Note also the ApŚ. variant *devebhyo havyavād asi*, under *devebhyo havyavāhana* etc. §329; and the following; which show the final result of this tendency:

kāmyāsi PB. MŚ. GG.: *kāmye* MS.

agne prāyascitte... SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *agne prāyascittir asi*... ŚG.

Similarly with *vāyo*... and *sūrya* (*āditya*)...

agne gṛhapata upa mā havyasva KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhavyadhvam*

Vait.: *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ŚB. Parallels rather than real variants?

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me... VS.: *adhvanām adhvapate*

svasti me... PB.: *adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no*... ŚŚ.

Transfer of epithet

§340. There remain, aside from textually dubious or corrupt variants, chiefly some cases of 'transfer of epithet'. That is, the variant word is transferred from one person or thing to another, which involves change of case. Cf. §14 above:

tava śravānsy upamāny ukthyā (SV. °ya) RV. SV. In RV. the adj. goes with *śravānsi*, in SV. with *Indra*.

śrālās ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB. TA. *vātāper*, KS. ŚŚ. *vātāpe*) *havanāśrutah* MS. KS. (9. 8) KB. TA. ŚŚ. In MS. *vāt°* agrees with *somāh*, in the others with *Indra*, either with the voc. *indra* or with the pronoun *te* and the adj. *havanāśrutah*.

satyasya dharmanas patī (ApŚ. *pate*, Vait. MŚ. *satyasya dharmanā*, AŚ. *pari satyasya dharmanā*, PG. *pari sakhyasya dharmanah*) ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. AŚ. PG. In ŚŚ. (probably original) *patī* (dual) is part of the predicate of the two preceding *pādas*. In ApŚ. it is applied to an unspecified divine personage to whom the stanza is felt as addressed.

devā ājyapā juṣānā agna (VS. *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS. MS. KS. In the original (MS. KS.) addressed to *Agni* (voc.); but he is not one of those who are to participate in the action of *vyantu*. The 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.

vivascann (VSK. °cān, TS. KS. °ca) *ādityaiṣa te somapīthah*... VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The epithet belongs, as it should, to the sun (*āditya*) in all but VSK., which seems to apply it, incredibly, to *somapīthah*.

anu dyāvōprthivī supranītiḥ (ŚŚ. °te) AŚ. ŚŚ. The original pāda d of AV. 7. 73. 6 (see Whitney's note); Ppp. (Roth) agrees with AŚ., with nom. agreeing with *savitā* of pāda c, while ŚŚ. (secondarily) distorts it to agree with the subject of the 2d person verbs of pādas a, b.

sva devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *suvar devān*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā* is accentless both times in VS., tho comm. in one of them takes it as nom. (*vayam yajamānā devā bhūtva*). In KS. 14. 1 it is voc., in KS. 18. 12 nom. (but two mss. make it voc.); in MS. nom.; the Tait. texts make it accus. attracting it to the case of *sva* 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.† *devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. In AV. the epithet (originally voc.) is transferred to *bhaga(h)*. Ppp. agrees with RV.

vīrttacakrā āsīnāḥ HG. ApMB.: *avimuktacakra* (v. 1. °rā) *āsīran* PG. See §454.

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

agne vaiśvānara (MS.* °rah) *svāhā* TS. MS. (bis) TB. The subject is *jyotiḥ* (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. °nītir, MS. °dhīte, KS.* °dhīlam, v. 1. °tim, KS.* 38. 12b† °nītha, KapŚ. °dhīlam or °tim) *yajñaiḥ* (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 *teā* (sc. Agni) of the preceding.

Miscellaneous

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

svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno VS. TS. ŚB.: *svān*

nabhrāḍ aṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno KS.; *svānā nabhrāḍ aṅghāre bambhāre 'star ahasta kṛśāno* MS.; *svāna bhrāḍ, aṅghārīr bambhārīh, hastaḥ suhaslaḥ, kṛśānur vīśvāvasuḥ* TA.† In TA. part of the *gandharvagaṇāḥ*; obviously based on the other list (addressed to the gandharvas at the soma purchase), but used in a different connexion.

agnīr ājyasya vetu vaujhaḥ ŚB.; *agna ājyasya vyantu vaujhaḥ* ŚB. Also *agninājya*°, *agnim ājya*°. Rigmale 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.

swapnaḥ swapnādhikaraṇe RVKh.; *swapna swapnādhikaraṇena* AV.; *swapna swapnādhikaraṇena* Ppp. (Barret, JAOS. 35. 52). Probably *swapna* is a sandhi form for *swapnaḥ*; VV 2 §980.

sumṛḍikā sarasvatī (MG. °tī) AV. AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG. Read °tī in all; so v. l. of MG., and its comm. *he sarasvatī*. In TA. 1. 21. 3 the Bibl. Ind. ed. reads *sarasvatī*, but Poona ed. °tī.

sumanīḥ suhīranyavān (ŚŚ. °vāḥ) AV. ŚŚ. But °vān is Roth's emendation and must be rejected.

ud īrṣvātaḥ pativati (ApMB. °vati) *hy eṣā* RV. ApMB. See Winternitz, xix; some ApMB. mss. °vati, comm. °vati interpreted as a 'Vedic' nom.! A voc. seems impossible.

iyam oṣadhe (PG. °dhi) *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.

[*īrtam haviḥ śamitāḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *haviḥ śamitāḥ*) TS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Conc. *śamitā* for MS. MŚ.; but both follow this word with *iti*, intending *śamitāḥ*.]

dhānāsomān manthīna indra (MŚ. *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS. KS. MŚ. See Knauer's note. The nom. is unconstruable as such.

tām naḥ pūṣaṇ chivatamām erayasva HG.; *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV. °an) etc. RV. AV. ApMB.; *sā naḥ pūṣā śivatamām eraya* PG. The verb being still 2d person in PG., this might be classed with §337; but PG. is really hopeless.

stomatrayastrīṇṣe bhuvanasya patnī TS. KS. AŚ.; *stomas trayastrīṇṣe bhuvanasya patnī* MS. In the latter apparently *stomas* and *patnī* are subject and predicate; the divergence of gender signalizes the badness of the reading.

(*aśvakrānte rathakrānte*) *viṣṇukrānte vasumdhare* (TA. **rā*), *hīrasā dhārītā devī* (TA. *dhārayiṣyāmī*), *rakṣasva 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 *dhārītā*, it might, tho very harshly, be explained by attraction. In fact the comm. on TA. seems to have read *dhārītā devī*, and for *vasumdhara* (which he does not quote; did he read °*dhare*?) he has: *he bhūme sarvāni vastūni dhārayantī satī*. Evidently the text of TA. is very uncertain.

indra (MS. *indrak*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV. MS. The nom. is not construable.

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

praty elā vāmā (AŚ. *sunvan*). . . *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ. °*vakta*, v. l. °*vaktar*) *uta*. . . KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Discussed VV 2 p. 180. All texts seem to have read °*vaktar*; but a voc. seems unconstruable, and a nom. must have been intended, whatever the form was.

yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ sambabhūtha (TB. °*bhūva*, Poona ed. °*tha*) TB. ApŚ.: *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*, v. l. *bibhṛto*, *bibhyato*) *jātavedaḥ* AV. KS. The nom. is very awkward; Whitney translates a voc. *śarīraṁ me vicakṣaṇam* (RVKh. *vicakṣaṇam*) RVKh. TA. TU.: *pratīkaṁ me vicakṣaṇam* PG. Scheftelowitz reads *vicakṣaṇa* in RVKh., but this seems unconstruable.

saṁvṛta (AA. °*ṭhaḥ*, but Keith °*ṭha* with v. l. °*ṭhaḥ*) *vajrinn ojasā* (AA. Mahānāmnyah *rājase*) RV. SV. AA. Mahānāmnyah. A mere corruption of tradition.

aravāḡvaso vasiṭi te pāram aśīya MS. KS. ApŚ.: *aravāḡvasur [itī trīr ukta]* MŚ. (*pratīka*). It seems clear that MŚ.'s *pratīka* refers to the mantra of MS. There is no v. l. recorded; but no nom. can be really intended.

CHAPTER XII

VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Direct address and indirect statement

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

indram (SV. *indra*) *dhenum sudughām anyām iṣam* RV. SV. The preceding pāda is *ā tv adya* (SV. *tvādyā*) *sabardughām huve gāyatrave-pasam*. 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 brahmanaspatim (SV. ²*pate*), *devān* (SV. *devā*) *avo vare-nyam* RV. SV. MS. KS. 'With a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmanaspati, the gods, for excellent aid': '... I approach [you], O Maruts etc.'

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

īhaiva dhruvā (ŚG. *sthāne*) *prati tiṣṭha kālē* (ŚG. *dhruvā*) AV. ŚG. HG.: *īhaiva dhruvān ni minomī sālām* AV. PG. HG. 'Right here stand thou firm, O house (pillar)!', or: 'Right here I fix firm the house.'

tasmai tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB.: *tasmai stanam pra pyāyasa* HG.
'Swell for him, O breast!', or: 'Swell thy breast for him.' See
VV 1 §32.

unnambhaya pṛthivim TS. KS. MS. ApŚ.: *pra nabhasva pṛthivi* AV.
'Split open the earth!' (addressed to Dhātār): 'burst open, O earth!'
Ppp. agrees with TS. etc., and AV. addresses Dhātār in pāda c;
AV. probably secondary.

§345. In the stray variant which follows the acc. is original ('the
sacrifice has gone to the gods...'); AŚ. (the reading of which is repeated
by its comm.) makes it a direct address to the gods:

devān (MS. *devān*, AŚ. *devā*) *janam agn yajñāḥ* MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.†

Phrase inflection

§346. The remaining cases of shift between direct address and indirect
reference concern different contexts in the two forms of the variant:
satyadharmānam adhvare RV. SV. (preceded by *kurim agnim upa stuhi*):
satyadharmāno adhvaram (TS. °re) RV. TS. (preceded by different
pādas of direct address).

yajñāṁ havyavāhana (and °nam) RV. (both). Voc. accompanies 2d
pers. pronoun.

rudra jalāsubheṣaja AV.: *rudram jalāsubheṣajam* RV.

śatamūte śatokrato RV.: *śatamūtim śatokratum* RV. Voc. with *te*, acc.
with *indram*.

stomebhir havanāśrutam (and °ta) RV. (both). Acc. with *mahāntam*
(*indram*), voc. (dual) with *indrāgnī* or *āsvinā*.

stomebhir viśvacarṣaṇim RV.: *stomebhir viśvacarṣaṇe* RV. AV.

uttānaparṇe subhage (Ppp. °ṇām *subhagām*), followed by: *devajāte* (Ppp.
sahamānām) *sahasvati* (Ppp. °tīm) RV. AV. Ppp. (JAOS. 40: 161).

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

indav indrāya pītaye RV.: *indum indrāya pītaye* RV. SV.

indum (RV. also *indas*) *indrāya mātaram* RV. (both) SV.

indrūm (RV. also *indra*) *somasya pītaye* RV. (both) AV. SV.

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇeha bhakṣiṇya TS. ('may I enjoy the wealth
of thee...'); *tasya nā iṣṭasya pītasya draviṇehāgameḥ* VS. ('wealth
of..., come to us here'). And others; see VV 1 §104u, and §326
above. The forms differ only in accent.

§347. We come now to the second large group of vocative-accusative
variants. In these there is direct address both times; but the person
or thing addressed is syntactically the object of a verb, at least in one
form and generally in both, while one of its epithets is alternatively

expressed in the accusative, agreeing with the object, or in the vocative. While we can generally see which is the original form, on external grounds, both forms are often equally sound syntactically, as was the case with the corresponding nominative-vocative variants (§§334 ff.). Usually the shift is due to attraction to a neighboring form.

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

indram karmasv avatam (MS. VS. **ta*) RV. AV. VS. (both) MS. KS. SB. TB. ApS.: *indram karmasv avatu* MS.: *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.: *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB. (but Poona ed. *indra... 'vata*). See VV 1 §354. The voc. is attracted to the subject of the verb, which originally does not include Indra.

namasyāmas tveṣyam (KS. **ya*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. 'We pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas' or 'to thee, O worshipful J.' The RV. original makes the epithet *īḍyam* agree with *tvā*, the KS. attracts it to *Jātavedaḥ*; but in either case it refers to the same person.

agnim (SV. *agne*) *rathan na vedyam* RV. SV. On this complicated verse (cf. also *agnī ratho na vedyah* RV., and below §387) see *RVRep.* on 1. 186. 3, with references, and especially Oldenberg, *ProL* 288. There is no doubt that SV. is secondary. All the surrounding verses are addressed to Agni; this is doubtless the reason for SV.'s change to the vocative, which makes unsatisfactory sense; the pronoun *raḥ* (plural!) occurs in the first pāda, and is interpreted by the comm. as equivalent to *tvām*!

pra yā bhūmim (TS. ApMB. **mi*) *pravateati* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N. Followed by *mahnā jinōḥi* (MS. *hinoḥi*) *mahini*. Addressed to Pṛthivī, 'earth', who is said to 'promote the land (*bhūmī*)'; by a natural confusion TS. ApMB. assimilate *bhūmī* to the subject and make it vocative, along with (and specifically attracted by) the adjoining vocative epithets. Note that the short *i* of the ending is retained, which however implies a stem *bhūmī* instead of *bhūmī*; cf. *yāś ca bhūmy...* etc., §180.

mahyā indram (ApMB. *indra*) *svastaye* RV. ApMB. Occurs twice in ApMB., in different contexts, both different from that of RV. On one of them see Winternitz xxix f. Both are inferior in sense.

§349. The cases in which an older vocative varies with a secondary accusative in expressions of direct address are:

ye tvā rātry (MG. *rātrim*) *upāsate* KS. MG.: *yā tām rātrim upāmahe* PG.: *yām tvā rātry upāmahe* (TS. *upāsate*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*)

AV. TS. SMB. Direct address in all, even in PG, where the object pronoun is 3d person instead of 2d; PG. and MG. assimilate the form of the orig. voc. to the object pronoun.

indra śaviṣṭha satpate RV.: *indrām śaviṣṭha satpatim* SV. Repeated in SV. from RV. 8. 68. 1, where the first three pādas are: *ā tvā vatham yathotaye sumnāya varlayāmasi, tvikārmim rīṣaham*. The acc. epithets of the prec. have attracted two of the three vocs. of the last pāda; the curious thing is that one (*śaviṣṭha*) is allowed to remain even in SV.

śociṣkeṣam vicakṣaṇa (AV.* *ṇam*) RV. ArS. AV. (both) TS. KS. Preceded by *tvā...deva sūrya*. Clear attraction to the prec. acc. in AV.

hotāś cikīrvo (AV. *ṇann*) *avṛṇimahiha* RV. AV.: *agne hotāram avṛṇimahiha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In all texts *tvā* occurs in prec. 'In that today... we choose thee, O hotar (as hotar).'

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. *ṇitir*, MS. *ḍhite*, KS.* *ḍhūtam*, v. l. *ḍhūtim*, and *†*ṇītha*, KapS. *ḍhūtam* or *ḍhūtim*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) KapS. ŚB. See §340.

sva devā (TS. TB. ApS. *sva devān*) *aganmā* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApS. MŚ. The acc. certainly secondary, and perhaps influenced by *sva*; see §340.

vaha kāla (HG. *kālam*, v. l. *kāla*) *vaha śriyaṁ mābhi vaha* ApMB. HG. Undoubtedly ApMB. is correct and original. Addressed to an elephant: 'Carry, black one, carry! Carry me towards fortune!' Probably *kāla* should be read in HG. with two mss.; certainly *kālam* does not make sense. 'Carry the time' (Oldenberg) is ridiculous, and 'carry the black one' is little better.

Transfer of epithet

§350. The remaining vocative-accusative variants, except a few corruptions, concern 'transfer of epithet' from one person or thing to another, involving change of case (and also, often, of number or gender): *rayim no dhehi subhage suvīram* (MŚ. *suvīre*, PG.† *suvīryam*) AV. TS. MŚ. PG. 'Grant us wealth with good sons, O auspicious one': 'grant us wealth, O auspicious one of good sons.' There is little real difference in the sense; the possession of good sons by the deity addressed implies the granting of them to the petitioner.

vardhā samudram ukthyam (SV. *ṇya*) RV. SV. In RV. *ukthyam* modifies *samudram*; in SV. it is transferred to *soma* (in pāda a).

- indram sakhāyo* (KS. °yam) *anu sam rabhadheam* (KS. *vyayadhvam*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The voc. *sakhāyo* refers to the subject (warriors); the acc. to the object (Indra).
- subhage kāmṣilavāsini* TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.: *subhadrikām kāmṣilavāsini* VS. MS. See Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 141, 144. The words are applied differently; the accs. to a rival queen, the vocs. (spoken by the priest) to the Mahiṣī. Both occur in an obscene passage in the *aśvamedha*. In the voc. form note the absence of the imprecatory suffix *ka*.
- kṛṇata dhūmam vṛṣṇaḥ sakhāyaḥ* AV.: *kṛṇota dhūmam vṛṣṇaḥ sakhāyaḥ* RV. 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 *dhūmam* (so Grassmann *Wbch.*, Geldner, Hillebrandt), is transferred to the following *sakhāyaḥ*.
- kaś tam indra tvāvasam* (SV. PB. *tvā vaso*) RV. SV. AB. GB. PB. AŚ. This involves a 'false division' of the type described in VV 2 §820, where this variant might have been included. The RV. has a cpd. adj. agreeing with *tam*. The SV. misunderstands it as containing an acc. *tvā*, and then makes the seemingly necessary correction to *vaso*, which is then a voc. going with *indra*.
- aganma mītrāvaruṇā varenyā* (MS. *vareṇa*, KS. *varenyam*) TS. MS. KS. In KS. the epithet goes apparently with *bhāgam*, to be supplied in sense (the following *pāda* is *rātrīṇāḥ bhāgo yuvayor yo aśi*). In TS. (probably a lect. fac.) it is made to agree with *mītrāvaruṇā*. MS. has a different change, on which see VV 2 §326.
- achidram* (SMB. °rāḥ) *śarma 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* (AŚ. text, *svagān*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ. *jayataḥ*; AŚ. also, as variant given in the text, *arvato jayati*) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. *arvanto* is voc. in SV., nom. in Vait., in both cases going with the subject (in ŚŚ. either nom. or voc.). In the second version of AŚ. it is transferred to the object.
- ṛbhūm ṛbhukṣaṇo rayim* RV.: *ṛbhukṣaṇam ṛbhūm rayim* RV. SV. In the first passage *ṛbhukṣaṇo* is a voc. elliptic plural, 'O Ṛbhukṣan (and the two other Ṛbhū).'. In the second it is an epithet of *rayim*. See *RVRep.* on 4. 37. 5.
- nāma svadhāvan guhyam* (ApMB. *svadhāvat svaryam*) *bibharṣi* RV. ApMB. In RV. *svadhāvan* refers to Agni; in ApMB. it is made an epithet of *nāma*.

§351. There are two cases of the sort mentioned in §15; in both what is in the original form an object noun is treated in the secondary form as a vocative epithet. They differ from the preceding only in that the original accusative can hardly be considered an 'epithet':

avavyayann 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 *deva*; its meaning is obscure; Caland translates the RV. reading. See VV 2 p. 124.

viśvam ā bhāsi rocanam (AV.* °na) RV. ArŚ. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. The subject is the sun; the object, in the orig., *viśvam*, . . . *rocanam*. In AV. *rocana* must be felt as an epithet of the subject, 'shining.' This adjective is unknown to the RV., where *rocana* is always a noun.

Errors

§352. Finally, a few errors:

evā hīndra KB. AA. TA. AŚ. Mahānāmnyah. The Conc. follows the Bibl. Ind. ed. of AA. in quoting *hīndram*; but see Keith's AA., 142, n. 12. Voc. in all.

kāma kāmam mā āvartaya PB. MŚ.: *kāmam-kāmam mā āvartaya* MS. But one of von Schroeder's best mss. reads *kāma kāmam* (both accented); this and the reading of MŚ., its ritual text, convinces us that the printed reading of MS. is merely due to bad editing. *yām iṣum girisanta* VS. MS. TS. KS. ŚvetU. NilarU. The ed. of NilarU. used in Conc. has *girisantam* in text and comm. But the AnSS. ed. has °santa in text (comm. °santam). The acc. can be construed only with difficulty; Deussen assumes a voc.

devayuvam (TB. *devā**) *viśvavārām* (AŚ. °vāre) TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *ghṛtavatīm adhvaryo* (AŚ.† °yoh) *srucam āśvasva*. The accs. go with *srucam*, the spoon; perhaps AŚ. means *viśvavāre* 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 (*iḍāmahai devān iḍenyān*). Note that AŚ. is also corrupt in *adhvaryoh* (omitted in Conc.; to be added to VV 2 §381).

CHAPTER XIII

VOCATIVE AND OTHER CASES

A. Vocative and instrumental

§353. The variations between vocative and instrumental are, as we should expect, few and scattering. Nevertheless there are certain conditions in which, rather unexpectedly, these two cases may be interchanged with substantially no difference of meaning. Thus, first, an associative instrumental may be used with a vocative of direct address of a person also addressed; while in another form a second vocative may function. The associative instrumental varies in this same way with other cases (§§55-7). The examples we have noted are:

mo śū ṇa indrātra (TS.† *indra*) *pṛtsu devāih* (KS. *devāh*, TS. MS. *deva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original, 'O Indra along with the gods!'; in KS., 'O Indra (and) ye gods!' The next pāda begins with *astu* and MS. TS. read *devāstu*, which however MS. p.p. resolves as *devāh*, *astu*—implying the reading of KS. The reading *deva* would of course be voc. sg., as epithet of Indra; this would be a case of 'transfer of epithet', as described in §15.

devīr-devīr (ApŚ. *devīr devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS. ApŚ. In MS. an āmreḍita compound: 'Ye several goddesses!' In ApŚ.: 'Ye goddess along with the gods!'

ā yāhi kūra haribhyām (SV. KB. ŚŚ. *hariha*, AŚ. *harī iha*) AV. SV. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See notes of Whitney and Keith. Apparently *harī iha* is intended in all but AV.; *harī* would seem to be voc.: 'O hero (Indra) [and] ye two bay steeds!'

§354. In another way the voc. and instr. may be nearly equivalent in ultimate meaning in the following, which psychologically go with interchanges between direct address and indirect statement (cf. §29); here in the indirect form the personage which in the other form is directly addressed is put in the instrumental instead of the nom. (for the equivalence of these two cases in such contexts see §40).

jagatyainam (AŚ. °*ty enam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS. KS. °*mī*, AŚ. °*nī*) 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 AŚ.

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (GB. *ātmānātmānam*) *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):

devī devebhīr yajate (and *°tā*) *yajatraih* RV. (both): *devī detegū yajātā yajatra* RV. AV. MS. The latter is certainly secondary; *yajatra* is made to agree with a preceding *agne*, whereas in the original the word agreed with *devebhīr*. The contexts are different. See RVRep. 241.

§356. In one stray case a voc. varies with an adverbial instr.:

sā naz samanān anu parihi bhadrayā ApMB.: *sā mā* (MG, *nah*) *samanān abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG. SMB. *bhadre* refers to the sacred belt, *mekhalā*: 'Do thou encircle me (us) completely, O fair one!' Instead of 'O fair one' ApMB. says 'fairly', using the old RV. adverb. Or this may be the original reading, and *bhadre* a sort of phonetic (Prakritic) reduction; the variant should in any case have been quoted in VV 2 §747.

§357. The next is one of those cases which by a certain stretching of language may be called 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15). A voc. epithet of the subject is replaced by an instrumental of different appurtenance:

utūla parimūḍho 'si PG.: *ūlena parimūḍho 'si* HG.: *ulena pariṣṭho 'si* ApMB. Original is apparently PG.; *utūla* '(runaway) servant.' The word *ula* or *ūla* seems to mean some kind of wild animal; see Bloomfield SBE. 42. 643 (on AV. 12. 1. 49). But the interpretation of HG. ApMB. is very obscure; Oldenberg abandons the text.

B. Vocative and dative

§358. Here again the variants are few. But they show interesting psychological parallels to variations between the vocative and other cases. Thus first we find some cases in which there is a shift between direct address, with vocative, and indirect statement, in which the per-

sonage addressed in the direct form is referred to in the dative (cf. §30). The alteration may be helped by assimilation to a case-form already present in the older form of the variant, as in the first case:

agnaye (AV. Kauś. *agne*) *samidham āhārṣam* (ŚG. GG. *ahārṣam*) AV.

Kauś. AG. GG. SMB. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. (The false emendation *agre* in AV. is withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.) Lanman ap.

Whitney regards the voc. *agne* as original on metrical grounds.

More weighty to our minds is the fact that it seems to be a lectio

difficilior. The rest of the verse refers to Agni (*Jātavedas*) in the

3d person, not in direct address; and more particularly, the datives

brhate jātavedase follow immediately, and it is almost certain that

agnaye has been assimilated to them, replacing *agne*. Note that

the following stanzas are all directly addressed to Agni *Jātavedsa*.

However, the comm. on AV. reads *agnaye*, and so does one of

SPP's reciters. 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for

the great J.'

brhaspataye mahiṣa (TS. *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS.: *brhaspate*

mahiṣāya dive namaḥ Ppp. (Barret, JAOS. 26. 273): *brhaspate*

mahiṣa dyuman namaḥ MŚ. Followed by:

viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān AV. (and Ppp.): *namo viśvakarmane*

sa u pātv asmān TS. MŚ. In the first pāda there is a double case;

brhaspate varies with *pataye*, and *mahiṣa* with *ṣāya* of Ppp.

Altho the AV. comm. reads *mahi ṣad* like TS., we no longer hold

the view expressed in VV 2 §§392, 826 that this is the original

reading. All texts but TS. have a form of the stem *mahiṣa*; we

attribute special weight to Ppp. *mahiṣāya* which we had previously

overlooked. We now take the original to be MŚ.: 'O *Brhaspati*,

mighty one (or buffalo bull), glowing homage (to thee); homage

to *Viśvakarman*; may he protect us.' Since no dative is expressed

in the first pāda, one of the two vocs. (which really indicate the

recipient) is changed into a dative in all the other texts; hence

mahiṣāya Ppp., *brhaspataye* AV. TS. The change to direct address

in the second pāda in AV. Ppp. is also due to a sort of assimila-

tion; it matches the direct address of the first pāda, to a different

divinity.

§359. Parallel to the cases mentioned in §§334 etc. are one or two instances in which there is direct address in both forms of the variant, but instead of the vocative one form has a dative, referring to the same person but differently construed. Here too the shift may be due to form assimilation. Thus in the first instance the voc. is clearly original

and the dative assimilated to the pronoun *te*, which is found also in the older form:

kṣayadvīra (TS. °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* RV. TS. Addressed to Rudra; the preceding is *āre te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnam* RV., *ārā te goghna uta pūruṣaghne* TS. The meaning of TS. is far from clear (Keith may be right in thinking that the variant word is felt as meaning 'hero-destroyer' in TS., instead of 'hero-ruler'; in other respects Keith's interpretation seems to us less happy; we think *sumnam* is felt as 'hymn' in TS.). But the assimilation is clear.

vasaro rudrā ādityā etā vaḥ pannejanīh MS. KS.: *vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhya viśvebhyo vo devebhyaḥ pannejanīr gṛhṇāmi* TS. The former is clearly original: 'These are your footbaths, O Vasus etc.' In TS. we take it that there is still direct address, so referring to the gods; and perhaps the datives may therefore be conceived as assimilated to the case of *vo*. At any rate TS. means: 'I take the footbaths for you Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, All-gods' (or, at least, *vo* must certainly go with *viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ*, as its position clearly suggests, rather than with *pannejanīr* as Keith takes it).

puṣṭipate (MS. *puṣṭa*°; ApŚ. °*palaye*) *puṣṭiḥ* (MS. om.) *cakṣuṣe . . punar dhekī (dehī)*. . . MS. AŚ. ApŚ. Caland adopts voc. for ApŚ.; but this involves also reading *puṣṭim* for *puṣṭiḥ*, which is supported by AŚ. and which MS. lacks altogether. To us it seems that ApŚ. has a genuine (the secondary) variant: 'To the Lord of Prosperity prosperity! Give back etc.'

§360. The following may be said to be cases of 'transfer of epithet' (§14):

viprā ṛgātham gāyata yaj juṣoṣati (AA. °*ṣat*) AA. ŚŚ.: *viprāya ṛgātham gāyata yam juṣoṣate* SV. Preceded by *pra va indrāya vtrahantamāya*. In SV. the epithet goes with Indra, in the others it is addressed to the priests (probably by a secondary transfer).

tasmai rudrāya namo astv agnaye (KS. ApŚ. *astu devāh*, MŚ.† 'stu devāya) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚirasU. (Ppp. has the pāda ending *astv adya*, TS. TA. MahānU. ending *astu*.) Lectio difficillima in AV. (probably original). The voc. *devāh* cannot refer to the same personage as the dative of the others, whether Agni be identified or only associated with Rudra. Add to VV 2 §909.

§361. A couple of anomalous cases:

ekam iṣe TB. ApŚ. SMB. KhG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. Followed, where more than a *pratīka*, by *viṣṇuḥ tvānvetu (nayatv)*. 'One (step) for nourishment; may Viṣṇu accompany (lead) thee.' Simi-

lar are *iṣa ekapadī* (sc. *bhava*) AG. ŚG.: *iṣe tvā sumāṅgalī prajā-vatī susīme* Kauś. In these the formula is the first of a series employing the first seven numerals, with nearly uniform wording. In TS. we find the formula isolated, in a quite different context from any occurring in the others, as follows: *ekam iṣa (viṣṇus tvānu vi cakrame)*: 'One (step), O vigorous one, Viṣṇu has stepped along after thee.' Keith denies any relation between this and the other mantras; but it seems to us probable that he is wrong. TS. has simply worked over and applied differently a formula remembered from other occasions. It has turned *iṣe* into a voc., probably thinking of the RV. adjective *iṣa* (but comm. *sarvademuṣiṣyamāna*). [*kanyakumārīyāi* (TA. °mārī) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. Poona ed. of TA. °*kumārī*, but with accent on the penult (!); and its comm. °*kumārī*. 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: *līṅgādīvyatyayāḥ sarvatra chāndaso draṣṭavyāḥ* (very simple!).]

C. Vocative and ablative

§362. We have noted only a single stray variant, in which the vocative is surely original; it is subject of the following verb *yaja*: 'O broad atmosphere, along with god Vāta, [sacrifice. . .]'. In VS. ŚB. this is violently detached from the following phrase containing *yaja*, and apparently a verb meaning 'protect' must be understood (so the comms.); but the reading is certainly poor:

uro antarikṣa (VS. ŚB. *uror antarikṣāt*) *sojūr devena vilena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (Delete reference to KS. 2. 2.)

D. Vocative and genitive

§363. Here again the variants are not numerous. Some are essentially phonetic in character, involving presence or absence of final visarga; see especially §366. Most of them are cases of shift between direct statement, with vocative, and indirect reference in which the same noun is referred to in the genitive. In quite a number of these, however, as in the nom.-voc. cases mentioned §333, one form or the other is more or less inconsistent with the context, producing stylistic harshness. Thus:

ghṛtaviṣṇo savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

Followed in all by *payasvatī rantīr* (MS. *rātīr*) *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. *savitar* is harsh.

yena te te prajāpate TB. ApŚ.: *yenaite prajāpateḥ* MŚ. Followed in all by *ijānasya nyavarlayan*. Here the following gen. *ijānasya*, which in the (doubtless original) TB. ApŚ. form agreed with *te* referring to Prajāpati, is doubtless connected with the alteration to *prajāpateḥ*. But in MŚ.'s form *te* is lost and the statement becomes third-personal.

tām savitāḥ satyasavām sucitrām AV.: *tām savitur varenyasya citrām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Followed in all by *āham vṛne sumatīḥ viśvajanyām* (AV. *viśvavārām*). '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 varuṇa AV.: *dvīpe rājño varuṇasya* KS. AŚ. Followed by *grho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ* (AŚ. *mito hiraṇyayaḥ*). 'A golden house is built for thee, O king Varuṇa (for king Varuṇa).' The 2d half verse refers to Varuṇa in the 3d person in AV.; but probably this inconsistency is original, and has been eliminated secondarily in KS. AŚ.; note that they are metrically very poor. Form assimilation.

yad bhūmer hṛdayam, [*divi candramasi śṛitam*] ApMB.†: *veda te bhūmī hṛdayam* PG. HG. Even ApMB. addresses Earth directly with a voc. in the following; it is metrically poor in the 1st pāda.

viṣṇoḥ (ApMB. *viṣṇo*, v. l. *viṣṇoḥ*) *śreṣṭhena* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *śraīṣṭhyena*) *rūpeṇa* 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 *savitur*, *viṣṇoḥ*, *trastuḥ*, but *bhagaḥ* (for *bhaga*?). Barret emends to vocs. in all four cases in accordance with AVŚ., but this seems dubious procedure. The deity is addressed directly in pāda c, with *ā dhehī*, in all.

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS. *sanāmy ṭagneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'May I win strength, O Agni (of, or from, Agni).'

ghṛtavalīm adhvaryo (AŚ.† °*yoh*) *srucam āsyasva* TS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §352, end; AŚ. has a stupid corruption.

§364. One or two others are used in different contexts, so that they may be called cases of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

punānāya prabhūvaso RV. SV.: *punānāya prabhūvaso* RV. The voc. agrees directly with *soma*; the gen. with *yasya* which refers to *Soma*. *parṇam vanaspater iva* TB. TAA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. PG. HG.: *parṇam vanaspate 'nu tvā* SMB. Quite different contexts.

§365. We come now to a case or two in which both forms of the variant contain direct address, but a name or epithet of the person addressed is in one form put in the genitive. These are similar to the variants of the voc. with other cases mentioned in §§27 ff. In the first, at least, we have a clear case for form assimilation:

bṛhaspatisutasya ta (KS. om. *ta*, leaving hiatus) *indo* (KS. MS. *inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvantam* (KS. *°vato*) *graham grhṇāmi* (MS. *rādhyāsam*, KS. *graham rādhyāsam*) TS. MS. KS.: *bṛhaspatisutasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK. *inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvato grahān rādhyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. It is evident that VS. has assimilated the voc. of all other texts to the gen. *te* and accompanying adjectives. Note that only the Vāj. texts have another voc. (*deva soma*), which makes *indo* unnecessary.

§366. The next variant is one of those which seem most clearly phonetic in character; the original voc. *agne* becomes *agneḥ* 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. *agneḥ*) *prajāyā saha* RV. AV. PG. ApMB. MG. (All MG. mss. actually read *dāgneḥ* with secondary crasis; this should have been recorded in VV 2 §989; Knauer emends.) Preceded by *tubhyam agre* (MG. *agne*; on this cf. VV 2 §864) *paryavahan, sūryām vahatunā saha, punaḥ* (AV. *sa naḥ*) *patībhyo jāyām*. 'Give back to (us) husbands the bride along with progeny, O Agni (with Agni's progeny?)'. But note that MG. also contains voc. *agne* (for original *agre*), addressing the verse to Agni.

§367. In a couple of cases a voc. varies with a partitive gen. (see §84): *tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe* RV. VS.: *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV. 'Thou art most excellent, O plant (most excellent of plants)'. Same context. The masc. gender is peculiar; apparently there is thought of the

gender of *ṛkṣa*. A tree is addressed. But fem. forms occur in the following verses of AV.

atho rājann (AV. *uta rājñām*) *uttamaṁ mānavānām* AV. TB. Addressed to a king; either makes good sense. The gen. *rājñām* might be assimilated to the following gen. ('also highest of human kings'), or contrariwise the voc. might be assimilated to the direct address preceding ('[who shall make thee] also, O king, highest of men').

§368. The last quoted variant might also be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' (§14). To that category certainly belongs the following:

purā krūrasya viṣṇo virapṣin (MS. *°śinah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. It is clear that MS. has transferred the epithet *virapṣin*(ah) into agreement with *krūrasya*. Otherwise the interpretation is dubious. Mahidhara 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. 9. 3: 'Before the secret departure of the cruel foe (perhaps Araru), O mighty one,' taking *viṣṇo* as abl. gerund. So Griffith and Keith; Eggeling thinks this more probable than the other.

§369. A stray case or two in which the construction is altered, with change from voc. (or nom.) to gen.:

videt agnir (VSK. ŚB. *agner*, MS. MŚ. *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS. MŚ. add *yat te*) VSK. TS. MS. ŚBK. MŚ.: *videt agnir nabho nāma* VS. KS. ŚB. See §333. The nom. is doubtless the original form; but certainly the voc. is better than the gen., which must be construed in dependence on *nāma* ('mayst thou know Agni's name Nabhas'), leaving the subject indefinite or at least unexpressed.

ṣaṣṭiś cādhvaryū (ApŚ. *°yo*, AŚ.† *°yor*) *navatiś ca pāṣāḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. A voc. is clearly required (see §769), and there is no reason why the bonds should be called 'the adhvaryu's'. Probably a misprint in the wretched edition of AŚ.

E. Vocative and locative

§370. First, a stray variant, resembling 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15); an originally independent noun, in loc. construction, is made into a voc. epithet of the subject:

apadyamānaḥ prthivyām TA. ApŚ.: *apadyamānā ṭprthivi* TS. ApŚ.: *avyathamānā prthivyām* (MS. once *°vyām* without v. l., once *prthivī* according to p.p., but s.p. might also be read *prthivī*, and one ms. has *°vyām*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed in all by *āśā dīśa ā prṇa*. 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 suprañte (ŚŚ. °fi) *nṛtamaḥ svarād asi* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms may be taken as locs., and the text mss. of ŚŚ. actually read °te; see VV 2 §695.

CHAPTER XIV

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

1. Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology

§372. The only large and characteristic group of variants between nominative and accusative is that which concerns shift between active (transitive, or causative) and passive (intransitive, or reflexive) expressions. In so far as these are signalized by corresponding shifts in verb forms, they have been already recorded in VV 1 (chapters 2 and 5). But of course the materials correspond only in part. For example, many variants between active and passive verb forms have no expressed nominative subject of the passive (or intransitive) variant, and hence no case variation. On the other hand, one or both of the variants may lack any verb form.

§373. A very simple case of this shift between causative and intransitive expressions is found in the set of formulas ŚG. 4. 9, 10 and BDh. 2. 5. 9, 10, which illustrates at the same time the point last mentioned, that the verb is very easily omitted. Here, in a long list of supernatural entities to which offerings of water (*tarpaṇa*) are made, we find many correspondences of the type (*om*) *agnīm tarpayāmi* BDh., *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG. So with *rāyu*, *sūrya*, *viṣṇu*, *prajāpati*, etc. A similar set occurs in AG., with the verb understood thruout, and expressed (*tṛpyantu*) only at the end. The verb is also understood in some items of the list in ŚG.; hence such variants as *ṛṣayaḥ* (sc. *tṛpyantu*) AG. ŚG.: (*om*) *ṛṣāṇs 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. (*śrutīm tarpayāmi*...), which prevails for six items (incidentally all these contain nouns not found in BDh.), after which, for no evident reason, it shifts back again to the intransitive form. Perhaps this very irregularity of expression may indicate greater antiquity of the ŚG. form. The Śāmbavya Gṛhya (quoted by Oldenberg, *ISl.* 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 kimidinā* (AV. *ye kimidināḥ*) RV. AV.

'Let him (Indra) shine away the paired *kimidins*', or 'let the paired *kimidins* 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 viśvāsu havyah (SV. Svidh. *havyam*) RV. AV. SV. AA. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh. Followed in RV. AV. SV. by *indrah* (SV. *indran*) *samatsu bhāṣatu* (SV. °*ta*). The verb is used in a different sense; explained in §330.

ny akvīnā hrtsu kāmā (ApMB. *kāmān*) *nyaṁsata* (AV. *araṁsata*) RV. AV. ApMB. In the RV. original: 'O Aśvins, (our) desires have stationed themselves in your hearts.' In ApMB., with less feeling for the middle: 'O Aśvins, they (people, indefinite) have stationed (their) desires in your hearts.'

ekapādī dvipādī . . . aṣṭāpādī bhuvanānu prathatām svāhā TS.: *ekapādīm . . . aṣṭāpādīm bhuvanānu prathanām* VS. ŚB.: *ekapādam dvipādam tṛipādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathanām* KS. Only TS. seems to use the verb in the intransitive sense which it should have: 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds.' In the others it seems that it must be taken as transitive (= *prathayantu*; cf. the preceding variant), tho the form is certainly anomalous. 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.

somam rājānam oṣadhīṣv apsu VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *somo rājauṣadhīṣv apsu* KS. Preceded by *vājasyemam* (KS. *vājasya nu*) *prasavaḥ suṣuve 'gre* (TS. *ṭagre*; 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 rājā* 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 sprśad 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. §126) in which no verb at all is expressed. In that case the formula ordinarily consists merely of the name of the deity, in the dative or genitive, and the name of the thing offered, in either the nominative or accusative according as a passive (or intransitive or copulative) verb form or an active verb form is in the mind of the speaker. These two alternatives may vary with each other in different texts; or either of them may vary with a form of the other in which the verb is expressed. So we get such variants as these; it would hardly be worth while to list them completely:

himavate (TS. KSA. TA. °to) *hasṭi* (TA. *hasṭinam*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

TA. 'An elephant [is offered, or I offer] to Himavant.'

dhūmrān vasantāydlabhate VS. *dhūmrā vasantāya* MS. In the same passage, *prṣato hemantāya* VS., *prṣanto hemantāya* MS., and others.

anumatyaī caruḥ (MS. *carum*) TS. MS. KSA.: *adityai viṣṇupatnyai carum* (KSA. *caruḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. And others.

agnaye 'ñhomuce 'ṣṭākapālah TS. KSA. ApŚ.: *agnaye 'ñhomuce puroḍāsam aṣṭākapālam nirvapati* MS. In this and the following MS. alone has acc. thruout, all others nom.; the verb *nirvapati* is however regularly omitted in MS. So:

agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālah VS. TS. KS. KSA.: *vaiśvānaram dvādaśakapālam* MS.

mitrāvaruṇābhyām āgomugbhyām payasyā (MS. °yām) TS. MS. KSA.— Similarly *marudbhyā enomugbhyām* etc.; *agnaye gāyatrāya* etc.; *bṛhaspataye pāṇktāya* 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 *agninī svāhā* etc. The TB. comm. supplies *uddītya* to govern the acc. No explanation of the nom. in ŚB. is offered by the comm. or by Eggeling. Perhaps an intransitive form of *tyj* is to be supplied with the nom. and a transitive form of the same verb or of *yaj* (*hotā yakṣat*...) with the acc. (cf. §§373 and 459 under *svāhāgnim*...). Parallel formulas in the vicinity present acc. forms in ŚB.:

svāhā devā ājyapāh (TB. *devān ājyapān*) ŚB. TB.

§378. Next may be recorded a group in which a form of *kr* or *dhā*, 'make' or 'put', with acc., varies with a form of *as* or *bhū* with nom.,

or with a nominal clause without expression of the copulative verb. Thus: *parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ* AV.: *parāḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhī* KŚ. 'Away the dream-faced pains' (supply *santu* in AV., rather than 'I put' with Whitney); 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces' (or, quite possibly, 'away put the dream-faces').

ojasvantāṁ mām āyusmantāṁ varcasvantāṁ (MS. *mām sahasvantāṁ*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Vait. *āyusmantāṁ manuṣyeṣu kṛṇuhī*) TS. MS. AŚ. Vait.: *ojasvān ahaṁ manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VSK.: *ojasvy ahaṁ manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* ŚŚ.: *oṣiṣṭho 'haṁ man° bhū°* VS. ŚB.

bhrājasvantāṁ mām āyusmantāṁ varcasvantāṁ (MS. *mām varcasvantāṁ*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* TS. MS.: *bhrājasvān* (ŚG. *bhrājasvy*) *ahaṁ* (VS. ŚB. *bhrājiṣṭho 'haṁ*) *manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

jaradaṣṭīm kṛṇomi tvā AV.: *jaradaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi* SMB. Ppp. (JAOS. 42. 125) reads as SMB.

brahma varma mamāntaram RV. AV. SV. ApŚ.: *brahmāham antaram kṛṇve* (KŚ. *karave*) AV. KŚ. 'Brahman is my inner defense': 'I make B. my inner (defense).'

asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī AV.: *asmākam kṛṇmo harivo medināṁ tvā* Ppp. (JAOS. 37. 263 f.): *iha kṛṇmo harivo medināṁ tvā* KS.: *asya* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, Sch. em. *kurmo*) *harivo medināṁ* (RVKh. Sch. *vedināṁ*) *tvā* RVKh. TS. TB.

viśvāḥ dhātām anapasphuranām RV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *viśvāḥ santv anapasphuranāṁ* AV. TA.

catuṣṭomo abhavat (MS. KS. *catuṣṭomam adadhāt*) *yā turīyā* TS. MS. KS. 'The fourth (brick) has become (has set) the Catuṣṭoma.'

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N. °*nam*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. Kauś. *sadanāni santu*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *sugā vo devāḥ sadanāni nedam astu* KS.: *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.

ariṣṭāṁ tvā (KŚ. MŚ. MG. *mā*) *saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. MŚ. MG. *dadhātu*) RV. KŚ. MŚ. MG. ApMB.: *ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS. The contexts are essentially similar, but the forms with 1st person pronouns are spoken by a woman.

āsmānam tanvaṁ kṛdhī AV.: *āsmā bhavatu nas* (AV. *te*) *tanūḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: *āsmā bhava paraśur bhava* ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. HG. MG. ApMB. The contexts are in part similar.

ākhuṁ te rudra paśuṁ karomi MS. MŚ.: *ākhuḥ te paśuḥ* VS. TS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ.: *ākhuḥ te rudra paśuḥ* TS. ApŚ.

yathā tvam (PG. *tvam agne*) *suśravāḥ suśravā asy* (SMB. *deveṣṣ*) *evam ahaṁ suśravāḥ suśravā bhūyāsam* (SMB. *brāhmaṇeṣu bhūyāsam*,

AG. PG. MG. *evam mām suśravah saśuvrasam kuru* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.

§379. In a couple of other cases forms of *dhṛ* (passive) or *pad* (middle) are found instead of the copula with the nom. form of the variant; otherwise they are exactly like the preceding:

evā te dhṛiyatām garbhaḥ AV.: *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV.: *evam garbham dadhāmi te 'sau* (ApMB. *dadhātu te*, HG. *dadhāmi te*) ŚB. BrhU. ŚG. ApMB. HG.: *evam tam garbham ā dhehi* RVKh. MG.: *evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva* ApMB.

viśvasya janitor adhamam cakāra (RV.* AV. *adhamas padīṣṭa*) RV. (both) AV. 'He has made him lowest of every creature': 'may he fall lowest of every creature.'

§380. There remains a considerable group of other variants in which active or causative verb forms with acc. vary with intransitive, passive, or reflexive forms with nom. In most, tho not all, the varying verb forms derive from the same root; these are given first:

evam aham āyujā . . samindhe (SMB. *samedhiṣṭya*) SMB. PG.: *evam mām āyujā* (HG. *mām medhaya*) . . *samedhaya* ApMB. HG. 'Thus I am (may I be) inflamed' or 'thus inflame thou me'.

sahobhau caratām dharmam MDh.: *saha dharmam cara* NāradaDh.: *saha dharmas caryatām* GDh.

tvam yajñeṣv idyah RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tvām yajñeṣv idate* RV.

vedīm bhūmim kalpayitvā AV.: *vedir bhūmir akalpata* AV. Both in same hymn; 'shaping the earth into a *vedi*': 'the earth took shape as a *vedi*.'

varca ā dhehi (KS. *dhāyi*) *me tanvam* (KS. *tanūh*) AV. KS. 'Set splendor in my body': 'my body has been set in splendor.' On *tanvam* see §249.

māmīṣām (TS. TB. ApŚ. *maiṣām*) *kaṁ canoḥ chīṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiṣām uccheṣi kiṁ cana* AV.: *māmīṣām moḥi kaṁ cana* AV. 'Leave not one of them': 'let not anything of them be left' ('let not one of them be let go').

gaṇā (KS. *te*) *me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *gaṇān me mā vi tīṛṣaḥ* (MŚ. *vi tīṛṣat*, Vait. *vy arīṛiṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.

yukto vālo 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha PB.: *yunaṣmi vāyum antarikṣeṇa te* (MŚ. *tena*) *saha* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ sūryasya PB.: *yunaṣmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* TS. ApŚ.: *yunaṣmi tisro viṛtaḥ sūryaḥ sava* [iti] MŚ.

dviṣantām (AV. *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV. AV. *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV. AV.

TB. ApŚ.: *dr̥iṣṭānā ca mahyam radhyatu* AV.: *dr̥iṣṭāntō radhyantān mahyam* MŚ. All in the same verse. Add to VV 1 §§79, 238.

mṛtyava ekaśatam paraḥ Kauś.: *mṛtyūn ekaśatam cayo* ApŚ. Others, §509. The verb in Kauś. is *nir yantu*.

pāpmānam te 'pahannāḥ KŚ.: *pāpmānam me 'pa jahi* (MG. *me hata*)

Kauś. MG.: *pāpmā me hataḥ* AG.: *hato me pāpmā* AG. MG.

caritrāns te śundhāmi VS. ŚB.: *śuddhāś caritrāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

trayastrīṣat (VS. *caturtrīṣat*) *tantavo ye vi tatnire* (MS. *yam* [for *yān*?] *vi tanvate*, KS. AŚ. *yān vi tanvate*) VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

'... which were stretched out (which they stretched out).'

ad id ghr̥tena pr̥thivī vy udyate (AV.† *pr̥thivīm vy ūduḥ*) RV. AV. MS.

KS. N.: *ad it pr̥thivī ghr̥tair vy udyate* TS.

athaiṣān bhinnakāḥ kumbhāḥ SMB.: *bhinadmi te kuṣumbham* AV.: *atho bhinadmi tam kumbham* Ppp.

ayam vai tvām aṣṇayad ayam tead adhijāyatām asau vāhā ŚŚ.: *asmād vai tvam aṣṇayathā ayam tead adhijāyatām*... (JB. *°thā eṣa tvaj jāyā-lām*...) JB. AG. Kauś.

yenikṣā (SMB. *°kṣān*, PG. *°kṣyān*, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyasiṣyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyasiṣcatam*, PG. *abhyasiṣcatām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

apahato 'raruḥ pr̥thivyai (also *°vyai devayajanyai*, *°vyā adevayajanah*)

TS. ApŚ.: *apāraruḥ adevayajanam pr̥thivyā devayajanāj* (ApŚ.† *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ.: *apāraruḥ pr̥thivyai devayajanād bādhyāsam* VS. ŚB.: *apāraruḥ pr̥thivyā adevayajanam* (ApŚ. *°rum adevayajanam pr̥thivyāḥ*) MS. MŚ. ApŚ. (the last apparently an abbreviated form of the KS. formula).

§381. In the rest the psychology of the variation is essentially the same, but there is no such formal correspondence in the verb forms. Sometimes only a copula, or even no verb at all, is used with the nom. form, as in §§376-7:

pumānsam putram janaya AV. ŚG.: *pumāns te putro nāri* ApMB.

'Bear a male son': 'a male son is thine, O woman.'

antarikṣasya dhartrīm (TS. om. *un° dha°*) *viṣṭambhanīm* (TS. *°nī*) *disām adhipatnīm* (TS. *°nī*) *bhuvanānām* (MS. *disām bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. predicate noms. with preceding copula; in the others agreeing with object of *sadayāmi*.

sūryam cakṣur gamayatāt, vātam prāṇam anvasatjātāt MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *sūryas te* (AV. *sūryo me*) *cakṣur vātaḥ prāṇaḥ* AV. TS. KSA. ŚŚ. [CI. *sūryam* (TA. *sūryam te*) *cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā* RV. TA.: *sūryas cakṣur vātaḥ prāṇam, puruṣasya vi bhejire* AV.]

In the same passages: *antarikṣam asum* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.:

antarikṣam ātmā AV. TA. ŚŚ.: *prthivīm karīram* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *prthivi karīram* (MŚ. °ram asi) AV. ŚŚ. MŚ. With the first quotation in these pairs a verb of sending, forming, or the like is to be understood. The second is a nominal clause (with 3d person copula 'understood', as used to be said). MŚ. in a still unpublished passage was quoted by Knauer with 2d person *asi*, which would seem to require a voc. instead of nom. *prthivi*, or else *prthivi-karīram* as a cpd.

aganma yatra pratiranta āyuh (MG. *prataram na āyuh*) RV. AV. MG. 'We have gone where they have extended life (where life is extended for us, or the like).'

§382. Others, in which the nom. form is subject of other intransitive verbs, are:

ā te prāṇam suvāsi AV.: *punas te prāṇa āyati* (TA. *āyāti*, AŚ. *āyātu*) TS.† TA. AŚ.

sahasrīṇa upa no māhi vājān (no *yantu vājāh*) RV. (both).

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇcha bhakṣīya TS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* TS.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sveṣṭasya draviṇam māgachatu* KS. And others, see VV I §104u. Cf. also §326 above. *īhaiva tiṣṭha nīmīlā* (MG. *nīlarā*) AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *īhaiva dhruvā* (ŚG. *sthāne*) *prati tiṣṭha śāle* (ŚG. *dhruvā*) AV. ŚG. HG.: *īhaiva dhruvām ni minomi śālām* AV. PG. HG.

ūrṇamradasam (ūrṇā°) *tvā strṇāmi* (KS. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva*, Kauś. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva*) *svāsthām* (VS.† ŚB.† °sthām) *devabhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. Kauś. ApŚ. *ūrṇamradaḥ* of KS. might be taken as voc. (since the text is here not accented), but Kauś. suggests rather nom., and *svāsthām* can only be nom. (neut.).

yamāya somam sunuta (AV. *somah pavate*) RV. AV. TA.

§383. We shall close this section with a variant which will serve as a sort of transition to the next subdivision:

sam ī vatsum na mātṛbhīḥ RV. SV. AB. AŚ.: *sam vatsa iva mātṛbhīḥ* RV. SV. AB. AŚ. The first is followed by *ṣṛjatā gayasādhanam*, the second by *indur hinvāno ajyate*. 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 kṣīreṇa pūrṇā (pūrṇān) udakena dadhṇā* (both AV.). In the first form the nom. agrees with the noms. of the preceding *pāda (ghṛtaśradā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ)*; in the other (which occurs in the next stanza and is an obvious modulation of the first) it is thrown into agreement with *kumbhānś* of the preceding *pāda (caturāḥ kumbhānś caturdhā dadāmi)*.

§386. Sometimes two entire *pādas* are thus lifted into a different context, involving change of case in several words. Thus the two following variant *pādas* are *pādas b, c* of a verse which in RV. has for a *tam ahyam bhurijor dhiyā*, but in SV. *ēṣa sūryeṇa hāsate*. The epithets of Soma are in RV. objects of *ahyam*, in SV. subjects of *hāsate*:

samvasānam (SV. °no) *vivasvataḥ* (SV. °tā); followed by:
patih (SV. *patir*) *vāco adābhyam* (SV. °yaḥ) 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 vicarṣaṇih RV.: *pavamānam vicarṣaṇim* RV. In quite different contexts; nom. subject of *arocayat*, acc. object of *gāyata*.

tiro rajāṇsy asṛtam (RV.* °taḥ, SV. *asṛtaḥ*) RV. (both) SV.

koṣa iva pūrṇo vasunā SMB.: *koṣam na pūrṇam vasunā nyṛṣtam* RV. AV.

agniḥ ratho na vedyaḥ RV.: *agnirḥ ratham na vedyam* RV. Cf. §348.

hiranyābhīsum (and °sur) *akvinā* RV. (both). See RVRep. on 8. 5. 28.

īśāno jagatas patih AV. TS. KS. ApMB.: *īśānam jagadaih vada* PG.

avyo vāre (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV. SV. (both in each).

pībasphākam udārathim AV.: *pīvo vṛkka udārathiḥ* RV. KS.

viśvasya jagato niśām (ArS. *rātrī*) RVKh. ArS.

sindhutas pary ābhṛtaḥ (and °tam) AV. (both).

sutam somam diviṣṭiṣu RV.: *sutaḥ somo diviṣṭiṣu* RV. SV.

suṣamiddham (VS. *suṣam*°) *vareṇyam* VS. TB.: *suṣamiddho* (VS. MS. *suṣam*°) *vareṇyaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

suṣvānam (and °no) *devavīṭaye* RV. SV. (both in each).

rṣibhiḥ sambhṛtaḥ rasam RV. SV. TB.: *rṣ° sambhṛto rasah* RVKh. SV. TB.

barhiḥ ca vediḥ (ŚŚ. *vedim*) *ca* MS. ŚŚ.

dogdhṛtḥ dhenum ŚŚ.: *dogdhṛt dhenuh* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. The verb is *āsuam* in ŚŚ., in the others *jāyatām*. Likewise, in the same passages, these acc. forms in ŚŚ. with corresponding noms. in the others: *volhāram anadrāham*, *āsum saptim*, *jignum ratheṣṭhām*, *puraṇdhim yojām*, *sabheyam yuvānam*. The entire passages are evidently related, one being based on a recollection of the other, but applied to quite different purposes, so that the contexts are fundamentally different, and they constitute a true instance of 'phrase inflection' on a large scale.

bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānam (AV.* °naḥ, TA.† *anapaspaśānam*) RV. AV. (bis) MS. TA. N. The same verse, with acc. governed by following verb, in all except AV. 6. 28. 3, where the nom. occurs preceded by *yah prathamah pravataḥ ā sasāda*. This AV. passage has adapted the orig. to a quite new context; see Whitney's note and Pischel, *VSt.* 2. 73.

tiras tamānsi darśataḥ (RV.* °tam) RV. (both) AV. SV. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. The RV. acc. form and ŚŚ. are followed by:

ghṛtāhavanam idyam RV.: *ghṛtāhavana idyah* ŚŚ. The nom. of RV. etc. is in apposition with *agnih*, subject of *sam idhyate*; the acc. is appropriate to its different context. In ŚŚ. both occur as nivids; cf. *RVRep.* 192.

agnih (RV. **agnih*) *śukreṇa lociṣā* RV. (both) KS.

apām patim vṛṣabham oṣadhīnām KS.: *apām patir vṛṣabha* (KS. om. *vṛ°*) *oṣadhīnām* MS. KS.

ghṛtaḥ duhānām aditiḥ janāya VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ghṛtaḥ duhānāditiḥ janāya* KS.

sahasradhārā payasā mahi gauḥ RV.: *sahasradhārām payasā mahīm gām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Occurs thrice in RV., the nom. being subject of various verbs. In the others preceded by *yām asya kaṇṇo aduhat prapīnām*, a pāda found also in AV., where it is followed by a variant of our pāda, viz. *sahasradhārām mahiṣo bhagāya*.

maṇiḥ sahasravīryah AV.: *maṇim sahasravīryam* AV.

yajisṭham havyavāhana (and °nam) RV.: *yajisṭho havyavāhanah* RV.

rathīlamanḥ rathīnām RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *rathīlamo rathīnām* RV. See *RVRep.* on 1. 11. 1.

viśvajanasya chāyā (MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. *chāyāsi*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *viśvajanasya chāyām* ApŚ.

dyuh kīrtir varco yaśo balam HG.: *dyuh kīrtim yaśo balam anādyaṁ prajāṁ* PG.

sahasradhāram (TAA.*°ro) *akṣitam* (TAA.*°taḥ) RV. AV. TAA. (both).

In RV. both words are acc. masc., epithets of *indum*. In AV. twice in a wholly different stanza: *ud utsam śatadhāram, sah° akṣ°, evāsmākedam dhānyam, sah° akṣ°*. This is recast in TAA. thus: *yathā kūpaḥ śatadhārah, sahasradhāro akṣitaḥ, evā me astu dhānyam, sahasradhāram akṣitam*. Ppp. (JAOS. 37. 294 ff.) agrees with TAA. but for *akṣataḥ* and *akṣatam* (to be added to VV 2 §576), and the corruption *rūpaḥ* 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 *utsa* is otherwise masc. We feel however that accs. are impossible, and that either *utsa* is here felt as neut., or the forms of pāda b are mechanically assimilated to those of d (nom. neut.). Cf. the next, which is evidently related.

sahasradhāram śatadhāram utsam akṣitam AV.: *sahasradhāra utso akṣityamānaḥ* ApŚ. Cf. preceding. Different contexts.

aṅgabhedam aṅgajvaram AV.: *aṅgabhedo aṅgajvaraḥ* AV.

indram (RV.* *indraḥ*) *somasya pīṭaye* (RV.* adds *vṛṣāyate*) RV. (both) AV. SV.

duḥśānsam martyam rūpum RV.: *duḥśānso martyo rūpuḥ* RV.

dhanamjayam raṇe-ṇe RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. MŚ.: *dhanam-jayo raṇe-ṇe* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS.

mañhiṣṭham vājasātaye RV. SV.: *mañhiṣṭho vājasātaye* RV. AA. ŚŚ.

prajāpatih prathamajā ṛtasya AV. MS. TS. TA. MahānU.: *prajāpatim prathamajām ṛtasya* MS. TB.

§388. The following are precisely similar except that the variant forms shift in number or gender, or both, as well as in case:

bahvīm prajāṁ janayanīm sarūpām (ApMB.* *janayanī euratnā*,* *janayantau saretasā*) TA. MahānU. ApMB. (bis).

aślāsthūṇo daśapakṣaḥ Kauś.: *aślāpakṣām daśapakṣām* AV.

śidhram adya divispṛśam (RV.* SV. MS.* KS.* *śaḥ*) RV. (both) SV. TS. MS. (both) KS. ApŚ. N. For *divispṛśaḥ*, nom. pl. rather than gen. sg., see RVRep. on 1. 142. 8.

gaur āsvaḥ puruṣaḥ paśuḥ AV. TA.: *gām āsvam puruṣam jagat* (AV. *paśum*; RVKh. *āsvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh. AV. TA. MahānU. ApMB. HG.: *gā āsvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ.

viśvā rūpāni bibhrataḥ (AV.* °tam) AV. (both) MS.

samānāḥ yonīm anu sañcarantām RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *samānāḥ yonīm anu sañcarantā* (AV. MS. °carete) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

mañhiṣṭhām vo maghonām RV.: *mañhiṣṭhāso maghonām* RV.

viśvair devair anumatā (KS. TA. °tam) *marudbhiḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TA. In both KS. TA. different contexts; in KS. neut. acc. adverb, see §817; in TA. masc. acc. adjective, §849.

amṛtā martyabhyah RV.: *amṛtām martyābhyah* TB. ApŚ.

sahasrasā medhasātā sanīṣyavaḥ (RV. KB. *medhasātār iva tmanā*, VSK. *medhasātā iva tmanā*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB.: *sahasrasām medhasātār iva tmanā* RV. SV.

3. Interchange of subject and object

§389. We return to cases in which the internal syntax of the variant pāda is altered. But now there is no longer any change in the syntax of the verb, which is always transitive in a broad sense, that is, capable of governing an accusative, whether as what we call direct object, or as goal of motion or the like. Yet without any alteration in the form or meaning of the verb, the same noun is used now as subject and now as object. Indeed, in a number of cases the subject and object change places in the two forms of the variant, subject becoming object and vice versa. It is characteristic of the inflated, mystical language of the Veda that this can not infrequently be done without difficulty. Thus in the first example, it makes little difference whether we say 'Brahman has increased the gods' or 'the gods have increased brahman':

udgrābham ca nigrābham ca VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *udgrābhaś ca nigrābhaś ca* MS. KS. MŚ. Followed in all but MŚ. by:

brahma devā (MS. s.p. *devān*, KS. *devān*) *avīrydhan* (MS. KS. °dhat).

The nouns in the first pāda are probably appositional to *brahma* rather than coordinate with it; cf. Keith on TS. 1. 1. 13. 1.

na tat prāpnoti nirṛtiḥ parācaih (KŚ. *nirṛtiḥ parastāt*) KŚ. ApŚ.: *nābhī prāpnoti* (MŚ. *prāpnuyur*) *nirṛtiḥ parācaih* (AŚ. MŚ. *parastāt*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Destruction reaches it not' or 'it reaches not destruction'. For MŚ.'s verb see VV 1 p. 265.

ojo na jūtir (TB. *jūtim*) *ṛṣabho* (MS.† *ṛṣṇ*°; add to VV 2 §359) *na bhāmam* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *vanaspatir no dadhad indriyāṇi*. TB. makes *ojas* subject and *jūti* predicate of the first simile, reversing the relationship found in the others; but there is little real difference.

tābhīḥ samrabdham anu avindan (TB. *samrabdho avidat*) *ṣaḍ urvīḥ* AV TB. 'The six wide (directions) found out him, grasped by them'; or, 'he, grasped by them, found out the six wide (directions)'. In a mystic verse to Rohita; one version makes as good or as bad sense as the other.

viśvam anyām abhivāra AV. (Ppp. *viśvam anyābhi vāra*, which Whitney adopts, tho Barret JAOS. 26. 223 alters it to *anyām abhi*): *viśvam anyābhivārdhe* TB. ApS. No doubt Ppp., supported by TB. ApS., is more original in making *anyā* subject and *viśvam* object; but the AVS. reading may be rendered 'the Universe has enveloped (?) one'. *jyok ca paśyāti* (PG. °*asi*, MG. °*ati*) *sūryam* (MG. °*yah*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. 'And long may he behold the sun (may the sun behold him)'. See VV 1 p. 235.

gamad indram (SV. *indro*) *vṛṣā sutah* (SV. *sutam*) RV. SV. Apparently the reversal of relationship in SV. was due to a feeling that *vṛṣā* is more appropriate as an epithet of Indra than of Soma (*sutah*). *taṁ vartanir* (SV. °*nir*) *anu vārta ekam it puru* (SV. *eka it*) SV. AV. 'He, the One, has followed along the paths towards him' (SV.): 'the path has followed him, the One, manifoldly' (AV.). The latter is probably a secondary mouthing over of SV.

ā tvā sakhāyah sakhya vartyuh SV.: *o cit sakhāyam sakhya vartyām* RV. AV. In SV. the passage is extensively reconstructed; the original object *sakhāyam* is made subject (with change of number also), and so displaces the original unexpressed subject (1st person pronoun implicit in the verb), which is now represented by the object *tvā*.

§390. In the remainder there is no double nom.-acc. shift, but a single noun form appears now as subject, now as object (or goal, etc.), of the (always 'transitive') verb:

pra yukṣma etu nirṛtim (AV. °*tiḥ*) *parācaih* AV. TB. HG. ApMB. 'Let the fever, let perdition go far away' (AV.); 'let the fever go far away to perdition.'

jajñānam (SV. °*nah*) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV. *mātrbhiḥ*) RV. SV. Followed by *vedhām āśāsata śriye* RV., *medhām āśāsata śriye* SV.

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ. *sūrye*) *janayañ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ. *indrah*) TB. ŚŚ. Followed by *ayā dhiyā tavanir adribarhāḥ* (ŚŚ. *añgiravān*). The TB. comm. makes *indram* acc. of goal, supplying *gachatu*; the subject is *sūrah* = *ādityah*. ŚŚ. makes *indrah* subject and *sūrye* loc.

tiṣṭhantam anu gūhati (mss. °*si*) AV.: *tiṣṭhann evāra gūhasi* ŚŚ. No intelligible meaning in either form.

agninā tapo 'nvabhavat (KS.† KSA.† 'nvābhavat) TS. KS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

Followed in TS. KS. KSA. by a long series of similar phrases, only partly identical in the things named. In the first formula the form *tapo* is ambiguous, but the parallels show that TS. and KSA. construe it as acc.; this is doubtless the original construction: 'By Agni he has come up to (equalled, or attained?) *tapas*'. KS. makes it nom.: '*tapas* has come up to (equalled, attained, sc. him) thru (by) Agni'. Other phrases in the same lists are: *yamena pitṛn* (KS. *pitarah*); *indrena devān* (KS. *devāh*; not in KSA.); *vātena prāṇān* (KS. *vāyunā prāṇāh*; not in KSA.); *vyāghrenāraṇyān paśūn* (KS. *°aranyāh paśavaḥ*); *ṛṣabheṇa* (KS. KSA. *ṛṣṇ°*) *gāh* (KS. *gāvaḥ*); *ṛṣṇināvīh* (KS. *°aravayah*); *yavenauśadhīh* (KS. *°dhayah*); *brāhmaṇena vācam* (KS. *vācaḥ*).

vī parjanyaṁ (TS. *°yāh*) *srjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ srjantām*) *rodasī* *anu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts and *parjanyaṁ* defines the *divah koṣam* of the preceding half-verse. The others make the subject the rain-god, or deified rain-cloud, and retain the same object, *divah koṣam*.

muñcatu (KS. *muñcemaṁ*) *yajñam* (ApŚ. *yajño*, KS. adds *muñca*) *yajñapatim anhasaḥ evāhā* MS. KS. ApŚ. In MS. preceded by *ardhatām bhūtīr dadhnā ghṛtena*; in KS. by a similar but expanded phrase. It is evident that *bhūtī* '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 facillior by making *yajñah* the subject of *muñcatu*: 'let the sacrifice release the sacrificer...'

pra yaṁ (SV. *yo*) *rāye nintṛsasi* (SV. *°ṣati*) RV. SV. In VV 1 p. 243 we have taken SV. (which read there for 'N') to mean 'who will bring [thee, Agni] to wealth', taking *yo* to refer to the sacrificer as in the following pāda (*marto yas te vaso dāsat*). 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.

prasāpāyanty ūrmīṇam RV.: *prasāpāyanta ūrmayah* SV. The acc. in RV. is an epithet of soma; in SV. it is replaced by an additional subject: 'the ten associates (i.e. fingers) wash (soma), and the waves.' See VV 1 p. 48; the SV. form must intend present middle. Delete this variant on VV 1 p. 143.

śriyaṁ ca lakṣmīm ca...TAA.: *śrīś ca lakṣmīs*...TAA.: *śrīś ca puṣṭīś*

... MahānU. Same context; in the first form there is no subject expressed, and comm. supplies *paramātmā*.

[*indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB.: *indram karmasu avatu* MS. For the better reading of TB. see §326.]

§391. In a small but rather interesting group the variant word is so situated that it may be either subject of one clause or object of another: *samudrā* (MS. °drān) *nadyo ceśantāh* (MS. °tān) AV. MS. Preceded by *divam brūmo nakṣatrāṇi, bhūmim yakṣāṇi parvatān*, and followed by *te no muñcantu anhasaḥ*. In AV. the three nouns of pāda c are made parts of the subject of *muñcantu*, in MS. of the object of *brūmo*.

devā ājyapā juṣānā agna (VS. *indra*) *ājyasya viyantu* VS. MS. KS.: (*svāhā*) *devān ājyapān svāhāgnim hotrāj juṣānā agna ājyasya viyantu* TB. In the first version *devāh* is subject of *viantu*; in the second it becomes an additional object of *yakṣad* in the preceding (*hotā yakṣad agnim svāhājyasya* [sc. *devān*]. . .)

yendṛtam kham ca divam mahim (MahānU. *mahī*, v. l. *mahim*) *ca* TA.

MahānU. Followed by *yendṛtyas tapati tejasā bhrājasā ca*. If the nom. be read, *mahī* (with *kham* and *divam* 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. *mahim* in MahānU.; in that case all three nouns are objects of *tapati* in the next pāda: 'by whom the sun warms the atmosphere, enclosed by him, the sky, and the earth.' The double relative is then harsh, but not inconceivably so.

4. Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative

§392. In a considerable group we find that what is originally an accusative dependent on a verb is developed into an independent statement, syntactically separate from the clause containing the original accusative. Or, contrariwise, an originally independent statement is compressed into syntactic dependence, so that the nominative subject (or predicate) of the original clause becomes an accusative. The latter is found perhaps most clearly and simply in variants where by the insertion of *āhus* 'they say' an original independent statement is made into a sort of indirect quotation. Thus:

iyam vedih paro antah prthivyāh RV. AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ.: *vedim āhuḥ param antam prthivyāh* TS. KSA. In the same verse:

ayam yajño bhuvanasya (AV. *viśvasya bhū*?) *nābhīh* RV. AV. VS. LŚ.: *yajñam āhur bhuvanasya nābhim* TS. KSA. And likewise:

āyam soma vṛṣṇo āsvasya relak RV. AV. VS. LŚ.: *somam āhur vṛṣṇo...*

TS. KSA.—In the fourth pāda of this stanza the nom. remains in all texts. Cf. also:

dirgham yac cakṣur aditer anantam AŚ.: *yad āhuṣ cakṣur aditāv anantam*

PB. JB. (see Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases*, §48. 24 R). Here the forms are identical, being of neuter gender; and here the form with *āhus* is likely to be older.

§393. The accusative seems to be the original form and the nom. of independent statement a secondary development from it in most of the following. In the first the particle *iti* is brought in with the nom. to make the syntax clear; in the second a verb is inserted in which the secondary nom. is the subject, thus expanding the pāda into a complete sentence:

nīrtīm tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ VS. MS. ŚB.: *nīrtir iti tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ* (AV. *sarvataḥ*) 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 *nīrtīm* into its own construction. 'I know thee completely as Nīrti.'

atas tvā rayīm abhi (SV. *rayir abhy aya*) RV. SV. The RV. original makes *tvā* object of *bharat* in pāda c, and *rayīm 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 (MŚ. *vīrān*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. (Mss. of MŚ. *anūgaso* for *anā*°, and all but one *vīram*.) The original has an independent sentence with nom.; MŚ. attracts the noun into apposition with *no* in *yo no dvesṣī*. . . preceding.

nābhā prthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau (TS. °*dhānam agnim*, MS. KS. °*dhāno agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The only possible construction for the nom. in MS. KS. seems to be as part of an independent statement, of which Agni is implied as the subject; *agnim* is object of the verb in the next pāda (*rāyaspoṣṭya brhate 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 janānām* RV. MS. KS. TB. Preceded in all by *tvām vardhanti kṣitayāḥ prthivyām*. In RV. etc. supply *vardhanti* also in this pāda (*rāya ubh*° subject, *tvām* object). In

TB. this is made an independent statement (*taṁ* subject, *rāya ubh°* predicate; comm. *tatsampādaka ity arthak*).

agnih (SV. *agnih*) *suditaye chardiḥ* RV. AV. SV. (Conc. VS. for SV.).

In RV. AV. *agnih* and *chardiḥ* are both accs. with the preceding *idīṣva*. In SV.: 'Agni is the chardis.'

adhvarakṛtaṁ (TA. *°kṛd*) *devebhyah* VS. ŚB. TA. Preceded by *tvā...* *ādade*; in VS. ŚB. *adhvarakṛtaṁ* agrees with *tvā*. But TA. inserts between the two passages *abhrir asi nārir asi*; thus it makes our variant *pāda* an independent statement, understanding *asi*.

indrāya bhāgaḥ pari tvā nayāmi AV.: *indrasya bhāgaḥ surite dadhātana* ApŚ. The latter is scarcely intelligible; *bhāgaḥ*, if construable at all, must be taken as an independent statement with some verb (or the copula) understood. The plural *dadhātana* is inconsistent with the singular verbs which follow.

tām (HG. *tām naḥ*, PG. *sā naḥ*) *pūṣaṁ* (AV. *pūṣaṁ*, PG. *pūṣā*) *chivata-mām* (PG. *śiv°*) *erayaava* (PG. *eraya*) RV. AV. ApMB. ApG. HG. PG. The PG. has clearly a corruption, which as it stands can only mean 'She (the bride) is Pūṣan (felt as 'prospering one') to us; bring her hither, most felicitous.' The comm. so takes it; Stenzler and Oldenberg translate the other reading.

agnih hotāram iha (MS. MŚ. *upa*) *taṁ huve* TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnir hotopa taṁ huve* KS. 'I call here (hither) Agni the hotar': 'Agni is the hotar, I call him hither.'

akṣatam ariṣṭam ilāndam SMB.: *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānnam gopāyanam* ŚG. In both preceded by a formula containing acc. *tvā*, with which the epithets agree in SMB.; in ŚG. they are made predicates of a separate sentence. It is hard to say which is original here.

§394. A special group of the preceding type is formed by variants in which the nom. of independent statement is part of a relative clause, of which it is the predicate, while the acc. is part of the main clause. Thus:

taṁ u ṣṭuḥi yo antaḥ sindhau AV.: *taṁ u ṣṭuḥy antaḥsindhum* AŚ. Followed by:

sūnuḥ (AŚ. *sūnum*) *satyasya yuvānam*. 'Praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful.' The relative clause is here original; AŚ. compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters *sūnuḥ* also to *sūnum*. Note the chiasmic, rhetorically involved order of AV. (*yuvānam* at the end agreeing with *taṁ* at the beginning). AŚ. 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.:

sahvatearasya pratimām (PG. °mā) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. MG. The following pāda in PG. is *yā tām vātrīm upāmahe* (for the others see VV 1 p. 213); only PG. has *yā* as subject of the relative clause, in which *pratimā* is predicate.

§396. Similarly, the following variants show such shifts in both directions:

taṁ kravyādām aśīsamam AV.: *yah kravyāt taṁ aśīsamam* Kauś. *veda te bhūmī hṛdayam* PG. HG.: *yad bhūmer hṛdayam* [tādi candramasi *krītam*] ApMB. The latter is metrically poor and doubtless corrupt. *yo devo viśvād yam u kāmam ākuḥ* AV.: *viśvādām agniṁ yam u...* MS.: *hūtādām agniṁ yam u...* KS.: *yam hūtādām agniṁ yam u...* ApŚ. The nom. is doubtless original, the acc. being due to attraction to the case of the following; note that ApŚ. still has a relative clause, but attracts it into the same construction as the following. *dhātād āsmabhyam draviṇeha bhadram* (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu draviṇam yac ca bhadram*) TS. MS. ApŚ.: *datto āsmabhyam* (etc., see Conc.) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS.

apāsya ye tēnāḥ pāsāḥ KS. ApŚ. ('off what fetters are bound on him'): *apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān* Kauś. Followed by *mṛtyūn* (KS. ed. *mṛtyor*, but best ms. *mṛtyūn*) *ekasatam suve* (Kauś. *nude*). The secondary change in Kauś. is due to the influence of *mṛtyūn*.

tābhīr vāhinaṁ sukṛtām u lokam (TA. *vahemaṁ sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.: *vahāsi mā* (KS.† *vahānsi sū*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokāḥ*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

pṛchāmi (LŚ. °mo) *yatra bhuvanasya nābhīḥ* RV. VS. LŚ.: *pṛchāmi tvā* (AV. *viśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhīm* AV. TS. KSA. TB.

§397. In the next following group there is in both variants a relative clause; the nom. is construed as part of this, while the acc. is syntactically part of the main clause (both refer to the same entity). As in some of the preceding, the alteration is usually due to formal case attraction:

āranyān (AV. VS. °yā) *grāmyāś ca ye* RV. AV. (bis) VS. TA. Preceded by *paśūn* (*paśūns*) *tāś cakre vāyavyān*. In RV. TA. *āranyān* goes with the preceding accusatives; in AV. VS. it is attracted into the relative clause. In AV. 11. 5. 21 the pāda occurs in a different context.

jyeṣṭho (SV. °(tham)) *yo vṛtrahā grṇe* RV. AV. SV. There are no other

aces. in the stanza; SV. has turned *jyestho* into an acc. to provide an object for the verb *gr̥ne*.

citrabhānuḥ (TB. ApŚ. °bhānū) *rodasī antar urvī* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *aganma mahā namasā yariṣṭham, yo didāya samiddhah ave durone* (with unimportant variants). The acc. goes with *yariṣṭham* as object of *aganma* in the first pāda; because of the intervening relative clause, it is natural that secondary texts attract it into agreement with *yo*. This assumes that the TB. comm. is right in understanding °bhānuḥ, nom. sg., instead of dual (with *rodasī*), which would be formally possible.

kakṣivantaṁ ya auśijah (TS. TA. °jam) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. N. The Tait. version can only be interpreted by referring *ya(h)* to the god addressed: 'who (didst make famous) K. A.' So Sāyana, who supplies *kṛtavān aśi*, 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 varuṇāya śanītamah (SV. °mam) RV. SV. Preceded by *punātā dakṣasādhanaṁ, 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 *śanītamah* subject of a separate clause; SV. brings the word into direct connexion with the preceding *dakṣasādhanaṁ*.

yadi kṛāto (AV. *kṛātam*) *juhotaṁ* RV AV. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by:

yady uśrāto (AV. °jam) *mamattana*, same texts. The preceding pāda of RV. AV. makes clear the antecedent: *indrasya bhāgam r̥tvīyam*. '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 *haviḥ*.)

svarpalim yad im vrdhe RV. AV.: *svahpatir yadī vrdhe* SV. The acc. agrees with *indram* (*somasya pītaye*) in the preceding pāda; SV. makes it subject of *vrdhe*.

5. Case attraction

§398. The preceding cases taper off into another group which is a little hard to define further than by saying that (as in some of the variants quoted above) case attraction, that is the influence of a neighboring case-form, is responsible for the variation. The varying word still refers to the same person or thing, so that there is no proper 'transfer

of epithet'; but the syntactic shift is hardly of the same type as the immediately preceding cases, unless perhaps in the first two examples: *hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm* (TB. °II) VS. MS. TB. It seems fairly clear that TB. has attracted *saras°* to the case of *tanūnapāt*; but how either of the noms. 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, Sarasvatī...'

anyam (AV. *anya*) ā *ṣu tvam* (AV. omits *tvam*) *yamy anya u tvam* RV. AV. N. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 16. We believe that *anya* is due to stupid and mechanical assimilation to the following *anya*. *apsu dhūto nṛbhīḥ sulaḥ* RV.; *apsu dhautam nṛbhīḥ sutam* SV. Preceded by *kubhram andho devavātam*, and followed by *svadanti gāvaḥ payobhīḥ*. Sāyana takes the RV. pāda as parenthetical (pādas a and c going together), which is probably the best way out, tho all three pādas might be taken as syntactically separate, understanding *somam* or the like as object of *svadanti*. SV. assimilates the participles in b to the case of *andho*, an easily comprehensible lect. fac. Grassmann's suggestion that RV. is incorrect is implausible.

§399. As in the two variants just quoted, not a few of the following passages are dubious of interpretation, and at times under suspicion of corruption:

hṛtsu kratum īvaruṇo (MS. °*nam*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsu*, MS. *dikṣv*) *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 accs., perhaps with the thought that Agni is still the subject as in the preceding stanza.

tebhīḥ (AV. VS. VSK. *tebhyah*) *svarād asunītim etām* (AV. *asunītir no adya*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. It seems clear that AV., which Whitney calls unintelligible, contains a stupid assimilation of *asunītim* to the case of the adjoining word. The following pāda is *yathāvaśam tanvaṁ* (AV. *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. *kalpayasva*).

viṣṇum agan varuṇam pūrvahūtiḥ AV.; *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS. °*tim*) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. In AV. the prayer itself is the subject of *agan*; in MS. it is made the goal, along with 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, tryavir (KS. *trīya*^o) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.: *gāyatrīm chanda indriyam, tryavīm gām vayo dadhat* VS. TB. The noms. are subjects of *dadhuḥ*, the accs. objects of *dadhat*, being assimilated to *indriyam* and *vayo*, which are accs. (objects) in both versions. These are the first of a series of formulas, all of the same type; the meter names (in nom. form) are *uṣṇik* (*uṣṇihā*), *anuṣṭup*, *brhātī*, *pañktiḥ*, *triṣṭup*, *jagatī*, *virāṭ*, *dvīpadā* (*dvīpāc*), *kakup* (*kakuc*), *atichandā*. For the epithets of cattle (*dityavūd*, *pañcāvīr* etc.) see the passages, which can easily be found in the Cone.

ukhām (MS. KS.† *ukhā*) *svasāram adhi vedim asthāt* MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *syūtā devebhīr amṛtenāgāh* (MS. KS. °*āgāt*). 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 accs. Caland translates *ukhā*, but notes that Hir.Ś. also reads *ukhām*, so that the corruption is evidently very old.

devaḥ savitābhīmātīṣāhaḥ AV.: *savitā devo 'bhīmātīṣāhaḥ* Ppp.: *devam trātāram* (TS. KS. *savitāram*) *abhīmātīṣāham* RV. TS. KS. Assuming (cf. Oldenberg, *Prol.* 326 f.) that the acc., as in RV. TS. KS., is original (tho it is difficult), the change to the nom. in AV. is easy to understand. In AV. the preceding pāda is *dhātā vidhātā bhuvanasya yas patih*, and the following: *ādityā rudrā aśvinobhā, devīḥ pāntu yajamānam nīrṛhāt*. For the others have a different version beginning *imam yajñam* (cf. §329); it is significant that this acc. is also eliminated in AV.

yajñasya (AV. *cittasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mātaram*) *suhavā me* (AV. *no astu* AV. TB. SMB. Preceded by *ākūṭīm devīm manasā prapadye* in SMB., which has put the epithet *mātā* syntactically into the preceding clause, making it agree with *devīm*; the meter proves it secondary.

samyag āyur īyajño (MŚ. *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāt*) KS. MŚ. See VV 1 p. 100. In MŚ. *yajñam* is attracted to the case of *āyur*.

idāno (KS. °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. *vahnīm*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:

agnīm (AV. *agnih*) *sruco adhwareṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*), same texts. The original readings are doubtless given by the texts which agree, VS. TS. MS. A verb of approaching occurs in the preceding. 'The carrier (approaches), praising, with adoration; to Agni (approach) the spoons as the sacrifices proceed.' In AV. *agnīm* is

changed to *agnih* to agree with its synonym *vahnih*, and the two pādas are more closely connected than in the original. In KS. the attraction has worked in the opposite direction; *vahnir* becomes *vahnim* to match *agnim*, *srucō* is now the subject, *īdānā* agrees with it, and the preceding pāda (*achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* [AV. *ghṛtā cit*], see §467) is changed to *achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh* (note retention of *ayam*, now ungrammatical!): 'here come with might the ghee-filled spoons, praising with adoration Agni the carrier...' Ppp. has *īde vahnim namasāgnim srucō 'dhvareṣu prayatsu*, which is translatable but obviously secondary.

gāyatrīm triṣṭubham jagatīm anuṣṭubham (MS. °tīm virājam) AV. TS. MS.: *gāyatrī triṣṭub jagatī virā* KS. This is the 3d pāda of a verse whose 4th pāda in TS. MS. KS. (omitting slight variants) is *arkam* (TS. *brhad arkam*) *yuñjānāh svar ābharann idam*. It appears that KS. has allowed the names of meters to be attracted into agreement with *yuñjānāh* (tho leaving *arkam* to be the object of the participle, which is the construction of all of them in TS. MS.); they thus become subjects of the verb *ā-abharann*. The AV. varies considerably and is difficult, probably corrupt; its accs. must depend on the verb of the 1st pāda.

yuvō ratho adhvaram (AV.† GB.† °ro) *devavītaye* RV. AV. AB. 6. 12. 7 (add in Conc.) GB. Followed by the verb *yāti* (*yātu*). 'Your chariot goes to the sacrifice...' In AV. *adhvaro* is awkwardly attracted to the case of *ratho*: 'let your chariot, the sacrifice, approach...' Ppp. is reported to read *adhvaram*.

ā gharṃ agnim ṛṇayann asādi (TA. *asādīt*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto na sādī* MS. In the latter *agnim* has been changed to the case of *gharṃ*.

kāman (AV. PB. *kāmah*, KS. *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV. *viveśa*, 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 accs. must be taken as in apposition. According to the comm. on TA. the subject is *dakṣiṇā*. TB. has the following explanation of the meaning: *samudra iva hi kāmah, nava hi kāmasyānto 'sti, na samudrasya*.

nayanto gorbham vanām dhiyaṃ dhuḥ RV.: *nayantam gīrbhīr vanā dhiyam dhāh* SV. Highly problematical; *nayanto* agrees with the indefinite 3 plural subject ('they', really the singers); *nayantam*, like the other accs. in the verse, must be object of *dhāh*. In SV. the subject is Agni and the accs. probably refer to the singer (now singular).

6. Transfer of epithet

§400. A very large number of nom.-acc. variants concern what we have described above (§14) as 'transfer of epithet'. That is, an epithet is transferred to a different entity, involving change of case. Often formal case-attraction is also involved, as in the last group; but there is this difference, that the variant word no longer applies to the same person or thing as in the other form. As in all cases of 'transfer of epithet', these variants have no bearing on the uses of the varying cases. There is nothing that need be said about them as a whole except that they may of course show shift of number or gender or both, as well as case; such instances are given separately. No other subdivision of the long list needs to be made.

§401. The following show no change in number or gender:

iyarti dhūmam aruṣam (MS. KS. °ṣo) *bharibhrat* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ApMB. '(Agni) comes clothed in ruddy smoke', original; changed in MS. KS. to read 'the ruddy (Agni) comes clothed in smoke.'

svar devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *devān*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §§340, 349. The nom. or voc. is certainly original, the acc. secondary. The nom. would apply the epithet *devāh* to the priests: 'we have gone to heaven as gods'; the acc., 'we have gone to heaven, to the gods.'

ye ca devān (ŚŚ. *devā*) *apajanta* AV. ŚŚ. The passage deals with generous sacrificers and givers of *dakṣiṇā*; AV. means 'who have sacrificed to the gods' (referring to *maghavāno* which follows). In ŚŚ. *devāh*, if nom., must refer to *maghavānaḥ*, as in the preceding variant. It might however be voc. (again as in the preceding).

mā no hr̥ṇtām atithir (SV. *hr̥ṇtā atithim*) *vāsuv agniḥ* RV. SV. Followed by *puruprasasta eṣaḥ*. 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.'

didhi deva devayuh (SV. °*yum*) RV. SV. Preceded by *abhi dyumnas bṛhad yaśa iṣaspate*. 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 *didhi*.

jaitram indra (KS. *jaitrāyano*) *ratham ā tiṣṭha govit* (AV. *govidam*) RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Whether the epithet is applied to Indra or to his chariot makes little practical difference. But the

rest of the stanza is tristubh, and it is curious that AV. turns this pāda into a jagatī by this otherwise harmless alteration. One or two mss. are quoted by Lanman as reading *govit*; but Ppp. (JAOS. 40. 151) supports *govidam*.

viprasya vā yac chakamāna ukthyam (AV. °yah) RV. AV. Followed by *vājam*, with which the adjective agrees in RV.; in AV. (with the help of the adjoining *śakamānah*) it is transferred to the subject (Agni).

pari dyukṣam sanad rayim SV.: *pari dyukṣaḥ sanadrayiḥ* RV. In RV. both epithets agree with the subject (Soma) of the verb of the following pāda; in SV. *sanad* is made a separate verb (subject Soma) with *rayim* as object, and *dyukṣam* agreeing therewith.

āreśatruṃ (TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. āre śatrūn) *kṛṇuhi sarvasīram* (TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. °vīrah) AV.† TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. In AV. the epithet goes with the object (*imam* of the preceding pāda); in the others, with the subject.

punar brahmāṇo (brahmā) vasunūtha (°nūtir, °dhīte, °dhītīm, °dhītam) *yajñaiḥ (agne)*; see §340.

ava priyā (AV. *priyān*) *adhūṣata* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. If *priyā(s)* is really nom., as commonly assumed, it must agree with the subject (in RV. apparently the Maruts, in the others, secondarily, the pitṛs); *priyān* is of course object, but it is not clear to what it refers. Grassmann takes *priyās* as acc. fem., supplying *giras*. (Most AV. mss. read *avā 'priyān*, with wrong accent; see Whitney's note.)

ūrdhvo adhvaram divi deveṣu dhehi VS. ŚB.: *ūrdhvam* (VSK. °vo) *imam* (VSK. omits) *adhvaram*... *hotrā yacha* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

jāmin (KS.† *camī*, see VV 2 §57) *mā hīnśr* (AV. *mā jāmin moṣṭr*) *amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* (AV. KS.† °nām) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The nom. agrees with the subject, the acc. with the object *jāmin*.

svargān (svargam, svagān) arvanto (arvalo) jayata (jayema, jayataḥ, jayati), see §350.

tam akratuṃ (KU. °tuḥ) *paśyati vītasokaḥ* TA. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU. *pra yo jajñe vidvān* (AV. °vān) *asya bandhum* (AV. *bandhuḥ*) AV. TS. KS. Followed by *vīśvā devānām* (TS. *vīśvāni devo*) *janimā vīakti*. The verse is mystical and its real sense obscure. It is, however, clear that *bandhuḥ* must be construed with or as the subject of *vīakti*, and *bandhum* as one of the objects of *vīakti* or object of *vidvān*.

urudraso viśtarūpa induh TS. ApŚ.: *purudrasmo viśurūpa induh* VS. ŚB.: *purudasmavad viśvarūpam induh* KS. Followed by *pavamāno* (VS. ŚB. *antar*) *garbham* (TS. *dhīra*, VS. ŚB. *mahimānam*) *ānañja dhīrah* (TS. *garbham*). The adjectives agree with the object *garbham* in KS., with the subject *induh* in the others.

samārabhyordhvo adhvaro divispṛśam TS. TB.: *ūrdhvo adhvaro divispṛś* MS. KS. In the ritual the TS. passage (followed by *ahruto yajño yajñaputeh*) is addressed to the sacrifice (*āghāra*), and can only be interpreted (understanding *āghāram* as object of *samārabhya*, as TB. does): 'lofty is the cult, undertaking the heaven-touching (*āghāra*); the sacrifice of the sacrificer is undisturbed.' The reading of MS. seems to be a lect. fac.; *samārabhya* is taken easily with the preceding formula, and *divispṛś*, assimilated to the preceding nouns, applies to *adhvaro*. (KS. omits *samārabhya*.) Keith considers the TS. TB. reading a corruption, but with doubtful justice.

sarasvatī vayati peśo antaram (TB. and ms. of KS. **rah*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded in all by *tad āsvinā bhīṣajā rudravartanī*. 'The Āsvins... 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. emends), is difficult. The TB. comm. seems to have no qualms about making it agree with *Sarasvatī* (or does he mean to take it as an adverb, = *antar?* *yā tu sarasvaty antaraḥ śarīramadhye*). All we can say is that it certainly no longer goes with *peśo*.

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApMB.: *ud asthāmāmṛtā vyaṁ* (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.

asmīn yajñe suhavām (AV. **vā*) *johavīmī* AV. MS. KS. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. Preceded by *kuhūṣ devīm sukṛtām vidmanāpasam* (with slight variants). AV. comm. also has *suhavām*, agreeing with *kuhūṣ*; if *suhavā* be kept it agrees with the subject, who then has to be conceived as a woman.

prajāpatir yaṁ prathamo jigāya ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *prajāpatih prathamo 'yaṁ jigāya* AŚ. Preceded by *tayānantām kāmam ahaṁ jayānī*. In AŚ. (a) *yaṁ* goes with the preceding nouns: 'this Prajāpati 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 marṇeṣu ranyati) RV.: *viśve yasminn amartye* (havyam marṇāsu indhate) SV. See §457.

taḍ ayaṁ (MG. *idam*) *rājā varuṇo* 'numanyatām AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *ayaṁ* agrees with the subject *rājā* etc., *idam* with the object *taḍ*.

devān achā na majmanā RV.: *deva indro na majmanā* SV. In SV. the epithet *deva* is attracted into agreement with the subject.

yā rājānā (TS. °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. Subject is Mitra and Varuṇa, with which *rājānā* agrees: 'ye (MS. they) two kings who, terrible, go against the (warrior) with his chariot.' TS. transfers it to the object: 'ye two who, terrible, go against the king with his chariot.'

agnis taḍ viśvam (AV. mss. *viśvād*) *ā prṇātī* (AV. °*tu*) *vidvān* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. With Whitney and SPP. *viśvād* (epithet of Agnī) must be kept in AV.

andhanasyam vasanam jarisṇu (ŚG. *car*°, PG. °*nuḥ*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. See VV 2 §57.

anuttāḥ carṣanīdhṛtīḥ SV.: *anuttā carṣanīdhṛtā* RV. Preceded by *tvam vṛtrāṇi haṁsi*... (*anuttā* with *vṛtrāṇi*, °*taḥ* with *tvam* = Indra).

ayā san (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam āhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. The original epithet of Agni is, with phonetic changes resulting in a different word, applied to *havyam*.

devatrā yantam avase sakhāyah (KS. °*yam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *anu tvā mātā pitaro madantu*. The original applies *sakhāyah* to *mātā pitaro*; KS. transfers it to *tvā* (influenced no doubt by *yantam*).

vapāvantam (MS. °*to*) *nāgninā tapantah* TS. MS. TA. Preceded by *añjanti yam prathayanto na viprāḥ*; MS. transfers the epithet from object to subject.

prānyā tantūṁs tirate dhatte anyā AV.: *avānyāṁs tantūn 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 *havyā*; the masc. nom. *viśve* with the following *marṇāsaḥ*.

daivīm (VS. *devīm*) *nāvam svaritrām anūgasam* (AV. °*saḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. *anā*° is transferred to the subject of *āruheṣa*. *sā śantātī* (SV. °*tā*, TB. ApŚ. *śantāci*) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śantātī* is epithet of *mayas*; on the other see VV 2 §156.

bhūriśātrām bhūry āveśayantīm (AV. °*taḥ*) RV. AV. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 126, and §14 above.

viśvavidam (AV. °*do*) *vācam aṣṣvaminvām* (AV. *aṣṣvarinnām*) RV. AV. Discussed by Edgerton, l. c. 128; the AV. is secondary.

yavena (AV.* *yavena vā*) *kṣudham puruhāta viśvām* (AV.* *viśve*) RV. AV. (quater). The AV. once transfers the epithet 'all' from *kṣudham* to the subject (of *tarema* in the preceding).

dhinām antaḥ sabardughāḥ RV.: *dhenām antaḥ sabardughām* SV. In RV. the adjective agrees with *vanaspatir* (= Soma); in SV. it is attached to the false form *dhenām*.

parāśutpo abhi kośucānaḥ RV.: *parāśutpaḥ kośucataḥ śrñhi* AV. In RV. *śo*° agrees with Agni, subject of preceding *śrñhi*; in AV. with the object (*mūradevān*).

dyumantaḥ sam idhimahi RV. SV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *dyumantaḥ sam idhimahi* AV. TS. MS. KS. Acc. with preceding object *tvā*.

gharmaḥ śocantaḥ (AŚ. °*ta*, ŚŚ. °*taḥ*) *pravaṇṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *pravaṇṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. In AB. nom. with *dhiṣaṇḍh* in preceding; in ŚŚ. acc. with *gharmaḥ*. On AŚ. cf. VV 1 p. 165.

āmum naya (RV. MS. *āyūḥ na yaḥ*) *namasā rātaḥvayam* (RV.† MS.† °*yāḥ*) RV. AV. MS. In RV. MS. *rā*° goes with nom. *pañca jandh* in the following.

achidraḥ (SMB. °*rāḥ*) *śarma yachata* RV. AB. SMB. The unaccented SMB. may understand voc. rather than nom.

vande dāruḥ (? see VV 1 p. 218) *vandamāno rivakmi* RV.: *vandadvārā vandamānā rinagṣu* SV. Preceded by *indrasyeva pra tarasus krtāni*; in SV. *vandā*° is attracted into agreement with *krtāni*.

vandārus te (VS. ŚB. °*ruḥ te*, add to VV 2 §958; MS. KS. °*ruḥ te*) *tanvam* (*tanuvam*) *vande agne* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The meaning here shifts with the form; nom. 'praising', acc. 'praiseworthy' (fem. gender, with *tanvāḥ*, tho the masc. would have the same form).

akhidraḥ (ApŚ. *aghorah*, VS. ŚB. *achinnapatraḥ*, MS. *achinnapatraḥ*) *prajā abhivipaśya* (VS. MS. ŚB. *anuvikṣasva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

viśvāḥ pṛtanā abhībhūtaram naram (SV. PB. Svidh. *narah*) RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. Vait. Svidh. Followed in RV. AV. SV. by *sajās tatukṣur indram jajanus ca rājase*.

ahruto maho dharuṇāya devān (AV. *devaḥ*) RV. AV. Followed by *divīva jyotiḥ svam ā mimīyāḥ* (AV.† °*yāt*). In AV. (which has reconstructed the passage extensively) *devaḥ* is made an epithet of the subject (a horse).

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS. °gah) VS. MS. ŚB.: *samsarpa* (KS. °pan) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. *svarpān* lokān) KS. ApŚ. *ye ceme* (TS. *cemān*, VS. *cainam*) *rudrā abhitah* (MS. NīlarU. *abhito rudrāh*) VS. TS. KS. MS. NīlarU. The nom. *ime* goes with *rudrāh*; *enam* (= Rudra) or *imām* (apparently the earth) is construed as object of *abhitah*.

śukrān vajanty asurāya nīrñijam RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nīrñije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the A.'

sa nah prthu (TB. °uh) *śravāṣyam* RV. SV. ŚB. TB. *prthu*, object: 'the broad (space)'. In TB. transferred to the subject (Agni).

ny adhur mātrāyām (KS. *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayoḥhasah* (KS. °sam) MS. KS. In MS. *vayo*° goes with *kavayo*, in KS. with *agnim* in the following.

apo mahi vṛjayati cakṣase tamah RV.: *apo mahi vṛjate cakṣuṣā tamah* SV. PB. *mahi* refers to the subject Uṣas, *mahi* refers to the darkness which she uncovers.

sūryam cāmū riśāḍasah (RVKh. °sam) AV. RVKh. ŚŚ. (ed. of AV. *cāmūn riśāḍasam*, but mss. as ŚŚ.; RVKh. Scheftelowitz p. 157). The original nom. pl. agrees with *devāh* 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 jāmim iṣyatuḥ RV.: *lokam u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmi iṣyatuḥ* MS. ApŚ. *jāmi* transferred from object to subject.

agnin bharantaṁ (MS. KS. °tā) *asmayum* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *yuñjāthām rāsabham yuvam, asmin yāme vṛjanvasū*. The acc. agrees with *rāsabham*, the nom. dual with the subject of *yuñjāthām* (the adhvaryu and yajamāna). The mss. of MS. (s.p. and p.p.) read *asmayuh*; perhaps they intend *asmayā*, which would be another transfer.

tā (TS. *te*, VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS. °ye) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Only in TS. the pronoun (*te*) is made to agree with the subject (Keith suggests that it is a mere blunder due to the following *te*, enclitic from *team*).

suvīrāḥ prajāḥ prajanayan parihi TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *suvīro vīrān prajanayan pariḥy*... VS. ŚB.

varenyakratūr (AV. °tur) *aham* RVKh. AV.: *iḍenyakratūr* (text *ḥide*°, doubtless misprint) *aham* ApŚ. Scheftelowitz reads °tur in RVKh. The form °tur is acc. pl. fem. agreeing with the waters; and this is a simpler reading than °tur (nom. sg. masc.), going with *aham*.

dheñtām vātāgram anusamcarantau (PB. *abhisam*^o) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.; *dhvāntā vātā agnīm abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ. MG. The mss. of MŚ. MG. read *dheñtā* (nom. dual, going with the subject in the preceding pāda) *vātāgnīm* (for which *vātāgram* is doubtless the true reading, cf. VV 2 p. 402).

ā raśmīn (RV. *raśmīn*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. *svaśvāh*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

jyotiṣmatī (MS. *°tīh*) *prati muñcate nabhaḥ* TS. MŚ. KS. PG. Followed by *devī rātrī sūryasya vralāni*, or an equivalent. In MS. *jyo*^o (originally epithet of *rātrī*) is made an object of the verb.

jīvaṁ (comm. *jīvan*) *devebhya uttaram strṇāmi* AV.: *devebhyo jīvanta uttaram bharema* TA. In TA. *jīv*^o is epithet of the subject; so *jīvan* if this is intended in AV. (then with variation of number only); *jīvaṁ*, if intended, must go with the object *uttaram*.

hiraṇyārūpam (MS. KS. MŚ. *°varṇam*) *uṣaso vyuṣṭau* RV. MS. KS. MŚ.; *hiraṇyārūpā* (TS. TB. *°varṇāḥ*) *uṣaso* (TS. TB. *°sām*) *viroke* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. Followed by:

ayaśthūnam (TS. *ayasthūnāv*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. *°tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. In both of these the dual noms. agree with the subject, Mitra and Varuṇa; the accs. with the object, *garlam*.

ekaviṁśa ṛbhavaḥ (VS.† *°va*) *stutam* (VS. *stutāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. One of six consecutive and parallel verses in all; the remaining five have (before *stutam* or *stutāḥ*): *rudrāḥ pañcadāśe*, *viśvas triṇśā*, *stome sapṭadāśe*, *trayastrīṁśe* *°mṛtaḥ* (*°tā*, VS.), *triṇave maruṭāḥ* (TB. *ma*^o *tri*^o). 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 pāda d (*haviṣ indre vayo dadhuḥ*).

hiraṇyayāḥ (MS. *°yayā*) *śucayo dhārapūtāḥ* RV. MS. Preceded by *trī rocanā divyā dhārayanta*. In RV. *hir*^o agrees with the subject, the Ādityas; in MS. with the object *rocanā*.

mātā yad vīraṁ dadhanad dhaniṣṭhā (MS. *vīraṁ jajanaḥ janiṣṭham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB.

urv (AŚ. *ūrvy* and *urvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. The nom. must agree with the subject of *vīhi*.

sa praty ul (MS. *sa pratyāñ*) *aid dharuṇam* (TS. MS. KS. *dharuṇo*) *madhvo agram* AV. TS. MS. KS. KSA. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. Part of a mystic verse; the sense is no better and no worse, whether the adjective goes with *sa* or with *agram*. But it may be based on *juhomi te dharuṇam madhvo agram* RV. AV., in a ritualistic connexion; this rather points to the originality of the acc.

mahīṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ tasthivāṁsam MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na suhavaṁ* (AV. *subhavas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhavaṁ*) *tasthivāṁsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.—Ppp. reads like MS. but for *subhavas* (Barret *subhavas*, suggesting *subhuraṁ* as a better reading, JAOS. 35. 46). Same context in all except RV.; the acc. agrees with *samudraṁ*, the nom. with the subject of the verb in the next pāda. Perhaps AV. is influenced by recollection of the RV. passage (i.e. shows contamination of two passages).

yajā no (or *yajāno*, so Poona ed. of TB. with MS., see VV 2 p. 376) *devān* (MS. *devo*) *ajaraḥ suvīraḥ* MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Nom. *devo* is construed as epithet of subject Agni; acc. as object of *yajā* (or *yajāno*), referring to the gods to whom Agni ministers.

avīraghna (ApMB.† °nī) *vīrataraḥ* (HG. °tamaḥ, AŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. *vīratataḥ*) *suvīraṁ* (HG. *susevān*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.: *vīraṁ hi* (read *avīraghnaḥ*?) *vīratataḥ susevā* MG. The accs. refer to *gṛhān*, the noms. to the subject *aham*, which is fem. in ApMB. MG. Presumably the masc. *aham* is more original; *vīrataraḥ* would be impossible in ApMB. MG. Further than this we can hardly go as regards the original form of that epithet. But the nom. *susevā* of MG. alone is certainly secondary.

vi mamarṣa rohito viśvarūpaḥ TB.: *vi rohito amṛśad viśvarūpam* AV. The latter original (*viśvarūpam* object).

parimāṁ rāyo manuṣyam KS.: *parimāṁ rāyas poṣo yajamānaṁ manuṣyāḥ* TS. And others, see §§442 etc. In KS. *manuṣya* is applied to the *yajamāna*; 'let wealth invest this man.' In TS. *rāyās* is gen., and *manuṣyāḥ* must be taken with Keith as a second subject, 'men', or, with thought of *daivīr rīso* in the preceding, 'human clans'.

codad rādha upastutaḥ (ArS. °tam) *cīd arvāk* RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. In RV. etc. the adjective goes with the subject, Indra; in ArS. with *rādha(s)*.

apo devā (TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. *devīr*) *madhumatīr agṛbhṇan* (TS. ApŚ. *agṛhṇan*, MS. KS. *agṛbhṇām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The acc. fem. *devīr* is doubtless orig.; *devā(h)* goes with the subject.

ayam (TA. *idam*) *devo vanaspatih* AV. TA. Preceded by *varaṇo vārayātai* (vārayāt). TA. feels the need of an object, and alters *ayam* to *idam*.

ādityā rudrā upariśpr̥ṣo naḥ (KS. °śam mā) AV. KS.: *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariśpr̥ṣam mā* RV. VS. TS. Followed by *ugram cettāram adhirājām akraṇ* (AV. *akrata*). The adjective, orig. going with *mā*, is transferred to the subject in AV.

ad im āśvan na hetārah (SV. °ram) RV. SV. Followed by *ahūsubhann amṛtāya, madho* (SV. *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde*. 'As drivers (decorate) a horse', RV.: in SV. *hetāram* is Soma (attracted to the case of *rasam*), 'the inciting one'.

yasya dyāvo na vicaranti mānuṣā (SV. °ṣam) RV. SV. The meaning of RV. is doubtful. Oldenberg: 'whose (Indra's) gifts to men go their course like the days'; Geldner: 'for whom the ages (*yugāni*) of men pass like (his) days.' In SV. *mānuṣam* is assimilated in case and number to the epithets of Indra in the verse, and is taken to mean 'friendly to man'; the relative clause might mean 'whose heavens do not pass away' (so Benfey).

taj jānatīr abhy anūṣata vrāh RV.: *tā jānatīr abhy anūṣata kṣah* ArS. In RV. *taj* is object of *jānatīr*; in ArS. *tā(h)* attracted to agreement with it.

indra jātharam navyo (SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. °yam) na AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. For the difficulties involved see Whitney's note; in any case the word goes with Indra in AV., with *jātharam* in the rest.

teah śsamudram prathamō vi dhārayah (SV. °drah *prathamē vidharman*) RV. SV. Radical reconstruction, with transfer of object to predicate nom. 'You first arranged the sea (for the gods)': 'du bist das Meer im allerhöchsten Träger' (Benfey).

indram juṣānā vṛṣanah (VS. *janayo*) na *patnīh* VS. MS. KS. TB. Here different words are involved. 'Taking delight in the manly Indra, like wives': 'taking delight in Indra, like wedded women.'

§403. In some of the preceding cases it is perhaps doubtful whether the term 'transfer of epithet' applies strictly. In these which now follow it can certainly apply only by stretching the term. Namely: in them one form of the variant shows a noun or pronoun of independent construction, which cannot properly be described as an 'epithet' of any other word. In several cases, moreover, the words are different, as in the last variant in the preceding section. Cf. §15.

pratnaṁ nī pātī kāvyam RV. ('he protects the ancient wisdom'): *†pratnāni* (Cone. *pra teā nī*) *pātī kāvyah* KS. ('he [Soma], the wise, protects the ancient things [laws, or the like]').

prajāpatim aham tvayā samakṣam rdhyāsam GB. Vait.: *prajāpatir aham tvayā sākṣād rdhyāsam* MŚ. 'May I cause Prajāpati to prosper visibly with thee': 'may I, a very Prajāpati in person, prosper thru thee.' The latter is original; see Caland on Vait.

achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (AV. *ghṛtā cit*) AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS.: *achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh* KS. See §467.

samdhāḥ samdhīm (MS. *samdhīr*) *maghāv prātvasuḥ* (*puroⁿ*, *puru^o*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. The nom. can only be felt as going with the subject; but the whole verse is very corrupt in MS.

gīraḥ somaḥ (SV. *gīra stomān*) *paramāno manīṣāḥ* RV. SV. 'The purified soma (has inspired) our songs and devotions', RV.: 'the purified one (soma, has inspired) our songs, praises, and devotions.'

evam taṁ garbham ā dhekī RVKh. MG.: *evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva* ApMB.

asmabhyam indav indrayuḥ (SV. *indriyam*) RV. SV. The verb is *parvasu*, to which SV. supplies an object *indriyam*; *indrayuḥ* is nom., epithet of the soma-drop (*indu*).

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ RV. AV.: *turaś cid viśvam jarṇavat lapasvān* AV. *duraś* is object of *avṛṇod*; *turaś* apparently felt as epithet of the subject.

samidhyamānaḥ prathamānu dharmā (TB. ApŚ. *prathamo nu dharmāḥ*) RV.† TB. ApŚ. (RV. p.p. *prathamā, anu, dharmā*.) The original neut. pls. were misunderstood later and made into noms. sg. masc., epithets of the subject, Agni. Doubtless the adjacent *samidhyamānaḥ* helped. Caland translates ApŚ. as if it had the RV. reading, tho he has no note.

guzmānś ca dāyam ma upetā (ŚŚ. *dāyam copetām*) AB. ŚŚ. Followed by *vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi*. *upetā* is nom. sg. of a nomen agentis used as periphrastic future: 'he shall obtain you as an inheritance from me, and also the knowledge which we know.' In ŚŚ. we have *upetām*, past pple., attracted into agreement with *vidyām*; in this form there is no verb to govern the accs.

dharsā (VSK. *°ṣān*) *mānuṣaḥ* (KS. *°ṣam*, TS. ApŚ. *°ṣān*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. In KS. TB. ApŚ. acc. object of the verb, in the others subject, or agreeing with the subject: 'be bold, as a man (VSK. let the man be bold).'

tasmai devā amṛtāḥ (AV. *°taṁ*) *saṁ vyayanātām* (AV. *°tu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. In AV. *amṛtāḥ* 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:

subhāḥ vrayambhāḥ prathamāḥ (AŚ. ŚŚ. *°mam*) VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

somaḥ prathamo vivide RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. 'Soma was the first to marry (thee)': '(thou wast) Soma's wife first.'

caraty ananurātā ApMB. HG.: *vicaranty apatīratā* ŚŚ.: *yac cacārā-nanurātām* (adverb) ApŚ. Preceded by *yan me mātā prafulubhe* (or the like).

ava tara (TS. *avattaram*, AV. *avattaro*) *nadīṣv ā* (AV. *nadīnām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avattaram* apparently an adverb; *avattaro* adj. agreeing with the subject. MS. p.p. has *avattaram*, which seems to be what Keith means to translate by 'lower' in TS.

avasti naḥ pūrnamukhaḥ pari krāmata (HG. °*mukhaḥ pari krāmandu*) 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 Sūtra itself renders by *pradakṣiṇam*.

asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS.: *asambādham bādhyato* (read *ma*°, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *mānaveṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623.

dyumad vibhāti bhāratebhyah śuciḥ (VS. *luci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuciḥ* may be taken as an adverb.

viśvair devair anumatā (KS. TA. °*tan*) *marudbhiḥ*, see §388 above. KS. has an adverb.

viśvak patantu didyavaḥ RV.: *viśvañco asmac charavaḥ patantu* AV.

āgne yāhi sveidatrebhir aradān (MS. *aradā*, p.p. *aradān*) RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

prān (VS. TB. *prāṅk*, MS. *prāk*, p.p. *prān*) *somo atidrutah* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pratyak (p.p. *pratyān*) *somo atidrutah* MS.: *pratyān* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.† TB. *pratyāṅk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS.* †10. 31b, MS. *atidrutah*) AV.† (see Whitney's note) VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ.

§405. Once we have what seems to be perhaps a fem. acc. adverb varying with a nom. adjective; but the form is very suspicious:

didāyānidhmo (MS. °*mān*) *ghṛtanirniḡ apsu* RV. TS. MS. '(Agni) shone in the waters without kindling . . .' If MS. is sound it would seem to have an adverb. All s.p. mss. agree; curiously the p.p. reads *didāya*, *asme ity asme*.

8. Miscellaneous and doubtful

§406. The remaining nominative-accusative variants are hardly classifiable. Many are textually dubious, and in most the interpretation of one form, or both, is troublesome.

sakṛd yat te (KS. *te*) *manasā garbhā* (KS. *garbham*) *āśayat* TS. KS. Here *garbhā* is used in different senses: 'embryo' (TS.) and 'womb' (KS.).

amāsi sarvān (AŚ. *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. Kauś.: *amo 'si sarvān asi praviṣṭaḥ* ŚG.: *amā hy asi sarvam anu praviṣṭaḥ* SMB. The original is certainly *sarvān* (from *sarvāṇe*); the accs. are lect. fac.

apa snehitṛ (SV. *snihitim*) *nṛmanā adhātā* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS.† *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhī tam nṛmanām* (Poona ed. *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA. The latter is plainly corrupt. The acc. *nṛmanām* (bad form in any case) may be felt as a second object, correlative with *snehitṛ*; but the interpretation is certainly dubious.

sūryasya marīciḥ TA.: *sūryo marīcim ādatte* TA. Probably the two are not really related. The former occurs in a list of the *patnīs* of various gods; the latter in a cosmic verse about creation.

ulādāya pṛthivīm jivādānum (TS. TB. ApŚ. *jīradānuh*, MS. KS. *jīradānum*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. The nom. is clearly established as the reading of the Tait. school; but there is no main verb in the stanza and it is hard to construe. Both Keith and Caland think an acc. (agreeing with *pṛthivīm*) must be read.

kratum dadhikrā (MS. **krām*) *anu santavīvat* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *samsa-nīṣyadat*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The context is identical in MS., and only a nom. seems construable: 'Dadhikrā, showing his strength according to his will.' Is the final *m* in MS. mere 'Hiatusstilger'? Cf. VV 2 §308 ff.

samānam ajman (PB. *ṭayman*) *pary eti* (TA. ApŚ. *ajmā pari yāti*) *jāgruḥ* 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. *svargagamanāśīlāḥ*), but is scarcely to be called anything but a corruption (Caland on ApŚ.). Comm. on PB. understands *ayman* (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 *ṭaymanī te pṛthivīm agninā saha*, and these interesting variants added to VV 2 §192. Cf. also Raghu Vira, *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā*, 5; Oertel 28.

bṛhaspatim yajñam akṛvata rṣim RV.: *bṛhaspatir yajñam ātanvata rṣiḥ* 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.

yāns (TA. Poona ed. text and comm. *yās*) *te soma prāṇāns tān* (tān, tān) *juhomi* TA. MahānU. Either reading must intend approximately 'those breaths which are thine. . .'. Comm. on MahānU. supplies *pāṣyāmi* as governing the acc. The nom. *yās* makes construction simpler (*prāṇāns* for *prāṇās* being then attracted to the following *tān*).

sam takṣā hanti cakrī raḥ (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.' *cakrī*, if sound, would seem to be felt as an epithet of *takṣā*!

brahmānam (TB. °na) *indram vayoḥhasam* VS, TB. After *hotā yajad*; only acc. seems construable. Comm. on TB. in fact takes *brahmānas* as acc. pl. (agreeing with *devās* preceding)!—as if from *brahman*, with strong stem for weak.

manyuṣ (AV. *manyur*) *viśa idate mānuṣir yāḥ* (TB.† *idate devayantiḥ*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The nom. is carelessly repeated from the preceding half verse, where it occurs three times. It is really unconstruable, as Whitney observes; comm. reads *manyuṣi*. Yet Ppp. has *manyur*, which seems to suggest that it is the actual reading of the Atharvan schools.

purāṇā (TA. °nā) *anu venati* RV. TA. N. Comm. on TA. *purāṇān devān*. In fact neither a nom. pl. masc. nor a nom. or acc. pl. fem. is construable.

narāśatśena nagnaham (KS. TB. °huḥ) VS. MS. KS. TB. The form must be acc. in all. Von Schroeder emends KS. to °ham; TB. comm. keeps the form °huḥ but regards it as acc. neut.

parīdam vājy aḥinam (PG. °dam vāḥinam) *dudhe 'ham* (HG. *aḥinam dhatsvāsan*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. Haplology in PG. (VV 2 p. 362); *vāḥinam* not construable.

bahuprajā nirrtim (AV. °tir) *ā vivesa* 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 *nirrti-* agree with *bahuprajā*.

ā vivesāparājitām (TA. °tā) AV. TA. Only the acc. can be construed; so comm. on TA. interprets the form, tho he reads °tā like both editions.

tilvilāstām irāvatīm AG†; *tilvilā syād irāvatī* 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:

sindhuh (MahānU. v. 1. *sindhur*) *na nēvā duritāṭi paṇi*; RV. MS. TB.

TA, MahānU. The v. l. is worthless; no nom. could be construed. *havyam pīrāṇatebhyah* AV. ŚŚ. So mss. of AV.; R-Wh. emend wrongly to *havyah*.

pūṣanvān karambham MS. KS. AB. *karambhaḥ* is read by Von Schroeder in MS. by emendation; and the Conc. quotes KS. as °*bhaḥ*, erroneously. All texts should read °*bham*.

śimāḥ kṛyantu kimyantaḥ TS. KSA. Conc. quotes *śimām* for KSA.; this is a false reading of one ms., rejected in the ed.

tān sma mānuvāṣaḥkṛtāḥ AŚ.; *ete nānuvāṣaḥkṛtāḥ* Vait. But all mss. of Vait. read *ca tāntamānuvāṣaḥkṛtā(h)*; with Caland we should probably assume that they intend the AŚ. reading.

trptām juhur mātulaṣyera yosā RVKh.† N.† Conc. reads *trptā* for RVKh., with Aufrecht; but see Scheftelowitz, p. 87.

vāyavyah śvetah puche VS. MS.: *vāyavyam śvetam* ApŚ. The latter should be deleted in the Conc.; it is no mantra but the beginning of a Brāhmana passage, TS. 2. 1. 1. 1.

iṣamāṇa (ŚŚ. °*nā*) *upaspṛaḥ* AV. ŚŚ. Read in AV. as in ŚŚ. (with mss., SPP., Whitney's Index; and see Bloomfield's note on 20. 127. 2).

CHAPTER XV

NOMINATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1. Instr. of means or agent and subject nom.

§408. The instrumental in one aspect expresses the means or instrument, or the agent, by which an action is performed. Naturally, therefore, it sometimes varies with the nominative as expressing the performer of the action. In its simplest form this change merely accompanies a shift between an active or transitive verb and a passive or intransitive one, as in:

ya im vahanta āśubhiḥ RV.: *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV. 'Whoso travel by horses': 'when the horses carry (him).'
manjur akārṣṇin manyuḥ karoti...TAA.: *manyunā kṛtaṁ 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 karmaṇā līpyate pāpakena* ŚB. TB. BrhU. BDh.: *na karma līpyate nare* VS. IśāU. 'He is not stained by evil action': 'action does not stick to (stain) a man.'

§410. A little different in psychology is the next group—all occurring in the same passage—in which the instr. of means varies with what would be, with the active voice, an acc. of direct object, but becomes nom. as subject of a passive verb:

antar dadhe parvatāḥ HG. ApMB.: *antarhitā girayaḥ* ŚG. 'I interpose with mountains': 'mountains are interposed.'—In same context: *antar mahyā prthivyā* HG.† ApMB.†; *antar dadha rtubhiḥ; ahorātrāś ca saṁdhibhiḥ* (HG. °trāḥ susaṁdhibhiḥ); *ardhamāsaiś ca māsaiś ca*—all HG. ApMB.: *antarhitā prthivī mahī me; antarhitā ma ṛtavaḥ; ahorātrāś ca saṁdhiḥ; māsāś cārdhamāsāś ca*, all ŚG.

§411. More often there is no such change in the verb, whether in form or meaning. The variation in case may be said to signalize a lack of clear distinction between the concepts of agent and of instrument. 'Indra by his might has done so and so' is equivalent to 'Indra's might has done so and so.' In such religious literature as the Veda, where personification and apostrophe of inanimate things and qualities

are so common, such a shift is particularly easy; it would indeed not be difficult anywhere. It suggests a characteristic trait of Homeric diction (*βίη* 'Ἡρακλῆειν). But it is noteworthy that the possessive adjective, or genitive, or equivalent, which appears in such Homeric phrases, is rarely found among our variants; the first example is perhaps the only one.—Instead of the subject nom., the voc. of direct address is also found varying with the instr. in the same way, §354.

pra te divo na stanayanti śuśmāh (MS. °*yanta śuśmāh*) RV. TS. MS.

'Thy (Agni's) furies thunder like (the thunders) of heaven': 'they (sc. *gīrah*) have thundered to thee with furies like (those) of heaven.' *abhi stomair* (RV.* SV.* *stomā*) *anūgata* RV. SV. (both in each) AV. VS. 'Songs of praise shouted to thee': 'they shouted to thee with songs of praise.'

vājasya mā prasaṇa (VS. ŚB. °*vah*) VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *udgrābhenod agrābhūt* (*ajīgrubham*, etc.). 'He has (I have) exalted me (myself) with increase of strength, with exaltation': 'increase of strength has exalted me with exaltation.'

tam tvābhīh suśrutibhir vājayantaḥ RV.: *tam tvā gīrah suśrutayo vājayanti* SV. 'Strengthening thee with these fair praises': 'songs of fair praise strengthen thee.'

punantu manaso (RV. *vasavo*, VS. KS. *manasā*) *dhiyā* (VS. KS. *dhiyāh*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Let men (Vasus) purify with prayer': 'let prayers purify with mind.' The change of *manaso* to *manasā* introduces a different word; but it is to be noted that it replaces the instr. *dhiyā*, and so in a way restores the original construction of the sentence.

abhi yo mahinā divam RV. AŚ.: *abhīman* (TS. MŚ.† °*mān*, MS. MŚ. v. 1. °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. °*mā*; delete MŚ. v. 1. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divah*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *mitro* (VS. *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh*. 'The far-spreading Mitra has surpassed this heaven (these heavens) by his majesty'; VS. substitutes *vipro* for *mitro* (phonetic shifts, VV 2 §§180, 235), and turns *mahinā* into *mahimā*, nom.: 'the wise, far-spreading majesty has....'

kṣatram agne (AV. *kṣatreṇagne*) *suṣamam astu tubhyam* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. neither the *pāda* itself nor the context furnishes a subject for *astu*. Apparently indefinite subject: 'by dominion, Agni, let it be of easy control for thee.' The other reading is supported by Ppp. and is much simpler, but for that reason perhaps to be suspected of secondariness: 'let dominion, Agni, be of easy control for thee.'

kukro brhan dakṣiṇayā (TB. *brhad dakṣiṇā tvā*) *pipartu* AV. TB. 'Let the bright one, the mighty, endow [me] with the sacrificial fee': 'let the bright one, the mighty [comm., the *sāman*], (and) the sacrificial fee endow thee.' On this use of root *pr* see Bloomfield, *AJP*. 17, 408 ff. (esp. 409).

2. Associative instr. and (collateral) subject or predicate nom.

§412. An associative instrumental attached to a noun in any other case might theoretically be replaced by a form in that other case. So we find such instr. forms attached to a subject or predicate nom., varying with a nom. as collateral subject or predicate. For the same variation with other cases than the nom. see §§55-7. With the nom. this is particularly easy in constructions with words whose meaning suggests the instr., expressions of mingling, union, equality, comparison, or the like. Such words occur in most of the following variants:

ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB. °*śir*, MG. °*śam*) *aguh* (with varr.) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Preceded by *ā vatso jagatā saha*. Ppp. reads *ā dadhnaḥ kalaśaś 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 *kalāsam airayam*; but the mss. are clearly corrupt; the syllable *air* must conceal the true case-ending of *kalāśa*. Read *kalāśair ayam*, as in Kāthaka G. (see Caland's ed. and note on this). In the same context:

emām parisrutah kumbhaḥ AV.: *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG.: *ā tvā parisrutah* (°*erutah*, °*śrutah*, *hiraṇmayah*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† °*āḥ*) AG. PG. MG. ApMB. HG.

yaśasā (ArS. *yaśo*) *mā dyāvāprthivī* ArS. PG. MG. The verb to be supplied is a form of *vid* 'find', from pāda c: *yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*) PG. MG., *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. ('let glory of fortune find [me]'; so correct rendering in VV 2 p. 98).—So, in same stanza, between these two pādas:

yaśasendrābrhaspatī PG. MG.: *yaśo mendrābrhaspatī* ArS. Cf. pree. 'With glory let... find (come to) me.' However, the dual forms might be taken as vocs., supplying a 2d person verb: 'with glory (come) to me, O....' (So Oldenberg on PG.)

yavā (MS. *yavair*) *na barhīr bhruvī kesarāṇi* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'The hairs on his eye-brow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw with barley).'

samā bhuvantūdvaro (TS. °*valā*) *nipādāh* RV. TS. KS. 'The heights and depths shall be equal': 'the depths shall be equal with the heights.'
teṣāṃ iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti RV. VS. TS. MS. N.: *sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām* KS. A far-reaching reconstruction in the latter; it vaguely suggests the psychology of the variants in this section.
satyā eṣām (AG. *etā*) *āśiṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB. HG. *santu kāmāḥ*; SMB. Jørgensen *santu kāmāḥ*, v. l. *kāmāt*; AG. *santu sarvāḥ*; VS. *samnamantām*) 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. *kāmāt*) come true.'

ādityas (ApMB. °*yais*) *te vasubhir ā dadhātu* HG. ApMB. Preceded by *indro marudbhir ṛtudhā* (HG. *iha te*) *kṛnotu* (HG. *dadhātu*). 'Indra with the Maruts ..., Āditya with the Vasus': 'Indra with the Maruts. ... with the Ādityas, with the Vasus'.

sam revatir jagatibhiḥ preyantām VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *sam revatir jagatibhir* (VSK. °*bhiḥ sam*) *madhumatir madhumatibhiḥ ṛjyadhvam* (VSK. *preyantām*) TS. VSK. TB.: *sam revatir jagatiḥ* 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 asṛkṣatāpāḥ*), and the original instr. which was paired with *revatir* is made into a supplementary subject.

tan mṛtyunā nirṛtiḥ saṁvidānā AV.: *tan mṛtyur nirṛtyā saṁvidānāḥ* TB. Here nom. and instr. change places, without real change of meaning. 'Destruction in unison with death': 'death in unison with destruction.'

tām viśvair devair (KS. *viśve devā*) *ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānāḥ* (KS. °*naḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Followed by *prajāpatir viśvakarmā vimuñcatu* (ApŚ. *yunaktu*). KS. turns the original complementary instr. (dependent on *saṁvidānāḥ*) into a collateral subject of the verb in the next pāda.

śukrah śukraśociṣā VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS. 'The bright with the bright-shining one': 'the two bright, bright-shining ones.'

tayor (TS. TB. *tasyām*, MŚ. *yasyām*, v. l. *asyām*) *devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* (MŚ. *abhisamvasantaḥ*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tasyām devaiḥ samvasanto mahitrā* AV. In AV. the following verb is *madema*, in the rest *mādayantām* or °*yadhvam*. 'The gods, dwelling together...': 'may we, dwelling together with the gods...'

parīmanī yajamānaṃ manuṣyāḥ saha rāyas poṣeṇa prajāyā ca vyayanām

MS.: *parīmanā rāyas poṣo yajamānam mānuṣyāḥ* TS. The associative instr. is pointed with *saha*. See §§402 etc.

indraghoṣas (MS. KS. °śās) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *tvā vasavaḥ pu° pātu*, MS. *tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pātu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *indraghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA. Followed by the next two, q. v.

manojavāḥ tvā pitr̥bhir (KS. *pitaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pātu*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* MS.: *manojavaso vah pitr̥bhir dakṣiṇata upadadhatām* TA. See next.

pracetās tvā rudraiḥ paścāt pātu VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pātu* MS.: *pracetā vo rudraiḥ paścād upadadhatām* TA.

This and the two preceding all occur in the same passage, which also contains a fourth phrase (*viśvakarmā 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 (*indraghoṣas* etc.) which in the other version is the substantive subject, but here may be felt as an adjective.

3. Instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.) and nom. of bahuvrīhis

§413. Occasionally we find the same compound stem used now as an instr. (a karmadhāraya), and again in the nom. as a bahuvrīhi, an adjective epithet of the subject. The instr. seems generally to be felt as associative, tho this shades over into the instr. of means. In general psychology this group is similar to the preceding one. Sometimes the instr. occurs in separate, uncompounded forms.

akṣvānām sadhastuti (TB. °tiḥ) RV. TB. The verse reads: *ye me pañcāśatām dadur, aśv° sadh°, dyumad agne mahi śravo, bṛhat kṛdhi maghonnām, nṛvad amṛta nṛnām*. 'Who have given me 500 horses, of (these) patrons do thou, Agni, with joint praise (TB. having joint praise), make great the fame' etc.

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV. KS. °tyā, TS. °tir, MS. °ti) *vām iṣānā* (TS. MS. KS. *vāvr̥dhānā*, AV. °nau) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. If MS. intends nom. dual, its variation with AV. KS. is like the foregoing: 'having good praises' or 'along with good praise'. But *suṣṭuti* may be taken also as instr. TS. makes the form acc. pl. depending on the pple., and AŚ. ŚŚ. are hopelessly corrupt.

taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvr̥dhā (ApMB. °dho, HG. *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. The following verb is *anu jayantām*. AV.: 'after

thee, growing with good growth, may brothers be born.' ApMB.: 'after thee, growing, may brothers be born whose growth is good.' Even closer to the preceding cases would this variant be if *surdhā* were taken with the following verb rather than with the participle; but the order seems against this.

prāṇo agniḥ paramātmā pañcāvdyubhīr āvṛtaḥ PrāṇāgU.: *prāṇo 'gniḥ paramātmā vai pañcāvdyuḥ samāśritaḥ* 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.

vī yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV.: *vī yo rājānsy amimīta sukratūḥ* RV. Here a different but related word (with abstract suffix) is used in the karmadhāraya.

tripād ūrdhva ud ait puruṣaḥ RV. ArS. VS. TA.: *tribhīḥ padbhir dyām arohat* 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 Aśvamedha, we find a number of times variation between instr. of the part dedicated (and acc. of the deity), on the one hand (with verb of 'gratifying' 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:

pūṣaṇāṃ vaniṣṭhunā VS. MS. ('Pūṣan [we gratify] with the *van*^o): *pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuḥ* TS. KSA. ('the *van*^o is for Pūṣan').—Similarly: *andhāhīn* (^ohe, ^ohek) *sthūlagudayā* (*sthūra*^o, *gudā*^o), and others, same texts.

5. Transfer of epithet

§415. As usual we find in a number of cases that the shift between nom. and instr. is due to the transfer of an epithet from one person or thing to another. In most cases there is a variation in number or gender as well as case; we quote first those in which case alone varies: *svāveśayā* (VS. ŚB. ^oveśā) *tanvā samvīśasva* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. In VS.

ŚB. the adjective, if as we believe (cf. §174) it is nom., agrees with the subject (*iṣṭakā*); in MS. KS. with *tanvā*.

prātaryāvāṇo adhvarāṃ RV. VS. TB.: *prātaryāvabhir adhvarā* SV. Pre-

ceded by: *śrudhi śrutkarna vahnibhir, devair agne sayāvabhiḥ, ā śidantu* (SV. *śidatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB. adds *varuṇo*) *aryamā*. In the original *prātara*⁶ agrees with the subject; in SV. it becomes an associative instr. attached to the subject, doubtless influenced by the instrumentals in the preceding.

anullāś carṣaṇīdhṛtīḥ SV.: *anullā carṣaṇīdhṛtā* RV. In RV. *carṣaṇīdhṛtā* is an epithet of doubtful reference (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten*, 1 p. 162, n. 1); in SV. it is transferred to the subject (*tvam* = Indra).

§416. In the rest there is variation in number or gender or both, as well as case:

paro devebhir (MS. ^o*bhyo*) *asurair* (MS. ^o*raṇi*) *yad asti* (TS. *asurair guhā yat*) RV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *paro divā para enā prthivyā*, except in MS. which has *paro divaḥ para enā prthivyāḥ* (abl. for instr.); MS. makes *devebhir* over into *devebhyo* in accord with this, and since the meter does not permit *asurebhyo*, it transfers this word to the subject *yad*.

ghnanto (MS. ApŚ. *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāny aprati* AV. MS. KS. TS. ApŚ. Nom. goes with subject *vayam*, instr. with associative *indreṇa*.

indreṇa sayujō (AV. ^o*jā*) *vayam* AV. TS. ApŚ. 'We allied with Indra': 'we with Indra as ally.'

indreṇa devīr (MŚ. *devair*) *vīrudhah saṁvidānāḥ* TS. MŚ.

ta ā vahanti (MS. *taṁ vahante* [so p.p.]) *kavayah purastāt* TS. MS. TB.: *tad dharanti kavayāḥ purastāt* KS. In MS. *taṁ* by attraction to preceding *svadhayā*; cf. VV 2 §342.

udyan bhrājabhṛṣṭibhir (PG. ^o*bhrṣṭir*) *indro marudbhir asthāt* . . SMB. PG. GG.

śuddha (SV. *śuddhair*) *āśīrvān mamattu* RV. SV. Preceded by *śuddhair ukthair vāvrdhvānsam*; to these instr. forms the SV. has assimilated *śuddha(h)* of RV.

aganma mahā (KS. *maho*) *namasā yaviṣṭham* RV. SV. MS. KS. AB. KB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'We have come with mighty homage (KS. mighty with homage) unto the youngest (Agni).' KS. apparently understands a nom. pl. with its *mahō*.

abhikhyā bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ RV.: *dṛśe* (MS. *dṛśā*) *ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (KS. ^o*vabhiḥ*, MS. *suśikmanā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. *su*^o 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 *suśastibhiḥ* in the following pāda (but in that case the form would be irregular since the latter word is fem.).

ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kr̥taḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayā san†* (MS. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, ms. *ayāsā*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kr̥taḥ*, p.p. and KS. *kr̥taḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. Followed by:

ayasā havyam ūhiḥ ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiḥ* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayā no yajñam vakāsi* KŚ. In the first of these two pādas, the instrs. are transferred to *manasā* from agreement with the subject (Agni); in the second they are attracted to the like construction by the preceding *ayasā*.

uruvyacasā dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasāgnir dhāmnā patyamāne* AV. The AV. version is corrupt; by a false verse division *uru*^o (originally epithet of the divine doors, *dvārah*) is transferred to *dhāmnā*. Ppp. agrees with the others.

pāvakayā yas (TS. *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The nom. in TS. is really due to phonetic alteration; cf. Oldenberg, *Prol.* 453, and VV 2 §343. But it is construable in agreement with the unexpressed subject of the verb *ruruce*.

saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV. AV. SV. N.: *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣiḥ* (MS. *avihrutāḥ*) AV. MS. The instr. goes with a preceding *indreṇa*, the nom. with the *gārah* 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:

acittibhīs cakṛmā yac cid āgaḥ RV. MS. KS.: *avidvānsaś cakṛmā kac canāgaḥ* TS.

apa druhā (AV. *druhṣ*) *tanvan gūhamānā* RV. AV. The instr. of *man-*ner, virtually an adverb, of RV. becomes in AV. an epithet of the subject, a she-demon.

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā (TB. *dhṛṣatā*) *marutoḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā dhṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. In TB. the orig. nom. epithet becomes an adverbial instr. of a different but related stem.

indrādhipatiḥ (MS. KS. ^o*patyatiḥ*) *pipṛtād ato naḥ* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'O Indra, as overlord (with thy overlordship) . . .'

vaiśvānarāḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ TA.: *vaiśvānarāḥ pavitā mā punātu* AV. The TA. reading seems to be intended by Ppp. (Whitney on 6. 119. 3). 'May V. with purifiers (V. the purifier) purify us (me).'

yena prajā (MS. *ya imāḥ prajā*) *vīśvakarmā jajāna* (TS. *vyāna*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. *yaḥ* goes with *vīśvakarmā*. The original: 'by which V. produced creatures.'

yenaīṣa bhūtaḥ tiṣṭhaty (MahānU. MuṇḍU. *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU. (2. 1. 9). Deussen reads *bhūtaḥ* in MahānU. but observes that a v. l. has *bhūtais* and that this is a better reading. The nom. is secondary and attracted to *antarātmā*. See also Deussen's note on the MuṇḍU. passage.

tenā (TS. *sā*) *no yajñam piprīḥi vīśvavāre* AV. TS. Nom. is secondary. *candro* (SV. *candair*) *yāti sabhām upa* RV. SV. Preceded by *śvitra-bhājā vayasā sacate sadā*. Apparently under the influence of the preceding instrumentals, tho not in agreement therewith, the nom. is changed into an associative instr. The 'shining ones' are soma-drops according to Benfey.

priyaḥ karindm mati (SV. *matih*) RV. SV. In RV. *mati* is instr.: 'by the hymn of the seers.' In SV. it is anomalously made into an epithet of *indu*.

sūyavasiniḥ 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 *daśasyā*, 'benevolently'. TA.'s *daśasye* seems, like *yaśasye*, to be dual nom. fem. agreeing with the subject.

6. Nom. of independent sentence and instr.

§418. Twice a dependent instr. of one form of the variant is paralleled in the other form by an independent sentence, with nom., which is however resumed by a pronominal instr. in the same construction as the nominal instr. of the variant form. See §33:

gavā te kṛiṇāni TS. ApŚ.: *iyam gaus tayā te kṛiṇāni* MŚ. 'With a cow let me buy of thee': 'here is a cow, with her...'

etat te rudrāvasam tena (VSK.† *etena rudrāvasena*) *paro mūjavato 'tīhi* 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 etu (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *pathera*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV.

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. In RV. VS. ŚB. *pathyā* may be taken as nom., with Grassmann and Oldenberg: 'as the path of the *sūri*'. In all the others, at any rate, we have an instr.: 'like the lord on his path'. Cf. §284.

gaṇair mā mā vi tīrṣṇata MS.: *gaṇā me mā vi tīrṣṇan* VS. TS. ŚB.: *gaṇān me mā vi tīrṣṇah* (MŚ. °ṣat) TS. MŚ. See §§380, 459.

jajñānam (SV. °nah) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV. *mātrbhiḥ*) RV. SV. Followed by *vedhām āśasata* (SV. *medhām āśā*) *śriye*. 'The seven mothers instructed their holy child unto fortune': 'the child of seven mothers prayed to the wise one unto fortune.'

yajñam hinvanti adribhiḥ RV.: *yajñāya santv adrayaḥ* SV. Preceded by *tām duroṣam abhī naraḥ, somaṁ rītvācyā dhīyā*. In RV. *naraḥ* is subject of *hinvanti* and *somaṁ* its object. In SV. it seems that *naraḥ* must be taken with Benfey as voc., with no verb expressed, and that *pāda c* must be completely detached from the preceding.

tan nau samvānanam kṛtam MG.: *tena samvānināu svake* HG. 'That concord has been made for us': 'thereby we are concordant.'

tayā devāḥ sutaṁ ā babhūvuh TS. KSA. TB.: *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS. MS. 'Therewith the gods mastered the libation': 'it is present for us at this libation.' See Keith on TS. 4. 1. 2. 1, n. 6.

prthivīm bhasmanāprṇa (MS. KS. *bhasma*) *svadhā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'Fill the earth with (thy) ashes.' In MS. KS. sc. *gachatu*: 'let (thy) ashes (go) to earth.'

ya indreṇa saratham yāti devaḥ AV.: *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS. KS. ApŚ.

maṇḍūkyā su sam gamaya (TA. *gamaya*) RV.† TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu sam bhuvah* AV. (corrupt).

āptam manah TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.: *āpāma manasā* VS. ŚB. 'Mind has been obtained': 'may we obtain by mind'. Ritualistic rignmarole.

ārohātmatmānam (MŚ. *ārohātmanātmānam*) *achā* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Mount as self (with thy self) upon (my) self.' TB. Bibl. Ind. reads *ārohātyātmānam*, text and comm.; Poona ed. like the others.

mūrā (SV. *mūrair*) *amūraṁ purāṁ darmānam* RV. SV. Benfey: 'den durch Thoren unbethörten'. Obscure.

tām devāḥ sam acikṣan KS.: *tām devāḥ sam aṣṭagamam* TS. The sense is radically altered. 'Him the gods have fashioned': 'her I have united with the gods.' Both preceded by *aṅgāny ahrutā yasya* (TS. *yasyai*).

sam indro viśvadevebhīr aṅktām VS. ŚB.: *sam indreṇa viśvebhīr devebhīr aṅktām* TB. ApŚ. In the latter the *barhis* is the subject.

saṁ aryamā saṁ bhago no nīniyāt RV. ApMB.: *saṁ bhagena saṁ aryamā* (followed by *saṁ dhātā ṣṛjatu varcasā*) AV. See Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 34, which doubtless understands *bhagena* and *aryamā* as parallel with *varcasā*.

kālena bhūtaṁ bhavyam ca AV.: *kāle ha bhūtaṁ bhavyam 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 tho related (found in the same hymn), and the variant could be called 'Phrase Inflection'.

[*krāṇā* (SV. *prāṇā*, AV. *prāṇaḥ*) *sindhūnām kalāśāṁ aṁivaśat* (SV. AV. *acikradat*) RV. SV. AV. *krāṇā* is problematic; Oldenberg takes it with Lanman as instr.; see *RVRep.* 136 for a different view. In SV. we have a phonetic shift (VV 2 §152) which defies interpretation; in AV. an attempt at rationalization of SV., which is grammatical ('the breath of the rivers has made the jars resound') but silly.]

CHAPTER XVI

NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE

1. Dative of purpose varying with nominative

§420. Since the dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to or desired for the logical subject of the sentence, it may vary with a nominative form, of the same or a related word. This nominative may be an epithet of the entity to which the dative of purpose relates, as in: *mandrā dhanasya sātaye* (KS. °yah) TS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ. MŚ. ŚG.

Waters are referred to. 'Fair ones, unto the winning of wealth': 'fair winnings of wealth'. All mss. of KS. agree on the form.

pade-pade pāśinah santi setavaḥ (AV. °re) RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. 'On every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond).'

agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavaḥ RV.: *agner akṛṇvann uśijo amṛtyave* MS.: *devā akṛṇvann uśijo amartyave* 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.

prajāvatir (MŚ. °varir, v. l. °vatir) *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. *yaśase* is evidently the noun, 'unto renown'; the ultimate meaning is substantially the same.

ājyam uktham aryathāyai (TS. *avyathayāt*, KS. *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °notu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Comm. on TS. *tvām aryathayad vyathārahītaṁ kurvat*, which is practically the meaning of the datives of purpose of the other texts.—The same with *prāṅgam uktham*, *marutsatiyam u°*, *niṣkevalyam u°*, *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*.

aso yathā no 'vitā vṛdhe ca (SV. *vṛdhaś 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 *avitā*: '...and (mayst be our) increaser.'

ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmaṇi AV.: *ayam sahasram ānavo* (Benfey and Caland assume *sahasramānavo*) *dṛśaḥ kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ. °mā) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm.

on SV, takes *drśāh* as nom. (= *draśā*), 'seer' or 'eye'. If this be accepted the variant would belong here; *drśe* is a dat. (infinitive). But Caland apparently assumes an infinitive as meant in ApŚ. (perhaps abl.-gen. in form?).

sajātānām madhyamasthā edhī (AV. *madhyameṣṭhāh*, MS. KS. *madhyameṣṭheyāya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *sajātānām madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV.

§421. Slightly different are a couple of cases in which the nom. form of the variant is the subject of an independent statement attributing the quality denoted to the person referred to:

tava praśastayo mahīh (SV. *prakastaye mahe*) RV. SV. Preceded by *tam tvā madāya ghrīvaye*, u *lokakṛtnum imahe*. In RV. our pāda is an independent statement: 'great are thy praisings.' In SV. it is assimilated to the datives of pāda a: 'unto great praising of thee.'

rāyaspoṣā (MŚ. °*poṣāya*) *yajamānam viśantu* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *imām devā ajuzanta viśve*. 'Let increase of wealth dwell with the sacrificer.' In MŚ. the subject *devāh* of the preceding clause holds over: 'let them (the gods) dwell with the sacrificer unto increase of wealth.' The psychological difference between such variants and those of the preceding paragraph is slight, since the gods are logically the subject even in the reading of KS. ApŚ.; it is thru them that the desired result is expected. Cf. *rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām*, in a similar context, for which one ms. of MŚ. also reads *rāyaspoṣāya*. Such variants remind us of the quite similar use of the associative instrumental in variation with the nominative, §412.

ā yāhīma indavaḥ RV. AŚ.: *ā yāhy ayam indave* SV. This clearly belongs here, even tho the dative of SV. may not be quite properly described as one of purpose. 'Come! Here are the soma-drops': 'come, thou here, to (for) the soma.'

§422. We may record here a variant in which the logical object of an infinitive is in the original version nom., subject of a nominal clause (copula 'understood'), while in the secondary version it is assimilated to the dative infinitive, in accordance with familiar usage (cf. Delbrück, *ALS*. 89, where it is suggested that 'case-attraction' does not properly describe this dative):

mayah patibhyo janayah (AV. °*ye*) *pariṣvaje* RV. AV. ApMB. 'A joy to husbands (are) wives to embrace': 'a joy to husbands (it is) to embrace a wife.'

§423. In the only other variant involving this dative 'object' of a dative infinitive, the nominative form is attracted to agreement with a preceding nominative (in a relative clause):

brahmadviṣe (RV. also *°dviṣaḥ*) *śarave hantavā u* RV. (both) AV. The nom. form is preceded by *tapurmūrāhā tapatu rakṣaso ye*: 'may he whose head is flame burn those (that are) brahman-hating ogres, so that his arrow may slay (them).' See *RVRep.* on 10. 125. 6.

2. Dative varies with nom. of secondary adjective in dedications

§424. In dedicatory expressions (cf. §126), the 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. *°tā*) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TA. KSA. *nairṛtāḥ*) VS. TS.

MS. KSA. 'These are for Nirṛti (Nirṛti's).'

vāyusavitṛbhyām āgomugbhyām payaḥ MS.: *vāyosāvitṛ āgo° caruḥ* TS.

KSA. P.p. of TS. *vāyosāvitṛaḥ*. On the formation see VV 2 §716. *ātir* (TS. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) 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 etan bharata tadvāśāya (and, *tadvāśo dadīḥ*) RV. (both). 'Bring this to him who desires it': 'bring this to him—he desires it and is generous.'

§426. Elsewhere the independent nominative is thrown into a relative clause, and is resumed by a dative of a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause:

agninetrebhyo devebhyah purahsadbhyah svāhā VS. ŚB.: *ye devā agninetṛāḥ purahsadas tebhyah svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *ye devāḥ purahsado agninetṛā* (KS. 'gni°) *rakṣoḥaṇas...tebhyah svāhā* MS. KS.: *ye devāḥ purahsado 'gninetṛā...tebhyo namas tebhyah svāhā* TS. Others similar (VS. 9. 35-6, MS. 2. 6. 3, KS. 15. 2).

namo vaḥ pitaro ghorāya (VSK. adds *manyave*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG.: *namo vaḥ pitaro yad ghoratṁ tasmai* AV. MS. And, in same passage: *namo vaḥ pitaro jīvāya* VS. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG.: *namo vaḥ pitaro yaj jīvaṁ tasmai* VSK. MS. Note the difference in phraseology in VSK.

4. Phrase inflection

§427. There are a few cases of repetition of a whole clause or pāda in a different context, requiring shift of case between nom. and dat.; in short, of what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

patir (VS. ŚB. *patye*) *viśvasya bhūmanah* RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB. Followed in RV. SV. KS. by *vy akhyad rodasā ubhe*, in VS. ŚB. by *juhomi viśvakarmaṇe*.

sahasrākṣāyāmartya AV.: *sahasrākṣo amartyah* AV. Preceded respectively by *namas te rudra kṛṇmah*, and *anyatrāsman ny ucyatu*.

prācī dig agnir adhipatir asilo rakṣitādityā iṣavaḥ AV.: *prācyai tvā diḥe 'gnaye 'dhipataye 'sitāya rakṣitra ādityāyeṣumate* AV. The first is followed by *tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyas* etc., the second by *etam pari dadmah*. Similar variants in the five following verses; see Conc. under *dakṣiṇāyai tvā* . . . , *prācyai tvā* . . . , *udīcyai tvā* . . . , *dhruvāyai tvā* . . . , *ūrdhvāyai tvā* . . .

janāya vṛkṭabarhiṣe RV.: *janāso vṛkṭabarhiṣah* RV. Different contexts, *stolāra indra girvanah* RV. SV.: *stotṛbhya indra girvanah* RV. The nom. is preceded by *vayam ghā te api śmasi*, the dat. by *yad dītsasi stulo magham*.

5. Transfer of epithet

§428. The general nature of such variants differs in no wise from those concerning other cases (§14). We quote first those which show shift in case alone, not in number or gender. But it must be noted that not one of them is quite strictly a case of typical 'transfer of epithet'. In the first three an original dative of independent construction, not an 'epithet' of any other word, is attracted into agreement with the subject in a secondary text. In the fourth the dative (probably secondary) also does not agree syntactically with any expressed noun or pronoun. Cf. §15.

tasmā u brahmaṇas patih RV. KS.: *ayam ca brahmaṇas patih* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *tasmāi somo (devā) adhi bravat (bruvan)*. The pronoun is transferred from the recipient of blessing to the god: 'And him (may) Brahmanaspati (bless)': 'and (may) B. here (bless him).'

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. °*patih*, KB. ŚŚ. °*pateh*, TB. °*patyuh*) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. In all preceded by *juṣṭo vāco (vāce) bhūyāsam*. 'May I be pleasing to speech, pleasing to the lord of speech': in MS., 'may I be pleasing to speech, (may I be) a pleasing lord of speech.'

iyam te rān mītrāya (KS. *mītro*) *yanlāsi tṛyamanah* VS. KS. ŚB. 'Thou art a guiding controller for thy friend (KS., a guiding friendly controller).' We suspect that KS. is secondary, since it has what looks like form-assimilation to the following nouns.

pitarah pitāmahāḥ pare 'vare (KS. 'varebhyas) *te nah pāntu* (MS. omits *te nah p°*) *te no* 'vantu TS. MS. KS. 'Let the fathers. . . the earlier and the later, guard us. . .' In KS. *avarebhyas* is made to refer to the petitioners: 'Let the fathers, the earlier ones, for (us) the later ones, guard us. . .' Note however that we should expect an acc. agreeing with the following *nah*.

§429. Transfers of epithet involving change of gender or number as well as case are:

suprāḍye (AV. °*vyā*) *yajamānāya sunvate* RV. AV. Preceded by *aham dadhāmi draviṇam* (AV. °*nā*) *haviṣmate*. RV. makes *su°* go with *yaja° sunvate*: 'I (Vāc) give riches to the giver of oblations, to the zealous sacrificer who presses the soma.' Whitney adopts the RV. reading following the AV. comm. and one ms., but notes that AVPr. 4. 11 proves that the Atharvan reading was *suprāḍyā*. 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 *suprāḍi* but from its equivalent *suprāḍyā* (RV.).

ūṇamrudā yuvatīr (AV. °*mrādāḥ* *prthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA. °*patī*) RV. AV. TA. 'The maiden (earth; this is what RV. TA. also mean) soft as wool to him that gives *dakṣiṇā*'; in TA. the epithet 'possessed of *dakṣiṇā*' is applied to the earth, doubtless implying 'bounteous'. *vaiśvānarāya matir naryasī* (ArS. °*se*) *śuciḥ* RV. ArS. In ArS. the epithet is transferred from *matir* to *vaiśvā*.

te asmā (KS. °*smā*) *agnaye* (ApS. and v. l. of MS. °*yo*) *draviṇam* (KS. °*nāni*) *dattvā* MS. KS. ApS. 'They, giving wealth to this Agni': 'these Agnis, giving wealth to him (the sacrificer).' The subject *te* refers to Agnis just mentioned; hence the secondary *agnaye* by attraction.

nābhā samdāyi naryasī (SV. °*dāya* *naryase*) RV. SV. Preceded by *yad dha krāṇā vivasvatī* (SV. °*te*). In RV. *naryasī* agrees with the subject of *samdāyi* (Oldenberg understands *nābhīḥ*); in SV. with *vivasvate*. The stanza is somewhat problematic in both.

§430. Only one form of the variant shows a proper 'epithet' in the following; in the other appears a word of independent construction (in one case with change of meaning, a nomen actionis instead of an adjective). Cf. §15.

āre te goghnam uta pūruṣagham RV.: *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghaṇe* TS.

See under *kṣayadvīra* (TS. °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* (which follows this), §359. 'Far off be thy cattle-killing, and thy man-killing' (RV.). In TS. the nomina actionis are made adjectives going with *te* (Rudra).

rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe (AV. °*ṣī*) *dadātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. 'Let her (Kuhū), the wise, grant increase of wealth': 'let her grant... to the wise.' Possibly the dative is secondarily attracted into parallelism with *dātuṣe* of the preceding *pāda* (in Ppp. and all others but not in AVŚ., which has a quite different *pāda* c).

rātri (KS. v. l. *rātriḥ*, TB. *rātri*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB. The epithet (in RV. referring to some unspecified 'conqueror') is transferred to Night.

6. Miscellaneous

§431. The remaining nominative-dative variants are unclassifiable:

ādityās (MS. °*yebhyas*) *tvā prabṛhantu* (MS. *prabṛhāmi*) *jāgatena chandasa* TS. MS. 'Let the Ādityas pluck thee forth...': 'I pluck thee forth for the Ādityas...'

yathainam jarase nayāt AV.: *athainam jarimā nayet* HG. The latter is evidently poor; perhaps 'then may old age lead him'? Or is it felt as *jarim ānayet*, as if involving a stem **jari*? Note lingual *ṇ* in *nayet*!

īyaṁ (AV. MS. *yā*) *teṣāṁ avayā durīṣṭyai* (AV. MS. *durīṣṭiḥ*) AV. TS. MS. Followed by *aviṣṭiṁ naṣ tāṁ* (AV. wrongly *tān*) *kṛṇotu* (AV. *kṛṇavad*) *vikṣakarmā* (MS. *vi*° *kṛṇotu*). Ppp. has *yā. durīṣṭā, aviṣṭam tad vi*° *kṛ*°. TS.: 'this is their expiatory sacrifice for a vitiated sacrifice; may V. make it for us a perfect sacrifice.' AV. MS. could apparently only mean: 'that expiatory sacrifice of theirs which is a vitiated sacrifice, may V. make it...'. This does not fit the requirements; it seems to be due to some sort of misunderstanding or corruption. Whitney emends to *durīṣṭeḥ*. Ppp. *durīṣṭā* might be interpreted as a loc. of *durīṣṭi*, 'in case of an imperfect sacrifice'; conceivably this might have been the middle stage which (misunderstood as nom. sg. fem. of *durīṣṭā*) led to the further change to *durīṣṭiḥ*.

yathā prthivīm agnaye samanāman evā mahyaṁ saṁnamah saṁ namantu AV.: *yathāgniḥ prthivīā samanāmad evaṁ mahyaṁ bhadrāḥ saṁnatayajāḥ saṁnamantu* TS. KS.† 5. 20. And others in the same passage.

vāk patamgāya dhīyate (TS. *śīśriye*; MS. *hūyate*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *vāk patamgo aśīśriyat* (KS. *°gā aśīśrayuh*) AV. KS. The verse is desperately obscure; we can contribute nothing to its elucidation.

eka eva rudro 'va tasthe na dvitīyah N.: *eka eva rudro* (ŚvetU. *eko hi ru°*, ŚirasU. *eko ru°*) *na dvitīyāya tasthe* (ŚvetU. *tasthuh*, ŚirasU. *tasmai*, but Poona ed. with comm. *tasthau*) TS. ApS. 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.

[*kanyakumāryai* (TA. *°māri*, Poona ed. *°māri*) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. See §361.]

[*jyeshthāya* (ŚŚ. *jyeshtho*) *yad apracetāh* AV. ŚŚ. But AV. mss. *jyeshtho*.]

CHAPTER XVII

NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

A. Nominative and ablative

1. Ablative of source and subject nominative (passive : active)

§432. Variations between these two cases are few and scattering. Rarely do they fall into typical pattern-groups, and yet more rarely do they illustrate typical syntactic relations of the two cases. In the following an ablative of source with passive forms of the root *jan* 'beget, bear' varies with subject nominative of an active form of the same root. The two expressions are virtual equivalents, and the variation is of the same sort as the much commoner shift between instrumental and nominative with passive and active verbs (cf. §40):

ayam vai tvām ajanayad. . 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.

(*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp. *agnih samkusikāc ca yah*) AV. Ppp.: (*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. 'May the waters purify me from that and (from) (him who is) Agni S.'

viṣṇo (*viṣṇoh*, *viṣṇos*) *sthānam asi* (MS. MŚ. *sthāmāsi*, KS. *sthāmanah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In KS. construed with the following, *ita indro vīryam akr̥not*. According to ApŚ. also the two are connected in sense; see Keith, *HOS.* 18 p. 14 n. 2.

3. Phrase inflection

§434. We have noted only one variant which seems to belong to this category (cf. §§21-2), in that a pāda is repeated in a different context which requires change of construction of the noun:

pāpebhyaś ca pratigrahaḥ (RVKh. °hāt) RVKh. TA. MahānU. BDh.

The contexts are different tho similar.

4. Transfer of epithet.

§435. This occurs a few times; in some instances, as usual, number or gender varies along with case:

pra skannāḥ (KS. *skannam*, v. 1. °nāñ) *jāyatām haviḥ* KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

Probably the abl. is original: 'let oblation be born from the (part of the offering that has) fallen (on the ground).' If KS. really intends a nom., it would agree with *haviḥ*: 'let the oblation that has fallen be born.'

ud asya śuśmād bhānur nārta (MS. *bhānor nāvyaḥ*) RV. MS. TA. ApŚ.

In the original *bhānu* is applied in the simile to Agni, subject of the verb. In MS. it seems to apply to *śuśmād*. (Understand doubtless *na avyāḥ*, despite p.p. which does not divide.)

pāpāt (KŚ. *pāpah*) *svapnyād* (KŚ. °nād) *abhūtyāḥ* (KŚ. °yat) AV. KŚ.

Preceded by *paryāvarte duḥsvapnyāt*. In KŚ. *pāpa* seems to be transferred to the subject.

apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyā adevayajanaḥ (*pṛthivyai devayajanyai*) TS. ApŚ.

(both in each). The epithet is (altered and) transferred from *araru* to *pṛthivi*, 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.

parāṃṛtāḥ (TA. °ṃṛtāt) *parimucyanti sarve* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.

KaivU. The ablative seems to be original, and is read by Deussen in MahānU., and by the Poona ed. (*Upaniṣadām Samuccayaḥ*) 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 sambhṛtaḥ (TA. ApŚ. *sambhūtaḥ*) *pṛthivyai* (KS.† MS. °vyā)

- rasāc ca* (KS. *rasah*) VS. KS. MS. TA. ApŚ. Followed by *viśvakarmanah samavartatādhi* (VS. °*tāgre*). Comm. on VS. supplies *yo rasah* as subject; the KS. reading is doubtless secondary (certainly unmetrical), and seems to have been suggested by a like understanding of the passage. In fact, however, the original subject must have been the *puruṣa*, understood from the original context.
- gārhapatyah* (ŚŚ. °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK. *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamah* VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *ayam agniḥ gṛhapatiḥ*. Original: 'he, Agni Gārhapatya, is the house-lord, most liberal in good things to our offspring.' ŚŚ. seems to mean: 'he, Agni, is house-lord, most liberal dispenser of good things from the gārhapatya-fire to our offspring.' This is barely intelligible.
- madhu reto* (KS. *madhur ato*, TS. *madhor ato*) *mādhavaḥ pāte 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, aṁtaḥ*, 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.
- nakṣatrāṇāṁ sakāśān mā jauṣaṁ* MS.: *nakṣatrāṇāṁ mā samkāśāṁ ca pratikāśāṁ cāvatām* Vait. Kauś. 'May I not be cut off from the presence of the nakṣatras': 'may the presence and the gleam of the nakṣatras aid me.'
- satyā tā dharmaṇas paṭi* ApŚ.: *satyād ā (satyādā?) dharmaṇas paṭi* (ŚŚ. *dharmaṇā*, Vait. MŚ. *dharmaṇas* [but MŚ. mss. *dharmaṇā*] *pari*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. See VV 2 §65.
- apāraram adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyaḥ ḥdevayajanāj* (ApŚ. *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ. Caland would read *adevayajanān* (acc. pl. masc.) in both. We too find ApŚ. uninterpretable, since *adevayajano* can scarcely fit the subject of *jahi*. But KS. could mean: 'Smite away Araru, that sacrifices not to the gods, from the earth, from the sacrifice to the gods.' Caland, like the Conc., misquotes KS. as *adevayajanāj*.
- mṛtyur* (!) *me pāhi* TAA.: *mṛtyor mā pāhi* TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Comm. on TAA. says that *mṛtyur* is for *mṛtyor, vyatyayena*. The variant should doubtless be added to VV 2 §716.
- satyā eṣām* (AŚ. *etā*) *āhiṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB. HG. *kāmaḥ*, SMB. Jørgensen *kāmāḥ*, one ms. *kāmāt*; AG. *santu sarve*, VS. *samnaman-*

tām) 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 nominatives, in syntactic agreement. (See §84.) Most simply this appears in formulaic lists such as *dakṣiṇā* (and *prācī*, *ūrdhva*, *pratīcī*, *udīcī*) *dik*, 'the southern (etc.) quarter', AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. Besides this list, TS. also has one with the variant *diśām* in each case: 'the southern (etc.) one of the quarters.' Quite similarly in a list of the seasons, VS. MS. KS. ŚB. have *vasanta* (and *grīṣma*, *varṣā*, *śarad*) *ṛtūḥ*, and *hemantaśīrāv* (*°rā*) *ṛtū*, 'the spring (etc.) season', while TS. in each instance reads *ṛtūnām*, 'the spring (etc.) of the seasons.'

§439. Less formulaic, but of the same character, are the following: *subhūr asi* (ŚŚ. *subhūr nāmāsi*) *śreṣṭho rāsmīr*... PB. ŚŚ.: *subhūr asi śreṣṭho rāsmīnām*... TS. ApŚ.: *svayambhūr asi śreṣṭho rāsmiḥ*...

VS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'The best ray': 'the best of rays'.

yathāmī (RVKh. *yathāmīṣām*, AV. *yathaiṣām*, SV. *yathaiteṣām*) *anyo anyam na jānan* (KVKh. AV. SV. *jānāt*) RVKh. AV. SV. VS. 'That those may not know the one the other': 'that of those one may not know the other'.

trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt KS.†: *trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB. ApŚ. *yad bhuvanasya* must mean the same as *bhuvanam yad*, 'what land'.

yān (TS. *yeṣām*) *tisraḥ prathamajāḥ* (TS. KS. TA. *paramajāḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. preceded by *ye grahāḥ pañcojanīnāḥ*: '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 *teṣām* (*tāsām*)... *iṣam ūrjam sam agrabhīm*. The other texts vary considerably, and do not mention the number 'five'. On the fem. gender see §835.

amṛtasya nidhir hitaḥ RV. TB. TA.: *amṛtam nihitam guhā* SV. Preceded by *yad ado vāta te grhe*. 'What store of nectar is placed in thy house': 'what nectar is placed in secret in thy house.'

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 pale* (*°nām adhipale*) 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 enaś cakṛvān baddha tṛṣa AV.: *eno mahac cakṛvān baddha tṛṣa* MS.: *enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha tṛṣā* TS. The last seems to mean 'the one of them who, having committed a great sin, is bound'; otherwise Keith. Undoubtedly *tṛṣa* 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):

vṛṣāsy ūrmih TS. TB.: *vṛṣormir asi* MS. KS. MŚ.: *vṛṣṇa ūrmir asi rāgradh* VS. ŚB. 'Thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)...'

martānām (AV. *martāsaś*) *cid urvaśir akṛpran* RV. AV. 'Even of (or, for) mortals Urvaśis (even mortal Urvaśis) have been fashioned.'

See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 20, 183.

pratiṣṭhe stho devate (MG. *devate dyāvāprthivi*, ApMB. *devatānām*) *mā mā samtāptam* HG. ApMB. MG. 'You (a pair of shoes) are standing-places, deities (of the deities)...'

mā no rakṣo abhi nad yātumāvātām (AV. **māvat*) RV. AV. The variation accompanies a change in the meaning of *rakṣas* (abstract in RV., but in AV. used in its later concrete sense): 'Let not the injury of the sorcerous ones (the sorcerous ogre, *rakṣas*) get at us.'

apām sakṣā (GB. *yonih*) *prathamajā rtāvā* (GB. *rtasya*) RV. GB. Here the nom. of an adjective derivative varies with a genitive: 'first-born, *ṛta*-full' or 'first-born of the *ṛta*'. GB. quite naturally falls into the familiar rigmarole expression *prathamajā rtasya* instead of the RV. phrase, which is more *recherché*; so much so, indeed, that Grassmann was moved to suggest that *rtasya* 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:

yavās cāyavās cādhipataya āsan VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsit* TS. 'The Y. and A. were overlords': 'the overlordship belonged to the Y. and A.'

ta (MS. *ta u*) *evādhipataya āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *teṣām ādhipatyam āsit* TS. 'These same were overlords': 'theirs was the overlordship.'

§442. In the remaining cases there is a more substantial difference of meaning between the two forms of the variant. Still fairly close to each other, and hence to be mentioned next, are a few cases in which the genitive depends upon a word which, in the other form, is a complementary subject or predicate, parallel with the nominative which replaces the genitive:

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG. *riṣat*, mss. mostly *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. 'Let glory and fortune find me', PG., doubtless original. ArS. makes *yaśo* object, and *bhagaś ca* is then changed (with phonetic shift, VV 2 §189) to a gen.: 'let him find glory of fortune'. The real sense, in spite of all this, is not very different.

parimāṇ yaṁamānaṁ rāyo manuṣyāṇām VS. ŚB.: *parimāṇ rāyas poṣo yaṁamānaṁ manuṣyāḥ* TS.: *parimāṇ yaṁamānaṁ manuṣyāḥ saha rāyas poṣena prajāyā ca eṣayanām* MS.: *parimāṇ rāyo manuṣyam* KS. Only the relations of VS. and TS. concern us here (for MS. see §412, for KS. §402). The former: 'riches (subject) of humans'. The latter: 'increase of riches (and) humans' (both subjects; §402).

āpah prajāpatir yaṁā (ApŚ. *prajāpateḥ prāṇā*) *yaṁāsyā bheṣajam aśi* (ApŚ. omits *aśi*) KŚ. ApŚ. 'Thou art the waters, Prajāpati, sacrifice, . . .': 'the waters are Prajāpati's life-breaths . . .' Here ApŚ. substitutes a different word for the correlative nominative in its extensive reconstruction.

ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā (VS. *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭhīve*, MS. *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve*) *bṛhadraṁhātare ca me yaṁāna kalpetām* (VS.† *kalpantām*) VS. TS. MS. In all preceded by a long list of noms., 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 Rathamāra sāmāns, 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:

dyutānas (MS. KS. *nītānas*) *tvā māruto minotu* (MS. KS. *nihantu*)

- mitravarunau* (TS. KS. °*varuṇayor*) *dhruveṇa dharmaṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: [*varuṇas teḥ dhṛtavrato dhūpayatu* (TA. °*erātu ādhūpayatu*)] *mitravarunau* (TA. °*varuṇayor*) *dhru° dhar°* MS. TA. [Conc. fails to divide these sentences properly.] 'Let Dyutāna (Nītāna) ... fix thee (or the like), (and) Mitra-Varuṇa with firm ordinance (or, with the firm ordinance of M-V.).'
- vi śloka etu* (eti, *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (*sūriḥ*, *sūrah*, *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. See §419.
- agnir hotā vetu* (ŚB. and TB. Poona ed. *vette*) *agnir* (ŚB. AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu* (*vettu*) *prāvitraṁ* ... 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 vede ca gāthinām* (ŚŚ. °*nāḥ*) AB. ŚŚ. Preceded by *adhīyata* (ŚŚ. °*to*) *devarāto*, *rikthayor ubhayor ṛṣiḥ*, *jahnūnām cādhipatyē* (ŚŚ. *cādhitasthīre*). See Keith, *HOS.* 25. 308 n. 8. In ŚŚ. what was originally possessive gen. ('and in the divine sacred lore of the Gāthin[a]s') is turned into a complementary subject.
- pitaro nārāsaṁsāḥ sannaḥ* (VSK. *ādyamānaḥ*) VS. VSK.: *pitaro nārāsaṁsāḥ* KS.: *pitṛnām nārāsaṁsāḥ* TS. Soma is referred to; it is 'when settled, the Nārāsaṁsa fathers' (VS. VSK.); 'the fathers, as Nārāsaṁsa' (KS.); 'Nārāsaṁsa, as belonging to the fathers' (TS.). All are banal rubbish without intelligent sense.
- vāyuh pūtaḥ pavitrena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *vāyoh* ... AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. Kauś. The contexts are the same; *pūtaḥ* applies to Soma, with which in the first variant (doubtless original) Vāyu is identified: 'Soma, (who is) Vāyu, purified by the strainer.' The other reading looks like a rationalizing lect. fac.; it turns *vāyuh* into a gen., 'purified by Vāyu's strainer.'
- §444. Sometimes this change of case-form seems to be due to formal attraction to the case of an adjoining word:
- śivā no astv adīter* (TS. KS. °*tir*) *upasthe* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *adīter upasthe* is a standard cadence (see e.g. *RVRep.* 659), and *upasthe* without a dependent gen. is scarcely conceivable. The orig. must have meant 'may she (the Viṣṇupatnī referred to in a preceding pāda) be favorable to us in the lap of 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 *adīter* is substituted for *adīter*, by a sort of case attraction.
- yena dhātā bṛhaspatēḥ* (ŚG. °*tih*) VSK. AG. (1. 17. 12a) ŚG.: *yena pūṣā bṛhaspatēḥ* SMB. GG. ApMB. HG. MG. Followed by *indrasya*

cāvapac chirah; the *ca* here confirms the obvious secondariness of ŚG., which clearly has assimilated *brhaspateh* to the case of *dhātā*. *mālā* (MS. *mātur*) *mālori māla* MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *prthivi prthivyān āda*, with which the first *mālā* doubtless goes in sense: 'Earth, sit on earth as mother, mother on mother.' In MS.: 'Earth, sit on earth, mother on mother's mother.' If MS. is original, the other form may have assimilated *mātur* to *mālā*; but anything is possible in such rignarole.

cakṣur yad eṣāṁ manasaś ca satyam AV.: *cakṣuṣa eṣāṁ manasaś ca saṁdhau* TS. *cakṣuṣa* in TS.'s lect. fac. may be partly due to formal assimilation to *manasaś*.

dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoḥ (AV. *supratikah sasūnuh*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The gen. of the YV. texts agrees with the preceding *agneh*. In AV. (but not in Ppp., which agrees with the rest) a closer connection is sought with the following nouns. (*tanūnapāt* etc.), beginning a new sentence and also referring to Agni. See Whitney on 5. 27. 1.

3. Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive

§445. As with other cases (§§32-8), so with the genitive, a nominative out of syntactic relation (generally as subject or predicate of a separate nominal sentence) may vary with another case in dependent relationship of any kind. Where the nominative occurs, it is generally, but not always, resumed by a genitive pronoun referring to it. Thus:

agner aham vṛṣṭakṛto devayajyayāyuh pratiṣṭhām gameyam KS.: *agneh vṛṣṭakṛto 'ham devayajyayāyuzmān yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* TS.: *agnih vṛṣṭakṛd yajñasya pratiṣṭhā tasyāham devayajyayā yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* MŚ. Note *tasya* in MŚ., resuming *agnih*.

agnīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān (and, *vṛtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS. ApŚ.: *agnīṣomau vṛtrahanau tayor* (MŚ. *vṛtrahanāy agnīṣomayor*) *aham devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS. MŚ.

somasāham devayajyayā...reto dhiṣṭya (dhe°) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajyayā...reto dhiṣṭya* KS.

catuspāda uta ye dvipādah KS. MŚ.: *catuspadām uta yo* (TS. *ca*) *dvipadām* AV. TS. Preceded by *yeṣām* (AV. *ya*) *īṣe paśupatiḥ paśūnām*. AV. looks original; the gen. depends on *īṣe*. In ultimate sense KS. MŚ. mean the same.

devānām patnīr agnir gṛhapatir yajñasya mithunām (KS. °*patir mithunām yajamānasya*) *tayor aham devayajyayā...TS. KS.: devānām patnīnām aham devayajyayā...MŚ.*

vīlīpti yā (and, *vīlīptyā*) *byhaspate* AV. (both). In two near-by stanzas which are otherwise practically identical. Whitney would emend *vīlīptyā(s)* to *vīlīpti yā*; but it is quite construable as partitive gen. depending on *akṣīyāt* of pāda c: 'of the *vīlīpti* (cow) he shall not eat.' The relative clause paraphrases the same sense. The variation has phonetic aspects: VV 2 §791a.

4. Transfer of epithet

§446. The usual group of variants due to 'transfer of epithet' (§14) appears here also. We begin with examples where neither number nor gender, but only case, varies:

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kin*) *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. *adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaś svastyasyādhevanah* (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhvanah*, MG.† *śraīṣṭhyasya svastyasyādhevanah*, see VV 2 §707) *pāram āṣṭya* AŚ. ApMB. MG. In AŚ. *śreṣṭhaś* is an epithet of the subject; in ApMB. it becomes an epithet of *adhvanah*.

viprasya dhārayā kavīḥ RV.: *viprah sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. In RV. *viprasya* is the human priest; SV. transfers it to Soma (cf. VV 2 §189).

pibā autasya 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 *autasya*.

viprā viprasya bṛhato vipaścitaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚvetU.: *vipro viprasya sahaso vipaścīt* AV. In the original: 'The priests of the great wise priest' (Savitar; so if *vipaś*² be taken with Grassmann and Ludwig as gen. sg.; the alternative would be to take it as nom. pl. with *viprah*). In AV. the context is different; the pāda describes the goat that is being sacrificed: 'The sage (was born from) the sage's (heat), acquainted with power' or the like.

viśām kavīm viśpatīm mānuṣṭiṇām (and, *mānuṣṭir iṣaḥ*) RV. (both). The gen. goes with *viśām*, the nom. with *iṣaḥ*.

mahāns te mahato mahimā AV.: *mahas te suto mahimā panasyate* (SV.

paniṣṭama) RV. AV. SV. VS. In RV. etc. *mahas* agrees with *te*; in the AV. variant it is attracted to *mahimā*.

§447. The rest involve change of number or gender as well as case: *brātās ta indra somā sātāpayo* (KB. TA. °per, KS. ŚŚ. °pe) *havanāśrutah* MS. KB. (fragment) TA. ŚŚ. Add KS. 9.8 in Conc. In MS. the epithet *sāt°* goes with *somā(h)*, in KB. TA. with *te* (= Indra), in KS. ŚŚ. with *indra* directly.

yeṣām (AV. Kauś. *ya*) *īśe paśupatiḥ pakūṇām* AV. TS. KS. MS. Kauś. *vasuḥ* (TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ*) *sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ApMB. In TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ* is attracted into agreement with

saḥaso, instead of *sūnuḥ*.

mahaś (TS. MS. KS. *mahī*) *cid yasya* (TS. *hy asya*, KS. *devasya*) *mīdhūṣo yaryā* (KS.† °yayā) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The adjective is transferred from *yasya mīdhūṣo* to *yaryā* (*avayāḥ*).

garbho yas te yajñīyāḥ KS.: *yasyai* (VSK. °yās) *te yajñīyo garbhah* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yasyās te harito garbhah* TS. ApŚ. The relative agrees in KS. with *garbhas*, elsewhere with *te* (the cow). Followed by: *yasyai* (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yonir yas te hiraṇyayāḥ* KS. Same conditions.

śucih śukre ahany ojasinā (MS. *ahann ojasine*, KS.† *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ. °hany ojasinām) 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 °*ojasa*, going with *disām* in the preceding pāda.

maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājah (AV.* °jā) RV. AV. (both). In RV. *svarājah* is gen. (from *svarāj*), epithet of (neut.) *gotrasya*. AV., doubtless stumbling over the less familiar form, substitutes the nom. of *svarājan*, making it an epithet of the subject.

asya prāṇād apānati (AV.* MS. °taḥ) RV. AV. SV. VS. ArS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *apānati* apparently goes with *rocand* in the preceding pāda, as nom. sg. fem.; *apānataḥ* with *asya*. See Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10. 189. 2, and Whitney on AV. 6. 31. 2.

mahām (SV. *mahān*) *avīnām anu pūrvyāḥ* RV. SV. The adjective is transferred in SV. from *avīnām* to the subject.

imau te pakṣāv (VSK. MS. KS. *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatrināu* (VSK. TS.† KS. °ṇah) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *you te pakṣāv ajarau patatrināu* Kauś. The nom. agrees with *pakṣau*, the gen. with *te*. The variant is really phonetic, for the actual reading is *patatrinō*, before a sonant: see VV 2 §732.

§448. Cases in which one or the other form of the variant word is in strictness not an 'epithet', but construed independently (§15), are:

- juṣṭo vācasputaye* (MS. **ūh*, KB. ŚŚ. **teḥ*, JB. **tyuh*) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. See §428. Here is no variation of number or gender; the rest show change of one or the other.
- payo rathah satyavartmarjurakṣmih* AV.: *yo vām ratha rjurakṣmih satyadharmā* TS. MS. KS. The relative is resumed in all texts (with slight anacolouthon except in AV.) by *mitrāvaruṇa(u)*.
- agner apunānn uśijo amṛtyavah* RV.: *agner akṛtvānn uśijo amṛtyave* MS.: *devā akṛtvānn uśijo amṛtyave* ApŚ. In ApŚ. *devā(h)*, substituted for *agner*, goes with *uśijo*.
- viśvā devānāṁ* (TS. *viśvāni deva*) *janimā vivakti* AV. TS. KS. 'He declares all the births of the gods' becomes in TS. 'he, the god, declares all births'. Ppp. *viśvāni devā*, looking perhaps a little in the direction of the TS. reading—which however is certainly secondary.
- yaj* (TS. MS. KS. *yasya*) *jātam janitavyam* (TS. MS. KS. *janamānam*) *ca kevalam* AV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded in AV. by *yasyedam pradikī yad virocate*: 'In whose direction is . . . what is born and to be born.' In the YV. texts *yasya* refers to the following *agnim*: 'whose is what is born and being born.'
- arir bhuvad* (ArŚ. *bhuvann*) *aruṇir yāsasā goḥ* (ArŚ. *pāvoh*) RV. ArŚ. In RV. *goḥ* (gen. sg.) depends on a noun (something like 'milk') understood with *yāsasā* (adj.), as Oldenberg shows, *RVNoten* on 4. 1. 16. In ArŚ. it is attracted to *aruṇir*, felt now as nom. pl.; the two words are interpreted as 'ruddy rays'. The starting-point of the change is the ambiguous form *aruṇir*, which in RV. is nom. sg.

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 *tvaṁ* and *tava* interchange, without essential difference of sense in the first at least.
- lam u tvaṁ* (SV. *tava tvaṁ*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV. SV. Preceded by *yad dha tvaṁ māyinaṁ mṛgam: tava*, of course, goes with *māyayā*.
- hastagrābhasya didhīṣos* (AV. *da*) *tavedam* (TA. *tvaṁ etat*) RV. AV. TA. Followed by *patyur janitvaṁ abhi sambabhūtha* (TA. **bhūva*). 'Thou hast entered into this spouseship with thy second husband who takes thy hand.' On the verb form of TA. cf. VV 1 p. 178. It is there suggested that the 3d person may be due to thought of

forms with subject *bhavad* (*bhavati*), which would be in effect 2d person (comm. glosses as a 2d person). If this be held too violent an assumption with *team* 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 rudra syāma RV.: *vayam vām mitrā syāma* SV. 'May we be such (yours);' *tē*, n. pl.

ayah(h)sthānam (TS. **hāv*) *udita* (TS. MS. KS. **tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *ulīthah sūryāś ca* VS. ŚB. See VV 2 §188.

vider agner nabho nāma VSK. ŚBK.: *vider (vided) agnir (agne)*... see §333.

upasthāsānām mitravat astv ojah TS. MS. AŚ.: *upasthāsā mitravatidam ojah* KS. Both TS. and MS. accent *upasthā'sānām*, i.e. *upasthā' ā'sā*, but MS. p.p. apparently misunderstands and reads *upasthe ā'sā*. KS. has no accents. The meaning of *upasthā'* is obscure; on AV. 12. 1. 62 Whitney renders *upasthā's te* by 'standers upon thee', which is purely etymological; Ludwig and Bloomfield, 'thy laps', which would imply *upasthās*. Keith on TS. renders 'the stay of the earth', implying that this phrase is equivalent to *dhartṛ disām*, the subject in the preceding *pāda*. Whatever the meaning, in MS. TS. AŚ. *upasthāsānām* goes with the preceding, while in KS. *āsā* is to be taken either as a further epithet of *dhartṛ* in the preceding, or as subject of an independent sentence.

anu sūrya uṣaso anu raśmīn AV.: *anu sūryasya purutrā ca raśmīn* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. '(Agni has looked) as a sun, along the dawns, along the rays': '(Agni has looked) many times along the rays of the sun.'

garbham āśvatary āśahāsu PG.: *garbham āśvataryā isv* ApMB. HG. *prathamachad* (KS. *parama**) *avarān* (TS. *paramachado vara*) *ā riveśa* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The nom. is an epithet of the subject (Viśvakarman). Keith on TS.: 'hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers', a purely mechanical rendering, which may be quite right in suggesting that the passage is nonsense.

brahma varma mānāntaram RV. AV. SV. ApŚ.: *brahmāham antaram kṛve* (KS. *karave*) AV. KS.

yā (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāh* KS. 'What (serpents) are the arrows of sorcerers': '(serpents) in which are sorcerers.' On KS. cf. VV 2 §990. *śomo yajñāś ca* (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. **tah*) RV. TB. See VV 2 §188.

- śṛṇvantu* (TS. ŚvetU. °ti) *viśve amṛtasya putrah* (AV. *amṛtāsa etat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
- dhiyā martah śaśamale* (SV. *martasya śamalah*) RV. SV. Preceded by *rdhad yas te sudānave* RV., *sa ghā yas te divo narah* SV. See VV 2 §189.
- yasya śrutarvā bhānā* [ārkyo anika edhata] RV.: *ya sma śrutarvann ārkṣye* [brhadānūka idhyate] SV.
- nediā it śṛṇyoh* (TS.† *śṛṇyā*) *pakvam eṣāt* (AV. *ā yavan*, TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See §589. Without change of form, AV. reinterprets the originally genitive sg. form ('may the ripe fruit of the sickle come nearer') as a nom. pl.: 'may the sickles draw the ripe grain nearer.'
- apsarasāṁ anu dattīm ṛnāni* (AV. *ṛnān nah*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anu dattānṛnāni* MS. The latter is a phonetic corruption; VV 2 §237.
- pādo 'syehābhavāt* (AV. *pādasye*°; TA.† °bhavāt, both edd., add to VV 1 §137) *punah* RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. Whitney adopts the nom. with comm. and a few mss. The gen. seems not construable.
- somah prathamō vīdē* RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. See §404.
- [*tasya mṛtyuś* (KS. *mṛtyoś*, but read *mṛtyuś* with two mss.; TB. *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV. KS. TB.]
- [*agnīḥ tad dhotā kratuvid vijānan* RV. KB. TB. ApS. Conc. wrongly *janānām* for *vijānan* in KB.]

CHAPTER XVIII

NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

1. Independent nominative and dependent locative

§450. Variations between nominative and locative are fairly numerous, but quite miscellaneous. Except for the usual group of 'transfers of epithet', few of them fall into recognizable categories. A couple of cases occur in which a nominative of independent statement varies with a dependent locative; the first example is particularly simple and clear; in it the independent nominative is obviously secondary:

kr̥te yonau (KS. *kr̥to yonir*) *vapuleha b̥ijam* (VS. ŚB. *v̥ijam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'In the prepared womb scatter here the seed': 'the womb is prepared, scatter' etc.

nābhā p̥rthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau (MS. KS. *samidhāno agnim*, TS. *samidhānam agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §393.

(*sīse m̥r̥d̥dhvam nade m̥r̥d̥dhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp. *agnih samkasukāḥ ca yah*) AV. Ppp.: (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agnēḥ samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. On the interpretation of AV. see §§433, 669. Whitney considers Ppp. the correct reading. The same sense must be intended in both: 'and (wipe off) on Agni S.'

§451. Once a locative of a noun varies with a nominative of a secondary adjective from the same noun, yielding the same meaning ('in the atmosphere, in the earth': 'atmospheric, earthly'):

antarikṣa uta vā p̥rthivyām AV.: *yā antarikṣa uta p̥rthivir yāḥ* TB.

ApS.: *yā antarikṣyā uta p̥rthivāsah* (AG. *p̥rthivir yāḥ*) KS. AG.

The ms. of Ppp. has *antarikṣa uta p̥rthivir yāḥ*; for the first word we may read *antarikṣa* with Barret, or perhaps better *antarikṣā* (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 girvanah RV. 8. 95. 2b; *suteṣu indra girvanah* RV. SV.

3. Case attraction

§453. A few variants may be grouped together in that the motive for the shift seems to have been a more or less mechanical assimilation of one word to the case of a neighboring word. Other instances, as usual, will be found among the cases of 'transfer of epithet'.

gahanam (ŚB. °ne) *yad inakṣat* RV. VS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *dūre cattāya chantsat*. 'To him hidden afar may the hiding-place which he has reached be pleasing': 'may it be pleasing to him hidden in the distant hiding-place which he has reached.' Apparently ŚB. assimilates to the case of *dūre*. Remarkable is the divergence of ŚB. from even VS. as well as all other texts.

rūpam indre (MS. *indro*) *hiranyayam* VS. MS. TB. The subjects in the original are Sarasvatī, Idā, and Bhārati, who are to put *rūpam 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.

itthā hi soma in made (SV. *madah*) RV. SV. AB. KB. ŚB. AA. AS. ŚŚ. Followed in RV. SV. by *brahmā* (SV. °ma) *cakāra vardhanam*. In RV. the subject is *brahmā* alone, *soma* (= *some*) and *made* loc.; in SV. *soma* (= *somah*) and *madah* are coordinate subjects.

vardhamāno (TS. °nam) *mahān* (TS. MS. *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS. °ram) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The loc. is clearly original; it is apparently to be construed with *ā*, 'on the lotus leaf', altho *ā* regularly follows a loc. In TS. both *vardha*° and *puṣ*° are made noms.; this and the next pāda are now felt as addressed to the lotus leaf (see §837); undoubtedly the noms. of the preceding half line have helped in the change. It is not clear how TS. understands *ā*.

4. Transfer of epithet

§454. The following cases of simple transfer of epithet (§14) occur; in all but the first two there is change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

ā haryato arjune (SV. °no) *atke avyata* RV. SV. In RV. the adjective agrees with *atke*; in SV. it is transferred to the subject, *Soma*.

tatrāpi dahre (MahānU. *dahram*) *gaganam viśokah* (TA. comm. and Poona ed. text with v. l. °kam) TA. MahānU. [TAA. 10. 12. 3, Poona ed., reads *viśokah* in text and comm.; the latter calmly refers it to *brahma* without explanation.] In TA. *dahre* goes with *tatra*, which refers back to *dahram* in the preceding: 'in that small place'. In MahānU. *dahram* is an epithet of *gaganam*.

śarman (MS. °*manis*) *te syāma* (VS. *tava syāma śarmanā*, TS. *tava syāma śarman*) *trivārūtha udbhau* (TS. *udbhū*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. *udbhū* is an epithet of the subject; in the others *udbhau* is loc. with *śarman*. (Comm. on VS. understands it as from a stem *ud-bhi*! He interprets it, however, as if from *ud-bhū*. The stem is of course *udbhū*, declined as a short *u* stem.) In all but TS. *trivārūtha* stands for °*the* and goes with *śarman*. In TS. it might also be so interpreted, but p.p. °*thah*, nom., and so Keith.

trah *śamudraṇi prathamā vi dhārayaḥ* (SV. *śamudraḥ prathamē vidharman*) RV. SV. See §402, end.

asūrte (MS. KS. °*tā*, KapS. °*tāḥ*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. °*tā*, KS. *na satta*) RV. VS. MS. KS. KapS. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. See Oldenberg, *Proz.* 313, and *RVNoten* on 10. 82. 4. Certainly both *asūrte* and *sūrte*, and perhaps also *niṣatte*, go with *rajasi*; *asūrtā* is transferred to *bhūtāni*, *asūrtāḥ* to *ṛṣayaḥ*; either *niṣattā* or °*taḥ* is possible, referring to either of these nouns.

priyo (TB. ApS. *priye*) *devānām parame janitre* (AV. TA. *sadhasthe*) RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApS. MŚ. Addressed to the spirit of the dead man; *edhi* precedes. The original *priyo* agrees with the subject, *priye* with *janitre*.

dheuvaidhī poṣyā (PG. *†poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB. 'Be thou steadfast with me, prosperous.' We take *poṣye* as loc. with *mayi*, contrary to Stenzler and Oldenberg, who understand it as voc. fem. addressed to the bride (which is also possible; in that case this variant would belong in §334).

arepasaḥ saccataḥ (etc.) *avasare manyumattamāḥ* (SV. ApS. *manyuman-taḥ*) *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApS. *cidakoh*) AV. SV. ApS. MŚ. A very obscure verse; in AV. *cite* must clearly go with *avasare*, in SV. with *arepasaḥ* etc. (here nom. masc., tho in AV. apparently acc. fem.) On ApS. see VV 2 §§47, 61.

niyūttacakrā āśināḥ HG. ApMB. (epithets of *prajāḥ*): *avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āśiran* PG.: *nirīṣṭacakrāṣu* AG. (here an independent sentence, with *naḍi* 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 *asau* (so Oldenberg); or it may be loc. with the following fire.

viśve devā aṇṣuḥ nyuplāḥ (VSK. *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS. VSK. 'He (soma) is the All-gods, when he is offered in the *aṇṣu* (when the *aṇṣu* are offered).' Reference is made to the *graha* called *aṇṣu* (ŚB. 4. 6. 1. 1 ff.). Probably VSK. is original.

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasinā (MS. *ahann ojasine*, KS. *†śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ. **hany ojasinām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *ojasinā* is nom. fem. agreeing with *ugrā* (sc. *dik*) of the preceding; *ojasine* and **syē* go with *ahann* (*ahany*). *śukre* goes with the latter; *śukro* of KS. (and presumably *śuciḥ* which in the others goes with *ugrā*) apparently goes with *indra* of the following (*indrādhipatyaiḥ pīptāt*).

samarṣṣāsu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu MS.: *samarṣṣā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS. See §548.

§455. The rest of the cases grouped under the heading 'transfer of epithet' can be so described only by stretching the term (§15). We find first a group in which an independent locative noun, not the epithet of anything else, is changed into a nominative, becoming then an epithet of the subject. The nom. seems to be always secondary in this group. All but the first few show shift of number or gender as well as case:

urukṣayāḥ saṅanā mānuṣāsah (TS. **geṣu*) 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 yonā (TS. *yonā*, KS. *yonir*) *uḍḍānaktā* (KS. **naktāgneḥ*) 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 *uḍḍānaktā*, called 'the native place' of Agni.

sūr asi suvanasya retah (MS. *retā iṣṭakā svargo lokah*) MS. ApŚ.: *sūr asi svar aṣṭiṣṭakā svargo loka* KS. 'Thou art... the brick, the world of heaven (in the world...).' Probably KS. is orig., and MS. has attracted to the case of *iṣṭakā*.

ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmaṇi AV.: *ayam sahasram ānaro dṛṣah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ. **mā*) SV. ApŚ. MS. Mystically obscure in both versions, but we believe AV. comes closer to the orig. (cf. VV 2 §833). The nom. of SV. etc. may be due to attraction into agreement with the subject.

vājinam tvā vājino 'vanayāmah (MS. *vājiny avanayāmi*) MS. TA. ApŚ. 'Thee, the whey, we, the strong ones, pour': 'thee, the whey, I pour into the strong (*mahāvira*-vessel).' MS. is doubtless orig.

yā (MS. *yā*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. See §449.

mahī viśpatnī sadane (KS. **nī*) *ṛtasya* 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).'

devānām sumne bṛhate (TB. ApŚ. *sumno mahate*) *raṇḍya* VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *smair dakṣair* (TB. ApŚ. *sm dakṣe*) *dakṣapiteha sīda*. 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.

santveśane (noun, 'at entrance') *tanvaś* (AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV. AV.: *santveśanas* (epithet of subject, understood as 'entering'?) *tanvai* (*tanve*) *cārur edhi* SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

yāḥ parastād rocane (MS. ²*nāḥ*) *sūryasya* TS. MS.: *yā rocane parastād sūryasya* RV. VS. KS. ŚB. 'Which, in the light-space beyond the sun': in MS., 'which bright ones, beyond the sun.' Refers to waters.

jyotirjardyaḥ rajaso vimāne (KS. ²*nāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Preceded by *ayam venaś codayat prñigarbhāḥ*. 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. 28. 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:

pūrvan devabhya amṛtasya nābhīḥ (ArŚ. *nāma*, TA. TU. NṛpU. *nābhāyi*) ArŚ. TB. TA. TU. NṛpU. N. Preceded by *aham asmi prathamajāḍṭasya*. The nom. is original: 'I am . . . the nave of immortality.' The loc. is rationalizing.

ukṣā samudra (MS. KS. ²*dre*) *aruṇaḥ* (RV. *aruṇaḥ*) *suparnaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 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 *āviteka* follows), and by no means to be described as a 'mere blunder' (Keith on TS.).

āpir no bodhī sadhamādyo (SV. ²*dye*) *vr̥dhe* 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 *vr̥dhe*, conceived as loc.; but Benfey takes it as an independent noun, = *sadhamāde*, '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 jāyatām (ApMB. ŚG. *dhiyatām*) *garbhe* (ŚG. *garbhe*) *antah*

- HG. ŚG. ApMB. The double meaning of *garbha*, 'womb' and 'embryo', is responsible for this change. Similarly:
garbhe (MS. *garbhaḥ*) *sañ* (san, sam-) *jāyase punaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. As prec.
- yaś ca kimci jagat sarvaṃ* (MahānU. and TA. comm. *jagaty asmin*) TA. MahānU. 'Whatever (in) this whole world is seen or heard' (followed by *drśyate śrūyate 'pi vā*). The loc. seems to be rationalizing and secondary.
- yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti* (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Different words; cf. VV 2 §732.
- viśvāni yo amartyo, havyā marṣaṇi ranyati* RV.; *eiśve yasminn amartye, havyaṃ marṣa indhate* SV. 'What immortal (Agni) rejoices in all offerings among mortals'; 'in what immortal all mortals kindle oblation.'
- pibāt somaṃ mamadad* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV 2 §746.
- ṛṣā canam* (ApŚ. *cane*) *ṛṣā madah* (ApŚ. *made*, SV. *sutah*) 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 mṛtyuḥ* (KS. *mṛtyoḥ*; read with v. l. *mṛtyuḥ*; TB. *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV. KS. TB. Perhaps TB. means something like 'his coronation walks in the presence of death', i.e. proceeds in spite of the powers of destruction? Comm. *tasya rājño mṛtyau duṣṭāhikṣā-rūpamarananimittabhūte sati rājasūyam carati*.
- vājasya hi prasave* (TS. °vo) *nannamīti* (TS. *namna°*) TS. MS. KS. Keith: 'the instigation of strength is propitious.' Better perhaps with active meaning (well established for *namati*): 'the impulse of strength bows (causes to bend).' MS. KS. perhaps, with 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 *vāja*.
- viśvam astu draviṇam vājo* (KS. *vāje*) *asme* (KS. *tasmin*) RV. BS. TS. MS. KS. Original: 'let all riches and wealth (or, strength) be ours.' KS. takes *vāja* as 'struggle': 'let all wealth be (mine) in this conflict.' Cf. prec.
- apriyaḥ prati muñcatām* AV.; *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś. *†muñcatam*) AV. Kauś. Contexts somewhat different, and voice of verb varies (VV 1 §30).
- viṣṇum agan varuṇam pūrvahūtiḥ* AV.; *viṣṇu agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau*

(MS. °*hūtim*) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §399. The loc. might here be the equivalent of the acc. of goal. But Mahidhara takes it, probably rightly, as true loc., 'at the morning prayer', and so Griffith and Eggeling. A still different interpretation is found in the comms. on ŚB. and TB., which make it not loc. but a dual adjective going with *viṣṇū varuṇā*.

agnir jyotir jyotir agnih SV. VS. MS. KS. etc.: *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* KS. The contexts are different.

ūrdhva adhvare asthāt (VS. ŚB. 'dhvare asthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāt, ApŚ. *adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'He (Agni) stood upright at the sacrifice': 'the sacrifice stood upright.'

ṛtasya garbhah (MS. *dhāman*, KS. *dhāma*) *prathamā vyūṣuṣi* TS. MS. KS. PG. 'She who first lighted up (i.e. Uṣas) was the child (abode, or the like) of the *ṛta*': 'first lighting up in the abode of the *ṛta*.'

ya sma brutarvaṇṇaś drkṣye SV.: *yasya brutarvā brhan* RV. See §449.

yat te susīma hṛdaye (SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. °*yam*) KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. 'What in thy heart...': 'what heart is thine...'. KBU. 2. 8 has the version *yat te susīman hṛdayam*; see §340.

yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānaḥ RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yad antarikṣam rajaso vimānam* AV. Different contexts: AV. has used a vague reminiscence of RV. 10. 121. 5c in a quite secondary way. 'He who measures out the space in the atmosphere': 'what atmosphere measures out space.'

atha viśve arapē edhate gṛhaḥ TS.: *adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate gṛhe* VS. The latter: 'he (the child) flourishes unharmed at all times in the house.' TS. corrupt; *viśve* translatable only as nom. sg., cf. §731; *gṛhaḥ* seems to have been attracted to the case of the subject: 'all (?) the house flourishes unharmed.'

prapitāmahan bibharti pinvamānaḥ (TA.† °*maham bibharat pinvamāne*) AV. TA.: *svargē loke pinvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ. Preceded by *sa bibharti pitarāṃ pitāmahan* AV., *sa nah* (TA. *tasminn eṣa*) *pitarāṃ pitāmahan* TA. ApŚ. Both *sa* and *tasminn* (with which *pinvamāne* agrees) refer to *utsa* of the preceding, while *eṣa* refers to *Vaiśvānara*. The loc. of TA. is almost 'absolute'.

§458. There remain a few corruptions and errors:

vasūni jāte janamāna (SV. *jāto janimāny*) *ojasā* RV. AV. SV. VS. N. Followed by *prati bhōgam na dūhima* (SV. °*maḥ*). The SV. reading seems hopeless.

tatī mandrīṣu prayakṣu AV.: *stunī mandras suprayakṣu* KS.: *sa im*

(TS. *ṭ*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*, MS. *mandra suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS. Very dubious, and likely to be corrupt in all. Cf. VV 2 §839.

[*vargma divaḥ; nābhā prthivyāḥ* TB.: *vargman divo nābhā prthivyāḥ* ApS. Poona ed. of TB. correctly *vargman*; a loc. is necessary.]

[*uta vīm uśaso budhi* (GB. *budhiḥ*, but Gaastra 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:

asthi majjānam māsarañ (MS. °*ram*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Followed by *kārotareṇa dūhato gvaṁ tvaci*. 'Putting upon the cattle's hide his (soma's) bone and marrow, with (the drink) *māsara* and the straining-cloth.' In MS. there is no real difference of meaning, tho *māsara* is there made an additional direct object, parallel with *asthi* and *majjānam*.

tapūṅṣy (MS. *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā patamgān* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *asandito vi sṛja viṣvāḥ ulkāḥ*. The original correlates *tapūṅṣy*, *patamgān* and *ulkāḥ* as objects of *vi sṛja*. MS. substitutes *tapobhir* for the first, probably as an associative instr., tho it might also be one of means, correlated with *juhvā*.

rūpāir apīṇsā (TB.* *rūpāni piṇśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N. 'He shaped all beings along with their forms': 'shaping all forms and beings.'

svāhā ranaspatīḥ priyāḥ pātho na bheṣajam (MS. °*jaiḥ*);

svāhā somam indriyam (MS. °*yaiḥ*);

sedhāgnīm na bheṣajam (MS. °*jaiḥ*), all VS. MS. TB. The words *hotā yajñad*, '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', . . .).

hastyaśvādīvatarai rathasāḥ RVKh. Cone. (Auf.). *hastyaśvādīgave ratham* RVKh. Scheft.; *bahvaśvādīgave ratham* MG.

sapta ca mānuṣīr (AG. ŚG. MG. *vāruṣīr*, PG. *vāruṣīr*, v. l. °*ṣīr*) *imāḥ* (PG. MG. *imāḥ prajāḥ*) ApMB. HG. AG. ŚG. PG. MG. Followed by:

sarvāś (ApMB. HG. *tisraś*) *ca rājabāndhavāñ* (PG. °*vaiñ*, MG. °*vyah*, ApMB. °*bandhavāñ*, HG. °*bandhavāñ*) ApMB. HG. AG. ŚG.† PG. MG. (Conc. puts *prajāñ* with the second *pāda* in PG. MG.) The preceding verb is *apa jahi* in all but the plainly corrupt MG. (see Knaauer's note). The instrs. are associative, equivalent to correlative objects.

māsureya parisrutā (TB. *pariṣṛtā*, KS. *parisculam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by *gobhir na somam aśvinā*, and followed by *saṁ adhātāñ sarasvatyā, svāhendre sutam madhu*. *Parisrut* is the name of a kind of liquor, and is one of a series of gifts made by the Aśvins to Indra. Some (*somam, sutam, madhu*) are made direct objects in all, others associative instrs.; *parisrut* is treated in both ways in different texts. In TB. *pariṣṛtā* must be meant as nom. dual with *aśvinā*; this is a reminiscence of *māsureya pariṣṛtāñ* (so VS. TB., in MS. *parisrutā*), which shortly precedes in the text.

vi kumāraṁ jarāyuṇā AV.: *vi garbham ca jarāyu ca* TS. KS. The verb, continued from *pāda a*, is *bhinadmī*: 'the child with (that is, here, 'from') the afterbirth': 'the embryo and the afterbirth (I separate).'
idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS.* *rakṣobhiḥ*) *saṁ dahāmi* (MS. KS. MŚ. *saṁ dāhmi*) TS. MS. (bis) KS. MŚ. The instr. occurs in the brāhmaṇya passage corresponding to the mantra *rakṣo 'bhi*; it seems as if this latter must be intended both times (VV 2 §383). Yet it is strange that, to judge from the editor's silence, there is no v. l. At a pinch *rakṣobhiḥ* could be associative, with *idam* felt as the direct object.

gaṇān me mā vi tīrṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*, Vait. *vy arīṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.: *gaṇair mā mā vi tīrṣata* 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:
saṁ mā sṛjāmy adbhīr (TS. *apa*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. If TS. means 'I unite myself, [unite] the waters, with the plants,' as it seems to on its face, it is rather bathetic. Keith, both here and in the following, seems to understand *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.

saṁ tvā nahyāmy adbhīr (TS. *apa*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS. MŚ. MG. As prec.

§461. Sometimes, especially where a verb of joining occurs in the

phrase, there is an interchange of acc. with instr. and of instr. with acc., the two case-forms changing places:

tvastā rūpeṇa samanaktu yajñam AŚ.: *tvastā rūpāni samanaktu yajñaiḥ* ŚB. TB. ŚS. KŚ. 'Let Tvastar unite the sacrifice with form' or 'forms with sacrifices.'

§462. In at least two such cases a locative appears to be involved. In the first it, rather than the instr., varies with the one acc. after a verb of joining, while the other variant has instr. plus acc.:

aṅgāny ātman (MS. *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhizajā tad āsvinā* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'The physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)', or '... his body with his limbs.' MS. is evidently influenced by the following *pāda*: *ātmānam aṅgaiḥ samadhāt sarasvati* (in all).

§463. In the other, where there is no verb of joining, the locative nevertheless is bracketed with the acc. in one form, while in the other we have acc. plus instr.:

samudre yasya rasām id āhuh AV.: *yasya samudram* (MS. KS. Ppp. *samudram yasya*) *rasayā sahātuh* RV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Whose, they say, is the ocean, together with the (stream) Rasā.' AV. as it stands would mean '... the Rasā in the ocean', which may be defended; but note that the meter needs an extra syllable, which the instr. *samudreṇa* would furnish. If we dared emend AV. thus, we should have a double interchange exactly like that of §461.

2. Other accs. and instrs., substantially equivalent

§464. The associative instrumental, as we have seen, may in theory vary with any other case as a correlative to another form in that case. We now come to other variants in which, in one way or another, an acc. and an instr. may be nearly or quite equivalent in meaning. We here approach a sphere in which the uses of these two cases converge more specifically; to be sure, among the variants last quoted, especially those containing expressions of joining two entities, we already entered a more restricted region where we should scarcely expect to find, normally, other cases than these two (altho curiously we found the locative also cropping up).

§465. We now take up, first, some cases in which what is sometimes called a 'cognate' or 'inner' accusative varies with an instrumental of means or manner, both meaning much the same thing. The type is exemplified by such expressions as 'sing songs' or 'sing with songs', 'walk a path' or 'walk on (in Sanskrit, 'by') a path.' Thus:

ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam AV.: *taṁ arkair abhy arcanti vatsam*

TB. 'They sing with ghee a song unto the young': 'they sing with songs unto the young.'

yam putrīṇa ākramante viśokāḥ AB.: *yendākramante putrīṇo (ye) viśokāḥ* ŚŚ. Preceded by *eṣa panthā urugāyaḥ suśevah* (ŚŚ. *vitato devayānah*). '(The path) which they tread' or 'by which they tread'.
tantum tatam peśasā samvayanti VS.: *peśasvatī tantum samvayanti* (KS. TB. *samvayanti*) MS. KS. TB. Dawn and Night are referred to as 'weaving a thread' or 'weaving (rolling up) with a thread.'
yena tsābadhātī (KŚ. *mā*², TS. ApMB.* *yam abadhuītu*, MŚ. MG. *yaj jagrantha*) *savitā suśevah* (AV. *śāh*, TS. ApMB.* *suketaḥ*, MŚ. MG. *satyadharmā*) RV. AV. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ApMB. (bis) MG. '(the bond) with which he bound thee . . . ' or 'which he bound . . . ' Note that the 'inner'-acc. is not used with the acc. of the person.

§466. Quite close to the preceding are cases of a sort of 'resultative' accusative, varying with an instrumental, of the offering made, after forms of roots *hu* and *yaj*:

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB. ApŚ. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB. *haviṣā* ā) *juhota* MS. TB. 'Offer (with) the drink (oblation) to Indra here.'

śrucājyāni juhvataḥ AV.: *śrucājyena juhvataḥ* TB. (so Poona ed. for the corrupt *śrucānyena juhvata* of Bibl. Ind. ed.) 'Offering (with) ghee with a spoon.' Preceded by *medasvatī yajamānāḥ*; the instr. *medasvatī* (which because of gender cannot agree with *śrucā*, and seems to need a noun) may have caused the change to *ājyena*, which we believe is clearly secondary.

§467. With a verb of motion an acc. of goal is a very natural construction. If however there is contained in the verb also the notion of joining, that is if it means something like 'go to join', an instrumental is equally admissible:

marya ita yuvatibhiḥ sam arṣati (AV. *ita yojāḥ sam arṣase*) RV. AV. SV. 'He rushes as a male to join the maidens', RV. (Grassmann, 'mit jemand eilend zusammenkommen'). The AV. comm. reads *yojā*, instr., and Whitney calls the construction with *yojāḥ* 'lame', which seems to us unjust. The acc. of goal is surely quite natural; indeed with this verb the instr. strikes us as more recherché, tho comprehensible (suggested by the associative idea in *sam*).

śunam kīṇāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīṇāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaiḥ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals.'
trayo gharṃā anu relā āguḥ AV.: *trayo gharṃāso anu jyotiṣāguḥ* (MS.

KS. *retasāguh*) TS. MS. KS. ApMB. 'Three cauldrons have followed (with) the seed (light).' In a mystical passage; the real meaning is obscure.

achāyam eti śavasā ghr̥tena (AV. *ghr̥tā cit*) AV. Ppp. VS. MS. TS.; *achāyam yanti śavasā ghr̥tācīh* KS. In the sequel, as we have shown §399, both AV. and KS. seem to be secondary. In VV 2 §824 we have treated AV. *ghr̥tā cit* as secondary to KS. *ghr̥tācīh*. We now think, however, that *ghr̥tā cit* may well be the original reading: 'here comes (Agni) with might unto the ghees (offerings).' It is perhaps easiest on this basis to explain both *ghr̥tācīh* (agreeing with *arūco* which is made the subject in KS., 'the ghee-filled ladles,' see §403) and *ghr̥tena*, which would be at least partly due to form-assimilation to the case of *śavasā*. It would be harder to understand the change from either of these to *ghr̥tā cit*, a *lectio difficilior*.

§468. To these may be appended the following, in which the verb is not one of motion but one of speech; we may however remember that such verbs in Sanskrit have constructions parallel to verbs of motion, taking an acc. of the goal of speech. In this variant that case varies with an associative instr., if the reading is acceptable:

grāvā vaded (KS. Conc. with v. 1. *grāvāvādīd*) *abhi somasyādāsum* (ApŚ. °*ānā*) KS. ApŚ. Followed by *indram* (KS. ed. *endram*, Conc. with v. 1. *indram*) *śikṣemendunā sutenā*. 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: *denair ukta* (Ppp. *sr̥jā*, KS. *nūtā*, ApŚ. MŚ. *nyuplā*) *vyasarpō mahitvam* (Ppp. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. °*teā*) AV. Ppp. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In AV., 'thou didst expand unto might.' In the others, with quasi-adverbial instr., 'thou didst expand with might (mightily).'

ye taprathetām (AV. ArS. °*thām*) *amitebhir ojobhīh* (AV. *amitā yojanāni*, ArS. *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV. ArS. TS. MS. KS. 'Who have spread out unto unmeasured leagues': 'who have spread out with unmeasured strengths.' The change in the noun is connected with the change of case. Add to VV 1 §331.

pra rādhasā (SV. *rādhasī*) *codayāte* (SV. °*yate*) *mahitvānā* RV. SV. 'Let him promote (he promotes) us with favor (unto favors), with might;' or, SV. might mean 'he sends favors unto us with might.'

See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 287 f., against Grassmann's suggestion that SV. is original.

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhīr*) *dodhuvat ūrdheutā bhāt* (SV. **dhā bhuvat*)

RV. SV. 'Shaking (with) his beard.'

sa virājan (KS. **ja*) *pary eti* (MS. *etu*, KS. *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS. MS.

KS. 'He goes about knowing majesty': 'he goes about with majesty, intelligent' or 'intelligent with majesty'. The VS. parallel has *śanemi rāja pari yāti vidvān*, which is evidently based on a misunderstanding of KS., taking *virājā* as nominative.

aham (AB. AŚ. *idam*) *tad* (MS. *tam*) *asya manasā śivena* (MS. **ghṛtena*) VS. MS. (bis) KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *tenāham adya manasā sutasya* KS. The contexts are the same; both are followed by *somam rājānam iha bhakṣayāmi*. The pronouns *tad* (*tam*, *tena*) refer back to the preceding '(what is left over of the juicy draft, of which Indra drank mightily,) that (with that) of him with auspicious mind—I here partake of King Soma.' KS. *tena* seems to be a rationalizing reading, avoiding the harshness of *tad* followed by *somam*, both really referring to the same thing. For a similar reason MS. changes *tad* to *tam*, to agree with *somam*.

[*vanema pūrūr aryo manīṣāh* (p.p. **ṣā*) RV. The s.p. has *manīṣā agnīh* . . ., implying *manīṣāh*, which is vigorously defended by Oldenberg *Proleg.* 385, *SBE.* 46. 71, *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 bahuvrīhi : instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.)

§470. The nature of the instr. is such that in a karmadhāraya cpd. it may express the same idea which may be elsewhere expressed by a bahuvrīhi cpd. agreeing with a noun, which might in theory be in any case at all. We found above (§413) such variations between instr. and nom. forms; here we record one of instr. and acc., as well as another somewhat similar case in which instead of the instr. karmadhāraya we have the cpd. broken up into its parts, an adjective (acc.) with dependent instrumental:

rākām aham ruhasām (AV. **vā*) *susṭuti huve* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB.

ApMB. N. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. read **vām*; if **vā* can stand, it has been attracted to the case of *susṭuti*. 'I call upon Rākā of good call (with good call), with fair praise.'

adhr̥ṣṭam dhṛ̥ṣṇojasam (SV. *dhṛ̥ṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. Epithets of Indra; 'endowed with resistless might' or 'resistless with might.'

The meaning is practically identical. Cf. VV 2 §818.

4. Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals

§471. The adverbial accusative, called 'accusative of specification', is precisely equivalent to the instrumental of the same meaning, and varies with it sometimes without difference of meaning:

juhūr, upabhr̥d, dhruvāsi ghyācī nāmnā TS. (intending *juhūr asi ghyācī nāmnā, upabhr̥d asi...*, etc.): *ghyācy asy upabhr̥n nāmnā* (VSK. *nāma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. (also with *dhruvā* and *juhūr* for *upabhr̥d*): *juhūr asi ghyācī nāmnā* TB.: *dyaur asi janmanā juhūr nāma...* MS. (also with *pythivy, dhruvā...*, and *antarikṣam... upabhr̥n...*)

pra haṁsāms tṛpalān (SV. *°lā*) *manyum* (SV. *vagnum*) *acha* RV. SV. The RV. *tṛpalān* is apparently an adverb, 'joyfully'. In SV. if the p.p. is correct it must also be considered an (instr.) adverb (but *tṛpalān*, 'joyful,' n. pl. adjective, may be intended by the s.p.).

§472. In other cases only one of the varying case forms is adverbial, while the other has various non-adverbial constructions:

yad vo 'śuddhāh (VSK.† *°dhah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idam* *vas tac chundhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yad aśuddhah parā jaghāna tad va etena chundhantām* KS. In the latter *etena* is hardly adverbial: 'by this (procedure)'. In VS. etc. it seems to be represented by *idam*, which is apparently an out-and-out adverb: 'Whatever of yours the impure have (has) defiled, that here do I now (*idam*) purify': 'whatever the impure has defiled, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (or, let them purify that for you thru this)'. In MS. *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tān śundhadhvam* there is no such pronoun.

yas te rājan varuṇa devaṇi pāśas tān ta etenāyayaje (KS. *ta etad awayaje*) MS. KS. In KS. *etad* is a pure adverb: 'I now (or, here) sacrifice that (fetter) of thine away.' In MS. *etena* (as in the preceding) means 'by this (rite)'. See also the similar entries surrounding this in the Conc., and those beginning *yas te deva varuṇa*, which occur in TB. and have *etena*.

priyeṇa dhāmnā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyaṁ sadā āsīda* (VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ.* *priye sālasi sīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (bis): *sedam priyeṇa dhāmnā priyaṁ sadā fāsīda* (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma priye sālasi sīda*) VS. VSK. ŚB. In TS. etc. texts *priyeṇa nāmnā* = 'with thy dear name', associative instr. Conc. suggests reading *nāmnā* in VSK., but this is unnecessary; 'with that which is dear by name' is good Vedic thought.

yad aham dhanena prapaṇānś carāmi ApMB.: *yad vo devāḥ prapaṇam carāma* HG.: *yena dhanena prapaṇam carāmi* AV. *yad* is used as a conjunction; *yena* with *dhanena*.

5. Case attraction

§473. We come now to cases in which there is a more pronounced reinterpretation of the variant passage, and first to instances in which the change seems to be due to more or less external attraction to the case-form of an adjoining word (a motive which, as we have seen, is frequently perceptible in the variants listed above).

vyaciṣṭham annai (TS. MS. KS. *annam*) *rabhasam drśānam* (TS.† KS. *vidānam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original *annaiḥ* is instr. of means with either *vyaciṣṭham* or *rabhasam*, which refer to Agni: 'broadly extended by food, impetuous, beautiful.' In TS. MS. KS. it seems to be mechanically assimilated to the case of these adjectives, becoming thus a complementary object along with *agnim* of pāda a. Keith takes *annam* as object of *vidānam*; but the position seems to be against this, and certainly in MS. no such construction is possible.

haviṣā yajña (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by *tam indram paśavaḥ sacā, aśvinobhā sarasvatī, dadhānā abhyanūṣata*. In most texts *indriyam* is a collateral object: '... (praised Indra), his heroism, with oblation, at the sacrifice.' In VS. it is attracted to the case of *haviṣā*: '... with oblation, at the sacrifice, for his heroic deeds.' In TB. in a similar way the loc. *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam*: '(praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, his heroism.' In such ritualistic rigmarole it makes little difference how the words are construed; this is a striking example, and proves little about the use of cases, but much about ritualistic psychology and style.

agner jihvām abhi (MS. *jihvābhī*, p.p. *jihvāḥ, abhi*; AV. KS. *jihvayābhī*) *ṭṣṇatam* (AV. *ṣṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *dairyā* (AV. *ḍaivā*) *hotārā* (AV. °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (KS. *hotārordhvam imam*, MS. *ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram naḥ*. The instr. of AV. KS. is original: 'greet our high oblation with the tongue of Agni.' In the others the preceding accs. have attracted *jihvayā* into their case: 'greet the tongue of Agni, our high oblation...' On MS. see §174.

6. Other miscellaneous variants

§474. The rest contain miscellaneous reinterpretations, sometimes accompanied by rather radical reconstructions of the material:

vidhes team asmākaṁ nāma (AB. AŚ. *nāmnā*) MS. KS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *vidhema te nāma*; in AB. AŚ. the words *dyām gacha* are added, and with this phrase the instr. is construed. 'Let us

reverence thy name; do thou reverence our name': (in AB. AŚ.)
'...do thou do reverence, with our name go to heaven.'

taved u stomam (SV. *stomaiś*) *ciketa* RV. AV. SV. The root *cit* governs either acc. or gen., so that it is permissible for SV. to reinterpret *tava* (originally possessive) as object of *ciketa*. 'I have thought only on thy praise': 'I have thought only on thee with praises.'

cakṣus cit sūrye sacā RV.: *cakṣuṣā sūryam dṛṣe* SV. In RV. *cakṣus* is governed by *ā dade* of the preceding: 'he unites our eye to the sun,' cf. Bergaigne, *Rel. véd.* 1. 184. The SV. has a lect. fac.: 'that we may see the sun with our eye.'

pratiprasthātāḥ paśunehi KŚ. ApŚ.: *pratiprasthātāḥ paśum upakalpayama* MŚ. 'Come with the cow': 'bring the cow near.' Change of verb.

yajñam yad yajñavāhasaḥ AV.: *yajñair vā* (TB. *vo*) *yajñavāhasaḥ* RV. TS. TB. The context of RV. TS. is wholly different from that of AV. TB. In RV. TS. followed by *viprasya vā maṇinām, marutaḥ śṛṇuṭā havam*; for the interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 86. 2. In AV. TB. followed by *śikṣanto nopa* (TB. *āśikṣanto na*) *śekima*. 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 explanation is that TB., in repeating the AV. stanza, has contaminated it with the similar *pāda* from a totally different context, which is remembered from RV., or more likely from TS.

stomair (giro) vardhanty atrayaḥ, gīrbhūḥ (gīraḥ) kumbhanty atrayaḥ RV. (both). 'The Atris increase (the god) with praises, the Atris decorate (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.

divyam suparṇam vāyasam (AV. *payasam*, VS. TS.* KŚ. ŚB. *vayasā*, TS.* MS. *vayasam*) *bṛhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. KŚ. ŚB. AŚ. Suparṇ. The original *vāyasam* 'bird' is changed into the instr. *vayasā* 'with strength', from a wholly different stem.

pra tad viṣṇu (viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇus) stavate vīryeṇa (AV. *vīryāni*, TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NṛpU. The original means: 'Viṣṇu is praised here for his deed of heroism', *stavate* having passive force. In AV., unless *pra stavate* is understood in its later sense of 'begins' (which seems unlikely), it must

apparently 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.

ghṛteṇa teṁ tanvaṁ (TS. *tanva*) *vardhayaśva* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N.: *ghṛtasyāgne tanvā saṁ bhava* KS. MŚ. Kauś. MG. Parallels rather than true variants, tho the contexts are in some texts the same.

nīcād uccā svadharyābhi pra tathau Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcāṛ uccāṣ svadhā abhi pra tathau* AV. The meaning of the always troublesome word *svadhā* is doubly doubtful in this obscure verse of an obscure hymn. AV. *svadhā* is generally taken as acc.: 'he set forth unto the sacrificial drinks (? cf. *gharmam* of the preceding verse).' The others: 'he set forth according to his own will (?).' Bloomfield in a note suggests that *svadhā* may be nom. sg. in spite of the sandhi, which in more than one connexion is problematic. Macdonell, *Ved. Gr.* 251, notes that this word, originally apparently a stem in radical *a*, sometimes appears in the nom. sg. without *s* in the p.p. but with hiatus in the s.p., and refers to RPr. 2. 29. TPr. 10. 13 teaches the sandhi *svadhā asi*. If nom., the word would mean here '(the first-born's) will set forth...' The variant may be partly phonetic in character; it suggests the use of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' (VV 2 §§338 ff.; this might have been mentioned in §342). *viśvā dādāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyāḥ* VS. TS.: *viśvā* (MS. *vy*) *amivāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣibhiḥ* (KS. °*zebhyāḥ*, MS. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. MS. KS. See §573. The VS. TS. reading has all the earmarks of a lect. fac.; with *mānuṣīr* understand *krṣṭis*: 'freeing men from fear'. Cf. VV 2 §§783, 832.

udagrābhāṣya namayan vadhasnāḥ (SV. °*snam*) 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 suṣṭutir (°*tyā*, °*kr*, °*ā*) *vām iyānā* (*vāṛdhānā*, °*nau*), see §413. The instr. is clearly original, acc. secondary.

[*mā me vān nābhīm atigāḥ* TS. KŚ. MŚ.: *mām evā gnābhīr abhigāḥ* Vait. Read in Vait. *mā me vāg nābhīm*.]

7. Phrase inflection

§475. We find a single case which seems to belong in this group (§§21-2):

tuvidyumna yaśasvataḥ (RV.* °vataḥ) RV. (both) AV. See *RVRep.* on 1. 9. 6.

8. Transfer of epithet

§476. Of the instances of transfer of epithet (§14) causing a shift between acc. and instr., all but the first involve change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

iha tvā goparīṇasā (SV. °sam) RV. AV. SV. Followed by *mahe mandantu rādhasē*. 'Here thee with (soma-juice, supplying *sutena* with Grassmann) rich in milk': 'here thee rich in milk'. Oldenberg suggests as an alternative *goparīṇasāḥ* (sc. *somāḥ*), nom. pl., implying that RV. p.p. is incorrect.

yaṁ nirmanthato aśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: *yābhyāṁ nirmanthalām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BṛhU. Preceded by *hiranyayī arañī*, and followed by *taṁ te garbhaṁ havāmahe* (*dadhāmahe*). In the first *yaṁ* refers to *garbhaṁ*, in the latter *yābhyāṁ* to *arañī*.

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS. *madhumad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB. Followed by *aśvinendrāya vīryam*. The adjective goes alternatively with *pathā* or *vīryam*.

yebhīr vācam viścarūpebhir (TB. °rūpām) *avyayan* (TB. *samavyayat*) KS. TB. The adjective is transferred from *yebhīr* (TB. comm. *yaiḥ karmakausāliḥ*) to *vācam*.

ava bādhe pr̥tanyataḥ (ApŚ. °tā) MS. ApŚ. And others, see Conc. Preceded by *indreṇa manyunā yujā*. In MS. *pr̥t* means 'enemies'; in ApŚ. '(friendly) champion', agreeing with *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 *pr̥tanyati* with Indra as subject and a hostile object cf. RV. 1. 54. 4. The next following word in both is *ghnatā*, agreeing with *indreṇa*.

yayāṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutaḥ AV.: *yaṁ āśirā dampatī vāmam aśnutaḥ* TS.: *yad āśirdā dampatī vāmam aśnutaḥ* VS. The original *yayā* is transferred to agree with *vāmam*; on the gender-change cf. §809.

abhi tvādhām sahīyasā RV. ApMB.: *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV. Preceded by *upa* (AV. *abhi*) *te 'dhām sahamānām*. 'I have laid under (AV. over) thee the strong (plant), I have covered thee with the stronger (thing; AV. I have laid under thee the stronger [plant]).' The instr. in the original does not go with the plant, as the gender shows (§808); by a natural shift it is transferred to it in AV.

§477. There are also a couple of instances of the type described in §15,

in which a word which in the original is not properly an 'epithet' at all is altered in form so as to become a true 'epithet' of another entity: *hastacyuti* (SV. ²*cyutah*) *janayanta* (SV.† ²*yata*) *prastam* RV. SV. KS.

KB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The original form is a Vedic Instr., 'by hand-motion'; like the parallel *didhitibhih* in the preceding, it goes with *janayanta*, whose object, Agni, is modified by a series of acc. epithets (of which *prastam* is one). In SV. *hasta*² is made into another epithet of Agni.

savātarau na tejasā (TB. ²*ei*) VS. TB. The word *savātarau* (said by the scholiasts to mean 'having a common calf', with *dhenū* preceding) is one of a series of epithets of *uṣe* 'dawn and night' (in *hotā yakṣad uṣe*...). VS. *tejasā* is an Instr. of means with the following verb (*vatsam indram avardhatām*), of which *savātarau* may also be considered the subject: 'they two have increased Indra with splendor'. It can hardly be doubted that TB. *tējasā* is a simple case of form-assimilation to the fem. dual; the comm. takes it as an adjective (*tejasvinau*), but the accent shows that it is rather a noun, 'the two brilliances'.

CHAPTER XX

ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

1. After verbs of motion and the like

§478. Among the cases in which accusative and dative constructions approach one another, doubtless the most striking and familiar are those in which after a verb of motion an accusative of goal may vary with a dative. In the Veda, this dative is, as a rule, perhaps not to be regarded as a psychological equivalent of the accusative; Delbrück (AIS. 143) has made out a plausible case for the theory that it regularly contains a suggestion of the interested party, rather than the goal of motion, pointing out that it generally occurs with persons. Or, in other cases, the dative may be final in character (Delbrück 147 f.), approaching, or even attaining, the status of an infinitive. We shall not enter into these questions, contenting ourselves with recording the variants which occur. *kāmena mā* (TA. *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA. *āgāt*) AV, TA. 'By love love has come to (for) me.'

ado māgachatu MS. KS. MŚ.: *ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ. (Delete ApŚ. 4. 13. 8 under the former heading in Conc. and add it under the latter.)

If ApŚ. has anything other than a peculiar sandhi variation (cf. VV 2 §990), it would belong here.

§479. Examples of a more strictly final dative varying with an accusative of goal after a verb of motion are:

sā paprathe prthivī pārthivāni (KS. MŚ. °*edya*) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'This earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region).'

sindhur avabhṛtham avaprayan TS.: *sindhur avabhṛthāyodyatah* VS. 'Sindhu going down into the purification-bath': 'Sindhu lifted up for the p.b.' The verbal expression is changed in VS. to one which more naturally goes with a dative.

śubhañ yātām (MS. *śubhe kam*) *anu rathā vṛtsata* RV. TS. MS. KS.

Here both *śubhañ* and *śubhe* may be classed as infinitives.

§480. Here may be mentioned the following, in which *svasti* is rather ambiguous; Keith takes it as an independent interjection ('hail!'); to us it seems most likely to be an adverbial acc.:

tam (TS. *taḍ*) *āsvinā pari dhātām svasti* (MŚ. °*āye*) TS. KS. MŚ. 'O Āsvins, encompass this one comfortably (unto well-being).'

§481. After a verb of sending, a dative of 'indirect object' varies with an acc. of goal tagged with the postposition *upa*:

athem enam (AV. *athemam enam*) *pra kīrutāt pitrbhyaḥ* (AV.† *pitṛb upa*).

RV.† 10. 16. 1d, AV. TA. 'Then send him forward unto the fathers.' AV. comm. reads *pitrbhyaḥ* but also comments upon *upa*! (as if blending the two readings).

§482. Verbs of placing, especially *dā*, may be construed with either acc. or dat. of person, with (we may suppose) different psychological turns (see §72):

svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi Vait.: *svarge loka yajamānam hi dhehi* (and, *dhehi mām*) TB. ApŚ. (both in each). 'Grant the world of heaven to me the sacrificer': 'place (me) the sacrificer in the world of heaven.'

§483. Verbs of revering or the like are also found with either dat. or acc. of person:

yajñasya tvā (MŚ. *te*) *yajñapato sūktoktau* (TS. *havirbhiḥ*, KS. *saha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *sūktarāke* (omitted in VS. MS. ŚB.) *namovāke vidhema* (VS. ŚB. add *yat svāhā*, MS. adds *svāhā*).

tvāṣṭmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvāṣṭri*°, ApŚ. *tvāṣṭu*°) *te sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.; *tvāṣṭrīmanti* (TS. ApŚ. *tvāṣṭri*°, and so TA. Poona ed. with v. 1. 1. °*tri*°) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. We need not accept Pischel's improbable theory that *te* is acc. (see Oldenberg's judicious critique, *RVNoten* 1: 25 ff.). The construction of *sap* 'devote oneself to (a god)' with dat. is exceptional, but may easily have been suggested by this construction with *sac* (see e.g. RV. 8. 60. 18).

§484. Other verbs:

abhūṣantas te (TB. *teḍ*) *sumatau navāyām* RV. AV. TB. The usual interpretation makes *te* a gen. with *sumatau*, 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. *survataḥ praśaṁsantaḥ*): 'attending thee in a new song of praise.'

tam indram abhi gāyata RV. 8. 32. 13: *tasmā indrāya gāyata* RV. 1. 4. 10, 5. 4; AV. Both: 'sing praises to this Indra.' The compound *abhi-gai* takes acc., the simple *gai* dat. RV. 8. 32. 13 = 1. 4. 10 entire.

2. Dedicatory expressions

§485. In formulae of dedication, accusatives and datives are variously used in substantially equivalent phrases (see §126):

digbhyah śrotam (sc. *alabhate*) TB.† 3. 4. 18. 1: *disah śrotam* (sc. *anva-vasṛjatāi*) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. '(He takes) the ear for the directions': '(send) the ear to the directions.'

agnim svāhā MS.: *agnim agnau svāhā* (here a verb of placing is understood) ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *svāhāgnim* KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *agnaye svāhā* AV. etc. Likewise: *svāhā prajāpataye* (TB. **patim*) TS. KSA. TB.: *svāhā sarasvatyai* (KS. **ām*) TS. KS. etc.; *svāhā viśvān devān* KS.: *svāhā viśvebhyo devēbhyah* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. And many other similar phrases. The contexts are often quite different. The dat. is felt as governed by *svāhā*, 'hail to...'. The acc. is sometimes dependent on some verb supplied from the context, but at times no such verb is clearly suppliable, 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. *etum* supplies *uddiśya*. Cf. also §459, *svāhāgnim*...

akūtim (MS. MŚ. MG. **tam*) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *akūtyai prayuje 'gnaye* (MS. KS. *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Cf. *prce.*, and see especially TS. 4. 1. 9. 1, where the acc. form occurs in a list of several such acc. formulae, followed by two in the dat.

3. Dative of purpose : accusative (object or goal)

§486. The dative of purpose is sometimes used to express the same idea which is otherwise expressed by the same word in the accusative, either felt as immediate object or goal, or in apposition to another word so used. Theoretically the dative in this use might, indeed, vary with any other case; see §70. Thus:

rāyas poṣam ei syatu (RV. MS. TB.* *syatām*, AV. MS.* *śya*) *nābhīm asme* (AV. *asya*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) TB. (bis) ApŚ.: *vaṣṭah poṣāya viśya nābhīm asme* KS. '(Our seminal fluid, *vaṣṭam*) release (let him release, etc.) for increase (as increase of wealth)... for us (etc.).'

mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam AV.: *mahyam jyotir abharat sūryas tat* KS. 'The sun brought (it) to me in order to light': 'to me the sun brought that light.' The AV. (probably original) understands the object from the preceding pāda; KS. by a lect. fac. makes *jyotis* the object.

asamālin gṛheṣu naḥ AV.: *gṛhānām asamartyai* TS. In AV. the acc. is governed by the preceding *abhi rakṣatu*; Bloomfield, following Sāyaṇa: '... preserve for us (possessions) without measure [literally, unmeasuredness] in our house.' In TS. is added another *pāda*, *bāhavo no gṛhā asan*, the two constituting an independent sentence: 'may our houses be many, for unharmedness of our house.'
taṁ te gṛhṇāmi yajñīyāṁ ketubhīḥ saha KS.: *taṁ te* (AŚ. *tad*) *harāmi brahmaṇā* TB. Vait. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The preceding *pādas* are *yo aśvatthaḥ samāgarbha ārucroḥa tee sacā* (KS. *ivayy api*). 'The *aśvattha* ... that has grown up by thee (TB. comm. *te teṣāṁ nimittabhūṭāyām satyām*), that for thee I take...' In AŚ. the meaning is essentially the same, but instead of the dative (TB. comm. *teḍartham*), referring to the firestick, we have an appositional acc.: 'that I take as thee (the firestick).' The firestick of course is made from the *aśvattha*.

vṛṣaṇe śuṣmāyāyase varṣase TS.: *vṛṣaṇam śuṣmam āyase varṣase kṛdhi* MŚ. Preceded by *mā mā rājan vibhīḥṣo mā me hṛdi* (MŚ. 'dim) *tvīṣā* (MŚ. *deṣā*) *vadbhīḥ*. 'Terrify me not, O king, smite not my heart... unto (i.e. so that I may have) manly fury, life, splendor': '... make (for me) manly fury, unto life, splendor.' It is hard to say which is original; if MŚ. be considered so, TS. could be explained by case-attraction to the accompanying datives.

[*pra tad viṣṇu (viṣṇuḥ) śanate vīryeṇa (vīryāyī, vīryāya)*, see §§474, 558. The instr. is the original form.]

4. Miscellaneous final dative : accusative

§487. There remain a few miscellaneous cases in which a final dative varies with an accusative, variously construed; other changes in the phraseology unite with this to produce a rather extensive reconstruction of the variant:

śukrāṁ vayanīy asurāya nīrñijam RV.: *śukrā vi yanti asurāya nīrñije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously to adorn the Asura.' The noun of RV. becomes an infinitive in SV., perhaps by case-attraction to the adjoining *asurāya*; but cf. also *nīrñije* in RV. 10. 49. 7.

taṁ (MŚ. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MŚ. 'ya) TS. MS. TA. 'May the gods aid me unto splendor.' The MS. form seems to be neut. acc. of a stem **śobhāyin*, doubtless adverbial, 'splendidly'.

prchāmi tvā citaye (IŚ. 'yan) *devasakha* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. IŚ. The dat. *citaye* may be considered an infinitive: 'I ask thee for

understanding (i.e. that I may understand).¹ IŚ. *citayam* (repeated in the comm.) would seem to be from an unrecorded **citaya*, an adjective agreeing with *tad*: '... thee that understandest'. Cf. next.

kavīn prchāmi vidmān (AV. *vidvān*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. 'I ask the sages, I ignorant, to one that knows (those that know).' The AV. is a lect. fac., attracting the adjective into agreement with *kavīn*. The change resembles that in the last.

5. Miscellaneous dative of interest : accusative

§488. Similarly a dative of the interested party varies in miscellaneous ways with an accusative; usually there is extensive reconstruction of the passage, involving sweeping changes in other forms also:

dyaus ca ma idam prthivī ca pracetasau AV.: *dyaus ca nah* (KS. TB. *tuā*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* RV. KS. TB. The RV. passage is in a different context from all the others. In KS. TB. the pronoun is object of *pipartu* 'protect'. Ppp. according to Roth ap. Whitney has *mā*, acc., for AV. *ma idam*; this latter Whitney finds 'embarrassing', but without reason as it seems to us; *idam* is object of *pipartu*, *me* dative of interest. We may render with Ludwig 'Dyaus und Prthivī... fördern mir dies'; or we may take *pipartu* from *pr* 'fill' in the sense of 'fulfil, grant'.

ajījapatendram vājam VS. ŚB.: (*ajījapata*) *indram vājam* (MS. MŚ. *indrāya vācam*) *vimucyadheam* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. 'Ye have caused Indra to win the prize; (be released).' So essentially all but MS. MŚ., which mean 'ye have caused Speech to win for Indra...'

vānaspatīn vānaspatyān, oṣadhīr uta vīrudhāḥ AV. 8. 8. 14ab, 11. 9. 24ab; *devān punyajānān pītṛn* AV. 8. 8. 15b, 11. 9. 24d: *vānaspatibhya vānaspatyebhya oṣadhibhya vīrudhbhya sarvebhya devebhya devajanebhyah punyajanebhyah* Kaus. In Kaus. a dedicatory formula, based on vaguely remembered fragments of AV. passages (used in AV. in quite other, and mutually different, contexts).

yajñam hīnsanty adribhīḥ RV.: *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV. 'They promote the sacrifice with stones': 'let the stones be for the sacrifice.' See §419; same context, loosely rephrased.

madhu tvā madhulā cakāra (Ppp. *karat*, MS. *kṛyotu*, TA. ApŚ. *karotu*) RV. Ppp. MS. TA. ApŚ.: *madhu me madhulā karah* AV. Change of person in pronoun; 'the honeyed one has made (shall make) thee into honey': 'mayst thou, honeyed, make honey for me.'

pāramānyaḥ (SV, MG. *nīḥ) *punantu mā* (SV. *nah*, 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 sarvataḥ* 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 vimuñcati*, MG.: *kas te yunakti*, and *kas te vimuñcati*, VS, TS, KSA, ŚB, TB, ApŚ.: *ko vo yunakti*, and *ko vo vimuñcati*, ApŚ. MŚ. MG. On the 'yoking' and 'unyoking' of a rite see Caland on ApŚ. 4. 16. 10; it is simply a mystically grandiose expression for 'beginning' and 'ending'. In most texts *te* is used referring to the rite. In MG. twice *te* is used referring to the *devatā*, the object (the rite, as in the others) being understood. MG.: 'Who yokes (unyokes) [the rite] for thee?'

asmin yajñe yajamānīya sūrim AV.: *imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrim* ApŚ. Preceded by *indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi* AV., *indrasya bhāgaḥ svīte dadhātana* ApŚ. Both unintelligent and scarcely translatable; *yajamāna* and *sūri* ought to refer to the same person, but only Ppp. (as reported by Roth ap. Whitney, . . . *yajñapatiś ca sūriḥ*) has them in the same case (the nominative; in other respects Ppp. is hardly more intelligent).

tanā (SV. *tmanā*) *kṛṇvanto arvate* (SV. **taḥ*) RV, SV. Preceded by *sugā tokāya vājinaḥ*. Subject is the soma-drops, with which *vājinaḥ* 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 edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ. {*ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *apāma edhi mā mṛdhā na indra* SMB. 'Do not abandon us (me)': 'do not die for us' (!). See VV 2 §78.

abhi tvādhām sahāyasā RV, ApMB.: *upa te dhām sahāyasīm* AV. See §476.

agnau vā tvā gārhapatyē bhiceruḥ AV.: *yām te cakrur gārhapatyē* AV. The latter: 'what (spell) they have made for (against) thee. . .', while in the former *tvā* is object of *abhicerur* 'bewitched'.

samidhah (ApŚ. MŚ. *samidhyyah*) *preṣya* ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In all texts addressed by the *adhvaryu* to the *maitrāvaruṇa*: 'order (the hotar to recite the formula) for the firesticks.' The dative is usual with

the stereotyped *preṣya* to denote the *devatā* to which offering or prayer is made, the acc. to denote the rite or action ordered (e.g. *śama* or the like; see BR. s. v. *iṣ + pra*). Here *samidhayaḥ* 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 *samidhayaḥ* is treated as the name of the rite: 'order (the recitation of the formula for) the firesticks.' See on this sort of 'name' Edgerton, *Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, §§204, 300. *tan ma* (Vait. *mā*) *āpyāyatān punaḥ* GB. Vait. In GB.: 'let that be strong for me again.' Note hiatus in Vait. If it really intends *mā*, it must understand the verb in an active sense, as in Mbh. 5. 508: 'let that make me strong again.'

[*yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG.: *yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB. *tanuvai* 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 dakṣarūpam (TS. °*dhe*) TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *prajāpataye tvā jyotiṣmate jyotiṣmantam grhṇāmi*. In MS. KS. the adjective agrees with *tvā*, carried over from the preceding; in TS. it is attracted into agreement with *dakṣāya*.

dyaus te (AŚ. PG. *tvā*) *dadātu prthivī* (PG. adds *tvā*) *pratigrhṇātu* AŚ. PG. HG. The dative refers to the recipient of the gift, the acc. to the gift; 'may heaven give (to) thee.' The next two are similar. *śukram te śukreṇa grhṇāmi* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *śukram tvā śukra śukrāya grhṇāmi* MS. MŚ.: *śukram tvā śukra dāhunomī* VS. ŚB. As in prece. and next, the pronouns refer to different things.

śukram te (MS. *te śukra*) *śukreṇa krīṇāmi* (MS. omits *krī*) *candram candrenāṃṣtam amṛtena* (MS. adds *krīṇāmi* . . .) TS. MS. KS.: *śukram tvā śukreṇa krīṇāmi* . . . VS. ŚB. *te* refers to the seller of the soma, *tvā* to the soma; cf. preceding two.

athaitān aṣṭau virūpān (TB.† 3. 4. 19. 1 *athaitān arūpebhyā*) *ālubhate* 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'.

dhātān rayīm saharīraṇ (ApMB. *daśarīraṇ*) *vacasyave* RV. ApMB.: *rayīm dīhī sarasīraṇ vacasyam* AV. The epithet *vacasya* is attracted in AV. into agreement with *rayīm*; in the original it referred to the recipient of the gift.

yajñāya stīrṇabarhiṣe vi vo mādē RV. AŚ.: *yajñeṣu stīrṇabarhiṣaṃ virakṣase* SV. In the original the adjective agrees with *yajñāya*, in SV. with *tvā* of the preceding (*hotāraṃ tvā vṛṣīmahe*).

indrāya tvā bṛhadēate sayasvata ukthāyave (VSK. MS. **yuram*, VS. ŚB. KS.† *ukthāyām*, VS. VSK. ŚB. **aṃ grhyāmi*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The acc. goes with *tvā*, the dat. with *indrāya*. Add to VV 2 §805 (stems *ukthāyu* : *ukthā-ai*).

§490. With change of number and gender as well as case:

ūjīṣā hi māhe (ApŚ. *māhī*, v. l. *māhe*) *vṛṣan* SV. ApŚ. Followed by *dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (ApŚ. **vīm*; see §746). In SV. the adj. agrees with *hotrāya*, in ApŚ. (if *māhī* be read) with *dyāvā*.

§491. In the following an originally independent noun seems to be attracted into functioning as epithet of another word, if we are right in taking KS. TB. ApŚ. as secondary. Cf. §15:

ayakṣmāya tvā saṃsrjāmi prajābhyah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayakṣmārah prajāyā saṃsrjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'I unite thee unto health, unto progeny': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with progeny.'

§492. Contrariwise, in the next what is in the original form an epithet is made into an independently construed noun (here, a dative of purpose) in the following:

ūrjāsvalī rājasvalī (MS. KS. *rājasūyāś*, TS. *rājasūyāya*) *citānāh* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The waters are originally described as 'king-creating'; in TS. this adjective is replaced by the noun 'for king-crowning', which depends on *citānāh* ('caring for, having regard to'); cf. BR. s. v. 4 *cit*, 2. See next.

svāhā rājasūyāh MS. MŚ.: *svāhā rājasūyāya citānāh* TS.: *svāhā rājasvalī* VS. ŚB. 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:

iyam duruktāt (PG. **lām*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.
'This (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer).'

āpas te tasmā jīvalāh AV.: *āpas tat sarvām jīvalāh* ApŚ. Followed by *punantu* (ApŚ. *śundhantu*) *śucayāh śucīm*. 'May the pure living waters purify thee pure from that' or 'purify (thee) pure as to that all'; in ApŚ. *tat sarvām* may either be understood as a quasi-adverbial acc., or as a second direct object, so that we should then have in ApŚ. a blend of the two constructions, 'purify that (thing which is impure)' and 'purify thee (from that).'

sakhyam te mā yoṣāh sakhyam te mā yoṣāh SMB.: *sakhyā te mā yoṣam sakhyā me mā yoṣāh* 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 *ā* in the meaning 'up to, until' may take either acc. or abl., while in the meaning 'from' it takes only the abl., never the acc. Also *pari* is used with both cases, tho with different meanings:

ūrjo mā pāhy oḍṛam MŚ.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy oḍṛaḥ* TS.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy*

anhanah, āsya yajñasyodraḥ VS. ŚB. *ā-udraḥ* (°cam) in all means 'until the end (of this sacrifice).' The variant *ārjo* for *ārdho* (obviously a silly blunder if not a misprint) should be added to VV 2 §160.

orv antarikṣam ŚŚ.: *āsmāt sadhasthād oror antarikṣāt* TB, ApŚ. Here the contexts are quite different, and the preposition has different meanings, 'to' with acc., 'from' with abl. Probably not true variants.

ye jātās tanvas (PB, °cam) *pari* RV. MS. PB. ŚB. TA. 'Who are born from the body (of Aditi)': 'who are born about (near) [her] body.' But Caland is doubtless right in assuming that PB. has a mere corruption of the RV. reading.

3. Miscellaneous

§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 *n* and *t*, suggesting possible graphic variation (VV 2 §871).

rūpaṁ varṇaṁ paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam ApŚ.: *rūpād varṇam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ. 'May I not wipe out the form, the color of the cattle': 'may he not wipe away the color from the form.' ApŚ. is a little less banal than MŚ.

yakṣmā yanti janād (AV. ApMB. *janān*) *anu* RV. AV. ApMB. In RV. abl. of source: 'from the (malicious) folk'; *anu. yanti*, 'follow'. AV. ApMB. construe *anu* as postposition with acc. *janān*. Altho Bloomfield (*The Atharvaveda* 50) mentioned this as an instance of a superior AV. reading as compared with RV., we think he would perhaps retract this opinion now; see Oldenberg, *RVNeden* on 10. 85. 31. If there is a single case in which AV. shows itself superior to RV. in a variant reading, we do not know of it.

āradhyaṁ vātām (MS. *vātāt*) *sabvām* (TB. Poona ed. *sabvām*) *tad ārāt* VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by *apāmatīm durmatīm bādhamānāḥ*. 'Driving away undigested food, wind, and digested food' (? but *sabvām* is quite uncertain). Does MS. *vātāt* mean '(arising) from wind,' referring to *āradhyaṁ* and *sabvām*? Or is it to be taken as abl. with *bādhamānāḥ*, or with *ārāt* felt as an adjective (a sort of 'case attraction')? In any event it is secondary and poor.

dinak cid antāt upamām (TA. *upa mām*, RV. *antān upamān*) *ud ānaḥ* RV. AV. SV. TA. Some AV. mss. read *upa mām* with TA., and Whitney adopts this. Benfey, Glossar, defines *upamām* as 'nabe' (adverb), but he translates 'zu allen Himmelsenden drang er aufwärts,' which seems to imply *antān*. The RV. alone is easily interpretable: 'he has attained unto the utmost bounds of very heaven.' The others perhaps: 'even from the bounds of heaven he has attained unto me (? unto the highest).'

ta āvartran sadanād ṛtasya (TS. *sadanāni kṛtā*, KS.* *sadanāni rāteḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. (his) N. 'They have turned hither from the abode of the *ṛta* (having established their abodes, etc.).' Add to VV 2 §§421, 665.

rudrasya gārapatyān (VS. ŚB. °*yam*, KS. °*ye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. °*patyān* is certainly intended; this is read not only in the p.p. but in the pratika 5. 1. 2. 3, which see for the rather forced interpretation required by the form. But for this we should assume that °*patyān* is acc. pl., which is probably the intention of MS. (whose p.p. would seem to read so, judging from the silence of von Schroeder; see §§526, 705).

antān pṛthivyā divaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ. Preceded by *yad gharṇaḥ paryavartayat* (MŚ. *paryāve*). *pāri-ṛt* caus. probably = 'has brought hither.' The TB. ApŚ. stanza is very obscure; its last half is different from that of MŚ.

ālebhānād ṛṣībhir yātudhānāt RV.: *utārebhānān ṛṣībhir yātudhānān* AV. Preceded by *utālabdham* (AV. *utārabdhān*) *spṛṇuḥi jātavedaḥ*. 'Win away, O J., him who is seized from the sorcerer who has seized him with spears.' So RV. The secondary AV. takes *spṛṇuḥi* zeugmatically as meaning 'win away' = 'set free' in a, but 'win' = 'conquer' in b: 'win away both those who are seized, and (conquer) the sorcerers who have seized (them) with spears.'

viduḥ pṛthivyā divo janitram (PB. °*trāt*) RV. PB. Followed by *kṛvanty* (PB. °*tv*) *āpo adha* (PB. °*dhaḥ*) *kṣarantīḥ*. RV.: 'they know the birthplace of earth and heaven.' In PB. *janitrād* would seem to be felt as abl. of source with *kṣarantīḥ*, '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. *yadī*) *bhumim janayan viśvakarmā* 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 misunderstandings or misquotations, are the following:

atrā (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛnotu*) RV. AV.† TA. 'Here let Yama fix a resting-place for thee.' The TA. reading (comm. *sthāpananimittam*) can hardly be anything but a phonetic blunder (VV 2 §405).

jāmin itvā mā vicitṣi lokān TA.: *jāmin itvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. The latter is original: 'having gone to my relatives let me not fall from heaven.' TA. Poona ed. *jāmi mītvā . . . lokāt* (v. l. *lokān*). The comm., tho he reads *lokāt*, seems to understand an acc.: *lokam . . . naiva lapsyasi*. In any case TA. is scarcely interpretable. See VV 2 §198 (besides §871).

yat ivemahe (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. On SMB. see VV 2 §§365, 835, where three different commentarial explanations of its seemingly impossible reading are quoted.

[*yamād aham vaivasvatī* RV.: *yan me yamam vaivasvatam* PB. So Conc.; but the facts are obscured both by this comparison and by Caland's remarks on PB. 1. 5. 18, which Caland identifies with RV. 10. 60. 10. The truth is that PB. 1. 5. 18 is a combination of RV. 10. 58. 1ab with 10. 60. 10cd; when this is realized it will be seen that there is no case variation.]

[*pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ* KBU.: *tam ardhamāsyāḥ prasutān pitryāvataḥ* JB. Conc., but read *ardhamāsyāḥ prasūtāt pitr^o*, Oertel, JAOS, 19 (2) 112, 115.]

[*devānām vakṣi prīyam ā sadhasam* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Conc. *sadhas-thāt* for KSA.]

4. Transfer of epithet

§497. Transfer of epithet involving change between accusative and ablative forms (sometimes also shift of gender) has been noted mainly in cases where one of the variant forms cannot properly be called an 'epithet' but is rather a form of independent construction. The following is perhaps the only case of true 'transfer of epithet', and even in it this term perhaps requires stretching. It is in any case clear that the acc. forms of VS. MS. KS. ŚB. are original, and that they are correlative with, if not exactly 'epithets' of, the accs. of the preceding *pāda*; also that the abl. forms of TS. have been drawn into agreement with the preceding *ītas*:

rtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ TS.: *rtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām* VS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS. Preceded in all by *iṣam ūrjam aham ūta adam* (ādade, ādi).

§498. In the next group a word originally of independent construction has been drawn into agreement with another word (§15):

prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV.; *prācīm avācīm ava yann arisṭya* TA. The adverbial *prākto* of the original AV. is attracted to the case of *avācīm*, which in both texts agrees with *yuvatim* of *pāda a. imam adheṇam yam agāma dūrāt* (LŚ. *dūram*) RV. LŚ.: *yam adhvānam agāma dūram AV.* Again the adverbial form of the original RV. is made in AV, LŚ. into an adjective agreeing with *adhvānam*. *anamitram no adharāt AV.*; *anamitram me tadharāk* (KS. *no adharāk*) VSK. KS.: followed by:

anamitram na uttarāt AV.; *anamitram udak kṛdhi VSK. KS.* Again the original has ablative adverbs. This time the acc. forms might also be regarded as adverbs, but it is at least as likely that they are adjectives going with *anamitram*. 'Freedom from enemies... (from) below, ... (from) above.'

yakṣmam kṛonibhyām (ApMB. *kṛonī*?) *bhāsadāt RV. AV. ApMB.*: *yakṣmam bhāsadyam kṛonibhyām bhāsadam AV.* The original 'from the rump' is turned into an adjective agreeing with *yakṣmam*, 'of the rump'. The verb is *vi vyāmi*. In the text of AV. there are in fact two such adjectives, synonyms; one is doubtless an ancient gloss (Whitney ad loc., and Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, 47).

§499. We have noted only two instances, closely parallel and in the same context, of the reverse of this, in which what is originally an epithet is changed into a noun of independent construction (§15):

avatān mā vyathitam (VS. ŚB. °*ut*) VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *avatād vyathitam* MS. KS. ŚB. 'Protect me distressed' or 'from distress'.
avatān mā nāthitam (VS. ŚB. °*ut*), 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 *ATS.* 158 ff.; our variants supplement and modify slightly, at certain points, his treatment. We shall refrain from discussing, as Delbrück does, possible differences of connotation between the two interchanged cases after these verbs, since in the nature of things there can be no proof of such distinctions; any one is at liberty to assume them subjectively if he desires.

§501. Verbs of eating and drinking and the like (partaking) constitute the largest group among the variants. Here there is, of course, no doubt that the genitive is partitive in character. Yet the accusative may also be used in cases where the partitive idea would seem to us to be especially demanded, as in the first variant, where KŚ. ApŚ. certainly cannot mean that the whole of the River Sarasvatī was drunk!

papuh sarasvatī nadyāḥ (MŚ. **tyām nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. **īm nadīm*)

Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'They drank (of, or MŚ. in) the River Sarasvatī.'

sa bhadram akar yo naḥ somam (AŚ. *somasya*) *pāyayisyati* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *indra piba sūtānām* RV.: *imam indra sūtām piba* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

yaḥ indro apibac chaciḥ VS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *yasyendro apibac chaciḥ* KS.: *yam asyendro apibac saciḥ* MŚ.

vācaspataye tvā hutaṁ prāśnāmi TS. ApŚ.: *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prāśnāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ. *hutasya prāśnāmiṣe prāśnāya*, ŚB. *hutasyāśnāmy...*) ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

vasumadgaṇasya... *upahūtasypahūto bhakṣayāmi* (MŚ. *upahūta upahūtam bhakṣo*) TS. MŚ.

tan me 'kīya HG.: *tasya te bhakṣīya* (ApMB. *'kīya*) TS. ApŚ. ApMB. *mano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *juzatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyam me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ.

The texts that have acc. and those that have *jyotir* with gen. must

mean 'may mind and light enjoy (partake of) the butter.' Those with *jūtir* and *gen.* may be construed in the same way (so Mahādhara and Hillebrandt), but other interpretations have been suggested; see Eggeling, *SBE.* 12. 215 n. 1.

lekah salekah eulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣānā vyantu TS.: *sailah saligah saguras te na ādityā hariṣo juṣānā vyantu svāhā* MS. KS. In the same context also passages beginning *ketah sakelah*..., see Conc.

§502. Verbs of offering; cf. Delbrück 160, where the *gen.* construction with *hu* is noted for Brāhmaṇa prose but not for RV., altho the RV. version of the first variant seems a clear instance:

tasmā indrāya eutam ā juhota (TB. ApS. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApS. MŚ.: *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV.: *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB. *haviṣā*) *juhota* MS. TB. See also §406, etc.

indrāgnibhyām chāgasya haviḥ (ApS. MŚ. *haviṣah*) *preṣya* KŚ. ApS. MŚ. Also: *indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā medasah* (KŚ. *vapām medah*) *preṣya*; *indrā purodāsasya preṣya* (KŚ. *purodāsam*, supplying *preṣya*), same texts. And similar items containing *anu brāhi* 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. *udno*) *dattodadhiṁ bhuntā* (KS.* KapS. *dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. (Oertel 76.) Cf. §711; *apas* best taken as acc. of plurale tantum stem *ap*.

§503. Verbs of ruling:

indro viśvam virājati AA.: *indro viśvasya rājati* SV. VS. AŚ. Svidh.

§504. Verbs of 'intellectual activity' (Delbrück 158):

pra tad voced amṛtasya (Ppp. VS. *amṛtam nu*, TA. MahānU. *vocē amṛtam nu*) *videān* AV. Ppp. VS. TA. 'Knowing immortality.' No significance can be attached to the fact that the adjectival-participle *videān* 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 amugñitam avasam paṇim gāh* (TB. *goh*) RV. TB. 'When you two stole the food, (robbed) the Paṇi of his cow(s).'

2. With nouns containing verbal force

§506. In several variants we find the acc. varying with the gen. after nominal periphrases of verbal ideas; cf. Delbrück 181, Whitney 271h; *mām anuvratā bhava* HG. ('be faithful to me'); cf. *agner* (AV. *patyjar*) *anuvratā bhūta* AV. TS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB. Tho in different contexts, AV. and HG. both use the formula in the marriage ceremony.

apaścāddaghvānasya (MS. MŚ. ApŚ. *apaścāddaghvānam*) *bhāyāsam* AV. MS. MŚ. ApŚ. 'May I not be failing of food.'

śāntir no astu MS.; *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA.; *sā mā śāntir ehi* VS. The acc. seems to depend on the verbal force still felt in *śānti*; Mahidhara *mā mām prati*.

§507. With nouns of agent in *tar*, a difference of accent is said to distinguish *dā'tā vasūni* from *dātā' vasūnām*, and according to Pān. 3. 2. 135 unaccented *tar* should denote a habitual condition, accented *tār* a specific act. The actual conditions are hard to reconcile with this theory; see Wackernagel, *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 puruhūto arhan TS.; *dātā vasūni vidadhē tanūpāh* MS. TS. accents the second syllable of *dātā*, MS. the first, which accords with the rule of accent. The accusative cannot be taken with *vidadhē* in MS. since that word is accented, and this can only mean that it begins a new sentence.

3. Dedicatory expressions

§508. In many lists of dedicatory formulas we find an acc. of the deity and instr. of the offering varying with gen. (or dat.) of the deity and nom. of the offering (see §126). We content ourselves here with two examples:

andhāhīn (TS. ^ohe, KSA. ^oheh but ms. ^ohe) *sthūlagudayā* (TS. KSA. *sthūragudā*, MS. *sthūragudayā*) VS.† TS. MS.† KSA. '(We gratify) the blind-worms with the large intestines': 'the large intestines are for the blind-worms.'

pūṣanam vaniṣṭhunā VS. MS.; *pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuh* TS. KSA.

4. Descriptive or possessive genitive : modifying accusative

§509. In a considerable number of cases we find a descriptive or possessive genitive, sometimes approaching what is called the 'apposi-

tional genitive', varying with an adjective or noun or pronoun in syntactic correlation with the other (accusative) form. Such genitives may be found in principle varying with any other case, depending on the case of the noun on which they depend; see §85. The practical meaning of the two forms of the variant is in many cases substantially the same: *avyo* (SV. PB. *avyam*) *vāram si dhāvati* RV. SV. PB. 'He (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (woolen sieve).'

vṛṣṭin divaḥ pavasa ritim apām (SV. *apah*) RV. SV. 'Let stream the rain of heaven, the stream of waters (SV. the stream, the waters).'

In view of the rarity of singular forms of stem *ap*, we prefer to construe *apah* thus as an acc. pl. (in apposition), rather than with Benfey as a gen. sing.

[*apāsya* (ApŚ. *apāsmān*) *nairṛtān pāsān*,] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ. *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśatam caye*, [*apāsya ye tśināḥ pāsāḥ*,] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ. *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśatam suve* KS. ApŚ. Also, in a different tho similar verse, [*apāsyāḥ satvanāḥ pāsān*,] *mṛtyūn ekaśatam nude* Kauś. 'I remove from him the bonds of destruction, the 101 (bonds) of death (the 101 deaths).'

nāsām āmitro (TB. *nainā āmitro*) *vyathir ā dādharṣati* 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.

ūrjo bhāgam prthivā (KS. ApŚ. **vīm*) *yāty* (KS. *ety*, ApŚ. *eto*) *āprṇan* MS. KS. ApŚ. 'He (Savitar) goes filling the earth's lot with food': 'he goes (let him go) to the earth, filling it (and) its lot with food,' or the like. Here the occurrence of the verb of motion makes a complication; the acc. is doubtless felt as goal of that verb, but perhaps also as one of the objects of *āprṇan*.

agnim (VS. ŚB. *agnēr*) *jyotiḥ nīcājya* [*prthivā abhyābharat*] VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. 'Fire (and) light' or 'Agni's light.'

somānām (SV. **nām*) *svaram* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The SV. is certainly worthless; on the crucial *somānam* see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 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: *ava devānām yaja heda agne* (KS. *yaje hidyāni*, MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ. : *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ. : *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB. ApŚ. In the last variant *hedyān* is an adjective agreeing with the acc. *devān*: 'the wrathful gods' instead of 'the wrath of the gods.'

pra samrājo (SV. °jam) *asurasya praśastim* (SV. °tam) RV. SV. KB. Here too SV. has an adjective ('the praised lord') for the acc. noun of RV. ('praise of the lord').

§511. Essentially similar are the following cases involving pronominal forms:

ādityā rudrā upariśprāo naḥ (KS. °śam mā) AV. KS.: *vasavo rudrā adityā upariśprāam mā* RV. VS. TS. '(Make) me a... king' or 'make our king...'

ā te agna idhīmahi RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *ā tvāgna idhīmahi* AV. Kauś. Followed by *dyumantam devājaram*. This is one of the passages cited by Pischel (ZDMG. 35. 714 ff.) as containing acc. *te*; but see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* p. 28 (a word for 'flame' or the like is to be supplied with the following adjectives). AV. has a lect. fac.; feeling the need for expression of an accusative noun or pronoun with the adjectives, it supplies the need by changing *te* to *tvā*.

puṣyema (AA. *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahe ta* (AA. *tam*) *indra* SV. AA. ŚŚ. Keith (AA. 285 n. 7) would make this an instance of variation between acc. and gen. after a verb of 'intellectual activity' (cf. §504), understanding the verb as connected with root *dhī*. He follows Sāyana in this. Most western scholars have taken *dhīmahe* from *dhā*; *te* is then possessive gen. with *rayim*, and *taḥ* also refers to *rayim*.

devasya te (AG. MG. *tvā*) *savituh prasave* 'svīnor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām hastam grhṇāmy asau AG. SMB. GG. MG. 'At the command of god Savitar... I take hold of thy hand (of thee [by] the hand).'

§512. In the following the secondary reconstruction goes farther: *tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt* (AŚ. *santam mā pra hāsīḥ*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīḥ* (Conc. reads *hāsīt* with one ms.) MŚ. *hāsīḥ* in MŚ. may be kept: 'desert not my life at the sacrifice...'

§513. Sometimes the acc. is the sole goal of the verb; either no goal is expressed in the variant containing the gen., or the goal of that variant is made into an associative instrumental (equivalent to a coordinate acc., §459) in the alternate form in which acc. is substituted for gen.: *etaḥ* (GB. *etasya*) *tvam prajānaya* AB. GB. The context is the same. The pronoun refers apparently to the yajamāna, who is to be 'generated' by the recitation of the Sukīrti (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 *āman* 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.

gaṇān me mā vi tīṛṣaḥ (MŚ. °ṣat, Vait. *vy arīṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.: *gaṇair mā mā vi tīṛṣata* MS.: *gaṇā me mā vi tīṛṣan* VS. TS. ŚB. 'Make not my troops to thirst (etc.):' 'make not me with (my) troops to thirst': 'let not my troops thirst.'

§514. We may append here a case in which a descriptive gen. varies with a postpositional phrase containing an acc.:

ye vā (MS. omits *vā*) *vanaspatīn anu* (MS. NīlarU. *vanaspatīnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. 'Or (serpents) which are of the trees (among the trees).'

5. Partitive genitive : modifying accusative

§515. Quite similarly a limiting genitive which is 'partitive' in character ('genitive of the whole', 'des geteiltten Ganzes') varies with a coordinate acc., as with other cases (§84):

imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyam me (TB. *kṣatriyānām*) AV. TB. Kauś. 17. 28 (only *pratīka* in Kauś. 14. 24). 'Increase this kṣatriya for me': 'increase him of (all) kṣatriyas.' TB. comm. *kṣatriyānām madhye*.

imam mā hinste ekaśapham (also, *dvipādām*) *paśam* (TS. KS. *paśūnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'This whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals).'

vīrudhān (AV. °*dhām*) *balavattumām* (AV. °*māḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) ApMB. 'Most mighty herb (of herbs).'

atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam VSK.: *aiḥā jīvema śaradān śatāni* AV. Others similar, see Conc.

§516. The following is in reality doubtless only a case of sandhi, or perhaps better of orthography:

oṣiḥśaḥ carṣanīśahām (TB. °*śahām*) VS. TB. Preceded by *dīvo varṣman samidhyate*, and followed by *vetv 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 uddīṣya teṣām* (*devānām*) *madhye*. Final *m* and *n* before *v* 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:

yat tvā (KS. *te*) *kruddhah parocaya* (AV. *kruddhah pracakruh*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApS. MŚ. In KS.: 'whatever of thee I in anger have rejected.' The others: 'whatever (to whatever extent) thee I in anger (thee angry men) have rejected', or possibly with *yat* as conjunction, 'if I in anger have rejected thee'.

yat tvā (ApS. *te*) *kikṣah parācadhū* AV. ApS. Followed by *taksā hastena vāyā*. 'Inasmuch as (or, to whatever extent) the skilful smith has struck thee off...': 'what of thee the skilful smith has struck off...'
yatrāsprkṣat tanva yac ca vāsasah (ApMB. *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG. 'Wherever on thy body, whatever of thy garment it has touched': 'wherever it has touched thy body, thy garment.' On HG. see §144.

6. Phrase inflection

§518. Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs in the following:

bhindhī darbha sapatnānām (*sapatnān me*) AV. (both). Initial *pādas* of consecutive verses; different constructions required by what follows.
kṛtyākṛtam valoginam AV.; *kṛtyākṛto valoginah* AV. Different contexts.
sumatiḥ satyudharmanah (TS. ApMB. *satgarādhasah*, VS. *satgarādhasam*, AV. *viśvarādhasah*, AŚ. *vājinivataḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB. N. The VS. form is in a different context.

7. Miscellaneous

§519. There remain a considerable number of variants between acc. and gen. which involve miscellaneous, and often quite radical, reconstructions of thought:

indrasya vāyoh (SV. *vāyum*) *sakhyāya kartave* (SV. *cardhayan*) RV. SV. 'For doing a friendly act for Indra (and) for Vāyu': 'increasing Vāyu unto the friendship of Indra.'

sakṛd yat tvā (KS. *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS. **bham*) *āśayat* TS. KS. The word *garbha* shifts in meaning; 'an embryo has entered into thee,' 'it has entered into thy womb.'

vājo naḥ (MS. *me*, KS. *mā*) *sapta pradiśah* VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *calasro vā parāvataḥ*, *vājo no* (MS. KS. *mā*) *viśvair devair, dhana-*

sātār (²*td*) *ihācātū*. KS. makes the pronoun in *pāda* a object of *avatu*, anticipating *mā* in *pāda* c; MS. makes it possessive gen. with *vījo*; the others, with *nah*, are ambiguous and may be taken either way.

rāyaspoṣā yajamānash sacantām (TS. ²*mānasya santu*) AV, TS, MS, MŚ.

'Let increase of wealth attend the sacrificer (be the sacrificer's).'

[*yo adya saumyo radho 'ghāyānām udīratī*] *viśākuham iva dhanvanā* [*vṛṣasyāḥ paripanthīnam sudasarpalaye namah*] AŚ. : [*yo 'dya saumyo radho 'ghāyānām udīratī*] *viśākuhasya dhanvanā* [*pa tān viruṇo dhamat*] PB. The obscure word *viśākuh(a)* seems proved to refer to some hostile power by LŚ. 3. 11. 3. This makes PB. (rendered by Caland '...blow them away by means of the bow of Viśākuha') seem corrupt, as it suggests that V. is a friendly power. AŚ. thus seems more plausible. But the word cannot be interpreted with any confidence.

tad āsata (Ppp. N. *atrasata*) *rṣayah sapta sākam* AV. Ppp. N. : *tasyāsata rṣayah* (TS. TAA. ²*sate harayāḥ*) *sapta fire* TS. ŚB. BrhU. TAA. In AV. *tad* is direct complement of *āsata*, in place of the more usual loc. (cf. BR. s. v. 2 ās, 1); the loc. *fire* has this construction in the other texts, and *tasya* (substituted for *tad*) depends on it. 'Sit upon it (its bank) . . .' Ppp. and N. have the loc. adverb *atra* instead.

apān na yantī ūmayah RV. : *apo nayanta ūmayah* SV. Preceded by *pra somāso vipācitah*. 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 rātau*) *sutam piba* RV. SV. In RV. *imam rātam* agrees with *sutam*; in SV. *rātau* is a different word from *rātam*: 'at this man's offering.'

dhenām antah sabardughah RV. : *dhenām antah sabardughām* SV. We take it that *dhenām* depends on *sabardughah*, *antah* being an adverb. That SV. is botched is shown by the false accent of *dhenām*, on the final syllable; but doubtless *dhenām* (dependent on *antah*) was meant. Even the RV. passage is obscure; for a different interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNotes* ad loc.

rtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB. *apasas*, but Gāuṣṭra *apas*) *pari* RV. GB. See VV 2 §810.

8. Transfer of epithet

§520. Transfer of epithet (§14) between accusative and genitive forms occurs in the following. In the first group there is no change of gender or number;

amanmahī mahatā (MS. KS. *mahat*) *ṛtasya nāma* TS. MS. KS. TB.

The gen. agrees with *ṛtasya*, the acc. with *nāma*.

manyam janasya dūḍhyah (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.

bṛhaspatistasya ta (KS. omits *ta*) *indo (inda) indriyavataḥ patnīvantam* (KS. °vato) *graham gṛhṇāmi* (MS. *rādhyāsam*, KS. *graham rādhyāsam*) TS. MS. KS.: *bṛhaspatistasya deva soma ta indar (inda) indriyavataḥ patnīvato grahān rādhyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. *patnīvant-* modifies *graham* in TS. MS., *te* (unexpressed) in KS. and probably *te* in VS. VSK. ŚB. (so Eggeling; otherwise BR.).

pāñcajanyaḥ bahudhā yam indhate AV.: *yam pāñcajanyam bahavaḥ sam indhate* TS. MS. KS. In the YV. texts *pāñca*° is drawn into agreement with *yam*, which refers to Agni; in AV. it agrees directly with *agner* of the preceding pāda, so that the real sense is the same.

praharṣiṇam madirasya made mṛṣāś asti atha teḍ hoṣyāmi KS.: *praharṣiṇo madirasya made mṛṣāś asti* ApŚ. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *praharṣiṇo*; and indeed it seems scarcely possible to construe the word with *teḍ*, which would be necessary if we keep the text.

§521. The rest involve variation of number or gender as well as

case:

vasuḥ (SV. TS. *vasoh*) *sūnuḥ sahaso jātavedasam* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Good son of strength': 'son of good strength.' This seems the simplest interpretation of *vasuḥ*. The preceding pāda is *agnim hotāraḥ manye dāsvantam*; Benfey and Keith make *vasuḥ* a noun depending on *dāsvantam*, despite the pāda division. A third alternative would be to make it a noun correlative with *sahaso*: 'son of good(s), of strength.'

vasumatāḥ (VS. ŚB. °matīm agne) *te chāyām upastheṣam* VS. MS. ŚB. 'May I enter the shadow of thee, the rich one (thy rich shadow, O Agni).'

bardhāṇsy agne ajarāṇi (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. 'O Agni, thy ageless troops (i.e. flames) as thou burnest': 'O Agni, the troops of thee, ageless, burning.' For ApŚ. cf. VV 1 §27.

pātho (Ppp. ŚŚ. *pātam*, TS. *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni* (AV. *guhyaḥ*) *nāma* AV. Ppp. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. 'Ye protect (etc.) the secret names of ghee'—so most texts; AV. seems to take *pātho* from *pā* 'drink' (so Ludwig and Whitney), and makes *guh*° agree with *ghṛtasya*: 'ye drink of the ghee that is secret by name.'

indrasya vām vīryakṛto bāhū abhyupācāharāmi (VSK. *edā bāhū vīryakṛtā upā*) VS. VSK. ŚB. 'I draw you down, two arms of prowess-working Indra (two prowess-working arms of Indra).' Also: *indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upācāharāmi* TB. (here the king, identified with Indra, is addressed).

parimāṇi yajamāṇāni rāyo manuṣyāṇām VS. ŚB.: *parimāṇi rāyo manuṣyam* KS. See §§402 etc.

§522. There remain two cases of the sort referred to in §15, in which a word originally of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, becoming an 'epithet' thereof, in a secondary version; in both either gender or number varies as well as case:

āṅgūṣṭhāṇām avāśanta vāṇīḥ RV.: *āṅgoṣṭhām avāśanta vāṇīḥ* SV. In RV., 'the music of the hymns'; in SV. an epithet of Soma (*vr̥ṣanām*) has been extracted from the genitive.

paramaṇi padam aṁ bhāti (VS. ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhāri* (TS. *bhāreḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Preceded by *atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ* (RV. N. *vr̥ṣṇaḥ*). 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 *viṣṇoḥ*: '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, *ATS* 122, says that the loc. is used 'wenn es sich um ein Ankommen bei, ein Eindringen in u. s. w. handelt, während in den A. das Ziel tritt, dem man zustrebt, z. B. *devaṇ gachati* er geht unter die Götter, aber *devān gachati* 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. 1-3 renders *evasti mā sam vahāṣya yajñasyodreṇi māhā* '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 *SS* variant *evasti mā sampārayāṣya yajñasyodreṇam*, with acc. instead of loc. Even worse is Whitney's rendering of AV. 7. 40. 1b *yasya vrata upa-tiṣṭhanta āpah* 'in whose course stand the waters'; to avoid recognizing the loc. of goal (all the parallel texts *vrataṃ*!) Whitney ignores the established meaning of *upa-ethā* (approach, always of motion, never 'stand'). Clearly we must render 'into whose control the waters enter.'

§524. In other cases the matter is less clear, and there is more reasonable ground for distinguishing between the two cases. Yet we feel that it is a false and specious conservatism which insists on rendering a loc. by something like English *in*, or German *in* with dative, wherever the meaning can possibly be twisted in that direction. We believe that in not a few cases where at first glance this meaning seems quite plausible, a closer examination will reveal grounds for holding the loc. to be substantially equivalent to an acc. Take for instance the variant *sūrya-syaikā carati niṣkṛteṣu* (MS. KS. *niṣkṛtāni*) TS. MS. KS. PG. We shall not stress the fact that MS. KS., generally the older and better YV. texts, have the acc.; after all, even if TS. PG. are secondary, they may

quite well have interpreted the passage in a new way. So there seems on the face of it to be no objection to the rendering 'one moves among the seats of the sun' or the like (so Stenzler, Oldenberg, and Keith, on PG. and TS.). But note that a preceding verse in the same context, dealing with the same situation, has the *pāda trīṇśat vasāra upayanti niṣkṛtam*, with the acc. *niṣkṛtam* in all alike. To our minds this, combined with the indubitable fact that the loc. is used of the goal of motion, suggests that it is at least likely that TS. PG. mean by *carati niṣkṛteṣu* about the same thing that is meant by *carati niṣkṛtāni* 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 *pāda rayānsi ya āviesā ya nirgeṣu* MS. KS. ApŚ., in which the acc. *rayānsi* and the loc. *nirgeṣu* 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:

avastī mā sam vāhāya yajñasyodṛci evāhā AV.: *avastī mā sampārayāya yajñasyodṛcam* ŚS. See §523.

yasya vratam (RVKh. Scheftelowitz, Ppp. KS. ^{te} *paśavo yanti sarve* RVKh. AV. Ppp. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Into whose control go all cattle.' Cf. next.

yasya vratam (AV. *vrata*) *upatiṣṭhanta ṣpaḥ*, same texts, immediately after preceding. See §523.

tiṣṭha ratham (TB. *ratho*) *adhi tam* (VS. ŚB. *yam*, TB. *yad*) *rajrahasta* (TB. ^{taḥ}) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. 'Mount upon (*adhi-sthā*) this chariot.'

- endrasya jathare* (SV. °*rañ*) *viśa* RV. SV. 'Enter the belly of Indra.'
svo ruhāṇā adhi nākam uttamam (TS.† MS.† KS. *nāka uttame*) VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. 'Mounting to heaven, to the highest sky.' The
 verb is *adhi-ruh*.
uttamañ nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. *rohayainam*, TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. TA.
akṣaram brahma saṁmitam TA. TAA. MahānU.: *akṣare brahmasaṁmite*
 MG. Preceded by *āyātu varadā devī* (MG. *āyāhi viraje devī*).
ya āviṣṭo vayassu (Ppp. *yo viṣṭo vayasi*) *yo mṛgeṣu* AV. Ppp.: *ayāṇsi ya*
āviṣeṣa yo mṛgeṣu MS. KS. ApŚ. See §525.
ā mitravarunā bhagam RV.: *ā mitre varuṇe bhage* SV. Followed by
madhrah (*madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayah*. The SV. comm. reads acc.
 like RV., and Benfey renders 'In Mitra...fliessen...'
viśo-viśaḥ pravivishānsam imahe AV.: *viśasyāñ viki pravivishānsam* (KS.†
pravivishānam) *imahe* TS. MS. KS.
prāṇāpānayo (ŚG. °*nā*) *uruvyacās tayā* (ŚG. *tvayā*; so AG. must intend,
 and so Stenzler translates it) *prapadye* AG. ŚG. 'I...take refuge
 with (flee to) *prāṇa* and *apāna* with thee.'
upa dyām upa vetasam AV. Vait.: *upa jmann upa vetase* VS. TS. MS.
 KS. ŚB. The verb *avatara* 'descend into' is found in the following
 pāda in all but AV. Vait. TS., and in these some such verb is
 understood.
yajñam dadhānāḥ (ApŚ. *vidānāḥ*) *sukṛtasya lokam* (ApŚ. *loke*) KS. ApŚ.
 Preceded by *te yantu prajānantaḥ*.
purīṣaṁ vasānāḥ sukṛtasya loke (MS. KS. *lokam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.:
purīṣaṁ vasānāḥ svām yonim yathāyatham ApŚ. Preceded in MS.
 KS. ApŚ., followed in VS. ŚB., by *tatra gacha yatra pūrve paretāḥ*.
 The acc. is certainly one of goal of motion. Mahīdhara on VS.
 rightly takes *loke* as loc. of goal; Griffith and Eggeeling construe it
 with *vasānāḥ* as loc. of situation. They also, most violently and
 against Mahīdhara and all probability, detach *sukṛtasya* from *loke*
 and make it depend on *purīṣam*.
rudrasya gāṇapatyān (VS. ŚB. °*patyam*, KS. °*patye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS.
 TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Come, gladdening, to the lordship of Rudra's
 troop' VS. ŚB. KS.; on TS. MS. see §§495, 705.
keṣv (LŚ. *kim svīd*) *antaḥ puruṣa ā vīṣeṣa* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.
sudughendre (MS. °*dram*, p.p. °*dre*) *†sarassatī* VS. MS. Followed by
akvinā bhiṣajāvataṁ (VS. °*taḥ*). See Neisser's illuminating treat-
 ment of *av* (ZWbch. 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.'

§527. In the next group the loc. can be, or has been, with more plausibility interpreted as one of situation, differing psychologically from the acc. We nevertheless believe that in some of these variants, as in the preceding, there is little if any real difference between the two cases: *sūryasyaikā carati niṣkṛteṣu* (MS. KS. *niṣkṛtāni*) TS. MS. KS. PG.

See §524.

viṣṇū agan varunā pūrvahūtau (MS. °hūtim) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. 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 *pūrvahūtau* is offered by the comms. on ŚB. and TB., which take it as a dual adjective agreeing with *viṣṇū varunā*.

anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu (AV. *grham naḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp. MG. Preceded by *śivah kapota iṣito no astu*. 'Favorable for us be the dove, harmless the bird, sent to our home, O gods.' So essentially Grassmann, taking *grheṣu* closely with *iṣito*; the AV. supports this. But Ludwig 'im Hause.'

dīvas (dīvah) prṣṭham (PB. *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB. *mand*°) *suman-mabhiḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Preceded by *vaiśvānarah prānathā nākam āruhat* (PB. *āruha*). In the original *prṣṭham* is acc. of goal with *āruhat*, parallel with *nākam*. In PB. *prṣṭhe* could be so construed, as loc. of goal; but here we incline to agree with Caland in taking it with *mandamānah*, 'rejoicing upon the back of heaven.'

satyadharmāno adhvaram (TS. °re) RV. TS.: *vāman prayaty adhvare* VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in RV. by *ṛtadhītaya ā gata*, in the others by *ā to devāsa imāhe*. RV.: 'come to the sacrifice, O (gods) of inviolable statutes.' The loc. may also be one of goal: 'we come to you...to the sacrifice.' But a loc. of situation is also possible; not indeed with *satyadharmāno*, 'ye that have true ordinances at the sacrifice' (Keith), since this would require accentless *advhare* (Whitney 314d), but rather: 'we approach you at the sacrifice, O gods of true ordinance.' Cf. also (*kavim agnim upa stuhi*) *satyadharmānam adhvare*, in a different context; here the loc. is clearly one of situation.

prātaryāvāno adhvaram RV. VS. TB.: *prātaryāvabhir adhvare* SV. See the whole verse, quoted §415. The acc. is certainly one of goal

with *prātaryāvāno*: 'coming betimes to the offering.' The loc. may be taken in the same way, or (with Benfey) with *ā śidatu*, and parallel with *barhiṣi*, 'at the offering'.

devasya savituh save (SV. *savam*) RV. AV. SV. TS. etc. etc. This common phrase ordinarily contains a loc. of situation: 'at the instigation of God Savitar.' The acc. *savam* occurs once in SV., in a verse found also in AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait., all of which read *sam*; it is preceded by *āvir maryā ā vājan vājino agman*, and followed by *svargam* (AŚ. ŚŚ. °gān) *arvanto jayema* (*jayatah, jayata*). Clearly SV. has acc. of goal with *agman*: '... have come into the instigation (control) of Savitar.' In the other texts, however, we must doubtless understand the usual sense: 'at the instigation of...' Cf. next.

tasya pūṣā prasave (TS. °vam) *yāti vidvān* (TS. KS. *devah*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Similar to preceding.

antarikṣe (KS. °kṣam) *viṣṇur* (MS. *viṣṇur antarikṣe*) *vyakramsta*... VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *traigubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu vi krame* TS. 'Viṣṇu strode thru (durchschritt; or, strode forth in) the atmosphere.' Similar formulas with *dīso* (*dikṣu*), *prthivīm* (°eyām), *divam* (*divi*), and different meter names. See also: *deva viṣṇa urv adyāmin*..., §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:

priyeṇa dhāmnā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyam sada āśida* (VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ.* *priye sadasi śīdā*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (bis): *sedam priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sada āśida* (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma* [for *nāmnā*?] *priye sadasi śīdā*) VS. VSK. ŚB. It seems to us impossible to consider it an accident that the simple *sad* is here construed each time with loc., the compound *ā-sad* with acc. Evidently the addition of the preverb is felt as reinforcing the motion-idea in the verb sufficiently to require the acc.; instead of 'sit on', it means 'take one's seat upon'. It is true that both verbs are otherwise found with both cases, so that this variant might be put with §527; but the concomitant variation of case and verb-form seems to us surely significant.

yā (MS. *yā*) *ātasthatur bhuvanāni vīśā* (TB. *bhuvanasya madhye*) AV. MS. TB. 'Who entered into all beings (took their stand in the midst of the universe).'

ukṣā bibharti bhuvanāni (SV. ArŚ. *mimeti bhuvanēṣu*) *rājayuh* RV. SV. ArŚ.

ñvanā (ApMB, *ñvānā*) *rudanti ei mayante adhvaṛe* (AV. *nayanāy adhva-*
ram) RV. AV. ApMB. The AV. clearly has a lect. fac., but the
 original is quite obscure in meaning; cf. Bloomfield *AJP.* 21. 411-9,
 Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc.

antarikṣasya tvā sādā avagūhāmi (KS. *°kṣasya sādūpeṣa*) TS. KS. ApS.;
divah sādūpeṣa MS. MŚ. The MS. p.p. absurdly divides *sādū*, *peṣa*;
 von Schroeder rightly understands *sādū*, *upa-īṣa*, 'zu des Himmels
 Rücken strebe auf.'

§529. The following case is like those of the last section in that
agram is acc. of goal with *rohataḥ*, a verb of motion, while *agre* is loc.
 of situation with *kṛdataḥ*; it receives separate rubrication because it
 leads over to the next following group:

agram vṛkṣasya rohataḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TA.: *agre vṛkṣasya kṛ-*
dataḥ (VSK. ŚŚ. *kṛt°*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

2. Adverbial acc. : loc.

§530. In another group of variations between these two forms *agram*
 and *agre*, it is possible at times to doubt whether both or either are felt
 as expressions of the goal. In some instances, at any rate, it seems
 hard to avoid construing them as vaguely adverbial, 'in the beginning'
 or the like:

agra imam yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim dhātā TS.: *agra imam adya*
yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim sudhātum yajñapatim devayuvam VS.:
agram yajñam nayatāgram yajñapatim MS. 'Lead forward this
 sacrifice...' But here, with the verb *nayata*, the word may be
 felt as 'to the front'.

ahnām ketur uṣasām ety (AV. *† eṣy*) *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.'

jayanīnām maruto yante agram (TS. *agre*, AV. MS. KS. *yantu madhye*)
 RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Let the Maruts go at (to?) the
 front of the conquering armies.'

tena devā devatām agra (VS. MS. KS. *agram*) *āyan* AV. VS. KS. MS.:
tapasā (TS. *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS. TB. TA. MahānU.
 'By this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning.'
 Since *devatām* expresses the goal, it seems that *agram* can hardly
 be anything but an adverb.

agnir agra (SV. *agram*) *uṣasām āloci* RV. SV. Perhaps motion is felt
 in the verb *ā-loc*: 'Agni was enkindled at (unto?) the beginning of
 the dawns.'

§531. Similarly *dūram* or *dūre* may be used in a quasi-adverbial way with a verb of driving, which yet permits the idea of goal to be involved: *bādhasta* (AV. *bādhethān*) *dūre* (AV. *dūram*, TS. Ppp. *droṣo*) *nirytiṁ pardcaś* RV. AV. Ppp. TS. 'Drive perdition afar off.'

§532. We have noted one other variation of strictly adverbial acc. and loc., in a *pāda* where the absence of any verb of motion makes it impossible to feel an idea of goal:

ye arvān madhya (TA. omits *madhya*) *uta rā purāṇam* (TA. °ne) AV. TA. 'Whoever in recent times, in middling times, or in ancient times.'

3. With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root *dha*)

§533. The root *dha* and its synonyms are familiarly used either with the acc. of the person and the loc. of the thing ('set, establish...in'), or with the dat. of the person and acc. of the thing ('establish...for', 'give...to'); see §482, where this variant is quoted showing both idioms:

svargam me lokam yajamānāya dheti Vait.: *svarge lake yajamānam hi dheti* (or, *dheti mām*) TB. ApŚ.

§534. We find also several variants in which, after *dha*, the thing 'placed' is put in either acc. or loc., while the person is expressed by the pronoun *naḥ*, which might be either dat. or acc. It is commonly, and perhaps rightly, assumed that this form is felt as a dat. in the variant containing acc. of the thing, and as an acc. in the form with loc. of the thing: 'set us in' or 'establish for us.' It should however be noted that two accusatives may be used after such verbs, as the next paragraphs will show, tho this usage has not been generally recognized; so that *naḥ* with acc. of the thing might be taken as an acc. (something like 'set us unto...'):

indragabhaḥ draviṇe (MS. °naḥ) *no dadhātu* AV. MS.

sa naḥ pārako draviṇam (AV. °ne) *dadhātu* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

sā no bhūmih pūrvapeye (MS. °yaḥ) *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 acc. is used: *sutrāmendre* (MS. °raḥ) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *balam na vācam āsya uṣābhyām 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 *avardhayan* (with acc.) replaces *dadhuh*. Similarly, in the same passage:

bhūṣajendre (MS. **ram*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *prāṇam* . . . *dadhur* . . . See prec.

ut sakthya (ŚS. **yor*) *ava gudaṁ* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *sakthyor grāṁ*) *dhehi* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. ŚS. ApŚ.: *adhāma sakthyor ava gudaṁ dhehi* Vait.

rathamītarāṁ sāma (also *vairājan*, *vairūpaṁ*, and *bṛhat sāma*, and *sāk-vararavate sāmānī*) *pratiṣṭhityā antarikṣe* (KS. **kṣam*; TS. **ṣṭhityai*, om. *antarikṣe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. A verb like *stabdhātu* is supplied from the preceding, and it seems that KS. *antarikṣam* can only be construed as an acc. of remoter goal: 'let the Rathamītarā sāmān (fix thee) for firm station in (into) the atmosphere.'

ā gharne (AŚ. **man*) *mūca pāya uariyāyāḥ* AV. AŚ. ŚS. 'Pour the milk of the brindle-cow into the hot drink.' *ā-sic* is here construed as a verb of placing.

§536. The compound *saṁ-dhā*, as a verb of joining, is construed either with acc. and instr., or acc. and loc.; it is the loc. form which varies with the acc. in the following variant, on which see §462:

aṅgāny ātman (MS. *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhūṣajā tad āsrinā* VS. MS. KS. TB. Followed by *ātmānam aṅgāṁ samadhāt sarasvatī*.

§537. A couple of times, in ritualistic formulas, we find reciprocal shift between loc. and acc. forms:

varṣīyo (VS. ŚB. *varṣo*) *varṣīyase yajñe yajñapatim dhāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñam yajñapatim dhāḥ* 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 rignarole the inversion of terms makes little difference.

asmin yajñe yajamānāya sūrim AV.: *imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūru* ApŚ. See §488. Neither reading is intelligible; but the reciprocal interchange of the forms of *yajña* and *sūri* seems to be similar to that in the preceding. The verb (preceding) is *dadhātana* in ApŚ., *pari nayāmi* in AV.

§538. Tho the verb is a form of *dhā* in the next variant, the psychology of the variation seems to be different:

dadhad ratnam (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣapitr̥bhya* (AV. *dakṣam pi*?) *āyuni* (AV. *āyāṅsi*) AV. AŚ. ŚS. 'May he assign wealth and dexterity to the pītr̥s (wealth to the Dakṣapītr̥s), and long lives (in [respect to?] their life).' Neither the acc. *āyāṅsi* (complementary object), nor (apparently) the loc. *āyuni* (tho its meaning is not very clear), can here be understood as the remoter goal of *dadhad*.

4. With various prepositions

§539. There are a few variants involving acc. and loc. after various prepositions. In the first, with *adhi*, the verb is *dadhāti*, 'assigns'; possibly the feeling that motion is involved in this verb is responsible for the secondary use of the acc. in SV.:

nāma tṛtīyam adhi rocane (SV. **nam*) *divah* RV. SV. '(Assigns) a third name upon the bright expanse of heaven.'

§540. Similarly in the next, we find in SV. an isolated use of the loc. with *acha*, perhaps owing to the fact that the RV. verb of motion (*ajanti*) is replaced in SV. by *mṛjanti* 'purify', which was felt as requiring a loc.:

ajanti vahnīm sadanāny acha RV.: *mṛjanti vahnīm sadaneṣu acha* SV. 'They drive (purify) the carrier unto (upon?) the seats.'

§541. A third variant shows *antarā* with acc. and loc.; only the former seems to be known to the earliest language, but the latter is familiar later:

antarā dyāvapṛthivī apah svaḥ (MG. **pṛthivyor apasyuh*) TB. ApMB. HG. MG.

§542. Finally, one variation is due to the use of different prepositions, *anu* with acc., *adhi* with loc.:

ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu (KS. *pṛthivyām adhi*) RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Both mean 'on (or thruout) the earth.'

5. With other verbs than those of motion

§543. Other verbs than those of motion may in various ways show interchange between these two cases. Thus, *saṁ-vaḍ* '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.

pratiprsthātāḥ pakau (MŚ. *pakum*) *saṁvadava* ApŚ. MŚ. 'Prati-prsthātār, speak about the victim (with the slaughterer).'

§544. Also verbs of eating and drinking show, besides the gen. (§501), the loc. varying with the acc.:

papuh sarasvatyā nadyāḥ (MŚ. **tyām nadyām*, KS. ApŚ. **tim nadīm*) Vait. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §501.

prajāvatīḥ sūyavasāḥ (AV. **se*) *ruśantīḥ* (RV. and TB. comm. *riś*?) RV. AV. TB. See VV 2 §627 on *ruśantīḥ*. TB. comm. explains by

bhakṣayantīh; so also AV. comm., tho it reads *ruṣ°*. 'Grazing (shining?) on good pasturage.'

§545. A verb of beating:

aghñānāh pāṇinorau AV.: *urah paṭaurā aghñānāh* 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:

traya (omitted in VSK, TS, KS, TB.) *vayam saṅghātām-saṅghātām* (VSK. *saṅghāte-saṅghāte*; TS, TB. omit one *saṅghātām*) *jeṣma* (KS. **jayema*, and †**saṁjayema*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. TB. 'May we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight.'

§547. The root *ruc* (*rocate*, *ruce*) 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 acc. (elliptic) dual, and must understand *ruce* as transitive (equivalent to the causative): 'He (Agni) has illumined heaven and earth as with the light of dawn.'

kṣāman (KS. *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānuna* (MS. KS. *ketuna*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

6. Locative absolute and accusative

§548. Several times an accusative in regular syntactic relationship varies with a loc. so loosely construed that it may not unfairly be called a locative absolute:

nābhā prthivyāh samidhātne agnau (TS. *samidhānam agnim*, MS. KS. °*na agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *vāyaspoṣāya brhate havāmake*. '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.

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *samsraṣṭāu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS. See §607; loc. abs. in the secondary MS.; *yudha(h)* object of the agent noun *samsraṣṭā*.

yā sapantam bodhayati (HG. *napatsu jāgati*) ApMB. HG. '(The she-demon) who awakens the sleeper': 'who wakes while people sleep.'

7. Case attraction

§549. Most of the remaining variants are so miscellaneous as hardly to permit classification. We may group separately a few in which formal, external attraction to adjoining case-forms seems to be involved:

haviṣā yajña (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. **yash*) VS MS. KS. TB. See the passage, discussed §473. TB. has assimilated *yajñe* to *indriyam*. *devā aśvinā madhukāśayādyaṃ yajñam* (ApŚ. **kaśayādyaṃ yajñe*) *yajamāṇāya mīmikṣatam* PB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'O divine Aśvins, with the honey-whip mingle (?besprinkle) this sacrifice for the *yajamāna*.' Only the acc. seems sensible; ApŚ. seems to leave the verb objectless; 'mingle (what?) at this sacrifice'. It is no doubt influenced by some of the parallel formulas in the same passage, which have similar expressions with intransitive verbs and locative nouns. Most perversely, in some of these ApŚ. uses acc. forms instead of the loc. of the other texts! Thus:

deva viṣṇa ure adyaṃ yajñe (ApŚ. *viṣṇa ure adyaṃ yajñam*) *yajamāṇāyādhi* (ApŚ. **yānu*) *eikramasva* (MŚ. *yajamāṇāya eikramasva*), 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:

devy adile mādityam adyaṃ yajña yajamāṇāyāsvasva (ApŚ. *adile 'nu adyaṃ yajñam yajamāṇāyādhi*), same texts.

8. Miscellaneous

§550. The rest are miscellaneous, and generally involve rather radical reorganization of the passages:

dyumnaṃ erna puṣyase RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *dyumnaṃ* (and *dyumne*) *sareta puṣyatu* KS. (both). 'Let him choose glory, that he may prosper': 'let him choose glory, let him prosper': 'let him choose (him, Netar) in glory, let him prosper.'

vr̥ṣā punāna āyusu (SV. *āyūṣi*) RV. SV. The pple. is intransitive in RV. but transitive in SV.

lokam pitṛṇu vittā AV.: *pitṛn hy atra gachāsi* TA. 'Having found a place among the fathers': 'for thou shalt go there to the fathers.'

sā śantāti (SV. **ā*, TB. ApŚ. **cī*) *mayas kurad apa śridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. 'She made (for me) blissful (*śantāti*) joy (joy in bliss).'
We should expect *śantātim*, 'bliss'.

upa tvā kāmā imahe sasṛgmahe SV.: *upa tvā kāmān mahah sverjmahe* RV. AV.

niskā ime (AV. *ete*, MŚ. *hy ete*) *yajamāṇasya bradhne* (MŚ. **nam*, AV. *loke*) AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'These are jewels in the sacrificer's sun (or heaven; TB. comm. the world of the Ādityas, as the fruit of sacrifice)'; in MŚ. preceded by *dārbhaiḥ śr̥ṅgā* . . . , *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 *nigdhā*!).

suṣadā yonau svāhā vā (TS. TB. *yonim svāhā*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *suḥin yonim suṣadām pṛthivīm* (ms. ²et) *svāhā* KS. Preceded by *aviṣam naḥ pītum kṛnu* (KS. *kṛdhi*); Conc. quotes the whole mantra of KS. under this. We see no way to construe *suṣadā yonim*; Keith assumes *suṣadām*, which is supported by KS. (but note there also *pṛthivī* in the ms. !): 'make our food poisonless, the lap pleasant to sit in.' On the loss of *anusvāra* cf. VV 2 §307. It looks as if VS. ŚB., starting from TS.'s reading, had interpreted *suṣadā* as loc. of an unknown **suṣadī*, and changed to *yonau* to match it.

samudre yasya rasām id āhuḥ AV.: *yasya samudraṁ* (Ppp. MS. KS. *sam² yasya*) *rasayā sahākuḥ* RV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §463.

cakṣuḥ eṣ sūrye sacā RV.: *cakṣuḥ sūryam dṛṣe* SV. See §474.

tayā devāḥ sulaḥ ā babhūvuh TS. KSA. TB.: *sā no asmin sula ā babhūva* VS. MS. See §419.

drāhava pṛthivyām VS. KS. ŚB.: *drāha pṛthivīm* PB. 'Be firm on earth': 'make firm the earth.' Contexts are identical.

ācartanam nivartanam RV. AV.: *ācartane pivartane* TB. ApŚ. The forms are differently construed; cf. Caland's note on ApŚ. The latter form of the verse is radically altered.

revati pṛsthā yajñapatim dīkṣa MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyam dhā dīkṣa* VS.† ŚB.†: *revati yajñapatim priyadhātṛbata* TS. ApŚ. 'O rich one(s), kindly approach the sacrificer': 'give what he desires to the sacrificer, approach (him).'

upa ṛṣabhasya (TB. IŚ. *uparṣ²*) *retasi* (AV. *yad retah*), followed by: *upendra tava vīrye* (AV. ²*yam*) RV. AV. TB. IŚ. The stanza is extensively altered (Whitney on AV. 9. 4. 23). The verb is *upa pṛyatām*, 'let be mingled', in all but AV., which reads *upa pṛica*; this we take as active, and hence construe *yad retah* and *vīryam* as acc., not nom. with Whitney. If we are right, the acc.-loc. variation is psychologically similar to those listed §§533-8.

9. Corruptions

§561. The following seem clearly corrupt:

śṛṇu śiro 'paso ardayan AV.: *śṛṇu śiro* (ApŚ. *girau*) *vakṣasā vakṣa ejayan* KS. ApŚ. The blunder of ApŚ., tho uninterpretable, is interesting because it is obviously a reminiscence of RV. 8. 45. 5 *girāv apo na yodhiṣat*, on which see Neisser, *ZWsch. d. RV.* s. v.

apsas. The variant should be added to VV 2 §§153a (*apsas* : *vakṣas*, synonyms), 300, 732.

ya ājagma (N. °*muḥ*) *savane mā* (TS. KS. *savanedam*, N. *savanam idam*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Whitney renders AV. (p.p. *savane, mā*) 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation', but observes that it is a corruption of *savane 'mā* (°*nā* + *imā*), which the comm. reads. So also Conc. *ime catvāro rajaso vimānāḥ* (MŚ. °*ne*) KS. MŚ. Other versions of the pāda (see Conc.) all end with *devayānāḥ*. All Knauer's mss. read *vimāno*; for this K. emends 'ne, 'in Dunstkreise.' But it would be at least as simple, and more in accord with the parallels, to emend to *vimānāḥ*.

10. Transfer of epithet

§552. Nearly all the cases of transfer of epithet (§14) between acc. and loc. involve also change of number or gender:

amuṣya tvā prāṇe (ŚB. KŚ. *prāṇam*) *sādayāmi* TS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ.: *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyāṇasya prāṇe sādayāmi* MS. In ŚB. KŚ. *prāṇam* (the life of an enemy) defines *tvā*: 'I put thee down, the life-breath of so-and-so;' cf. the next mantra, *amuṣya tvā prāṇam apidadhāmi*. These texts magically identify the soma-vessel addressed with the life of an enemy, making *prāṇam* appositional to *tvā*. The others: 'I set thee (this) upon the life-breath of so-and-so.'

nī tad dadhiṣe 'varam param (AV.* Ppp. 'vare pure) *ca* RV. AV. (bis) Ppp. Followed by *yasminn āvithāvasō durone*.

abhi yonim ayohatam (SV. VS. °*te*) RV. SV. VS. Followed by *drone* (RV. *drund*) *sadhasatham āsadat* (RV. *āsnuge*). The adjective is switched from *yonim* to *drone*.

varūthyam (SV. °*ye*) *varuṇe chandyaṁ vacah* RV. SV.

[*yasyām karmāṇi kurvate* (ApŚ. *krṇvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yāni karmāṇi cakṛire* AV. Preceded by *anāptā yā* (AV. *ye*) *vah prathamā*. Obscure; the forms of pāda a are neut. pl., going with *karmāṇi*, so that AV. *yāni* really corresponds to KS. ApŚ. *yā* of pāda a; AV. *ye* of pāda a of course goes with the subject. What *yasyām* refers to is not evident. AV. p.p. mss. have *anāptā* but *prathamāḥ*; 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: *yatrairātān* (AG. Kauś. SMB. HG. MG. *yatrairātān*) *vettha nihitān parāke*

(SMB. *parācah*) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. *parācah* with *etān*; *parāke* adverbial, 'far away'.

ā te vācam āsyām (HG. *āsyā*) *dade* HG. ApMB.: *tām te vācam āsya ādatte* (read *ādade*?) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG. Followed in HG. ApMB. by *ā* (HG. om.) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi*. Kirste suggests *āsyād*; more likely *āsyām* is intended, with one ms., as in ApMB. If PG. is original ('in the mouth'), then HG. ApMB. have made *āsyē* over into an adjective, 'of the mouth', agreeing with *vācam*; cf. *manasyām* which must certainly be taken as an adjective from *manas*.
athena anya upare vicakṣanam (AV. **ne*) RV. AV. PraśU. Followed by *saptacakre śudara āhur arpitam*. In the original *vicakṣanam* (referring apparently to the cosmic year) is object of *āhur*. AV. stupidly attracts it into agreement with the following locatives, leaving the object (still the same entity) to be supplied from the preceding line. Ppp. as RV.

§554. Conversely, in the following what is originally an epithet is changed so as to be construed independently (§15):

imam rātam (SV. *asya rātau*) *atam piba* RV. SV. 'Drink this presented soma': 'drink the soma at this man's offering.'

agnim īde pūrvacittim (TS. **cittau*) *namobhih* 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:

rtasya pade (RV. **padam*) *kavayo ni pānti* RV. (both) TA. JUB. The *pāda* with the loc. is preceded by an object *manīṣām*; different contexts.

CHAPTER XXIV

INSTRUMENTAL AND OTHER OBLIQUE CASES

A. Instrumental and dative

1. As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities

§556. With nouns meaning something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality, a final dative often varies with an instrumental. Thus: *saṁ taṁ siñcatu rādhase* RV. Vait., 'may he pour it (anśu, or the like) together unto bounty,' becomes in KṢ. ApŚ. (in a different context, yet closely modelled on the same original) *saṁ taṁ siñcatu rādhasā*, 'may he pour it together with bounty (bounteously).' The practical meaning of the two versions is the same, and both types of expression are very common; correspondingly common are variants showing both in different passages. They constitute the one large block among the variations between these two cases. The nouns in question mean regularly something like 'strength, support, aid, sustenance, food, bounty.' The instrumental seems at times to be felt clearly as one of means, sometimes as one of accompaniment, but often it shows a rather vague and undifferentiated adverbial function.

§557. In some instances, which deserve separate rubrication, the presence of a dative of purpose in the vicinity seems to be responsible for the alteration of an original instrumental into a dative:

kratvā varigṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV. AV.: *kratve vare athemany āmurim uta* SV. Preceded in all by *jājanuṣ ca rājase*. In RV, *kratvā* seems best taken with *varigṣṭham*, '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. *sva*°, VS. MS. KṢ. ŚB. *svargyāya*) *śaktiā* (TS. °*yai*, MS. *śaktaye*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KṢ. ŚB. ŚvetU. '(We strive) unto the heavenly, unto (by) might.'

āpa undantu jīvase (AV. *varcasā*, AG. *varcase*) AV. TS. KṢ. AG. ŚG.

SMB. GG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Let the waters wet (the beard) unto (with) long life (splendor).' In most texts including AV. a dative phrase, *dirghāyutvāya cakṣuse* or *varcase*, occurs in the vicinity. Delete in Conc. the AG. reference for *āpa us^o jloase*.

*prajāpates tvā (*lez tvā) prānenābhiprānīmī pūṣṇaḥ poṣeṇa* (MŚ. *poṣāya*) *mahyam dirghāyutvāya*... TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I breathe upon thee... with (unto) Pūṣan's prosperity, . . . unto long life . . .'

pra nu rāyā parīṇasā (SV. *rāye parīṇase*) RV. SV. KB. Followed by *raśi vājāya pāṇhām*. 'Break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength.'

§558. In the rest we have not noted any special influence determining the alteration in case:

tam hi svarājāṁ vṛṣabhaṁ tam ojase (SV. *ojasā*) RV. SV. AV. Followed by *dhiṣṇe niṣṭalakṣatuh*. 'For the two vessels (heaven and earth) have created him (Indra), the independent bull, unto (with, by) strength.'

pra tad viṣṇu (viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇus) stavate vīryeṇa (TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*, AV. *vīryāya*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NrpU. See §474. *saptarṣayas tapase* (AV. **śa*) *ye niṣeduh* RV. AV.

sarasvatī asanod indriyāya (LŚ. **yena*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength.'

maheśvaro na ūtaye (TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. *ūtya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *ā pra yātu parāvataḥ*. 'Unto (with) aid.'

rāye (TB. ApŚ. *revoḥ*) *jātaḥ sahase* (TB. ApŚ. **śa*) *vrddhaḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Born unto riches (richly), increased unto (by, with) strength.'

tās tvā devīr (AV. om. *devīr*, SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jurase* (SMB. HG. **śa*) *sam vyayantu* (PG. *vyayantu*) AV. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. 'May these goddesses wrap thee up unto (with) old age.' On PG. see VV I §70.

ā mā somo anṣṭatvena (TS. **tvāya*) *gamyāt* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

anāgasam brahmaṇā (TB. HG. ApMB. **ne*) *tvā kṛṇamī* (TB. HG. ApMB. *karomī*) 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. *parivṛdhāya jātakarmādīsamskārāya*.

lena te vapāmi brahmaṇā (MG. **my āyuṣe*, ApMB. **my asāṁ āyuṣā varcasā*) VSK. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.: *lena ta āyuṣe vapāmi* AG.: *lenāsyāyuṣe vāpa* ApMB. In the texts which have *āyuṣe* or *āyuṣā*, the dative is one of a series of datives, the instrumental one of a pair of instrumentals.

tendamai yajamānāyora (MS. KS. *yajñapataya uru*) *rāya* (TS. *rāyā*) *kṛdhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Hereby make broad (room) for this sacrificer unto (by, with) wealth.'

apām stoka abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB. **lac chivena*, HG. *abhyapatac chīdya*) AV. ApMB. HG.

apām ula praśastiṣu (RV.† *praśastaye*, AV. VSK. **tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *aivā (devā) bhavata* (**iḥa*) *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.

katam bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ (SV. VS.* *ūtaye*) RV. AV. SV. VS. (bis; add in Conc. SV. 2. 34c, VS. 27. 41c, with *ūtaye*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

kāmena (TS. MS. *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS. om. *prati*) *grhṇāmi* AV. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. 'I receive thee with (unto) affection.'

maghavañ (**vañ*) *chagdhi tava tan na ūtibhiḥ* (SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. *ūtaye*) RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ.

yam mitram na praśastibhiḥ (SV. **taye*) RV. SV. Followed by *martāso dadhire purah*. 'Whom like a friend mortals have magnified with (advanced unto) praise.'

iha priyam prajāyā (AV. *prajāyai*) *te sam ṛdhyatām* RV. AV. AG. ApMB. *sadā pāhy abhiṣṭaye* (**tibhiḥ*) RV. (both). See RVRep. on 1. 129. 9. *vanemā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ* (SV. **taye*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MS. 'May we win by (unto) thy aid.'

atho ariṣṭatātaye (RV.* AV.* **tibhiḥ*) RV.* AV.* PB.

§559. Both the dative and the instrumental have a tendency, in the ritualistic language of the Veda, to become formulaic and rignarole 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. *pretyā dharmāne*) *dharmān jinva* VS. MS. This is one of a long series of formulas used with the laying of the stomabhāga bricks. 'With advance by righteousness (for righteousness) quicken thou righteousness.' VS. (and ŚB.) vary between dat. and instr. in different formulas of the series; MS. has the dative consistently thruout. To the same group belong: *sandhināntarikṣenāntarikṣam* (MS. *sandhināntarikṣāyāntarikṣam*) *jinva* VS. MS.; *viṣṭambhena vṛṣṭyā* (MS. *vṛṣṭyai*) *vṛṣṭim jinva* VS. MS.; *anvityā divā* (MS. *dive*) *divam jinva* VS. MS. ŚB.; *pravayāhnā* (MS. *pravāyāhne*) *'har jinva* VS. MS.; *pratidhinā prthivyā* (MS. **vyai*) *prthivim jinva*

VS. MS.; and others. Cf. *uniter asi dīve teḍa divam jīvā* TS. KS. GB. TB. Vait., and other formulas in these texts corresponding to those of VS. MS.; they seem to confirm the originality of the datives of MS.

śukram te śukreṇa gṛhṇāmi TS. KS. ApŚ.: *śukram tvā śukra śukrāya gṛhṇāmi* MS. MŚ. 'I take thy bright one (thy brightness?) with brightness (with a bright one?): 'I take thee, the bright one, O bright one, unto brightness (unto a bright one?)'

māhā marudbhīḥ (MS. °bhīḥ) *parīśrayasva* (VS. ŚB. °śrīyasva) VS. MS. ŚB. 'Hail! be encompassed by (for) the Maruts.' The comms. on VS. and ŚB., where the verse is addressed to the chief cauldron (*mahāvīra*), say that 'by the Maruts' means 'by us, the people', having in mind the proportion Indra : Maruts = king : *viśaḥ*.

2. With expressions of uniting

§560. A special case of this interchange which seems to deserve separate mention, tho it is not essentially different from the variants quoted above, concerns passages containing expressions of union, where the final dative varies with the associative instrumental (cf. §59):

susambhṛtā (MŚ. °te) *tvā sam bhārāmi* TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.'

ayakṣmāya tvā samarjāmi prajābhīḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayakṣmā vaḥ prajāya samarjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee unto diseaselessness, unto offspring': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with offspring.'

sampśanas (RV. AV. °ne) *tanuvai* (AV. *tanvā*, SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*, RV. *tanvā*) *cāruṣa edhī* RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Be happy in union (or, as a uniter) with (of, to) thy body.' Of course the RV., with an objective genitive, is the original (see §517); 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 *sampśanas* as a nom. agentis, with comms. on TB. and TA. (*samyojayitā*); this would not alter the construction.

samjñānam naḥ svebhīḥ (AV. *svebhīḥ*, TB. *svebīḥ*), followed by:

samjñānam arāṇebhīḥ (AV. °nebīḥ, TB. °nabīḥ) 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.

ajarasāya sam anakte aryamā RV. SMB. ApMB.: *ahorātrābhyāṁ sam*

anakte aryamā AV. 'May Aryaman unite unto old age (with day and night).'

3. Other syntactic shifts

§561. More real difference of meaning appears in the remaining variants. But sometimes the difference is still so slight that the variation could almost be classified with the preceding instances:

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah RV.: *apo mahi ṛṇute cakṣuṣe tamah* SV. 'She (Uṇas) 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:

hasṭāya (SV. *hasṭena*) *vajrah prati dhāyī darśatah* RV. AV. SV. 'The splendid vajra was placed in (grasped by) the hand (of Indra).'

§563. Others evidently intend to express really different ideas in the two forms; other variations in the phraseology often accompany the change in case:

vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi TS. ApŚ.: *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prāśnāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ. *hutasya prāśnāmiṣe prāśnāya*, ŚB. *hutasyāśnāmy ārya ulānāya*) ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'I eat (of) thee, offered to (by) the Lord of Speech.'

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda (MS. *tayā vidhema*, KS. *tasyai te vidhema*)... TS. MS. KS. 'Thy arrow... with it (to it) would we do reverence (with it be merciful to us, TS.).'

yah saṁgrāmān (TS. MS. **mam*) *ṇayati* (KS. *jayati*) *saṁ yudhe vaśi* (TS. MS. *saṁ vaśi yudhe*, KS. *saṁ vaśi yudhā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Who brings together the hosts for fighting (conquers the hosts by fighting).' The change in verb (riming; add to VV 2 §853) conditions the change of noun case.

pratiprasthātā dadhīgharmenānūdeha (MS. *dadhīgharmāya dadhy upakalpayasva*) ApŚ. MŚ. Again a different verb makes the sense wholly different; MŚ. 'fix the curds for the curd-porridge.'

vītam samitre (MS. **trā*, KS. **taṁ*) *śamitā* (MS. **taṁ*) *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. *vītam haviḥ śamitam śamitā yajadhyai* VS. ŚB., 'the welcome offering has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice' (otherwise Mahidhara and Eggeling).

arvāḡ devā asya visarjanena (TB. **nāya*) RV. MS. TB. The comm. on

TB. is not troubled by the dative, simply taking it as the equivalent of an abl. (which varies with the instr. after *arrāk*, cf. Speyer VSS. §39, and below, §574). But doubtless TB. misunderstood the sense of the mystical verse and took it to mean 'the gods (came) hither (or, subsequently) unto its creation (i.e. to create it?).'

tebhīh (AV. VS. VSK. *tebhyaḥ*) *varād asunitim etām* (AV. *asunitir no adya*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. Followed by *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV. *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. °*yasva*). The interpretation is difficult in any reading; see the commentators.

patim surāyā (TB. °*yai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajām* VS. MS. TB. Mahtidhara takes *surayā* as associative instr. A dat. or gen. seems required; see §622.

sajūr devaīḥ sāyamyaḥvabhīh (ŚŚ. *devebhyaḥ* †*sāyamyaḥvabhyaḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. And the same with *prātaryāvabhīh* (ŚŚ. † °*yāvabhyaḥ*). 'Together with (for) the gods that come in the evening (morning)'. The instr. may be suggested by *sajūr*, if the dative (dedicatory) be taken as the original; but the formula is rigmorale and anything is possible.

namuḥ kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK. °*yatāya*, KS. *kṛtsanvītāya*, TS. MS. *kṛtsnāyātāya*) *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 *kṛtsnāyata* (*kṛtsnāyata*) + *tā*, apparently assuming haplogy (or is there a misprint, for °*yatayā*?). The original dat. is an epithet of Rudra.

4. Case attraction.

§564. In a couple of cases external case attraction seems responsible for the change:

yunajmī vāyūm antarikṣena te (MŚ. *tena*) *saha* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha* PB. 'I join wind (wind is joined) for thee with the atmosphere (wind with this atmosphere)'. Formal assimilation of *te* to *tena*, influenced by *antarikṣena*.

drśā ca bhāsā brhātā auśikmanā MS.: *dr̥ṣe ca bhāsā brhātā subukmanīh* (KS. °*krabhīh*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *dr̥ṣe* is infinitival with *subuk*°, and *dr̥śā* seems due to formal assimilation: apparently 'with great appearance (and) brilliance' (on *auśikmanā* see VV 2 §240).

5. Corruptions

§565. A few cases seem more or less certainly corrupt:

aghāya bhūma harivaḥ parādai (MS. °*daīh*) RV. AV. TS. MS. On MS.

('by betrayal?') see VV 2 §384; it is probably corrupt, or else a mere phonetic variant.

dikṣayedam (KS. *dikṣāy**) *haviṣ agachataṁ naḥ* KS. TB. AŚ. There is no stem **dikṣa*, and it seems that KS. (all mss. and ed.) must be an error.

[*enāhnedam ahar aśiya svāhā* KS.: *idāhna id āharam aśiya* MŚ. ed. by em.; the mss. corruptly point to the same text as KS. See VV 2 §709.]

6. Phrase inflection

§566. Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs:

ṛtubhis tvārtanāḥ AV. HG.: *ṛtubhyas tvārtavebhyah* AV. In two different stanzas, AV. 3. 10. 10 and 5. 28. 13; one (it is not certain which) is repeated AV. 19. 37. 4 (see notes in Whitney-Lanman).

asme kṣatrāya varcase balāya RV.: *saha kṣatreṇa varcasā balena* AV. In different contexts.

sahasrākṣāya mīdhuse (NīlarU. *vājine*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.: *sahasrākṣeṇa vājina* AV. The same stanza as in VS. etc. occurs in NīlarU., but has apparently been influenced (as to *vājine*) by *vājina* of the quite different AV. stanza.

7. Transfer of epithet

§567. The only cases of transfer of epithet noted between dat. and instr. seem to be instances in which the variant word is a true epithet only in one of the versions, in the other having independent construction (§15):

yo agnaye dadāṣa havyadātibhiḥ (SV. °*dātaye*) RV. SV. 'Who has done homage to Agni with oblation-offerings (to Agni the presenter of oblations).' So it seems best to take SV., with *havya*° as a noun of agent, as in RV. 6. 48. 2 *dāṣema havyadātaye*. If however we take the SV. form as a noun of action, the variant would belong in §558.

ēty arṣa canīṣṭhoyā (SV. *panīṣṭaye*) RV. SV. 'Go with sustenance most desirable', RV. The SV. is usually understood to mean 'go with sustenance unto praise' (VV 2 §86), the epithet being changed to an independent noun. If we dared take *panīṣṭaye* as an adjective, it might go with the 'folk' (*janāya*) of the preceding: *pra-pra kṣayāya panyase, janāya juṣṭo adruke* (SV. °*kaḥ*); this would be a genuine 'transfer of epithet'.

B. Instrumental and ablative

1. Instrumental of means and ablative of source

§568. Since the source of anything may be regarded, from a slightly different angle, as the means by which it is produced or brought about, it is natural to find the ablative of source and the instrumental of means interchanging. Such variants form the largest block of variations between these two cases, of which it is to be noted that our materials seem to indicate a very marked affinity, to judge by the fact that most of the variant passages show very slight differences in meaning between the two forms.

§569. We find first a group containing a verbal form expressing source, and an ablative of source varying with an instrumental of means:
yās te viśas tapasā (TB. °sa) *sanibubhūruḥ* AV. TB. 'Whatever clans have sprung up from (by) thy *tapas*.'

payasā (MS. °saḥ) *sukram amṣtam janitram*, followed by
surayā (MS. KS. *surāyā*) *mūtrāḥ janayanti* (VS.† MS. °nta) *retāḥ* VS. MS. KS.† TB. 'By (from) milk they create(d) the bright immortal productive seed, by (from) *surā*, from urine.' Here the original clearly had abl. *mūtrāḥ* (all texts), but instr. *payasā* (all but MS.), while the form of the stem *surā* was either instr. or abl., in either case being assimilated in two of four texts to the following or preceding parallel form. MS. KS. are more apt to be original than VS. TB.

surayā (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somah suta āsuto madāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. The ŚB. understands *surayā* as associative instr.; so also comm. on TB. and Griffith. Despite the authority of this ancient interpretation, we feel that the MS. variant, and the similar passage just discussed, make more likely this interpretation: 'Soma, pressed forth by (MS. from) *surā*, distilled unto enjoyment.' This seems supported by Mahidhara on VS.: *āsutaḥ surayā tierikṛtaḥ san*, *yataḥ prajā akhidrā* (MS. *vena prajā achidrā*) *ajāyanta tasmai tvā... juhomi* TS. MS. KS.

puṁsah kartur mātari āśiḡkta JB.: *puṁsā kartrā mātari mā niḡiṇca* (°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 I §372c.

tābhya enā ni ṭvartaya RV.: *tābhyaḥ tvā vartayāmasi* KS.: *tābhir ā vartayā punaḥ* TS. ApMB. 'From (by) them (the four quarters of the earth) bring them (we bring thee) back.' The Tait. reading is clearly secondary and poor.

§570. Similarly in other passages where no verbal expression of origination is present:

śam yajurbhyaḥ (TA. °bhīḥ) VS. ŚB. TA. 'Welfare (be to us) from (by) the sacrificial formulas.'

pauruṣeyād daivyāt KS.†: *pauruṣeyena daivya* TS. MS.: [*yena-yena vā kṛtām*] *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV. Preceded by *yad idam abhidāśati* KS., *yad idam mābhīśocati* TS. MS., *yan medam abhiśocati* AV.

anyad evāhur vidyāyāḥ (VSK. IśāU. vidyayā),

anyad āhur (IśāU. †evāhur) *avidyāyāḥ* (VSK. IśāU. avidyayā) VS. VSK. IśāU. 'Different, they say, is (the fruit) arising from (by means of) knowledge and ignorance.' That the words are felt as abls., not gens., is proved by the parallel pādas *anyad evāhuḥ sambhavāt*, *anyad āhur asambhavāt*, which occur in the vicinity.

svāhā yajñam manasaḥ (KS.* [2. 3] *yajñamanasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS.† (bis) ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *svāhā yajñam manasā* (KS. °si) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. A verb such as *ā rabhe* (but with the loc. *manasi*, *visrje*—§607) is to be understood. In KS. 23. 5 *svāhā yajñam manasaḥ* (which certainly should be read also in KS. 2. 3 for ed. *yajñamanasaḥ*, cf. VV 2 §819), 'I take sacrifice from mind,' is explained by the brāhmaṇa: *manasā vai yajña ālabhyate*—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.:

tēna (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv* (°nā) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *aviṣṭam*) RV. MS. TB. Preceded by *yad bāhiṣṭham nātividhe* (TB. °vide) *sudānū, achidram śarma bhuvanasya gopā*. 'By (thru) this (aid, śarman), O M. and V., help us.'

bhūvas team indra brahmaṇā (MS. °no) *mahān* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words.'

pari satyasya dharmaṇā (PG. *sakhyasya dharmaṇā*) 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. *dharmaṇā*, either in

the sense of '(turning away) from the condition of friendship' (so Oldenberg), or (perhaps better) 'in accordance with the law of friendship (or of truth, if *satyasya* be read).' In the latter interpretation, the abl. of cause with *pari* would be equivalent to the instr.

§572. To this group would belong three other variants, if their ablatives were to be accepted as textually sound; they are however all suspicious for one reason or another:

abhi śravobhīḥ prthivīm RV.; *uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa* [p.p. *śrah*] *ā*) *prthivīm* 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 *mahinā* (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.

hiraṇyapañir aminīla sukratub kṛpā (AV. *kṛpāl*) *svah* AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Whitney adopts *kṛpā* for AV., which is read by some mss. and comm. (the variant might be added to VV 2 §420). AŚ. ŚŚ. add the ūha *trpā 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 eṣām āśīṣah santu kāmāḥ* (SMB. *kāmāt*) 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:

tebhīr no adya (ApŚ. *tebhyo na indrah*) *savitota viṣṇuḥ* KŚ. ApŚ.: *tebhyo asmān varuṇah soma indrah* Kauś. The verb *vi muñcantu* follows. 'May (Indra,) Savitar and Viṣṇu free us (today) from these (fetters of Varuṇa)', or the like.

viśvā (MS. *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. Ppp. *śebhyah*, MS. *śāṇām*) AV. Ppp. MS. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyah* VS. TS. Followed by *śivābhir* (Ppp. VS. KS. MS. *śivebhir*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (VS. TS. MS. KS. *vr̥dhe*). All evidence points

to *mānuṣībhiḥ* as the original. The AV. comm. followed by Whitney supplies *ātibhiḥ*. But the noun most naturally understood with *mānuṣī* is *viś* or *kṛṣṭi*, 'tribe' (see Grassmann, *Wbch.* s. v.). The instr. is then probably one of separation: 'freeing all diseases from human tribes.' KS. Ppp. must be interpreted similarly, taking *mānuṣebhyaḥ* as abl., 'from men'. On VS. TS. see §474. MS. has a possessive gen.: 'freeing (removing) men's diseases.' The following pāda is a reminiscence of RV. 6. 71. 3b, *śivebhir adya pari pāhi no gayam*, where *śivebhir* goes with a preceding *pāyubhis* (the context is wholly different). Here *śivebhir* or *śivābhir* must be taken either as an adverb, 'auspiciously', or as a noun, 'with kindness'. Note that only AV. has *mānuṣībhiḥ* and *śivābhiḥ* in the same case form.

4. Dependent on prepositional adverbs

§574. The prepositional adverbs *paras*, *avas*, *arvāk* govern either abl. or instr. without difference of meaning. This use of the abl. is apparently related to the abl. of comparison, cf. Speyer, *VSS.* §39. *paro divā* (AV. vulg. *divo* by misprint, MS. *divaḥ*) *para enā prthivyā* (MS. °*yāḥ*) 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 devebhir* (MS. °*bhya*) *asurair* (MS. °*raṁ*) *yad asti* (TS. *asurair guhā yat*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *avaś ca yaḥ paraḥ śrucā* (Vait. *śrucāḥ*, KS. *paro divaḥ*) RV. KS. Vait. *arvāk tvā parebhyaḥ vidam* (VSK. *tvā parebhyāḥ*) *paro varebhyāḥ* (TS. *tvā parair avidam paro varaiḥ*, MS. *tvā parebhyāḥ paro varebhyaḥ vidam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I have found thee on the near side of the farther, on the far side of the nearer.'

5. In adverbial forms

§575. Temporal or local adverbs are formed with the endings of both cases, usually without clear difference of meaning: *nīcād uccā svadhayābhi prastathau* Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcāir uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* has distinct ablative force: '(from) below above (nach oben)', or 'below (and) above'. *ayam paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *vidadvasuḥ* MS. KS. In this and the next two the p.p. of MS. reads *paścāt*. *ayam paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *viśvavyacāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See prec. *maryo na yośām abhy eti paścāt* (MS. *paścā*) RV. AV. MS. TB. See prec. two.

yad ahnā (and, *rātriyā*, v. l. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA, MahānU.: *yad ahnāt* (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. The comm. repeats the strange forms *ahnāt* and *rātriyāt* (blended forms under the influence of ablatives of *a*-stems), saying that they are 'Vedic'.

6. Case attraction, and miscellaneous

§576. Almost the only variants in which the two cases seem to have really quite distinct meanings are the following, in the first of which it seems likely that external case-attraction (formal assimilation) has been influential:

sa budhnād (AV. Ppp. *°nyād*) *āṣṭa januṣābhy* (AV. *januṣo °bhy*) *agram* AV. Ppp. (JAOS. 37. 260) TS. KS. AŚ. The instr. is doubtless original; note that even Ppp. has it. 'From the bottom to the top he has reached by his nature' or the like. The isolated *januṣo* is doubtless due to attraction to the abl. *budhnyād*, now taken as an adjective: 'from the lowest generation to the top he has reached.' Otherwise Ludwig.

vāyur na īdita īdītavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS. ApŚ.: *vāyuṣ [āntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ]* MŚ.

saṃjagmāno (KS. *°nā*, MS. TB. ApŚ. *°nau*) *divā* (TB. ApŚ. *diva ā*) *prthivyā* (ApŚ.† *°vyāḥ*) 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 *manthān graha*, either together in the texts that have a dual, or separately (in VS. ŚB., which repeat the formula with each). TB. keeps the instr. *prthivyā* (the final *ā* is fused with the next word *āyuh*), while ApŚ. (which reads *prthivyā āyuh*) understands an abl. (so Caland; less likely gen. or dat.); both must take *diva(h)* as abl. Caland renders 'Zusammentreffend von dem Himmel, von der Erde her'. The TB. comm. understands 'uniting with the earth, as far as (i.e. including) the heaven': *ā divo dyulokasahitayā prthivyā*. The secondary TB. ApŚ. reading contains the reverse of double sandhi (false vowel resolution) and should be added to VV 2 §991; the variant might also be added to VV 2 §732.

C. Instrumental and genitive

1. Objective genitive

§577. In contrast with the ablative, the genitive shows few variants in which it is used interchangeably with the instrumental. Most of our

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:

sahivasānam (SV. °no) *vivasvataḥ* (SV. °tā) RV. SV. 'Fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat.'

sahiveśane tanvaś (AV. *tanvā*) *cānur edhi* RV. AV. 'In joining of (with) thy body...' Other texts *sahiveśanas tanve* (*tanuvai*)..., with final dative; see §560.

viśveṣām devānām aham (KS. *vi° aham dev°*) *devayajyayā prāṇaiḥ* (KS. *prāṇānām*) *sāyujyam gameyam* KS. ApS. '...may I go into association with (of) the life-breaths.'

§579. After expressions of gratification, the objective genitive interchanges with the instrumental of means:

tena ṭṛpyatam anḥahau TB. ApS.: *tasya ṭṛmpatam ahāhāhukū svāhā* ŚS. *juṣṭam devebhīr* (AV. *devānām*) *uṣa mānuṣebhīḥ* (AV. *mānuṣānām*) 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 participle or its equivalent; the difference is one between nominal and verbal psychology:

yan mayā duṣkṛtam kṛtam TA. MahānU. BDh.: *yan me kiṁ cana duṣkṛtam* VIDh. 'Whatever evil has been done by me (or, of me, as it were 'my deed').'

yan me (TA.* BDh.* *mayā*) *manasā vācā* TA. (both) MahānU. BDh. (both). As in preceding; the participle *kṛtam* follows.

chandobhīr yajñaiḥ sukṛtām kṛtena AV.: *brahmaṇā guptāḥ* (ApMB. *sampṛñcānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtena* 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 *sukṛtām* with Oldenberg. *āpo devīḥ prathamajā ṛtena* (AV. *ṛtasya*) RV. AV. 'The divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta.'

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 (§84):

vasantena (also *grīṣmeṇa*, *varṣābhīḥ*, *śaradā*, *hemantaśiśirābhyāṃ*) *tvartunā* (KSA. °nām) *haviṣā dīkṣayāmi* TS. KSA. 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (with the spring of the seasons), with oblation.'

§582. Psychologically similar also are the uses of the two cases with verbs of offering:

tasmā indrāya haviṣā juhota MS.: *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV. 'To Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma).'

Others with the acc.; §§466, 502.

§583. Somewhat less close are:

yad aśya karmano 'tyarīcam ApŚ. HG. AG. ApMB.: *yad karmanātyarīcam* ŚB. BṛhU. PG. 'Whatsoever of this performance (by my performance) I have done in excess.'

aukalpam agne tat tava (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*, *gāyatrī*, *jagatī*, *pañktis*) *tvā chandasām avatu* (KS. *chandasāvatu*) TS. MS. KS. 'May anuṣṭubh (etc.) of the meters (with meter) help thee.' Formulaic rigmarole.

suṣyotir jyotiṣā (TA. ApŚ. °ṣām) *svāhā* VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. 'Fair-lighted one with light (of lights).' As prec.

teṣāṃ chidraṃ prati dadhmo yad atra KS.: *teṣāṃ chinnaṃ sam etad* (ŚŚ. *sam imam*, TS. *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS. TS. ŚŚ.: *tebhiḥ chidram apīdadhmo yad atra* MS. AŚ. 'Of (by) these (33 threads)...'

4. Instr.-gen. of time

§584. The question whether the gen. can be used adverbially in expressions of time was formerly mooted but may now be considered as settled affirmatively; see §678, and cf. especially Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 79. 6. In this sense it is therefore interchangeable with the instr. We have however noticed only a single variant, and even its form is not certain:

madhu naktam uṣasaḥ (KS. °sā, TS. TA. °si) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. The RV. *uṣasaḥ* has been taken (e.g. by Grassmann) as nom. pl.: 'the night and dawns are honey.' This is impossible because there is no nom. *naktam* (Wackernagel 3 p. 234): that form can only be adverbial acc., and consequently

uṣasāḥ is also adverbial. It might (with Wackernagel l. c. and others) be taken as acc. pl., but may at least as well be gen. sg.; in either case it means practically the same as *uṣasā* (or **si*), 'at dawn.'

5. Case attraction

§585. The rest contain miscellaneous shifts which are hardly classifiable in terms of definite syntactic relationships. We shall mention first a group in which formal, external attraction or assimilation seems to be responsible for the change:

cakṣuṣāḥ (KapS. **ṣā*) *pītā manasā hi dhīraḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ApS. Raghu Vira emends to *cakṣuṣāḥ*, wrongly; assimilation to *manasā* (Oertel 18).

viśvasyaśāna ojaśā (SV. **saḥ*) RV. AV. SV. 'Ruler of all by might': 'ruler of all might.' We take it that *ojaśā* has been altered to *ojaṣāḥ* by attraction to *viśvasya*.

samvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'By the year of days': 'by the year, by the day'. The MS. form seems to be assimilated to *samvatsareṇa*; 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.

trivṛn no viśṭhayā (KS. *trivṛd viśṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. As prec.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS. **hnā*) *cikītnū* (with varr.) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. As prec.

traiṣṭubhena chandasendreṇa devatayāgneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upa dadhāmi TS.: *traiṣṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ pārīṣeṇāgneḥ pārīṣam upa dadhāmi* KS.: *traiṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upadadhāmi* MS. 'With the triṣṭubh 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 triṣṭubh meter, of Agni...' So also with the meter-names *jāgata*, *gāyatra*, *ānuṣṭubha*, *pāñkta*.

devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām sarasvatyā vācā (VS. TS. ŚB. *sarasvatyai vāco*) *yantur yantreṇa...* *abhiṣiñcāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: ... *sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. Assuming that MS. KS. are original, we have assimilation of *vācā* to the preceding *sarasvatyā*(s) or **yai* (§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:

pāsamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya vartanyopāñśor vīryeṇa... MS.:
pāsamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya (KS. °tryā) *vartanyopāñśor vīryeṇa...* TS. KS.

bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā śukrasya vīryeṇa...
TS.: *bṛhatā tvā rathamtareṇa triṣṭubhyā* (KS. triṣṭubhā) *vartanyā śukrasya...* MS. KS.

agneḥ tvā mātṛayā jagatyai [gen.] *vartanyāgrayaṇasya vīryeṇa* (KS. jagatyā vartanyā) ... TS. KS.: *agneḥ tvā mātṛayā jagatyā vartanyā...* MS.

In these three associated formulas, the gens. *pāsamānasya* (MS. only) and *bṛhadrathamtarayos* (TS. only), 'with the hymn of the P.' and 'of the B.-R. (sāmāns),' are clearly secondary and modelled on the parallel *agneḥ tvā mātṛayā* 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, *upāñśor* (*śukrasya*, *āgrayaṇasya*) *vīryeṇa*.

6. Miscellaneous

§587. In listing the remaining miscellaneous variants, we begin with those in which no other change, or no serious change, in addition to the shift of case-form, occurs in the variant:

vayam nāma pra bravāmā (KS. † °ma; add to VV 2 §446) *ghṛtasya* (TA.

ApŚ. *ghṛtena*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. (All but one ms. of MahānU. used by Jacob read *ghṛtena*, which therefore should probably be read as in TA. ApŚ., tho the comm. has *ghṛtasya*.) Caland translates ApŚ. as if gen.; but the agreement of the Tait. texts suggests that *ghṛtena* is the true reading of the school, non-sensical as it seems to us. TA. comm. says the 'name' means the praṇava (*um*).

pra yujō (SV. *yujā*) *vāco agriyāh* RV. SV. Followed by the verb *cakradat* (SV. *acikradat*). RV.: 'let the leader (Soma) of his associate, the song, sound forth.' *yujā* may be an adverb (so Benfey), 'the leader of the song has sounded forth together,' or perhaps better a noun, 'the leader of the song together with his associate (the song).'

sarasvatyā (TB. *°tyāh*) *supippalaḥ* VS. MS. TB. Preceded by *devō devair* (TB. *indro*) *vanaspatih*, *hiranyaparno āsvibhyām*. The instr. is associative; and TB. glosses the gen. by *sarasvatyāh sambandhi*.

rasam parisrutā (MS. *°to*) *na rohitam* VS. KS. MS. TB. The instr. depends on the verb *vayati* in the prec., felt as a verb of mixing or uniting: 'as the red sap with *parisrut*.' However, VS. comm. glosses *parisrutā* with *parisrutah* ('as the red sap of *parisrut*').

ājō bhāgas (TA. *'bhāgas*) *tapasā* (AV. *°sas*) *taṁ tapawa* 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.

patiṁ surāyā (TB. *surāyai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. See §563.

sam brahmaṇā (AV. *°ṇām*) *devakṛtaṁ* (RV. AV. *devahitaṁ*) *yad asti* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. The instr. is associative, with *sam neṣi* (*neṣa*) of prec.: 'bring together with the prayer which has been made by the gods.' In AV. it becomes a partitive gen. with *yad*: 'whatever prayers have been...', no instr. being expressed tho one must still be understood.

viśvā (MS. *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. *°ṣebhyah*, MS. *°ṣāṇām*) AV. MS. KS. See §573.

§588. Different words, or more extensive and radical reconstructions, are involved in the following:

agnir āyusmān sa...tena teāyusāyusmantan karomi (KS. *tasāyām āyusāyusmān asr asau*) TS. KS. PG. ApMB. 'By this life': 'by his life'. The meaning is practically the same, but different pronouns are used.

ayam no nabhasas patih (TS. ApŚ. *nabhasā purah*) AV. TS. GB. Vait. Kauś. ApŚ. Followed by *sam sphāno abhi rakṣatu*.

ye barhiṣo (MS. *°ṣā*) *namoṣṭiṁ* (VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. *namaṣṭiṁ*) *na jagmuḥ* (VS. ŚB. *yajanti* for *na ja°*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ya indreṇa saratham yāti devaḥ AV.: *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ. See §419.

satyā tā dharmanas pati ApŚ.: *satyād ā dharmanas pati* (ŚŚ. *dharmanā*, Vait. MŚ. *dharmanas pari*, but MŚ. mss. *dharmanā pari*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

sam tvā nahyāmy apa (MŚ. MG. *adbhir*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS. MŚ. MG.: *sam tvā nahyāmi payasaugadhīnām* AV. Cf. *sam tvā nahyāmi payasā prthivyāḥ* (TS. *ghṛtena*), which immediately precedes this; see §460.

pūṣā sanīnām (TS. ApŚ. *sanyā*); *somo rādhasām* (TS. °sā) TS. KS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. (only the first two words in ApŚ. MŚ.; delete MŚ. in Conc. under *somo rā*°). In MS. KS. probably a noun, 'giver', rather than a verb of giving as v. Schroeder suggests, is to be supplied: 'Pūṣan (is the giver) of gifts' etc. In TS. *āvaytran* precedes: 'Pūṣan (has surrounded me) with gain' etc.

ghṛtasyāgne tanvā sam bhava KS. MŚ. Kauś. MG.: *ghṛtena taṁ tanvaṁ* (TS. *tanvo*) *vardhayasva* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N.

sam it taṁ rāyā sṛjati svadhāvān (AV.* *rāyāḥ sṛjati svadhābhiḥ*) RV. AV. (both).

āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣāṇaḥ (ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) TS. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

yena (AV. *yasya*) *dyaus ugrā* (AV. *urvī*) *prthivī ca dr̥dhā* (TS. *dr̥dhe*, AV. *mahī*) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. In passing we note that the change from *ugrā* to *urvī* is a sign of the increasingly unpleasant connotation of *ugra*.

§589. The forms themselves are doubtful of interpretation, or textually suspicious, in the following:

ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ RV. AV. TS. KS.: *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* LŚ. The LŚ. *tanvo* is doubtful as to form and meaning. Is it gen. with *ariṣṭās*, 'without harm to the body' (Whitney *Gr.* 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.

nedīya it sṛṇyāḥ (TS.† °yā) *pakvam eyāt* (AV. ā *yavan*, TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Here *sṛṇyāḥ* 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 *sṛṇyā*) may be considered (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on I. 58. 4). The AV. makes it a nom. pl.

prthivyā (MS.* °vyāḥ) *sambhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. See VV 2 p. 197.

[*vācām indriyenāvīṣa* (TS. MŚ. *vācā mendr*°) TS. KS. MŚ. Read KS. like the others; see v. Schroeder's note on 31. 15, p. 18 n. 1.]

7. Transfer of epithet

§590. The only case which may be called in the strictest sense a 'transfer of epithet' is the uncertain one which follows:

amaiṣām cittam prabudhām (TS. KS. °dhā) *vi neṣat* (KS. *naṣyatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS. 'At home let the plan of these clever (enemies) come to naught.' In TS. KS. *prabudhā* may be taken as personal, 'by the wise one', referring to Agni, to whom the verse is addressed; or else, with Keith, as impersonal, 'by (his) wisdom.'

§591. In the rest an originally independent word is transformed into an epithet of another word, to the case of which it is attracted (§15): *stomo yajñas ca* (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. °taḥ) RV. TB. 'Praise and sacrifice (are) to be offered by the sacrificer.' Once the gen. has been introduced in TB. (see §449), *haviṣmatā* is assimilated to it.

vr̥ṣṇaḥ sutasya yajasā (SV. PB. °saḥ) 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.'

vedaṁ savitrā prasūtaṁ maghonām AG.: *vedaṁ prasūtaṁ savitrā maghonā* ŚG. Stenzler and Oldenberg both adopt for AG. the reading of ŚG., with no ms. authority. To us it seems that AG. is not only sound but original: 'holy knowledge pressed forth by Savitar for liberal patrons.' ŚG. has secondarily assimilated *maghonā* to *savitrā*, transposing the latter word into juxtaposition with what is now its epithet: '...pressed forth by the liberal Savitar.'

ghṛtasya vibhrāṣṭim anu śukraśociṣaḥ (RV. AV. VS. KS. *vaṣṭi śociṣā*) RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *ājuhvānasya sarpiṣaḥ*. The two independent words of the original are replaced by a compound epithet of *sarpiṣaḥ*.

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, *ATS*, 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 *marutāṃ prasave jaya* (TS. *jayata*) of TS. MS. KS. MŚ. means 'in (upon, German *auf*) the impulse of the Maruts conquer.' Is there any essential difference between this and the variant of VS. ŚB., with *prasavena*? Only a faint and elusive one, we should say; just as we imagine a 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 thruout which the action takes place. Delbrück uses the terms *Raum-* and *Zeiterstreckung* 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 *doṣā*, instr., 'in the evening' is the precise counterpart of *uṣasi*, loc., 'in the morning'. We are very doubtful whether the distinction has any value. At any rate our variants show a number of cases in which it seems forced.

§595. We recognize, of course, that these two cases developed some quite distinct uses, and we should not claim that in all or even most of the instances in which they vary with each other, their meanings are precisely identical. To some extent we shall keep in mind the conventional terminology which speaks of instrumentals of 'manner, cause, accompaniment' etc., and of locatives of various sorts. And where it seems to us likely that the two cases had somewhat different connotations, we shall not hesitate to point them out. Yet we believe that the mass of our variants will be found to confirm the view that the two cases approach each other much more than has been generally recognized; so that it is anything but surprising that in a number of ritualistic, 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):

maghāsu (RV. *aghāsu*, ApG. *maghābhir*) *hanyante gāvah* (ApG. *gāvo grhyante*),

phalguniṣu (RV. *arjunyoḥ*, ApG. *phalgunībhyān*) *vy* (RV. *pari*) *uhyate* (ApG. *ūhyate*) RV. AV. ApG. Kauś. 'In the asterism of the Maghās (Aghās) the cows are slain (taken), in that of the Phalgunī (Arjunī) the marriage takes place.' Distinction of meaning is scarcely conceivable.

madhu naktam uṣasaḥ (KS. °*sā*, TS. TA. °*si*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. Here *uṣasaḥ* (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 gandharveṣṭhām anvātiṣṭhata (KS.† °*ṣṭhatha*) *vātasya patma-neḍitā* (KS. *patmann īḍitā*) MS. KS. 'On the path of the wind.' *avyo vāreṣu* (SV. *avyā vārebhir*) *asmayuh* RV. SV.; and *avyo vāre* (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and *priyam*) RV. SV. 'In (or, thru) the sieve of wool.' The verbs are *parasva*, *punānah*, *hinvanti*; the subject, soma.

drumā (SV. *drone*) *sadhasṭham aśnuṣe* RV. SV. 'By (in) the wooden vessel thou attainest thy place.' The vessel is the 'way' thru which the soma flows.

drumā (SV. VS. *drone*) *sadhasṭham 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 kṣami viṣurūpaṁ (ArS. *kṣamā viṣvarūpaṁ*) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. Here *kṣamā*, 'on the earth', must apparently be instr., and is well known in the RV. itself. It cannot be regarded as dependent on *adhi*, which is not found with the instr. (tho it may reinforce the loc., as probably here with *kṣami*).

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*.

fire tubhyam gaṅge HG.: *fire tubhyam asau* PG.: *fireṇa yamune* (and, *fireṇdsau*) *tava* ApMB. Preceded by *viṣṭtacakrā āśinās* HG. ApMB., *avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āśīran* PG. It seems scarcely

possible to take ApMB. *fireṇa* otherwise than as an expression of location, 'sitting on thy bank.'

§599. The instrumental adverb *guhā* is used sometimes in ways which suggest that it may have been originally local. This, to be sure, is not proved by the fact that it varies twice with the locative *guhāsu*, 'in secret places':

gandharvo dhāma paramaṃ guhā yat (VS. *dhāma vibhṛtaṃ guhā sat*) AV.

VS.: *gandharvo nāma nihitaṃ guhāsu* TA. MahānU.

trīṇi padāni (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*)

AV. VS. TA. MahānU.

3. Instrumental of means or cause and locative

§600. We now approach cases in which the instrumental is no longer strictly local or temporal, but is tinged with its more familiar meaning of means. Even so it often varies, with little shift of meaning, with a locative, which then ordinarily denotes the occasion rather than the literal, physical 'place'; cf. (*in*) *hoc signo vinces*, §593. As a transition case we mention first the following variant, where the loc. *kumbhe*, 'in a pot', is still used of physical location, while the instr., 'with pots', regards the noun as the means by which water is carried. It is obvious that the difference is subjective and that either way of looking at it is simple enough:

śam u yāḥ kumbha abhṛtāḥ AV.: *śam yāḥ kumbhebhīr abhṛtāḥ* AV.

§601. Others, in which the literal local sense is not, or not so clearly, present, are:

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṃ* (AG. MG. *kim*) *cana*. Kirste assumes that HG. is corrupt, and Oldenberg renders a loc., 'within the dominion of the white one.' The instr. is indeed bad metrically and doubtless secondary. But *abhyācāra* in the sense of *abhicāra*, 'attack of hostile magic,' is guaranteed by AV. 10. 3. 2, and there is no need to abandon it, the more since MG. has the loc. of the same word: 'by (MG. in) the hostile magic of the white one the snake has killed no one (nothing).' The other texts have different words.

marutāṃ prasave (VS. ŚB. °*cena*) *jaya* (TS. *jayata*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. See §593.

apām uta prastasiṣu (RV. † °*laye*, AV. VSK. °*tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (°*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.' *śikṣā sakhībhyo haviṣi* (MS. KS. °ṣā) *vadhāvaḥ* 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 sāmānātha (MS. *adhi*; KS. *vairūpeṇa sāmānā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS. *chakema*) TS. KS. MS. AŚ. 'May I (we) have this power in (by) the *vairūpa sāmānā*.' The next pāda, which is closely parallel, has an instr. (*jagatyā*) in all.

meṣam viprā abhivarā (SV. °re) RV. SV. AV. Preceded by *nemim namanti cakṣasā*. 'With (in) their song of praise.'

vasūnām tvādhītena rudrānām ūrmyādityānām tejasā vīkṣvām devānām kratunā marutām emnā juhomi svāhā TB. ApŚ.: *vasūnām ādhītau rudrānām karmānām ādityānām cetasi* (sc. *tvā juhomi*) MS. 'I offer thee with (in) the meditation (?) of the Vasus' etc.

ahno rūpe (TS. *rūpeṇa*) *sūryasya rāsmiḥ* (TS.† *rāsmibhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verb is *grhṇāmi* or *ādhunomi*. 'I take (stir) thee in (with) the form of day, in (with) the rays of the sun.'

svapnāḥ svapnādhikarāṇe RVKh.: *svapna svapnādhikarāṇena* AV. 'In (with) the superintendence (incantation?) of sleep [let sleep put to sleep all the people].' Cf. Edgerton, *AJP.* 35. 438 f.

somasya śuṣmāḥ surayā (MS. *surāyām*) *śulasya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. 'The power of soma pressed out by (in) *surā*.'

svargēṇa lokena saṁprorṇvāthām Vait.: *svarge loka prorṇvāthām* (VSK. *prorṇvāthām*, MS. *prorṇvātām*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *svarge* (KS.† *svarge*) *loka saṁprorṇvāthām* (KSA.† °*rṇvāthām*) TS. KSA. TB. 'Wrap yourselves up with (in) the heavenly world.'

agnir ukthēna vāhasā VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣv anhasu* AV. Contexts essentially the same.

§602. Several times, at the end of pādas, the loc. sg. ending *e* varies with the instr. pl. *aīḥ*. While both forms are interpretable just as in the preceding, we have little doubt that phonetic moments (*e* : *aī*, and the light pronunciation of final *visarga*) are involved; see VV. 2 §§381, 706, to which the first two variants should be added:

bodhāmāsi tvā haryakva yajñaiḥ (MŚ. *yajñe*) RV. SV. MŚ.
mītravaruṇā rakṣatam ādhīpatyaiḥ (AŚ. °*tye*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
ghṛtaratī savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhīpatye* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

4. Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative

§603. In the next group the instrumental comes even closer to its fundamental, original meaning, as denoting an attendant circumstance, and so varies if possible even more easily with the locative of the occasion. There is, however, of course no sharp dividing line between the instr. of association and that of means or cause, and some of the following cases might perhaps as well be put in the preceding group:

rāyas poṣeṇa (KS. *poṣe*) *sam iṣṭ 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.

vicasva (°*vann*, °*vān*) *ādityaiṣa...tasmin* (TS. *tena*) *matsva* (TS. KS. *mandasva*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. 'Delight in it.'

ny adhur mātṛāyām (KS. *mātṛayā*) *kavayo vayoḍhasaḥ* (KS. °*sam*) MS.

KS. 'Established him in fixed order' will translate both, but KS. has an instr. of manner, MS. a loc. of situation.

sve dakṣe (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'Be seated in (with) thine own power(s).'

Add to VV 2 §706.

sa rāye sa purandhyām (SV. °*dhyā*) RV. SV. AV. JB. Preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvat*. 'May he stand by us in our work unto riches, in (with) liberality.' *purandhyā* = *liberaliter*.

rtena (MG. *ṛte* 'va) *sthūnām* (ApMB. HG. °*nār*, MG. °*nā*) *adhi roha vaṇṣa* (MG. *vaṇṣaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. All Knauer's mss. *ṛteva*; Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā ira*'. If he is right, *ṛte* is loc. of the sphere of action.

twayā (RV. *tvē ā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. 'Worshipers 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:

prācyām diśi (MS. KS. MŚ. *prācyā diśā*, ŚŚ. *prācyā diśā saha*) *devā ṛviṇo mārjayantām* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'The gods, the priests, shall purify (me?) in (with, by?) the eastern quarter.' In ŚŚ. *saha* proves that the instr. is associative; in MS. KS. it might also be one of means. Similarly the formulas beginning *udīcyām diśi*, *ūrdhvyām diśi*, *pratīcyām diśi*, *dakṣiṇāyām diśi*, with variant instrs.

svāyām yat tanvām (*tanvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ.: *svayā tanvā tanvam airayat* 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 *saṁ*; in these the locative may be felt as going more closely with the notion of the verb, the instrumental with the preposition.

brhaspate yāmyām (KS. ms. *yāmyā*) *yuṅgdhī* (*yuṅdhī*) *vīcam* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *yāmyām*, but the instr. is perfectly sound: 'yoke up holy speech in (with) *yāmi*', whatever *yāmi* may mean.

saṁ devānām sumatyā (AV. VS. MS. ŚB. *sumatau*) *yajñiyānām* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. '(Bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods.'

saṁ patnī patyā sukrteṣu (TB. ApŚ. *sukrtena*) *gachatām* MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Let the wife with her husband come together to (with) good deeds.'

śiveṇa (VSK. *śive*) *me saṁ tiṣṭhasva* VSK. TB. TAA. ApŚ. 'Come together with (in, unto) luck for me.'

aṅgāny ātman (MS. *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhīṣajā tad aśvinā* VS. MS. KS. TB. The verb is *saṁ-dhā*; see §462.

§606. In one variant involving the root *spṛdh* '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.

apardhante dhiyaḥ (TS. KSA. *dīvaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* 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 ivet subhṛto garbhiniḥ (RV. *iva sudhito garbhiniṣu*) RV. SV. KU. 'Well borne by (well established in) pregnant women.'

vayaṁ rājabhiḥ (AV.* *rājasu*) *prathamā dhanāni* RV. AV. (both). 'We along with (our?) kings, the first...': 'we first among the kings.' It is not clear who the 'kings' are. The p.p. of both RV. and AV. read *prathamāḥ*; Grassmann and Geldner (*VSt.* 1. 150) understand *prathamā*, n. pl.

samśraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *samśraṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu* MS. 'This Indra, mingler of the fight (*yudhas*, objective gen.?) with his band (instr. of means).' MS. has distorted the *pāda*, starting with a phonetic corruption (VV 2 §660; some AV. mss. have *samśraṣṭā*): 'Indra, in the mingled fights and bands' or 'when the fights and bands are mingled.'

yathā prthivyām agnaye samanāman evā mahyaṁ saṁnamah saṁnamantu AV.: *yathāgnih prthivyā samanāmad evaḥ mahyaṁ bhadrah saṁnatayah saṁnamantu* TS. KSA.† 5. 20. The latter seems to have an associative instr.: 'As Agni with the earth made obeisance...' But the mantra is obscure rigmorale; for a different interpretation see Keith on TS. Other parallel formulas in the same context.

yaḥ kuṣīdam apratītam (MS. MŚ. TA. °*tilam*, TA. Poona ed. °*tilam* with v. 1. °*tilam*, SMB. *apradattam*) *mayeḥa* (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.'

mayā gāvo gopatinā sacadhvam AV.: *mayi gāvah śantu gopatau* AŚ.: *mayi tiṣṭhantu gopatau* MŚ. Different verbs. For the loc. with *śantu* cf. §671.

mahān mahitve tastabhānah (KS. *mahitvā saṁstambhe*) KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Great, taking thy stand on greatness': 'great with greatness on firm foundation.'

kruṣṭi (SV. °*(e)* *jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidah* 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 yajñam manasā (KS. °*si*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Others with gen., see §570. Different verbs understood; in TS. *ārabhe*, in KS. *visrje*.

§608. The change seems to be due to case attraction in the following: *vaiśvānarasya tejasā* (MŚ. °*si*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *śiras tapasy āhutam*. The preceding *tapasi* has influenced MŚ.

7. Phrase inflection

§609. What we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2) seems to be found in the following variants, used in different contexts:

vaiśvānarasya daṁṣṭrayoh (and *daṁṣṭrābhyām*) AV. The form with loc. is followed by *agner api dadhāmi tam*; of these two *pādas* an unmetrical recast seems to be found in *vaiśvānarasyainam daṁṣṭrayor api dadhāmi* AV.

devī devebhir yajate (and °*tā*) *yajatraih* RV.: *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV. AV. MS.

yat te pavitrām arciṣi (AŚ. *ṣā) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. LŚ. VHDh. In all but AŚ. followed by *agne vitatām antā ā*. In AŚ. followed by *kalāṣeṣu 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:

adr̥hathāḥ śarkarābhīḥ trivṣṭapī (MŚ. *tribhṣṭābhīḥ*) 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: *trivṣim indre na* (MS. s.p. *indreṇa*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. Mere ritual jargon; it does not matter what is read, but MS. p.p. agrees with the others. Cf. VV 2 §826.

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV. *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakudī* (TS. TB. Poona ed. *kakubhi*, TB. Conc. *kakubhiḥ*, MS. *kakubbhiḥ*) *śiśriyāṇaḥ* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS. MS. TB. Comm. on TB. *kakubhir uttamāṅge* (intending *kakubhy ut*). One ms. of MS. *kakudbhi*. 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 *samudreṇa*) *sindhavo yādamānāḥ* RV. Read *samudre na* both times; VV 2 §826.

na māṇseṣu nā snāvasu ApMB.: *neva māṇse na pīvasi* AV.: *naiva māṇsena pīvari* PG. The last simulates a voc. sg. fem. *pīvari*. This initial corruption brings in its train *māṇsena*, dependent on the following participle *āyatam*. But the reading hardly deserves consideration.

[*tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ.: *tanūs tanvā (tanuvā) me saha* (AV. *sahed antāḥ*) AV. (mss.) TS. TAA. Vait. PG. The vulgate emends AV. to *tanūs tanvām 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 ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE

A. Dative and ablative

§612. Since most nouns do not distinguish dative and ablative forms except in the singular, it is not surprising to find few variants between these cases. They present only one well-defined group, in which a dative of interest varies with an ablative of separation with verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free'. The practical meaning of the two forms of these variants is identical. But most of them are formally uncertain, since the forms classed here as either datives or ablatives may also be considered genitives.

ea sutrāmā sevān indro asme (AV.* MS. *asmat*) RV. AV. (bis) VS. TS.

MS. KS. Followed by *ārdc cid dvejah sanutar yuyotu* (RV.* *yuyota*).

'May Indra, well-saving, . . . keep very far away from (for) us all hatred.' This is perhaps the clearest case we have, since the ambiguous *asme* in such a connexion can scarcely be anything but dative, and *asmat* is unmistakably ablative.

ud uttamah mumugdhi nah (MŚ. *mat*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ. 'Loose the upmost (bond) for (from) us (me).' But here *nah* may (with the comma. on both RV. and TB.) be considered genitive.

idam aham sendyā abhūvaryai (MŚ. °yā) *mukham apohāmi* TB. ApŚ.

MŚ. 'I remove the front from (for) the hostile army.' But a genitive would be as possible as a dative or ablative ('the hostile army's front'), and is preferred by Caland; note, further, that the ending *-yai* may be considered ablative or genitive as well as dative (Chapter III).

yāsyā apaśavyā (etc.) *tanūz tām asyā apajahi* ŚG. SMB.: *yāsyai* . . . *tām asyai nāsaya vāhā* PG.: *yāsyai* . . . *tāmilonāsaya* HG. For full quotations of this group see §148, where it certainly belongs since the first *asyā* or *asyai* is clearly genitive. The second *asyā* occurs before a vowel but is doubtless intended for *asyā* 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:

iṣṭāpūrtam kṛṇutād āvir asmai KS.: *iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛṇutāvir asmai* AV.: *iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavdthāvir* (VSK. ŚB. *kṛṇasathāvir*, TS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmāi* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. 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 varuṇasyāsi rājño varuṇāt tvā rājño dhikrīṇāmi Kauś.: *yadi vāruny asi varuṇāt tvā nīkrīṇāmi* (Rvidh. *varuṇāya tvā parikrīṇāmy aham*...) ApG. Rvidh.: *yady asi vārunī varuṇāya tvā rājñe parikrīṇāmi* GG. And similarly with *yadi somasyāsi* (*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. *taḥ 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 *āḥ* 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 *āḥ*. 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 *āḥ* 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. °*patih*, KB. ŚŚ. °*patēh*, TB. °*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. MŚ. (2. 3. 6. 18).

juṣṭam devabhya (TS. *devānām*) *idam astu havyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

janāya juṣṭo adruhe (SV. °*hah*) RV. SV. See the context, quoted under *vīty arṣa canīṣṭhaya* (SV. *panīṣṭaye*), §567. SV. probably takes the dat. with the verb *vīty*, rather than with *juṣṭo*.

priyam sarvasya paśyataḥ AV.: *sarvasmai ca vipaśyate* AV. (the latter preceded by *priyam mā kṛṇu...*) Delbrück A/S. p. 146 says he knows no certain case of *priya* with dat. A whole series occurs in AV. 19. 32. 8.

agner jihvāsi suhūr (KS. *supār*, VSK. TS. TB. *subhūr*) *devabhyaḥ* (TS. TB. *devānām*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'Thou art Agni's tongue, invoking (purifying, being) pleasant(-ly) for (to) the gods.'

śivas tokāya tanvo (KS.† *tanve*) *na chi* (KS. MŚ.† *edhi*, v. l. *chi*) KS. MŚ.

Kauś.: *kaṁ tokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syomaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

tasyās (MS. *tasyai*) *tvam harasā tapan* VS.† 12. 16e, TS. MS. KS. Followed by *jātavedaḥ śivo bhava*. 'Glowing with warmth, be gracious

to her (the *ukhā*), Jātavedas.' So VS. comm. and Griffith; Keith on TS. takes *tasyās* as possessive with *harasā*. If this be correct for TS. it would be equally possible for all the others, and *tasyai* would be a gen. in *ai* (Chapter III). But (§141) MS. does not favor these gens. in *ai*.

2. With nouns of uniting

§617. Similar is the use of the dative in variation with the objective genitive (also the instrumental of association) with nouns of uniting: *samveśanas* (RV. AV. °ne) *tanuvai* (SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*, RV. *tanvaś*, AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhī* RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'In joining of (with) thy body', RV. AV.: 'uniting to thy body.'

3. Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive

§618. Often a dative of interest (or, at times, indirect object) varies with a genitive which may frequently be felt as possessive. So especially in YV. dedicatory formulas where no verb is expressed; thus in the first quoted, 'the fox is Aryaman's' or 'the fox to Aryaman':

- aryamño* (KSA. °ne) *lopāśah* TS. KSA.
puruṣamṛgaś candramasaḥ (TS. KSA. °se) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
eṇy ahnaḥ (TS. KSA. *ahne*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
kṣipraśyenāya (TS. KSA. °nasya) *vartikā* VS. TS. MS. KSA.
vasūnām (MS. *vasubhyah*) *kapiñjalāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.
samudrāya (TS. KSA. *sindhoh*) *śiśumārāḥ* (KSA. † *śiśū*°, TS. *śiśū*°) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
somāya (KSA. *somāya rājñe*, TS. *somasya rājñah*) *kulungāḥ* (MS. *kulañgah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
himavato (VS. MS. °te) *hastī* (TA. *hastinam*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. TA.
nīlamgoh (MS. °gave) *kṛmih* (TS. *krimih*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
pikah (KSA. *piḡah*) *kṣvīṅkā nīlāśrṇī te* 'ryamne (KSA. °nah) TS. KSA.
ūlo halikṣho (TS. *ūlo halt*°) *vṛṣadaśśas te dhātṛe* (TS. KSA. *dhātuh*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.
viśvebhyo devebhyah prṣatān (MS. also °tah) VS. MS. (bis): *viśveṣām devānām prṣataḥ* VS.
dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ pītṛnām somavatām, and *babhravo dhūmrānīkāśāḥ pītṛnām barhiṣadām* VS.: *pītṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanīkāśān*, and *pītṛbhyah somavadbhyo babhrūn dhūmrānīkāśān* ApŚ.
agnaye tvā TS. TB. MŚ.: *idam agneḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.
agnīsomābhyām (tvā) TS. TB.: *idam agnīsomayoḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.
[pitro (VS. MS. *pidvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṣas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. *kaṣas*) *te*

'numatyai VS. TS. MS.: *bidro nyañkuḥ kaśas te 'numatyāḥ* KSA. So Conc.; but KSA. actually reads 'numatyā followed by a' and may just as well stand for 'numatyai; there is no p.p.]

§619. Similarly with a copulative verb and a nominal form containing the root *dā* 'give' (or *dhā* used as its equivalent, cf. VV 2 §§100 ff.):

devebhyo (VS. *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS. *bhāgadhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†
'Be he a giver of portions to the gods.'

asmabhyam su maghavan bodhī godāḥ RV. VSK.: *asmākam su maghavan bodhī godāḥ* (and *gopāḥ*) RV.

§620. The exact force of the gen. in the following is less clear, but we are inclined to feel it essentially as in the preceding two sections:

medobhyaḥ svāhā VS.: *medasaḥ svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB. The dat. is simple and regular, but occurs in a different context; there is no real variant in the passages containing the gen. With it the VS. comm. supplies *devān* as object of the verb *yaj* (the formula begins *hotā yakṣad agnīm* (VS. *indram*) *svāhājyasya 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. . . *svāhutir 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*) *codasva suṣṭutim* RV. TS. MS. KS. Pāda a is *tasmai* (KS. *kasmai*) *nūnam abhidyaṇe*. KS. is anomalous both in using the interrogative stem *kasmai* (which seems due to the initial of the following stanza, *kam u vrid asya senayā*), and in detaching *vṛṣṇe* from the preceding pronoun with which it should agree. Its gen. *vṛṣṇo* is felt as dependent on *suṣṭutim*. 'Inspire fair praise to (for, KS. of) the bull.'

imam ā (MS. *u*) *su tram asmākam* (TA. ApŚ. *su tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *sanīm gāyatrām navyāṅsam* (*navīyāṅsam*), *agne* (*agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (*voca*). 'Proclaim this new . . . song of ours (for us).'

tasya guptaye dampatī saṁ krayethām AV.: *tasmai gotrāyeha jāyāpatī saṁrabhethām* TA. 'For protection of it': 'for it, for the family (?)'. Comm. on TA. refuses to connect *tasmai* directly with *gotrāya*, probably rightly.

vr̥ṣā vr̥ṣṇe (SV. *vr̥ṣṇah*) *pari pavitre akṣāḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *ēṣa sya te madhumān indra somah*. 'This honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve), O Indra.'

vaiśveṇaro aṅgirasām (AV. 'āgir', AŚ. *aṅgirobhyaḥ*) [*stomam uktham ca cākṣat*, with varr.] AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indrasya tvā bhāgam somenā tanacmi (VSK. *tanakmi*) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: *indrāya tvā bhāgam somenātanacmi* MS. MŚ.: *somena teṣṭanacmīन्द्रāya dadhi* TS. TB. ApŚ. 'As Indra's portion': 'as portion (curds) for Indra.'

§622. The following we have also grouped here since they may easily be interpreted as containing a real syntactic shift; but since they concern the fem. endings *ai* and *ās*, they might also be regarded as purely formal (with §§137 ff.):

patim surāyā (TB. *surāyai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. 'A remedy for (of, i.e. against) *surā*.' VS. comm. takes the instr. as associative; it seems that dat. or gen. is required, but either of them would be satisfactory.

utlāṇyā (TS. 'yai) *hrdayam yad vikastam* (TS. *viliṣṭam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *sam te vāyur mātariśvā dadhātu*. '...heal the broken heart of (for) thee, lying supine.'

so'syai (MG. 'syāḥ) *prajāṁ muḥcatu mṛtyupāsāt* AG. SMB.† PG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'May he free the offspring for her (her offspring) ...'

adhāsya (TS. TB. MS. 'syā) *madhyam edhatām* (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.: *adhāsya madhyam edhatām* KSA.

§623. The following variants still show a dative of interest varying with a possessive genitive, but other changes in the form or meaning of the variant word, or changes in the other words and the construction of the passage, make the variations somewhat different in character:

pra sunvānasyāndhasaḥ (SV. PB. *sunvānāyāndh°*) RV. SV. PB. Followed by *maro na vr̥ta (vaṣṭa) tad 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.

gharman śrinantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ. ŚŚ. *śrinanti prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'For the first drinker': 'of the first drink.'

asambādā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS.: *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma°*, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *mānaveṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. 'Who (earth) is unobstructed for men in the midst': 'unobstructedly

in the midst of men (Ppp. among men, in [their] midst).¹ Differing from Whitney, we take *asambādham* as a neuter adverb (§404).

indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi AV.: *indrasya bhāgaḥ suvile dadhātana* ApŚ. The gen. is apparently felt as possessive with *bhāgaḥ*; §393. *devo devānāṃ paritram asi* TS. MS. KS.: *devo devebhyah parasma* VS. ŚB.

As in prec., the gen. is possessive.

rāyas poṣaṃ (KS. *tvastāḥ poṣāya*) *vi syatu* (RV. MS. TB.* *syatām*, AV. MS.* KS. *ṣya*) *ndbhīm asme* (AV. *asya*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB. (bis) ApŚ. 'Let him release (release thou, etc.) [our seminal fluid, *turīpam*] as offspring for us (of it).¹ Ppp. has *asme*, and Whitney calls *asya* 'senseless', but this is too harsh. It refers to *turīpam* and is not harsher than many another secondary change in AV.

§624. In one variant it seems scarcely possible to interpret the dative forms except as equivalents of the possessive genitive. It is perhaps worth noting that the dative is the pronominal *tubhyam*, which is precisely one of the Sanskrit dative forms that lives on in Prakrit, with genitival function (Pischel, §420 f.); indeed, even in epic Sanskrit *mahyam* and *tubhyam* seem to be used as gens. (Speyer, VSS. §46 note): *tīre tubhyam asau* (HG. *tubhyam gaṅge*) PG. HG.: *tīrenāsau tava* ApMB.

Simply 'on thy bank' seems to be the only possible meaning.

§625. Conversely, one variant in which the sense seems to require a dative of interest shows now the pronominal *me*, now other forms which are unmistakably genitive. Naturally *me* is here interpreted as dative of interest; yet the only reason for taking it so, rather than as genitive, is the prevalence of the dative in this sense. On the other hand it is difficult to take the gens. *pitṛnām* 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:

akṣitam asi mā pitṛnām (ApMB. *maiṣām*, HG. BDh. also *pitāmahanām*, *prapitāmahanām*) *kṣeṣṭhā amutrāmuṣminīḥ loke* ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā*... VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.: *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā me kṣeṣṭhā*... TS. GB. Vait. MŚ.

§626. Similarly in the next, the dative depends on *prati-bhar* 'bring (as a gift)', and if the gen. is textually sound it must be an early case

of the absorption of this dat. function by the gen., as in classical Sanskrit. The SV. reads the form *naraḥ* 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 *naraḥ*. The SV. comm. glosses with *narāya*:

apaścūddaghvane (SV. *apaścāda*?) *nare* (SV. *naraḥ*) 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 *śavitā tvā śavānām* (*praśavānām*) *śvatām*, and continuing with parallel formulas in which *śvatām* or the like is understood. The dependent nouns (*śavānām* 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 gens.; Mahidhara on VS. supplies *ādhipatyē*; similarly Eggeling, 'for (powers of) quickening' etc. Keith makes the gens. partitive: 'May Savitar of instigations instigate thee,' which in some of the formulas seems clearly impossible (e.g. *rudrah pakūnām*, 'Rudra of cattle!'). PG. reconstructs the initial formula thus: *agnir bhātānām adhipatīḥ sa māvatū*, which makes the gens. simple but is clearly a secondary avoidance of the difficulty. We feel that the only natural interpretation is to take the gens. as mere equivalents of the dative of purpose:

bṛhaspatir vācām (VS. ŚB. *vāce*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

rudrah pakūnām (VS. ŚB. *paśubhyaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

indro jyēsthānām (MS. KS. *jyais̥thyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyais̥thyāya*) 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:

kṣayantūm rādhaso (TS. °se, KS. *śavase*) *mahaḥ* (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 *AIS*. §§103 and (with infinitives) 54:

rāye (ApŚ. *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā (dānāya samidhīmahe)* SV. ApŚ. 'We kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches).'

divas (MS. *dive*) *tvā jyotiṣe* TS. MS. A verb like 'I place' is understood: 'thee (the brick) for heaven's light' or 'for heaven, for light.'

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai (also *triṣṭubhe jagatyā anuṣṭubhe*) *chandase* 'bhībhūve svāhā KS.; *ariṣṭyā aryaṭhyai samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai* *chandase* 'bhībhūve (ApŚ. *gāyatriyā abhībhūtyai*) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ.: *samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai* (PB. ŚŚ. KS. also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*, TS. ApŚ. *gāyatriyā triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhaḥ paṅktyā*) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. om.) 'bhībhūtye (with varr.) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. On the meaning see Caland's note on ApŚ. 14. 19. 1. 'For the gāyatri (etc.) meter, for conquest': 'for the conquest (conquering power) of the gāyatri (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. *rāgāḥ*) *svīryam* RVKh. (Scheftelowitz p. 135, vs. 4a) AA. *Mahānāmnyah*. 'Grant us hero-abundance of (unto) wealth.' But *rāgāḥ* 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 dāvanē (SV. °*naḥ*) RV. SV. N. Here *dāvanē* 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. *drīṣantān* (AV. *sapatnān*) *mahyam* (TB. ApŚ. *mama*) *randhayan* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.: *drīṣantā ca mahyam radhyatu* AV.: *drīṣanto radhyantān mahyam* MŚ. (Add to VV 1 §§79, 238, 349.) Followed by:

mo aham (AV. *mā cāham*, MŚ. *mā tv aham*) *diviṣate* (TB. ApŚ. °to, MŚ. °lām) *radham* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The verb *radh* is otherwise recorded only with the dat., for which the gen. is here clearly a substitute. TB. comm. interprets *mama* as possessive gen., 'my enemy', which would be possible but for the parallel *diviṣate*, which obviously cannot be taken so; TB. comm. takes *diviṣate* as abl., *divi° sakāśān mo radham mama hīnsām prāpnvāni*, which is absurd.

§634. Conversely, the roots *vid* and *dhī*, as verbs of intellectual activity, may be expected to govern the genitive. In the case of *vid*, perhaps the nearly homonymous root *vidh*, which governs the dative, may have been influential in introducing the dative in the stray occurrence which follows. It is noteworthy that in the same context TA. and MahānU. present parallel formulas with the regular genitive:

tat puruṣāya vidmahe, mahādevāya dhīmahi MS. KS. TA. MahānU. Immediately preceded in MahānU. by *tat puruṣasya vidmahe, sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*, in TA. by *puruṣasya vidma, sahasrākṣasya 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:

punānāya prabhūvaso RV. SV.: *punānasya prabhūvasoḥ* RV.
varuṇa mitra dātṛṣaḥ (and °ṣe) RV. (both). Sāyaṇa and Grassmann take *dātṛṣaḥ* as gen. sg.; Ludwig as acc. pl.

7. Miscellaneous

§636. The remaining cases are miscellaneous, involving individual reconstructions which fall into no general categories:

pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasaḥ RV.: *pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase* ArŚ. *sūryo devo* (KS.* *divo*, so read both times; once ed. reads *devo*, but there is a v. l. *divo*, and one is a repetition in a Brāhmaṇa passage of the other) *diviṣadbhīyo dhātā kṣatrāya* (KS.† *kṣatrasya*) *rāyuh prajābhyah* (KS. *prajānām*) [*bṛhaspatīḥ tvā prajāpataye... juhotu*] TS. KS. (bis). In KS. understand *diviṣadbhīyo* with each genitive: 'Let Sūrya offer thee for the sky-dwellers of the sky, Dhātār for (those) of royal power' etc. In the secondary TS. the datives are attracted to the case and construction of *prajāpataye*: 'Let... Dhātār offer thee for royal power' etc.

mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājah (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi*

padyāyai virājo dohaḥ ŚŚ. ŚG. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB. 'In me [may] the milk of Padyā Virāj (see Okenberg *SBE* 29 p. 97, note on ŚG. 3. 7. 5) [dwell],' most texts. ApMB. reconstructs the formula: 'Shine forth for my foot-water' or the like. Used in a foot-washing rite. Note that *padyāyai* is clearly felt as genitive; but the apparently dative form is responsible for the change to *padyāya* in ApMB.

8. Errors

§637. There remain a few cases which seem to involve errors, or at least seem uninterpretable:

tuje janā (ArS. *jane*) *raṇam srah* AV. ArS.: *tujo yujo ranam* (ŚŚ. *balam*, conjecture of Hillebrandt) *sahā* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms and meanings of the words are wholly obscure.

devasya (ŚB.* *decebhya*) *tvā savituh prasave* 'śvinor bāhubhyām pāśno hastābhyām ā dade' VS. TS. MS. KS. KSA. ŚB. (both) TB. TA. Kauś. The dat. form occurs at ŚB. 14. 2. 1. 6 which quotes VS. 38. 1 incorrectly; VS. has *devasya*. Note further that the latter part of the formula in ŚB. omits the word *adityai* before *rāśnāsi*, tho it is found not only in VS. 38. 1 but in the same phrase almost immediately following, ŚB. 14. 2. 1. 8 = VS. 38. 3. Eggeling seems right in assuming that ŚB. has a mere misquotation of its source, VS., rather than a real variant based on contamination with such phrases as *decebhya tvā*: . . (see Conc. under these words).

[*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV. *kṛṣṇva*) RV. AV. Conc. *vasudeyasya* for RV.]

[*niṣkā ete 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, *AJS.* §§80, 96; Speyer, *VSS.* §§76, second part, 81b); and that the dative of the interested party, and the locative as expressing that in relation to which the action takes place, may interchange, would doubtless be recognized by all. Our variants however suggest that the scope of such interchanges is greater than has ever been clearly stated. Without claiming

precise equivalence in psychology between the two cases, or even attempting to differentiate rigidly between different aspects of the use of each, we shall assort our variants according to the various verbs with which dative and locative are interchangeably used.

The roots *dhā* and *dā*

§639. In VV 2 §101 we have already referred to the use of these two cases with the roots *dā* and *dhā*, and pointed out that while both are freely used with *dhā* 'place', the simple root *dā* 'give' is not properly used with the locative (tho as we shall see some of its compounds may be so used). In the same place we showed that but for this difference of construction, *dā* and *dhā* are often genuine synonyms. Moreover the dative and locative after *dhā* are hardly distinguishable in meaning. Such a phrase as *yaśo mayi dhehi* PB. Vait. SMB. is equivalent to *yaśo me dhehi* (TA. *dhāh*) TA. ŚŚ., whether we prefer to translate 'put splendor in me' or 'assign splendor to me.' And so with the following variants after *dhā*:

varco dhā yajñavāhase (VS. ŚB. °*si*) RV. VS. MS. KS. AB. TB. ŚB. *dhehy asmabhyam* (ApŚ. *asmāsu*) *dravinam jātavedah*. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. *dhattād asmabhyam dravineha* (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu dravinam yac ca*) *bhadram* TS. MS. ApŚ.

asminn (TB. *asmā*) *indra mahi varcānsi dhehi* AV. TB.

āyur yajñāya (MS. *yajñe*) *dhattam* MS. TB. ApŚ.

āyur yajñapataye dhattam TB. ApŚ.: *āyur yajñapatau* (sc. *dhattam*) MS. *sudevam indre āśvinā* (MS. *indrāyāśvihā*) VS. MS. TB. The verb *dadhur* follows.

athā nah (AV. *adhā nah*, TS. *athāsmabhyam*, RV.* *tad asme*) *śam 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):

ūrjam mayi dhehi VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ūrjam me dhehi* (TS.* *dhattam*) VSK. TS. (both) KS. GB. TB. Vait. KŚ.: *ūrjam me dehi* (VSK. TS. *yacha*) VSK. TS. PB. LŚ.

śrotam mayi dhehi TS. KSA.†: *śrotam me dhattam* (AV. MŚ. *dāh*) AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

cakṣur mayi dhehi TS.: *cakṣur me dhehi* (VS. ŚB. *dehi*, AV. MS. *dāh*) AV. VS. MS. KS. KSA. ŚB.

āyur mayi dhehi VS. TS. ŚB.: *āyur me dhehi* VSK. TS. KS. KSA. MS.

JB. TB. ApŚ.: *āyur me dhattam* TB. ApŚ.: *āyur me yacha* (ApŚ. **yachata*) MS. KS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ.: *āyur me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *āyur me dāh* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

tejo mayi dhehi AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB.: *tejo me yacha* (TA. *dhāh*, AŚ. *dehi* and *dāh*) TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.

rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe (AV. °ṣi) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: *rāyas poṣaṁ yajamāne dadhātu* AŚ.

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.: *varco mayi dhehi* VS. TS. PB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *varco me dhehi* (TA. *dhāh*) VSK. MS. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ.: *varco me dehi* (MS. MŚ. *dāh*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. PG.: *varco me yacha* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§641. In other cases the *dhā* form is found only with the locative, while the dative occurs with *dā*, or occasionally with other expressions of giving:

swas te dadāmi MG.: *swas* (*swas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* ŚB. BṛhU. PG. HG. Also with *bhūs* and *bhuvas* for *swas*, and with *bhūr* *bhuvaḥ* *swas*.

saho mayi dhehi (AV. *me dāh svāhā*) AV. VS. TB. Also with *balam* for *saho*; and cf. next.

ojo mayi dhehi VS. TB.: *ojo me dāh* AV. VS. TB.

payo me dāh (ApŚ. *mayi dhehi*) MS. ApŚ.

prajāṁ asmāsu dhehi VS.: *prajāṁ me dāh* (KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *yacha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

indro balaṁ balapatir balaṁ asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu (TB. *yajñe yajamānāya dadātu*) *svāhā* ŚB. TB. KŚ. Likewise with *sarasvatī puṣṭim*, *savitā rāstram*, *pūṣā bhagam* (*viśām*), *bṛhaspatir brahma*, *varuṇaḥ samrāt*, *somo rājā*, *mītrah kṣatram*, *agnir annādo*, *tvastā rūpāṇām* (*paśūnām*).

§642. The compound *ā-dhā* has the same two constructions:

bhiyasam ā dhehi ktruṣu (SV. *īatrave*) RV. SV.

rāstrāny asmā ā dhehi (MS. *asmin dhehi*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

tāsām tvā jarasa ādadhāmi TB. HG. ApMB.: *tāsu tvāntar jarasy ā dadhāmi* AV. (Ppp. has *jarasa*.)

Other expressions of placing and giving

§643. Other verbs of establishing or placing with loc. vary with expressions of bringing or giving with dat.:

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bībhartu AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām* (intending °tām) *dadhātu* TB. 'May he support thee well supported unto (establish us well established in) rule.'

yasmin (Kauś. *yasmai*) *bhūtaṁ ca bhavyaṁ ca* Kauś. HG. ApMB. The following verb is *pratiṣṭhitaṁ* ('handed over, entrusted') in Kauś., *ṅritāḥ* 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:

taṁ devebhyah paridādāmi ApŚ.: *taṁ deveṣu paridādāmi vidvān* AŚ. MŚ.

'I give him over to the gods.'

astṛto nāmāham asmi sa ātmānaṁ nī dadhe dyāvāprthivībhyān gopīthāya (KS. *sa idam dyāvāprthivyor ātmānaṁ paridade tayoh īraye tayoh parākrame*) AV. KS. The verbs *nī-dhā* and *pari-dā* are both used with both cases. Here the dat. is doubtless favored by the accompanying dat. of purpose, the loc. by the locs. with the two other verbs.

ihāsmāsu (MS. *ihāsmabhyān*, TB.* *iha mahyān*) *nī yachalam* RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. (bis).

sa yajña dhukṣva mahi me prajāyām (ŚŚ. *prajāyai*) VS. ŚŚ. 'Milk forth (= bestow bounty) generously upon my offspring.'

ta āyajanta draviṇaṁ (MS. KS.† **ṇā*) *sam asmai* (MS. *asmin*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'They offered (sacrificed) riches to him.' But MS. v. l. *asmai*.

rarāṇas tmanā devebhyah (VS.† TS.† KS.† *deveṣu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. the dat. depends on the following *svadayatu*; but in the YV. texts it as well as the loc. must depend on *rarāṇas* (the pāda division is here different from AV., see Whitney's note on AV.).

sam padam magham īrayiṣiṇe 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 muñca tat (Kauś. *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś.: *dviṣadbhyah prati muñcāmi pāṣam* (HG. *pāṣam*) SMB. HG. ApMB. '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy.'

apriye (AV.* *dviṣate*, RV. *āptye*) *sam nayāmasi* RV. AV. (bis).

yad dha krāṇā vivasvati (SV. **te*) RV. SV. Followed by *nābhā samdāyi* (SV. **ya*) *navyasā* (SV. **se*). Apparently both dat. and loc. depend on *sam-dā* 'unite'; cf. Ludwig 4 p. 193 and Oldenberg ad loc.

Verbs of bringing and the like

§646. In these, which cannot be sharply distinguished from verbs of giving, the locative begins to appear more clearly as one of goal of motion.

devebhyo (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV. ApŚ. Different contexts.

The variant is included here because the governing word, *havyavāhanah*, tho a noun, is clearly verbal in force.

mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavalāṁ (KS. °te) *kāme asmīn* (AV. *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV. AV. TS. KS. 'Let the wind blow (the wind blows) for me to this desire.'

yajñāya stīrṇabarhiṣe vi vo made RV. AŚ.: *yajñeṣu stīrṇabarhiṣaṁ vivakṣase* SV. The governing verb is *vṛṇīmahe* 'we wish' = 'we call, bring' (thee to the sacrifice). Cf. §489.

yad vo devāsa āgure (MS. °ri) TS. MS. Followed by *havāmahe* 'we call', felt as a verb of bringing; cf. prec.

Verbs of saying

§647. It is well known that either dat. or loc. (as well as acc.) may be used of the person spoken to. Whether we should render the locs. in the following by 'among' rather than 'to' may be left an open question:

devebhyo mā sukṛtaṁ brūtāt (ŚB. with *ūha*, *voceḥ*) VS. ŚB.: *deveṣu naḥ sukṛto* (VSK. *mā sukṛtaṁ*) *brūtāt* (KS. *brūta*, PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK.

TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *sukṛtaṁ mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS.

pra mā (TS. ApŚ. *no*) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS. °dhān, ApŚ. °dhām, KS. *dhavirdā* [read °dām?]) *devāsu* (KS. °tābhyaḥ) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

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:

jyaisṭhye kraisṭhye ca gāthīnāḥ ŚŚ.: *dhṛtyai kraisṭhyāya gāthīnāḥ* AB.

Preceded by *devarātāya tathire*.

devā devebhyo (MS. *deveṣu*) *adhvaryanto* (KS. °rīyanto) *asthuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§649. The verb *jāgr* 'watch (over)' also takes either case:

yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ.: *evam asyām sūlikāyām, saputrikāyām jāgratha* 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 yut te kravī (*krivī*, *kravī*, *giri*-) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

prthivyaṁ (KŚ. °vyā) *amṛtaṁ juhomi* AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

§651. The root *ci* 'pile up, build':

sahasrākṣa (VS. MS. ŚB. °kṣo) *medhāya* (TS. KS. *medha ā*) *cīyamānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Piled up at (for) the sacrifice.' Cf. VV 2 §342.

§652. With the root *grah* 'take' both dative and especially locative may be felt as cases of goal:

mayi (ApMB. *mahyaṁ*) *grhṇāmi 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:

talśvānaram ṛta ā (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

añjano amṛta martyeṣu ā (SV. *martyāya kam*) RV. SV. 'Thou hast produced among men (for man) ...'

2. With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like

§654. That the locative as well as the dative and genitive (§77) may be found with adjectives (and nouns) meaning 'pleasing' or the like is recognized by Delbrück *ATS*. §79:

supṛito manuṣo viśi (SV. *viśe*) RV. SV.

priyaṁ mā brahmaṇi (ApMB. °ne) *kuru* ApMB. HG. Parallel *pādas* have locs. in both texts. But there is no need to read *brāhmaṇe* or *brahmaṇi* in ApMB. (cf. Winternitz p. xxiv), since the dative is equally sound.

uta śūdra utārye AV.: *śūdrāya cāryāya ca* AV. VS. Both preceded by *priyaṁ mā kṛṇu* ...

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevāḥ MS.: *yusmākaṁ sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV. *dhīrā deveṣu* (KS.* *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV. °yau, VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.

śūyavasiniṁ manave (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. °ye, TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. In RV. *manuṣe* is dative, like *manave*; the others (including TA. *manuṣe*) have locatives.

3. Miscellaneous

§655. The remaining variants are miscellaneous:

mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. MG. HG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB. See §636.

daśame māsi sūtanve RV. RVKh. AV. ŚB. BṛhU. ApMB. MG.: *daśa-māsyāya sūtanai* (ApMB. °ve) HG. ApMB. 'In the tenth month': 'tenth-monthly' (adj.).

pūṣṇe śarase (MS.† *śarasi*, p.p. °*śah*) *svāhā* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS. ŚB. KŚ. 'Hail to Pūṣan, to the skin of milk (MS. apparently 'to P. in the skin of milk').'

saṁ yujyāva (TS. *babhūva*) *sanibhya ā* RV. TS.: *saṁ sanuyāva varīṣe ā* KS. *sanibhyaḥ* 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.

iṣe rāye (rayai) *ramasva sahase dyumnāyorje* (VS. ŚB. †*dyumna ūrje*) 'patyāya . . . (see VV 2 p. 429) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. 'For splendor, for might': 'for might in splendor.'

tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā (KS. *śakmann*) *ojīṣṭhāya* MS. KS.: *tanūnaptre śakvarāya śakmann* (VS. ŚB. *śakvana*) *ojīṣṭhāya* VS. VSK. ŚB. (see Conc. under *āpalaye tvā paripalaye*): *śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā ojīṣṭhāya tvā grhṇāmi* MŚ.: *śakmann ojīṣṭhāya tvā grhṇāmi* TS.: *śakmann ojīṣṭhāya* TS. GB.: *śakmana ojīṣṭhāya tvā* Vait. The original (TS. KS. VSK.) has loc. of noun, 'in strength'; the others assimilate to the surrounding dative adjectives, 'for the strong'.

prthivyām agnaye samanāman sa ārdhnot AV.: *prthiviyai sam anamat* TS. TB.

asambādā yā madhyato mānavobhyah MS.: *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*?) *mānavānām* (Ppp. °*vezu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623.

vāce svāhā VS. etc.: *svāhā vāce* GB. AG.: *vāci svāhā* TS. In the latter the context is different and *vāci* depends on the following verb *dhāh*, not on *svāhā*.

[*uttānāyai śayānāyai* ŚŚ.: *uttānāyām śayānāyām* AV. RWh. by em., but mss. *uttamānāye śayānāyai*, intending the ŚŚ. reading.]

CHAPTER XXVI

ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE

A. Ablative and genitive

Ablative of source or separation and genitive

§656. The only considerable group of variants under this heading shows an ablative of source or separation varying with an adnominal genitive which is its virtual equivalent. The genitive may be possessive, subjective, or partitive:

* *tato mā yajñasyāśīr āgochatu* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ. 'From it may blessing of sacrifice come to me': 'may its blessing aid and increase me.'

yasya (KS. *yato*) *deva dadhīze pūrvapeyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Of (from) which (soma) thou hast taken to thyself the first draught, O god.'

tato no dehi jīvase RV. TB. TA.: *tasya no ddehi jīvase* AV. SV. Kauś. 'From (of) it give to us that we may live.'

mā parā seci mat payaḥ (ŚŚ. LŚ. ŚG. *no dhanam*, ApŚ.* *naḥ nam*, ApMB.* *me dhanam*) ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. ŚG. ApMB. (bis) PG. HG. MG. 'Let not the sap from me (our wealth, etc.) be poured away.' The ApMB. reference with *mat payaḥ* should be 2. 9. 14d.

agnir etu prathamo devatābhyah SMB.: *agnir aitu prathamo devatānām* AG. ŚG. HG. ApMB. 'First from among (of) the gods.'

apāsman (KS. *apāsyā*) *nairrtān pāsān* KS. ApŚ. 'Away from him (KS. literally, away his) bonds of destruction.'

§657. Once after the preposition *pari* (and with a verb of separation), where obviously only an ablative construction is possible, gen. dual forms occur in one form of the variant. They can only be taken in 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 *gireḥ*, *vasuḥ* etc.):

pari sarvebhyo jñātībhyah HG. ApMB.: *pari pitroḥ ca bhrātōḥ ca* PG. Followed in PG. by *sakhyebhyo visrjāmy aham*.

§658. Once the ablative of comparison after a comparative varies with the partitive genitive after a superlative. The contexts are different:

bhīṣagbhyo bhīṣaktarāḥ AV.: *bhīṣajām subhīṣaktamāḥ* AV.

Case attraction

§659. Two other variants show different sorts of case attraction:
tat tvam bibhrī punar ā mad aitoh (AŚ.† MŚ. *ā mamaitoh*) TS. AŚ. MŚ.

Both mean 'until my return'; in TS. (doubtless the original) we find *mad* by attraction to the case of the ablative infinitive (cf. Delbrück *AIS.* pp. 90, 431 and our §86). See Oertel 92.

tvam nr̥ṇām nr̥pate (KS. *tvam nr̥bhya nr̥maṇo*) *jāyase śuciḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. N. Preceded by *tvam vanebhyas tvam oṣadhībhyah*. 'Thou art produced pure from trees and plants, O lord of men (KS. 'and from men, O thou mindful of men'). KS. has *nr̥bhya* by attraction to the case and construction of *vanebhyas*. . . *oṣadhībhyah*.

B. Ablative and locative

1. Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case

§660. The source of anything (ablative) may also be regarded as its original or typical location, and so may be expressed in the locative, as in:

karkandhu jāñīe madhu sāraghaṁ mukhāt (MS. *mukhe*) VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth.'

§661. Here there is little practical difference. Likewise, even when no idea of origination is clearly expressed, an action may be spoken of alternatively as proceeding from, or as taking place in, a place, as in: *tāḥ* (VS. ŚB. *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya pr̥sthāt* (TS. KS. *pr̥sthe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *nāvaḥ caranti* (*nāvo viyanti*). . .

'The ships proceed from (upon) the back of the mountain-bull.' Note that the ablative is found in the texts which read *pra* ('forth'), but also in MS. which does not.

§662. Yet more clearly does the locative differ in meaning from the ablative in such a variant as:

yadā mahāḥ samvarenaḍ (KS. *°ne*) *vy asthāt* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. 'When he (the horse) stepped forth from (in) the enclosure.' (*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 pātu nirṛter upasthāt (TA. *nirṛtyā upasthe*, AV. *prapathe purastāt*)
RV. AV. TA. 'Let this one protect thee from (in) the lap of destruction.'

§664. The following additional examples occur; we quote first those in which the practical difference between the two cases seems least:

śivam prajābhyo 'hinsantam (KS.† *ahins°*) *prthivyāḥ sadhasthād* (TS. MS. KS. *°sthe*) *agnim* (TS. *'gnim*) *purīṣyam aṅgirasvat khanāmaḥ* (TS. KS.† *°mi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'We (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni...' In the same context:

devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām prthivyāḥ sadhasthād (TS. MS. *°sthe*) *agnim* (TS.† *'gnim*)... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Add to VV 2 §910. Cf. prec.

apām yo madhyato (KS. *madhye*) *rasas tam aham asmā... grhṇāmi* KS. TB. 'I take the sap that comes from (is in) the midst of the waters...'.

vibhrājamānaḥ sarirasya (MS. *salīlasya*) *madhye* (TA. *°yāt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. 'Shining in (from) the midst of the waters.'

divaḥ (MŚ. *divi*) *kīlpam avatatam* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

tam te (TS. *idam te tad*) *vi śyāmy āyugo na madhyāt* (MS. KS. *nu madhye*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I loose that (bond of destruction) for thee as from (in) the midst of life.'

bāhucyuto (VS. ŚB. *grāvacyuto*) *dhīṣaṇāyā* (VS. TS. ŚB. *dhīṣaṇayor*) *upasthāt* (KS. *°sthe*) RV. VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. Vait. MŚ. Preceded by *yas te drapsa skandati yas te aṅśuḥ*. Here it seems that KS. must intend a fundamentally different meaning: 'The drop (of soma) which falls from (but KS. on!) the lap of the bowl (two bowls).'

agnih prātahsavane (MS. MŚ. *°nāt*) *pāte asmān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ. Perhaps MS. asks for protection 'from (hostile) soma-pressings'; cf. MS. 4. 7. 7: 102. 5 ff., the brāhmaṇa dealing with this mantra, where it is stated that by the mantra the gods obstructed the savanas of the Āsuras, and so the sacrificer can obstruct those of his enemies.

ā mā sucarite (MŚ. *°tād*) *bhaja* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Pre-

ceded by *pāhi māgne duṣcaritāt* (VS. ŚB. *pari māgne duṣcaritād bādhasva*). No doubt mechanical attraction to the case of the preceding *duṣcaritāt* is responsible for the ablative in MŚ. Yet it can be defended in a way: 'Give us a share from (out of, of) good deeds.'

2. With prepositions

§665. Quite similar to the preceding are variants between ablative and locative after the prepositions *adhi* and *antar*. Both cases are found with them, but in different senses; and in the first variant *adhi* with the ablative varies with the simple locative, without *adhi*:

tām te vācam āsya ādatte (read *ādade*) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG.: *ā* (HG. om.) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* HG. ApMB. 'In (from within) thy heart.'

tasyāḥ (TB. *tasyām*) *samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti* RV. AV. TB. ŚŚ. N. 'From (in) her the seas flow forth.'

yam āśvīnā namucer āsurād adhi (ŚŚ.† *namucāe āsure dadhi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Followed by *sarasvaty amnōd 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 *dadhi* in ŚŚ. certainly contains a corruption of *adhi*.

ye devā deveṣu (MS. KS. *devabhya*) *adhi devatvam āyan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'What gods have arrived at godhood over the gods (from among the gods).' The abl. with *adhi* seems about the equivalent of a partitive gen.

samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi (RV.* *°paḥ*) RV. (bis) SV. In different contexts. Cf. also *samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi* (SV. *°pe*) *manīṣiṇaḥ* RV. SV.

ya usriyā apyī (SV. *apī yā*) *antar atmanah* (SV. *°ni*) RV. SV. 'The cows from within (SV. the cows within) the rock.'

§666. On the other hand, *ā* with the ablative may mean 'up to' and so may interchange with the loc. (and the acc.) of goal with no difference of meaning:

āsya yajñasyodṛcaḥ VS. ŚB.: *svasti mā sam vahāsyā yajñasyodṛci svāhā* AV.: *svasti mā sampārayāsyā yajñasyodṛcam* 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. *ārā*) *te goghnām* (TS. °*na*) *uta pūruṣaghnām* (TS. °*ne*) RV. TS.

Both mean simply 'far off', not 'from afar'.

yās te rudra purastāt (AG. *pūrvasyām dīśi*) *senās tābhya eṣa balis tābhyas te namaḥ* (AG. *senās tābhya enat*) AG. PG. Here there may be in the abl. a suggestion of 'from the east', but it is hard to be sure of it.

4. Case attraction

§668. The following (cf. also *ā mā sucarite* etc., §664) seems to be an instance of mechanical case-attraction:

āre asman (MS. NīlarU. *asmin*) *nī dhehi 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 mṛdāhvam naḍe mṛdāhvam*) *agnau saṁkasuke ca yat* AV.: (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ saṁkasukāc ca yat* AV. Both times Ppp. reads *agnih saṁkusikaś ca yah*. Caland KZ. 34. 456 f. considers both AV. pādas 'phrase-inflections' of what Ppp. (substantially) reads. See §§433, 450.

tṛtīyasyā ito divaḥ ApMB.: *tṛtīyasyām ito divi* AV. HG. Wholly different contexts.

aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomnaḥ RV. AV. ApMB.: *aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni* AV.

In the first passage the abls. depend on *vi vrhāmi*; the second is followed by *yas* (sc. *yakṣmas*) *te parvaṇi-parvaṇi*.

6. Miscellaneous

§670. A few miscellaneous cases remain:

mā te yuyoma saṁdṛśaḥ AV.: *mā te vyoma saṁdṛśi* (LŚ.† *saṁdaśa* [iti]) AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG. 'May we not be separated from sight of thee': 'may there be no *vyoman* (lacuna? TA. comm. *chidram*) in thy sight.' In LŚ. a form of *saṁdṛś* (either °*śaḥ* or °*śe* would be possible) must be intended. If not a mere misprint, as we suspect (so Whitney on AV.), this should be added to VV 2 §631.

varṣīyo (VS. ŚB. *varṣo*) *varṣīyasi yajñe yajñapatiṁ dhāḥ* TS. VS. ŚB.: *varṣīyo varṣīyaso 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-

less original, the former a lect. fac., with a kind of 'transfer of epithet'.

[ardhamāsyam prasutāt pūtryāvatah JB. (his). Both passages have the abl.; see Oertel, JAOS. 19 (2d half), pp. 112, 115.]

C. Genitive and locative

1. Locative of position : adnominal genitive

§671. Most of the variants between these two cases are approximately equivalent in meaning. The person or place in which something is located may be thought of as the possessor of it (possessive gen.), or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen.). Naturally the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw; in the first mentioned cases the gen. seems clearly possessive:

mayy āśīr (Ppp. KS. *mamāśīr*) astu mayi (Ppp. KS.† *mama*) *devahūtiḥ* RV. AV. Ppp. TS. KS. 'May prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine).'

asmākaṁ (TS. *asmāsu*) *santv āśīyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

yad devānām (VS. *deveṣu*) *tryāyuṣam* VS. VSK. ŚG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Preceded even in VS. by *tryāyuṣam jamadagneḥ*, *kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam* (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.

te rāyaḥ VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *tava rāyaḥ* MS. MŚ.: *tava-tava rāyaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *to-to* (TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

yat pṛthivyām (MahānU. °*vyā*) *rajaḥ svam* TA. MahānU. 'What *rajas* is in (of) the earth.'

yā te patighnī tanūḥ...HG.: *yā te patighnī*...*tanūr*...PG.: *yā te patighny*...ŚG.: *yāsyām patighnī tanūḥ*...ApMB. 'What husband-slaying body (form) is thine (in her).'

dirgham yac cakṣur adīter anantam AŚ.: *yad āhuḥ cakṣur aditāv anantam* PB. JB. (See Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases* §48. 24R.)

mā tvam hārṣiḥ śrutam mayi PG.: *śrutam me mā pra hāsiḥ* RVKh.

dhruvaidhī poṣyā (PG. *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. 'Be steadfast...in (with, bei) me': 'let this woman be mine, prosperous.'

vihāya rogam tanvaḥ svāyāḥ (TA. *tanvām svāyām*) AV. TA. 'Abandoning disease of (in) their own body.'

anvātānsīl trayī (MS. °*tānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'He (they) spun out this thread in thee (of thine).'

aham prajā ajanayām prthivyām (MG. °*vyāh*, ApMB. *pūṭnām*) RV.

ApMB. MG. 'I produced offspring on (of) the earth (the fathers).'

akāḥ su (TA. *sa*) *lokan sukṛtaḥ prthivyāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*vyām*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. 'He hath made an excellent place of (on) the earth.'

The gen. may perhaps better be called partitive than possessive.

yasyā dās (KS. *imās*) *tanvo vītaprsthāḥ* AV. KS.: *yasyā bahvyaḥ* (RVKh.

VS. *yasyām imā bahvyaḥ*, TB. *yasyai bahvīs*) *tanvo* (*tanvo*) *vīta-*

prsthāḥ RVKh. VS. MS. TB. 'Whose (in whom)...are smooth-

backed forms.'

asamātiḥ grheṣu naḥ AV.: *grhāṇām asamartyai* TS. See §486.

patyau (ApMB. *patyur*) *me śloka uttamaḥ* RV. ApMB. 'My supreme renown rests in my husband (is my husband's).'

sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṣuḥ AV.: *sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS.

mānā, v. l. *manā*; SMB. Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṣuḥ* (varr., VV 1

§136) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. Preceded by *madhunā samyu-*

taḥ yavam. 'Barley mingled with honey they plowed on the

Sarasvatī (river)', AV. The form *sarasvatyā* has been interpreted

in all sorts of ways, as gen. 'with honey of Sarasvatī' (TB. comm.,

Stenzler, Caland), as instr. (in spite of the sandhi; Oldenberg *SBE*,

29. 338), as abl. (Jørgensen on SMB.), and as dat. (VV 1 §136).

We now think gen. or abl. most likely.

tāsu (sc. *dikṣu*) *tvāntar jarasy ādadhāmi* AV.: *tāsām* (sc. *dīsām*) *tvā*

jarasa ādadhāmi TB. HG. ApMB. 'I establish thee in old age within

them (unto their old age, i.e. unto as long life as the directions

possess; so rightly TB. comm.).'

§672. Peculiar and deserving of special rubrication are the following cases, in which the loc. is parallel with another loc., on which the gen. depends in the other form of the variant (cf. §85):

asyā (MG.† *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG. °*nyām*) AV. MG. (the latter

also has a v. l. *nāryām*): *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* 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.

śūṣaṁ na madhye nābhyām (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. *vāmī*, NīlarU. *cāmī*) *rocane divaḥ*

(NīlarU. *divī*) RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. NīlarU. As

prec. The phrase *rocane divaḥ* is standard from RV. on; clearly

case-assimilation in NīlarU.

pr̥ṣṭhe pr̥thivṛā (AV. *nābhā pr̥thivṛām*) *nihito davidyutāt* AV. VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. As prec.; Ppp. is reported by Whitney to read *pr̥thivṛāḥ*, which is standard after *nābhā* (see Conc. under this initial).

§673. To these we may append a case in which the loc. noun which governs the possessive gen. is omitted in the variant form, thus compelling the use of loc. instead of gen.:

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṁ juhomi TS. GB. Vait.: *viśloka viśvadāve tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. 'I offer thee in the mouth of the burner of all (in the burner of all).'

§674. Essentially similar, also, is the following in which the gen. depends on an adverb (*madhyato*) which, while abl. in form, is essentially loc. in meaning; Ppp. uses a loc. of the noun instead of the gen.:

asambādham badhyato (read *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp. °*veṣu*) AV. Ppp.

Kauś. See §623. 'In the midst of men': 'in the midst, among men.'

§675. The gen. after adjectives of nearness or similarity is doubtless to be felt as objective in character:

syāma sumnasyādhrigo (SV. *sumne te adhrigo*) RV. SV. Preceded by *nī nedīṣṭhatamā iṣaḥ*. 'Let us be nearest to the draught, to (in) thy grace.'

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it, tam in mahe vṛnate nānyam tvat RV.: *teām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it, tvām maho vṛnate* (TB. ApŚ. add *naro*) *nānyam tvat* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. '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:

akīḥ kayata upapṛk pr̥thivṛāḥ (TB. °*vyām*) RV. MS. TB. N.

nanāndari samrājñī bhava RV. SMB. ApMB.: *nanānduh samrājñy edhī* AV. 'Be queen over thy sister-in-law.' In the same verse:

samrājñī śvaśrvāḥ (śvaśruvāḥ) *bhava* RV. SMB. ApMB.: *samrājñy uta śvaśrvāḥ* AV.

prācyām diśi (AV. *prācyā diśas*) *tvam indrāsi rājā* AV. TS. MS. KS. In the same verse:

utodicyām vṛtrahan vṛtrahāsi TS. MS. KS.: *utodicyā diśo vṛtrahan chatruho '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. The another loc. follows, the gen. cannot depend upon it:

ukhāyāḥ (TS. °yāi, MS, KS. °yām) *śadane* *sve* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *antar* *agne* *rucā* *tvam*.

3. Adverbial uses

§678. In several variants we have, certainly or possibly, both cases used adverbially to express time. On the gen. of time see especially Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1. 79. 6.

dive-dive (AV. *divo-diva*) *ā suvā bhūri paśvāḥ* AV. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *dive-dive* is certainly loc. in sense, whatever be the historic origin of the form (see §295, and for the most recent theory of the form Sturtevant, *TAPA*. 62 [1931] 20).

madhu naktam utośasāḥ (KS. °śā, TS. TA. °śi) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. See §584.

aktor vyūṣṭau paritakmyāyāḥ (and °yām) RV. (both). Uncertain; see *RVRep.* on 5. 30. 13 and literature there quoted, especially Oldenberg *RVNoten*.

§679. The following variant is also obscure and dubious. We are inclined to feel that both *parīṇasāḥ* and °śi are adverbial (not, of course, temporal), meaning approximately 'with plenty' or 'plentifully'. Despite Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc. we incline to separate the word from *kasya*. But it may be felt as ablative rather than genitive. Ludwig's interpretation makes it adnominal gen. with *dhiyo*, which is perhaps also possible:

kasya nūnam parīṇasāḥ (SV. °śi) RV. SV. Followed by *dhiyo jinvasi dampate* (SV. *satpate*).

4. Dependent on verbs

§680. Verbs of drinking take a (partitive) genitive, which varies with a locative once or twice (as well as an accusative, §501):

papuh sarasvatyā nadyāḥ (MŚ. °tyām *nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. °tīm *nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

tava (SV. *tvē*) *vīṣve sajośasāḥ* RV. SV. Followed by *devāsāḥ pītim āśata*. Here *pītim āśata* 'obtained a drink' may be regarded as a periphrasis for 'drank', and it seems to us that the gen. and loc. are both best regarded as comparable to the same cases in the preceding variant; so Ludwig construes *tava*, while Grassmann takes it as possessive, 'thy drink', and Benfey takes *tvē* as dependent on *sajośasāḥ*. Wackernagel 3 p. 462 quotes *tvē* here as the only new post-Rigvedic occurrence of the form.

§681. The gen. in the following, with root *rā*, seems also to be partitive; it may be influenced by the gen. in the following clause:

yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī tasyā no (ApŚ. *viśobhaginā tasyām me*) *rāva tasyā te bhaktivāno bhūyāma* KS. ApŚ. 'Grant us (me) [a share] of (in) her.'

§682. With the verb *adhi-* '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 (*yeṣu saumanasaṁ mahat* in MG.) has a loc. which is approximately parallel and may have exercised some influence:

yeṣām (MG. *yeṣu*) *adhyeti pravasan* AV. VS. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚG. HG. MG.

5. Transfer of epithet

§683. Transfer of epithet (§§14-6) is found in the following:

śucīḥ śukre ahany ojaśinā (MS. *ahann ojaśine*, KS.† *śukro ahany ojaśye*, AŚ. 'hany ojaśinām') TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §447.

svasty apsu vṛjane svarvati (MG.† *vṛjane svarvataḥ*) RV. AB. MG. 'In the bright place': 'in the path of the bright one.' The original has an epithet of *vṛjane*, which MG. changes to an independent form. Some MG. mss. point to the RV. reading.

6. Miscellaneous

§684. The rest are unclassifiable:

ara tara (TS. *avattaram*) *nadiṣṭā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām* AV. Too obscure to make any interpretation of *nadīnām* worth giving; see VV 2 §833.

samśṛṣṭāsu yutav indro gaṇeṣu MS.: *samśṛṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KA. See §607.

agnā u (ŚB. also *agner*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu vaughak* ŚB. (both) AŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole; various case-forms of *agni* are used in mechanical modulations of the formula.

asūrte (MS. KS. 'tā, KapS. 'tāh) *sūrte rajasi nīṣatte* (MS. *nīṣattā*, KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. KapS. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. The latter is a reconstruction containing a reminiscence of RV. 10. 123. 1, which contains *rajaso vimāne*.

mā no (mā) *hiṁsāj janitā yāḥ pṛthivyāḥ* (KapS. 'yām) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KapS. 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 *agni* 'fire' (§691). At times it cannot be doubted that reference was made to one particular fire, especially one of the three sacred fires, while the plural form refers to several individuals (say, to the three sacred fires). Where we find definite evidence that the change between singular and plural was of this sort, we shall classify the variant in the appropriate place below (§740). It is, however, usually hard to identify such cases,—to separate them from instances of the generic singular; and the latter is so common and so characteristic of the Vedic language that as a rule we tend to assume it in default of clear evidence to the contrary.

Āmreḍita compounds

§687. Sanskrit has a special device for expressing clearly the notion of generalization in connection with a noun: the use of repeated

(*āmredīta*) compounds. They may be used in either the singular or the plural to denote every individual of the genus. Once a plural *āmredīta* varies with a singular modified by the word *viśva* 'all', so that the two expressions are equivalent. In another case a singular *āmredīta* varies with an obviously generalizing plural which, tho there is no word like *viśva*, can only mean substantially the same thing:

viśo-viśaḥ praviśivānsam imahe AV.: viśvasyām viśi praviviśivānsam
(KS.† *praviviśanam*) *imahe TS. MS. KS.*

ruho ruropa (TB. roham-roham) rohita ā ruropa 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.):

asmān rāya uta yajñāḥ (KS.† yajñāḥ) sacantām TS. KS. ApŚ.: yuṣmān
rāya uta yajñāś asāscata MS.

yajñam yad yajñavāhasaḥ AV.: yajñair vā (TB. vo) yajñavāhasaḥ RV.
TS. TB.

tvaṣṭā rūpāni (AŚ. rūpeṇa) samanaktu yajñaiḥ (AŚ. yajñam) ŚB. TB.
AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

bodhāmasi tvā haryaśva yajñaiḥ (MŚ. yajñe) RV. SV. MŚ. See §602.
yajñāya śtīrṇabarhiṣe vi vo made RV. AŚ.: yajñeṣu śtīrṇabarhiṣam vīrak-
ṣase SV.

brahma yajñāḥ (MS. yajñāḥ) pṛthivīm dhārayanti AV. MS.

devabhyo havyam (MS. MŚ. MG. havyā) vahatu prajānan RV. AV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Vait. MŚ. Kauś. MG.

havyā marṣeṣu ranyati RV.: havyam martāsa indhate SV.

jātavedaḥ prati havyā grbhāya AV. SMB.: jātavedo haviḥ idam juṣasva
AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.

agnir haviḥ (AV. VS. TS. MS. havyam) śamitā sūdayāti (AV. svadayatu)
RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: agnir havyāni sūvadati RV.: agnir
havyā sūśūdati RV.

atanidro havyā (SV. havyam) vāhasi haviṣṛte RV. SV.

yajñair juhōti haviṣā yajuṣā (TB. juhōti yajuṣā havirbhiḥ) AV. TB.: yajñair vidhema namaśā havirbhiḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

purā satyād (TB. diṣṭād) āhutīm hantv asya (TB. āhutir asya hantu) AV.
TB.

ya āhutīm (JUB. °tir) atyamanyanta devāḥ AV. JUB.: tās te gachante
āhutīm (KS. °tir) ghṛtasya TS. KS.

- pīlara āyusmantas te svadhāyāyusmantah* (PG. *svadhābhīr āyus*⁹) TS. PG.
 §690. The words used at the sacrifice, whether spoken or sung (*stoma*,
praśasti, *arka*, *uktha*, *brahman*, *matī*, *sūktā*, *yajus*, *sāman*). Here also
 may be placed the variants involving the words *dhi*, *veda*, *chandas*,
 and several others that have to do with meter.
taved u stomati (SV. *stomaiś*) *ciketa* RV. AV. SV.
stomena prati bhūṣati RV.: *stomebhīr bhūṣati prati* SV.
apām ula praśastīṣu (RV.† *praśastaye*, AV. VSK. *°tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS.
 VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
tava praśastayo mahīh (SV. *°śastaye mahe*) RV. SV.
yañ mitram na praśastibhiḥ (SV. *°taye*) RV. SV.
ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam AV.: *tam arkair abhyarcanti vatsam* TB.
agnir ukthena vāhasā VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣu anhasu* AV.
vocat brahmāṇi (SV. *brahmeti*) *ver u tat* RV. SV. See §269.
sam brahmaṇā (AV. *°nām*) *devakṛtaṁ* (RV. AV. *devakītaṁ*) *yad asti*
 RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See §587.
idam brahma piprīḥ saubhagāya MS.: *imā brahma pīpihi saubhagāya*
 VS. KS. ŚB. (Eggeling wrongly considered *brāhma* a vocative.)
ato matir (SV. *matim*) *janayata svadhābhīh* RV. SV.
imā (TS. *imām*) *rudrāya tavase kapardine, kṣayadvīrāya pra bharāmahe*
matih (TS. *matim*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
sūktā (KS. *sūktam*) *brāhi* VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
ṛksāmābhyām samtaranto yajurbhiḥ (TS. *°bhyām yajusā samtarantah*) VS.
 TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
prastotah sāma gāya MS. ApŚ.: *prastotah sāmāni gāya* MS. TA. KŚ.
 ApŚ. (MS. p.p. *sāma*.)
udgātah sāmāni (MŚ. 2. 5. 4. 25, 4. 4. 11 *sāma*) *gāya* GB. MŚ. (MŚ.
 4. 2. 10 has *sāmāni*, but v. l. *sāma*.)
tavāya savitā dhiyah (VS. *dhiyam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
vedasya (MG. *vedānām*) *nidhipo bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG.
chandāṇsi (KS. *chando*) *gacha svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
chandasā (MS. *chandobhir*) *haṇsah śuciṣut* VS. MS. KS. TB.
gāyatraṁ chando anu samrabhadhvam MS.: *gāyatrīṁ chandāṇsy anu*
samrabhantām KS. ApŚ.
dṛipadā yā catuṣpadā (VS. *yās catuṣpadāḥ*), *tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā* (VS.
yās ca ṣaṭpadāḥ), *vichandā yā* (VS. *yās*) *ca sachandāḥ* (TS. KSA.
sachandā yā ca vichandāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Supply *re* or *ṛcaḥ*.
avasyuvātā brhatir nu śakvariḥ (MS. KS. *brhatī na śakvari*, AŚ. *brhatī*
tu śakvari) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by:
imam yajñam avatu (TS. *avantu*) *yā* (TS. AŚ. *no*) *ghṛtāci* (TS. *°ciḥ*) TS.
 MS. KS. AŚ.: *diśam devy* (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtāci* TS. MS. AŚ.

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*)
sūreḥ (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrah*, KS.† *sūrah*) RV. AV.
 VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

§691. The sacrificial fire. See above, §686. It is often impossible to say whether a single fire, or the individual god Agni, is meant by the singular, or 'fire(s)' in general:

te asmā (KS. *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ. MS. v. l. *°yo*) *draviṇam* (KS. *°nāni*)
dattvā MS. KS. ApŚ.

agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām ŚB.: *agne grhapata upa mā hwayasva* KS.
 ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait. The last no doubt refers definitely to the three sacred fires.

agnaye viṣṭakṛte svāhā TB. TAA. etc.: *agnibhyah viṣṭakṛdbhyah svāhā*
 KŚ. The latter refers to the three fires.

agnim (ApŚ. *agnin*) *saṃādhehi* MS. MŚ. ApŚ.

ihaiṣa san tatra sato vo agnayah TB. ApŚ.: *ihaiṣa san* (MŚ. *san*; so also
 TB. Poona ed.) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB. AŚ. MŚ.

raudrenānikena pāhi māgne (VS. Vait. *pāta māgnayah*) VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚŚ. Vait. 18. 8. Followed by:

pipṛta māgnayah (KS. *pipṛhi māgne*) VS. KS. Vait.

ye agnayo apsv antar ye vṛtre, ye puruṣe ye āsmau AV.: *yo apsv antar*
agnir yo vṛtre, yah puruṣe yo āsmani MS. KS. ApŚ. Ppp. also
 intends the latter reading.

§692. Various utensils and appurtenances of the ritual.

ukhyam (AV. *ukhyān*) *hasteṣu bibhrataḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
saṃidham (Kauś. HG. *°dha*) *ā dhehi* ŚB. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. PG. GG. HG.
asāv etat te vāsah GG.: *etad vaḥ pitaro vāsah* (VS. *vāsa ādhatta*) VS.
 VSK. AŚ. SMB.: *etāni vaḥ pitaro vāsānsi* ApŚ. HG. The 'clothing'
 is the threads, wool, or hair placed on each cake offered to the
 Pitr̥s.

ā me graho bhavate (KSA. *grahā bhavantv*) *ā puroruk* TS. KSA.

bṛhaspatistulasya. . . graham grhṇāmi (KS. *graham ṛdhyāsam*, VS. VSK.
 ŚB. *grahān ṛdhyāsam*, MS. *graham rādhyāsam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.
 KS. ŚB.

nir āhāvān (KS. *°vām*) *kṛṇotana* RV. TS. KS. Followed or preceded by:
saṃ varatrā (KS. *°trān*, i.e. *°trān*) *dadhātana*, same texts.

kṛṇvante āpo dhiṣṇāś ca devīḥ (MS. ** dhiṣṇā ca devī*) VS. TS. MS. (bis)
 KS. ŚB. In MS. both passages show both readings in the mss.;
 von Schroeder finally adopted the singular in both passages.

upāstāvah kalaśah (MŚ. *°vāḥ kalaśah*) *somo agniḥ* (MŚ. *somadhānāḥ*)
 TS. MŚ. ApŚ.

srkvāṇam gharmam abhi vāvaśānā RV. AV. N.: *trīn gharmān abhi vāva-*

śānā 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 *RVNoten*), or perhaps the hot milk itself (Bloomfield *SBE*. 42. 590 is doubtful which is meant).

[ā *dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB. *kalāśir*, MG. *kalāśam*) *aguh* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayana iva*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. But see §412.]

§693. The drink soma and associated concepts. As for *agnī* (§691), it is difficult to distinguish the drink from the god who is the drink. *ukthaśā yaja somānām* (AA. * KŚ. * ApŚ. * MŚ. * *somasya*) AA. (bis) KŚ. (bis) ApŚ. (ter) MŚ. (ter): *om ukthaśā yaja somasya* AA.

somasyaḥ agne (ŚŚ. * *somānām agne*) *vīhi* AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (bis) Vait. ApŚ. *suta indrāya vāyave*, . . . *soma arṣati viṣṇave* RV.: *sutā indrāya vāyave*, . . . *somā arṣanti* (SV. **tu*) *viṣṇave* RV. SV. The *pāda suta indrāya vāyave* appears in PB. as a *pratīka*, and again in RV. followed by: *somāso dadhyāśirah*.

te (RV. **sa*) *viśvā dāsuḥ vasu*, *somā* (RV. **somo*) *divyāni pārthivā* RV. (bis) SV. The *trīca* containing the plural is surrounded by *trīcas* 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 piba sutānām* RV.: *imam indra sutām piba* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

ya ājagma (N. **muḥ*) *savane mā* (read in AV. *savanemā*, TS. KS. *savanedam*, N. *savanam idam*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

made suśīpram (SV. *madeṣu śīpram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV. See VV 2 §839. [*pavamāna* (SV. **nā*, misprint) *vidhharmanī* RV. SV.]

§694. Other materials offered, including ghee, *medas*, *māsara*, *idā*, *purodāśa*.

toām agne pradiva āhutam ghr̥tena (RV. *ghṛtaiḥ*) RV. TB. ApŚ.

achāyam eti śavasā ghr̥tena (AV. *ghṛtā cū*) AV. VS. TS. MS.

ād id ghr̥tena prthivī vy udyate (AV. † *prthivīm vy ūduḥ*) RV. AV. MS.

KS. N.: *ād it prthivī ghr̥tair vy udyate* TS.: *ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī vy undhi* (KS. *vyundan*) RV. KS.

ghṛtam (SV. *ghṛtā*) *vasānah pari yāsi nirṇijam* RV. SV.

srucājyāni juhvataḥ AV.: *srucājyena juhvataḥ* TB. Poona ed. (Conc. with Bibl. Ind. ed. corruptly *srucānyena juhvata*).

viśvebhyo devebhyā (MŚ. **bhyaḥ*) *usrānām chāgānām meṣānām* (MŚ. *ch° m° usr°*) *vapānām medasām anubrūhi* (MŚ. *medaso 'nubrūhi*) ApŚ. MŚ. Also with *preṣya* for *anubrūhi*.

candravapayor medasām anubrūhi (and preṣya) ApŚ.: *hayasya chāgasyo-*
rasya candravapānām medaso 'nubrūhi (and °sah preṣya) MŚ.
medasah (VSK. *medasa*) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.: *medobhṛyah svāhā* VS.
asthi majjānam māsaraiḥ (MS. *māsaram*) VS. MS. KS. TB.
sajūr agnir vaiśvānara idābhīḥ TS.: *sajūr vaiśvānara idayā* (VSK. *ilayā*)
 VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.

iṣam no mītravaruṇā kartaneḥām AA.: *ūrjā mītro varuṇaḥ pinvaledāḥ* SV.
avīrdhat puroḍāśena (VSK. °*rdhata puroḍāśena*) VS. VSK.: *avīrdhanta*
puroḍāśaiḥ (°*lāsaiḥ*) VS. VSK. KS.: *avīrdhetām puroḍāśena* (AŚ.
 °*dāsaiḥ*) MS. AŚ.

agnim adya hotāram . . . puroḍāśam (°*śān*) *grhnann* (*badhnann*, etc.) . .
 VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. Six items, see Cone.

§695. Priestly personages and the yajamāna.

somaś ca yo brāhmaṇān (TA. °*nam*) *āriveśa* RV. AV. TA.

brāhmaṇaḥ (MS. *brāhmaṇāḥ*) *śāntiḥ* MS. TA.

punar brahmāno (AV. *brahmā*, Ppp. *brahmāno*) *vasunītha* (*vasunītir*,
 °*dhūtam*, °*dhūte*) *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

gīrbhir viprah pramatim ichamānaḥ (TB. °*vīprāḥ . . . ichamānāḥ*) RV. MS.
 KS. TB. (bis) AŚ.: *dhibhir viprah pramatim ichamānāḥ* RV. MS.

sa indra stomavāhasām (SV. °*hasa*) *iha śrudhi* RV. SV.

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne (and, *upasattāro grhānām śāle*) AV. (both):
mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne VS. TS. MS. KS.

praitu hotuś camasaḥ pra brahmaṇaḥ prodgātīnām (ApŚ. MŚ. *prodgātuh*;
 ApŚ. also *ūha*, *prodgātīnām*) *pra yajamānasya* (ApŚ. adds *pra sada-*
syasya) ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnir daivīnām (ŚB. KS. *ha daivīnām*) *viśām puractāyam* (MŚ. °*yam*
sunvan) *yajamāno manuṣyānām* ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnir daivīnām*
viśām puracteme sunvanto yajamānā manuṣyānām MŚ.

muñcemam yajñam muñca yajñapatim anhasaḥ svāhā KS.: *muñcemam*
anhasaḥ TS. TB.: *muñcemān amūn anhasaḥ svāhā* AV.

śravase no maghonāḥ (SV. *maghonām*) RV. SV.

tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS.: *tenaitu yajamānāḥ svasti* (KS. °*ApŚ.*
svastyā) TS. KS. (ter) ApŚ. On this plural see VV 1 p. 258.

nayanto garbham vanām dhiyam dhuḥ RV.: *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhiyam*
dhāḥ SV. See §399.

§696. The dakṣiṇā.

yat pūrtam yāś ca dakṣiṇāḥ VS. ŚB.: *yad dattam yā ca dakṣiṇā* TS.

dakṣiṇābhyah (KSA. *dakṣiṇāyai*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

rg vaśā brhadhrathamitare garbhaḥ praiṣanivido jarāyu yajño vatso dakṣiṇā
 (ApŚ. *dakṣiṇāḥ*) *pīyūsaḥ* KS. ApŚ.

yajñas ca dakṣiṇā ca (ApMB. °*nās ca dakṣiṇe*) ŚG. ApMB.

§697. (2) Divine personages.

yad devā devam ayajanta viśve RV.: *yad devā devān haviṣyayajanta* AV.

Different contexts; no specific god seems to be meant in RV.

ādityam (RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. *ādityān*) *viṣṇuḥ sūryam* RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

nama ādityāya divikṣite lokasṛpte (MU. °*sṛpte*) KSA, MU.: *nama āditebhyas ca viśvebhyas ca devebhyo divikṣidbhyo lokakṣidbhyas* ChU.

vi parjanyaḥ (TS. °*yāh*) *srjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ srjatām*) *rodasi anu* RV. TS. MS. KS.

dikṣāpālāya vanatām (TB. °*pālebhyo 'vanatām*) *hi śakrā* TB. AŚ.

āmanasya devā (MS. °*va*) *yā* (MS. *yāh*, KS. *yās*) *striyaḥ* . . . TS. MS. KS.

āmanasya devā (MS. °*va*) *ye putrāḥ* (KS. *putrāsah*) . . . MS. KS.

āmanasya devā (MS. MS. °*va*) *ye sajatāḥ* . . . 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. °*layo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś.

anu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir manyatām (KS. *dikṣāpatayo manyadhvam*)

anu (ŚB. °*patir amanstānu*) *tapas tapaspatih* (KS. °*patayah*) VS.

TS. KS. ŚB. GB. Vait.: *anu ma idam vratam vratapater manyatām*

anu dikṣām dikṣāpatir añjasā MS.: *upa mā dikṣāyām dikṣāpatayo hwayadhvam* MS.

niṣāṅgine (HG. °*gibhyah*) *svāhā* ApMB. HG. *niṣāṅgin* = Rudra; the plural = the Rudras, or Rudra's hosts.

niṣāṅgina upa sprśata HG.: *niṣāṅgin upa sprśa* ApMB.

ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt TS.: *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS. ŚB.: *rtavo 'dhipataya āsan* MS. KS. Perhaps better to be placed with §709.

vasūnām pavitram asi TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MS.: *vasoh pavitram asi* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.

vasavaś cetiṣṭhān vasudhātaraś ca AV.: *vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. The latter is original; Ppp. agrees with it (JAOS. 42. 108).

indraghoṣas (MS. KS. °*ṣas*) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS. † *tvā vasavaḥ pu° pātu*, MS. *tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pātu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.:

indraghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām TA. The meaning of

indraghoṣa 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, Varuṇa respectively).

manojavās tvā pītrbhir (KS. *pītarō*) *dakṣiṇalāḥ pātu* (KS. *pātu*) VS. TS.

KS. ŚB.: *pīlaras teḍ manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu* MS.: *manojavaso vah pītrbhir dakṣiṇata upadadhatām* TA.

pracetās teḍ rudraiḥ paścāt pāntu VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *rudrās teḍ pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS.: *pracetā vo rudraiḥ paścād upadadhatām* TA.

dhiṣaṇās teḍ devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS. *dhiṣaṇā teḍ devī viśvadevyāvatī*) *prthivyāḥ sadhasṭhe aṅgirasvad* (TS. 'āṅgī') *abhīndhatām* (MS.* *abhīndhām*, **abhīndhātām*) *ukhe* VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. ŚB. Cf. VV 1 p. 255.

varūtrīḥ teḍ (KS. **trīs teḍ*, TS. **trayo janayas teḍ*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ* . . . VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *ṣarutṛī* (and *varū*?) *teḍ devī viśvadevyāvatī* . . . MS. (bis). Cf. *prec.*

revatī predhā yajñapatim ā viśa MS. KS.: *revatī yajamāne priyam dhā ā viśa* VS.† ŚB.†: *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata* TS. ApŚ. The singular, according to ŚB., 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 *bhakṣayitrī devatā*, as if 'eater'.]

§698. (3) Words meaning people, community, place, world, region, geographical terms, and the like.

pra no yacha bhuvā (AV. *viśān*) *pate* AV. TS.: *pra no yacha* (KS. *rāsva*) *viśas pate* RV. MS. KS.

svastidā viśas (AV. MahānU. *viśān*) *patih* RV. AV. ŚB. AdB. TB. TA. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. VHDh.

janam ca mitro yatati bruvāṇah RV.: *mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇah* (TS. ApŚ.* *prajānan*, TB. ApŚ.* *janān kalpayati prajānan*) RV. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. (bis) MS. N.

janāya vr̥kṭabarhiṣe RV.: *janāso vr̥kṭabarhiṣah* RV.

yakṣmā yanti janād (AV. ApMB. *janān*) *anu* RV. AV. ApMB.

bhūmīr iti tvābhīpramanvate janāḥ (TS. *tvā janā viduḥ*) AV. TS.: *yām tvā jano bhūmīr iti pramandate* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yah saṁgrāmān (TS. MS. **maṁ*) *nayati* (KS. *jayati*) *saṁ yudhe vaśi* (TS. MS. *saṁ vaśi yudhe*, KS. *saṁ vaśi yudhā*) AV. TS. KS. MS.

saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsraṣṭāsu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS.

trāyatām (AV. *trāyantām*) *marutām gaṇah* (AV. *gaṇāḥ*) RV. AV.

akastihā vṛjanam (SV. *vṛjanā*) *rakṣamāṇah* RV. SV.

grāmam sajanāyo gachanti ApMB.†: *grāmān sajalāyo yanti* HG.

vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutrā RV. VS. ŚB.: *vidmā te sadma vibhṛtām purutrā* TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

- sugā vo devāḥ sadanā* (N. *sadanam*, KŚ. Kauś. °nāni) *akarma* (MS. *kṛnomi*, KS. Kauś. *santu*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.: *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.
- ta āvayitrān sadanād itasya* (TS. *sadanāni kṛtvā*, KS.† *sadanāni rātri*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. (both) N.
- yeṣāṃ* (RVKh. *teṣāṃ*) *apsu sadas* (TS. ApMB. °daḥ) *kṛtam* RVKh. VS. TS. ŚB. NflarU. ApMB.: *ye apsu śadānsi* (KS. °psu *śadānsi*) *cakrire* MS. KS.
- apām sadhiṣi sīda* TS.: *apām tvā sadhiṣi* (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
- sadhastheṣu* (RV.* *sadhasthe vā*) *maho divaḥ* RV. (bis) SV.
- etam sadhastha* (AV. KS. °sthāḥ) *pari te* (AV. KS. vo) *dadāmi* AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. *sadhastha* = *loka*.
- tābhīr vahaiṇaṃ sukrātāṃ u lokam* (TA. *vahemaṃ sukrātāṃ yatra lokāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.: *vahāsi mā* (KS.† *vahānsi sā*) *sukrātāṃ yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokāḥ*) KS. TB. ApŚ.
- jātavedo vahemaṃ* (ŚŚ. *vahasvainaṃ*) *sukrātāṃ yatra lokāḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ.: *jātavedo nayā hy* (read *nayāsy?*) *enav sukrātāṃ yatra lokāḥ* JB.
- śundhatām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ.: *śundhantām* (AV. *śumbhantām*) *lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ* AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
- vi jihīṣva lokāṃ kṛṇu* (TA. *jihīṣva lokāṃ kṛdhi*) AV. TA.
- te brahmalokeṣu* (TA. °loke tu) *parāntakāle* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU. KaivU.
- viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanāni* RV.: *videān ārodhanam divaḥ* RV. KS.
- yasmin idam viśvam bhuvanam adhi śṛitam* TS.: *yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni* (MS. *viśvā bhuvanādhi*) *tasdhuḥ* RV. VS. MS.
- antarikṣasya dhartrīm viṣṭambhanīm diśām adhipatnīm bhuvanānām* (MS. *diśām bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viṣṭambhani diśām adhipatnī bhuvanānām* TS.
- tvagṣṭam viśvam bhuvanam jajāna* VS. TS. KSA.: *tvagṣṭmā viśvā bhuvanā jajāna* MS.
- sa idam viśvam* (TS. TB. *sa viśvā bhuvā*) *abhavat sa ābhavat* AV. TS. TB.: *sa viśvā bhuvā ābhavaḥ* RV. AV.
- sa viśvam* (AV. *viśvā*) *prati cakṣpat* (AV. °pe) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.
- na tam vidātha ya imā* (TS. KS. *idam*) *jajāna* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. *imā* = *bhuvanāni*; *idam* = *viśvam*, or the like.
- bhūtasya* (PB. *bhūtānām*) *jātaḥ patir eka āsīt* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KSA. PB. ŚB. N.

tena (TS. *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AB. *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāzah* AV.
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *roha* = *svarga*.

svargam arvanto jayema Vait.: *svargān* (AŚ. text, *svagān*) *arvanto jayata*
(AŚ. *jayatah*) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svargān* (text *svagān*) *arvato jayati* AŚ.
abhitam (TS. MŚ.† °*mām*, MS. MŚ. v. 1. °*mām*) *mahinā* (VS. °*mā*,
delete MŚ. v. 1. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divah*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ.
MŚ.

sa vāṣi rocanā (SV. *rocanam*) *divah* RV. SV.

ye aprathethām amitā yojanāni (ArŚ. *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV. ArŚ.

vidānā asya yojanam (SV. °*nā*) RV. SV.

tredhā ni dadhe padam (AV. MS. *padā*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. N. The adverb *tredhā* probably suggested the change to the plural.

mṛtyoh padam (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* . . . RV. AV. TA. MG.

parācīm (RV. °*cīr*) *anu samvātam* (RV. °*tah*) RV. AV.

ūrvān (SV. *ūrvān*) *dayanta gonām* RV. SV. VS.

adhvāna skabhnūta (VS. *skabhnūvantah*) VS. TS.: *vājam vājino jaya-*
tādhvānam (KS. °*dhvanas*) *skabhnūvanto yojanā mimānāḥ* MS. KS.
(The MS. passage is entered in the Conc. also under *adhvānam*
etc.): *vājino vājajito 'dhvāna* (VSK. *vājino vājam jayatādhvāna*)
skabhnūvanto yojanā mimānāḥ kṛthām gachata VS. VSK. ŚB.

āgatya vāṣy adhvānam (TS. ApŚ. *adhvanah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
MŚ.

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me 'amin pathi devayāne bhūyāt

VS.: *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi bhūyāt*

PB.: *adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi slāi*
(read *syāt*) ŚŚ.

tirah purū cid arṇavam jaganvān (SV. *arṇavān jagamyāḥ*) RV. AV. SV.

ghṛtasya kulyām anu . . . TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya kulyā upa* VS. VSK.

kṣetrasya (VS. TS. KS. *kṣetrāṇām*) *palaye namah* VS. TS. MS. KS.

samā bhavantūdvato (TS. °*valā*) *nipādūḥ* TV. TS. KS.

antān pṛthivyā divah TB. ApŚ.: *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ.

vavṛān anantān (AV. *vavram anantam*) *ava sā padīṣṭa* RV. AV.

[*atrā* (AV. *atra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV.
AV.† TA. See §496.]

hradās ca puṇḍarikāṇi RV.: *hrado vā puṇḍarikavān* AV. 'Ponds (and)
lotus-pools': 'a pond full of lotuses'.

eṣa te janate rājā MS. KS. MŚ.: *eṣa vo janatā rājā* ApŚ. This formula,
used in the rājasūya ceremony, is meant to have the appropriate
name of the tribe substituted for the collective *janatā*. In ApŚ.

the formula is preceded by actual formulas of the type: *ṣaṣa raḥ pañcālā rājā*, and it is possible (as Keith suggests on TS. 1. 8. 10. 2. n. 6) that their plurals have produced the plural *janatāḥ* of this formula.

§699. (4) Words denoting living beings (plants, animals, men); and first, plants.

antarikṣāya tvā vanaspataye (KS. °*patibhyah*) KS. MŚ.

vanaspatayā ulūkān MS.: *vanaspatibhya ulūkān* VS.

vanaspataye (sc. *namah*) ŚG.: *vanaspatibhyah* (sc. *namah*) MG. MDh.

vanaspataye svāhā Kauś.: *vanaspatibhyah svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

addhi tṛṇam aghnye viśvadānīm RV. AV. KŚ, ApŚ. N.: *attu tṛṇāni* SMB. GG., and cf. the other references in the Conc. under this last quotation, all of which have the plural.

anūm (AV. *anūn*) *babhasti* (ApŚ. *gabhasti*) *haritebhir āsabhīḥ* AV. KS. ApŚ.

dūrva rohanu puṣpiṇī (AV. *rohatu puṣpiṇī*) RV. AV. Some mss. of AV., followed by comm. and SPP., read as RV., and Ppp. likewise, as reported by Whitney.

śatamūlā śatāṅkurā TA. MahānU.: *śatamūlāḥ śatāṅkurāḥ* MahānU.

The pādas refer to the *dūrva*-plant, singular or plural.

avakām (MS. KSA. *avakān*, but MS. p.p. *avakām*) *dantamūlāḥ* VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.

aghadvīṣṭā devajūtā, vīruc chapathayopanī AV.: *atharvayūṣṭā devajūtā, vīru chapathajambhanī* ApŚ. The ApŚ. is corrupt in this line, it undoubtedly intends a plural, as the verb of the following line shows. Caland translates as the singular, evidently using the AV. readings in part.

adhā (athā) śatakratvo (°*krato*, °*krato*) *yūyam*, see §229a. Plants are addressed everywhere in the plural, yet all texts have sing. *amba* in pāda 1; to this MS. KapŚ. assimilate the adjective.

§700. Animals. Here also some words denoting all living beings as a collective whole, and some pādas in which man is included in a list with other animals. The word *prajā* is placed in §702 below.

jagatām (MS. KS. *jagatas*) *pataye namah* VS. TS. MS. KS.

ā vatso jagatā (AG. *jāyatām*, PG. *jagadaiḥ*) *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 āvāḥ puruṣaḥ paṇuḥ AV. TA.: *gām āvām puruṣam jagat* (AV.

paśum, RVKh. *āśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh. AV. TA. MahānU.
ApMB. HG.: *gā āśvān puruṣān pakūn* MŚ.

teayā gām āśvān puruṣān (HG. *gā āśvān puruṣān*) *sanema* AV. HG.
ghṛtenāktlau paśūns (VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. *paśum*) *trāyethām* VS. VSK.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

paśūn (TS. *paśum*) *na gopā uryaḥ pariṣmā* RV. TS. KSA.

oṣadhibhyah paśave no (KS. MŚ. ApŚ. *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS. MŚ.
ApŚ.† *dhanāya*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā KŚ.: *askan ṛṣabho yuvā gāh* TB. TA. ApŚ.

yad amuṣṇitam avasam paṇin gāh (TB. *goh*) RV. TB. See §505.

upahūtā gāvah saharṣabhāh ŚB.: *upahūtā dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ. ŚŚ.†
saharṣabhā) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

nṛbhīr yataḥ kṛṇute nirṇijam gāh (SV. *gām*) RV. SV. *gāh (gām)* = milk.
vatsam jātām na dhenavaḥ (SV. *mātarah*, AV. *jātam ivāghnyā*) RV. AV.
SV.

payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB. ApŚ. *aghniyāsu*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.:
payo aghniyāsu payo vatsesu MŚ.

maruḍām prṣatīr (VSK. *prṣatīm*) *gacha* VS. VSK. ŚB.

andhākīn (TS. °he, KSA. °heḥ) *sthūlagudayā* (MS. *sthūrag*°, TS. KSA.
sthūragudā) VS.† TS. MS.† KSA.

rabhiyasa (MS. TB. Poona ed. °bhīyānsam) *iva kṛtvī karad evam devo*
vanaspatir juṣatām havīh VS. MS. KS. TB. The Hotṛ is to 'make
stronger' a number of sacrificial animals.

tatraitām (VS. KS. °tān) *prastutyevopastutyevopāvasrakṣat* VS. MS. KS.
TB. In the same passage as the preceding.

babhravah saumyāh VS. MS. ApŚ.: *babhrūh saumyāh* VS. TS. KSA.

viśvebhyo devebhyah prṣatān (MS.* °tah) VS. MS. (bis): *viśveṣām devā-*
nām prṣataḥ VS.

ākkuḥ ṛjayaḥ śayāṇdakas te maitrāh (KSA. ms. *śayāṇdakās te maitryāh*)
TS. KSA.: *śārgah ṛjayaḥ śayāṇdakas te maitrāh* VS. MS. Von
Schroeder emends KSA. to the TS. reading—with doubtful justice.

kapota (MS. °tā) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṛtāh*) VS. TS.
MS. KSA. The p.p. of MS. reads *kapotāh*; but despite this it is
probably only MS.'s peculiar sandhi for *kapótah ulūkah*.

§701. Human beings. General words, such as *puruṣa*, *martya*, as
well as the word *mṛta* in one variant; also one variant involving a desig-
nation of an occupation, and one referring to men as 'sleeping' (*svapant*):
mā hīnsīh puruṣam jagat VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU.: *mā hīnsīt puruṣān*
mama NilarU.

ajījano amṛta martyeṣu ā (SV. *martyāya kam*) RV. SV.

niveśayann amṛtaṁ martyaṁ (TB. *amṛtān martyānā*) ca RV. VS. TS. MS. TB.

jīvaṁ r̥tebhyaḥ (read *m̐tebhyaḥ*) *parinīyamānām* AV.: *mṛtāya jīvaṁ parinīyamānām* TA.

kuṇaṁ kīṇāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kināśo abhy etu*) *vāhaiḥ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yā svapantaṁ bodhayati (HG. *svapatsu jāgati*) ApMB. HG. See §548.

§702. Words denoting family relationships, including *sakhi*, and *prajā* in its various meanings.

suprajāḥ prajābhīḥ (VS. *prajābhi*, ?misprint for *°bhīḥ*; VSK. *prajāyā*, ŚŚ. *prajābhīr*) *syān* (VSK. ŚŚ. *bhūyāsam*)... VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *suprajāḥ prajābhīḥ syāma* (VSK. *prajāyā bhūyāsam*)... VS. VSK. ŚB.

dive pṛthivyai kaṁ ca prajāyai (SV. *prajābhyah*) RV. SV.

dhātā prajāyā (AŚ. *prajānām*) *ula rāya īse* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB.

prajā (Vait. *prajān*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

prajābhyah svāhā TS. KSA. TB.: *prajāyai svāhā* TB.

prajāḥ (AG. PG. *prajān*) *prā janayāvahai* JUB. AG. PG.: *prajān ā janayāvahai* AV.

prajāḥ (KapS. *prajān*) *piparti bahudhā* (RV. VS. *pupoṣa purudhā*) *vī rājati* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. KapS. ApS. Oertel 12.

prajāpatir janayati prajā imāḥ AV.: *prajān dadātu* (KS. *pipartu*) *parivatsaro naḥ* MS. KS. ApS.: *prajāpati ramayatu prajā iha* KS.: *ā naḥ* (AV. *vām*) *prajān janayatu prajāpatih* RV. AV. MS. KS. ApS. MŚ. AG. SMB. ApMB.

prajāpatih prajāyā samrarāṇaḥ AV. VS. MS. JB. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *prajāpatih prajāyā* (Ppp. Vait. Kauś. *prajābhīḥ*) *samvidānaḥ* Ppp. TS. KS. PB. TB. TA. MahānU. NṛpU. Vait. ApS. Kauś.

garbhān (ŚŚ. *garbhān*) *dhātān svastaye* TB. ŚŚ.

sa naḥ piteva sūnave (AV. KS.* *putrebhyaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (ter) ŚB. The contexts are different.

putraṁ pautraṁ (ApMB. HG. *putrān pautrān*) *abhitarpayantih* AV. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

piteva putraṁ (AV. Kauś. *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG. *iha*) *rakṣatād imam* (VS. ŚB. *imān*) AV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚG. Kauś.: *piteva putraṁ jarase ma emam* (Ppp. KS. HG. ApMB. *nayemam*) Ppp. MS. KS. HG. ApMB.

vīraṁ (VSK. *vīrān*) *videya tava devi* (TS. KS. TA. om.) *samdr̥śi* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.

vīraṁ dhātā (AŚ. *vīraṁ me dātā*, MŚ. *vīraṁ no dātā*) *pitarah* AŚ. ApS.

MŚ.: *vīrān naḥ pīlaro dhatta* ViDh.: *vīrān me pīlaro* (also *tatā-mahā* and *pratāmahā*) *datṭa* Kauś.

tatra paśyema pīlarau ca putrān (TA. *pīlaraṃ ca putram*) AV. TA.

svadhā pītāmahāya (Kauś. °*mahebhyaḥ*) AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. In the same texts with the same variation in number: *svadhā pītre* (pīṛbhyaḥ), and *svadhā prapītāmahāya* (°*mahebhyaḥ*).

prapītāmahān bibharti pinvamānaḥ (TA.† °*maham bibharat pinvamāne*) AV. TA.

syonaṃ patye (AV. *patībhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu tvam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N.

samrājñī śvaśure bhava RV. ŚG. SMB. ApMB.: *samrājñy edhi śvaśureṣu* AV.

o cī śakhāyaṃ śakhyaḥ vavṛtyām RV. AV.: *ā tvā śakhāyaḥ śakhyaḥ vavṛtyuḥ* SV.

pratīkṣante śvaśuro devaraś ca AV.: *pratīkṣantām †śvaśruvo devaraś ca* ApMB. Change of gender also (§782). As to *devaraś* (°*rāś*), both are plural, one from stem *devr*, one from *devara* (correct Whitney's note).

§703. (5) Words meaning 'enemy', 'demon', 'evil', 'sin' (for the Hindu point of view that sin is of the nature of an external evil, see Bloomfield *Atharvaveda*, p. 83), 'disease', and the like. It is often difficult to distinguish between 'enemy' and 'demon', as in the case of the words *arāti* and *rakṣas*.

ayam śatrūn (KapS. *śatruṃ*) *jayatu* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. Oertel 76.

bhiyaṣam ā dhehī śatruṣu (SV. *śatrave*) RV. SV.

tādītṇā (TB. Poona ed. *tādīkṇā*) *śatruṃ* (TB. *śatrūn*) *na kilā viritse* (TB. *vivatse*, Poona ed. *viritse*) RV. TB.

dviṣantas tapyantām bahu MŚ.: *dviṣan me bahu śocatu* TB. ApŚ.

dviṣatām pātu anhasaḥ RV.: *duritāt pātu anhasaḥ* AV. The reported reading of Ppp. is *dviṣatas pātu tebhyaḥ*.

yavaya (v. l. °*yā*) *dveṣo aśmat* MS.: *yāvayāsmad dveṣam* (v. l. °*ṣaḥ*) KS.: *yāvayāsmad dveṣaḥ* (TA. *aghā dveṣānsi*) VS. TS. ŚB. TA. Kauś.

dviṣantām (AV. *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV. AV. *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.: *dviṣaṇś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV.: *dviṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ.

mā cāhaṃ dviṣate radham AV.: *mā tv ahaṃ dviṣatām radham* MŚ.: *mo ahaṃ dviṣate* (TB. ApŚ. °*to*) *radham* RV. TB. ApŚ.

avāhaṃ bādha upabhṛtā sapatnān (KS. *dviṣantam*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

ye no dviṣanty anu tām rabhasva AV.: *yo no dviṣti tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.:
yo no dviṣty anu taṁ ravasva (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ.

prayutaṁ dviṣaḥ VS.: *prayutā dviṣāṁsi* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The VS. comm.: 'hostility is removed.' This may be the interpretation of the plural also; or both singular and plural may mean: 'the enemy (is) are destroyed.'

mākim brahmadriṣo (SB. °*ṣam*) *vanah* RV. AV. SV.

turyāma dasyūn tanūbhiḥ RV.: *sāhyāma dasyuṁ tanūbhiḥ* SV. (Benfey's text has *dasyūn*. Is this a misprint for *dasyuṁ*? B. translates by a singular.)

(*yo nah suplān jāgrato vābhidāsād...*) *tām pratīco nirdaha jātavedaḥ* AV.:
 (*agne yo no anti śapati yaś ca dūre...*) *taṁ pratyāncam saṁ daha jātavedaḥ* ApŚ.

mā tvā paripariṣo (TS. *pariparī*) *vidan* (TS.† *vidat*, KS. *tvā paripariṣo vidan mā paripanthinaḥ*, MS. *tvā paripariṣo mā paripanthinaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tvam tām agne menyāmenin kṛṇu svāhā AV.: *taṁ agne menyāmenin kṛṇu* TB.: *tayāgne tvam menyāmum amenin kṛṇu* TB. Preceded in all three passages by a relative clause with *yo...* *abhidāsati* (AV. *abhidāsati*) and various methods of attack in the instrumental.

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.: *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV.

pra śakṣatī pratimānaḥ prthivyāḥ AV.: *pra śakṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV. N.

amī ye viratā (MS. °*lāh*, KS. °*lās*) *sthana* (MS. *stha*) AV. MS. KS.:
asau yo vimanā janaḥ RVKh.

bhetlāraṁ bhaṅgurāvataḥ (VSK. °*lām*) VSK. TS.: *hanlāraṁ bhaṅgurāvataḥ* (AV. °*lah*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. The precise nuance of meaning denoted by *bhaṅgurāvat* is uncertain; 'treacherous' and 'destructive' have been suggested.

śaphārujam (AV. °*rujo*) *yena paśyasi yātudhānam* (AV. °*nān*) RV. AV.
utārebhānān ṛṣibhir yātudhānān AV.: *ālebhānād ṛṣibhir yātudhānāt* RV.

See §495.

yātudhānam kimīdinam AV.: *yātudhānān kimīdinah* AV.

amūn kṛtyākṛto jahi AV.: *ava kṛtyākṛtaṁ jahi* (Ppp. *prati kṛtyākṛto daha*) AV. Ppp.

nī duryoṇa āvṛṇaṁ mṛdhravācaḥ (and °*vācam*) RV. (both).

yarayārātīḥ (MS. Kauś. °*tim*, MS. p.p. and KS. *yārayārātīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

sahasvārātīḥ (MS. KS. °*tim*) *sahasva prtanāyataḥ* (TS. *sahasvārātīyataḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sugārhapatyō vidahann arātīḥ (AV. *vitapann arātim*) AV. TB. ApŚ.
alakṣmīr (RVKh. Scheft. °mīm, i.e. °mīm) *nāṣayāmy aham* RVKh. TAA.

Comm. on TAA. interprets by *alakṣmīm*.

saṃjānānau vijahatām arātīḥ TB. ApŚ.: *āprīnānau vijahatā arātim* MS.
 KS.

pratyusṣṭam rakṣaḥ pratyusṣṭā arāṭayah (MS. KS. *pratyusṣṭārātīḥ*) VS. TS.
 MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

hantī rakṣo bādhatē pary arātīḥ (SB. °tim) RV. SV.

nirdagdā arāṭayah TS. TB. ApŚ.: *nirdagdārātīḥ* MS. KS.

parāpūtā (VSK. *pratipūtā*) *arāṭayah* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.:
parāpūtārātīḥ MS. KS.

avadhūtā arāṭayah (MS. KS. *avadhūtārātīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
 ApŚ.

sahasva no abhimātīm AV.: *sahasva me arātīḥ* VS.

nī mitrayur arāṭīm atārīt MS. KS.: *vī mitra evair arātim atārīt* TS. TB.
 Different words.

bīṣṭe kṛṇge rakṣase (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vinikṣe* (KS. °nakṣe) RV. AV. TS.
 KS. N.

idam aham rakṣasām (VSK. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. °so) *grīvā api kṛntāmi*
 VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

erjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV.: *erjo vī dhārā ava dānavam han*
 RV. N.

tam ilo nāṣayāmasi RV. AV. MG.: *tān ilo nāṣayāmasi* AV. Both *tam*
 and *tān* refer to lists of demons and superhuman foes.

apān napāt 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 protha (AV. *sedha*) *duṇḍubhe duchunā* (AV. *duhunām*, TS. *duchu-*
nān, p.p. °nān) *itah* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. *duhunā*, 'mis-
 fortune', is perhaps personified as a demon.

aparasāv anu dattām ṛṇān naḥ (TB. TA. *ṛṇāni*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsa-*
rasām anudattānṛṇāni MS. (p.p. *anu*, *dattāni*, *ṛṇāni*).

enānsi cakṛmā vayam AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.: *enaś cakṛmā vayam* TS.
 KS. TB.

cakṛma yac ca duṣkṛtam AB.: *cakṛma yāni duṣkṛtā* KS. TA.

yat kuśīdam apratīṭam (*apratīṭam*, *apradattam*) *mayi* (*mayeha*) TS. MS.
 TA. MŚ. SMB.: *yāny apāmīyāny apratīṭāny* (°tītāny) *asmi* TB.

ApŚ.: *apāmīyam apratīṭam yad asmi* AV.

idam aham tam valagam (MS. KS. *tān valagān*) *ut kirāmi* (VSK. TS.

MS. KS. ApŚ. *ud rapāmi*) . . . *yaṁ (yān)* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

atrivat vah krimayo (Ppp. *atrivat tvā krme*) *hanmī* AV. Ppp.: *atrivā tvā krime hanmī* TA. ApŚ.: *hataḥ te atrivā krimih* (GG. *krmiḥ*) SMB. GG.

tā no amivām (TB. *amivā*) *apabādhamānau* MS. TB.

apāmivām (TB. ApŚ. *apāmivā*) *apa rakṣāṁsi sedha* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snihitīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adadhrāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS. The meaning of the word *snehitī* or *snihitī* is uncertain; it appears clear, however, that it must be something dreaded.

ava devānām yaja heḷo agne (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *agne devānām ava heḷa iṣyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.

tasmīn pāśān pratimuñcāma etān MS. KS.: *yaṁ dviṣmas tasmīn prati muñcāmi pāśam* TS. ApŚ.

adūtīḥ pāśam (MS. KS. *pāśān*) *pra mumoktv etam* (MS. KS. *etān*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

druhuḥ pāśān (TS. KS. *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS. *śū*) *mucīṣṭa* (AV. *prati muñcatām saḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

ayasmayam vicrtā (KS. *viṣṭā*) *bandham etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayasmayān vicrtā bandhapāśān* AV.

[*indrānamitram naḥ paścāt* (VSK. **tram paścāt me*) AV. VSK. KS. The sole ms. of KS. reads **mītrān*, and so Conc.; but v. Schroeder is obviously right in emending to **tram*.]

§704. (6) Words meaning a boon of some sort, such as 'aid', 'sustenance', 'food', 'wealth', 'bounty', etc.

śatam bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ (SV. VS.* *ūṭaye*) RV. AV. SV. 2. 34c. VS. (bis, add in Conc. 27. 41e with *ūṭaye*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

*maghavañ (*vañ) chagdhī tava tan na ūtibhiḥ* (SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. *ūṭaye*) TV. AV. SV. PB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ.

vanemā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ (SV. **ūṭaye*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*sadā pāhy abhiṣṭibhiḥ (*ūṭaye)* RV. (both).

vjacigṣṭham annai (TS. MS. KS. *annam*) *rabhasam drkṇam* (TS.† KS. *ridānam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

annānām (MS. *annasya*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

śatam kumbhān asiñcatam surāyāḥ (and *madhūnām*) RV. (both).

iṣam no mītravaruṇā kartanedām AA.: *ūrjā mītro varuṇaḥ pinvatedāḥ* SV. *teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti* RV. VS. TS. MS. N.: *sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām* KS.

- rāyo* (AV. *rayim*) *devi dadātu naḥ* (AV. *dadātu me*) RV. AV.
rāyo (AV. *rayim*) *dānāya codaya* RV. SV. AV. Grassmann considers *rāyo* genitive singular; Oldenberg, however, considers it accusative plural, and the AV. reading, tho its verse shows some corruption, bears out his view.
te asmā (KS. *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ. MS. v. 1. *agnayo*) *draviṇam* (KS. *°ṇāni*) *dattā* MS. KS. ApŚ.
dhattād asmahyaṁ draviṇeha (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu draviṇam yac ca*) *bhadram* TS. MS. ApŚ.
tasya ta iṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇeha bhakṣiya TS.: *tasya na iṣṭasya pītasya draviṇhāgameḥ* VS.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇhāgameyāt* MS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* (KS. *draviṇhāgameyāḥ*, ApŚ. *draviṇhāgameḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇam māgachatu* KS. (for the reading see VV 1 §104u). The first TS. passage has the plural, and MS. may possibly have a plural; see §346.
ta ā yajanta draviṇam (MS. KS.† *draviṇā*) *sam asmaī* (MS. *asmin*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
datto asmahyaṁ (KS. *dattāyāsma°*, AŚ. *dattāyāsma°*, SMB. *dattāsma°*) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatḥa no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS.
aham dadhāmi draviṇam (AV. *draviṇā*) *haviṣmate* RV. AV.
dhṛṣṇave dhīyate dhanā (SV. *dhanam*) RV. AV. SV.
yo devakāmo na dhanā (AV.* *dhanam*) *runaddhi* RV. AV. (bis).
maho ye dhanam (MS. KS. *dhanā*, TS. *ratnam*) *samitheṣu jabhīre* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
dadhad ratnam (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣam pitṛbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dakṣapitṛbhya*) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṅṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.
pra rādhasā codayāte (SV. *rādhasi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV. SV. *somo rādhasām* (TS. *°sā*) TS. MS. KS.
pūṣā sanīnām (TS. ApŚ. *sanyā*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
dyumnānā sudatra manīhaya SV.: *dyumnā sukṣatra manīhaya* RV.
ayam (AŚ.* *aham*) *vājān* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ.* *jayāmi*) *vājasātāu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis).
śriyam ca lakṣmīm ca puṣṭīm (TAA.* *śrīś ca lakṣmīś ca puṣṭīś*) *ca kīrtim cūṇṇyatām brahmaṇyaṁ bahuputrātām* TAA. (bis): *śrīś ca puṣṭīś cūṇṇyaṁ brahmaṇyaṁ bahuputrinām* MahānU.
tayāham śāntiyā sarvasāntiyā mahyam dvipade catuspade ca śāntim karomi TA.: *tābhiḥ śāntibhiḥ sarvasāntibhiḥ śamayāmy aham* AV.: *teyāham śāntiyā sarvasāntiyā mahyam dvipade ca catuspade ca śāntim karomi* MS.

- svāhāgnīm na bheṣajam* (MS. ²jaiḥ) VS. MS. TB.
svāhā vanaspatīn priyam pātho na bheṣajam (MS. ²jaiḥ) VS. MS. TB.
hiranyena varcānsi (KSA. *varcaḥ*) KS. KSA.
ataś ca viśvā (MuṇḍU.† *sarvā*) *oṣadhayo rasās* (MuṇḍU. MahānU.† *rasaś*, MahānU. v. l. *rasāś*) ca TAA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.
divo dhārā (KS. ²rām) *asaṣcata* TS. MS. KS.
ānandā modāḥ pramodaḥ AV.: *ānando modāḥ pramodaḥ* TB.: *modaḥ pramoda ānandaḥ* TB.
eugebhīr (AV. *eugena*) *duryam atītām* RV. AV. SMB. ApMB.
atho ariṣṭatālaye RV. AV. PB.: *atho ariṣṭatātibhiḥ* RV. AV.
marmāṇi te varmaṇā (TS. *varmabhiḥ*) *chādayāmi* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.
vibhūm kāmam (VS. *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśīya* (VS. KS. TB. *aśnavat*) VS. MS. KS. TB.
anu aśvair anu sarveṇa (TB. ApŚ. *sarvair u*) *puṣṭaiḥ* VS. TB. ApŚ. In VS. *sarveṇa* is paraphrased by the comm.: *anyenāpi kāmēna*. In TB. ApŚ. we may have merely the plural of this, or *sarvair* may agree with *puṣṭaiḥ* (so TB. comm. and Caland). In the latter case this is an instance of number attraction.
pūṣā svāhākāraiḥ (TA. *svagākāreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *svagākdraiḥ*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.
ubhā hi hastā vasunā prṇasva VS. TS. ŚB.: *hastau prṇasva bahubhīr vasaryaiḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS.
ūrjām puṣṭām vasv āveśayanti AV.: *viśvā rūpāṇi vasūny āveśayanti* TS. *sam patnī patyā sukrteṣu* (TB. ApŚ. *sukrtēna*) *gachātām* MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This and the following variants are not quite at home under this heading but may be placed here better than elsewhere.
tad anu preta sukrātām u lokam VS. ŚB.: *tam anu prehi sukratasya lokam* TS. KS. Cf. pree.; tho *sukrt* and *sukṛta* are distinct words, the phrases in which they appear with *loka* are equivalent.
tābhyām (MS. KS. add *vayam*) *patema sukrātām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathy-āsmā sukratasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Cf. pree.
chandobhīr yajñaiḥ sukrātām kṛtena AV.: *brahmaṇā guptah* (ApMB. *samprcānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtenā* 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 viṣṇu (*viṣṇuh*, *viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryena* (AV. *vīryāṇi*, TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NirU.

ita indras tiṣṭhan vīryam akr̥nod devatābhīḥ samārabhya MS.: *ita indro akr̥nod vīryāni* TS. TB.: *ita indro vīryam akr̥not* VS. KS. ŚB. *haviṣā yajña* (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. *svāhā somam indriyam* (MS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. TB.

rudrasya gāṇapatyaṇ (VS. ŚB. °*yam*, KS. °*ye*) *mayobhūr chi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. probably acc. pl., tho in TS. abl. sg.; see §§495, 526.

ghṛtavatī samitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Phonetic in character; as are also the following; VV 2 §706.

mītravarunā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ (AŚ. °*tye*) TS. KS. MS. AŚ.

ave dakṣe (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha śīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya (KS. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asmin rāṣṭram adhiśraya* TS.

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām* (read °*tām*) *dadhātu* TB.

tad akyāma tava radra pranītau (RV.† KS. °*nītiṣu*) RV. TS. KS.

ut parjanasya dhāmabhiḥ (MS. *dhāmnā*, TS. TA. ApMB. *kuṣmeṇa*, KS. °*ṛṣṭyā*, PG. *ḍṛṣṭyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.

ko asya dhāma katidhā vyuyṣṭiḥ AV.: *kati dhāmāni kati ye rivāsāḥ* MS. See §269.

etāvān (ArS. ChU. *tāvān*) *asya mahimā* RV. VS. TA. ArS. ChU.: *tāvanto asya mahimānaḥ* AV.

abhi śravobhiḥ pṛthivīm RV.: *uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA.

vyānabhiḥ (SV. °*ṣi*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmānā*) RV. SV.

dyām (AV. *divām*) *cā gacha pṛthivīm cā dharmānā* (AV. *dharmabhiḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

ā jāgrvir vipra rtā (SV. *ṛtam*; PB.† *kṛtam*, misprint for *ṛtam*?) *mañinām* RV. SV. PB.

ṛtam (RV. *rtā*) *vadanto anṛtam rapema* RV. AV.

pitre putrāso apy avīvatann ṛtam (AV. *ṛtāni*) RV. AV.

vratam rakṣanti viśvāḥ AV.: *vratā dadante agneḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *vratā rakṣante viśvāḥ* RV.

mama vaṣeṣu hṛdayāni rah kṛṇomi AV.: *mama vrata te hṛdayam* (AG. ŚG. *vrata hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG.

kṣatram (TA. ApŚ. *kṣatrāni*) *dhāraya* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

brahma (MS. *asme brahmāni*) *dhāraya* VS. MS. ŚB.

naras tokasya tanayasya sātāu (and *sātiṣu*) RV. (both).

edmī te samdṛṣi vīśvaṁ reto. . . . MS. KS.: *vīśvasya te vīśvato.* . . . *vīśvā retāṁsi.* . . . TS.

nīcā uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcāir uccāiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. But the interpretation of *svadhā(h)* is doubtful, both as to its meaning and its form; see §474.

§706. (8). Words denoting various abstract concepts.

aty acittim aty arātim agne (MS. KS. *ati nirṛtim adya*) VS.† TS.† MS. KS.: *aty acittir ati dviṣaḥ* AV.

amīśāṁ cittam pratilobhayanti (AV. *cittāni pratimohayanti*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

mama cittam anu cillebhir da AV.: *mama cittam cittenānvehi* HG.

brāhmaṇena vācam (KS. *vācaḥ*) TS. KS. KSA.

[*vācā mendriyenāriṣa* (KS. *vācām indr°*) TS. KS. MŚ. But see §589.]

bṛhaspatir vācām (VS. ŚB. °ce) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śīle ca (v. l. *śīleṣu*) *yac ca pāpakam* SMB. (The Conc. records the text as reading *śīleṣu*.)

bhīyo (AV. *bhiyam*) *dadhānā hṛdayeṣu śatrayaḥ* RV. AV.

sakhā sakhyur na pra mināti saṁgiram (AV. °rah) RV. AV. SV.

indro jyaiṣṭhānām (MS. KS. *jyaisṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaisṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

pitā virājām rṣabho rayinām TB.: *vatso virājo vṛṣabho matinām* AV.

namas (KS. NīlarU. *namāṁsi*) *ta āyudhāya* VS. MS. KS. NīlarU. MŚ. BṛhPDh.

deva savitas team dikṣāyā (KS. *dikṣānām*) *dikṣāpatir asi* MS. KS.

ud rathānām jayatām yantu ghoṣāḥ (TS. *jayatām etu ghoṣāḥ*) RV. SV.

VS. TS.: *ud vīrānām jayatām etu ghoṣāḥ* AV.

śriyo (AV. TB. *śriyam*, Ppp. *śriyo*) *vasānaś carati svarociḥ* (TB. °cāḥ) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. KS. TB.

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV. AV.: *ariṣṭāso vṛjanibhir jayema* AV.

saṁ ākūtir (RVKh. Scheftelowitz °tīm, Conc. with Aufrecht °tir) *namā-masi* (RVKh. Scheft. *munāmasi*, MS. *anaṁsata*) RVKh. AV. MS.

saṁānī va ākūtīḥ RV. AV. TB. AG.: *saṁānā vā* (KS. *va*) *ākūtānī* MS. KS. MG.

saṁpakyaṁ pañktir (AV. *pañtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānaḥ* RV. AV. The meaning of the whole verse is obscure; we suspect meter-names, in which case this would belong in §690 above.

akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS.: *kuyavaṁ* (MS. v. l. *kū°*) *ca me 'kṣitīś* (VS. 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS. MS. KS.

§707. (9). Words denoting parts of the body and physiological or psycho-physical entities.

suṣadā yonau svāhā vāt (TS. TB. *yonim svāhā*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *sudhīm yonīm suṣadām prthivīm* (ms. °vā) KS. See §550.

saṁ vāḥ ṛjāmi hṛdayāni (KS. °yam, MŚ. °yāni vāḥ) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *mama vāḥṣu hṛdayāni vāḥ kṛṇomi* AV.: *mama vrate te hṛdayaṁ* (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayaṁ te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhatu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *mama hṛdaye hṛdayaṁ te astu* HG.

prati prāneṣu (SMB. *prāne*) *prati tiṣṭhāmi puṣṭe* (SMB. *puṣṭau*, MS. *tiṣṭhāmy ātman*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. SMB. HG.

prāṇaḥ (MS. *prāṇān*, p.p. *prāṇaḥ*) *na vīryaṁ nasi* VS. MS. TB.

prāṇā (MahānU. *prāṇo*) *vā āpaḥ* TA. MahānU. All Jacob's mss. but one *prāṇā(h)*.

trāṣṭā rūpāni (AŚ. *rūpeṇa*) *samanaktu yajñaiḥ* (AŚ. *yajñam*) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

trāṣṭur ahaṁ devayajiyāḥ paśūnām rūpaṁ puṣeyam (MŚ. *dev° sarvāṇi rūpāni paśūnām puṣeyam*) TS. MŚ.

nakṣatrāni rūpeṇa (TS. KSA. *pratirūpeṇa*, MS. *rūpaiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

mānśāya (VS. *mānśebhyaḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

na mānśeṣu na nṛvāsu ApMB.: *neva mānśe na pibasi* AV.: *naiṣa mānśena pīvari* PG. The reading of PG. is clearly a corruption of AV.; see §611.

śaṁ te parebhyo gātrebhyah, śaṁ aste avarebhyah VS. TS. KSA.: *śaṁ me* (Ppp. *te*) *parasmai gātrāya, śaṁ aste avarāya me* (Ppp. *parāya te*) AV. Ppp.

niśtrya (MS. *praśtrya*) *śalyānām mukhā* (MS. KS.† *mukham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. *mukha* is used figuratively: 'the point(s) of the arrows.'

kiprāḥ śirṣaṇ hiranyayāḥ RV.: *kiprāḥ śirṣasu vitatā hiranyayāḥ* RV. See RVRep. on 5. 54. 11.

valmīkān klomnā (VS. *klomabhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

marīcīr vipruḍbhiḥ (MS. °pruṣṭ) VS. MS.

§708. Also the word *tanū*.

kṣatrasya teḍa paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvaṁ pāhi VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas teḍa paraspāyāḥ* (MS. °pāya) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS.

tena cinvānas tanvo (TS. *tanuvo*, MS. *tanvam*) *nī ṣṭida* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tan nas trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato (ApŚ. *tan no vīsvato*) *mahat* KS. ApŚ.: *tan me tanvaḥ trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV.

yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ (AV. °vāḥ) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS. *kalpayāti*) RV. AV. VS.

yat kin ca (KS. *cī*) *tanvo* (TS. *tanuēdm*) *rāpah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *ghṛtena teaṁ tanvaṁ* (TS. *tanuro*) *vardhayasva* 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.

ahā (AV. * *ahar*) *mimāno aktubhiḥ* TV. AV. (bis) ArŚ. N.

sūro ahnām prataritā uṣasām divaḥ AV.: *soma ahnaḥ* (SV. *ahnām*) *prataritoṣaso* (SV. * *sām*) *divaḥ* RV. SV.

sajūr abdo (MS. * *abdā*) *āyavobhiḥ* (TS. ApŚ. * *yāvabhiḥ*, MS. * MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*, MS. * KS. *āyavobhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. * KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.—MS. 3. 4. 4 reads *abdo āyavobhir*, error or misprint for *abdā āya°* or *abdo aya°*.

samvalsareṇa savitā no ahnām (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Case- and number-attraction; see §585. Similar are the two following:

trivṛṇ no viṣṭhayā (KS. *trivṛd viṣṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS. * *hnā*) *cikīṇā* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnā*, AŚ. *cikīṇam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

śaradbhyaḥ (ŚG. *śarade*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. ŚG.

ṛtuḥ ca me vṛatam ca me TS.: *vṛatam ca ma ṛtavaḥ ca me* VS.

samā (VS. KS. *samās*) *ca mā* (VS. KS. *ma*) *indras ca me* VS. MS. KS.

samā (VS. TS. *samās*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. KS. has v. l. *samās*.

uṣasāḥ śreyasāḥ-śreyasāḥ dadhat TB. ApŚ. (TB. Poona ed. reads as ApŚ.; so read): *uṣām-uṣām śreyasām dhehy asmaḥ* AV.

hiraṇyavarṇam (RV. *hiraṇyarūpam*) *uṣaso vyūṣṭau* RV. MS. KS. MŚ.: *hiraṇyarūpā uṣaso viroke* VS. ŚB.: *hiraṇyavarṇas uṣasām viroke* TS. TB.

rathā āśvāsa uṣaso vyūṣṭau (and *vyūṣṭiṣu*) RV. (both). 'At the first light(s) of dawn.'

jyotiṣaṁ na prakāśate RVKh.: *na jyotiṁṣi cakāśati* Suparṇ.

vāta (MS. *vātaḥ*, KS. *vātas*) *spṛtaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *vātā spṛtāḥ* TS.

māsas (TS. *māsām*) *caturthaḥ* TS. KSA. Gens.

miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.

abhīpato vṛṣṭyā (RV. *vṛṣṭibhis*) *tarpayantam* RV. AV. TS. KS.

dūṣikābhīr hrādunīm (KSA.† *hrad°*) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīḥ* VS. MS. 'Hail-stones (we gratify) with the rheum of the eyes.'

āsrubhiḥ prṣvām (KSA. *pruṣvām*) TS. KSA.: *pruṣvā āsrubhiḥ* VS. MS. 'Hoar-frost (we gratify) with tears.'

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *pathera*)

sūrah (AV. MS.† *sūrih*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrah*, 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 śukrebhīḥ śikvabhī (TS. śukreṇa śikvanā) revad asme (TS. MS. agnīh)
RV. TS. MS.

§710. (11). Utensils and other articles, not including those used in the ritual.

vi te muñcāmi raṣaṇāṃ AV.; vi te muñcāmi raṣaṇāṃ (TS. °nā) vi raśmīn
TS. MS. KS. MŚ. MG.

ā raśmīn (RV, raśmīm) deva yamase (TB, yuvase) svaśvān (RV, TB, svaśvāh) RV, VS, ŚB, TB.

rathe akṣeṣu rṣabhasya (KS. TB. akṣeṣu vrṣ^o) vāje AV. KS. TB.: ratheṣu
akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāh ViDh.

āntrāṇi sthālir (KS. TB. *sthālī*) *madhu pinvamānāḥ* (KS. TB. *pinva-*
mānā) VS. MS. KS. TB.

jāmi bruvata āyudham (SV. °dhā) RV. AV. SV. The reference is to Indra's weapons.

yah puruṣe yo āśmanī MS. KS. ApŚ.: ye puruṣe ye āśmasu AV. (Ppp. as the others.)

d *teḍ pariśrutah* (MG. *pariśṛtaḥ*, PG. ApMB. *pariśrutah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB.† *°bhāḥ*) AG. PG. MG. ApMB. Cf. *pūrṇān pariśrutah 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 *plurale tantum*. E.g. *grīvā* is probably originally used in the plural only, 'the joints of the neck', and the singular 'neck' is later, and developed from the plural. So also *grha* is the plural 'the apartments of the house', *vāra* in the plural 'the hairs which make up the sieve', *śmaśru* in the plural 'the hairs making up the beard'. In these latter cases the evidence of the oldest texts does not support a dogmatic assertion that the plural usage is more original than the singular, but on a *priori* grounds it is probable that the use of the singular grew out of the use of the *plurale tantum* rather than vice versa. The psychology underlying such a development is parallel to that demonstrated in the preceding sections, which causes variation between generic singular and specific plural. In fact, some of the cases treated above are not far removed from those collected here; e.g. those involving *lokāḥ*, *raṅgāṁsi*, etc. See §716 for pronouns referring to nouns of this class.

andōd devāh śakuno arhesu (AV, *arham nah*) RV, AV, Ppp, MG.

indrasya grho 'si... AV. TB. TA.; *indrasya grhā vasumanto*... ApMB.

PG.; *indrasya grhāḥ śivā*... ŚG.

mā te grhe (SMB. *grheṣu*) *niśi ghoṣa utthāt* SMB, ApMB, HG.

grīvāyām (KS. *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsanī* (MS. *apipakṣa āsan*) RV.

VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, N.

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdheathā bhūt* (SV. *ūrdheadhā bhuvat*) RV, SV.

avyo (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* RV, SV. (bis).

avyo vāre (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyam* RV, SV.

vārān (SV. *vāraṇ*) *yat pūto atyēṣy avyān* (SV. *avyam*) RV, SV.

astam (SV. *astā*) *rājeva satpatih* RV, SV. The plural of *asta* is unusual if not isolated; it is likely to be due to thought of the use of *grha* in the plural.

apo (udno) *dattodadhīm bhinta* (dehy *udadhīm bhindhī*), 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 preceding sections dealing with nouns. Thus in the first variant *soma*, singular or plural, is referred to (cf. §693). Since the *trcas* containing the plural passage is surrounded by *trcas* 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] viśvā* 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:

kumbhamānā (RV.* *°na*) *rtāyubhiḥ* RV. (both) SV.: *mṛjyamānā* (and *°no*) *gabhasatayoḥ* 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 perhaps to the three sacred fires (but cf. our remarks §686):

ned eṣa yuṣmad (TS. TB. *tvad*) *apacetayātai* TS, MS, TB, MŚ.: *eṣa net tvad apacetayātai* VS, KS, ŚB. But MS, MŚ. use singular pronouns, with the same reference, in the rest of the stanza.

§714. Similar are the following, where reference is to various sorts of entities:

atho (TS, MS. *athā*) *yūyaṁ stha* (MS, KS. *tvam asi*) *niṣkṛtiḥ* (TS. *samk°*, MS. *samkṛtiḥ*, KS. *niṣkṛtiḥ*) RV, VS, TS, MS, KS. Addressed to plants, or a plant; plurals occur in the rest of the stanza.

asmadrātā (TS. *asmaddātrā*, MS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr*, KS. *madhumatī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*, TS. adds *madhumatīh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Addressed to *dakṣiṇā*, sg. or pl. (cf. §696); see VV 1 p. 256.

mā vo riṣat (Kauś. *te riṣan*) *khanitā, yasmai cāham khanāmi vah* (Kauś. *ca tvā khanāmasi*) RV. VS. TS. Kauś.: *yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham* VS. To plant(s).

jyotiṣā tvā (TB.* ApŚ. *vo*) *vaiśvānareṇopatiṣṭhe* TB. (both) AŚ. ApŚ. To the fire.

tām vo (MS. *te*) *grhṇāmy* (MS. *grbhṇāmy*) *uttamam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. To one or perhaps all five of the cups (*graha*).

devatābhyas tvā devavītaye grhṇāmi KS.: *devavītaye* (MS. *°vītyai*) *tvā* (KS. *vo*) *grhṇāmi* TS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. To the oblation.

adityās tvopasṭhe sādāyāmi TS. MS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *adityā va upasṭhe sādāyāmi* MS. MŚ. To the oblation.

āchettā te (TB. ApŚ.* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (*riṣat, mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

§715. Pronouns referring to collective nouns may either be singular if the collectivity is more prominent in the mind, or plural if the speaker is thinking of the individuals which compose it; cf. §836. Thus:

yucam tām (SV. *ubhau tām*) *indra vtrahan* AV. SV. Reference is to *senā* 'army'; but AV. thinks of the individual men who make it up. To be sure the AV. comm. reads *tām*, and Whitney would emend to this, but it seems to us unnecessary.

§716. The converse of this is the use of a singular pronoun referring to a plurale tantum, conceived as a single entity. Thus:

samudrasya vo 'kṣityā (VS. ŚB. *tvā'kṣityā*) *un naye* (VS. ŚB. *nayāmi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. In the same ritual context, referring to water (*āpah*); hence plural in most texts, but the Vāj. school uses a singular, thinking of the water-libation as a single thing.

§717. So adjectives of indefinite reference, especially *anya* and *sarva*, may be used in either number without essential difference (cf. also the indefinite neuter, §727):

anyāns (TS. AŚ. *anyam*) *te asmat tapantu hetayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ.

anyam asman (MS. *anyāns 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. Spr.* 425, 433 (and for nouns, 367a).

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāns tām*

mṛmṛṣā (KS. TA. *maṣmaṣā*) *kuru* MS.† KS. TA.: *sarvān nī maṣma-
ṣākaram* AV.

yat tvā krudhdhāḥ pracakruḥ AV.: *yat tvā* (KS. *te*) *krudhdhāḥ parovapa* (KS. ms. °*vāpa*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'If angry ones have thrown thee out': 'if I 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, nevertheless, 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:

pātainaḥ prāñcam VS. ŚB.: *pāta prāñcam* (KS. *prāñcaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

pāta mā tiryāñcam TS. TB.: *pātainaḥ tiryāñcam* VS. ŚB.: *pāta tiryāñ-
cam* (KS. *tiraścaḥ*) MS. KS.

pāta (*pāta mā, pātainaḥ*) *pratyañcam* (KS. *pratīcaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

pātāñcam (KS. °*nūcaḥ*) MS. KS.: *anvañcam mā pāta* TS. TB.

utālabdhāḥ (AV. *utārabdhān*) *spṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ* RV. AV.

yasyāḥ asmī purohitaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *yeṣāṃ asmī puro-
hitaḥ* AV.

pīveva putram (AV. Kauś. *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG. *iha*) *rakṣatād imam* (VS. ŚB. *imān*) AV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚG. Kauś.: *pīveva 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. c., different persons may be used, as well as different numbers. Hence we find, here also, cases in which pronouns of different person as well as number are used. We quote a few examples but have not attempted an exhaustive list (cf. §9):

§720. First and second persons:

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtām bībhartu (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV. Ppp.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām* (read °tām) *dadhātu* TB.

ā tvā (TB. *na*) *svo viśatām* (TB. *aśnutām*) *varṇaḥ* AV. TB.

§721. First and third persons. Here we find a number of variations between the forms *asmai* 'for him' and *asme* 'for us', which are obviously phonetic in character and have been therefore treated in VV 2 §704. The shift between *e* and *ai* is very easy. Nevertheless in most cases the meaning fits equally well with either reading. See also §738 for some formally similar cases.

asmai (TB. *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivi bhūri vāmam* AV.† TB.

asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhātā vasavo vasūni* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhārayataṁ* (MŚ. °tām) *rayim* RV. AV. MŚ. Different contexts.

asme (KBU. *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin* RV. KBU. AG. PG. N.

asmai (MS. *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachataṁ* TS. MS. AŚ.

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartandāme (AV. *kartam asmai*, VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS.

savitṛā prasavitṛā... indrenāsme (VSK. °*smāi*)... VS. VSK.

asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya (KS. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asme kṣatrāni dhāraye anu dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne* AV. Different contexts.

asme (AŚ. *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspati* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Doubtless misprint in AŚ.

yachā nah śarma saprathah (°*thāḥ*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB.

HG. ApMB. N.: *yachāsmāi śarma saprathah* AV. TS.

ud enam uttarām (°*rām*, §814) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.

ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ. In same verse:

prajāyā ca bahum (ApŚ. *bahūn*) *kṛdhi* AV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

First person pronouns, singular and plural

§722. The vast majority of variants under this heading show first person pronouns, alternatively singular and plural, referring to the priestly authors of the mantras and their associates. Little need be said of them; they are as simple and natural as they are familiar, and there is no real difference in meaning, at least as a rule, between the two numbers. Compare our remarks in VV 1 §§344 ff., which deal with the same matter from the point of view of verb forms. Their number is, however, remarkable and impressive.

§723. As with the verbs (§346), in some cases one or the other number

is more or less inconsistent with the context. The inconsistency is sometimes original (and removed in a secondary text), sometimes secondary. We shall list these inconsistent variants first:

yā sarasvatī vṛśabhaginī tasyā no (ApŚ, *vṛśabhaginī tasyām me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktivāno bhūyāśma* KS. ApŚ. Note 1st plural verb.

mayīdam indra indriyaṃ dadhātu VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *asmāv indra indriyaṃ dadhātu* TS. MS. KS. MŚ.: *mayīndra indriyaṃ dadhātu* TS. TA. TAA. AG. The first two occur in the same context, which has three 1st plural pronouns even in VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

bhavaṭaṃ naḥ samanasau VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. BDh.: *avataṃ mā samanasau samaukasau* TB. Surrounding formulas have plural pronouns even in TB.

sūryo mā (MS. *nas*) *tebhyo rakṣatu* TS. MS. KS. Also with *vāyur* and *agnir* instead of *sūryo*. (Delete reference to KS. under *agnir nas* in Conc.) The following pāda has 1st plural in all.

devi vāg yat te vāco (*yad vāco*) *madhumat* (*madhumattamaṃ*, *ṛtamaṃ juṣṭatamaṃ*) *tasmin mā* (KB. ŚŚ. *no adya*) *dhōh* (*dhāt*) TS. KB. GB. PB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. A 1st sg. verb precedes in all.

vājo no (MS. KS. *me*) *adya prasuvāti dānam* VS. MS. KS. 1st sg. pronoun in the same verse in VS.

vīhī havyaṃ prayataṃ āhutaṃ me (ŚŚ. *naḥ*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Both have plural elsewhere in the verse.

kr̥ṇotu mitro aryamā bhago naḥ (KS. *me*) RV. VS. KS. N. 1st sing. verb in the verse even in RV.

śradḍhe śrad dhāpaycha naḥ (TB. *mā*) RV. TB. 1st plural verb in both; here TB. is secondarily inconsistent.

cittasya (TB. SMB. *yajñasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mātaram*) *suhavā no* (TB. SMB. *me*) *astu* AV. TB. The AV. has *me* in the next pāda.

vaiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ TA.: *vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu* AV. The rest of the verse has 1 sg. in both. Ppp. intends to read with TA. (Whitney on AV. 6. 119. 3).

ā mā ghoṣo gachati vān 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!

tvaxā me (SV. *no*) *daiṛyaṃ vacaḥ* AV. SV. Kauś. Plural follows in both. *ayaṃ te asmy upa mehy* (AV. *na ehy*) *arvān* RV. AV. Ppp. In the same verse:

manyō vajrīn abhi mām (AV. *abhi na*, Ppp. *upa na*) *ā tvaxīsva*, same texts. The following pāda has 1st dual verb (representing a combination of 1st sing. with *manyu*!); RV. is the only really consistent text.

- mām dhehi* TS. TB. TA.: *asmān dhehi* KSA. The latter is emended by von Schroeder to *mām*, because the next mantra has *mayi*. In the light of the variants here presented this seems very inadvisable.
- ā no* (VS. *mā*) *jane kravayatān yuvānā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by two pādas with plural pronouns, and followed by one with singular.
- paraitu mṛtyur amṛtaṁ na aitu* (ŚŚ. SMB. *amṛtaṁ ma ā gāt*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. The two latter texts combine this with a pāda containing a plural.
- pātaṁ no* (ApŚ. *mā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe* RV. MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by a plural in all.
- evā tanūr baladeyāya mehi* (AV. *baladādvā na ehi*) RV. AV. Singulars in the rest of the verse in AV.
- viśve devāso adhi vocatā naḥ* (TS. *me*) RV. TS. And others, §154. RV. is inconsistent, having sing. pronouns in the rest of the vs.; all later texts restore consistency.
- dyauś ca naḥ* (KS. TB. *tvā*, AV. *ma idam*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* (AV. °*sau*) RV. AV. KS. TB. See §488. Plur. pronoun follows in AV.
- rāyo* (AV. *rayim*) *devī dadātu naḥ* (AV. *dadhātu me*) RV. AV. Plural precedes in AV.
- idam aham taṁ valagān (tān valagān) . . . yaṁ (yān) me* (VSK. TS. KS. *naḥ*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. Note *aham* in all.
- marutān manve adhi no* (AV. *me*) *bruvantu* AV. TS. MS. KS. A plural follows in AV.
- ādityā rudrā upariśprśo naḥ* (KS. °*śaṁ mā*) AV. KS.: *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariśprśaṁ mā* RV. VS. TS. Plurals in the context; only the secondary AV. is consistent.
- abhūn mama* (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG. All have singulars in the rest of the verse.
- amitrān no vi vidhyatām* AV.: *mamāmitrān vi vidhyata* (and °*tu*) AV. (both). In different contexts; the sings. are inconsistent with their surroundings.
- apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.: *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ.† *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *anāmayaīdhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś.
- §724. The rest show, as far as we have noticed, no inconsistency as to number in the context. The long list follows:
- agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ* (TB. *mā*) RV. TB.
- adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svastī me . . . VS.: adhvānām adhvapate* (ŚŚ. *adhvano adhipatir asi*) *svastī me* (ŚŚ. *no*) . . . PB. ŚŚ.
- pāramānīḥ* (°*nyaḥ*) *punantu naḥ* (RVKh. TB. *mā*, MG. *tvā*, YDh. *te*) SV. RVKh. TB. MG. YDh.

upa mā (ŚB, ŚS, *mām*) *brhat saha divā hwayatām* ŚB, TB, ŚS, (also with *rathamtarām saha prthivā*, and *vāmadavyam sahāntarikṣeṇa*): *upās-mām idā hwayatām*... AŚ.

pari nah (and *mā*) *pāhi vikatah* AV, (both). Different contexts.

tasya na iṣṭasya pṛtasya draviṇehāgameh VS.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya draviṇehāgameyāt* MS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya*... TS, KS, ApŚ.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya draviṇam māgachatu* (cf. VV 1 §104u) KS.

yo nah (AV, *mā*) *kadā cid abhidāsati druhā* (AV, *druhuḥ*) RV, AV.

devasyāham (VSK, *devasya vāyam*) *savituh save*... VS, VSK, ŚB.

mā no hārdi tvīṣā vadhih RV.: *mā me hārdi tvīṣā* (MŚ, *hārdim dvīṣā*) *vadhih* TS, MŚ.

varṇam pavitraṁ (MG, *purāṇam*) *punatī ma* (ŚG, *na*) *āgāt* ŚG, SMB, PG, MG.: *śarma varūtham* (HG, *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt* ApMB, HG.

āyantu nah pitarah somyāsah VS.: *ā me yantu* ViDh. (pratika of an unknown mantra similar to that of VS.).

śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah TB, ApŚ.: *śivā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB, ApŚ.

yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS,† *nah*) *pilābhūt* (VSK, *pītāsa*) VS, VSK, TS, MS, ŚB.

asme te rāyah MS, KS.: *asme rāyah* VSK, TS, ApŚ.: *me rāyah* VS, KS, ŚB, KŚ. On *mē* (loc.) see Wackernagel 3 p. 462.

imam stomam juṣasva nah (and *me*) RV, (both).

imam (HG, *etam*) *yajñam pitaro me* (HG, *no*) *juṣantām* AV, HG.

imam no (MS, KS, *me*) *deva savitah* VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB.

imān me (ApŚ, *no*) *mitrāvaruṇau* (ApŚ, **nā*) MS, KS, AŚ, ApŚ, MŚ, ŚG.

ud uttamam mumugdhi nah (MŚ, *mat*) RV, KS, TB, MŚ.

iḥāmāsu (MS, *iḥāmabhyam*, TB, **iha mahyam*) *nī yachatam* RVKh, AV, MS, KS, TB, (bis).

rtena nah (ApŚ, *mā*) *pāhi* MS, ApŚ.

upa mā (Vait, *no*) *rājan sukṛte hwayasva* TB, Vait.

ūrdhvo nah pāhy anhaso nī ketunā RV, MS, KS, AB, KB, TB.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy anhasah* VS, ŚB.

rlāvarī yajñiye mā (AV, *nah*) *punltām* AV, MS, TB.

evā me astu dhānyam Ppp, TAA.: *evāsmākedam dhānyam* AV.

ghṛtena no (MS, KS, *mā*) *ghṛtaprah* (TS, **pueah*) *punantu* RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB.

cakṣur no (KS, *me*) *dhehi cakṣuḥ* RV, MS, KS, MG.

tato no (KS, *mā*) *vr̥ṣṭyāvata* (VS,† KS, **āva*) VS, TS, MS, KS, (both) ApŚ, MŚ.

- tan ma* (TA. na) *indra varuṇo bṛhaspatih* TA. MahānU. BDh.
tan ma ācakṣva (ŚŚ. *naḥ prabrūhi*) *nārada* AB. ŚŚ.
dyaus me (AV. *naḥ*) *pitā janitā nābhīr atra* RV. AV. N.
nadasya nāde pari pātu me (AV. no) *manah* RV. AV.
ye māmakāḥ pitarah VIDh.: *ye 'smākam pitarah teṣāṃ barhīr asi* AV.
idam brahma juṣasva naḥ (TAA. MG. and TA. v. 1. me) TA. TAA. MG.
 MahānU.
pūṣā bhagaṃ (AŚ. *bhagaṃ pūṣā*) *savitā me* (TB. AŚ. no) *dadātu* ŚB. TB.
 AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. PG.
prajāṃ me dāh VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA.: *prajāṃ me yacha* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.:
prajāṃ asmāsu dhehī VS.
varco asmāsu dhātā (AŚ. *dhehī*) AV. AŚ.: *varco mayī dhehī* VS. TS. PB.
 ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *varco me dāh* MS. MŚ.: *varco me dehī* VS. TS. ŚB.
 ŚŚ. PG.: *varco me dhehī* (TA. *dhāh*) VSK. MS. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ.:
varco me yacha MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
prajāṃ me narya pāhi MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.: *prajāṃ no narya pāhi*
 ApŚ.
prajāṃ me naryājūgupaḥ (ApŚ. MŚ. v. 1. °jūgupaḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.:
prajāṃ no naryājūgupaḥ ApŚ.
paśūn me śaṅsya pāhi MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *paśūn naḥ śaṅsya pāhi* ApŚ.
paśūn me śaṅsyājūgupaḥ (ApŚ. °jūgupaḥ) MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *paśūn naḥ*
śaṅsyājūgupaḥ ApŚ.
annam me (ApŚ.* no) *budhya* (ApŚ. *budhnya*) *pāhi, tan me* (ApŚ.* no)
gopāyāsmākam punar āgamāt MS. ApŚ. (bis).
annam me (ApŚ.* no) *budhyājūgupaḥ* (ApŚ. *budhnyā*°) *tan me* (ApŚ.*
naḥ) *punar dehi* MS. ApŚ. (bis).
tām me (ApŚ.* no) *gopāyāsmākam punar āgamāt* MS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ.
 Also with *tān* for *tām*, but not in MŚ.
tān me (ApŚ.* *naḥ*) *punar dehi* KS. MS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. Also with
tān for *tām*, but not in KS. or MŚ.
brahma tena punīhi naḥ (LŚ. *mā*, VS. KS. *punātu mā*, MS. TB. *punī-*
mahe) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ.
mā parā seci no dhanam (ApŚ. *naḥ swam*, ApMB. *me dhanam*) ŚŚ. LŚ.
 ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB.
mā vayam āyuṣā varcasā ca MS.: *māham āyuṣā* (KS. adds *varcasā*
virādhiṣṭi) TS. KS.
yah potā sa punātu naḥ (VS. MS. KS. ApŚ. *mā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.:
yah pūtah sa punātu mā TB. (so Conc., but Poona ed. reads *potā*).
yena traṇi deva (ŚŚ. om. *deva*) *veda devobhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam*
 (ŚŚ. *tenāsmabhyam*) *vedo bhūyāḥ* (VSK. *bhava*, ŚŚ. *veda edhi*) VS.
 VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

yo naḥ kaś cābhyaghāyati AV.: yo mā kaś cābhidāṣati AG. PG. MG.

yo no anti śapati tam etena jeṣam MŚ.: yo me 'nti dāre 'rāṭiyati tam etena jeṣam TS.

yo mā cakṣuṣā yo manasā TB.: yo 'smānś cakṣuṣā manasā cittiyākūtyā ca AV.

yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayan̄ dvizma idam asya grīvā api kṛtāmi TS.: idam ahaṁ yo me (KS. nas) samāno yo 'samāno 'rāṭiyati tasya grīvā api kṛtāmi MS. KS.: idam enam adharaṁ karomi yo naḥ samāno yo 'samāno 'rāṭiyati TS.

tan me tanvaṁ trāyatām sarvato bṛhat AV.: tan nas trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato (ApŚ. tan no viśvato) mahat KS. ApŚ.

viśve no (KS. mā) devā avasā gamantu (RV.* VS.* MS. KS. ApŚ. gamann iha) RV. (both) VS. (both) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

vaiśvānaro adabdhās (AV. no adabdhās, TA. me 'dabdhās, MS. ApŚ. 'dabdhās) tanūpāḥ AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. The preceding pādas, which show much variation in their enumeration of protectors, show the following number variants:

punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā ma (MS. TB. ApŚ. HG. punar ākūtam, TA. punar ākūtaṁ ma) āgāt (VS. ŚB. āgan) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. HG.: punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā na aitu (MG. punar ākūtir aitu) AV. MG. And the following:

punar manaḥ punar āyur (SMB. ātmā) mā (MS. nā, ApŚ. om. the word) āgāt (VS. ŚB. āgan) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. The texts are consistent thruout in their use of singular or plural.

śāntir no astu MS.: śāntir me astu śāntiḥ TA.: sā mā śāntir edhi VS. śivā tvam mahyam edhi HG.: śivā na ihaidhi AV.

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat ViDh. MDh. BṛhPDh. AuśDh.: śraddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ.

sarvaṁ sviṣṭaṁ suhutaṁ karotu (AG. HG.† karotu me) ApŚ. AG. ApG. HG.: sviṣṭaṁ suhutaṁ karotu svāhā (BṛhUK.† karotu naḥ svāhā) ŚB. BṛhU. BṛhUK.

sarvān mac chapathān adhi AV.: asmat su śapathān adhi ApŚ.

sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā (HG. naḥ) priyāḥ ApMB. HG. Followed by: abhi rakṣantu mā (HG. svantu naḥ) priyāḥ ApMB. HG.

sahasva no abhimātīm AV.: sahasva me arātīḥ VS.

sā nas samantam anu parihi bhadrayā ApMB.: sā mā (MG. naḥ) samantam abhi pary ehi bhadre MG. SMB.

sā naḥ (KS. mā) supṛāci supṛāciy edhi (VSK. MS. KS. supṛāci bhava, TS. supṛāci sam bhava) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

surāṣṭrā iha māvata (MS. no 'vata) TS. MS. KS.

suhavā nā ehi saha rāyaspoṣeṇa MS.: *suhavā mehi saha prajayā saha rāyaspoṣeṇa* KS.

sa mām pātu KS.: *so 'smān pātu* TS.

deva varuna devayajanaṁ no dehi svāhā (ApŚ. °yajanaṁ me dehi) PB.

ApŚ. Cf. *deva savitar devayajanaṁ me dehi devayajyāyai* AB.

agnir mā tasmād enasaḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

ApŚ. Kauś. SMB.: *agnir nas tasmād enasaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.

evāsmān (KS. *evā mām*, AV. *tendāsmān*) *indro varuṇo bṛhaspatih* AV. MS.

KS.: *tena no rājā varuṇo bṛhaspatih* TS. ŚŚ.

mā mā (SMB. *no*) *hinsisṭa* VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. Vait.

mā no (VS. VSK. ŚB. *mā*) *hinsij janitā yah prthivyāḥ* RV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ. *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ. °āmī)

AV.† KS. MŚ.: *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB. ApŚ.: *mā*

no hinsīd dhinsīto dadhāmi (some mss. om. *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi*

AŚ.

yajatrā muñcateha naḥ (TB. *mā*) AV. TB.

yad bhadraṁ tan na (TB. TA. ApŚ. *ma*) *ā suva* RV. VS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

Kauś. MahānU.

yo no (AV. *mā*) *divā dipsati yaś ca naktam* RV. AV.

vājo naḥ (MS. *me*, KS. *mā*) *sapta pradikāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In the same verse:

vājo no (MS. KS. *mā*) *viśvair devair* VS. TS. MS. KS.

vaiśvānaro raśmībhir mā (AV. *naḥ*) *punātu* AV. MS. TB.

śam ca no mayāś ca naḥ AV. Kauś.: *śam ca me mayāś ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

ubhe ca no (ŚB. *cainam*, ŚŚ. *cainam* [*na iti vā*]) *dyāvāprthivī anhasaḥ pātām*. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚB. also has the reading *ubhe ca mā* etc., which it rejects, since *mā* would refer to the hotar, whereas the *yajamāna* should be indicated. The difference between 1st and 3rd person then seems to depend almost wholly on brahmanic theorizing. However, MS., TB., AŚ., a school contested by ŚŚ., and the Kāṇva recension of ŚB. read *no*, making no difficulty about including the officiating priests in the benediction.

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasaḥ TB.: *kṛtān naḥ pāhy anhasaḥ* (TA. *enasaḥ*) MS. TA.

oṣadhībhyāḥ paśave no (KS. MŚ. ApŚ. *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS. MŚ. ApŚ.† *dhanāya*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

kalpatām me yogakṣemaḥ AB.: *yogakṣemo naḥ kalpatām* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB.

- gṛhān naḥ pīlaro datta* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. SMB. GG.: *vīraṁ me* (MŚ. *no*) *datta pīlaraḥ* AŚ. MŚ.: *vīrān naḥ* (Kauś. *me*) *pīlaro datta* (Kauś. *datta*) Kauś. ViDh.
- gopoṣaṁ ca me* (MŚ. AŚ. *gopoṣaṁ ca no*, TB.† ApŚ. *gopoṣaṁ no*) *vīrapoṣaṁ ca yacha* (AV. MŚ. *dhehi*) AV. TB. 3. 7. 2. 7. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *tāśāṁ te sarvāsāṁ vāyam* (and °*sām aham*) AV. (both).
- lasya bhājayateḥa naḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. ApMB.: *lasyāgne bhājayeha mā* TB.
- layāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca* ApMB.: *vardhiṣimahi ca vāyam ā ca pyāsiṣimahi* (MS. MŚ. ApŚ.† *pyāyīṣimahi ca*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. HG.
- tan no* (MahānU. *me*) *varuṇo rājā* TA. MahānU.
- tan me* (VS. *no*) *astu tryāyugaṁ* VS. VSK. ApMB. HG. MG.
- tan* (GB. *etan*) *no gopāya* MS. KS. GB. ApŚ.: *tan me gopāya* (Kauś. *gopāyassa*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.
- tarpayata me* (ŚŚ. *naḥ*) *pītṛn* VS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. BDh.
- lasya no* (TS. *me*) *rāsva* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.
- tasmai no* (AV. *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteha* (KS. MŚ. °*datta*, PG. °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ.† *viśve*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh.
- tābhīr no* (MS. *tebhīr mā*) *devaḥ savitā punātu* MS. ApŚ.: *tābhīṣ teḍ devaḥ savitā punātu* ApMB.
- agnir naḥ* (VSK. *mā*) *pātu duritād avadyāt* VS. VSK. ŚB.
- agnir naś* (TA. *mā*) *tasmād indraś ca* MS. TA.
- agne jātān pra nūdā naḥ* (AV. *me*) *sapatnān* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.
- agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva* (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS. *abhi no nivartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś. *abhi na ā vartasva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.
- adhā cid indra me* (SV. *naḥ*) *sacā* RV. AV. SV.
- anamitram no attharāt* (VSK.† *me adharāk*, KS. *no adharāk*) AV. VSK. KS. In the same verse:
- indrānamitram* (KS. *ms. °trān*, see §703 end) *naḥ paścāt* (VSK. °*tram paścān me*) AV. VSK. KS.
- abhayaṁ mītravaruṇāv ihāstu naḥ* (AG. °*varuṇā mahyam astu*) AV. AG.
- abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā me* (AV. *naḥ*) RV. AV.
- abhiṣṭir* (HG. *abhiṣṭir*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG. *ca no grhe*) RVKh. HG.: *abhiṣṭir yā ca no grhe* ApMB.
- arvācīnam vasuvidam bhagam naḥ* (AV. *me*) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TB. ApMB.
- mām* (AV. *asmān*) *punīhi* (MS. *punāhi*) *viśvataḥ* (AV. *cakṣase*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS.

- ahar no atyapīparat SMB. MahānU.: ahar mātṛy apīparah AV.
 ādityās tasmān no (TB. mā) yūyam AV. TB.
 ā no (VS. ŚB. mā) goṣu viśatu auśadhīṣu (MS. ośadhīṣu, VS. KS. ŚB. ā
 tanūṣu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
 āśir na (TS. KS. KŚ. mā, MS. nā) ūrjam uta sauprajāstvam (TS. MS.
 KS. KŚ. *supra*°) AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.
 abhayaṁ vo (ŚŚ.° te) 'bhayaṁ no astu (AB. AŚ. me 'stu) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
 (both): abhayaṁ no astu MS. KS. ŚŚ. ŚG.: abhayaṁ me astu (AB.†
 'stu) AB. ApŚ.
 āpo asmān (MS. mā) mātaraḥ śundhayantu (AV. MS. KS. sūdayantu,
 TS. ApŚ. śundhantu) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.
 āganta pīlaraḥ pītṛmān ahaṁ yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsam suprajāso mayā yūyam
 bhūyāsta TS.: āganta pīlaraḥ somyāśas teṣāṁ vah prativittā ariṣṭāḥ
 syāma supīlaro vayan yuṣmābhīr bhūyāśma suprajāso yūyam asmā-
 bhīr bhūyāsta MŚ.
 pūṣā nā ādhāt suktasya loke MS.: pūṣā mādāt (AV. mā dhāt) suktasya
 loke AV. TS. KS.
 bandhur me (AV. no) mātā pṛthivī mahīyam RV. AV. N.
 bodhā me (TS. no) asya vacaso pariṣṭha RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
 deveṣu nah suktto (VSK. deveṣu mā suktam) brūtāt (KS. brūta, PB. MŚ.
 brūyāt) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: devebhyo mā suktam brūtāt (ŚB.
 with ūha, vocēḥ for brūtāt) VS. ŚB.: suktam mā deveṣu brūtāt TS.
 pra mā (TS. ApŚ. no) brūtād bhāgadām (TS. °dhān, ApŚ. °dhām, KS.
 dhavirdā) devatāsu (KS. °lābhyaḥ) 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:
 edhamānaḥ (Kauś. °nāḥ) svagrhe (Kauś. sve grhe) ŚB. BrhU. Kauś.:
 edhamāna sve vāse ApMB.
 jīcā (TB. ApŚ. jīvo) jīvantīr upa vah sadema (TB. ApŚ. sadeyam) AV.
 KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
 devā dhanena dhanam ichamānaḥ HG.: dhanena devā dhanam ichamānaḥ
 AV. ApMB. The verbs *carāma*, °mi occur in the preceding.
 āyuṣmān jaradaṣṭīr yathāśāni AV.: āyuṣmanto jarām upagachema devāḥ
 (KS. jīvāḥ) KS. ApŚ.
 gātrāṇāṁ te gātrabhājo bhūyāśma (KS. gātrabhāj bhūyāśam) TS. KS.
 traṣṭṛmantas (MS. MŚ. traṣṭṛi°, ApŚ. traṣṭu°) tvā sapema VS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. ApŚ.: traṣṭṛimati (TS. ApŚ. traṣṭi°, and so TA. Poona ed.
 with v. l. traṣṭṛi°) te sapeya TS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. §849.
 ihaiva santaḥ prati tad yātayāmaḥ (AV. prati dadma enat) AV. TB. ApŚ.:

ihāiva san niravodaye 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:

yatkāmā te juhomas tan no astu RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. TAA. SMB. ApMB. N.: *yatkāma idam juhomi tan me samdhyatām* TB. The context of the latter is partly the same and has a plural. *yac cāham eno vidvāns cakāra yac cāvidvāns* . . . VS. ŚŚ.: *yac cāham eno vidvānsaś cāvidvānsaś cainaś cakrma* . . . MahānU. The comm. to the latter attempts to remove the glaring inconsistency by supplying *akārṣam* with *aham*.

2. The neuter singular (and plural)

§727. The neuter gender often carries with it (cf. §807) a tinge of generalization; and neuter singular forms (nouns or indefinite adjectives), which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, vary with plural epithets of the same or other genders. (On neuter adverbs see §734.)

kṛṣṭapacyāś (TS. KS. °yam) *ca me 'kṛṣṭapacyāś* (TS. KS. °yam) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *oṣadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me*. '(Plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation': 'that which ripens' etc.

ekaśapham aśṛjyata MS.: *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'śṛjyanta* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. In MS. ('the whole-hoofed [kind of cattle]') followed by a parallel formula, *kṣudrāḥ paśavo 'śṛjyanta*.

āsyai brāhmaṇāḥ śnapanīr (ApMB. °nam) *harantu* AV. ApMB. 'Let the brahmans bring her bathing-water.' With *śnapanīr* sc. *āpaḥ*. Cf. next.

āpaḥ pādyaḥ ApŚ.: *pādyaḥ* (Kauś.—not HG.—*pādyaḥ bhoh*) Kauś. HG. '(Water) for the feet.' Cf. pree.

hotṛṣadanam haritam hiranyayam AV.: *hotṛṣadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ* TB. ApŚ. With the latter supply *darbhāḥ*: '(grass) for the hotar to sit on, yellow, golden.' AV. feels *hotṛṣadanam*, which means the same thing, as a neuter abstract: 'a seat for the hotar' etc. Cf. *darbhāḥ strīṣṭa haritāḥ suparnāḥ* (KS.† *suvarṇāḥ*) KS. MŚ.

samṛddhikaraṇam tava (HG. °karaṇān mama) PG. HG. Preceded by *imānī lājān ā vapāmy agnau* (HG. *vapāmi*, om. *agnau*); followed by *tubhyaḥ* (PG. *mama tubhyaḥ ca*) *samvānanam*. 'I cast these kernels. . . as increase-makers (a making of increase). . . a harmonizing.'

tṛmpantu hotrā madhvo yāḥ sviṣṭāḥ (VSK. *yat sviṣṭam*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Followed by:

yāh supṛtāh suhūtā yat svāhā VS. ŚB.: *yat subhṛtam yat svāhā* VSK. In VS. ŚB.: 'Let the priestly offices, which have been well offered, rejoice' etc. In VSK. *yat* etc. might refer to the unexpressed and indefinite object of the verb: 'let the priestly offices rejoice (in that) which is well offered' etc. But the change was surely suggested by *suhūtā yat svāhā* of VS., in which *yat* is a conjunction, 'when well offered with *svāhā*'. Most likely, therefore, *yat* is to be taken thus all three times in VSK. and the neuters are indefinite: 'let the priestly offices rejoice when good sacrifice has been made' etc.

duraś ca viśed aṛṇod apa svāhā RV. AV.: *turaś cid viśvam ṛarṇavat tapas-vān* AV. The AV. is corrupt; but *viśvam* seems clearly an indefinite neuter.

prajā vikṛṇvan (ApŚ. *vikurvan*, MS. *prajāh kṛṇvan*) *janayan virūpāh* (KS. °*pam*) MS. KS. ApŚ. *virūpam* indefinite neuter in KS. (probably original); in the others *prajāh* is understood with it.

taj (RV. *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The RV. *tā* refers back to *dārūṇi*; the other texts substitute the indefinite sing. *tad*, with the same reference, possibly; but see §737. In different context, *tam ju° ya°* RV.

salakṣmā (MS. KS. °*mā*) *yad viśurūpā* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*pam*) *bhavāti* (MS. KS. *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāṇo bhavatha* TS. The pāda originally (in RV. AV.) occurs in the Yama-Yamī hymn; the fem. adjectives apply to Yamī. The YV. texts apply it to a wholly different context, by 'phrase-inflection' (§848). Here it applies to the members of the slaughtered animal, here assembled, and most YV. text use the indefinite neuter singular: 'that what is manifold may become of one sort'. (In VS. ŚB. only this can be intended, as *viśurūpam* shows; *salakṣmā* is anomalous, perhaps due to influence of the RV. original, perhaps to be explained as having rhythmically lengthened final *a*, VV 2 §§459-60; the comm. interprets as neuter.) In TS. the members of the animal are directly addressed, and the adjectives are masc. pl.: 'that ye, manifold, may become of one sort.'

§728. So the indefinite *sarvam* 'everything' varies with *sarvān* 'all (men)'; but the variant *sarvān*, nom. sg., 'heading everywhither', is likely to be more original than either:

amāsi (SMB. *amā hy asi*, ŚG. *amo 'si*) *sarvān* (AŚ. *sarvān*, SMB. *sarvam*) *asi* (SMB. *anu*) *praviṣṭah* AŚ. ŚG. SMB. Kauś.

§729. Also *tad* and *tāni*, neuter sg. and pl., both indefinite, are interchangeable (see also *yasmāj jātam [jātā]* etc., §810).

yas tad veda (AV.* VS. *tāni veda*, RV. AV.* TA.* N. *tā vijāndt*) *sa pituḥ* (VS. MahānU. *pituh*, TA. *savituh*) *pitāsat* 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*) *āpah sa* (VSK. *ta*) *prajāpatih* 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 *viśva* with singular noun (?)

§731. Twice the text of TS. presents the form *viśve*, apparently nom. pl., where other texts have *viśva* (in the sense of 'every, each'), agreeing (even in TS.) with a singular (*martah*); both are parts of the same stanza. The TS. version of the stanza is otherwise inferior, and Keith calls *viśve* 'senseless'. Yet the repetition seems to guarantee it as the genuine Tait. reading; moreover ApŚ. has the same. Either it is a Māgadhism, intended as nom. sg. (cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Spr.* §363), or else a plural epithet going with a singular subject. Tho this would be a bizarre construction, it is not inconceivable that TS. may have so intended; it would be an illogical blend of *viśvo martah* 'every man' with *viśve martāh* 'all men.'—The same *viśve* apparently with a sing. noun occurs a third time in TS., *atha viśve arapṣṭ edhate grhaḥ*, §457, q. v.

viśvo (TS. ApŚ. *viśve*) *devasya netuh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB.

AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. (delete KSA. in Conc.).

viśvo (TS. *viśve*) *rāya igudhyati* (TS. **sa*) 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:

mītrah (SV. *mītrās*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *yam maruto yam aryamā*; in SV. *aryamā* is a complementary singular to the elliptic plural *mītrās*, 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 svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcāir uccāiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV.

trīṇi padāni (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Both *guhā* and *guhāsu* are quasi-adverbial. *agnaye vo juṣṭān prokṣāmy amuṣmai vo juṣṭān* MS. MŚ.: *agnaye vo juṣṭam prokṣāmi* TS. TB. ApŚ. *juṣṭān* agrees with *vo* = offerings of food; *juṣṭam* is doubtless an adverb: 'agreeably to Agni' (otherwise Keith).

bhūyaś ca śaradāḥ śatāt VS. MG.: *bhūyasīḥ* (mss. °sī) *śaradāḥ śatāt* AV. *sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni joṣate* (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS. MS.: *sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (and *havanāni joṣat*) KS. *nedīṣṭham* 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 §§353ff.

candreṇa jyotir amṛtaḥ dadhānāḥ (KS. TB. Poona ed. and comm. °nā) VS. KS. TB.: *kukraḥ na jyotir amṛtaḥ dadhānā* MS. (p.p. °nāḥ). The sing. agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject; the plural with S. and the Aśvins. On the phonetic aspect (final visarga present or absent) cf. VV 2 §381.

ivaṣṭā viṣṇuḥ (MS. *viṣṇus tvaṣṭā*) *prajāyā samraraṇāḥ* (VS. KS. ŚB. °ṇāḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. The verb, in the following *pāda*, agrees in number with the participle in all texts, except that in KS., which has the mantra three times with plural pple., the verb

is twice singular in the edition (but with v. l. plural in one case). See VV 1 p. 262 under *yajamānāya dravinam dadhāta* (^o*tu*). Probably the plural should be read all three times.

(*idā sarasvatī mahī*) *bhārati grṇānā* AV. MS.: (*idā sarasvatī bhārati mahī grṇānā* (KS. *mahīr grṇānā*) VS. TS. KS.: *idā sarasvatī bhārati mahī* (TB. *mahī*) VS. TB. In the last formula (in which the Poona ed. of TB. separates *mahī* from the preceding, making it part of the next pāda), the TB. comm. interprets *mahī* as a plural (*mahatyah*), going with all the nouns (!).

Singular-plural variations with more definite change of meaning

§736. The phraseology used in this heading does not mean, of course, to deny that a change of 'meaning' in some sense occurs in the variants heretofore mentioned; we suggest only that such changes are not, as a rule, of the sort commonly and conventionally associated with the simple contrast between singularity and plurality of objects. The variants now to be considered fall roughly into the following groups. First, 'transfer of epithet': the variant word is applied to a different entity, in essentially the same context, necessitating a change of number. Second, 'phrase inflection': the formula is used in a different context, involving a different application of the variant word. Third, pluralization or the reverse in the same context: without change of context or verbal attraction to a different entity, the word is nevertheless understood of a plural entity in one form and of a singular one in the other; the entity referred to may be otherwise the same or different. Fourth, other, miscellaneous changes are involved; in some of them form attraction to some other word (other than what we term 'transfer of epithet') seems to have been influential.

7. Transfer of epithet

§737. We have met this phenomenon frequently under variations between the cases; see §14 for a general statement. Many of the transfers listed under the various shifts of case involve also change of number; these will not be repeated here. The following are those which involve shift of number only (or, in a few cases, also of gender), between singular and plural:

indreṇa 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 *indreṇa*.

viśvā rūpāṇi sambhṛtā (JB. ^o*lam*) SV. JB. ŚB. LŚ. Preceded by *gāya-*

tram traistubham jagat; JB. makes the epithet apply to (presumably) the last of the singulars in the preceding pāda.

taj (RV. *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *yad agne kani kani cid, ā te dārūni dadhmasi* (with slight variants). RV. refers *tā* to *dārūni*; the others with *taj* refer either to the same indefinitely (§727), or specifically to what is denoted by *yad*.

niṣkrītaḥ sa (TS. *niṣkrīto 'yam*, KS. MŚ. *niṣkrītas te*) *yajñīyam bhāgam etu* (KS. MŚ. *bhāgam yantu*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. Singular refers to *paśupati*, plural to the cattle themselves.

ā yal tṛpaṇ maruto vācānāḥ (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *priyā vo nāma huve turānām*. The epithet is apparently transferred from the Maruts to the subject of *tṛpat*; Ludwig makes the plural refer to this! The verse however is very troublesome; see Oldenberg.

idāno (KS. °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. °*nim*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The latter makes the epithet agree with *aruco* in the next pāda; see §399.

uruvyacasā dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV. The YV. texts make *uru*° agree with *deśas*; AV. has a false verse division and makes it agree with *dhāmnā*.

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ (KS.† °*naḥ*, mss. *camānāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuwo vasānāḥ* TS. Pischel VSt. 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 *āpah* in the preceding; the adjoining plural forms helped in the shift.

mayobhuvo vṛṣṭayāḥ santv asme RV. KS.: *mayobhūr vāto viśvakṛṣṭayāḥ santv asme* TA. In the latter the adjective is made to agree with *vāto*, which is itself a secondary intrusion in TA.

dhanur hastād ādadāno (TA. °*nā*) *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 vayan svīrāḥ [suśevāḥ]*) of the dead man; TA. comm. understands it of the widow and makes *ādadānā* fem. sg. agreeing with it; we take the pple. as *ādadānāḥ* nom. pl. masc. going with *vayan*, cf. Oldenberg's remarks; the sg. doubtless refers to the son of the deceased.

tābhiḥ tvābhigñācāmi MG.: *tena tvām abhigñācāmi* YDh. Preceded by *sahasrākṣam śatadhāram ṛṣibhiḥ pāvanam kṛtam*, and followed by

pāramānīh pūnanu tvā (with minor variants). YDh. has adopted for *tena* the number and gender of *pāvanam*, instead of *pāvamānīh*.

§738. In the following, the variant word is in one form of the variant an independent form rather than, strictly speaking, an 'epithet' of another word (§15):

asme (ApŚ. *asmai*) *karmāne jātaḥ* MS. ApŚ. 'Born for us for the rite (for this rite).' Cf. VV 2 §704, and above §721.

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS. ApŚ.: *śrad asmai naro vacase dadhātana* VS. Keith and Caland assume *asmai* as intended; cf. prec. But *asme* might at a pinch be interpreted as 'ethical dative': 'O gods, regard the wonder which we tell.' The change is really phonetic in character, however.

kṣutpipāsāmālā jyeṣṭhāḥ (TAA. °*malāḥ jyeṣṭhām*) RVKh. TAA. Scheftelowitz reads *jyeṣṭhām*, which is doubtless the correct reading (= Misfortune, eldest sister of Lakṣmī); if *jyeṣṭhāḥ* be kept it can be construed as an adjective, with the following *alakṣmīr* (for which Scheft. adopts the monstrous *alakṣmīn*). If °*malā* can stand it is doubtless a fem. acc. pl., epithet of *alakṣmīr* ('stained by hunger and thirst'); the alternative would be to take it as Vedic n. pl. (for °*malāni*); °*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.

adharācīḥ parā suva VS. MS. KS. (sc. *yātudhānyah*): *adharāñcam parā suva* AV. (sc. *takmānam*).

vīprā viprasya bṛhato vipāścītaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚvetU.: *vipro viprasya sahaso vipāścīt* AV. The latter refers, in a new context, to a goat (*aja*).

viśvāḥ dhātām anapasphurantīm RV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *viśvāḥ santu anapasphurantīḥ* AV. TA. 'Ever not shrinking from being milked'; of a cow or cows, in different contexts.

trīr varān vṛṇīṣva Kauś.: *varam vṛṇīṣva* ApMB. HG. Not true variants. *sarāḥ* (RV. VS. *śirāḥ*) *patatrinī(h) sthāna* (KS. *etha*) RV. VS. TS. MS.

KS.: *sarā patatrinī bhūtvā* AV. Reference is to a plant or plants, in different contexts.

indro vaḥ (AV. *me*) *karma yachatu* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. Different contexts.

trir ā divo vidathe patyamānah (°nāh) RV. (both).

yatamānā (°no) *raśmibhiḥ sūryasya* RV. (both).

ratnam devasya savitur iṣānah (°nāh) RV. (both).

rakṣahaṇo (VS. ŚB. °haṇo vo) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ.* °vam) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. (bis). In ApŚ. 11. 12. 5, where *vaiṣṇavān* is found, the ritual context is the same as in TS. and the rest; the plurals refer to the 'sound-holes'. In 12. 2. 15 the skin (*carna*) for the soma-pressing is addressed in a different context, and the formula is partially adapted, the sing. *vaiṣṇavam* being appropriate. Nevertheless the plural forms of the first two adjectives are inappropriately retained from the original form of the formula; perhaps they are understood indefinitely, as referring to any 'demon-slaying' entities.

rāyas poṣe yajñapatim abhajanāh (TS.* °ti) VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. ŚB. *rodena kṛṇvati* (*kṛṇvaty*, *kṛṇvanto*) *agham* AV. (ter).

saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV. AV. SV. N.: *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣāh* (MS. *avihrutāh*) AV. MS.

kaś te yunakti sa tvā yunaktu (VS. ŚB. °ti) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu* ApŚ. MŚ.: *kaś te yunakti* MG. Also with forms of *vi-muc*; to different ritual entities.

adabdhena tvā (KS.* ApŚ.* *vaś*) *cakṣuṣāvapaśyāmi*... VS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *adabdhena tvā* (ApŚ.* *vaś*) *cakṣuṣāvekṣe*... TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. (delete KS. reference in Conc.).

sumṛḍikān abhiṣṭaye RV. TS. MS.: *sumṛḍikām abhiṣṭaye* RV. VS. BSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tasya vayanam sumatāu yajñīyasya RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *tezām vayanam sumatāu yajñīyānām* RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. N. Several different contexts.

yathāham asya vīrasya RV. ApMB.: *yathāham eṣām bhūtānām* (AV. *vīrānām*) RV. AV. The sing. is said by a woman of her husband; RV. *bhūtānām* by a king of his subjects, and so AV. *vīrānām*, but apparently influenced in its choice of epithet by reminiscence of *vīrasya* in the different RV. context.

evā triṇāmann ahṇīyamānah (TS. °nāh) AV. TS.

ghṛtapruṣā manasā (TB. *madhunā*) *havyam undan* (VS. *manasā modamānāh*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. Several different contexts.

anhoś cid asmā urucakrīr adbhutaḥ RV.: *anhoś cid urucakrayaḥ* RV.: *anhoś cid urucakrayo 'nehasaḥ* RV.

ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi TB.: *ado yad avadhāvasi* AV.: *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvasi* HG. ApMB.

asmabhyam gātuvittamāḥ (RV.* °mah) RV. (bis) SV. As both refer to soma, the variant might perhaps be put with §712, tho the contexts are different.

īśānam vāryāṇām RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. JB.: *īśānā vāryāṇām* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA.

tān te paridadāmy aham ApŚ.: *tām te paridadāmy aham* (TA. *paridadāmi*) TA. ApŚ.

ya (AV.* *ye antarikṣa*) *oṣadhīṣu paśuṣu apṣv antaḥ* (KS. *paśuṣu āniveśa*) AV. (bis) KS.

bhākṣīya te (and *vo*) *vaso daivyaśya* RV. (both). Sing. Indra; pl. the Maruts.

bhūtyai tvā (Kauś. *vah*) KS. TA. ApŚ. Kauś. Hardly true variants.

tān (TS.* *tān*) *rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan* (TS.* *dabhat*) VS. TS. (bis) MS. KS. ŚB.

mayi vah kāmādharaṇam bhūyāt (ŚŚ. om. *bhūyāt*) VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mayi te kāmādharaṇam bhūyāt* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

āyātu (TB.* *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣāṇaḥ* (TB.* °ṇaḥ) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both).

subhūṭāya tvā (ŚŚ. *vah*; HG. adds *paridadāmi*) ApŚ. ŚŚ. HG. Hardly true variants.

anehasas tvotayāḥ RV.: *anehaso va ūtayāḥ* RV.

ayam vo garbha rtriyāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayam te yonir rtriyāḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. JābU. Different contexts and probably not true variants.

mayi vo (TS.* *te*) *rāyāḥ śrayantām* TS. (both) MS. KS. LŚ.

indraghoṣaḥ (KS. MS. °ṣaḥ) *tvā vasubhīḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *tvā vasavaḥ pu° pāntu*, MS. *tvā purastād vasubhīḥ pāntu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *indraghoṣā vo vasubhīḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA. This and four parallel formulas are used all together, in TA. (with plural acc. pronoun) addressed to a layer of bricks, in the others (with sg.) to the altar. The settings are wholly different; obviously TA. has borrowed the whole passage and applied it to a new purpose. Two of the parallel mantras are quoted §412 under *manojarāḥ*... and *pracetās*... The other two are:

tvāṣṭā tvā rūpāir upariṣṭāt pātu KS. ApŚ.: *tvāṣṭā vo rūpāir upariṣṭād upadadhatām* TA. And:

viśvakarmā tvādītyair uttarataḥ (MS. KS. *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viśvakarmā va ādītyair uttarata upadadhatām* TA.

devas tvā savitā punāte (MŚ. GG. KhG. *savitotpunāte*) *achidreṇa*... TS. MS. KS. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *devo vah savitā punāte achidreṇa*... MS. KS.

upahūta (LŚ. °tā) *upahavān te* (LŚ. vo) 'śīya TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ. *akṣāṇs tān* VS. KS. TB.; *aghaṭ tam* VS.; *aghaṭām tam* MS. TB. 3. 6.

15. 1. The pronouns refer to sacrificial animals, in different but related contexts.

mama vaśegu hṛdayāni vaḥ kṛṇomi AV.; *mama vrate te hṛdayān* (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.; *mama hṛdaye hṛdayān te astu* HG. The AV. addresses the subjects of a king; the others the guru's śiṣya at the upanayana. *rakṣāṇsi tayā* (and *tābhīr*) *daha jātavedaḥ* Kauś. (both).

irām vahanto (ApMB. *vahato*, MG. *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.; *irām vahantaḥ sumanasyamānāḥ* HG. In different contexts; MG. refers to the bride. But the adaptation of the formula in MG. is imperfect; we fail to see how Knauer can defend the correctness of his text as he does.

ayakṣmāya tvā samśrjāmi prajābhyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.; *ayakṣmā taḥ prajāyā samśrjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. Different contexts.

9. Pluralization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§740. Thirdly, in some cases where the context is the same, and where there is no formal 'transfer of epithet', the ritual entity designated by the variant word is pluralized in one variant by the inclusion of other individuals, or by the substitution of a plural entity for a singular one; or vice versa. For example: *ṛtena* (MG. *ṛtena*) *sthūnām* (ApMB. MG. *sthūnāḥ*, MG. *sthūnā*) *adhi roḥa vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśaḥ*) 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:

mahad adya bharatasya (and *bharatānām*) ŚB. (both); *mahākarma bhara-tasya* AB. The singular refers to Bharata Dauṣṇanti, the plural to the Bharata family.

atharvane svāhā ŚB.; *atharvabhyaḥ* (sc. *svāhā*) BDh. Hardly to be considered variants. The plural means the (hymns of the) Atharva Veda, the singular the ṛsi Atharvan.

ādityāś ca me sāvitraś ca me TS.; *ādityāś ca mā indraś 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 nāthakāma upadhāvāmi* (ApMB. °kāmaḥ prapadye) SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *brāhmaṇa vo nāthakāma upadhāvāmi* SMB. Singular is addressed in several successive mantras to various gods; plural to them all collectively.
- abhayaṁ vo* (ŚŚ.* *te*) 'bhayaṁ 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*) *atī srjāmi tam* (and *tēn*) *mābhy avanikṣi* AV. (both). Both in the same litany, addressed to various ritual entities.
- ēṣa vo deva savitah somah* TS. ApŚ.: *deva savitar ēṣa te somah* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Followed by *mā tvā* (TS. *vo*) *dabhan* (TS. *dabhat*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural pronoun refers to the gods including Savitar.
- mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā prañikṣe* (with variants) VSK. TS. KS. KB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā prekṣe* (*cakṣuṣānuruṣe*) MS. AŚ. MŚ. Reference to various ritual entities, in same context.
- utemāḥ paśya* TS.: *utemaḥ paśya* MS. MŚ. In the same context, but with different reference; in TS. to waters, in MS. MŚ. to *yajña*.
- devasya tvā* (MS. *vaḥ*) *savituh prasave . . . samvopāmi* VS. MS. TB. ŚB. (Delete reference to MS. under *devasya tvā* in Conc.) Singular refers to rice, plural to rice and water.
- anīśitāsi sapatnakṣit* VS.: *anīśito 'si sapatnakṣit* VS. ŚB.: *anīśitāḥ* (KS. ApŚ. add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayanīḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ. Used in the same ritual context of various implements, one or several (*śruc*, *śruva*).
- rakṣohanam tvā valagahanam avasiñcāmi* (and *avastṛñāmi*) *vaiṣṇavam* MS. MŚ.: *rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vasiñcāmi* (and *'vastṛñāmi*) *vaiṣṇavān* KS.: *rakṣohano* (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahano 'vastṛñāmi vaiṣṇavān* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. Four holes are referred to; MS. MŚ. address them one by one.
- yā* (ApMB. HG. *yām*) *āharaj jamadagniḥ* PG. ApMB. HG. In the same context; singular refers to a wreath, plural to flowers.
- pratnam ni pāti kāvyam* RV.: *†pratnāni* (Conc. *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāryaḥ* 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:

trīḥ sapta mātuh paramāni vindan RV.: *trīḥ sapta paramam nāma jānan* ArS. Preceded in both by *te manvata prathamam nāma dhenoh*. 'They thought out the first name of the cow, they found the thrice seven supreme (names) of the mother (cow)', or 'they knew the thrice seven (names), the supreme (name, of the cow)'. The change to singular in ArS. is due to the preceding singulars.

abhi priyā (SV. *priyam*) *divas padam* RV. SV. It is obvious that SV. has assimilated the adjective to *padam*. This is a lect. fac.; the sense requires such a construction. The RV. *priyā* must be taken with Lanman *NInfl.* 349 and Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc. as acc. pl. neut., sc. *padāni*: 'unto the dear (places), the place of heaven.' Cf. RV. 9. 12. 8.

vāto vā (VSK. *vā vo*) *mano vā* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *vāyur vā tvā manur vā tvā* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApS. MŚ. 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.

kaviṇ pṛchāmi vidmane (AV. *vidvāno*) *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:

ūrjasvatī rājasvāḥ (TS. *rājasūyāya*, MS. KS. *rājasūyāś*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. '(Waters) rich in food, king-creating, wise (or, wise unto king-creation)'. In this *rājasū* or *śūya* as adjective varies with the commoner abstract noun *rājasūya*. Cf. next.

svāhā rājasūyāḥ MS. MŚ.: *svāhā rājasūyāya citānāḥ* TS.: *svāhā rājasvāḥ* VS. ŚB. Cf. preceding, which comes shortly before this in the texts.

drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV. *caskanda prathamān anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Here the two meanings of the stem *dir* are concerned. RV. 'thruout the earliest days'; the others 'thru earth and heaven.'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś (TA. *brahmā*) *ca* AV. TA. Whatever *brāhmāś* of AV. may mean, which is uncertain, TA. has a different word and means the personalized Brahman.

indrasya hārdy (AV. *hārdim*) *āviśan manīgibhiḥ* (AV. *manīṣayā*) RV. AV. SV. 'By the wise (priests)': 'by wisdom'.

jaghāna vṛtram yatir na SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *vṛtram yo jaghāna yatir na* AV. Obscure; cf. Whitney on AV. 2. 5. 3.

prāṇebhīḥ (MS. KS. *prāṇena*) *saṃśasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
Uncertain; see VV 2 §491.

yo agnaye dadāṣa havyadātībhiḥ (SV. °*laye*) RV. SV. See §567.

mitraḥ satyānām (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. PG. Abstract
noun: adjective.

12. Doubtful or erroneous

§743. Doubtful or erroneous variants:

trayastrīṣat tantavo ye vi tatnīre (MS. *yam vitanvate*, KS. AŚ. *yān vitanvate*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The singular makes no sense; tho MS. p.p. also reads *yam*, it seems as if *yān* must be intended. Perhaps it is to be connected with the peculiar sandhi of final *ān* before vowels (in MS. this appears as *am*), cf. von Schroeder 1 p. xxix. [*pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* AV. KS. (bis). Add KS. 30. 10, for which Cone. has *pari tvā*. . .]

[*arkam* (TS. *bṛhad arkam*) *yūñjānāḥ svar* (*svar*) *ābharann idam* TS. MS. KS. Conc. *yūñjānāḥ* 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 *varuṇas 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:

añghrinā viṣṇo mā teḍva (KS. *viṣṇū mā vdm ava*) *kramiṣam* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnāviṣṇū mā vdm ava kramiṣam* TS. TB. ApŚ. In most texts including KS. the pair Agni and Viṣṇu are addressed (in KS. by the elliptic dual *viṣṇū*), while VS. ŚB. address Viṣṇu alone.

kṣāman (KS. *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā* (MS. KS. *ketunā*) 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.

taṭra pakyema pitarau ca putrān (TA. *pitarān ca putram*) AV. TA. The elliptic dual *pitarau* (= father and mother) is replaced in TA. by the singular 'father'.

§746. Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual. In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV.) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual; yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain:

dyāvā hotrāya 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 singulars: *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udīthah sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. There is no reason to emend the ŚB. reading with Eggeling and the Conc.; *indrā* means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mītra and Varuṇa.

§748. More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulars, both referring to the same pair. The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words:

viṣṇum agan varuṇam pūrvahūtiḥ AV.: *viṣṇā agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS. °tim) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnim indram vtrahanā huve 'ham (MS. °hanam *huvema*) AV. MS.: *agnī indrā vtrahanā huve vām* TB. The double dual *indrā* . . *agnī* occurs twice in RV., and the compound *indrāgnī* (often pronounced as four syllables) is common. Note the singular adjective in MS.; cf. §757.

§749. It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulars:

ā mītravaruṇā bhagam RV.: *ā mītre varuṇe bhage* SV.

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB.: *indrāḥ sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā* AŚ.

śatam indrāgnī (AV. * *śatam ta indro agniḥ*) *śavita bṛhaspatīḥ* RV. AV. (both) N. Note that AV. is metrically bad.

iṣam no mītravaruṇā kartanedām AA.: *ūrjā mītro varuṇaḥ pinvateḍaḥ* SV.

ayaś laṇḍo marka upavīra ulūkhalah ApMB.†: *laṇḍamarkā* (HG. *laṇḍo marka*) *upavīrah* PG. HG. The ed. of PG. prints *laṇḍā markā* as separate words.

namo divē namaḥ prthivyai AV. VSK. TS. MS. GB. TA. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.: *namo dyāvāprthivibhyām* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ŚG.

§750. The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (*devatā*) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom.-acc. dual form in the prior member. This also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph:

ṛṣī bodhapratibodhau AV.: *ṛṣir bodhaḥ prabodhaḥ* ApMB.: *bodhaś ca tvā* (KS. MG. *mā*) *pratibodhaś* (MG. *prati*?) *ca* AV. KS.† MG. ApMB.

Note sing. *ṛṣir* in ApMB.; see §757.

śakvaran̄ raivatam̄ sōma KS.: *śakvararaivate sōmanī* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Again cf. §757.

mayī dakṣo mayī kratuḥ VS. MS. TB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.: *mayī dakṣakratū* ApŚ. AG. HG.

vairūpaṁ ca vairājaṁ cāparau AB.: *vairūpavairāje anūcī* LŚ.

śarma varūtham̄ (HG. *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt* ApMB. HG. But for the separate accents, *śarma-varūtham̄* of ApMB. might be considered a singular dvandva, cf. next §.

bṛhatī tvā ratham̄tareṇa traiṣṭubhyā (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā*. . . MS. KS.:

bṛhadratham̄tarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā. . . TS.

bṛhaḥ ca te ratham̄taram̄ ca pūrvau pādau bhavatām AB.: *bṛhadratham̄tare te pūrvau pādau*. . . 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:

kṣutpīpāsābhyām (TAA. °*sāya*) *svāhā* SMB. TAA. GG.

iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir (*kṛṇavathāvir*, *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*)

VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. MŚ.: *iṣṭāpūrtam̄ sma kṛṇutāvir asmai* AV.:

iṣṭāpūrtam̄ kṛṇutād āvir asmai KS.

dakṣakratū (MS. ed.† °*tu*, v. I. °*tū*) *te maitrācārūṇaḥ pādau* MS. ApŚ.

jīmūlān̄ hṛdayaupāsābhyām (VS. °*śena*, VSK. °*śena*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.

KSA. The p.p. of TS. divides *hṛdaya-upāsa*. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahīdhara takes the cpd. 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 Schroeder reads in KS. with two mss.; one ms. *viśākha*, 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:

apānenā nāsike (MS. °*kām*) VS. MS.

asyā (MG.† *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG. °*yām*) AB. MG.: *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh. ApMB. The word *gavīnī* (and *gavīnikā*, AV.) is regularly dual; it denotes some obscure pair of organs in the abdomen.

dnandam nandathunā (KSA. °*thubhyām*) TS. KSA. *nandathu* is nowhere recorded, not even in Hindu lexicons, as name of a part of the body, and its meaning can only be guessed from the context. The dual of KS. suggests perhaps 'testicles'; 'penis' would be more natural and may be intended in TS. (comm. *guhyaendriyam*). A series of duals follows, and possibly the dual of KS. is due to mechanical form-assimilation to these.

aśrām tādam pratīnāhā (ApŚ. *tālam pratīnāham*) MS. ApŚ. Refers to some unknown part of the plow. Caland adopts the MS. reading for ApŚ., but since no one knows what the word means, we see no good reason to question the sing.

punarvasur (TS. °*sū*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. Usually dual.

3. Dual and plural of parts of the body

§754. Like the singular (*ante*), the plural also varies with the dual in names of parts of the body; usually both are comprehensible. Thus the word *jambha* or *jambhya* means either 'tooth' or 'jaw' (originally 'crusher, grinder'); in the former meaning it is naturally plural, in the latter dual:

jambhābhyām (VS. TS. °*bhyais*, KS. °*bhyebhis*) *taskarān* (°*rañ*, °*rān*) *utā* VS. TS. MS. KS.

javam jaṅghābhiḥ (VS. °bhyām) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'shanks' of the horse, here referred to, are of course four, hence the plural is proper; VS. must have carelessly used a form appropriate to human beings only.

girā plāśibhiḥ (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 *phalgunī* is a group of two plus two stars, and may be thought of as dual because consisting of two pairs, or as plural:

phalgunīr (TS. °nī) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS.

phalgunīṣu (ApG. °nibhyām) *vy uhyate* (ApG. ūh°) AV. Kauś. ApG.

marutaḥ sadohavirdhānaiḥ (TA. °dhānābhyām) MS. TA.: *aditīḥ sadohavirdhānābhyām* 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.

vī yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV.: *vī yo rajāṅsy amīmā sukratūḥ* 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 uncompound word, an elliptic dual, or a dvandva compound; in all cases there is substantially no difference of meaning:

ud eṣām bāhū (MS. MŚ. *bāhūn*) *atīram* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

MŚ. Since the 'arms' belong to a plurality of individuals, the plural is comprehensible; but since each person has 'two arms', the dual may also be used exactly as the 'generalizing singular' would be possible in the case of a singular entity.

apochatu (AV. °ntu) *mithunā yā kimīdina* (AV. *ye kimīdinaḥ*) RV. AV.

The *kimīdina*s are apt to go in pairs (§764); the RV. dual here is the

substantial equivalent of a generalizing singular, since it really means *any* pair of demons, or all of them.

ahorātrayoh sandhībhyo jatūh VS.: *ahnah sandhībhyām jatūh* MS.

Since there are two 'joints' or twilights of day and night, the dual does duty as the equivalent of a 'generalizing singular'.

ahorātrās (KS. TA. *trānī*) *te kalpanām* VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ahorātre te* (TB. *me*) *kalpetām* MS. TB. 'Day-and-night': 'days and nights'.

ēam ahobhyah (TS. *ahobhyām*) VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. Here the relation is not quite the same; TS. has an elliptic dual which must mean 'day and night'; the plural of the other texts doubtless means 'days' in the sense of days of 24 hours, that is a plurality of days and nights. That *ahan* may mean this is proved e.g. by the preceding variant but one, since the 'twilights of day' can only mean twilights of the 24-hour day.

utkālānikūlēbhyas triṣṭhinam VS.: *utkālānikūlābhyām triṣṭhinam* TB.

Fanciful entities to which homage is offered at the Puruṣamedha.

The plural apparently can only mean a collection of the dual entities.

6. Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets

§757. An adjective or other epithet sometimes agrees alternatively with a dual, or with one member of the pair; cf. the like variation between singular and plural, §735. Some cases of this sort will be found in §750. Also:

yasya dyaur urvī prthivī ca mahī AV.: *yena dyaur ugrā prthivī ca drdhā*

(TS. *drdhe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Here the original makes *drdhā* 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:

vipipānā (VS. *°nāh*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. The dual refers to the Aśvins, the plural to them and Sarasvatī.

(*āyuskrd āyuspatnī svadhāvantau*) *gopā me stam*... *ātmasadāu me stam* AV.: (*āyus* [ad *āyupatnī* [read *āyuskrd āyupatnī*?] *svadhāvo*) *gopā nah stha rakṣūrah* KS.: (*āyuskrd āyuspatnī svadhā vo*) *goptryo me stha*... *ātmasado me stha* ApŚ. Explained VV 1 §357.

§758a. Once a sing., doubtless felt as an abstract, in predicative apposition to a dual, varies with a dual concrete epithet:

savitur bāhū sthō devajanānām vidharanīh (KapS. *°nī*) KS. KapS. (Oertel 137.) Two blades of grass are addressed; KapS. 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:

ugraṃpaśye ugrajītau tad adya AV.: *ugraṃpaśyā* (MS. text *ugraṃ paśyāc*, VV 2 §405) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TA.: *dārepakṣyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* TB. Followed by *apsarasāv*...; the epithets agree with this word (AV.), or apply to the two individuals denoted by it (probably felt as proper names in the latter case).

§760. Once what appears to be an adjectival dvandva, in dual form, is allowed to agree with a singular noun (!); in the other form of the variant the uncompounded, single adjective is singular. The variant strikes us as bizarre, but is psychologically comprehensible:

anuvatsarīṇām svastim āśāste TB. ApŚ.: *anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse* MŚ. 'He desires well-being lasting for an anuvatsara': 'I desire well-being lasting for an anuvatsara and for an udvatsara.'

§761. Perhaps somewhat similar is the following, if the reason for the dual in MŚ. is the dual character of the adjective compound rather than its reference to two entities. The context deals, however, with the *śukra* and *manthin* drafts of soma, and it may be that MŚ. thinks of the word as applying to two oblations only (tho the neuter gender makes it impossible to supply *śukramanthīnau* [grahau] with it, and in fact the mantra can hardly be applied specifically to those two drafts, which are not, of course, offered by the *camasādhvaryus*):

madhyatahḥkārīṇām camasādhvaryavo vṛṣṭakṛtānuvṛṣṭakṛtān (MŚ. ²*te*) *jukhuta* ApŚ. MŚ. '...offer the (MŚ. two?) oblations (in ApŚ. *somān* is apparently understood) accompanied by *vṛṣṭa* and by the secondary *vṛṣṭa*.'

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 yojane divye (KS. *divyah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The sing. of KS. agrees with *yonir* in the next pāda.

ubhā kavī yuvānā (PG. *yuvā*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. PG.: *mahā kavī yuvānā* MŚ. Followed in PG. by *yo no dharmah parāpatat*; Stenzler translates *yuvā* with *dharmah* but observes that the text is corrupt, and Oldenberg abandons it.

dirghaprayajyum ati yo vanuṣyati RV. TS. MS. N.: *dirghaprayajyū haviṣā vrdhānā* 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-Varuṇa, here Mitra-Varuṇa).

viśvakarmaṇḥ tanūpā asi ŚB.: viśvakarmāṇau tanūpau me sthaḥ ŚŚ.
Explained VV 1 §351.

indrasya vān (TB. te) vīryakṛto . . VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. See §521.
asvinendram na jāgrēi (TB. °eī) VS. MS. TB. Comm. on VS. takes *jāgrēi* as dual adjective, but it is rather an adverb (so BR. and VV 2 §525). In TB. it is made to agree with *asvinā*.

§763. Transfers of epithet between dual and plural are:

navena pūrvaṇ dayamānāḥ 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 viśvācīr (KS. °cī) abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīḥ (KS. °cī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The original probably applies to sacrificial ladles, tho no noun is mentioned; cf. ŚB. 9. 2. 3. 17. KS. attracts the adjectives into agreement with *rodasī*. For the phonetic aspects of the change see VV 2 §357.

8. Phrase inflection

§764. Here are presented cases in which the shift of number is due to adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes all three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, occur in different forms. Thus:
sakhāyau saptaṭpadāb abhūva (ApMB.† °padā babhūva) ApMB. HG.: sakhā (PG. sakhe) saptaṭpadī (ApMB. PG. °dā) bhava AG. ŚG. KauŚ. ApMB. PG. SMB. MG.: sakhāyah saptaṭpadā abhūma TB. ApŚ. See VV 1 p. 274.

yātudhānaḥ kimīdinaḥ AV.: yātudhānān kimīdinaḥ AV.: yātudhānā kimīdina RV. Different contexts. Fiends are otherwise known to go in pairs (*mithunā* precedes in RV.), cf. *apochatu* etc., §756.
tā no mṛḍāta idṛṣe RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.: te no mṛḍānte idṛṣe AV.: sa no mṛḍātīdṛṣe RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.

§765. Variations between dual and singular:

gr̥ṇānā (RV. SV.* °no) jamadagninā RV. (both) SV. (both) AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG.*

tanvāno (TB. °ne) yajñam puruṣeśasaṁ dhiyā RV. TB. The latter lifts the pāda from an Agni verse and uses it in a different one to *dyāvāprthivī*.

yajñasyāyuh pratiran (KS. †2. 7, MŚ. pratirantau) MS. KS. (both) MŚ.*
Two wholly different contexts in KS.; MS. agrees with one, MŚ. with the other.

- viśvair devaiḥ pūṣbhīḥ saṁvidānaḥ* RV. TS.; *viśvair devair yajñiyaiḥ saṁvidānau* (TS. KSA. °naḥ) TS. KSA. TB. AŚ. In TS. KS. two different verses, one adopted from RV.; in TB. AŚ. this single pāda is used in a wholly different context.
- devī derebhīr yajātā* (and °te) *yajatraiḥ* RV. (both): *devī deveṣu yajātā yajatra* RV. AV. MS.
- taśyām* (ApŚ. *tayor*) *devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *taśyām devaiḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā* AV.: *yasyām* (v. l. *asyām*) *devā abhisaṁviśantaḥ* MŚ. Half a stanza is adapted to a different purpose in ApŚ.
- jyotiṣe tvā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *jyotiṣe vām* KS. ApŚ. Different contexts; dual only in one passage of KS. ApŚ. Also *tejase tvā* (vām), *cakṣuṣe tvā* (vām), *varcase tvā* (vām), and *prajābhyas tvā* (°bhyo vām); sings. in various texts, duals only KS. ApŚ.
- ākāśānā medhapatibhyām* (MS. KS. °pataye) *medham* MS. KS. AB. KB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The *ūhas medhapataye* and °patibhyah are prescribed in the sequel in AB.; see Schwab, *Tieropfer*, 102. Really this involves all three numbers and so belongs in §764.
- bhadrā te pūṣann* (TA. °bhadrā vām pūṣannā) *iha rūtir 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 *dyāvāprthivī*. The next two occur in the same verse:
- śukraṁ vām anyad rajatam* (Poona ed. *yaj*°, v. l. *raj*°) *vām anyat* TA.: *śukraṁ te anyad yajatam te anyat* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. TA. AŚ. Svidh. N. And:
- viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvaḥ* (SV. °van, TA. °avathaḥ *svadhāvantaḥ*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (both) N. See prec.
- devas tvā* (ApŚ. *devo vām*) *savitā madhvānaktu* VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ.
- viśvāt tā te* (RV. °vām) *svaneṣu pravācyā* RV. (both).
- stomebhīr havanāsrutam* (and °tā) RV. (both).
- āṅghram vām* (and tā) *āyuh savitā kṛnotu* AV. (both). In different parts of the marriage ceremony; sing. is the wife, dual husband and wife. Might perhaps be called a *vikāra* and placed in §769.
- patī* (RV. °patīm) *turasya rādhasaḥ* RV. (both) KS.
- rājantam adhvarāṇām* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *rājantāu adhvarāṇām* RV.
- sāmrajjāya sukratuh* (RV. °tā) RV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
- arvāñcā vām* (and *arvāñcam tvā*) *saptayo dhvaraśriyaḥ* RV. (both). See

RVRep. on 1. 47. 8, which calls the sing. an ūha of the dual; it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called ūhas.

āyur vām (AV. MG. **āyus* [e] *śaradaḥ śatam* AV. MG. (both).

anu (MS. *nu*, read *anu*, KB. ŚŚ. *upa*) *vām jihvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS. KS. KB. ŚŚ.; *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caranyet* (MS. KS. °*yāt*, VS. ŚB. °*yāt svāhā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *prati vām jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV. * TS. * †ā) *caranyat* (AV. °*yāt*, TS. °*yēt*) AV. (bis) TS. (bis) MS. KS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

catuḥśāikhanda yuvatiḥ supesāḥ (KS. *supatnī*) KS. TB. ApŚ.: *catuḥśāikhanda yuvati kanīne* ApŚ. In the latter a largely new verse is constructed for a different context. See next.

ghṛtopratīkā (ApŚ. * *ke*) *bhūvanasya madhye* TB. ApŚ. (both). Follows the prece.

dirgham āyuh kṛnotu me (AV. * ApMB. *vām*) AV. (ter) JB. Kauś. ApMB. *tāv imā upa sarpatāḥ* SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpatā* MS. It seems that MS. has adapted the SV. original to a different ritual context. The interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS. is obscure; see ApŚ. 4. 10. 4, with Caland's translation, which deals with the same ritual. With Benfey we understand *imā* as dual; *imām* of MS. would seem to refer to *idā*.

nīlaloḥitaḥ bhavati RV. AV.; *nīlaloḥite bhavataḥ* ApMB. Whitney says that ApMB. speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away were two (or better, made of two parts). Perhaps the variant did originate in that way; but ApG. uses the mantra in referring not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each wheel-track of the car on which the bride is brought to her husband's house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding rites.

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *śaś bādhiṣṭa* (TA. °*ām*, and *bādhiṣṭam*) 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.

vidhṛtir asi TA. ŚŚ.: *vidhṛti sthaḥ* MS.

§766. Phrase inflection; variations between dual and plural:

indravantā (TB. °*tau*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB. ŚŚ.: *indravanto havir idam juṣantām* TB. ApŚ.

yahvī rāsya mātara RV.: *yahvī rāsya mātara RV.*

uruvyacasā dhāmnā patyamānā VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasā agner dhāmnā patyamāne AV.*

puruṣe 'dhi samāhūtaḥ (and 'te) AV. Both in the same verse; the dual goes with *amṛtaṁ ca mṛtyuś ca*, the plural with *nādyah*.

asme vo (vām) astu sumatiś canīṣṭhā RV. (both).

agner vo 'pannagrhasya (TS. TB. ApŚ.* vām apanna*) sadasi sūdayāmi VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.*

ayanī kraiṣṭhye dadhātu naḥ (PG. nau) ŚG. PG. The dual refers to the householder and his wife; the plural, in a different context, is generalizing or 'editorial'.

rtāvānā ('vāno) jane-jane RV. (both).

sam u vām (vo) yajñam mahayam ('yan) namobhiḥ RV. (both).

saha naḥ sādhuḥkṛtyā ŚB. LŚ. KŚ.: *sahaiva nau sukṛtaṁ saha duṣkṛtaṁ Kauś.:* *sukṛtaṁ nau sāha Kauś.*

sam vām (AV. MS. KS.* vo) manāksi sam vrata AV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. (both) ŚB.*

9. Dualization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§767. The next group includes variants in which the form shifts from dual to singular or plural, or vice versa, in the same context, in accordance with a change in the number of the entity designated, which may be the same or different. Included are some ritual ūhas and vikāras where the context seems to us to be the same, the number of the entity only shifting. It is perhaps doubtful where the line should be drawn, or whether it should be drawn at all, between this and the preceding group; we have tried to draw it at the point where the context ceases to be 'different' and becomes essentially 'the same', but these terms are not strictly definable, and ritual ūhas perhaps belong rather with the preceding.—When the change of number involves transfer of an epithet, it is of course treated above, §§762 ff.; and when, without such transference, the change of number seems to be due to some sort of formal or external adaptation or assimilation, it is included below in §§773 ff.

§768. Variations of all three numbers:

lasya te dattām yasya (and yayoh) prāṇo 'sī svāhā TS.: *lasya te dadātu yeṣām prāṇo 'sī svāhā TS.:* *lasya te dadātu yasya prāṇo 'sī svāhā TS.*

Modulations in the same passage. For *yasya* after *dattām*, *yayoh* is to be expected; perhaps a mere error?

tayā devatayāṅgirasvān dhruvā sīda VS. TS. etc.: *dhruvā sīda VS. ŚB. TA.:* *dhruve sīdatam VS.:* *dhruvā sīdata TS.* Also *tena brahmaṇā* etc., see Conc.

āgneyāḥ kṛṣṇagrīvāḥ VS. TS. KSA.: *āgneyau kṛṣṇagrīvau* TS. KSA.: *kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo varāṇe* (MS. *lalāṇe*) *puradāt* VS. MS.: *kṛṣṇagrīvā āgneyāḥ* VS. MS. ApS. 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 *ūha* of the sing.

yāni gharṇe kapālāni TS. MS. KS. KŚ. MŚ. In MŚ. two *ūhas*: *yad gharṇe*, and *ye gharṇe*.

agnim adya hotāram avṛṇtāyaṁ yajamānaḥ . . MS. (and the next five items in Conc.): *agnim adya hotāram* (*avṛṇtām imau yajamānau*, and *avṛnateme yajamānāḥ* . .) ŚŚ. See Conc.

agnaye prahriyamānāyānubrūhi ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.: *agnibhyām prahriyamānābhyām anubrūhi* KŚ.: *agnibhyah prahriyamānebhyo 'nubrūhi* ŚB.

asāṛe (*asā*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ. *tanuḥi jyotiṣā*) MS. KS. LŚ. MŚ. ApS.: *amū anu mā tanulam*, and *amī anu mā tanula* MŚ. *Ūhas*.

punaḥ kṛṣṇāḥ tvā pitarāṁ yuvānam TS.: *punaḥ kṛṣṇantāḥ pitaro yuvānāḥ* MS.: *punaḥ kṛṣṇānā* (KS. *kṛṣṇantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS. KS.† ŚB. We cannot interpret this passage. It seems that the dual, as in VS. KS., is probably original; Mahidhara takes *kṛṣṇānā* as plural, for **nāḥ*! Even such violence helps little.

§769. Dual and singular:

satyajamāno (KS. **nā*, MS. TB. ApS. MŚ. **nau*) *divā* (TB. ApS. *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApS. Same context, but in VS. ŚB. the formula is repeated, once each with the *śukra* and *manthin grahas*, while in the others it goes with both together. See §576. In VS. MS. KS. immediately followed by:

śukrah śukraśociṣā VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApS.: *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS. As preceding, but here KS. follows with a separate formula *manthī manthiśociṣā*, while TB. ApS. do not connect this immediately with the preceding.

kṛṇutām tvā adhvarā jātavedasau MŚ.: *kṛnotu so adhvarāṇ* (VS. TB. **rā*) *jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.: *so adhvarā* (AB. **dhvarā karatī*) *jātavedāḥ* AB. ŚB. See VV 1 p. 263, under *ayād agnir* . . .; also next. *yakṣat svaṁ mahimānam* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ.: *yakṣataḥ svaṁ mahimānau* MŚ. In same context as prec.; *mahiman* pertains to the subject and varies in number with it.

prāṇāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *prāṇāpānābhyām me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ. See VV 1 §368.

tasyai (*tābhyām*; in 11. 2. 27 read *tasmai*) *namo yatamasyām diśitāḥ*

AV. (all three). All in the same hymn, referring to Bhava or Rudra and Bhava or their weapon; practically ūhas, but perhaps better to be placed in §765.

veśāya vām (TS. TB. ApŚ. *tvā*) VS.† 1. 6, TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. Sing. used by TS. addressing ladle and winnowing-basket separately, dual by VS. in addressing both together. Also used in other contexts, the dual having other applications.

te te dhāmāny ūmasi gamadhye TS.: *tā* (VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *ūmasi gamadhyai* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. In a Viṣṇu hymn; the dual is understood to refer to Indra and Viṣṇu, who are however nowhere mentioned in the hymn. Even the latter part of this verse mentions Viṣṇu alone in the sing. The secondary change to the singular pronoun is therefore very natural.

aśmeva tvam sthira (MG. ApMB.* HG.* †1. 4. 1 *sthiro*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. (bis) MG.: *aśmeva yuvāni 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 skambhasarjanam (KS. °ny) *asi* TS. MS. KS. MahānU. MŚ.: *varuṇasya skambhasarjanī sthaḥ* VS. ŚB. Explained in Keith's note 7, HOS. 18. 27.

epā te agne sāmīṭ tūyā (MŚ. *tayā tvam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. HG.: *ete vām agnī samīdhau tābhyām vardhethām cā ca pyāyethām* KŚ. (an ūha quoted in KŚ. comm.).

āyukṛd āyupatnī svadhāvantau AV.: *āyus tad āyupatnī* (ms. °nīh) *svadhāvah* KS.: *āyukṛd āyupatnī svadhā vah* ApŚ. The reference seems to be to the sacred fires; so at least in ApŚ.; obscure in the others. AV. continues with dual forms, KS. ApŚ. with plurals; see *gopā me stam* (*gopā nah stha*, *goptryo me stha...*), §758.

ā mātara sthāpayase jigatnū RV. AV.: *āsthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV. In RV. the 'two mothers' (parents?) are heaven and earth. In AV. *mātaram* possibly refers to Indra's mother, suggested by Indra's heroic deeds in the following pāda; cf. RV. 8. 45. 4, 77. 1.

grāvacyuto dhiṣanayor upasthāt VS. ŚB.: *bākucyuto dhiṣanāyā* (TS. *dhiṣanayor*) *upasthāt* (KS. °sthe) RV. TS. KS. GB. Vait. MŚ. See Hillebrandt, *VMyth.* 1, p. 426 ff. According to H. *dhiṣanā* originally means 'earth' (dual in RV. only 'heaven and earth'); then the *vedī* identified with the earth. If so, VS. TS. have reinterpreted the old word in a new sense; the comm. makes it refer to the 'pressing planks.'

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthaḥ (Kauś.* *pūtam asi*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. (both) GG. KhG. Refers to two 'purifiers' of *kūṣa* grass, or once in Kauś. to a single one.

ṣaṣṭiś cādhvaryū (ApŚ. °yo, AŚ.† °yor) *navatiś ca pāsāḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Spoken by the hotar as he touches the *adhvaryu* and the *agnidh*; in the dual form both are addressed. Since the *agnidh* belongs to the class of *adhvaryu* priests, the dual need not be considered elliptic. The AŚ. probably has a misprint (§369).

upasrjan (ŚG. *upa srjam*) *dharunam māt্রে dharuno mātaram* (LŚ. MŚ. *māt্রে mātaram dharuno*, ApŚ. *māt্রে mātara dharuno*) *dhayan* VS. ŚB. JB. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.: *upasrjan* (AŚ. *upasrjan*) *dharunam mātaram dharuno 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:

samprca (°caḥ, °cas) *stha*... VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *samprcau stha*... VS. ŚB. Also, in same passage:

viprcā (°caḥ, °cas) *stha*, and *viprcāu sthaḥ*, same texts. See VV I p. 259. *etā asadan sukṛtasya loke* TS. TB.: *etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etā asadatām* (pratikas) ApŚ.

srucaḥ sammrddhi ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.: *srucau sammrddhi* MŚ.: *sruvam ca srucaś ca sammrddhi* ApŚ.

ā mā gantān (VSK. *gantān*) *pitarā mātara ca* (VSK. *tyuvam*) VS. VSK. 10. 3. 12c, TS. KS. ŚB.: *ā mā ganta pitara viśvarūpāḥ* 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 I §§337, 352.

mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha AV.: *madhavyau stokān* (MS. *stokā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS. Why TS. MS. should think of the lost drops of soma as exactly two is not clear to us. Followed by:

sam nas tābhyaṁ (AV. *tebhīḥ*) *srjatu viśvakarmā* AV. TS. MS. The interpretation depends on that of the preceding.

svasāro mātaribhvarīr (AV. text °*svarīr*, read doubtless as RV.) *ariprāḥ* RV. AV.: *svasārau mātaribhvarī* (text em. °*svarī*, read with mss. and Whitney °*bhvarī*) *aripre* AV. Part of a mystic verse; it is not clear who the 'sisters', dual or plural, are. Ludwig suggests 'heaven and earth' and apparently believes the dual to be original, relying doubtless on the preceding verse, *ā mātara śhāpayase jigatnā*, cf. §769. But this would involve the rash assumption that AV. is more original than RV.

daiveya (AV. Ppp. *daivent*) *hotārāc ūrdhvam* (VS. °rā ūr°, KS. *hotārordhvam imam*, MS. °rā ūrdhvam *imam*, AV. °ra ūrdhvam, Ppp. °ra [but intending °rā since dual verb follows] *imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. 18. 17a.

§771. In a number of variants the plural which varies with the dual is a first-person form or epithet of the subject, referring to the priests and their associates generally, and 'generalizing' or 'editorial' in character, like the variants treated in §724; while the dual is specific, including in the pair the speaker:

yathāyatham nau (KS. *no*) *vratapate* (KS. °pā) *vratāni* (TS. MS. *vratinor vratāni*, KS. *vratinām vratāni*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The dual includes Agni (*vratapati*) 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 samśṛṭam* AV. VS. 4. 34, KS.: *tan nah samśṛṭam* 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*) *nābhūḥ paramam jāmi tan nau* RV. AV. The ('editorial') plural occurs also earlier in the verse. The dual of AV. is doubtless secondary (cf. Oldenberg on RV. 10. 10. 4); it refers to Yama and Yamī, and is doubtless assimilated to the following *nau*, which has the same reference.

punām bahūnām mātara syāma (MG. °rau *syāva*) ApMB. MG. Addressed to the wife by the husband; the dual means 'parents', the plural is 'editorial'.

rābhā janayanti nah (ApMB. °yantu *nau*, HG. °yantu *nah*) ApMB. (bis) HG.: *puruṣa janayanti nah* ŚG. Spoken by the husband, as in prec. ApMB. has the two forms in adjoining verses in the same context.

asthūri no (no, KS. *nau*, MŚ.† *nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* (VSK. adds *śatam himāḥ*), *tigmena nas tejasā* (TS. *no brahmaṇā*, KS. *nau brahmaṇā*) *eam śiśādhi* RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. The dual doubtless thinks of man and wife together as possessors of 'household affairs'; the plural is 'editorial'. Note the inconsistency of MŚ.

§772. Similarly the next, where the dual is 2d person, apparently referring to the sacrificer and his wife (and spoken by a priest):

idaicāsmān (RVKh. Müller, followed by Scheft., *idaiva vām*) *anu rastām vratena* (RVKh. as before *ghṛtena*) RVKh. AV.: *idāsmān anu rastām ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.

10. Form assimilation

§773. In a group of cases the number is changed by attraction to the number of some other word in the context, in a rather external way; the change in meaning, tho apparently real enough, is not dictated by the logical requirements of the situation; in essence the variation is one of mechanical form assimilation. Thus, all three numbers of the vocative of *vāyu* are found in the HG. form of the following. With cunning inanity, HG. makes the number of the vocative agree each time with the number of the pronoun, which refers to sacrificial posts. Oldenberg fails to understand HG., not having in mind the MS. parallel, and translates all the nouns as nominatives, emending *vāyo* to *vāyuh*, so as to make the nouns predicates to the pronouns:

ete te vāyo (HG. *vāyavaḥ*) MS. HG.: *ṣa te vāyo* MS. MŚ. HG.: *etau te vāyū* HG.: *vāyav ṣa* (and *ete*, *etau*) *te vāyo* ApŚ. 'This is (these are) thine, O Vāyu (HG. also O Vāyus, dual and plural).' Note that, inconsistently, the pronoun *te* is always singular, even in HG.

§774. Other cases, first those involving singular and dual, are:
vṛṣaṇam (MS. *ṛṣā*) *āṇḍābhyām* 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 *āṇḍābhyām*. So with the next two, which occur in the same context.

karṇābhyām śrotram (MS. *śrotre*) VS. MS. See *prec.*

vidyutam kanīnakābhyām (MS. KSA. *kanīni*?) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Cf. *prec.* two.

śrotram (AV. *śrotre*) *te cakre āstām* RV. AV. The AV. makes *śrotra* dual because of the predicate *cakre*, 'thy two wheels'.

yena striyam (PG. *śriyam*, ŚŚ. *striyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. *ṛtām*, ŚŚ. *akurutam*) ŚŚ. PG. SMB. GG. 'By which ye two (Aśvins) made woman (two women).' ŚŚ.'s variant is phonetic in character (VV 2 §237), with the help of attraction to the number of the Aśvins.

§775. In a couple of instances, however, the assimilated dual form seems to be the original, and the singular is substituted for it in secondary texts because for one reason or another they feel that the entity designated should be singular, despite its reference to a duality:

putraḥ pitarāv (AV. *ṛam*) *avṛṇta pūṣā* RV. AV. In both texts the reference is to the Aśvins; the singular of AV. is secondary and may be due to a feeling that paternity should be single, tho phonetic considerations are also involved (VV 2 §237).

duhāthām gharṃadughe iva dhenū AV. (in Conc. preceded by *vīman*, which belongs to the preceding *pāda*): *saṃduhāthām gharṃadugheva dhenūḥ* 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):

mukham kim asya (VS. *asyāstī*) *kau* (AV. VS. *kim*) *bāhū, kā* (TA. *kār*, AV. VS. *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA. *ṭpādār*) *ucyete* 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:

beṣe vaneṣu mātroh (SV. *mātṛṣu*) RV. SV. 'Thou lurkest in the sticks of wood, thy (two) mothers.' Dual in RV. because reference is to the two *aranis*; plural in SV. by attraction to *vaneṣu*.

vājino vājajito vājam . . . VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *vājinau vājajitau vājam* . . . MS. KS. MŚ. See the several entries in Conc. Two associated formulas; in KS. (probably original) one (dual) is addressed to one pair of the racing team, the other to all the team (cf. KS. 14. 7: 206. 22 f.). The other texts assimilate in one direction or the other; both are dual in MS., both plural in VS. TS.

11. Corruptions and errors

§778. The following seem to be due to corruptions and errors:

devī dvārau (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā saṃtāptam* TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual of the word for 'door' may be used, with reference to the two panels (here the two doorposts are actually addressed). The plural is equally familiar. But the dual verb makes it almost impossible to construe the plural of Vait., and Caland's translation seems silently to abandon it. The form *dvāro* may be regarded as a phonetic corruption for *dvārau* (VV 2 §732).

saha nau vratapate (TS. MS. add *vratinor*; KS. text *vratapā vratinām*) *vratāni* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural of KS. is inexplicable, in view of the dual *nau*; the best ms. in fact omits *vratinām*, and so KS. should probably be read; *vratinām* probably crept in in the

inferior mss. of KS. from the mantra *agne vratapā... punar vratapā
vratindām vratāni*, which shortly precedes.

tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā RV. ApMB.: *sā mandasānā manasā
kivena* 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.

apsarasāṁ anu dattām ṛnāni (AV. *ṛnām nah*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām
anu dattānṛnāni* MS. Phonetic corruption in MS.; VV 2 p. 122,
1 p. 282.

[*śākhābhyah svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Conc. quotes *śākhābhyām* for
VS. TS.]

[*śrotrāya me varcodā varcase* (MŚ. *me varcodāh*) *pavasa* VS. VSK. ŚB.
MŚ.: *śrotrāya (me varcodau varcase pavethām)* TS. Conc. Similarly
under *aṅgebhyo me*. See VV 1 §372a.]

CHAPTER XXIX

GENDER

1. Male and female persons and animals

§779. We shall begin our treatment of gender (see §§118-25 for a summary) with variations between names of male and female animals or persons, varying with each other. They usually occur in contexts where either is equally appropriate; sometimes we think we can see the motive of the change, but often we find none. Thus, first, male and female animals:

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīṃ meṣasya (KS. *meṣyā*) *vapdyā*...VS. KS. It is likely that KS. uses a female animal as more appropriate to the sex of Sarasvatī. So in the next two:

ayā sarasvatī meṣasya (KS. *meṣyā*) *haviṣā*...VS. KS.

yatra sarasvatī meṣasya (KS. *meṣyā*) *haviṣā*...VS. KS.

ṛṣabhāya (MS. *ṛṣṇṇṇ*) *gavayī* VS. MS.: *ṛṣabhāya rājñe gavayā* TS. KSA.

yad dhariṇo (TS. KSA. TB. *ṇṇṇ*) *yavam atti* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB.

ŚŚ. Possibly gender-attraction from *śūdrā*, in a parallel sentence in the second half-verse.

andāur aśvo 'yāmī (ŚŚ. and AV. mss. *aśvāyāmī*) AV.† ŚŚ.†: *evāur aśvaḥ suyāmī* (ŚŚ. *aśvā yāmī*) AV. ŚŚ.

akhuḥ ṛjayaḥ śayāṇdakas te maitrāḥ (KSA. ms. *śayāṇdakās te maitryāḥ*) TS. KSA.: *śāṛgah ṛjayaḥ śayāṇdakas te maitrāḥ* VS. MS. Name of an unknown animal, male or female. The ed. of MS. follows the p.p.; the other mss. have *ṛjayaḥ*.

aḥ (TS. *aḥ*) *hy agner aḥ* *janīṣṭa śokāt* (TS. *garbhāt*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§780. Dependent on the change of gender in the last-quoted pāda, in which TS. makes the goat female, are the three following pādas, in the same stanza, with pronouns referring to *aḥ* or *aḥ*:

so (TS. *sā vā*) *apahyaj janitāram agre*,

tena (TS. *tayā*) *devā devatām agra* (*agram*) *āyan*,

tena (TS. *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AV. *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsah*; all in the same texts.

§781. Similarly with an adjective referring to unexpressed animals, male or female:

śilpā vaiśvadevyaḥ (MS. °vīḥ) VS. MS.: *śilpāḥ trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS. KSA. 'The (three) variegated (animals) are for the Viśvadevas.' The animals are male in TS. KSA., female in VS. MS.

§782. Names of human or superhuman beings, varying male and female:

śildyāñjanikāṛim (TB. °ram) VS. TB. 'An ointment-maker' (female VS., male TB.).

piśācebhyo bīdalakāṛim (TB. °ram) VS. TB.

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakakāṛam (VS. *kaṇṭakikāṛim*) VS. TB. Note the curious accord in the grammatical gender of the word for 'thorn', which is fem. in the compound 'female thorn-worker', masc. in the other.

pra devāḥ (AV. *devīḥ*) *protā sūnṛtā* RV. AV. TS. MS. Possibly gender-attraction to *sūnṛtā* in AV.

kātyāyanāya (MahānU. °yanyai) *vidmahe* TA. MahānU. Epithets of Śiva or his consort.

ākṛayāyā ayogūm VS.: *ākramāyāyogūm* (Poona ed. *ākṛayāyā*°) TB. A nonce-deity, *ākṛaya* or °yā.

yamāya (TB. *yamyai*) *yamasūm* VS. TB.

pratīkṣante śvaśuro devarāḥ ca AV.: *pratīkṣantām śvaśrurō 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 *ī* stem of like meaning; or when an *n* stem appears now with a nominative in *ā* (masc.), now with one in *a* (neut.). It may on the other hand appear only in the gender of a modifying adjective or pronoun, because the noun itself has the same form in either of the varying genders; this is true for instance of many case-forms of the *i* and *u* declensions and of the diphthongal stems. We shall not separate these two types in our list, but shall divide the materials first according to the genders which interchange, and secondly according to what appears to be the regular or primary gender of the word. In some cases the change in gender seems to be due to assimilation to another word in the context.

Masculine and feminine

§784. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or primarily masculine, the feminine forms being apparently exceptional or at least

historically secondary. Thus the word *yonī* 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 yonīr (KS. *yonīr*) ā *pr̥ṇasva* (°*vā*) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

svām (TS.† only *svām*, thrice) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

svām (MS. KS. *svām*) *yonim gacha*... AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *svayonim gacha*... MG. (with v. l. *svām yonim*, which Conc. suggests reading because of the MS. reading).

agne svām (TS. TB. *svām*, ŚB. *tvām*, for *svām*?) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

dhruvām (TS. *dhruvām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām (MŚ. *svām*) *yonim*... TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *mā mā* (KS. *mām*) *hinsistam svām* (KS. *yat svām*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS. *āviśāḥ*) MS. KS.: *mā mā hinsit svām* (KS.† *svām*) *yonim āviśantī* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *āviśan*) VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *mainam hinsistam svām yonim āviśantau* AB.

ebhyo (Kauś. *ābhyo*) *yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. AŚ. Kauś. *yasyai* (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *atho yonir hiraṇyayī* TS.: *yonir yas te hiraṇyayah* KS.

§785. Next the stem *rayī* or *rai*. Wackernagel 3 p. 216 notes that the word is regularly masc. in RV. and suggests that the fem. is due to influence of *puṣṭi* or the like.

sa no dadātu tam (AV. *tām*) *rayim* AV. AA. ŚŚ.

athāsmabhyam sahavīrām (AV. VSK. MS. KS. °*vīram*) *rayim dāḥ* AV.

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Wackernagel l. c. mentions *rayim sahavīram* and *saravīram* (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 saravīram (TS.† °*rām*) *nī yachatu* (AV. *yachāt*) AV. TS.

MS.: *sa no rayim saravīram nī yachatu svāhā* (VSK. om. *svāhā*)

VS. VSK. ŚB.: *somo rayim sahavīram nī yaṇsat* KS. Cf. RV. 10.

15. 11d, and see pree.

§786. The stem *di-* (*dyu*) is regularly masc. in the early language, later fem.; see Wackernagel 3 p. 221.

abhāman (TS. MS.† °*mām*, MS. MŚ. v. l. °*mām*) *mahinā* (VS. °*mā*, delete MŚ. v. l. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§787. The word *kalāṣa* is regularly masc.; in the following ApMB. seems to show a fem. form *kalāṣīr*, but this may be a phonetic corruption for *kalāṣair*, cf. §412 and VV 2 §701:

ā dadhnaḥ kalāṣair (ApMB. °*śīr*, MG. °*śam*) *aguḥ* (*ayān*, etc.) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

§788. We come now to words in which fem. gender appears to be regular or at least historically original:

yā (MS. *yā*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. The word *iṣu* is regularly fem. in the older language (always in RV.). Here the masc. pronoun may have been due to the series of masc. *ye*'s in the preceding and following formulas.

avakāṁ (MS. KSA. *avakān*, but MS. p.p. *avakāṁ*) *dantamūliḥ* VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.

vy amīcāś (TB. °*vāś*) *cātayama viśūcīḥ* RV. TB. Both edd. of TB. *amīcāś*, and comm. likewise *amīcān rogān*, finding no difficulty in making *viśūcīḥ* agree. No masc. is otherwise recorded, and in view of the fem. adjective *viśūcīḥ* we may assume an ancient corruption. *pravayāhnāhar jīva* VS.: *pravayāhne 'har jīva* MS.: *pravāsi* TS. KS. Vait. (*prāvo 'ay ahnāśi* GB. Gaastra, corrupt.). The masc. is otherwise unknown, but MS. p.p. gives *pravāya*.

[*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛtena*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūṇān*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhī roha vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśāḥ*) 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 *ἀν.λεγ.* *emām pariśrutah kumbhaḥ* AV.: *enam pariśrutah kumbhya* ŚG. Other GS. texts preserve *kumbhaḥ* which seems to be original in this formula.

dadhi manthan (ŚŚ. *manthām*) *pariśrutam* (ŚŚ. *pariśrutam*) AV. ŚŚ. *agner akṣṇaḥ kanīnakam* (VSK. °*kām*, TS. MS. KS. °*nikām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vṛtrasyāsi kanīnakah (MS. MŚ. MG. °*nikā*...) VS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *mitrasyāsi kanīnikā* KS.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °*nakāsi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ.

śimāḥ (VS. *śimāḥ*) *kṛwantu* (VS.* *śamyantu*) *śimyantah* (VS. *śamyantīḥ*) VS. (bis) TS. KSA.† An unknown word; cf. VV 2 §§278, 572.

Masculine and neuter

§790. Among the masc.-neut. variants appear a number in which we think we see reason for believing that the shift is due to assimilation in gender to another word in the context, most commonly a predicate noun. Special attention will be called to these.

§791. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or originally masculine. Thus, first, the word *asu* as neuter is recorded heretofore only in a Hindu lexicon (see BR.). Even Benfey's Glossary to SV. gives the gender as masc. Yet the following is the only occurrence in SV., and here it is obviously neuter; the VSK. reading in the second variant confirms such a possibility. We see no chance of interpreting either case as due to assimilation:

asum (SV. *asu*) *riṣann apah* RV. SV.

vyānaś (KS. *apānaś*) *ca me 'suś* (VSK. 'su) *ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. *kr̥ṇotu so adhvārān* (VS. TB. °rā) *jātavedāh* VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.: *kr̥ṇutām tāv adhvārā jātavedasau* MŚ.: *so adhvārā* (AB. 'dhvārā *karatī*) *jātavedāh* AB. ŚB. Nowhere has *adhvārā* been recorded as neuter; but this case is well attested and certain. VS. comm. interprets *adhvārān*; TB. comm. considers the form a loc.!

gr̥iṣṇo dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣaḥ (MS. *dakṣiṇam pakṣam*) MS. TB. TA. Followed in MS. by *varṣā uttaram* (sc. *pakṣam*). MS. unmistakably makes *pakṣa* neuter. Neither BR. nor pw. record such a usage; Monier Williams states that it occurs 'in one passage' which is not cited.

[*gātum yajñāya gātum* (TA. once *gātu* . . *gātu*) *yajñapataye* RVKh. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. (both) N. But TA. Poona ed. has only *gātum*, which is doubtless the true reading.]

§792. In several cases a masc. noun is made anomalously neuter, apparently under the influence of the neuter gender of a predicate noun: *nikāyaś* (MS. KS. °yam) *chandaḥ* 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 *chandaḥ*, and that the regular masc. form is actually secondary.

samudram (VS. ŚB. °raś) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vivadhāś chandaḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: *vivadhām* (KS. °dhaś) *chandaḥ* MS. KS.

yajñas (TA. *yajñam*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. Poona ed. of TA. has v. l. *yajñas*; and so the comm. reads in both edd.

§793. Next words which are regularly or originally; neuter there are several cases of *hārdī*:

indrasya hārdy (AV. *hārdim*) *āviśan manīṣibhiḥ* (AV. *manīṣayā*) RV. AV. SV.

mano me hārdī (VSK. *hārd*) *yacha* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *mano hārdim yacha* MS. MŚ. Once (out of three occurrences) the MS. p.p. reads *hārdī*.

mā me hārdī tvīṣā (MŚ. *hārdim dvīṣā*) *vadhīh* TS. MŚ.: *mā no hārdī tvīṣā vadhīh* RV. Three mss. of MŚ. *hārdī*.

avakrandena tālu (TS. KSA. *tālum*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Regularly neuter; occasionally masc., but BR. cite no Vedic instance.

ratso jarāyu (KS. *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīyāṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. *jarāyu* is regularly neuter; the Hindu lexicons allow it to be either masc. or fem. KS. may be thus interpreted; or it might be considered an adaptation to the neuter *us*-stems, cf. the next.

[*śam* (JB. TA. *punar*) *jarāyu* (TA. ^o*yur*, Poona ed. text ^o*yu*, but note seems to indicate that all mss. read ^o*yur*) *gaur ira* AV. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ. Here the word is accusative; consequently if *jarāyur* be read, it could only be understood as if from a neuter *us*-stem.]

yāni kṣetrāṇi yā vanā AV.: *yāni dhānvāni ye vanā* (read *vanāḥ* with two mss.) ApMB: *vana*, regularly neuter, is quoted once as masc. in BR., from the Rāmāyaṇa.

[*catvāri śrīgā trayo aśya pādāḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ. N. Conc. quotes *śrīgās* for GB.; but Gaustri reads *śrīgā* with all mss., and obviously this is the only possible reading.]

§794. In the following we seem to find assimilatory influence of other words in the passage:

dhartram (TS. ^o*raś*) *catuṣṭomah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The predicate noun assimilates the regularly neuter *dhartra* in TS.

vyomā (TS. *vyoma*) *saptadaśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ. The regular neut. gender of *vyoman* is found only in TS. Undoubtedly the original reading of the formula was *vyomā*, masc. by assimilation to *saptadaśaḥ* (*stomah*).

ayam sahasramānava (so read) . . . *vidharma* (ApŚ. ^o*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Probably assimilation of gender in ApŚ. to the subject *ayam*.

nāko 'śi bradhnaḥ (MŚ. *bradhno 'śi*) *pratiṣṭhā saṁkramaṇam* (ApŚ. ^o*ṇaḥ*, MŚ. ^o*kramaṇatamam*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. No masc. *saṁkramaṇa* is recorded, and the word can scarcely be an adjective; but it seems likely that ApŚ. assimilates either to the gender of *nāko* and *bradhnaḥ*, or more vaguely to the personalization of the goldpiece here addressed in personalized guise.

§795. We come now to words in which both masculine and neuter gender are, as far as we can see, equally standard, or at any rate we cannot tell which is more original in the absolute, tho textual criticism may suggest that one form or the other was first used in these particular formulas:

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat (SV. *sānu āruhaḥ*) RV. SV. Both genders in RV.

yeṣu saumanaso bahuh (MG. *saumanasam mahat*) AV. VS. ApŚ. IŚ. ŚG.

MG.: *eti saumanaso bahuh* HG. As an abstract the word would be expected to be neuter, but the masc. is otherwise known (e.g. AV. 3. 30. 7) and is clearly primary in this variant.

adityā uṣṇīṣam asi MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *indrānyā uṣṇīṣaḥ* VS. ŚB.

Both genders are familiar; probably the neut. is primary here.

akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS.: *kuyavaś* (MS. v. 1. *kū^o*) *ca me* 'kṣitīś (VS. 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS. MS. KS. The word *yava* is masc., and is followed by *kūyava* in TS. This stem seems to occur only here except that RV. has *kuyava* as a demoniac name or epithet (here of course masc.). Most likely the majority of texts have the original gender (neut.).

[*prajananaḥ* (MahānU. 'nam) TA. MahānU. So Conc.; but both edd. of TA. read *prajanaḥ*; MahānU. has vv. ll. *prajanaḥ* and *prajana-naḥ*. 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 *brahman*, 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 vayanti* (MahānU. *vadanti*)

TA. MahānU. Referring to *brāhman* or *brahman*; even in TA, other neuter pronouns occur in the context.

ṛtasya brahma prathamotā jajñe TB.: *bhūtānāḥ brahmā prathamō ha* (mss. 'mota) *jajñe* AV.

tan no brahmā (TAA. 'ma) *pracodayāt* MS. TAA. (not TA.!) MahānU.

brahma (ApŚ. 'mā) *devānāḥ prathamajā ṛtasya* PB. ApŚ.: *brahmadevī* *prathamajā ṛtasya* JB. 2. 258 (Caland, PB. transl. 21. 3. 7 note).

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *brahmā devakṛto-pahūta* ŚB. The context is the same and refers to the cow; in ŚB.

only is the subject of this pāda personalized by assimilation to the cow, the pple. being made fem. and the stem *brahman* personal (quasi-fem.): 'she, god-created, has been invoked as *Brahmā*'.

VV 2 §460 is incorrect.

Feminine and neuter

§797. Here also the shift in gender seems to be due sometimes to assimilation to adjoining words. We begin with words which are usually or originally fem.:

varṣāś cākṣuṣyaḥ VS. ŚB.: *varṣāni cākṣuṣāni* TS. MS. KS. The rainy season is meant; the gender is usually fem., but occasionally neut., doubtless because *varṣa* 'rain' is neut. in the early language; and in this variant the original form doubtless had neut. gender.

ājyam uktham anyathāyai (TS. *avyathayat*, KS. *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Instead of *avyathā*, which is to be expected, KS. uses an otherwise unknown *avyatha* 'firmness' (probably neut., less likely masc.). The same with *pratugam uktham*, *marutvatīyam u°*, *nīṣkevatīyam u°*, *vaiśvadevāgnimārute uktiḥ*, etc.

§798. Due to assimilation to an adjoining word:

niṣṭyam (KS. °*yā*) *nakṣatram* MS. KS. This rare name for the constellation *śatā* occurs as *niṣṭyā* in TB. (see BR. s. v.). We assume that KS. has the 'proper' form and that MS. assimilates to *nakṣatram*, as in the next.

viśākhā (TS. °*khe*, KS. v. 1. °*khā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. See §752.

§799. The regular or original gender is neuter in the next group:

tābhīr yāsi dūtyām (MS. °*yām*) *sūryasya* RV. MS.: *yābhīr yāsi dūtyām sūryasya* TB. See Pischel VSt. 1. 22. The regular form is *dūtya*; but in this variant, of course, the fem. is older.

asmākena vrjanenā jayema RV. AV.: *ariṣṭāso vrjanībhir jayema* AV. [*idam tara prasarpānam* (JB. °*nā*) RV. JB.† 3. 169e. Oertel and Caland emend JB. to °*nam*, as the gender of *idam* seems to require.]

[*ihi tisro 'ti rocanāḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *etu tisro 'ti rocanā* AV. So Conc. There is no actual variant in the form, since it is followed by *y*; AV. p. p. to be sure reads *rocanā*, as if neut., which is the regular gender of the word; but the fem. adjective *tisro* proves that *rocanāḥ* fem. must have been understood.]

§800. Due to assimilation:

viśo yantrē (KS. *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātim* KS. TB. ApŚ. The word is in apposition with *devī* (dual fem.), and is assimilated to it in gender in KS.; *yantrē* is neuter, but the change may have been helped along by the fact that it is formally ambiguous, since it might be derived from a fem. °*yantrā* as well as from neut. *yantra*.

prthivy udapuram annena viṣṭā TS.: *udapurā nāmāsy annena viṣṭā* MS. KS. A nonce-word, but the neuter gender of TS. is rather to be expected (*pura* neut.); it is assimilated in gender to the subject in MS. KS. (probably original).

§801. In the rest either gender seems justifiable; mostly nonce-words are concerned, but the first contains *svasti* or °*tiḥ*, in which both genders are known:

paraśur (TS. *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS. °*tiḥ*) 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.

kiyāmba atra rohatu RV.: *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA. *jāyatām*) AV. TA. The word is known only here.

asyopasadyām mā chaitsī ŚB. BṛhU.: *asyopasadye mā riṣāma* ŚG.† 3. 7. 3c, Kauś. *upasadi* : *upasadya*, probably 'worship'; neither known elsewhere.

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvaś pāhi VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS. °*pāya*, p.p. °*pāyāh*) *kṣatrasya tanvaś pāhi* MS. TA. (prātika, °*pāyā* [iti], ApŚ. MŚ.). Stems *paraspa* : °*pā*; as abstracts ('protection') both recorded only here. See §152. In the same passages:

prñāsya tvā paraspāyai (MS. °*pāya*, v. l. °*pāyāś*, p. p. °*pāyāh*) *cakṣuṣas* MS. TA. (prātika ApŚ.). And:

divas tvā paraspāyāh (MS. °*pāya*) *antarikṣasya* MS. TA. (prātika ApŚ.).

§802. Apparently due to assimilation:

varuṇasya skambhanam (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS. KS. MahānU. ApŚ. Nonce-word; either gender is formally good; KS. doubtless assimilates to the gender of *śamyā* 'yoke-pin', which is addressed. So in the next, in the same context:

varuṇasya skambhasarjanam (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. MahānU. MŚ.: *varuṇasya skambhasarjanī sthaḥ* 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 *yusmān* without regard to gender. But since the ending suggests masculine rather than feminine gender, the form *yusmās* is twice used in VS. (followed by ŚB.) when referring to feminine entities (Whitney 492a, Wackernagel 3 p. 468):

yusmān (VS. ŚB. *yusmā*) *indro vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

śivam āyantam abhy atra yusmān (VS. ŚB. *yusmāh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§804. Somewhat similarly, the technical priest-name *hotrāṣaṁsin* is once feminized when it is made to refer to *āpah*, fem., in a ritual passage: *āpo me hotrāṣaṁsinah* (AG. °*sinyah*) ŚB. 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 *tri* (Whitney 375c, Wackernagel 3 p. 202), but in one variant the 'common gender' form is used with a feminine noun:

adbhir viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ ApMB.: *adbhiḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG. The latter doubtless feels *bhartṛbhiḥ* as an appositional noun: 'the waters, bearers of all.'

§806. Yet more anomalously, MS. once uses the masculine form *adhipati* instead of the fem. *adhipatni* 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.:

aditir adhipatny (MS. °*patir*) āsīt VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

4. The indefinite neuter

§807. A neuter epithet, most commonly an adjective or pronoun, tho sometimes the adjective is practically substantivized, is not infrequently used in an indefinite or absolute sense, translatable in English by a periphrasis containing the word 'thing' or the like, or by a pronoun in like construction. Such a passage may, in a variant form, appear with a masc. or fem. form, which indicates that the author has more clearly in mind the gender of the entity referred to. The masc. or fem. form with definite reference may be dual or plural when the number of the entity referred to requires it, while the indefinite neuter is regularly singular in any case; such variants, involving difference of number as well as gender, have been listed above in §§727 ff. and will not be repeated here; they belong, of course, equally in this group.—We shall append here also a group of cases in which an indefinite neuter varies with an equally indefinite masculine, the only difference being that the latter is personal ('such and such a one'), the former impersonal ('such and such a thing'). Substantive pronouns, which may either be indefinite neuter singular, or agree in gender and number with predicate nouns, will also be mentioned here (cf. §§730, 776).—Hirt, *IGGr.* 3 §226, regards the indefinite neuter as an inheritance from a prehistoric period in which grammatical gender did not exist

§808. Adjectives of definite reference varying with indefinite neuters occur as follows:

indrasya (also *viṣṇor*) *dhruvo* 'si (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').'

brahmanim tvā kṣatравани rāyaspoṣaṇani paryūhāmi VS. ŚB.: *brahmanim tvā kṣatравани* (TS. KS. add. . . *rāyaspoṣaṇanim*) *paryūhāmi* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. *tvā* refers in all to a post of udumbara wood, *audumbari* (sc. *sthūnā*), and is fem. (cf. TS. 6. 2. 10. 3, and KŚ. 8. 5. 31). In VS. ŚB. it is made neuter: 'thee, a brahman-winning thing' etc. Mahīdhara, in his commentarial way, takes it quite simply as for *vanim* with loss of ending, referring to Pāṇ. 7. 1. 39.

abhi tvādhām sahīyasā RV. ApMB.: *upa te 'dhām sahīyasām* AV. The RV. original has a neuter indefinite, 'with that which is stronger, a stronger thing', but really means a plant just like AV., which makes the adjective agree in gender with *oṣadhi*.

ya (*yas*, *yah*) *strīnām jivabhojanah* VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.: *yat strīnām jivabhojanam* Vait. The 'antecedent' is *añjīm*, 'the slippery one', referring to the male member; it is masc. even in Vait. which follows with these indefinite neuters, 'the thing that is. . .'

agnir ekākṣareṇa (MS. KS. *°kṣarayā*) *prāṇam* (MS. TS. KS. *vācam*) *udajayat* (VS. ŚB. add *tam ujjeṣam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so *aśvinau dryakṣareṇa* (*°kṣarayā*), *viṣṇus tryakṣareṇa* etc., 17 items in same passage. With the fems. doubtless *vācā* is to be supplied: 'with monosyllabic (etc.) utterance'. The accent (*ék²*) shows that possessive adjective compounds are meant in all texts (not, then, 'with one syllable'). Mahīdhara supplies *chandasa* with them, but it seems more likely that they are indefinite: 'with the monosyllabic (thing).'

indrasya vajro 'si *vātraghnaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB.: *indrasya vātraghnam asi* VS. ŚB. Since a bow is used in the ritual of the Vāj. school, VS. ŚB. may understand *dhanus*; yet it is at least as likely that the adjective is indefinite ('thing relating to the Vṛtra-slayer, victorious').

§809. Pronouns, relative and demonstrative, varying between indefinite neuter and definite masc. or fem.:

tad aśvinā paridhattam svasti TS.: *tam aśvinā paridhattam svasti* (MŚ. *svastaye*) KS. MŚ. The masc. refers to wind, here invoked in the ritual. The indefinite neuter must really have the same reference.

sam tam (KS. ApŚ. *ta*) *siñcatu rādhase* (KS. ApŚ. °*śā*) RV. KS. Vait. ApŚ. *ta*m refers to soma-drops (*drapsa*, *añśu*); this is repeated in KS. once with the indefinite neuter *ta*. Another KS. passage adapts the formula to a different context, where *ta* refers to *chidram*; this is repeated in ApŚ.

yām āsām emi kevali sā me astu AV.: *yad ichāmi manasā sakāmaḥ* TB. Followed by:

videyam enāṁ manasi praviṣṭām (TB. *enad dhrdaye nivṣṭam*) 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 enaṁ tanuḥ ut kṛṇāti* RV.: *pumān enad vayatya udgrṇāti* AV. 'This' in RV. refers to *yajña* in the preceding. In AV. no word for sacrifice occurs in the context, and *enad* is indefinite, tho it must mean something of the same sort.

yam ākirā (VS. *yad āśīrdā*) *dampati vāmam aśnutaḥ* VS. TS. In VS., 'what good thing'; in TS. gender influenced by the following *putra*, which is the specific boon obtained.

yad indro apibac chacibhiḥ VS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *yam asyendro apibaṇ śacibhiḥ* MS. Preceded by *yad atra kiṣṭam* (*riptaṁ*) *rasinaḥ sutasya*. The relative is made masc. in MS. in reference to *sutasya* (m.) which immediately precedes. Followed by:

ahaṁ (AB. AŚ. *idam*) *tad* (MS. *ta*m) *asya manasā kṛvena* (MS. °*ghṛtena*), same texts.

deva savitar etam (LŚ. *etat*) *te yajñam prāhur...* ŚŚ. LŚ.: *etam te deva savitar yajñam prāhur...* VS. ŚB. The context of LŚ. refers to *samidh* (fem.), and the pronoun must be indefinite ('this thing').

ya etad (TA. MahānU. *enaṁ*, MahānU. v. 1. *etat*) *vidur* (ŚB. BrhU. *ye tad vidur*) *amṛtās te bhavanti* ŚB. TA. BrhU. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU. 'Those who know this (him; TA. comm. *paramātman*).'

tad (MŚ. *ta*m) *ahaṁ manase prabravāmi* VSK. TB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Vait. 'I proclaim this (truth; MŚ. him, referring to Savitar).'

kaṁ (KapS. ms. *kiṁ*) *avid garbham prathamam dadhra* (KapS. °*rur*) *āpaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. Raghu Vira em. to *kaṁ*, wrongly; Oertel 18. In RV. etc. *kaṁ* is adjectival to *garbham*; in KapS. substantival, 'what (thing)?' On *dadhrur* see Edgerton, *Language* 10.243f.

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS. ŚB.: *taṁ anu preṇi sukṛtasya lokam* TS. KS. It seems that *taṁ* 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.: *kāmaitat te* AV. etc. The TAA. comm. supplies *ājyabhāgaḥ*; that on MahānU. *haviḥ*, but the latter with *etat* is surely indefinite. The formula *kāmaitat te* occurs in a different context and is perhaps not really to be brought in here. In the same passage:

eṣa (MahānU. *etat*) *te manyo* TAA. MahānU.

§810. In other cases an indefinite neuter varies with a masculine which is equally indefinite, but personal. This occurs especially in negative expressions, where the meaning is 'no one': 'nothing':

ahir jaghāna (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kim*) *cana* AG. PG. HG.

ApMB. MG. 'The serpent has killed (seen) no one (nothing).'

ṛtaṁ nātyeti kim (GG. *kaś*) *cana* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. GG.

māmiṣāṁ (TS. TB. ApŚ. *maiṣāṁ*) *kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS.

TB. ApŚ.: *māmiṣāṁ moci kaś cana* AV.: *maiṣāṁ uccheṣi kim cana* AV.

nakir (SV. *na ki*) *indra tvad uttarāḥ* (SV. °*ram*) RV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed by:

na jydyān (SV. *jyāyo*) *astī vṛtrahan* RV. SV. And:

nakir (SV. *na ky*) *evā* (SV. *evan*) *yathā team* 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 masc., formed on the analogy of the endingless neut. nom.-acc. of *i* stem nouns. See also §820 where both *naki* and RV. *nakis* are adverbial.

yasmāj jātaṁ na purā kim canaiva VS.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *astī* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* ('*sti*') VS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.: *yasmāt param nāparam asti kim cit* TA. MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kim canāsa* RV. TB.: *yasmāj jāta na parā naiva kim canāsa* TA. Only the forms *jāta na parā* of TA. need explanation. The comm. takes them as fem. sg., supplying *prajā*. But more likely they are Vedic neuter plurals (indefinite).

§811. But also with positive expressions, meaning 'such and such a one' or 'thing'; sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the variation, as in the first:

gopāyamānaḥ (KS. °*naś*) *ca mā rakṣamānaḥ* (KS. °*naś*) *ca. . . gopāyetām* (°*yatām*) KS. PG. MG. 'The protecting one (thing) and the guarding one (thing) shall protect...' Occurs in a list of formulas, the subjects of which are all personal (masc. or fem.) in all texts except

for this formula in PG. MG. Parallels in AV. 8. 1. 13. Why PG. MG. provide this one formula with an impersonal, neuter subject does not appear.

avasphūrjan (MS. KS. °*jad*) *hetih* (TS. *prahetih*, MS. KS. *dhetih*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'The one who (that which) thunders is his weapon.' Griffith and Keith render simply 'thunder'. The surrounding formulas generally have personal subjects. The following one has *vidyut*; perhaps MS. KS. have adapted the form of *ava*° in an external, mechanical way to the ending (-t) of this word. But *vidyut* is regularly fem. (exceptionally neut. according to pw., without quoting any occurrence).

bṛhad (ŚB. *mahad*) *dha tasthau bhuvaneṣv antaḥ* RV. ŚB. AA.: *bṛhan ha tasthau rajaso vimānaḥ* (JB. *vimānaiva*) AV. JB. Both 'the great one', masc. or neut.

śukro bṛhan dakṣinayā (TB. *bṛhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pipartu* AV. TB. The comm. on TB. understands by *bṛhad* the *sāman* of that name. That on AV. takes *śukro bṛhan* as Sūrya; Whitney, Soma.

[*yan* (ŚŚ. *yaṁ*) *naḥ pitā saṁjānūte* 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 Śunah-śepa) our father approves.' But the ŚŚ. comm. reads *yan*, clearly understanding *yad* (gloss: *yan no 'smākaṁ pitā saṁjānūte tasminn ādeṣe vayanṁ tiṣṭhāmahe*). It seems that *yaṁ* 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*) *svīd āsīt pīlippilā*,

kā (TS. TB. *kim*) *svīd āsīt piśāṅgilā*,

kā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *kim*) *svīd āsīt pūrvacittih*, all VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB., the last in ApŚ.

kaḥ (VS. *kim*) *svit prthivyai varṣīyān* (VS. °*yah*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The answer expected is 'Indra'; hence masc. *kaḥ* in most texts.

5. Adverbial forms

§813. Related to the indefinite neuter are the numerous neuter forms used as adverbs; it is the indefiniteness of the neuter gender which

makes it the favorite form of adverbs. When forms of other genders are used adverbially, we take it that in principle they must have been originally definite, with ellipsis of some noun; altho, to be sure, there are such cases where it is difficult for us to suggest the noun to be supplied, and we may admit that such forms come to be used as stereotyped adverbs. Among the variants we find distinctively fem. as well as neut. adverbs, varying with adjectives of any of the three genders, as well as with other adverbs.

§814. We begin with the rare instances of fem. adverbs varying with masc. adjectives:

ud enam uttarām (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. °rām) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ.

divas cid antād upamām (TA.† *upa mām*, RV. *antān upamān*) *udāna* RV. AV. SV. TA. Whitney adopts the v. l. *upa mām* for AV. Benfey takes *upamām* as an adverb. See §495.

§815. Neuter adverbs varying with masculine adjectives:

āgne yāhi suvidatrebhir arvān (MS. *arvāk*, p.p. *arvān*) RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

yuktā (so Poona ed. of TB. for *yuktā* Conc.) *harī vr̥ṣṇā yāhy arvān* (MS. *arvāk*, p.p. *arvān*; KS. ms. *arvā*, ed. *arvāk*) RV. MS. KS. TB. *prān* (VS. TB. *prān*, MS. *prāk*, p.p. *prān*) *somo atidrutah* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pratyak (p.p. *pratyān*) *somo atidrutah* MS.: *pratyān* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.* TB. *pratyān*) *somo atidrutah* (VS.* †10, 31b, MS. *atidrutah*) AV.† (see Whitney's note) VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ.

etat tvā deva savitar vr̥ṇate . . . ŚB.: *deva savitar etam tvā vr̥ṇate* . . . AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

tam u tvaṁ (SV. *tava tvaṁ*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV. SV. Preceded by: *yad dha tvaṁ māyinaṁ mṛgam*. SV.'s *tvaṁ* can only be construed as an adverb. It is due in some part to the preceding *tvaṁ*.

tam idam (ApMB. *imam*) *vī vr̥ṇāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. 'I here (now) pluck it out for thee.' *idam* is an adverb; ApMB. makes it into a pronoun agreeing with *tam*.

svasti nah pūrnamukhaḥ pari krāmatu (HG. °*mukhaṁ pari krāmantu*) ApMB. HG. See §404.

ava tara (TS. *avattaram*, MS. p.p. *avalaram*, AV. *avattaro*) *nadiṣṭe ā* (AV. *nadinām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avattaram* is apparently an adverb. See §404.

tad āsata r̥ṣayah sapta sākam AV.: *tasyāsata r̥ṣayah* (TS. TAA. °*āsate harayah*) *sapta* fire TS. ŚB. BṛhU. TAA. *tad* seems to be adverbial.

aśvinendram na jāgrvi (TB. °vī) VS. MS. TB. See §762.

taṁ tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguh... saha yan me 'sti tena AV.: *taṁ* (KS.† *taṁ*) *teendragraha prapadye* (ApŚ. *praviśāni*) *saguh... saha yan me 'sti* (astī) *tena* KS. ApŚ. *taṁ* in KS. adverbial.

viśvak patantu didyavaḥ RV.: *viśvañco asmac charavaḥ patantu* AV.

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śuciḥ (VS. *śuci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuci* may be an adverb; but cf. VV 2 §381.

taṁ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu hobhāyai* (MS. °yī) TS. MS. TA. Perhaps bad writing (*tan* for *taṁ*).

tan (JB. *taṁ*) *mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam* JB. KBU. As *pre*.

somaḥ prathamō rivide RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. 'Soma was the first to marry thee': 'thou wast Soma's wife first.'

ye 'do (MS. *amī*, KS. *vādo*, VS. ŚB. *vāmī*) *rocane divaḥ* RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.: *ye cāmī rocane divi* NīlarU. *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:

arundhatīḥ ye (ApMB. *yad*) *dhruvatām ha ninyuh* ApMB. HG. '(The ṛsis) who have led...': 'since (the ṛsis) have led...'

toke vā goṣu tanaye yad (and *yam*) *apsu* RV. (both).

nava yat puro navatiḥ ca sadyaḥ RV. AV.: *nava yo navatiḥ purāḥ* RV. AV. SV.

pūro yat (MŚ. *yaḥ*) *sann aparo bhavāsi* ApŚ. MŚ.

pra ye (SV. *yad*) *gāvo na bhūrṇayah* RV. SV.

yad (MŚ. *ya*) *āgachāt pathibhir devayānāḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

ya (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad*) *ṛte* (PB.† *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV.

SV. TB. TA. KŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. GG.

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ. *mā°*, TS. ApMB. *yam* *abadhnāta*, MŚ. MG. *yaj*

jagrantha) *navitā suśevaḥ* (AV. °vāḥ, TS. ApMB.* *suketah*, MŚ. MG.

satyadharmā) RV. AV. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ApMB. (bis) MG.

viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāḥ (KS. *vimanā yo vyomā*, MS. *vimame yo*

vihāyāḥ, TS. *manasā yad vihāyāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. N.

yad (SV. *yo*) *devasya śivasā prāriṇāḥ* RV. SV.

yad agne kavyavāhana TS. TB. ApŚ.: *yo agniḥ kravyavāhanah* (VS. KS. *kavya°*) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.

yad (LŚ. *yam*) *devāso lālāmagum* AV. VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.

anu yam viśve madanty (AV.* *anu yad enam madanti* †viśva) *ūmāḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. VS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. N.

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB. ApŚ. *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS. ŚB. *yam*, TB. *yad*) *vajra-hasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

viprā ṭgātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA. °*ṣat*) AA. ŚŚ.: *viprāya ṭgātham 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*) *tamasā prāṇtāsīt* (TA. °*tāsi*) AV. TA. 'When she was (thou who wast) enveloped in blind darkness.'

yajñasya jihvām avidāma guhyām (MG. *guhyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS. 'We have found the secret tongue (in secret the tongue) of the sacrifice.'

viśvair devair anumatā (KS. TA. °*taṁ*) *marudbhīḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The original fem. adjective applies to *śūlā* 'furrow'. In TA. it occurs in a different connexion which requires a masc. (§849). In KS. the connexion is the same, and the neut. must be taken as an adverb.

caraty ananurātā ApMB, HG.: *vicaranty apatīuratā* ŚG. MDh.: *yac cacārānanurātām* ApŚ. See §404.

asambādā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS.: *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* AV. Kauś. See §623.

achidrām tvāchidrena... juṣṭam (KS. °*ṭām*, v. l. °*ṭam*) *grhṇāmi* MS. KS. ApŚ. The fems. refer to *surā*. Caland on ApŚ. would read *juṣṭam* (adverb) in KS., and since the best ms. reads so, with the parallel texts, he may be right. But *juṣṭam* as fem. adjective would be equally construable.

§818. And once a fem. noun, in the dative (quasi-adverbial), varies with a neuter adverb:

taṁ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yī*) TS. MS. TA. 'Unto splendor' virtually equals 'splendidly'. See §487.

§819. Neuter adjective varying with fem. adverb:

upamāṁ (SV. °*mām*) *devatāṭaye* RV. SV. *upamāṁ* goes with *śarah* 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 Rīgvedic *nakis*, formally a nom. sing. masc., but sometimes used adverbially; twice in the same verse SV. replaces it by *na ki*, on which see §810 above: *nakir* (SV. Svidh. *na ki*) *devā minīmasi* (SV. Svidh. *inī*°) RV. SV. Svidh. *nakir* (SV. *na ky*) *ā yopayāmasi* RV. SV.

§821. Once, also, SV. substitutes *nakih* for RV. (*nā*) *cit*: *nū cit* (SV. *nakih*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV. SV.

§822. We may mention also the following, which simulates a masc.-neut. variation with the forms *kam* : *kim*, altho of course *kam* cannot be, historically, an acc. sg. masc. of the stem *ka*:

prajāyai kam (AV. *kim*) *amṛtaṁ nāvr̥ṇā* RV. AV.

§823. As to fem.-neut. variants, we find chiefly a group involving the equivalent adverbs *pratarām* and **ram* (once *saṁtarām* : **ram*):

pra tāry agne pratarām na āyuh RV. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *prātāry agne pratarām na āyuh* TS.

jīvātave pratarām (SV. SMB. **rām*) *sādhayā dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. SMB.

indremaṁ pratarām (VS. TS. ŚB. **rām*) *kṛdhī (naya)* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA.† **rām*, MG. *pratiram*) *dadhānāḥ* (AV. **te dadhāmi*) RV. AV. (ter) TA. AG. MG.: *āyur dadhānāḥ pratarām navīyaḥ* AV.

sāmṛājyāya pratarām (ApŚ. **rām*) *dadhānaḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

adhi kṣami pratarām dīdhyānaḥ RV. AV.: *asmin kṣaye pratarām dīdhyānaḥ* SV.

pra taṁ (RV.* *no*) *naya pratarām* (TS. ApMB. **rām*) *vasyo acha* RV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

saṁśītaṁ cit saṁtarām (VS. TS. KS. **rām*) *saṁ śīśādhi* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§824. Otherwise we have noted only the following, in which both variant forms are parts of the pple. of a compound verb and are perhaps hardly to be classified here; cf. VV 2 §505:

svam̐kṛto 'si KS.: *svām̐kṛto 'si* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

6. Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender

§825. Pronouns which refer to a series of nouns of different genders may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the plurality of the nouns; or else they may be masc. if the series includes both masc. and fem. nouns:

tās (ApMB. *te*) *teṣ vadhu prajāvatīm* AV. ApMB. Preceded by *yā oṣadhayo yā nadyo yāni kṣetrāṇi yā vanā* (ApMB. *yāni dharmāni ye vanāḥ*, 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).

rohitaḥ kuṇḍṛṇācī golattikā tā apsarasām (VS. *te 'psarasām*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Since *rohitaḥ* is regularly fem., the fem. pronoun is expected (with only fem. nouns). The masc. of VS. is apparently due to

taking *rohita* as masc. (so VS. comm.); with a series including masc. and fem. nouns, a masc. pronoun is justified by usage (Renou, *Gram.* p. 500).

7. Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun

§826. When the antecedent and the predicate of a substantivized pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (cf. §812).

namas te bṛhate yat ta uttarato yat ta uttarah pakṣah LŚ.: *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttarah pakṣah* AA.: *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttarah bāhur yas ta uttarah pakṣah* ŚŚ. *bṛhat* means the *sāman* of that name. Similarly *namas te rathamtarāya (rātham°)*..., and *namas te vāmade-vyāya (vājanāya)*..., see Cone.

(*yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptat phalam tat*) *yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva* AV.: (*yadi vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*) *yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva* HG.: (*yadi vṛkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva* ApMB. The neuter *tad* of ApMB. HG. refers back to *phalam* and keeps its gender, despite the masc. predicate *vāyur*. The masc. *sa* of AV. is doubtless to be explained by the gender of the predicate, altho *apām stokaḥ* of the preceding verse may also have been influential.

striyaḥ satīs tām (TA. tā) u me punsa āhuḥ 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:

sāmpriyaḥ paśubhir bhava (TB. ApŚ. *bhuvat*, KS. *²yaḥ paśubhiḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *sāmpriyam prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat* TA. Subject is Agni in all; the formula *purīṣam asi* precedes in TA. and KS., and follows in MS.

8. Compound nouns

§828. On the familiar use of neuter singular dvandvas as the equivalent of duals (or plurals) of any gender see §751. Peculiar is the case of the dual stem *ahorātra*; for the masc. or neut. gender of compounds in *-rātra*, see Wackernagel 2, 1, p. 40. Note that there is nothing in

the context of the following variant to disprove that *-rātrās* and *-rātre* may be fem. (which gender the word has at least in VS. 14. 30):

ahorātrās (KS. TA. °*trānī*) *te kalpantām* VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ahorātre te* (TB. *me*) *kalpetām* MS. TB.

§829. Occasionally shift of gender is due to taking a form in one case as a karmadhāraya, then keeping the gender of the last member of the compound, and elsewhere as a bahuvrīhi, then agreeing in gender with the noun it modifies. Thus:

ayakṣmayā (KS. °*meṇa*) *pari bhuja* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. Preceded in all by *yā te hetir mīdhuṣama*, *haste babhūva te dhanuḥ*, *tayāsmān viśvatas team* (with slight variants). Since KS. has fem. *tayā* (referring to *hetir*) in pāda c, like the rest, the neut. *ayakṣmeṇa* of pāda d can only be taken as a karmadhāraya, 'with non-disease'.

pīvoannān (VS. °*nā*, MS. °*nam*, p.p. °*nān*) *rayivrdhah sumedhāḥ* RV. VS. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. All texts but VS. intend *pīvoannān*, a bahuvrīhi, 'he seeks men with rich food. . .'. Mahidhara, followed by Griffith, takes VS. in the same way, calmly stating that the final *n* of the acc. masc. is lost! Unless it is a phonetic variant or corruption (cf. VV 2 §307, to which this should be added), it must of course be a karmadhāraya, acc. pl. neut.: 'he seeks rich foods.'

tatrāpi dahre (MahānU. *dahraṁ*) *gaganam viśokaḥ* (TA. Poona ed. °*kam*, v. l. °*kaḥ*) TA. MahānU. *viśokaḥ* 'freedom from grief', coordinate with *gaganam*, which is modified by *viśokam* '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):

eṣa vas tadvivācanaḥ ŚŚ.: *eṣa vaḥ sadvivācanam* 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 saṁskṛtīr viśvavārā* (MS. *yajñe asmin*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *sā prathamā saṁskṛtīr viśvakarmā* TS. TB. ApŚ. The latter make a noun of agent out of *saṁskṛtī*.

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.:

avasṛṣṭā (TB. ApŚ. °taḥ) *parā pata* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. TB. Vait. ApŚ. AG. Followed by:

śaravye brahmasamśīte (TS. °tā) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: *śaro brahmasamśītaḥ* TB. ApŚ. For *śaravyā* TB. ApŚ. substitute the synonym *śara*.

ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman RV. KS. ('surrounding it they penetrated into the prison-cave of the kine'): *urvām gavyām pariśadam no akran* AV. (a far-reaching Verbalhornung; Whitney, 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine').

gireḥ pravartamānakāḥ RV.: *gīre avacarantikā* AV. Preceded by *kuzumbhakas tad abravīt* RV., *karnā śvāvīt tad abravīt* AV. The fem. gender of *śvāvidh* is otherwise unrecorded and is ignored by the dictionaries.

§832. As between masc. and neut.:

yam (AV. TS. ApŚ. *yat*) *te devī nirṛtir ā babandha*,

pāśam (AV. TS. *dāma*) *grīvāśv avicartyam* (VS. ŚB. *avicitryam*, AV. *avimokyan yāt*),

taṁ te (AV. *tat te*, TS. *idam te tad*) *vi śyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS. KS. *nu madhye*, AV. *āyuṣe varcase balāya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., and the first in ApŚ. MŚ. Here the two synonyms are *pāśa* masc. and *dāman* neut.

§833. As between fem. and neut.:

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. The latter has a far-reaching reconstruction; *idam* agrees with *strīpautram*.

§834. These cases, where the nouns to which the variant epithets apply are clearly expressed, are simple enough. More dubious are some cases in which, without change of the general context, an epithet changes its gender, apparently in agreement with nouns which in at least one form, and usually in both, are not expressed in the context at all. A simple instance, requiring no comment, is the following, in which the late RV. hymn 6. 75 speaks of the bow as 'father of many daughters' (arrows?), *bahvīnām* fem., for which MŚ. substitutes 'of many sons', *bahūnām* masc. (no one would want many daughters!):

bahvīnām (MS. *bahūnām*) *pītā bahur asya putrah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ.

§835. In other cases the nouns denoted by the variant epithets are in one or both cases often uncertain. Masculine and feminine:

taṁ uttamāsy oṣadhe RV. VS.: *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* 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. *palāśa*, but Kauś. uses barley).

10-2

1

36

[*lāti dhanveva tān ihi* RV. AV. SV. VS.: *dadhanveva tā ihi* TA.: *nidhanveva tān imi* TA. The TA. repeats the verse in the same context, once recording *tā(s)*, fem., which seems to us to make no possible sense. We believe that it has merely lost final *i* by the phonetic process treated VV 2 §309, to which this variant should be added.]

tāsām vīśīṇānām (KS. *vīśīṇyānām*) MS. KS.: *teṣām vīśipriyānām* (VS. ŚB. °*ṇām* vo 'ham) VS. TS. ŚB. Preceded in same verse by *yās* (TS. *yeṣām*) *tisrah paramajāh* (MS. *prathamajāh*). Reference is to soma-cups (*graha*), and we do not understand the fem.; yet note *tisrah* even in TS. (The TS. comm. supplies *prakṛtayah*.) Keith ignores the point. Perhaps a fem. synonym of *graha*, such as *āsuti*, is understood.

jīvaṁ (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 *jīvaṁ*.

emām (ŚG. *enam*) *kumāras taruṇaḥ* AV. ŚG., and:

emām parisrutah kumbhaḥ AV.: *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG. The fems. refer either to the house (*sālā*) or to the chief post (*sthūnā*); the masc. apparently to the latter under its name *sthūnārāja*.

utemāḥ paśya MS. MŚ.: *utemāḥ paśya* TS. See §740.

asyai (TS. *asmai*) *saṁ 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*.

śivebhīr (AV. VSK. TS. °*śivābhīr*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (°*vdhe*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. (both) MS. KS. TB. The masc. agrees with *pāyubhiḥ* 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 *ūtibhiḥ*; it might however be considered adverbial.

anu manyatām anumanyamānaḥ (TS. °*mānā*) AV. TS. And:

tasya (TS. *tasyai*) *vayaṁ 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 can explain them no better than Whitney (see his note).

vīśvā (MS. *vy*) *amīdāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*, MS. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. MS. KS. See §573.

saṁ eta īśīve vacasā (SV. *vīśvā ojasā*) *patim divaḥ* AV. SV. By *vīśve*

AV. undoubtedly means 'all men'. Benfey suggests either that *visvā(h)* is a nominal instead of a pronominal form, in that case masc., or else that *stutayāh* is to be supplied with it. Ppp. is reported by Roth as reading *visvā*.

[*anābho mṛḍa dhūrta* (MS. *dhūrte*, v. l. °ta) MS. MŚ.: (*anārbhava mṛḍa*) *dhūrta* (KS. °te) *namas te astu* (°stu) KS. ApS. Knauer on MŚ. would read *dhūrta* also in MS. Rudra is addressed and no voc. fem. seems possible; if a voc. form is concerned it can only be *dhūrta*. But *dhūrte* occurs in KS., KapS. (4.6:45.1, see Oertel 101), and in two mss. and p.p. of MS. The persistence of the form suggests that *dhūrta* is a lect. fac. Perhaps we have an obscure corruption of some form containing the pronoun *te*, or some sort of noun form, dat. sg. or loc. sg.]

[*mānasya patnī śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ śapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. Followed by:

[*devī devebhīr nimitāsy agre* AV.: *devo devebhīr vimitāsy agre* HG. The fems. *vimitā* and *syonā* are sufficient to prove the corruption of HG.; Oldenberg adopts the AV. readings.]

§836. A special case under this heading is formed by an interesting group in which occur pronouns or adjectives referring (in the fem.) to a collective noun such as *senā* 'army', or (in the masc.) to the individuals which compose the collectivity. Cf. §715:

indra āsām (AV. MS. KS. *esām*) *netā brhaspatiḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The fem. pronoun refers to *senāḥ* 'armies', in the context; the masc. to the men who compose them.

yuvān tām (SV. *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV. SV. As in prec.; here *senā* sing.

āmūr aja pratyāvarṭayemāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: *prāmūn jayābhīme jayantu* AV. The original *āmūr* probably refers to armies (Geldner). Whitney takes the AV. form as *amūn*, referring to the individual enemies; but p.p. *amūm* (comm. *śatrusenām*).

nama āvyādāhinībhyo vīvidhyantībhyāś (KS. *vīvidhyadbhyāś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In this litany to Rudra and his associates, the plural doubtless refers to Rudra's hosts, understanding *senā* plu.; the masc. of KS. to the individual members.

§837. Masculine and neuter:

māteva putraṁ bibhṛtāpav enat (MS. *bibhṛtā sv enat*, TS. KS. *bibhṛtā sv enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The neut. refers to the ashes put into water (mentioned in the context); the masc. apparently to Agni, the fire here carried in a pan.

vardhamāno (TS. °*nam*) *mahān* (TS. MS. *maha*) *ā ca puškare* (TS. °*ram*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The half-verse accompanying this one in VS. 11. 29 is addressed to a lotus leaf (*puškara* or *puṣkaraparna*, both neut.) on which is laid a lump of clay representing Agni. Our pāda is followed by *divo mātrayā varinā* (*varimnā*) *prathama*. Mahidhara on VS. thinks that *vardhamāno* still refers to the lotus leaf, with 'Vedic' change of gender. With Griffith we must rather understand Agni, in the form of the lump of clay, as addressed. In VS. 13. 2 the verse is used in laying a lotus leaf on the site of the āhavanīya fire-altar, and Agni is doubtless again addressed in the 2d half verse. TS. uses neuters, referring to the lotus leaf as in the other half verse.

ya enad veda sa id enad (AV. *enam*) *arhati* RVKh. AV. The neut. refers to *hiraṇyam*; the masc. apparently to an unexpressed *maṇi* or some masc. name of a jewel (Bloomfield, *SBE.* 42. 669).

ṛasty ullarān (MS. MŚ. °*raṇ*, TS. ApŚ. °*rāṇy*) *alīya* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 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. MŚ.) may refer to *keśān*; it is hardly necessary to emend as Schroeder suggests.

devaśrud imān (sc. *keśān*) *pravape* MS. MŚ.: *devaśrūr etāni* (sc. *śmaśrūṇi*) *pravape* TS. HG. As prec.

[*viśo* (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Followed by *s-*; doubtless phonetic corruption in TB., cf. VV 2 §381.] [*saṁśīlām kṣatram jiṣṇu* (Ppp. MS. KS. TA. *kṣatram me jiṣṇu*, AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣṇuḥ*) AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *jiṣṇuḥ* can only be a blunder; VV 2 §381.]

§838. Feminine and neuter:

gāthayaiti pariṣkṛtam (AV. °*ta*) RV. AV. See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10. 85. 6. Apparently the neut. refers to Sūryā's garment (*vāśah*). AV. makes the fem. refer to Sūryā.

haviṣ (*haviḥ*) *kṛvantah parivatsarinām* (MG. °*riyam*, HG.† SMB.† °*riṇām*) AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Both Kirste and Jørgensen 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 ābabhūva* (PB. āva°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāḥ*!) VS. PB. JB. ŚŚ. Vait. *viśvāḥ* is perhaps a misprint, certainly an error (VV 2 §381); the comm. has *viśvāni*.]

§839. Masculine, feminine, and neuter:

ūrṇamradasaṁ (ūrṇā°) *tvā śrṇāmi* (KS. *ūrṇamradah prathasva*, Kauś.

ūrnamradam prathasva) *svāstham* (VS.† ŚB.† °*athām*) *devebhyah* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. Kauś. ApŚ. Masc. in TS. TB. ApŚ. (applying to *prastara*); fem. in VS. ŚB. (to *vedī*); neut. in KS. Kauś. (to *barhis*?).

11. Transfer of epithet

§840. The preceding group of variants leads over naturally to those in which the change in gender is explained by the application of an epithet to different nouns in the context. These are of the same type as those classed under 'transfer of epithet' between various case forms, many of which, it will be remembered, show change in gender as well as case; these will not be repeated here. Transfer of epithet appears in the following variants between masculine and feminine forms:

idāno (KS. °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. °*nim*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
See §399.

añgāny ahrutā yasya (TS. and vikāra of ŚB. *yasyai*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *taṁ mātṛā* (KS. *taṁ devās*, TS. and vikāra of ŚB. *tām devaiḥ*) *saṁ añgamam* (KS. *acik[pan]*). 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).

taḍ agnir anumanyatām ayam (PG. *iyam svāhā*) PG. HG. The simpler, and presumably original, reading is *ayam*, referring to Agni; *iyam* is difficult; Stenzler omits the word in translating and regards it as an intrusion; Oldenberg renders by 'N. N.', apparently as standing for the name of the bride (the verse is spoken by the bridegroom); the comm. on PG. makes *iyam* agree with *svāhā* as n. pr., 'and this Svāhā (Agni's consort).'

dvāro devīr anv anyā viśve (MS. KS. *viśvāḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The masc. *viśve* is a coordinate subject, along with *dvāro*; in MS. KS. it becomes an epithet of the latter.

tām tvam svadhām taiḥ sahopa jīva ApMB.: *taṁ svadhām akṣitam taiḥ sahopajīvāsau* HG. Most likely HG. is original: 'upon that (wave, ūrmī, which is) sweet drink (and is) inexhaustible live thou with these.' ApMB. makes the pronoun agree with *svadhām*.

kasmai (KS. *tasmai*) *deva vaṣaḍ astu tubhyam* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tasmai ca devī vaṣaḍ*... TS. The voc. masc. refers to Prajāpati (or

'Ka'); the fem. of TS. to Prthivi (denoted by *uttānāyai* in the preceding).

garbham sravantam agadam akaḥ (AŚ. *akarma*) TS. AŚ. ApŚ.: *garbham sravantīm agadām akarma* ApŚ.: *ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *aganma*) KŚ. MŚ. The masc. forms go with *garbha*, the fems. with *ukhā* (which is clearly understood even when not expressed). *apāsya ye ṛsindh pāsah* KS. ApŚ.: *apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān* Kauś. The fem. refers to Nirrti, preceding; the masc. apparently to the yajamāna.

indreṇa dattān prayatān (TS. *dattān prayatām*) *marudbhīh* TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* (MS. *nābhīm*). The masc. pples. agree with the last word, the fems. with *dhārām*.

mā hīnsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB.† *ūhyamānām*) 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):

pratyañ ud eṣi mānuṣān (AV.* *°ṣīh*) RV. AV. (both) ArS. N. Preceded by *pratyañ devānām viśah*. The RV. *mānuṣān* = 'humans, men'; in AV. sc. *viśah*.

mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣibhir arcinaḥ (TB. *taviṣebhir ūrmibhīh*) RV. TB. The orig. *taviṣibhīh* is apparently a noun, 'with might'; TB. feels that a form of the adjective *taviṣa* is required, and supplies *ūrmibhīh*, perhaps recollecting RV. 6. 61. 2.

§842. Transfer of epithet, masculine and neuter:

anāptā yā (AV. *ye*) *vah prathamā* (AV. p.p. *°māh*) AV. KS. ApŚ. See §552, end.

eṣa vasūni pibdanā (SV. *°nah*) RV. SV. The adj. is transferred from *vasūni* to *eṣa* (= Soma).

śambhu mayobhu (TB. TA. *śambhūr mayobhūr*) *no hṛde* RV. SV. TB. TA. Kauś. N. Preceded by *vāta āvatu bheṣajam*; the adjectives go with *bheṣajam*, or with *vātaḥ*.

asmin have puruhūtaḥ purukṣuḥ (AV. TS. *°kṣu*) RV. AV. Ppp. TS. KS. Preceded by *urvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yaṁsat (yachatu)*. Transfer from *mahiṣah* to *śarma*.

kakubham (kakuham) rūpaṁ vṛṣabhasya (rūpam ṛṣ°) rocate bṛhat (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In VSK. *bṛhan* goes with *somah* following.

codad rādha upastutāś (ArS. °*tañ*) *cid arvāk* RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB.

The adjective is transferred from the subject (Indra) to *rādhas*.

tad ayañ (MG. *idam*) *rājā varuṇo* 'numanyatām AG. SMB. PG. ApMB.

HG. MG. In MG. *idam* (with *tad*) replaces *ayañ* (with *rājā varuṇo*).

vīduharās tapa ugro (AV. *ugram*) *mayobhāh* RV. AV.

matsvā suśipra (SV. °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV. *tam*) *īmahe* RV. SV. 'We wish that': 'we pray to [thee] here.'

yeñā samatsu sāsahāh (SV. °*hih*, MŚ. °*hi*) RV. SV. VS. ApS. MŚ. The original *sāsahāh* is a verb form; in SV. it becomes an adjective epithet of the subject: 'whereby (thou shalt be) conquering in battles'. In MŚ. this adjective is made to go with the preceding *manas*.

brahmādhigūptah (PG. *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāñi* (PG. *surakṣitah syāñ*, MG. *svārākṣāñah*, most mss. *svārarakṣāñah*) *svāhā* (MG. omits) AG. PG. MG. In MG. the first word is attracted into agreement with the preceding neuters (*bhūtam bhaviṣyad uta bhadram astu me*); in the others it goes with the 1st person subject.

dhṛṣṇāñam (AV. °*no*, but Whitney translates °*nañ*; AA. *dādhrṣāñam*) *dhṛṣṭam* (AV. °*tañ*, but Whitney translates °*tañ*) *śaraḥ* AV. AA. ŚŚ.† The masc. forms, if accepted, would apply to Indra, the subject of the preceding pāda, instead of to *śaraḥ*. The passage is very troublesome.

§843. In the next (cf. §15), the 'epithet' is in one variant made an independent word; *amṛto* modifies *panthā(h)*, but MS. uses *amṛtam* as an independent noun, 'nectar':

prāṇasya panthā amṛto (MS. °*tañ*) *grahābhyām* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§844. Transfer of epithet, feminine and neuter:

upasthāsānām mitravad astv ojah TS. MS. AŚ.: *upasthāsā mitravalīdam ojah* KS. In KS. *mitra*° agrees with *āsā*, in the others with *ojah*.

tebhir mā (ApS. *tābhir no*, ApMB. *tābhiḥ tvā*) *devaḥ savitā punātu* MS. ApS. ApMB. Preceded by *śatam pavitrā vitatā hy* (MS. *vitātāny*) *āsu* (sc. *apsu*). The pronoun refers to *pavitrā* in MS., in the others to *āsu* (*apsu*).

§845. The next may perhaps be classified as showing an original 'epithet' made into an independent word (§15); but the reconstruction of the secondary ApMB. is very sweeping. It means 'shine thou for my foot-water (*padya*, neut.).' In the original, *padyā* is used as an epithet of the noun *Virāj*:

mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājah (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚG. ŚŚ. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* 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 thruout, but the subject is feminine in one case, masculine in the other. Hence the variants:

asapatnā (RV. also °*naḥ*) *kīlābhuvam* (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB.; followed immediately in both RV. and ApMB. by:

asapatnaḥ sapatnaḥ RV. AV.: *asapatnā sapatnaghñī* RV. ApMB.

§847. Such a variation may properly be called a *vikāra* in the technical sense. Many of the variants here included are nothing but technical *vikāras* or *ūhas*; often they appear in the same passage, modulated according to different nouns, as in the following, where the AV. in a single hymn applies the epithets once to *mītrāvaruṇau*, masc., and once to (*dyauh* and) *pṛthivī*, fem.:

jāramṛtyam kṛṇudām saṁvidānau (and °*ne*) AV. (both).

§848. We find the following variants of this sort; first some in which all three genders appear:

vānaspatyo 'si PB. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: *vānaspatyam asi* KS.: *vānaspatyāsi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

jāgatam asi MS. TA. ApŚ.: *jāgatāsi* MS.: *jāgato 'si* MS. MŚ. Also *gāyatram asi*, *gāyatro 'si*, *gāyaty asi*; *traīṣṭubho 'si*, °*bham asi*.

salakṣmā (MS. KS. °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*paṁ*) *bhavāti* (MS. KS. *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS. See §727.

§849. Between masculine and feminine, besides those just quoted, occur:

trpto 'ham MS. KS. MŚ.: *trptāham* (v. l. *trpto 'ham*) MŚ. In the last the words are spoken by the *patnī*; it is a simple *ūha* of the other, recollection of which is responsible for the v. l. with masc.

tās te (TS. MŚ. *te naḥ*) *kṛṇwantu bheṣajam* RV. AV. TS. MŚ. PG. Different contexts; perhaps not true variants.

agnīm kulāyam abhisamvasāntī (ApŚ. °*vasānāḥ*) MS. ApŚ.: *agnīm grhapatim abhisamvasānāḥ* TB. ApŚ. The entire verse is repeated, with subjects respectively *prajāḥ* and *paśarāḥ*.

aiḍo me bhagavo janīṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇaḥ MS.: *aiḍi me bhagavatṛ ajanīṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇī* MS. Ūhas; followed by the respective directions: *iti pumāṁsaṁ jātām abhimantrayeta*, and *iti strīyaṁ jātām abhi*°. In the same passages the next four:

citrā citram (and *citrām*) *asūt* MS.,

citrāḥ citrā (and *°rān*) *asuvan* MŚ.,

puṇyā puṇyam (MS.* *puṇyām*) *asūt* MS. MŚ.,

puṇyāḥ puṇyā (and *°yān*) *asuvan* MŚ.

jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛṇvati (and *kṛṇvan*) RV. (both). To Uṣas and Savitar respectively.

tam (KS.* *tām*) *agne heḍaḥ pari te vṛṇaktu* VS. TS. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. To Agni and *māyā*; in adjoining stanzas in KS.; the others also have both stanzas but with a different pāda instead of *tām*... KS. has allowed one stanza to influence the other.

tasya te bhaktivāṁsaḥ syāma (MS. KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāṣma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasya te vayan bhūyīṣṭhabhājo bhūyāṣma* ApŚ.: *tasyās te bhaktivāṇaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. ApŚ.* *bhaktivāno bhūyāṣma*, AŚ. *bhāgam aśimahi*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (bis) AŚ. Different contexts.

tāns te paridadāmy aham ApŚ.: *tām te paridadāmy aham* (TA. *°dadāmi*) TA. ApŚ.

trīr ā divo vidathe putyamānaḥ (and *°mānāḥ*) RV. (both).

traṣṭrīmantas (MS. MŚ. *traṣṭri*°, ApŚ. *traṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *traṣṭrīmatī* (TS. ApŚ. *traṣṭi*°, so also TA. Poona ed. with v. l. *traṣṭri*°) *te sapema* TS. TA. ApŚ. The fem. subject is the patni; see §725.

pari tmanā viśurūpo jigāsi (and *°rūpā jigāti*) RV. (both).

viśvair devair anumata (KS. TA. *°tam*) *marudbhūḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Different context in TA.; on KS. see §817.

indrāya soman suṣutān bharantaḥ (and *°fih*) RV. (both)

aśmeva tvaṁ sthīrā (Ppp. MG. ApMB.* HG.† *[l. 4. 1b] *sthīro*) *bhava* Ppp. (for AV. *aśmā bhavatu te tanūḥ*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The fem. to the bride, the masc. in different context to a boy.

pari dhatta dhatta no varcasemam AV.: *pari dhatta dhatta vāsasainām* (HG. ApMB. *°nam*) SMB. HG. ApMB. As prec.

śatāyusaṁ (SMB. *°śīm*) *kṛṇuta dīrgham āyuh* SMB. ApMB. HG. As prec. *āyusmalīdam pari dhatsva vāsaḥ* AV. SMB. PG. MG.: *āyusmann idam* ... MG.: *āyusmān idam*... ApMB. HG. As prec.

upahūto 'yaṁ yajamānaḥ (...) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *upahūteyaṁ yajamānā* TB. The whole of the second passage in TB. is a vikāra of the other. It contains the next six.

- divye dhāmann* ('many) *upahūtaḥ* (TB.* °hūta) TS. MS. TB.*
uttarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ (TB.* °tā) TS. ŚB. TB.
tasminn upahūtaḥ (TB.* °tā) MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarane (haviḥk°) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *bhūyasi haviṣkarana*
upahūtaḥ (TB.* °tā) TS.† 2. 6. 7. 5, TB. (bis) ŚB.
viśvasya priyasyopahūtasypahūtaḥ (and °tā) TB. (both)
viśvam asya (TB.* asyāḥ) *priyam upahūtam* TS. TB. (both)
vr̥ṣāsi vr̥ṣṇyāvan (Kauś. °vati) AV.† Kauś.† Different contexts, tho
 both in rites for virile power; AV. addresses the man concerned,
 Kauś. the magic herb.
irām vahanto (ApMB. vahato, MG. vahanṭi) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ.
 AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: *irām vahanṭaḥ sumanasyamānāḥ* HG. See
 §739.
īśānam vāryāṇām RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. JB.: *īśānā* (sc. āpaḥ)
vāryāṇām RV. AV. MS. TB. TA.
mayi puṣṭim (AV. puṣṭam) †*puṣṭipatir* (AV. puṣṭa°) *dadhātu* (AG.
 †*dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB.: *mayi*
puṣṭim puṣṭipatnī dadhātu KS. The latter in a different context.
yatamānā (and °no) *raśmibhiḥ sūryasya* RV. (both)
rākāyā ahaṁ devayajyayā prajāvān (and °vati) *bhūyāsam* ApŚ. (both).
 Spoken by the yajamāna and his wife respectively, in adjoining
 passages. In the same the following:
sintvālyā ahaṁ devayajyayā pakumān ('matī) *bhūyāsam*, and
kuhā ahaṁ devayajyayā puṣṭimān pakumān (puṣṭimatī pakumatī) *bhū*°,
rodēna kṛṇvatir ('vaty, °vanto) *agham* AV. (ter).
viṣūcim (and *viṣvañcam*) *vi vr̥hāmasi* AV. (both)
śivāḥ śagmo bhavāsi naḥ TB. ApŚ.: *śivā cā me śagmā caidhi* TB. ApŚ.
samvatsarasya śaṣṭhaḥ (TS.* KS.* śaṣṭhī) TS. KSA. Both in a series
 of formulas; with the masculines different parts (*avayava*, m.) of
 the shoulder are offered; with the fems. various ribs (*vañkrī*).
vasūnī cārur (SMB. cārye, ApMB. cāryo, v. l. cāyyo, HG. cāyyo) *vi bhajāsi*
(bhrjāsi, bhajā sa) jīvan AV. SMB. HG. ApMB. See §334.
sa cakārārasam (and *sā cakarthārasam*) *viṣam* AV. (both)
sa jīva śaradaḥ śalam ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.
 MG. N. Mbh.: *sā jīva śaradaḥ śalam* ApMB. An ūha.
samjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV. AV. SV. N.: *samjagmānā abibhyuṣiḥ* (MS.
avihrutāḥ) AV. MS.
sa (and *sā*) *no viśvā atī dviṣaḥ* RV. (both)
sā (HG. *sa*) *mām ā viśatād iha* (MG. *viśatām ihaiva*) ApMB. HG. MG.,
 and RVKh. Scheftelowitz 10. 151. 3d.

sa (and sā) no dohatām suvīryam (MŚ. suvīram) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (both in all texts). Ūhas, in same passages.

sumṛṇīkām abhiṣṭaye RV. TS. MS.: sumṛṇīkām abhi° RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yasmād bhūta (bhūto) niṣidasi MŚ. (both)

yantā rāṭ TS. KSA. TB.: yantī rāṭ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

And, in same passages:

yantāsi yamanah VS. TS. KS. KSA. ŚB. TB.: yantry asi yamanī (TS. yamitrī) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

sa (AV. sā) nah śarma trivarūtham vi yansat (AV. nī yachāt) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

ūrdhvām enām (VS.* ŚB.* LŚ.* ūrdhvam enam) uc chrayatāt (chrāpaya) VS.* TS. MS. KSA. ŚB.* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.* ApŚ. In same passages the next:

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

ut tiṣṭha (VS. ŚB. KŚ. utthāya) brhatī (TA. brhan) bhava VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. MŚ. Followed by:

ūrdhvā (TA. °vas, VS. ŚB. ut u) tiṣṭha dhruvā (TA. °vas) team VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

yamena tvam yamyā saṁvidānā (TA.* °nah) VS. TS.† MS. KS.† ŚB. TA. (bis). The fem. of all but TA. applies to Nirṛti. In the two TA. passages, which are different from the other contexts, a dead man is addressed; the form should according to the sense be masc. both times. Yet once TA. reads... saṁvidānottamam (combining with uttamam, first word of the next pāda); for which the comm. says saṁvidānā saṁvidāna aikamatyam prāptaḥ. Here we must either understand saṁvidānah with 'double sandhi', or a mechanical reminiscence of the (more original) feminine form found in the other texts.

amṛtā martyebhyaḥ RV.: amṛtām martyābhyaḥ TB. ApŚ.

soruh satī na nivartate TA.: uruh san na nivartate TA. Ūhas, in adjoining passages.

aniṣitāsi sapatnakṣit VS.: aniṣitāḥ (KS. ApŚ. add stha) sapatnakṣayanīḥ MS. KS. ApŚ.: aniṣito °si sapatnakṣit VS. ŚB.

bhavati bhikṣām dehi Kauś.: bhavān bhikṣām dadātu AG.

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS.: yuṣmākaṁ sakhye aham asmi śevā AV. The next is in the same passage:

ittham śreyo manyamānedam āgamam AV.: idam śreyo manyamāno vā āgām MS.

- ugraś ca bhīmaś ca* VS. MS. MŚ.: *ugrā ca bhīmā ca* TA.
apadyamānaḥ pṛthivyām TA. ApŚ.: *apadyamānā pṛthivi* TS. ApŚ.:
aryathamānā pṛthivyām (MS. v. 1. °ā) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
adharācīḥ (AV. *adharāñcam*) *parā suva* AV. VS. MS. KS.
āsāsānā (TS.* ApŚ.* MŚ.* °naḥ) *saumanasam* (TS.* ApŚ.* *suṣṛyam*)
 AV. TS.* KS. TB. Vait. ApŚ.* MŚ.* ApMB.
edhamānaḥ (Kauś. °nāḥ, ApMB. °na) *svagṛhe* (Kauś. *see gṛhe*, ApMB.
see raśe) ŚB. BṛhU. Kauś. ApMB.: *edhamānā sve gṛhe* (HG. *raśe*)
 ApMB. HG. On the m. (sg. or pl.) see §725. The fem. is used in
 a different context.
niveśanī saṅgamaniḥ vasūndm TS.: *niveśanaḥ saṅgamano vasūndm* AV.
 VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *rāyo budhnaḥ saṅgamano vasū-*
nām RV.
aditir achinnapatrā priyā (and *achinnapatraḥ priyo*) *devānām*...KS.
 (both). Ūhas, in same passage.
etā u tyāḥ praty adṛśran purastāt RV.: *etā u tye praty adṛśran* RV.
sā (AB. *sa*) *tvam aśy amo 'ham* (and the like) KS. AB. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU.
 AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG. The fem. (original) refers to the bride;
 the masc. to the purohita, whose relation to his king is paralleled
 to that of wife to husband. In the same passages:
amo 'ham aśmi sā (AB. *sa*) *tvam* AV. KS. AB. etc.: *amūham aśmi sā*
tvam TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.
svāsasthas (TS. °sthā) *tanuvā saṁviśasva* TS. TB. ApŚ.
asmin goṣṭhe kariṣiṇīḥ (Kauś. °ṇaḥ, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś.
 Originally referring to cows; used in Kauś. in a new context, refer-
 ring to *grhāḥ*.

§850. Phrase inflection, masculine and neuter:

- tasmin ma etat suhutam astu prāṣitram* GB. Vait.: *tasmin ma eṣa suhuto*
'ste odanaḥ Kauś. As in §846, an entire verse is here adapted to
 different contexts. Followed by:
tan (Kauś. *sa*) *mā mā hīnsīt parame vyoman* GB. Vait. Kauś.
anādhṛṣṭāsa (ŚŚ. °tāny) *ojasā* RV. ŚŚ.
bārhaspatyam asi MŚ.: *bārhaspatyo 'si* PB.
vāji tvā...ApŚ. MŚ.: *vājinam tvā*...VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
ado yad aradhāvatī AV.: *ado* (adverb) *giriḥhyo adhi yat* (conjunction)
pradhāvasi TB.: *asau yo 'vasarpati* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *amī ye ke*
sarasyakā aradhāvatī HG. ApMB. Diff. contexts; hardly variants.
amṛtam asi VS. TS. MS. etc.: *amṛto 'si* SMB. Hardly variants.
ghṛtād ulluṭṭam madhumat suvarṇam (AV. *madhunā samaktam*) RVKh.
 AV.: *ghṛtād ulluṭṭo madhumān payasvān* AV. In this and the

next two (same stanza) we have adaptation of almost an entire verse; the masc. words refer to an amulet of *darbha*-grass, the neuters to a 'triple' amulet called *trīpti*, neut.

bhūmidr̥ṣho 'cyulaś cyāvayisnuḥ AV.: *bhūmidr̥ṣham acyulaś pārayisnu* AV.: *dhanamjayaṁ dharuṇam dhārayisnu* RVKh. See prec. and next.

bhīndat (AV.* *nulan*, RVKh. *ṛnak*, 10. 128. 10) *sapatnān adharāśś ca kṛṇat* (AV.* *kṛṇan*), same (see prec.).

akṣitam asi mā pitṛnām... ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā*... TS. GB. Vait. MŚ. Cf. *akṣitir asi mā*... VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

taj (RV. *tā*, see §727) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tam juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV.

tad asmān pātu viśvataḥ AV.: *so asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV.: *so asmān sarvataḥ pātu* AV.

tat te badhnāmy āyuze varcase balāya AV.: *tam te badhnāmi jarase svastaye* AV.: *tam te badhnāmy āyuze* (and *āyuze varcase*) AV.

tena (and *taiḥ*) *tvam garbhīṇī bhava* HG. (both). *tena* is masc. (*garbha*); *taiḥ* neut. (*vīryāni*).

viṣūcinān (VSK. °*nā*) *vyasyatām* (VSK. °*tāt*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Diff. context in VSK.

satyaṁ (RV. °*yāś*) *citraśravastamam* (RV. °*maḥ*) RV. TS. KS.

§851. Phrase inflection, feminine and neuter:

sam asya (Kauś. *asyai*) *tanvā* (*tanuvā*) *bhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Kauś.

na vi jānāmi (AB. *jānanti*) *yatarat* (AV. °*rā*) *parastāt* AV. AB. JB.

viṣṭhitāḥ (AV. °*tā*) *prthivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB.

tayā (and *tena*) *sapatnān pari vṛndhi ye mama* AV. (both). Modulations, in the same hymn.

prthivya adhy udbhṛtam (and °*tā*) AV. (both).

subhagamkaranī mama AV.: *subhagamkaranam mama* SMB.†

§852. The following variants hardly belong here but may be added as an appendix because superficially they look like gender variants. In reality they are variations between (relatively) primary nouns and derivatives thereof. In the first two, *gāyatrī* is the name of the meter, while *gāyatra* is the adjective derived from it, meaning 'of the *gāyatrī* (meter)'. In the third, *gāyatra* is the name of the sāman so called (fundamentally, of course, the neuter of the adjective just mentioned), while *gāyatrī* may either be felt as adjectival ('the wheel, *vartanī*, of the *gāyatra-sāman* [of the *gāyatrī*?]), or as an appositional noun ('the *gāyatrī* [meter] as wheel').

vatsam gāyatrīm anu tā ihāguḥ AV.: *gāyatrīm vatsam anu tās ta āguḥ* TB.
gāyatrīm chando anu saṁrabhadhrām MS.: *gāyatrīm chandānsy anu*
saṁrabhantām KS. ApŚ. (Add to VV 1 §337.) The latter means
 'the *gāyatrī* (and the other) meters.'

pāvamānasya (TS. KS. *pāvamānena*) *tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS. °*tryā*)
varṭanyā. . . TS. MS. KS. See §586.

pāvamānyaḥ (ŚG. °*nāḥ*) AG. ŚG. Sc. *trpyantu*. 'The *pāvamānī* hymns'
 the (ṛṣis) of the p. hymns.'

INDEXES

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Note.—The detailed Table of Contents makes it unnecessary to furnish to this volume an extensive index of subjects or of words. We have tried to include in this and the next index all entries which are likely to be really useful to users of the book, but no others. It is our belief that all subjects and words treated in the book which are not here listed can easily be located, either from the Table of Contents, or from the index of mantras, which is complete. References in all the indexes are to sections.

- Adverbs, 43-6, 67-9, 83, 96, 100-9, 113, 122 (*see these sections for other references*)
- Articular relative, *see* Relative
- Assimilation (Attraction), of Case-forms, 17-20, 85, 323, 335-6, 347-9, 359, 363, 365, 367, 394-9, 424, 444, 453, 473, 549, 557, 564, 569, 576, 585-6, 659, 668; of other forms (number or gender), 17-20, 118, 741, 773-7, 783, 788, 790, 792, 794, 796, 798, 800, 802
- Attraction, *see* Assimilation
- Case attraction, *see* Assimilation
- Compound nouns: bahuvrhis and karmadhārayas, 58, 124, 413, 470, 829; dvandvas, 115, 124, 744-51; āmreḍitas, 687
- Dedicatory expressions, 126 (*q.v. for other references*)
- Form assimilation or attraction, *see* Assimilation
- Infinitives, dative, 183, 238, 424, 631; ablative, 659
- Kāthaka Samhitā: use of *as* and *a* in dual, 131ff.; *ai* and *as* as gen. (dat.), 141, 151
- Maitrāyaṇīya school: *ai* and *as* as gen. (dat.), 141, 151
- Meter, 153-8, 161-7, 169-71, 258, 272, 274-8, 292-3, 301-3, 306, 309, 311-4
- Phrase inflection, 21-2, 329, 332, 346, 355, 364, 384-8, 427, 434, 452, 475, 518, 555, 566, 609, 635, 669, 739, 784-6, 846-51
- Pronouns, substantive, 113, 121, 123, 730, 776, 812, 836
- Relative, articular, 20, 338, 394-7, 426, 433
- Rigveda and its school: use of *as* and *a* in dual, 128ff.
- Taittirīya school: *ai* and *as* as gen. (dat.), 141, 151; forms of *i*, *ī* stems, 175a, 188-9, 198-9; of *u*, *ū* stems, 230; of *r* stems, 252-3
- Transfer of epithet, 14-6, 340, 350-1, 357, 360, 368, 370, 400-3, 415-7, 428-30, 435-6, 446-8, 454-6, 476-7, 489-92, 497-9, 520-2, 552-4, 567, 590-1, 610, 683, 737-8, 762-3, 840-5
- Vājasaneyin school: *ai* and *as* as dat. (gen.), 141, 151
- Vājasaneyin school (Kāpva): *ai* and *as* as dat. (gen.), 141

INDEX OF WORDS AND STEMS

See note to Index to Subjects

- akṣī-, 189
- anye, *acc. pl.* (?), 717
- amī, *nom. dual*, 320
- arī-, 177
- asrivi-, *vī-, 199
- śāldāyā, 174
- ājī-, 211
- oṣadhi-, *dhi-, 191-3
- takari-, *ri-, 190
- tanvam (*loc.*), 249
- tubhya, 315
- tubhyam (*gen.*), 624
- te (*acc.?*), 483 (*tvastṛmantas ...*), 511
(*ā te agna ...*)
- tve, 316
- dive, 295, 678
- dyaus (*gen.*), 290
- na ki, nakis, 810, 820-1
- nāvayā, 229
- pati-, 219
- patni, 202
- parvati-, *ti, 200
- pavā, pavayā, 174
- bhūmī-, 180
- māhinām, 215
- me (*acc.?*), 488 (*sa tvā ...*)
- yuvabhyām, 317
- yugmān (*gen.?*), 318
- yūgmās, 803
- rātri-, 194-7, 206
- lakṣmi, 208
- varutri-, varō-, 198
- viśve, *nom. sg.* (?), 731
- āri-, 190, 208-9
- āronī-, 185, 189
- āvani-, *ni-, 199
- āvāvidh, *fem.*, 831
- sumnayā, 246
- sūri, 178
- akambhani-, *ni-, 201
- svāveśā, *śayā, 174, 415

INDEX OF MANTRAS

References are to sections

- anām (aśān) gabhastī (babbhastī) hari-
tebhīr āsabbhī, 699
- aneau grīvāś ca āroṇyau (āroṇī), 183
- anhoś cid āsmā urucakrīr adbhutah,
739
- anhoś cid urucakrayah ("yo 'nela-
sah"), 739
- akah su (sa) lokam sukṛtam pṛthi-
vyāb ("vyām), 671
- akūpāraṣya dāvane ("naḥ), 631
- aktor vyūṣṭau paritakroyāb ("yām),
678
- akṣaṇa tām, 739
- akṣatam ariṣṭam lāṇam, 393
- akṣatam aṣy ariṣṭam lāṇam gopāya-
nam, 393
- akṣaraḥ brahma satumitam, 326, 526
- akṣare brahmasaṁhrite, 326, 526
- akṣitam aśi mā ..., 625, 850
- akṣitir aśi ..., 625, 850
- akṣitāś ca me kūyavāś ca me, 706, 795
- akṣito 'ay akṣityai tvā mā ..., 625,
850
- akṣyoś (akṣoś) cakṣuh, 281
- akṣudrāb prajā abhivīpaśya, 402
- aganma mahā (maho) namasā yavi-
ṭham, 416
- aganma yatra pratiranta āyuh (pra-
tarah na āyuh), 381
- agna ājyasya vyantu vaujhaḥ, 341
- agnaya upāhvayadhvam, 339, 691
- agnaye 'āhomuro 'ṣṭākāpālāb (puro-
jāśam ..., etc.), 376
- agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rāthamtarā-
yāṣṭākāpālāb (etc.), 376
- agnaye tvā, 618
- agnaye prahriyamāṇāyānubṛhi, 768
- agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśākāpālāb,
376
- agnaye vo juṣṭam (juṣṭān) prokṣāmi
..., 734
- agnaye samidham āhāraṇam (ahā"), 30,
338
- agnaye svāhā, 126, 485
- agnaye svistakṛte svāhā, 691
- agnā u vāsurane ..., 684
- agnāvīṣṇā mā vām ava kramiṣam, 745
- agnih prātaḥsavane ("savantī) pāte
samān, 694
- agnih rathah na vedyam, 348, 387
- agnih sukṛena śociṣā, 387
- agnim sa rathau yo maitasyai ("yā)
diśo 'bhidāsati, 149
- agnim ca diśām devam devatānām
rathau yo maitasyai ..., 149
- agnim samādhehi, 691
- agnim veditaye chardih, 393
- agnim sruc adhvareṣu prayatsu, 399
- agnim svāhā, 126, 485
- agnim hotāram iha (upa) tam huve, 393
- agnim kulāyam abhisamvīśantih
("vasānāb), 849
- agnim gṛhapatim abhisamvasānāb, 849
- agnim jyotir nicāyā, 609
- agnināgnih sarvadātām, 326
- agninājyasya vyantu vaujhaḥ, 341
- agninā tapo 'nv abhavat (ā"), 396
- agninetṛbhyo devebhyah purāḥsad-
bhyah svāhā, 426
- (om) agnim tarpayāmi, 39, 126, 373
- agnibhyah prahriyamāṇebhyo 'anub-
rūhi, 768
- agnibhyah svistakṛdbhyah svāhā, 691
- agnibhyām prahriyamāṇābhyām anub-
rūhi, 768
- agnim agnan svāhā, 485
- agnim adya hotāram avṛṇitāyam
yajamānāb ... purojāśam ("jāśān)
..., 694, 768
- agnim adya hotāram (avṛṇitām imau
yajamānau ..., avṛṇatema yaja-
mānāb ...), 694, 768

agnim ājyaśya vetu vaujhaḥ, 341
 agnim indraṁ vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham
 ('hamaṁ huvema), 748
 agnim iḍe pūrvacittā (pūrvacittau)
 namobhīḥ, 554
 agniṁ bharantam (bharantā) asma-
 yum, 402
 agnir annādo 'nnapatir ... mayi dad-
 hātu (yajamānāya dadātu) svāhā,
 641
 agnir ājyaśya vetu vaujhaḥ, 341
 agnir āyugmān ... tena tvāyugṣyus-
 mantam karomi (taśyāyam āyugṣ-
 yuṣmān astv assu), 588
 agnir ukthena vāhasā, 601, 690
 agnir uktheṣv anhasu, 601, 690
 agnir ekākṣarayā vācam udajayat, 808
 agnir ekākṣareṇa prāṇam (vācam)
 udajayat, 808
 agnir etu prathamā devatābhyah, 90,
 656
 agnir aitu prathamā devatānām, 90,
 656
 agnir janayin mahyam jāyām imām
 adāt, 310
 agnir janitā sa me 'mām jāyām dadātu
 svāhā, 310
 agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ, 457
 agnir deveṣu pra voca, 337
 agnir daivīnām (ha daiv*) viśām
 puraetāyām ('yān sunvan) yaja-
 māno manuyānām, 695
 agnir daivīnām viśām puraetame sun-
 vanto yajamānā manuyānām, 695
 agnir naḥ (mā) pātu duritād avadyāt,
 724
 agnir naś tasmād indraś ca, 724
 agnir naś tasmād enasaḥ, 724
 agnir naś tebhyo rakṣatu, 723
 agnir manyum pratinudan purastāt,
 333
 agnir mā tasmād indraś ca, 724
 agnir mā tasmād enasaḥ, 724
 agnir mā tebhyo rakṣatu, 723
 agnir mā pātu ..., see agnir naḥ ...
 agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām, 339,
 691
 agnir yaśjedam namaḥ, 330

agnir vṛtrāgi jāghanaḥ (a* vṛtreti),
 167
 agnir ha daivīnām ..., see agnir daivī-
 nām ...
 agnir haviḥ (havyam) śamitā sūda-
 yāti (svadayatu), 689
 agnir havyāni śisvadat, 163, 689
 agnir havyā suśūdati, 163, 689
 agnir hotā vetv (vettv) agnir (agner)
 hotraḥ ..., 326, 443
 agnir hotāśvinādhvaryū (aśvināv
 adhvaryū), 136
 agnir hotopa tam huve, 303
 agniḥ śukreṇa śociṣā, 387
 agniḥ tad dhotā kratuvid vijānan
 (janānām), 449
 agniḥ tad viśvam ('vād) ā prōṣti ('tu)
 vidvān, 402
 agniḥ tām (jān, tāl) lokāt pra pudāty
 ('tv, pudatv) asmāt, 326
 agniḥ tām asmāt pra punottu lokāt,
 326
 agniḥ tigmena śociṣā, 329
 agniḥ tṛpyatu, 39, 126, 373
 agniḥ saṁkusikāś ca yaḥ, 433, 450, 669
 agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtā,
 232, 336
 agniḥ suditaye chardīḥ, 393
 agniḥ srucā adhvarēṣu prayakṣu, 399
 agniḥ sviṣṭakṛd yajñasya ..., 445
 agniḥ indrā vṛtrahaṇā huve vām, 748
 agniḥ samādhehi, 691
 agniḥ ratho na vedyah, 348, 387
 agniḥ somayor aham devayajayā cak-
 ṣuṣmān (vṛtrahā) bhūyāsam, 36, 445
 agniḥ somābhyām chāgasya vapāyai
 medaso 'nubhūhi, 142
 agniḥ somābhyām (tvā), 618
 agniḥ somau vṛtrahānau taylor (vṛtra-
 haṇāv agniḥ somayor) aham deva-
 yajayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam, 36, 445
 agne agniṁ saṁvadasva, 326
 agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva, 339,
 691
 agne gṛhapate sugṛhapatir aham tvayā
 (with varr.) gṛhapatinā ('patyā)
 bhūyāsam, 219
 agne gṛtenāhuta ('taḥ), 337

- agne jātān pra pudā naḥ (me) sapat-
nān, 724
agne tān asmāt pra pudasva lokāt, 326
agne tigmena śociṣā, 329
agne tvam yonim āsida sādhyā, 784
agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti ("ti,
"śrito) divas (divaḥ) prthivyoh, 220
agne dakṣaiḥ puniḥi naḥ (mā), 112,
724
agne 'dabdhāyo ... pāhi prasityai
("tyāḥ) pāhi duristyai ("ṣtyāḥ) pāhi
duradmanyai ("nyāḥ), 150
agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva
(ikṣva), 510, 703
agne deveṣu pra vocaḥ, 337
agnāṣi (agne) patnivan (vākpatni,
patnīvāṣa, patnīvāṣh) ..., 265
agne prāyaścitte (prāyaścittir asi) ...,
329
agne balada saha ojaḥ kramamāpāya
me dā abhiśastikṛte 'nabhiśaste-
nyāyāyai janatāyai ("syā janatā-
yāḥ) ..., 146
agne 'bhyāvartina abhi mā nī var-
śasva (māvartaśva, na ā vartaśva,
no nivartaśva, na ā vavṛtaśva), 724
agne manyuḥ pratinudan pareṣām,
333
agne yan me tanvā ūnam (yan ma
ūnam tanvas) tan ma ā prā, 239
agne yaṣṭar idan namah, 330
agner akṛvann uśijo amṛtyave, 420,
448
agner akṣaḥ kaninakaḥ ("kān,
"nikān), 789
agner agne puro agnir (agne) bhaveha,
335
agne ratham na vedyam, 348
agner annvratā bhūtva, 53, 87, 506
agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavaḥ, 420,
448
agner aham viśṭakṛto ..., 445
agner jihvām abhi (jihvābhi, jihva-
yābhi) grātam (grāta), 174, 473
agner jihvāi subhūr (supūr, subhūr)
devebhyaḥ (devānām), 616
agner jyotir nicāyā, 509
agner vasuvane ..., 684
agner vām apannagrhasya (vo 'pan-
nagrhasya) sadasi śādayāmi, 766
agne vākpatni ..., see agnāṣi (under
agne) patnivan ...
agne viśvāni duritā tarena, 163
agne vihi, 326
agne vaiśvānara ("rah) svāhā, 340
agneś cāsi brahmacārin mama ca, 324
agneṣ tvā mātrayā jagatyā vartanyā
... jivātvai, 142, 238, 586
agne sadakṣaḥ satanur ("nūr) hi
bhūtva, 232, 336
agne samidham āhāṣam, 30, 358
agne samrād iṣe rāye (rayyai) rama-
sva ..., 288
agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai ("tyā)
vartanyā ... jivātave, 142, 238, 586
agne svam (svāḥ) yonim ā sida sād-
hyā (sādhyā), 784
agneḥ samkasukāś ca yat, 433, 450,
669
agneḥ viśṭakṛto 'ham ..., 445
agne hotāram avṛnimahiḥa, 349
agnāṣi patnivan (etc.), see agne ...
agnau jyotir jyotir agnau, 457
agnau vā tvā gārhapatyē 'bhicaruḥ, 488
agnau samkasuke ca yat, 433, 450, 669
agra imam yaḥnam nayatāgre yaḥna-
patih dhata, 530
agra imam adya yaḥnam nayatāgre
yaḥnapatih ..., 530
agram yaḥnam nayatāgram yaḥnapa-
tim, 530
agram vṛkṣasya rohataḥ, 529
agrenir asi avāveśa unnetpām, 252
agre vṛkṣasya kṛdātaḥ, 529
aghat tam, 739
aghadviṣṭā devajātā, 699
aghatām tam, 739
aghāya bhūma harivaḥ parādai ("daiḥ),
565
aghāsu hanyante gāvaḥ, 107, 596
aghorāḥ prajā abhivipaśya, 402
aṅkāṅkaḥ (aṅkāv aṅkaḥ, aṅkaṅkaḥ)
chundah, 136
aṅkau nyaṅkāv (aṅkā nyaṅkā, aṅkū
nyaṅkāv) abhito ratham yau (ye),
134

- aṅgahbedam aṅgaḥvaram, 387
 aṅgahbedo aṅgaḥvaro, 387
 aṅgāḥ-aṅgāḥ lomno-lomnaḥ, 669
 aṅgāni ca me 'ethāni ('ethīni) ca-me, 281
 aṅgāny ahrutā yasya ('ayai), 840
 aṅgāny ātman bhīṣajā tad sāvinā, 59, 104, 462, 536, 605
 aṅgā parūṣi tava vardhayanti, 164, 311
 aṅgīraso dhīṣṇyair agnibhiḥ, 172
 aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñiyebhiḥ, 170
 aṅgirobhir yajñiyair ā gāhīha, 170
 aṅgulayab śakvarayo diśā ca me yajñena kalpantām, 202
 aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni, 669
 aṅgebhyo me vareodāb pavasva, 778
 aṅgebhyo (me vareodau varcase pavethām), 778
 aṅgair ātmānam bhīṣajā tad sāvinā, 59, 104, 462, 536, 605
 aṅgoṣaṇam avāvaśanta vāpīh, 523
 aṅghriṣā viṣṇo ('ṣṇū) mā tvāva (vāmava) kramiṣam, 745
 acittibhiḥ cakrma kae cid āgaḥ, 417
 acitti yat (acittiyā cet) tava dharmā yuyopima, 216
 achāyanti yanti śavaś ghṛtācīh, 403, 467
 achāyam eti śavaś ghṛtena (ghṛtācit), 403, 467, 694
 achidraṁ śarma yachata, 350, 402
 achidrā utijah padānu takṣub, 164
 achidrāṁ tvāchidreṇa ... juṣṭam (juṣṭam) grhāmi, 817
 achidrāṁ pārayiṣṣum ('ṣṣum), 297
 achidrāḥ śarma yachata, 350, 402
 achidroṣijah kavayab padāni ('ānu) takṣiṣvat ('iṣub), 164
 achinnapatrāḥ ('trah) prajā anuvikṣasva, 402
 ajanti vahnīm sadanāny aha, 540
 ajaarath tvāṁ (tvā) sabhāpālāb, 308
 aja hy agner ajaniṣṭa garbhāt, 779
 ajlano smṛta martyeṣv ā (martyāyakaṁ), 653, 701
 ajlāpatendram vājam, 488
 ajo bhāgas ('bhāgas) tapasā ('sas) tam tapasva, 587
 ajo hy agner ajaniṣṭa śokāt, 779
 ata inoṣi karvarā purūpi, 164
 ata invata karvarāni bhūri, 164
 atandro havyā (havyaḥ) vahaasi haviṣkrte, 689
 ataś ca viśvā (sarvā) oṣadhayo rasāś ('saś) ca, 704
 atas tvā rayīm abhi (rayir abhy ayat), 393
 atas tvā viṣṇuḥ pātu, 308
 atikrāmanto duritā padāni (duritāni viśvā), 161
 atichandasam chanda indriyam, 399
 atichandā indriyam (atichandāś chanda indriyam) bṛhat, 399
 ati didyūn (divas) pāhi, 291
 ati dyūn pāhi, 291
 ati dhanveva tān ihi, 835
 ati viśvāni duritā tarema ('tāni parṣan, etc.), 163
 ato devī prathamānā pṛthag yat, 336
 ato matir ('tim) janayata evadhābhiḥ, 690
 attu tṛṣṇāni, 699
 aty acittim aty arātim agne (ati nirṛtim adya), 706
 aty acittir ati dviṣab, 706
 atrā yamaḥ sādānā ('nāt) te minotu, 406, 698
 atrāṣata ṛṇayab sapta sākam, 519
 atripā tvā krime hanmi, 703
 atrivad vah krimayo ('vat tvā krime) hanmi, 703
 atha jivir (jivir) vidatham ā vadāsi, 178
 atharvane svāhā, 740
 atharvabhyah (svāhā), 740
 atharvyaṣṭā devajūtāb, 699
 atha viśve arapā edhate grhāb, 457, 731
 athā jivri vidatham ā vadāsi, 178
 athā tvam asi samkrītib, 714
 athā naḥ śam yor arapo dadhāta ('tana), 313, 318a, 639
 athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva, 637
 athā yūyahi aha samkrītib, 714
 athā śatakratvo ('to) yūyam, 229a, 669
 athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām, 317

- athāsamabhyam śam yor arapo dad-
 hāta, 313, 318a, 639
 athāsamabhyam sahavitrām (*vitrām)
 rayiṣ dāh, 785
 athāsyā madhyam ejatu, 849
 athāsyai (*syā) madhyam edhatām
 (etc.), 622, 849
 athemam enam pra hiṇutāt pitṛar
 upa, 481
 atheme anya upare vicakṣaṇam (*pe),
 553
 athem enam pra hiṇutāt pitṛbhyah,
 481
 athaitān aṣṭau virūpān (athaitān arū-
 pebhyā) ālabhate, 489
 athaite dhiṇyāso agnayo yathāsthā-
 nam kalpantām ihaiva svāhā, 155
 athainam jarimā payet, 431
 athaiśām bhinnakāḥ kumbhah, 380
 atho ariṣṭatātaye, 558, 704
 atho ariṣṭatātibhiḥ, 558, 704
 atho jīva śaradāḥ śatam, 515
 atho tvam asi niṣkṛtiḥ, 714
 atho bhinadmi taṁ kumbham, 380
 atho yatheme dhiṇyāso agnayo
 yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva,
 155
 atho yūyam stha niṣkṛtiḥ, 714
 atho yonir hiranyayī, 784
 atho rājann uttamam mānavānām, 367
 adabdhena tvā cakṣuṣā ..., 739
 adabdhena vaś cakṣuṣā ..., 739
 aditaye svāhā, 182
 aditiḥ keśān vapatu, 326
 aditiḥ pāśam (*śān) pra mumoktv
 etam (etān), 703
 aditiḥ sa ... yo maitasyai (*syā) diśo
 'bbhāṣati, 149
 aditir achinnapatrā priyā (achinna-
 patraḥ priyo) devānām ..., 849
 aditir adhipatir (*patny) śait, 806
 aditiḥ śmaśru vapatu, 326
 aditis sadohavirdhānābhyām, 755
 adite keśān (keśāśmaśru) vāpa, 326
 adityā uṣṇiṣam asi, 795
 adityāḥ (*tyai) pañcamī, 143
 adityāḥ (*tyai) pājasyam, 141, 143
 adityā (*tyai) dvādaśī, 143
 adityā (*tyai) bhāsat, 143
 adityā (*tyai, *ter) bhāgo 'si, 147, 184
 adityā (*tyai) rānāsi, 147
 adityā va upasthe sādāyāmi, 714
 adityāse tvopasthe sādāyāmi, 714
 adityāḥ (*tyai) sādā śāda, 147
 adityāḥ sadane śāda, 147
 adityai ..., see adityā(h) ...
 adityai viṣṇupatnyai carum (*ruḥ),
 376
 adityai svāhā, 182
 adurmaṅgalīḥ (*li) patilokam ā viśa
 (viśemam), 206
 adṛṇhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi
 (tribhṛtibhiḥ), 610
 ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi,
 739, 850
 ado devī (*vi) prathamānā prthag
 yat, 336
 ado māgachatu (ma āga), 478
 ado yad avadhāvati, 739, 850
 ado yad devī prathamānā purastāt, 336
 addhi tṛṇam aghnye viśvadāntm, 699
 adbhīr viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ, 805
 adbhīḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ, 805
 adbhyaḥ sambhūtaḥ pṛthivyai rasāc
 ca, 150, 437
 adbhyaḥ sambhṛtaḥ pṛthivyai (*vyā)
 rasāc ca (rasaḥ), 150, 437
 adharūciḥ parā suva, 739, 849
 adharāñcam parā suva, 739, 849
 adhā cid indra me (naḥ) sacā, 724
 adhā jivri vidatham ā vadāthah, 178
 adhā jivema śaradām śatāni, 515
 adhā naḥ śam yor arapo dadhāta,
 313, 318a, 639
 adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛṇusva, 637
 adhāma sakthyor ava gudam dhehi,
 535
 adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate gr̥he, 457
 adhā śatakratvo (*tavo, *to) yūyam,
 229a, 699
 adhā somasya prayati yuvābhyām
 (yuva), 317
 adhāsyā madhyam edhatām, 622, 849
 adhi kṣami pratarām didhyānaḥ, 823
 adhi kṣami viṣurūpani (kṣamā viśva)
 yad asti (asya, āsta), 99, 107, 596

- adhṛṣṭaṁ dhṛṣṭvojasam (dhṛṣṭum ojaś), 470
 adhvana skabhnta (skabhnuvantaḥ), 698
 adhvanām adhvpate pra mā tira svasti me 'amin pathi devayāne bhūyāt, 339, 698, 724
 adhvanām adhvpate śreṣṭhaś svastyasyādhvanah (śreṣṭhasyādhvanah, śraīṣṭhasya svastyasyādhvanah) pāram aśīya, 446
 adhvanām adhvpate svasti me 'dyāmin devayāne pathi bhūyāt, 339, 698, 724
 adhvano adhipatir aśi svasti no 'dyāmin devayāne pathi stāt (syāt), 339, 698, 724
 adhvarakṛtaṁ ('kṛd) devebhyah, 393
 adhvanām skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāḥ, 698
 anaśvāna tapyate vahan (talpate vahān), 256
 anaśvān gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 399
 anaśvānam gāni vayo dadhat, 399
 anamitrān na uttarāt, 498
 anamitrān no (me) adharāt (adharāk), 498, 724
 anamitrān udak kṛdhi, 498
 anamivāḥ pradiśaḥ santu mahyam, 309
 anāgasam brahmaṇā ('pe) tvā kṛomi (karomi), 558
 anāgaso yajamānasya virāḥ ('rān), 393
 anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu (grhamah), 527, 711
 anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ ('naḥ), 737
 anādhṛṣṭāny ojaś, 850
 anādhṛṣṭāsa ojaś, 850
 anāptā ye (yā) vaḥ prathamā(h), 842
 anābho mṛḍa dhūrte ('ta), 835
 anāmayaśidhi mā riśma indo, 723
 anāśur aśvo 'yāmī (aśvāy*), 779
 anāhanasyaṁ vasaṇam carīṣu (jariṣu, jariṣuḥ), 402
 anibhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānāḥ, 737
 anīṣitāi sapatnakṣit, 740, 849
 anīṣitāḥ ('tāḥ sṭha) sapatnakṣayanīḥ, 740, 849
 anīṣito 'si sapatnakṣit, 740, 849
 anuttāś carṣanīdhṛtīḥ, 402, 415
 anuttā carṣanīdhṛtā, 402, 415
 anu dyāvāpṛthivī supranīṭīḥ ('te), 340
 anu mā idam vrataṁ vratapātir manyatām anu dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir aśjaś, 697
 anumataye svāhā, 182
 anumatyai caruḥ ('rum), 376
 anumatyai svāhā, 182
 anu manyatām anumanyamānāḥ ('nā), 835
 anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir ('patayo) manyatām (etc.) anu tapas tapaspatīḥ ('patayah), 697
 anu yaṁ viśve madanty (anu yad enaḥ madanti viśva) śmāḥ, 816
 anuyā rātryā rātrīm jinva, 196
 anuvatsarīṇām svastim āśāste, 760
 anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāste, 760
 anu (nu) vām jihvā gṛhṭam ā caratyat, 765
 anuvāya rātryai rātrīm jinva, 196
 anuvāsi rātriyaī tvā rātrīm ('trīm) jinva, 196
 anuṣṭuk pañktyai, 182
 anuṣṭup chanda indriyam, 399
 anuṣṭup tvā chandasām svatu (chandāsvatu), 583
 anuṣṭup pañktyai ('kṭaye), 182
 anuṣṭubham chanda indriyam, 399
 anu sūrya usaso anu raśmīn, 449
 anu sūryasya purutrā ca raśmīn, 449
 anṛkṣarā rjavanā santu panthāḥ ('thānah), 283
 anekhasas tvotayah ('so va śtayah), 739
 antarā dyāvāpṛthivī apah suvaḥ, 541
 antarā dyāvāpṛthivyor apaayuh, 541
 antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām, 451
 antarikṣam viṣṇu ..., see antarikṣe ...
 antarikṣam aśi janmanopabhṛn nāma priyā devānām priyeṇa nāmā, 471
 antarikṣam ātmā (asum), 381
 antarikṣasya tvā sāv avagūhāmi ('kṣasya sāvūpeṣa), 528

- antarikṣasya dhartrīm viṣṭambhanth
 diśām bhuvanasyādhipatīm (diśām
 adhipatīnt bhuvanānām), 381, 698
 antarikṣasya tvā vanaṣpataye ('tib-
 hyaḥ), 699
 antarikṣāyārṣasya tvā ... varīṣā pra-
 thantū, 273
 antarikṣeṇa saha vājinīvan ('vān), 329
 antarikṣe ('kṣam) viṣṇu vyakraṇṣṭa
 traistubhena chandasā, 527
 antar dadha r̥tubhiḥ, 410
 antar dadhe parvatāḥ, 410
 antar mahyā pṛthivyā, 410
 antarihitā girayaḥ, 410
 antarihitā pṛthivi mahi me, 410
 antarihitā ma r̥tayaḥ, 410
 antān pṛthivyā divaḥ, 495, 698
 andhāhīn ('ābe, 'āheḥ) sthūlaguḍasyā
 (sthūra, 'guḍā), 414, 508, 700
 andhena yat (yā) tamaśā prāvṛtīṣṭ
 ('tāsi), 817
 annapate 'nnasya (an") no dehi, 326
 annam me (no) budhya (budhya)
 pāhi tan me (no) ..., 724
 annam me (no) budhyājugupaḥ
 (budhya") tan me (naḥ) punar dehi,
 724
 annayānnapatīḥ prādāt, 326
 annādā ('dī) cānnapatnī ca ..., 296
 annānām (annaaya) pataye namah,
 704
 anya ū su yamy (anyam ū su tvam
 yamy) anya u tvām, 398
 anyatacnyo ('entr) maitryaḥ ('trīḥ),
 213
 anyad āhur (evāhur) avidyāyāḥ
 ('dyayā), 570
 anyad evāhur vidyāyāḥ ('dyayā), 570
 anyam (anyāśa) te asmat tapantu
 hetayaḥ, 717
 anyam asman (anyāśa te asman, anye
 'sman) nivapantu tāḥ, 717
 anyācām mā pāta, 718
 anv sāvair anu sarveṇa (sarvair u)
 puṣṭāḥ, 704
 anvātānāḥ tvayi ('tānāḥ tava) tan-
 tum etam, 671
 anvītir aśi dive tvā divaḥ jinva, 559
 anvītyā divā (dive) divaḥ jinva, 559
 apa cakrā avṛtata, 164
 apa cakrāṇi vartaya, 164
 apadyamānaḥ pṛthivyām, 370, 849
 apadyamānā pṛthivi, 370, 849
 apa druhā ('huḥ) tanvaḥ gūhamānā,
 417
 apantūtau ('tā) śaṇḍāmarkau (śaṇḍā")
 saha tena yam dvīmaḥ (śaṇḍamūnā),
 134
 apa protha dundubhe duchunā ('nān)
 itaḥ, 703
 apamityam apratītiḥ yad aśmī, 703
 apaścāddaghvānnaaya (apaścāddaghvā-
 nnaḥ) bhūyāsam, 506
 apaścāddaghvane (apaścāda") nare
 ('raḥ), 626
 apa sedha dundubhe duchunām itaḥ,
 703
 apa snehitr (snehitr) nṛmaṣā
 ('nām) adhatta (etc.), 406, 703
 apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyā adevayaja-
 naḥ, 150, 380, 435
 apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyaḥ, 150, 380
 apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyaḥ devayaja-
 nyaḥ, 150, 380, 435
 apāḥ yonīḥ prathamajā r̥tasya, 449
 apāḥ yo madhyato (madhye) r̥tas
 ..., 79, 664
 apām sakṣā prathamajā r̥tvā, 440
 apām sadhiṣi sīda, 698
 apām stoko abhyapaptac chivena
 (chivāya, 'paptac rasena), 558
 apātām aśvinā gharman, 327
 apānaś ca me 'suś ca me, 701
 apānena nāsike ('kām), 116, 753
 apām tvā bhasman ('mani) sādāyāmi,
 276
 apām tvā sadhiṣi (sadhiṣu) sādāyāmi,
 698
 apām napāt pratirakṣann asuryam
 (pratirakṣad asuryān), 703
 apām na yanty ūrmayaḥ, 519
 apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra, 488,
 723
 apāmlvām ('vā) apa rakṣāśi sedha, 703
 apām uta praśastiṣu ('atibhiḥ,
 'staye), 67, 100, 558, 601, 690

- apāni patim vṛṣabham oṣadhinām, 387
 apāni patir [vṛṣabha] oṣadhinām, 387
 apāraruṁ adevayajanarū prthivya devayajanā (adevayajano) jahi, 150, 380, 437
 apāraruṁ prthivya adevayajanam ('rum adevayajanam prthivyāḥ), 150, 380
 apāraruṁ prthivya devayajanād badhyāsam, 150, 380
 apālām indra ('dras) triṣ pūtvī (etc.), 333
 apāman (apāya) nairṛtān pāsān, 650
 apāya ye sināḥ pāsāḥ, 396, 840
 apāyāḥ satvanāḥ pāsān, 396, 840
 api jāyeta so 'emākam (api nah sa kule bhūyāt), 314
 apō adyānv acāriṣam, 261
 apochatu ('chantu) mithunā yā (ye) kimidinā ('nah), 374, 756
 apo dattodadhīm bhintā, 502, 711
 apo devā (devīr) madhumatir agbhoṇan ('nām, agbhūan), 402
 apo dehy udadhīm bhindhi, 502, 711
 apo nayanā ūrmayāḥ, 519
 apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah, 402, 561
 apo mahi vṛute cakṣuṣā tamah, 402, 561
 apo yūṣṇā (yūṣṇa), 287
 apriyāḥ prati muñcatām, 457
 apriye prati muñca tat, 74, 457, 645
 apriye prati muñcatam, 74, 457, 645
 apriye saṁ nayanāni, 645
 aproṣivān grhapatīr ('te) mahān asi, 334
 apsarāṣām anudattānṛṣāni, 449, 703, 778
 apsarāṣāṁ anu dattām ṛṣān nah (ṛṣāni), 449, 703, 778
 apsu te rājan varuṇa, 303
 apsu dhōto (dhautam) ṛbhiḥ sutah ('tam), 398
 abhayam vo 'bhayaṁ no astu (me 'stu), 724, 740
 abhayam te 'bhayaṁ no astu, 724, 740
 abhayam no astu, 724
 abhayam mitrāvaruṇāv ihāstu nah ('varuṇā mahyam astu), 129, 724
 abhayam me astu ('stu), 724
 abhikhyā bhāṣā bhrātā suśukvanīḥ, 416
 abhi te 'dhīm sahamānām, 476
 abhi tvādhām sahyasā, 476, 488, 808
 abhi tvām indra nonumah, 306
 abhi tvā sūra nonumah, 306
 abhi priyā ('yam) divas padam, 741
 abhi prehi dakṣinate bhavā me (nah), 724
 abhibhūve ('bhve, 'bhave) svāhā, 233
 abhi yonim ayohatam ('te), 562
 abhi yo mahinā divam, 411
 abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 164
 abhirakṣantu mā priyāḥ, 724
 abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 164
 abhi śravobhiḥ prthivīm, 572, 705
 abhiṣṭir yā ca no grhe, 724
 abhiṣṭir ('ṣṭir) yā ca me dhruvā (ca no grhe), 177, 724
 abhi savanāni (savanā) pāhi, 168
 abhi stoma (etomair) anuṣṭata, 411
 abhi sravantu nah priyāḥ, 724
 abhipate vṛtyā (vṛtibhis) tarpayantam, 709
 abhmanā ('mān, 'mān) mahinā ('mā) divam (divah), 411, 698, 786
 abhūn mama (no nah) sumatau viśva-vedāḥ, 332, 723
 abhūma yajñiyāḥ sudhāḥ, 158
 abhyeti ..., see abhyaiti ...
 abhy enaṁ bhūma ūrpuhi (bhūmi vṛṇu), 180
 abhyaiti (abhyeti) na ojaṣṭ sparidhamānā, 312
 amanmahī mahata (mahad) rīṣaya nāma, 520
 amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (ma) indra, 488, 723
 amāṣi sarvān (sarvān) asi praviṣṭah, 406, 728
 amā hy asi sarvam anu praviṣṭah, 406, 728
 amitrūn no vi vidhyatām, 723
 amī anu mā tanuta, 768
 amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati, 739, 850
 amī ye vivratā(h) sthāna (stha), 703
 amī ye subhage divi, 320

amīśān cittaṁ pratilobhayanti (cit-
tāni pratilobhayanti), 706
amukthā yakṣmād duritād avadyāt,
150
amūṣya tvā prāṇaḥ sādāyāmi, 552
amūṣya tvā prāṇe sādāyāmi, 552
amū anna mā tanutā, 708
amūha kṛtyākṛto jāhi, 703
amū ye divi subhage, 320
amūham aśmi sā tvam, 849
amṛtaṁ nihitaṁ guhā, 438
amṛtaṁ aśi, 850
amṛtaṁ martyābhyah, 388, 849
amṛtaśya vidhir hitaḥ, 438
amṛtā martyebhyah, 388, 849
amṛto 'si, 850
amūśān cittaṁ prabudhān ('dha) vi
neśat (naśyatu), 599
amoci yakṣmād duritād avartyai, 150
amo 'si sarvāś aśi praviṣṭah, 406, 728
amo 'ham aśmi sā (sa) tvam, 849
ambā ca bullā ca nitatni ca ..., 200
ambā duḥā nitatni ..., 200
ayam yajño bhuvanaśya (viśvāśya
bha) nābhīh, 392
ayatr vājāni ('jān) jayatr vājasātā,
704
ayam vai tvām ajanayad ..., 40, 380,
432
ayam vo garbha riviyaḥ, 739
ayam ātrudh ('trūn) jayatu ..., 703
ayam śrīṣṭhye dadhātu naḥ (nau), 766
ayam sahasram ānava dṛṣṭā kavīnām
matir jyotiḥ vidharma ('mā), 420,
455, 794
ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣṭe kavīnām
matir jyotiḥ vidharmaṇi, 420, 455
ayam somo vṛṣṇo āśvāśya retāh, 392
ayam hi tvā evadhitiḥ tetijānah, 396
ayakṣmāyā pari bhujā, 829
ayakṣmāya tvā saṁsṛjāmi prajābhyah,
491, 560, 739
ayakṣmā vaḥ prajāyā saṁsṛjāmi, 491,
560, 739
ayakṣmā pari bhujā, 829
ayam ca brahmaṇsepātīh, 428
ayam te aśmy upa meby (na ehy)
arvā, 723

ayam te yonir riviyaḥ, 739
ayam devo vanaṣpātīh, 402
ayam no nabhasas patīh, 329, 588
ayam no nabhasā purāh, 588
ayam paścād ('cā) vidadvasuh, 69, 83,
575
ayam paścād ('cā) viśvavyacāh, 575
ayas śaṇḍo marka upavtra ulūkhalah,
749
ayas manasā dhṛtaḥ, 259, 416
ayasā havyam ūhiṣe, 259, 416
ayasibhūṣam ('pāv) uditā ('tau) śūry-
śaya, 221, 402, 449
ayasmayam vicṛtā (viṛtā) bandham
etam, 703
ayasmayān vicṛtā bandhapāśān, 703
ayāi saraṣvatyā meśasya (meśā)
haviṣā priyā dhāmāni, 779
ayā no yajñān; vahāi, 416
ayā pavā pavasavānā vasūni, 174
ayā cāgne 'ey anabhiśastīā ('stīā) ca,
177
ayā san manasā hitāh, 416
ayā san havyam ūhiṣe, 402, 416
ayāś manasā (vayāś) kṛtaḥ, 259, 416
ayāh san (ayāsyam) havyam ūhiṣe
(manasā kṛtaḥ, kṛtaḥ), 402, 416
ayā somah ('ma) sukṛtyayā, 328
ararur dyāḥ mā paptat, 294, 326
ararus te divam mā paptat, 294, 326
ararus te dyāḥ mā paptat, 294, 326
araro divam mā paptat, 294, 326
arāyo aśmān abhiduchunāyate, 312
arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate, 312
ariṣṭāni me sarvāṅgāni santu (nu
'gāni), 168
ariṣṭāni me sarvātmanābhirṣṭah, 168
ariṣṭān tvā saha patyā dadhāmi
(kṛṇomi), 378
ariṣṭān mā saha patyā dadhātu, 378
ariṣṭā viśvāny aṅgāni, 168
ariṣṭāḥ vṛjanbhir jayema, 700, 709
ariṣṭā tanvo hūyāṁ, 589
ariṣṭāh syāma tanvā suvirāh, 589
ariṣṭāhaḥ saha patyā hūyāṁ, 378
ariṣṭyā avyathyai ... gāyatrīā abhi-
hūtyai (gāyatrīā chandase 'bhi-
bhuvē) svāhā, 233, 629

- arundhatīm ye (yad) dhruvatām ha
ninyuh, 816
- arepasah sacetasah (etc.) svasure man-
yumattamāś ('mantas) cite (citā)
goh, 454
- arkam yujjānāh svar ābharann idam,
743
- arjunyah pary uhyate, 596
- ardhamāsaiś ca māsaiś ca, 410
- ardhamāsyam prasutāt pitryāvatah
(^{ti}), 496, 670
- aryamne (^{no}) lopāsah, 126, 618
- arvāk tvā parebhyo 'vidam (pareb-
hyah, parair avidam) paro 'vareb-
hyah ('varaih, 'varebhyo 'vidam),
574
- arvāg devā asya vizarjanena (^{janāya}),
563
- arvāgvasuh, 342
- arvāgvaso svasti te pāram nāya, 342
- arvācnuam vasuvidam bhagam nah
(me), 724
- arvācnuam tvā saptayo 'dhvaraśriyah,
765
- arvācā vām saptayo 'dhvaraśriyah,
765
- alakṣmī (^{mīr}) me nāsyatu (^{ta}), 208
- alakṣmī (^{mīn}) nāśayāmy aham, 703
- avakām (^{kām}) dantamūlaih, 699, 788
- ava kṛtyākṛtam jahi, 703
- avakrandena tālu (^{lum}), 703
- avatahi mā samanasau samaukasau,
723
- ava tara nadīṣv ā, 404, 684, 815
- avatād vyathitam, 499
- avatām tvām (tvā) dyāvāpṛthivī, 308
- avatān mā nāthitam (^{tāt}), 499
- avatān mā vyathitam (^{tāt}), 499
- avattaram nadīṣv ā (^{ro} nadīnām),
404, 684, 815
- ava devānām yaja heḍo agne (yaje
hīdyāni, yaje heḍyāni), 510, 703
- ava devān yaje heḍyān, 510
- ava droṇāni ghṛtavānti sīda (^{vanti}
roha), 264
- avadhūtā arātayah (avadhūtārātīh),
703
- ava priyā (^{yā}) adhūyata, 401
- ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (^{tā}), 476
- avavyayann astatam deva-vasma (vas-
vah), 351
- avaś ca yah parah erucā (erucāh, paro
divah), 574
- avasānapate 'vasānath me vinda, 326
- avasānath me 'vasānapatir vindat, 326
- avasṛṣṭā (^{ṣṭā}) parā pata, 831
- avasphūrjad dhetih, 811
- avasphūrjan hetih (prahetih), 811
- avaśyur (^{yūr}) asi duvasvān, 227
- avaśyuvātā bhṛatī (^{tīr}) na (na, tu)
śakvari (^{rīh}), 690
- avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān,
402
- avāham bādha upabhr̥tā sapatnān
(dviśantam), 703
- avidvānsāś cakrma kae eanāgah, 417
- avimuktacakra (^{krā}) āśīran, 340, 454
- avīraghno (^{ghni}) vīratarah (^{tamah},
vīravatah) suvīrān (suśevān), 402
- avīrpdhat (^{dhata}) puroḍāśena, 694
- avīrpdhanta puroḍāśaih, 694
- avīrpdhetām puroḍāśena (^{śaih}), 694
- avo devasya sāsasi, 222
- avyathamānā pṛthivyām (^{vi}), 370,
849
- avyo (avyam) vāraṁ vi dhāvati, 85,
509
- avyo (avyā) vāre (^{raih}) pari priyah
(^{yam}), 184, 387, 597, 711
- avyo (avyā) vārebhih pavate madin-
tamah, 184
- avyo (avyā) vārebhir arṣati (avyata),
184
- avyo (avyā) vāre mahlyate, 184
- avyo vāreṣv (avyā vārebhir) aśmayuh,
184, 597
- avyo (avyā) vāraih paripātah, 184
- avrate (^{tam}) hinotī na spr̥śad rayim
(^{yih}), 375
- āsatihā vījanam (^{nā}) rakṣamāgah,
698
- āśmānam tanvam kṛdhi, 378
- āśmā bhavatu nas (te) tanūh, 378, 849
- āśmā bhava paraśur bhava, 378
- āśmeva tvam sthirā (^{ro}) bhava, 760,
849

- aśmeva yuvān sthiraṁ bhavatam, 769
 aśrubhiḥ prāvām (pruś), 709
 aśvānām sadhaṣṭuti (tīb), 413
 aśvinā gharmanā pātān (pibatam) ..., 327
 aśvinā tvā pra vahatām rathena, 131
 aśvinādhvaryū, 136
 aśvinā pibatam (tān) madhu (sutam), 327
 aśvinā bhīṣajāvataḥ (tam, ta), 327
 aśvināv adhvaryū, 136
 aśvinā eha gachatam (tām), 327
 aśvinendram na jāgrvi (vi), 762, 815
 aśvinau tvā pra vahatām rathena, 131
 aśvinau dyakṣareṇa (kṣarayā) ..., 808
 aśvibhyām dugdham bhīṣajā sarasvatyā (ti), 216
 aśve na citre aruṣi, 332
 aśveva citrāruṣi, 332
 aśṭabhyah (yah śatebhyah) avāhā, 300
 aśṭasthūno daśapakṣah, 388
 aśṭapakṣam daśapakṣam, 388
 aśṭabhyah (yah śatebhyah) avāhā, 300
 aśtau ca śatāni [ashtvatsaraya] muhūrtaṁ yān vadanti, 166
 aśtau śatā yān mitam tad vadanti, 166
 aśtām tādām pratīkāhā (tānām prati-nāham), 753
 aśpatnāh kilābhuvam, 846
 aśpatnāh aśpatnāhā, 846
 aśpatnāh pradiśo me bhavantu, 309
 aśpatnāh kilābhuvam (bhavam), 846
 aśpatnā aśpatnaghnī, 846
 aśmātin grheṣu naḥ, 486, 671
 aśmādhām badhyato mānavānām (veṣu), 404, 623, 655, 674, 817
 aśmādhā yā madhyato mānavabhyah, 404, 623, 655, 817
 aśmāpṛṣṭo jāyase mātroph (trvoh) śucib, 254
 aśv (aś) anu mā tanu, 768
 aśv etat te vāśah, 692
 aśuṁ (aśu) riṣān apah, 791
 aśhyantyai cānumatyai ca avāhā, 182
 aśrītā śrītā rajaso vimāne, 454, 684
 aśrīte (tā, tāh) śrīte rajase niṣatte (tā, na sattā), 454, 684
 aśo yathā na vitā vṛdhe ca (vṛdhaś cit), 420
 aśau yo 'vasarpati, 850
 aśau yo vīmanā janah, 703
 aśan gām ṛabho yuvā, 700
 aśannemā viśvā bhūtāni, 163
 aśhā ṛabho yuvā gāh, 700
 aśam rājeva satpatiḥ, 711
 aśā rājeva satpatiḥ, 711
 aśavy agnir tarān (nṛān) suśevah, 252
 aśṛto nāmāham ... dyāvāpṛthivībhyām (vyor) ..., 644
 aśṭabhyah (aśtibhyah) avāhā, 281
 aśhi majjānām māsarāh (ram), 459, 694
 aśhūri ōau (po, no, nau) gārhapatyāni ..., 771
 aśmat su śpathān adhi, 724
 aśmaddātṛā devatrā gachata madhumaiti, 714
 aśmadrātā (tā madhumatir, ti) devatrā gachata (gacha), 714
 aśmabhyam su maghavan bodhi godāh, 619
 aśmabhyam gātuvittamāh (mah), 739
 aśmabhyam dyāvāpṛthivī śakvarthib, 327
 aśmabhyam indav indrayuḥ (indriyam), 16, 403
 aśmā indra mahi vareṇāsi dhehi, 639
 aśmān (mān) u devā avatā haveṣu (bhareṣu), 155
 aśmākam santv āśiṣah, 91, 671
 aśmākam su maghavan bodhi godāh (gopāh), 619
 aśmākam kṛpṇo harivo medinam tvā, 378
 aśmākam abhūr haryāśva medī, 378
 aśmākena vṛjanenā jāyema, 706, 799
 aśmāt tvam adhi jāte 'si, 40, 432
 aśmād vai tvam ajyathā ..., 40, 380, 432
 aśmān u ..., see aśmān u ...
 aśmān aity abhy ojaś spardhamānā, 312
 aśmān devāso 'vatā haveṣu, 155
 aśmān dhehi, 723

- asmān punīhi rakṣase, 724
 asmān rāya uta yajñāb (*ñāb) sacan-
 tām, 112, 689
 asmān site payasābhyāvavṛteva, 312
 asmāsu santv āśīṣab, 91, 671
 asmāsv indra indriyam dadhātu, 723
 asmin kṣaye pratarān didyānab, 823
 asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṭh (*ṣab, purīṣi-
 ṭh), 849
 asmin indra mahi varcāsi dhehi, 639
 asmin brahmany (brahmann ...) as-
 min karmay (karmann) ..., 276
 asmin yajñe yajamānāya sūrim, 488,
 537
 asmin yajñe suhavān (*vā) jōhavāmi,
 401
 asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya, 705
 asmin have puruhūtab purukṣub
 (*kṣu), 842
 asme indrābhraspati, 721
 asme karmāḥ jātāb, 738
 asme kṣatrāṇi dhāraye anu dyūn, 721
 asme kṣatrāya varcase balāya, 566
 asme te rāyab, 724
 asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata, 738
 asme dyāvāpṛthivi bhūri vāmam, 721
 asme dhātta vasavo vasūni, 721
 asme dhārayataḥ (*tām) rayim, 721
 asme prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin, 721
 asme brahmāṇi dhāraya, 705
 asme rāyab, 724
 asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya (rāṣṭram adhi-
 śraya), 705, 721
 asme rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam,
 721
 asme vām (vo) astu sumatis canīṣṭhā,
 766
 asmai indrābhraspati, 721
 asmai karmāḥ jātāb, 738
 asmai kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam agne, 721
 asmai dyāvāpṛthivi bhūri vāmam, 721
 asmai dhātta vasavo vasūni, 721
 asmai dhārayataḥ rayim, 721
 asmai prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin, 721
 asmai rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam,
 721
 asmai sam datta bheṣajam, 835
 asya kurmo (kulmo) harivo medinam
 (ved*) tvā, 378
 asya prāṣād apānati (*tāb), 447
 asya rātau sutarā piba, 519, 554
 asyā janatāyāb āraṣṭhyāya svāhā, 146
 asyā (*yām) nāryā (*yām) gavinyoh
 (*yām), 85, 672, 753
 asyai janatāyai āraṣṭhyāya, 146
 asyai sam datta vīryam, 835
 asyopasadyān mā chaitait, 801
 asyopasadye mā rīṣāma, 801
 asrīvayāb (*vīā, *vīā) chandab, 199
 aśam vājam jāyāmi vājasātau, 704
 aśam vo asmi sakhyāya śevab, 314,
 854, 849
 aśam tad asya manasā śivena, 469, 809
 aśam tam asya manasā gṛtēna (śi-
 vena), 469, 809
 aśam dadhāmi dravīṣam (*pā) haviṣ-
 mate, 704
 aśam prajā ajanayān pṛthivyām
 (*vyāb, pītṛām), 671
 aśar no atyapīparat, 724
 aśar māy apīparab, 724
 aśā (aśar) mimāno aktubhīb, 709
 aśir jaghāna kiṁ (kaṁ) cana, 121, 810
 aśir dadarśa kaṁ cana, 121, 810
 aśih śayata upapṛk pṛthivyāb (*vyām),
 91, 676
 aśorātrayor vṛṣṭyā ..., 442
 aśorātrayoh saṁdhibhyo jātāb, 756
 aśorātrābhyām sam anaktv aryamā, 560
 aśorātrā ca saṁdhibjāb, 410
 aśorātrā (*trāṇi) te kalpantām, 756,
 828
 aśorātre ūrvaṣṭ[h]ive ..., 442
 aśorātre te (me) kalpetām, 756, 828
 aśorātrāis ca saṁdhibhīb (*trāib su-
 saṁdhibhīb), 410
 aśnab saṁdhibhyāb jātāb, 756
 aśnām ketur uśasām ety (eṣy) agram
 (agre), 530
 aśno rūpe (rūpeṇ) sūryasya rāsmiṣu
 (*mībhīb), 601
 aśruto maho dharuṇāya devān (*vāb),
 402
 ākūtim devīm subhagīm (manasāb)
 puro dadhe, 179
 ākūtim (*tam) agnīm prayujān svāhā,
 485
 ākūtim devīm manasā prapadye, 179

- ākōtyai prayuje'gnaye (agnaye) svāhā, 485
 ākrayāyā ayogūm (ākrayāyayogūm, ākram'), 782
 ākhuḥ kaśo mānthāsa te pitṛān, 252
 ākhuḥ te rudra paśuḥ karomi, 378
 ākhuḥ te paśuḥ (te rudra paśuḥ), 378
 ākhuḥ śrjaya śayanājakas te maitrāḥ (śayanājakas te maitrāyāḥ), 700, 779
 āgatyā vājyadhvanam (adhvanah), 698
 āganta pitarah ... aham yuṣmābhir bhūyāsam suprajaso mayā yūyam bhūyāsta (vayam yuṣmābhir bhūyāsam suprajaso yūyam amābhir bhūyāsta), 724
 āganma mitravaruṇā vareṇyā ('yam, varuṇa), 350
 āgnir agni ('am) upasām āsoci, 530
 āgneyah kṛṣṇagrivaḥ, 768
 āgne yāhi suvidatrebhir arvān ('vāk), 404, 815
 āgneyau kṛṣṇagrivau, 768
 ā gharne ('math) siñca paya usriyāyā, 103, 535
 ā gharne agnim ṛtayanāśdi ('diti), 399
 ā gharne agni amṛto na śdi, 399
 āghnānāḥ pāninorasi, 105, 545
 āgūṣṭhām avāvaśanta vāṇi, 522
 āhettā te (vo) mā riṣam (riṣat, mār-
 sam), 714
 ājaraśya sam anakiv ariyā, 560
 ā jāgrvir vipra ṛtā (ṛtaḥ) matīnām, 705
 ājyam uktham avyathāyai ('ya, 'tha-
 yat) stahhnātu ('notu), 420, 797
 āndā śuṣṇasya bhedati, 163
 ātir vāhaso darvidā te vāyave, 178, 424
 ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana ('nah), 27, 323, 334
 āti vāhaso darvidā te vāyavyāḥ, 178, 424
 ā te agna idhmahi, 511
 ā te prāṇam suvāmasi, 382
 ā te vācam āyā ('ān) dade, 553
 ātmann ('many) evānupaśyati, 278
 ātmasādo ('dau) me stha (stam), 758
 ātmāy ātmann ātmānam (ātmanātmā-
 nam) me mā hidsi, 354
 ā tvāgna idhmahi, 511
 ā tvā pariśritah ('śritah, 'erutah) kum-
 bhah ('bhāḥ), 412, 710
 ā tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyub, 389, 702
 ā tvā svo viśatām varṇah, 720
 ā tvā hiraṇmayah kumbhah, 412
 ādakaḥ ('kūn, 'kām) khādona, 697
 ā dadhnaḥ kalāśair ('śir, 'śam) agul
 (etc.), 412, 692, 787
 ād it prthivi gṛtair vy udyate, 380, 694
 ādityam viṣṇum sūryam, 697
 āditya prāyaśeitte tvam devānām prā-
 yaścittir asi, 339
 ādityā ca me sāvitrā ca me, 740
 ādityas te vasubhir ādadhātu, 412
 ādityān viṣṇum sūryam, 697
 ādityā rudrā upariśpro nah ('apṛān
 mā), 402, 511, 723
 ādityā ca mā indra ca me, 740
 ādityā tasmān no (mā) yūyam, 724
 ādityā tvā prabhantu jāgatena chan-
 dasā, 431
 ādityebhyas tvā pravṛhāmi jāgatena
 chandasā, 431
 ādityais te vasubhir ā dadhātu, 412
 ād id gṛtēna prthivi vy udyate ('vīm
 vy ūduḥ), 380, 694
 ād im āsvam na hetārāḥ ('ram), 402
 ā devo yāti bhuvanāni pāṣyan (bhu-
 vanā vipāṣyan), 165
 ā dhattāḥ ('tath) puṣkarasrajau ('jā),
 131
 ā nah prajān janayatu prajāpatiḥ, 702
 ānandam nandathunā ('thubhyām),
 753
 ānandā modāḥ pramudāḥ, 704
 ānando modāḥ pramodāḥ, 704
 ā na svo sēnutām varṇah, 720
 ānuṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ ..., 585
 ānuṣṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ
 ..., 585
 ānuṣṭubhena chandasā diśo 'nu vi
 krame, 527
 ānuṣṭubhena chandasā mitravaruṇā-
 bhyām ..., 585
 ā no goṣu viśatv auśadhiṣu (oṣ', ā
 tanūṣu), 724
 ā no jane śravayataḥ yuvānā, 723
 ā no viśvāsu havyāḥ ('yam), 374
 āntrāṇi sthālre ('ti) madhu pinvāmā-
 nāḥ ('nā), 710

- āpa undantu jivase (varcasā, varcase), 557
 āpaḥ pādyaḥ, 727
 āpaḥ prajāpatir yajño (prajāpateḥ prāñā) yajñasya bhṛṣajam [asī], 442
 āpataye tvā ... tanūnaptre śākvarāya śākvana (*tre śākmane śākvarāya śākmann) ojiṣṭhāya, 655
 ā pavaeva madintama, 329
 āpas tat sarvaṁ jivalāb, 493
 āpas tvā tsamāj jivalāb, 493
 āpāma manasā, 419
 āpir no bodhi sadhamādyo (*dye) vrdhe, 456
 āpo adyānv acāriṣam, 261
 āpo asmān (mā) mātaraḥ śundhayantu (etc.), 724
 āpo devīḥ prathamajā rtena (rtaśya), 65, 580
 āpo devīḥ svadantu (sad*) svāttaḥ cit sad devahaviḥ, 327
 āpo mā ..., see āpo asmān ...
 āpo me hotrāśānsināḥ (*nyāḥ), 804
 āptam manah, 419
 āptye sam nayāmasi, 645
 āprīṇānu vijahatā arātim, 703
 ābhur (ābhūr) aśya niṣaṅgadhīḥ (*thīḥ), 232
 ābhūṣantas te (tvā) sumatau navāyām, 484
 ābhyo yomibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ, 784
 āmanasya devā (*va) yā striyaḥ ..., 697
 āmunasya devā (*va) ye putrāḥ (*śeo) ..., 159, 697
 āmanasya devā (*va) ye saṁjātāḥ ..., 697
 ā manasyām hrdayād adhi, 665
 ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāḥ, 327, 770
 ā mā gantām (*tām) pitarā mātara ca (yuvam), 327, 770
 ā mā goṣu viśat ā tanūṣu, 724
 ā mā ghoṣo gacchati vān māśm (vān na śm, vār nv śm), 728
 ā mā jane śravayataṁ yuvānā, 723
 ā mātara sthāpayase jigatnū, 769
 ā mā roha mahate saubhagāya, 305
 ā mā sucarite (*tād) bhaja, 664, 668
 ā mā soma amṛtatvena (*tvāya) gamyāt, 558
 ā mitrāvaruṇā bhagam, 526, 749
 ā mitre varuṇe bhage, 526, 749
 āmuh naya namaś rātahavyam, 402
 āmūr aja pratyāvartayemāḥ, 836
 ā me graho bhavatu (grahā bhavantu) ā puroruk, 692
 ā me yantu, 724
 ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāḥ (*nāḥ), 737
 āyantu nāḥ pitarāḥ somyāśaḥ, 724
 ā yāta pitarāḥ somyāśaḥ (*yāḥ), 154
 āyātu yajñam upa no juṣāṇāḥ, 739
 āyātu varadā devī, 326
 ā yā dyām (divāṁ) bhāsy ā pṛthivīm orv (urv) antarikṣam, 294
 āyantu yajñam upa no juṣāṇāḥ, 739
 āyāhi viraje devī, 326
 ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (hariha, hari iha), 353
 ā yāhīma indavaḥ, 421
 ā yāhy ayam indave, 421
 āyuh kīrtiḥ yaśo balam ..., 387
 āyuh kīrtir varco yaśo balam, 387
 āyukṛd āyupatnī svadhā vaḥ, 769
 āyuh na yañ namaś rātahavyāḥ, 402
 āyur dadhānāḥ pratarāṁ navīyaḥ, 823
 āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣāṇāḥ (haviṣā vrdhānāḥ), 588
 āyur bṛhat tad aśya tan māvatu (mām avatu), 304
 āyur mayi dhehi, 640
 āyur me dāḥ (dehi, dhattam, dhehi), 640
 āyur me yacha (yachata), 640
 āyur yajñapataye dhattam (yajñapa-tau), 639
 āyur yajñāya (yajñe) dhattam, 639
 āyur vām śaradaḥ śatam, 765
 āyuskrd āyupatnī svadhāvantau (āyus tad āyupatnī svadhāvaḥ), 769
 āyus te śaradaḥ śatam, 765
 āyusmatidam pari dhateva vāsaḥ, 22, 324, 849
 āyusmatyā (*tya) ro mā gāta (māpa-gāyā, mā satsi) tanūpāt (*pāḥ) sāma-nāḥ (ro mā chaitsi ...), 210

- āyusmantam karota mā ("tu mām,
 kṛṇota mā, karotu me), 305
 āyusmanto jarām upagachema devāḥ
 (jivāḥ), 725
 āyusmann idam pari dhateva vāsaḥ, 22,
 334, 849
 āyusmān jaradaṣṭir yathāśāni, 725
 āyusmān idam pari dhateva vāsaḥ, 22,
 334, 849
 āraṇyān ("yā) grāmyāś ca ye, 397
 ā raāmān ("mā) deva yamase (yuvase)
 avaśvān ("vāḥ), 402, 710
 ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne, 83, 108,
 430, 667
 āruha tve sacā (tvayy api), 316
 āre asman (asmin) nī dīhi tam, 668
 āre te goghnam uta pūruṣagham, 83,
 108, 430, 667
 āre śatruḥ ("rūn) kṛṇuhi sarvavīram
 ("raḥ), 401
 ā roha mām mahate saubhagāya, 305
 ārohātmatmānam (ārohātmanātmā-
 nam) achā, 419
 ārtavā adhipataya śān, 697
 ārtavo 'dhipatir āst, 697
 ālebhānād rṣtibhīr yātuhānāt, 495, 703
 ā vatso jagatā (jāyatāḥ, jagadāḥ),
 maha, 700
 āvartanaḥ nivartanam, 550
 āvartane vivartane, 550
 ā vām prajāḥ janayatu prajāpatib, 702
 āvir bhuvad ("vaṁ) aruṇir yaśasā
 gob (gāvaḥ), 448
 ā viveśāparājitām ("tā), 406
 ā śāsānāḥ suvīryam (saumanasam), 849
 āśāsānā medhapatibhyāḥ ("taye) med-
 ham, 765
 āśāsānā saumanasam, 849
 āśir na (ma, nā) ūrjam uta sauprajāst-
 vām (supra"), 724
 āśirdāyā dāmpatī vāmam aśnutām, 174
 āśṛtyāḥ ("rī) padam kṛṇute agnīdhāne,
 211
 āśvayān mā mantrāt pāhi (pāhi purā)
 kaśyāś cid abhiśastyāḥ ("yā) evāhā,
 150
 āśthāpayata mātaram jaganm, 769
 āsmāt sadhastād oror antarikṣāt, 494
 āsya yajñaśyodreḥ, 494, 666
 āsyai brāhmaṇāḥ śnapanīr ("naḥ)
 harantu, 727
 ā haryato arjune ("no) atike avyata, 454
 idāya ("āḥ) padam ghṛtavac carācaram
 ("vat sarāṣam), 142
 idāyai śṛptam ghṛtavac carācaram, 142
 idā sarasvatī bhārati mahīḥ ("hī), 735
 idāsmān anu vastāḥ ghṛtena, 772
 idē rante ... viśruti ("te), 180
 idāivāsmān (idāiva vām) anu vastāḥ
 vṛtena (ghṛtena), 772
 ita indras tiṣṭhan vīryam akrṇod ...,
 705
 ita indro akrṇod vīryāṇi ("dro vīryam
 akrṇot), 705
 ito mukṣya mā pateḥ, 219
 ittham śreyo manyamānedam āgamam,
 849
 itthā hi soma in made ("dāḥ), 453
 idam śreyo manyamāno vā āgām, 849
 idam havir maghavā vetv indraḥ, 266
 idam tad aśya manasā śivena, 469, 809
 idam tam (tām) atī arjāmī taḥ (tām)
 mābhy avanikṣi, 740
 idam tava prasarpaṇam ("pā), 799
 idam te tad vi śyāmy āyuso na mad-
 hyāt, 664, 832
 idam devo vanaspatib, 402
 idam agnīśomayob, 618
 idam agnēb, 618
 idam aham yo me (naḥ) samāno ...,
 724
 idam aham rakṣasām ("so) grīvā api
 kṛtāmī, 703
 idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (rakṣobhīḥ)
 sam ūhāmī (dahāmī), 469
 idam aham senāyā abhītvaryai ("yā)
 mukham apohāmī, 612
 idam aham taḥ (tām) valagam ("gām)
 ... yaḥ (yām) me (naḥ) ..., 703, 723
 idam aham amuṣyāmuyāyapasya
 prāṇe vādayāmī, 552
 idam enam adharām karomī yo naḥ
 samāno yo 'samāno 'rātīyati, 724
 idam brahma juṣaśva naḥ (me), 724
 idam brahma pipṛhi saubhagāya, 690
 idāhna id āharām aśīya, 565

- indav (indum) indrāya pītaye, 346
indav (indum) indrāya matsaram, 346
indra śśāh (eśāh) netā bhraspatib, 836
indrasabhā draviṇe ('paṇ) no dad-
hātu, 334
indrah karmasu no 'vatu, 326, 348, 390
indrah kṛtvā maruto yad vaśāma, 337
indrah vājam vi mucyadhvam, 488
indrah śaviṣṭha satpatim, 349
indrah sa rehatu yo maitasyai ('yā)
diśo 'bhidiśati, 149
indrah sakhāyo ('yam) anu sah rab-
hadvam (vyayadhvam), 350
indrah sa diśāh ... yo maitasyai diśo
'bhidiśati, 149
indrah samatsu bhūṣata, 374
indrah soma ('mo) mādyan daivya
janam, 329
indrah somasya pītaye, 346, 387
indra karmasu no 'vata, 326, 348
indra kratvā maruto yad vaśāma, 337
indraghoṣa ('ṣā) tvā vasubhiḥ (vaaa-
vaḥ) purastāt pātu (pāntu), 412, 697,
739
indraghoṣa vo vasubhiḥ purastād upa-
dadhatām, 412, 697, 739
indraghoṣa tvā purastād vasubhiḥ
pāntu, 412, 697, 739
indrah karmasv avatu (āvatam, 'ta),
348, 390
indra jatharam navyo ('yāh) na, 402
indrāni juṣāṇā vṛṣaṇā (janayo) na
patnib, 402
indra ('ram) dbenuṃ sudughām anyām
iṣam, 343
indra piba sūtānām, 501, 693
indravantā ('to, 'tau) haviṃ idam juṣe-
thām (juṣantām), 134, 766
indra vājam jaya, 326
indra viśvābhīr ūtibhiḥ, 329
indra śaviṣṭha satpate, 349
indra ('rah) śrutasya mahato mahāni,
342
indra suteṣu someṣu, 326
indra somasya pītaye, 332, 346
indra stomena pañcadaśena madhyam
(pañcadaśenaujaḥ), 326
indrasya grhā ('hāh śivā) vasumanto
varūthinas tām aham ..., 711
indrasya grho 'si tam tvā pra padye
..., 711
indrasya te vṛyakṛto bāhū upāvaha-
rāni, 521, 762
indrasya tvā bhāgaṃ somenā tanami,
621
indrasya dhruvo 'si (dhruvam asi),
121, 808
indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam (nu
prā vocam vīryāṇi), 162
indrasya bhāgaḥ suvite dadhātana, 393,
623
indrasya vajro 'si vātragnah, 808
indrasya vām vīryakṛto bāhū abhyu-
pāvaharāmi (vām bāhū vīryakṛtā
upā), 521, 762
indrasya vāyuh ('yoh) sakhyāya vard-
hayan (kartave), 519
indrasya vātragnam asi, 808
indrasya vocam pra kṛtāni vīryā, 162
indrasya hārdy ('dim) āviṣan man-
tibhiḥ ('sāyā), 742, 793
indra svadhām anu hi no babhūtha, 337
indrah samatsu bhūṣatu, 374
indrah suteṣu someṣu, 326
indrah sūrah prathamā viśvakarmā,
115, 749
indrah somasya pītaye ('ye vṛṣāyate),
332, 387
indrah stomena pañcadaśena mad-
hyam, 326
indrah svadhām anu hi no babhūtha,
337
indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā meda-
saḥ (vapāḥ medaḥ) preṣya, 502
indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā ('yai)
medaso 'nubūhi, 142
indrāgnibhyām chāgasya haviḥ (havi-
ṣaḥ) preṣya, 502
indrāgnibhyām puroḍāśasya preṣya
(puroḍāśam), 502
indrāgni dyāvāpṛthivi āpa oṣadhīḥ
('dhayāḥ), 193
indrāyā ūṣṭiṣaḥ, 795
indrāyā ('yāḥ) śaṣṭhi, 143
indrāyā ('yāḥ, 'yā) saṃnahanam,
147
indrāhipatib ('tyāḥ) pipṛtād ato saḥ,
417

- indrānamitrah (*trān) nah paśēti
(*trān paśēti me), 703, 724
- indrāya tvā bhādvate vayasvata uk-
thāyve (*vam, ukthāvyah ...), 489
- indrāya tvā bhāgah somenātansmi,
621
- indrāya bhāgah pari tvā nayāmi, 393,
623
- indrāya vācah vi macyadhvam, 488
- indrāya somah auśutam bharantaḥ
(*tiḥ), 849
- indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā, 115, 749
- indreṇa dattasi prayataḥ (dattāsi
prayatāsi) marudbhīḥ, 840
- indreṇa devāḥ (devān), 390
- indreṇa devīr (*vair) vīrudhaḥ saṁvi-
dānāḥ, 416
- indreṇa devall sarathah turebhīḥ
(tureṇa), 737
- indreṇa sayujō (*jā) vayam, 416
- indremah pratarah (*rān) kṛdhi
(naya), 623
- indro jyeṣṭhānām (jyaīṣṭhyānām, *thy-
āya), 627, 706
- indro balah balaṣatīr ... mayi dad-
hātu (yajamānāya dadātu) ..., 641
- indro me (vah) śarma yachatu, 739
- indro vājam ajayit, 326
- indro viśvān virājati, 503
- indro viśvasya rājati, 503
- indro viśvābhīr ōtibhīḥ, 829
- imam yajnam yajamānam ca sūrau,
488, 537
- imam yajnam avantu no ghṛtācīḥ
(avatu yā ghṛtāci, avatu no ghṛtāci),
690
- imam yajnam āvinobhā bhāspatīḥ,
329
- imam yajnam pitro me juṣantām, 724
- imam yajnam bhāspate āvinobhā, 329
- imam rātaḥ sutam piba, 519, 554
- imam stomah juṣasva me (nah), 724
- imam no deva savitah, 724
- imam adhvānah yam agāma dūrāt
(*ram), 498
- imam amum amuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ
putram amuṣyāḥ viśy avagamayata,
145
- imam amuṣya (imam amum amuṣya)
putram amuṣyai (*yāḥ) putram sayai
viśe, 145
- imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaḥ me
(kṣatriyāṇām), 515
- imam indra sutam piba, 501, 693
- imam ō (u) su tvam asmākam (su tyam
asmabhyam), 621
- imam mā hīṣtrekṣāphah (dvipādah)
paśum (paśūnām), 84, 515
- imam me deva savitah, 724
- imān rudrāya tavase kapardine, 690
- imān kṣamāmy ośadhīm (*dhīm), 192
- imān me (no) mitrāvaruṇau (*ṣā), 134,
724
- imā prāṇāpānau, 135
- imā brahma pīpihi saubhagāya, 690
- imā rudrāya tavase kapardine, 690
- ime catvāro rajaso vimānāḥ (*ne), 351
- ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam
iha kalpatām, 155
- imau te pakṣāv (*ṣā) ajarau patatṛiṇau
(*ṇāḥ), 447
- imau prāṇāpānau, 135
- iyam vedīḥ paro antaḥ pṛthivyāḥ, 32,
302
- iyam gauṣ tayā te kṛiṇāni, 33, 418
- iyam te yajñīyā tanūḥ (*nub), 232
- iyam te rāṇ mitrāya (*ro) yantāsi ya-
manah, 428
- iyam te śukra tanūr idam ..., 232
- iyam teṣām avayā durīṣṭyai, 431
- iyam dig aditir ... yo maitasyai (*yā)
diśo bhīdīṣanti, 149
- iyam duruktāt (*tam) paribādhamānā,
49, 80, 493
- iyam ośadhe (*dhi) trāyamāṇā, 342
- iyarti dhūmam aruṣṣi (*ṣo) bharibhrat,
401
- irām vahantaḥ sumanasyamānāḥ, 263,
739, 849
- irām vahanto (*ti, vahato) ghṛtam
ukṣamāṇāḥ, 263, 739, 849
- iṣa ekapādī, 361
- iṣam no mitrāvaruṇā kartaneḍām, 694,
704, 749
- iṣe tvā sumanagāni prajāvati susīme,
361

- iṣe rāye (rayai) ramaśva sahaśe⁷ dy-
 umnāyorje 'patyāya (dyumna ūrje
 apatyāya, dyumnāyorjapatyāya), 288,
 655
 iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛutāvir ('tām kṛu-
 tād āvir) aśmai, 613, 751
 iṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvir (kṛnavath*,
 kṛutād āvir) aśmai (aśmāt), 613, 751
 iṣṭo agnir āhutaḥ pipartu (svāhākṛtaḥ
 pipartu) ..., 329
 iha kṛmo (kurmo, kul*) harivo medi-
 nam (ved*) ivā, 378
 iha tvā goparīṇasā ('sam), 476
 iha priyaḥ prajāyā (prajāyai) te sam
 rḍhyatām, 558
 iha mahyaḥ ni yachatam, 644, 724
 ihāsmāu ('smabhyam) ni yachatam,
 644, 724
 ihi tiro 'ti rocanāḥ, 799
 ihaiva kṣemya edhi mā prahāṣir ('śin)
 ..., 304
 ihaiva tiṣṭha nimitā (nitarā), 382
 ihaiva dhruvāḥ ni minomi śālām, 344,
 382
 ihaiva dhruvā (sthūpe) prati tiṣṭha śāle
 (dhruvā), 344, 382
 ihaiva santah prati tad yṣṭayāmah, 725
 ihaiva santah prati dadma enat, 725
 ihaiva san tatra sato vo agnayaḥ, 691
 ihaiva san (saha) tatra santah tvāgne,
 691
 ihaiva san niravadaye tat, 725
 iḍāno (iḍānā) vahnir ('niḥ) namasā,
 399, 737, 840
 iḍiṣvā hi mahe ('hi) vṛṣan, 490
 iḍenyakratūr aham, 402
 iṣānam vāryāṇām, 739, 849
 iṣānam jagadaiḥ saha, 387
 iṣānā vāryāṇām, 739, 849
 iṣāno jagatas patih, 387
 iṣāyai ('yā) manyuḥ rājānam, 152
 iṣamāṇa ('nā) upasprāḥ, 407
 ukthaśā yaja somānam ('masya), 603
 ukṣā gaur na vayo dadhuh, 399
 ukṣānam gām na vayo dadhat, 399
 ukṣā bibharti bhuvanāni ('ṣā mimeti
 bhuvaneṣu) vājayuh, 528
 ukṣā samudro ('ro) aruṇah (aruṇah)
 suparṇah, 456
 ukhām sravantīm agadām aganma
 (akarma), 840
 ukhām ('khā) svasāram adhi vedim
 asthāt, 399
 ukhāyāḥ ('yai, 'yām) sadane sve, 142,
 677
 ukhyaḥ ('yān) hasteṣu bibhrataḥ, 692
 ukhyaśya ketum prathamam juṣṣau
 ('pā), 134
 ugrampaśyā (ugram paśyāc) ca rāṣ-
 ṭrabhre ca tāni, 759
 ugrampaśye ugrajitau tad adya, 759
 ugrā ca bhīmā ca, 849
 ugrā ca bhīmā ca, 849
 uta na enā pavayā pavasva, 174
 uta rājānam uttamaḥ mānavānam, 367
 uta vām uṣaso budhi ('dhiḥ), 458
 uta śūdra utārye, 77, 654
 uta śravasā ('sa ā) pṛthivīm, 672, 705
 utārebhāpān reṣibhir yātudhānān, 495,
 703
 utālabdham (utārabdhān) spruḥi jāta-
 vedah, 718
 utāla parimīḍho 'ai, 357
 utemam ('māḥ) paśya, 740, 835
 uto te vṛṣaṇā (haritau) hari, 131
 utoditā ('tau) maghavan sūryasya, 221
 utodleyāḥ ('yā dīśo) vṛtrahan vṛtra-
 hāsi ('hañ chatruho 'ai), 676
 utkūlanikūlebhyaḥ triṣṭhinam (utkūla-
 vikūlābhyām triṣṭhinam), 756
 uttamaḥ nākam (uttame nāke) adhi
 rohayemam ('yainam, rohemam), 526
 uttamo aśy oṣadhīnam, 84, 367, 835
 uttarasyāḥ devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ
 ('tā), 849
 uttānaparpe subhage ('pām subhagām),
 346
 uttānāyāni ('yai) śayānāyām ('yai), 655
 uttānāyā ('yai) brdayaḥ yad vikaṣtam
 (viliṣtam), 622
 ut tiṣṭha (utthāya) brhatti ('han)
 bhava, 849
 ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ ('mnā, śu-
 mēpa, vṛṣṭyā, dr̥ṣṭyā), 705

- ut sakthyā ('yor) ava gudam (grdam,
om. ava) dhehi, 535
- uto deva ('vo) hiranyayaḥ, 336
- udagrābhāsa namayan vadhasannih
(num), 474
- udapurā nāmāy annena viṣṭā, 800
- ud asthām amṛtān anu, 401
- ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam (abhūma), 401
- ud aemān uttarān naya, 721, 814
- ud asya śuśmād bhānur nārta (bhānor
nāvyaḥ), 435
- udādāya pṛthivīr jivadānum (jradā-
nuh, num), 406
- udtei dik (diśām), [...], 427, 438
- udtei dik somo 'dhipatib' evajo rakṣi-
tāsanir iṣavaḥ, 427
- udleyāmi diśy āpa (udleyā diśāpā, 'yā
diśāpā, 'yā diśā sahāpā) ośadhayo
..., 604
- udleyai tvā diśe somāyādhipataye ava-
jāya rakṣitre 'ānyā iṣumatyai, 427
- ud frēvātāḥ pativati ('ti) hy eṣā, 342
- ud u tiṣṭha dhruvā tvam, 849
- ud uttamān munugdhi naḥ (mat), 612,
724
- ud enam uttarān ('rām) naya, 721, 814
- ud eṣām bāhū ('hūn) atiram, 756
- udgātāḥ sāmāni (sāma) gāya, 690
- udgrābhān ('bhaś) ca nigrābhān
(bhaś) ca, 389
- ud divam (dyām) stabhāna, 294
- uddhriyamāṇa ud dhara pāpmano mā
(mām), 305
- udno dattodadhiḥ bhintta (dehy udad-
him bhindhi), 502, 711
- udyan bhṛājabhṛetibhir ('tir) indro
marudbhir ..., 416
- ud rathānām jayatām yantu ghoṣāḥ
(tām etu ghoṣāḥ), 706
- ud vīrāṇām jayatām etu ghoṣāḥ, 706
- un nambhaya pṛthivīm, 344
- upa ṛabhasya retasi (yad retāḥ), 550
- upa jmann upa vetase, 526
- upa te 'dhām sahamānām (sahiyasām),
476, 488, 808
- upa tvā kāmā imāhe saṣṛgmahe, 550
- upa tvā kāmā mahāḥ saṣṛjmahe, 550
- upa devān ... pṛagur uśijo vahnita-
mān ('gur vahnaya uśijāḥ), 187
- upa dyām upa vetasam, 526
- upa no rājan sukṛte hvayasva, 724
- upa pra yāhi (yāta) divyāni dhāma
(man), 271
- upa preta marutaḥ ... viśpatinābhy
amun rājānam, 219
- upa brahmāṇi savanāni vṛtrahā ('han),
330
- upamān ('mām) devatātaye, 819
- upa mām sakṣā bhakṣo hvayatām, 305
- upa mā dīkṣyām dīkṣapatayo hvaya-
d-hvam, 697
- upa mā (mām) dhenuḥ saharābhā hva-
yatām, 305
- upa mām divyāḥ sapta hotāro hvayan-
tām, 305
- upa mā (mām) bhāt sahā divā hvaya-
tām, 305, 724
- upa mā bhakṣā sakṣā hvayatām, 305
- upa mā (mām) rathamātaram sahā
pṛthivya hvayatām, 305, 724
- upa mā rājan sukṛte hvayasva, 724
- upa mā (mām) vāmadevyaḥ sahānta-
rikṣa hvayatām, 305, 724
- upa mā (mām) sapta hotāro hvayantām,
305
- uparābhāsa retasi, 550
- upa vām jihvā ghṛtam ācarayāt, 765
- upaśrito ('śruti) divaḥ pṛthivyoh, see
agne tvam sūktavāg ...
- upasṛjan ('jān) dharuṇam mātaram
dharuṇo dhayan, 769
- upasṛjan (upa sṛjām) dharuṇam mātrem
dharuṇo mātaram ('tre mātaram
dharuṇo, 'tre mātara dharuṇo) dha-
yan, 769
- upa stuhi (snuhi) tam nṛmpām (nṛma-
pām) athadrām, 406
- upasthāvarābhyo dīśām ('rībhyo bai-
[n]dam), 296
- upasthāsānām mitravad astv ojaḥ, 449,
844
- upasthāsā mitravatīdam ojaḥ, 440, 844
- upasthe te devy adite 'gnim, 331
- upa snuhi, see upa stuhi, 406

- upahūta ('tā) upahavam te (vo) 'śtya, 739
 upahūta gāvaḥ (dhenub) saharṣabhāḥ ('bhā, saharṣ'), 700
 upahūteyaṁ yajamānā, 849
 upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇe, 849
 upahūto 'yam yajamānāḥ (...), 849
 upāśiṣvaḥ kalaśāḥ ('vāḥ kalaśāḥ) somo agniḥ (somadhānāḥ), 692
 upāsmān idā hvayatām saha ..., 724
 upedam upaparcanam, 329
 upendra tava vīrye ('yam), 550
 upehopaparcana, 329
 upo devān ... prāgur vahnir ('naya) uśijah, 187
 ubhā kavi yuvānā (yuvā), 762
 ubhā rājānā ('nau) svadhayā madantā ('tau), 131
 ubhāv indrā ('ro) udithaḥ sūryaś ca, 115, 449, 747
 ubhā hi hastā vasunā pṛṇasva, 132, 704
 ubhe ca no (mā, cainam, cainam [na iti vā]) dyāvapṛthivī ..., 724
 uhhohhayāvinna upa dhehi dānētrā ('rau), 131
 ubhau tām indra vṛtrahan, 715, 836
 uraḥ paṭaurāṣv āghnānāḥ, 105, 545
 urukṣayāḥ saganā mānuṣāḥ ('eṣu), 455
 urudrapso viśvarūpa indub, 401
 uruvyacasō dhāmānā (uruvyacasāgnir dhāmānā) patyamānāḥ ('ne), 416, 737, 766
 uruḥ san na nivartate, 849
 uro antarikṣa (uror antarikṣāt) sajjir devana vātana, 382
 urv antarikṣam vīhi, 402
 urvaśi ca pūrvacittis cāpasrasau ('sā), 135
 urvīm gavyāṁ pariśadam no akran, 831
 urvy antarikṣam vīhi, 402
 ulena pariśto 'si, 357
 u lokam u dve upa jāmin ityatub, 402
 ulo halikṣo vṛṣadānāś te dhātve ('tub), 618
 uṣasa śreyasī-śreyasīr (uṣasāḥ śreyasī-śreyasīr) dadhat, 709
 uṣām-uṣām śreyasīm dhehy amai, 700
 uṣāśnaktiḥgnā ('gna, uṣāśnakti agna) ājyaśya vītām, 136
 uṣo dadṛkṣe na punar yatīva, 326
 uṣṣik (umiham, 'hā) chanda indriyam, 399
 uṣṣena vāya ('yav) udakenahi ('naidhi, vāyur udakenet), 326
 ūrjam puṣṭam vasy āveśayanti, 704
 ūrjam mayi dhehi, 640
 ūrjam me dēhi (dhattam, dēhi, ya-cha), 640
 ūrjasvatī rājasvas ('sūyāya, 'vūyā) citānāḥ, 492, 742
 ūrjasvatir oṣadhīr ā risantām (viś'), 298
 ūrjā mitro varuṇāḥ pinvatēdāḥ, 694, 704, 749
 ūrjo bhāgām pṛthivyā yāty ('vīm ety, 'vīm etv) āpṛṇan, 509
 ūrjo mā pāby oḍṇam, 81, 494
 ūrnamradasam (ūrṇā) tvā stṛṣāmi (ūrnamradāḥ prathasva, 'dam prathasva) svānastham ('sthām) devebhyah, 382, 839
 ūrnamradā yuvatir ('dāḥ pṛthivī) dakṣiṇāvate ('tī), 429
 ūrdhvam imam adhvaram divi ..., 401
 ūrdhvam enam ..., see ūrdhvām enām ...
 ūrdhvayā diśā (d' saha) yajñāḥ ..., 604
 ūrdhvā ('vas) tiṣṭha dhruvā ('vas) tvam, 849
 ūrdhvā dik (diśām), [...], 427, 438
 ūrdhvām enām ('vam enam) uc chraya-
 tāt (etc.), 849
 ūrdhvāyāḥ diśi yajñāḥ ..., 604
 ūrdhvāyai tvā diśe bṛhaspataye ..., 427
 ūrdhvo adhvaram divi ..., 401
 ūrdhvo adhvoro sthāt ('dhvara sthāt, 'dhvare sthāt, adhvare sthāt), 457
 ūrdhvo adhvoro diviṣṭk, 401
 ūrdhvo naḥ (mā) pāby aśvaso ... ('sah), 494, 724
 ūrdhvo mā pāby oḍṇāḥ, 81, 494
 ūrvaṁ gavyam pariśadanto agman, 831
 ūrvān ('vam) dayanta gonām, 698
 ūrvy antarikṣam vīhi, 402

- glena patimāḥ 'ai, 357
 glo halikyo vṛsadāśas te dhātuh, 618
 gṛvadyah vātah ('āt) sabvān tad
 āst, 495
 gṛā dadṛe na punar yatīva, 326
 gṛānābhyān yajuṣā sashitarantah
 ('bhyān sashitaranto yajurbhih), 690
 gṛ vāḥ ... dakṣiṇā ('nāh) ptyāṣah, 696
 gṛā yāmi maruto brahmanaspatim ('te),
 28, 343
 gṛjā śavasa pate ('tiḥ), 336
 gṛak sapatnān adharāḥ ca kṛvat, 850
 gṛtam vadanto anṛtam rapema, 705
 gṛtam nātyeti kin (kaś) cana, 810
 gṛtaye stenahṛdayam, 182
 gṛtavo 'dhipataya āsan, 697
 gṛtaya garbhah (dhāman, 'ma) pra-
 thamā vyūṣṣi, 457
 gṛtaya tvā vyomane ('mne grhāmi),
 272
 gṛtaya dhāmano amṛtasya yoneh, 497
 gṛtaya pulari ('de) kavayo ni pānti,
 555
 gṛtaya brahma prathamata jajñe, 796
 gṛtaya yonā mahiṣā aheṣata, 221
 gṛtaya yonih mahiṣasya dhārām, 497
 gṛtaya yonau mahiṣā agrbhān (ahin-
 van), 221
 gṛtān mā muṇeatānhasah, 724
 gṛtā vadanto anṛtam rapema, 705
 gṛtāvarī yajñiye mā (nah) punitām, 724
 gṛtvānā ('no) jane-jane, 766
 gṛubhiṣ tvārtavaiḥ (gṛubhyas tvārtā-
 vebhyah), 566
 gṛtur janitri tasyā apas (apasas) pari,
 519
 gṛtū ca me vṛtān ca me, 709
 gṛtū prṛtibhiḥ (prṛti'), 188
 gṛtena nah (mā) pāhi, 724
 gṛtena (gṛe 'va) sikhāpām ('nāv, 'gā)
 adhi roha vanā ('āb), 337, 603, 740,
 788
 gṛyai stenahṛdayam, 182
 gṛbhukṣanam gṛhūn (gṛhūm gṛbhukṣapo)
 rayim, 350
 gṛbhā janayanti ('tu) nau (nah), 771
 gṛbhāya gavayī ('ya rājñe gavayab),
 779
 gṛabhena gāh, 390
 gṛabho gaur vayo dadhuh, 390
 gṛayah (trpyantu), 373
 gṛayna tvā ... varipā (varimpā) pra-
 thantu, 273
 gṛbhīh samubhṛtān rasam ('to rasah),
 387
 gṛir bodhah prabodhah, 750
 (och) gṛiḥ tarpayāmi, 373
 gṛi bodhapratibodhau, 750
 eka eva rudro (eko hi rudro, eko rudro)
 na dvitīyāya tasthe (tasthuh, etc.;
 rudro 'va tasthe na dvitīyah), 431
 ekapadi ('īm) dvipadi ('īm) tripadi
 ('īm) ..., 374
 ekapādam dvipādam tripādam ..., 374
 ekam iṣe (iṣa), 361
 ekaviṇśa gṛbhavah stutam ('tāh), 402
 ekasapham asṛiyata ('phāh paśavo
 'sṛiyanta), 727
 eko rudro (hi rudro) ..., see eka eva
 rudro ...
 eṇy ahnāh (ahnē), 618
 eta u tye praty adṛṣan, 849
 etam yajñam pitaro no juṣantām, 724
 etam sadhastha ('tāh) pari te (vo)
 dadāmi, 698
 etat te kāmā, 809
 etat te tata ('tāsau) ye ca tvām anu
 (tvānu), 307
 etat te tatāmaha svadhā ye ca tvām
 anu, 307
 etat te pitāmaha prapitāmaha (pitā-
 maha, 'hāsau) ye ca tvām anu
 (tvānu), 307
 etat te pratatāmaha svadhā ye ca tvām
 anu, 307
 etat te prapitāmabāsau ('pitāmaha) ye
 ca tvām anu (tvānu), 307
 etat te manyo, 809
 etat te rudrāvasam tena (etena rudrā-
 vasena) paro mūjavato 'tīhi, 418
 etat tvā deva savitar ..., 815
 etad vah pitaro vāṣah ('sa sḍhatta), 692
 etam te deva savitar ..., 809
 etam tvām prajanaya, 513
 etan no gopāya, 724
 eta pitarah somyāṣah, 154

etasya tvam prajanaya, 513
 etā asadan sukṛtasya loke, 770
 etā u tyāḥ praty adṛāran purastāt, 849
 etā (etāni) te aghnye ('niye, 'ghnye)
 nāmāni, 168
 etāni vah pitaro vāsāni, 692
 etāvati mahinā (mahimnā) saḥ bah-
 lūva, 273
 etāy asadatām, 770
 etāvān asya mahimā, 705
 eti saumanaso bahub, 795
 etu tistro 'ti rocanā, 709
 ete te vāyo (vāyavah), 773
 etena rudrāvasena ..., see etat te rud-
 rāvasan ...
 ete nānuvaṣaṭkṛtāḥ, 407
 ete pūṭā vipaścitah, 155
 ete vām agni samidhan tābhyām vard-
 hethām ..., 769
 etau te vāyā, 773
 ed u madhvo ('dhor) madintaram, 244
 edhamānāḥ ('nāḥ, 'na, 'nā) sve (sva-)
 grhe (vase), 725, 849
 enam kumāras taruṇah, 835
 enam parisrutah kumbhyā, 412, 789, 835
 enaś (enāśi) cakṛmā vayam, 703
 enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha eśām, 439
 enānedam ahar aśīya evāhā, 565
 eno mahac cakṛvān baddha eṣa, 439
 endrasya jathare ('raṁ) viśa, 526
 eḥhyo yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ, 784
 emām panthām aruksāma, 283
 emām kumāras taruṇah, 835
 emām anu sarpaṭa, 765
 emām parisrutah kumbhaḥ, 412, 789,
 835
 evam garbhān dadhāmi te 'sau (dad-
 hātu te, dadhāmi te), 379
 evam tām garbham ā dbehi, 379, 403
 evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva, 379,
 403
 evam asyām sūtikāyām, 649
 evam asyai suputrāyai jāgrata, 649
 evam aham (mām) āyusā (mām med-
 hayā) ..., 380
 evam mām brahmacāriṇah, 305
 evam mā ārtidhātārah, 305
 evam mā sakhyā brahmacāriṇah, 305

evā te dhriyatām garbhaḥ, 379
 evā triṇāmānu ahrīyamāṇah ('nāḥ),
 739
 evā tvam daśamāsyā, 329
 evā dadhāmi te garbham, 379
 evā mā brahmacāriṇah, 305
 evā mām ..., see evāmām ...
 evā me astu dhānyam, 724
 evāyam daśamāsyāḥ, 329
 evāmākedam dhānyam, 724
 evāmām (evā mām) indro varuṇo
 hr̥haspatih, 312, 724
 evā hindra ('raṁ), 352
 eṣa te kāmā, 809
 eṣa te janate rājā, 698
 eṣa te manyo, 809
 eṣa te vāyo, 773
 eṣa net tvad apacetayātai, 713
 eṣa vāsūni pibdanā ('nāḥ), 842
 eṣa vas tadvivācanah (vah sadvivāca-
 nam), 830
 eṣa vo janatā rājā, 698
 eṣa vo deva savitah somah, 740
 eṣā te agne samit tayā (tayā tvam)
 vardhasva cā ca pyāsyasya, 769
 eṣā te śukra tanūr etad ..., 232
 eṣā tvā pātu nirṛte upasthāt (nirṛtyā
 upasthe, prapasthe purastāt), 184, 663
 eti ('do) me bhagavaty ajaniṣṭhā
 (bhagavo 'jan) maitrāvaruṇi ('nāḥ),
 849
 o cit sakhyām sakhyā vavṛtyām, 380,
 702
 ojas balāya tvodyache vṛṣṇe śuṣmā-
 yāyusē vareṇe (vṛṣṇe śuṣmāya), 272
 ojasvantam mām āyusmantam vareṇa-
 vantam (mām sahasvantam) ..., 378
 ojasvān aharā (ojasvy aharā, ojiṣṭho
 'ham) manuyesu bhūyāsam, 378
 ojiṣṭhā caryaplabhām ('hūn), 516
 ojiyo rudras tad āsti, 342
 ojo na jūtir ('tim) ṛṣabho (vṛṣ) na
 bhānam, 389
 ojo mayi dbehi (me dāḥ), 641
 om ukthāā yaja somasya, 693
 orv antarikṣam, 494
 ośadhayah prati gr̥bhñita (gr̥bhñāg-
 nim etam, gr̥bhñāgnim etam), 193

- oṣadhayaḥ prati modadhvam [enam]
 ('dhvam agnim etam), 193
 oṣadhayaḥ prāṇcyavub, 193
 oṣadhībhyāḥ (namah), 192
 oṣadhīḥ prati modadhvam, 193
 oṣadhīḥ prāṇcyavub, 193
 oṣadhībhyāḥ (namah), 192
 oṣadhībhyāḥ paśave no (paśubhyo me)
 janāya (dhanāya), 700, 724
 oṣadhīr uta virudhaḥ, 488
 oṣadhyā vaiṣṇave athaḥ, 212, 296
 kati evid garbhaṁ prathamam dadhra
 āpaḥ, 809
 kakup ('kue) chanda ibhendriyam, 399
 kakubhaṁ (kakuham) rūpaṁ vṛṣabha-
 sya (rūpaṁ rṣ) rocate bhṛat (bhṛan),
 842
 kakubhaṁ chanda ibhendriyam, 399
 kakeśvantam ya auśijāḥ ('jam), 397
 kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāśāḥ, 269, 705
 kanyakumārī ('rī, 'ryai) dhīmahi, 361,
 431
 kapota ('tā) ulūkāḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai
 (nairṛtāḥ), 126, 424, 700
 karkandhu jajṣe madhu aśraghaṁ
 mukhāt (mukhe), 78, 98, 600
 karṇābhyāṁ śrotam ('re), 774
 kalpatām me yogakṣemaḥ, 724
 kalpantām āpa oṣadhayaḥ ('dhīḥ),
 192
 kavi devau pracetasaḥ ('śā), 135
 kavīn pṛbhāmi vidmane (vidvano) na
 vidvān, 487, 741
 kas tam indra tvāvasam ('so), 350
 kas te yunakti, 488, 739
 kas te vi muñcati, 488, 739
 kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu ('ti,
 tvā vi muñcetu), 488, 739
 kas tvā vi muñcati sa tvā vi muñcati
 ('tu), 488, 739
 kaśmai deva vasaḥ astu tubhyam, 840
 kasya nūnam parīkṣaḥ ('ai), 679
 kaḥ evit pṛthivyaḥ varṣtyān, 812
 kā (kāv, kim) ūrū pādā ('dāv) ucyeṭe,
 776
 kātyāyanāya ('nyai) vidmahe, 782
 kāmāḥ ('mah, 'mas) samudram ā viśa
 (viveśa, viśat), 399
 kāma kāmāḥ (kāmatī-kāmāḥ) ma (mā)
 āvartaya, 352
 kāmāya tvā grhṇāmi (prati grh'), 67,
 358
 kāmēna kṛtāḥ ('ta) śrava ichamānaḥ,
 336
 kāmēna tvā prati grhṇāmi, 67, 358
 kāmēna mā (me) kāma āgan (āgāt), 48,
 71, 478
 kāmaitat te, 809
 kāmyāśi (kāmye), 339
 kāṛṣī (kāṛy) asi, 178
 kālena (kāle ha, kālo ha) bhūtaṁ bha-
 vyam ca, 419
 kāv ūrū ..., see kā ūrū ...
 kā (kim) evid āst pilippilā (piśaṅgilā,
 pūrvacittīḥ), 812
 kim evit pṛthivyaḥ varṣtyāḥ, 812
 kim evid antaḥ puruṣa ā viveśa, 526
 kim evid āst ..., see kā evid ...
 kim evid garbhaṁ prathamam dadhrur
 āpaḥ, 809
 kim ūrū ..., see kā ūrū ...
 kiyāmbv atra rohatu, 801
 kuvayam ca me 'ksitīḥ ('tām) ca me,
 706, 795
 kuhvā ahaṁ devayajiyāḥ puṣṭimān
 paśumān (puṣṭimatī paśumatī) bhū-
 yāsam, 849
 kuhvai ('ve) trayo 'rupaitāḥ, 237
 kṛpūta dhūmam vṛṣapaḥ sakhāyaḥ, 350
 kṛpūtaḥ puṣkaraśrajā, 131
 kṛpūtaḥ tāv adhvarāḥ jātavedasaḥ, 769,
 791
 kṛpūta dhūmam vṛṣapaḥ sakhāyaḥ, 350
 kṛpūta so adhvarāḥ ('rā) jātavedāḥ,
 769, 791
 kṛtāni kartvāni ca (kṛtāni yā ca kartvā),
 163
 kṛtān naḥ pāhy anhasaḥ (enasāḥ), 724
 kṛte yonau (kṛto yonir) vapateha bhījam
 (vijam), 37, 450
 kṛtyākṛtāḥ ('to) valaginam ('naḥ), 518
 kṛtapacyāś ('yam) ca me 'kṛtapacyāś
 ('yam) ca me, 113, 727
 kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (lalāṭe) pur-
 astāt, 768
 kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyāḥ, 768

ketah saketah suketaḥ (k° suk° sak°) te
na ādityā śjyaḥ (haviṣo) juṣāṇā
(ādityā juṣāṇā śjya haviṣo) viyantu
(viantu ...), 501

ketuḥ kṛvāne (ketumatī) ajare bhūri-
retaśā (*sau), 133

kesv antah puruṣa ā viveṣa, 526

ko aśyā dhāma katidhā vyueṣṭh, 269,
705

ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu, 488, 739

ko vo vi mufecati, 488, 739

kośa iva pūrpo vasunā, 387

kośam na pūrṇam vasunā nyreṣam, 387

kyāmbhūr atra rohatu (jāyatām), 801

kratuḥ rihanti madhumābhy (madhvā-
bhy) aśjate, 243

kratuḥ dadhikrā (*rām) ann samitavī-
vat (sathasniṣyadāt), 406

kratvā varieṣṭham varā āmurim uta, 179,
557

kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta, 179,
557

krāṇā sindhūnām kalāśān avivaśat, 419

kṣatraḥ dhārāya, 705

kṣatram agne suyamam astu tubhyam,
411

kṣatraśya tvā paraśpāya brahmaṇas
tanvam pāhi, 162, 708, 801

kṣatṛāṇi dhārāya, 705

kṣatreṣagne suyamam astu tubhyam,
411

kṣayadvīra (*rāya) sunnam aṣme te
astu, 30, 359

kṣayadvitrāya pra bharāmahe matth
(*tim), 690

kṣayantaḥ rādhaso mahab (rādhaso
mahe, śavase mahe), 70, 628

kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (devo atidu-
ritāty) agniḥ, 165

kṣāman (*mā) ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā
(ketunā), 547, 745

kṣipraśyenāya (*nasya) vartikā, 618

kṣireṇa pūrṇā (*pān) udakena dadhna,
21, 385

kṣutpipāsābhyām (*śāya) avāhā, 115,
751

kṣutpipāsāmāśā (*lam) iyeṣṭhāb
(*ēthām), 738

kṣetraśya (*rūpām) patayo namaḥ, 698

kṣetṛiyāt tvā nirṛtyā jāmiśasāt, 150

kṣetṛiyai tvā nirṛtyai tvā, 150

kṣajāpo 'jopakāśinib, 207

gaṣṇā (*pā) me mā vi tittṣaḥ (*sat,
tṛṣṇ, vy aritṣaḥ), 380, 419, 459, 513

gaṇair mā mā vi tittṣata, 419, 459, 513

gandharvo dhāma paramaḥ guhā yat

(dhāma vibhṛtaḥ guhā sat, nāma

nihitaḥ guhāsu), 599

gamad indram (*ro) vṛṣā sutab (*tam),
389

gambhīrebhiḥ (*raiḥ) pathibhiḥ pūrve-
bhiḥ (*vipebhiḥ, *vyaiḥ, pūryāpaiḥ),
169

garbha iva (ivet) subhṛto (suhito)

garbhigbhiḥ (*pāṣu), 607

garbham yonyām aśvināśyām, 130

garbham aravantam (*tīm) agadam

(*dām) akab (akarma), 849

garbhāḥ te aśvinau devau (aśvinobhā,
aśvināv ubhau), 130

garbhāḥ dhātām evastaye, 702

garbham aśvatary aśahāsu (*taryā
iva), 449

garbhaḥ samjāyase punaḥ, 457

garbhān dhātām evastaye, 702

garbhe saḥ (san, sam) jāyase punaḥ,
457

garbho jāryuḥ pratidhuk piyāsaḥ,
793

garbho yas te yajāiyah, 447

gavā te kṛiṇāni, 33, 418

gabanam (*oe) yad inakṣat, 453

gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn, 388, 700

gātum (*tu) yajāyā gātum (*tu) yaj-
āpataye, 791

gātrāṇām te gātrabhājo (*bhāg) bhū-
yāma (*yāsam), 725

gāthayaiti pariṣkṛtam (*tā), 838

gām aśvaḥ puruṣaḥ jagat (paśum,
aśvān puruṣān aham), 388, 700

gāyatraḥ vatsam anu tās ta āguḥ, 852

gāyatraḥ chando anu samrabhadhivam,
690, 852

gāyatraḥ aśi, 848

gāyatrasya chandaso 'gneḥ ..., 585

gāyatri (*rūm) chanda indriyam, 399

- gāyatrī ('tri) chandasām mātā ('tāh), 326
- gāyatrīn chandāśy anu sathrabha-
tām, 690, 852
- gāyatrī triṣṭub jagatī virāḥ, 399
- gāyatrī tvā chandasām avatu ('sā-
vatu), 583
- gāyatrīn triṣṭubham jagatīm anuṣṭu-
bham ('tīm virājam), 399
- gāyatṛeṇa chandasāgninā (chandasā
chandasāgneś) ..., 585
- gāyatṛeṇa chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi
krume, 527
- gāyatro 'ai (gāyatrī aśi), 848
- gāyatrīyai ('yā) gāyatrām, 150
- gārhapatīyah ('yā) prajāyā ('jāvan)
vasuvittamah, 437
- gīrah śumbhantya atrayāh, 474
- gīrah somah (gīra stomān) pavamāno
manishāh, 463
- gīrta plāsibhih ('bhyām), 754
- gīrēh pravartamānakah ('rer avaca-
rantikā), 832
- gīro vardhantya atrayāh, 474
- gīrbhir viprah ('rāh) pramatim icha-
mānah ('nāh), 695
- gīrbhih śumbhantya atrayāh, 474
- grāṇā ('nā) jamadagninā, 765
- grāhātām asamartyai, 486, 671
- grāh nāh pitaro datta, 724
- gopā nāh stha rakṣitārah (gopā me
stam), 758
- gopāyamānāh ('nā) ca mā rakṣamā-
nāh ('nā) ca ..., 811
- gopāya mā (mām) śevadhīs te ('dhīs te,
śreyase te) 'ham aśmī, 305
- gopithāya vo nārātaye, 182
- gopoṣāh ca me (no, 'gāh no) vīrapo-
ṣāh ca yacha (dhehi), 724
- goptryo me stha, 758
- gomad āṣu nāsatyā (nāsatyā [a']), 135
- gaur āsvah puruṣah paśuh, 388, 700
- gaurī (gaur in, gaurī) mimāya salilāni
takṣati, 206
- grāmāh ('mān) sajanāyo ('jātayo)
gachanti (yanti), 698
- grāvacyuto dhīṣanayor upasthāt, 664,
769
- grāvāvādīd (grāvā vaded) abhi soma-
syātūsum ('tūnā), 468
- grīvāyām ('vāsu) baddho apikakṣa
śani (apipakṣa śan), 275, 711
- grīṣma ṛtuh (ṛtūnām), 438
- grīṣmeṇa tvartunā ('nām) haviṣā dīkṣa-
yāmi, 84, 581
- grīṣmo dakṣiṇah ('gāh) pakṣah ('gām),
791
- gharmah śocantah ('ta, 'tāh) prava-
ṇesu (prāṇaveṣu) bibhratah, 402
- gharmah śrīgantu ('ti) prathamāya
(māya) dhāyave ('seh), 623
- gharmam apātam āvinā ..., 327
- ghṛtam vasānah pari yāsi nirṇijam,
694
- ghṛtam vasāno ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne, 329
- ghṛtam duhānādītīr ('hānām aditīm)
janāya, 387
- ghṛtapratīkā ('ke) bhuvanaśya mad-
hye, 765
- ghṛtapratīko ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne ('nib),
329
- ghṛtapṛṣṭā manasā (madhunā) havyam
undan (manasā modamānāh), 739
- ghṛtavatīm adhvaryo ('yoh) srucam
āsyasva, 363
- ghṛtavatī savitar ('tur) ādhipatye
(yāih), 31, 363, 602, 705
- ghṛtasya kulyā upa, 698
- ghṛtasya kulyām anu ..., 698
- ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim, 497
- ghṛtasya vibhrāṣṭīm anu vaṣṭi śociṣā
(anu śukraśociṣāh), 591
- ghṛtasyāgne tanvā saṁ bhava, 474, 588
- ghṛtācī stho dhuryau pātām, 212
- ghṛtācy aśi juhūr (dhruvā) nāmā
(ma), 471
- ghṛtācy aśy upabhṛn nāmā ('ma), 44,
471
- ghṛtācyau stho yajamānasya dhuryau
pātām, 212
- ghṛtād ulluptam ('to) madhumat su-
arṇam ('mān payasvān, madhunā
samaktam), 850
- ghṛtā vasānah pari yāsi nirṇijam, 694
- ghṛtāhavana ('nam) īdyah ('yam), 387
- ghṛtāhavano ghṛtapṛṣṭho agnīh, 329

ghṛtena tvath tanvaṁ ("nuvo) vard-
hayaṣva, 474, 588, 708
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorguvāthām
("gvāthām, "guvāthām), 327
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī vy undhī (un-
dan), 694
ghṛtena no (mā) ghṛtapraḥ ("puvaḥ)
punantu, 724
ghṛtenāktau paśūna ("śuṁ) trāyethām,
700
ghṛtenārkam abhy arcanti vatsam, 47,
465, 690
ghnatā (ghnanto) vṛtrāy aprati, 416
cakṛma yac ca duṣkṛtam ("ma yāni
duṣkṛtā), 703
cakṣur akṣuḥ, 281
cakṣur ā dhattam akṣuḥ (akṣuḥ), 281
cakṣur no (me) dhehi cakṣuḥ, 724
cakṣur mayi dhehi (me dāḥ, me dehi,
me dhehi), 640
cakṣur yad eṣāṁ manasaś ca satyam,
444
cakṣuś cit sūrye sacā, 474, 550
cakṣuḥ eṣāṁ manasaś ca satidhau, 444
cakṣuḥ ("śā) pitā manasaś hi dhīraḥ,
585
cakṣuḥ sūryaṁ dṛṣe, 474, 550
cakṣuḥ tvā (vām), 705
catuṛakṣau pathirakṣi (pathiradī)
nṛakṣau ("śā), 131
catuḥśikhaṇḍā ("de) yuvatīḥ ("ti)
supṛṣṭāḥ ("patni, kanīne), 765
catuḥśomo ("mam) abhivad (adadhād)
yā turiyā, 378
catuṣpadām ("pāda) uta yo (ca, ye)
dvīpadām ("pādāḥ), 445
catuṣtrīṇḍat tantavo ye vi tatnīre, 380
catvāri śṛṅgā ("gā) trayo aśya pādāḥ,
793
candravapayor medasām anu brūhi
("śāṁ preṣya), 694
candrena jyotiḥ amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ
("nā), 114, 735
candrair ("dro) yāti sabhām upa, 417
cāmī mā ..., eṣe jāminī mā ...
caraty ananuvratā, 404, 817
caritāś te śundhāmi, 389
cāṣṇa kīkidīvinā ("vyā), 218

cittaye ("tīyai) svāhā, 182
cittasya mātā suhavā no astu, 18, 399,
723
citrabhānuḥ ("nū) rodasi antar urvi,
397
citrā citram ("rām) asūti, citrā citrā
("rām) asuvan, 849
codad rādha upastutaś ("tam) cid
arvāk, 402, 842
chandasaś haṁsaḥ śuciṣat, 690
chandasaṁvati (chandapṛakṣe) uṣaś
("sau) pepiśāne, 133
chandāśi ("do) gacha svāhā, 690
chandobbhir yajñāḥ sakṛtām kṛtena,
580, 704
chandobbhir haṁsaḥ śuciṣat, 690
jagatīḥ ("tas) pataye namaḥ, 700
jagatī ("tīm) chanda indriyam
(ihendṛ), 399
jagatī tvā chandasām avatu (chanda-
sāvatu), 583
jagatyainam ("ty enam) vikṣv ā vefā-
yamaḥ ("yāmi, "yāni), 29, 354
jaghāna vṛtraḥ yatir na, 742
jajñānāḥ ("nāḥ) sapta mātaraḥ
("tṛbhīḥ), 390, 419
janam ca mitro yatati bruvāṇaḥ, 698
janāya juṣṭo adruḥ ("hāḥ), 616
janāya ("nāso) vṛktabarhiṣe ("śāḥ), 427,
698
jambhābhyaṁ (jambhyais, "bhyebhis)
tsakrāṁ ("rām) uta, 171, 764
jayanta upaspṛatu, 326
jayantaḥ tvānu devā madantu (tvām
anu madantu devāḥ), 306
jayantīnāḥ maruto yantv agram ("re,
yantu madhye), 530
jayantopa spṛā, 326
jaradaṣṭhīḥ kṛṇomi tvā ("tīr bhavi-
gyasi), 378
jarāmṛtyuḥ kṛtām satividānu
("ne), 847
javam jāghābhyaṁ ("bhīḥ), 754
jāgataṁ asi (jāgatāsi, jāgato 'si), 848
jāgataṁ chandaso 'gneḥ ("tena chan-
dasā chandasagneḥ) ..., 585
jāgataṁ chandasā divam anu vi krame,
527

- jāgatena chandasā savitrā ..., 585
 jāgrvā ca mārundhatti cuttarāś ("rato")
 gopāyatām, 173
 jātavedaḥ prati havyā grbhāya, 689
 jātavedo nayā hy (nayāy) enam ("do
 vahemam, "do vahasvainam) sukṛ-
 tāḥ yatra lokāḥ ("kāḥ), 698
 jātavedo havir idam juṣasva, 689
 jāmi bruvata āyudham ("dhā), 710
 jānim itvā mā vivitai lokān, 496
 jānim itvā māva patai lokāt, 496
 jāmirā (cami) mā hiṣair amuyā (anu
 yā) āyānā ("nām), 401
 jīmūtān hrdayaupasaḥhyām ("śena,
 "sena), 751
 jivam rudanti vi mayante (nayanty)
 adhivare ("ram), 528, 835
 jivam devehhyā uttarām strṇāmi, 402
 jivam rudanti vi mayante adhivare,
 528, 835
 jivā jivantir upa vaḥ sadema, 725
 jivātave pratarāḥ ("rah) sādhyā
 dhiyaḥ, 823
 jivām r̥tebhyaḥ (mṛt") pariṇiyamānām,
 701
 jivo jivantir upa vaḥ sadeyam, 725
 juṣtam devānām ("vebhya) idam astu
 havyam, 616
 juṣtam devānām ("vebhīr) uta mānu-
 sānām ("vebhīḥ), 65, 88, 379
 juṣto vācaspataye ("tīḥ, "teḥ, "tyuḥ),
 219, 428, 448, 616
 juṣto vāco ("ce) bhūyāsam, 77, 616
 juhūr aśi gṛtācī ("oi nāmā), 471
 juhūr, upabṛḥd, dhruvāśi gṛtācī
 nāmā, 471
 juhomi te dharuṇam madhvo agram,
 402
 jaitram indra (jaitrāyaṇo) ratham ā
 tiṣṭha govit ("vidam), 401
 jyēsthah yo vṛtrahā gr̥ce, 397
 jyēsthasya dharmam dyukṣor ("sya vā
 dharmatī kṣor) anke, 277
 jyēsthāya ("iḥo) yad apracetāḥ, 431
 jyēstho yo vṛtrahā gr̥ce, 397
 jyaiṣṭhye śraieṣṭhye va gāthinaḥ, 648
 jyok ca paśyāti ("āśi, "ati) sūryam
 ("ab), 389
 jyotirjāyū rajaso vimāne ("naḥ), 455
 jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛtvati
 ("van), 849
 jyotiṣam na prakṣiate, 709
 jyotiṣā tvā (vo) vaiśvānareṇopatiṣṭhe,
 714
 jyotiṣe tvā (vām), 765
 jyotiṣmatī ("tīḥ) prati muscate
 nabhaḥ, 402
 ta āyajanta draviṣam ("pā) sam asmai
 ("min), 644, 704
 ta āvavṛtran sadanāś r̥tasya ("nāni
 kṛtvā, "nāni rātvi), 495, 698
 ta ā vahanti kavayaḥ purastāt, 416
 ta (ta u) evādhipataya āsan, 441
 tarā rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhat, 739
 tam vartanir ("oir) anu vāvṛta ekam
 it puru (eka it), 389
 tam vo gr̥hṇāmy uttamam, 714
 tam svadhām akṣitam taiḥ sabopa-
 jivāsu, 849
 tam hi svarājām vṛṣabham tam ojaś
 ("ā), 558
 tam kravyādām aśīsamam, 20, 396
 taj jānatir abhy anūṣata vrāḥ, 403
 taj (tam) juṣasva yaviṣṭhya, 727, 737,
 850
 tato no dehi jivam, 656
 tato no mitrāvaruṇāv avīṣtam, 671
 tato no (mā) vṛṣṭyāya ("vata), 724
 tato mā yajñasyāśir āgachatu, 78, 90,
 656
 tato rātry ("rir) ajāyata, 195
 tato vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu ("ni) viśvā,
 164
 tato virāj ajāyata, 173
 tat te badhnāmy (vi syāmy) āyuṣe
 varcase bulāya, 832, 850
 tat tvam bibhṛhi punar ā mad aitoh
 (ā mamaitoh), 86, 859
 tat tvendragraha ..., see tam tvendra-
 graha ...
 tat punidhvam yavā mama, 311
 tat puruṣāya ("śasya) vidmahe, 614, 634
 tatra nau saṁskṛtam, 771
 tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (pita-
 ram ca putram), 702, 745
 tatra yamaḥ sadanā te kṛṇotu, 496, 698

- tatrāpi dahre ('ram) gaganam viśokaḥ ('kam), 454, 829
 tatratātā triṇi śatāni śaṅkavaḥ, 164
 tatratatā ('tān) prastutyevopastu-
 tyevopāvaarakṣat, 700
 tatvāya savitā dhiyaḥ ('yam), 690
 tad aguir anumanyatām ayam (iyam
 svāhā), 840
 tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam, 704,
 809
 tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi, 495, 698
 tad ayanā rājā varuṇo 'numanyatām,
 402, 842
 tad aśyāma iava rudra prapitau
 ('tiṣu), 705
 tad aśvinā pari dhattam svasti, 480, 809
 tad astahnaḥ uto divam (uta dyām),
 292
 tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam, 309
 tad aamān pātu viśvataḥ, 850
 tad aame śam yor arpo dadhātana,
 313, 318a, 639
 tad aham manase prabrahmi, 809
 tad āpaḥ sa (āpas tat) prajāpatih, 113,
 730
 tad ānta ṛṣayaḥ sapta sākam, 519, 815
 tad āharanti kavayaḥ purastāt, 416
 tad idanā rājā varuṇo 'numanyatām,
 402, 842
 tad viprāo vipanyavaḥ ('yuvāḥ), 229
 tanā kṛvanto arvata, 488
 tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śak-
 manā oṣiṭhāya, 655
 tanūnaptre śakvarāya śakmann (śak-
 vana) oṣiṭhāya, 655
 tanūr me tanvā saha, 611
 tanūs tanvā ('nurvā) me saha, 611
 tanūs tanvāḥ me bhaved antaḥ, 611
 tantuḥ tatāt peśasā saivayanti, 465
 taṁ te gr̥bhāmy uttamam, 714
 taṁ te gr̥bhāmi yajñiyāḥ ketubhiḥ
 saha, 486
 taṁ te badhnāmi jarase svastaye, 850
 taṁ te badhnāmy āyuse ..., 850
 taṁ te vi śāmy āyuse na madhyāt (na
 madhye), 664, 832
 taṁ te harāmi brahmapā, 486
 taṁ tvā girāḥ suṣṭutaye vājayanti, 411
 taṁ tvā pra viśāmi ..., 815
 taṁ tvābhiḥ suṣṭutibhir vājayantaḥ,
 411
 taṁ tvā bhrīṣṭarāḥ suvṛdhā ('dho,
 suhṛdo) vardhamānam, 413
 taṁ tvā harāmi brahmanā, 486
 taṁ (tat) tveन्द्रagraha prapadye (pra-
 viśāni) ..., 815
 taṁ devās sam anikṣpan, 419, 840
 taṁ devebhyāḥ ('veṣu) paridādāmi
 ('mi vidvān), 72, 644
 tan na indro varuṇo bṛhaspatih, 724
 tan naḥ prabrūhi nārada, 724
 tan naḥ trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato (tan
 no viśvato) mahat, 708, 724
 tan naḥ saduskṛtam, 771
 tan no astu try*, see tan me astu try*,
 tan no gopāya, 724
 tan no danti ('tiḥ) pracodayāt, 214
 tan no brahmā ('ma) pracodayāt, 796
 tan no varuṇo rājā, 724
 tan nau samvananāni kṛtam, 419
 tan nau saduskṛtam, 771
 tan ma śakayya nārada, 724
 tan ma (mā) āpyāyatām punaḥ, 488
 tan ma indro varuṇo bṛhaspatih, 724
 tan mā devā avantu śobhāyi, 45, 487,
 815, 818
 tan mā punai kartary erayadhvam, 815
 tan mā mā hīṣat parame vyoman, 850
 tan māvatū (mām avatu), 304
 tan māvit (mām āvit), 304
 tan mṛtyunā ('yur) nirṛtiḥ ('tyā) sadu-
 vidvān ('naḥ), 412
 tan me (no) astu tryāyusaḥ, 724
 tan me gopāya ('yaava), 724
 tan me tanvaḥ trāyatām sarvato
 bṛhat, 708, 724
 tan me varuṇo rājā, 724
 tan me 'ālya, 501
 tanvāno ('no) yajñasā puruṣeśasāḥ
 dhiyā, 765
 tapasā devā devatām agra āyan, 46, 106,
 530
 tapūṣy ('pobhir) agne juhvā patam-
 gān, 459
 taṁ akraturh ('tuh) paśyati vittaśokaḥ,
 401

- tam agne menyāmenim krou, 703
 tam agne heḍaḥ pari te vṛpaktu, 849
 tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam, 704, 809
 tam arkair abhy arcanti vataam, 47, 465, 690
 tam ardhamaśaṁ (*ayan) prasutān (*tāt) pitryāvataḥ (*om. tam*), *see* ardhamaśyam ..., 496
 tam sāvinaḥ paridhattam svastaye (*sti), 480, 809
 tam aham manase prabravimi, 809
 tam ātman (*ni) pari grhṇīmahe vayam (*pīmasiḥ), 277
 tam ito nāśayāmasi, 703
 tam idaṁ vi vṛhāmi te, 815
 tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it, 675
 tam indram abhi gāyata, 484
 tam in mahe vṛate nānyam tvat, 675
 tam imam vi vṛhāmi te, 815
 tam u tvaṁ māyayāvadhīḥ, 449, 815
 tam u ṣṭhi yo antaḥ sindhau (*hy antaḥsindhum), 20, 32, 394
 tam panthānam (panthām) jayemānamitram ..., 283
 tam pratyāncam saṁdaha jātavedaḥ, 703
 tam pratyāncam arcisā vidhya marman (*maṇi), 275
 tam mātṛā sam ajḡgamam, 840
 tam mā devā avantu sobhāyai, 45, 487, 815, 818
 tam mā punai kartary erayadhvam, 815
 tam mā sadi ṛja varcaś, 303
 tayāgne tvaṁ menyāmum amenim krou, 703
 tayā devatayāḡgirasvad dhruvaḥ (*vā) sīda, 768
 tayā devatayāḡgirasvad dhruvāḥ (*ve) sīdata (*tam), 768
 tayā devā devatām agra āyan, 46, 106, 530, 780
 tayā devāḥ sutam ā babbhuvuḥ, 419, 550
 tayā mām indra sam ṛja (mā sam ṛjāmasi), 303
 tayā roham āyann upa medhyāsaḥ, 698, 780
 tayāvahante kavayaḥ purastāt, 416
 tayā sapatañān pari vṛdhī ye mama, 851
 tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamāś ca svāhā, 724
 tayāham śāntiḥ sarvaśāntiḥ mahyam dvipade catuṣpade ca śāntim karomi, 704
 tayar devā adhisahvasantaḥ, 412, 765
 tarī mandrāṣu prayakṣu, 458
 tarpayata me (naḥ) pitṛn, 724
 tava-tava rāyaḥ, 311, 671
 tava tvaṁ māyayāvadhīḥ, 449, 815
 tava praśastayo mahiḥ (*taye mahe), 421, 690
 tava rāyaḥ, 311, 671
 tava viśve sajoṣasaḥ, 680
 tava śravāṁsy upamāny ukthya (*ya), 340
 tava syām (syāma) śarman (*maśa) trivarūṭha udbhit (*bhau), 311, 454
 taved u stomam (*mai) ciketa, 474, 690
 tasmā indrāya gāyata, 484
 tasmā indrāya sutam ā (*ya haviṣā, *ya havir ā, *yāndhamo) juhota (*homi), 47, 51, 65, 126, 466, 502, 582
 tasmā u brahmaṇas patiḥ, 428
 tasmā etaḥ bhārata tadvaśāya (*vaśo dadiḥ), 34, 425
 tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kiṁ canāsa, 810
 tasmād virāḍ ajāyata, 173
 tasmān upahūtaḥ (*tā), 849
 tasmin pāśān pratimuñcāma etaṁ, 703
 tasmin ma etaḥ suhutam astu prāṇitram, 850
 tasmin ma eṣa suhuto 'stv odanaḥ, 850
 tasmin sākam triśatā na śaṅkavaḥ, 164
 tasmai gotrāyeha jāyāpati samrabhe-thām, 621
 tasmai ca devī vaśaḍ astu tubhyam, 840
 tasmai te dyāvāpṛthivī revatībhiḥ, 327
 tasmai tvaṁ stana pra pyāya, 344
 tasmai deva vaśaḍ astu tubhyam, 840
 tasmai devā amṛtāḥ (*tam) sam vya-yantām (*tu), 15, 403
 tasmai namo yatamasyām diśtāḥ, 769

- tasmai no (mā) devāḥ paridatteha
 ('dhatta, 'dhatteha) sarve (viśve),
 724
 tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś (brahmā)
 ca, 742
 tasmai rudrāya namo astu ('tv aṁnaye,
 'tv adya, 'tu devāḥ, 'stu devāya), 360
 tasmai stanam prapyaśva, 344
 tasya guptaye dāmpatī saṁ śrayethām,
 621
 tasya ta iṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇcha
 bhakṣya, 346, 382, 704
 tasya tṛṇpatam ahāhāhuhā svāhā, 94,
 579
 tasya te dattāni yaaya (yayoh, dadātu
 yeśāh, dadātu yaaya) prāpo 'ai svāhā,
 117, 768
 tasya te bhaktivāṇaś ayāma ('vāno
 bhūyāma), 849
 tasya te bhakṣya, 501
 tasya te vayan bhūyīṣṭhabhājo bhū-
 yāma, 849
 tasya te 'śya, 501
 tasya na iṣṭasya prīṭasya draviṇchā-
 gameh, 326, 346, 704, 724
 tasya no dheli jivase, 656
 tasya no rūva (...), 724
 tasya pūṣa prasave ('vaṁ) yāti vidvān
 (devaḥ), 527
 tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvaḥ ('ravo
 nāma), 229
 tasya bhājayateha naḥ, 724
 tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṭasya dra-
 viṇbhāgamyāt, 326, 704, 724
 tasya māśrī avatu vardhatām, 78, 90,
 656
 tasya mṛtyuś ('yoś, 'yau) carati rāja-
 śūyam, 449, 457
 tasya me rūva, 724
 tasya meṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇam ā
 gamyāt ('nehāgamyāḥ, 'nehāgameh),
 326, 382, 704, 724
 tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya dravi-
 ṇaḥ māgaebatu, 326, 382, 704, 724
 tasya vayan samatau yajñiyasya, 739
 tasya vayan heḍasi māpi bhūma, 835
 tasyāḥ samudrā adhivikaranti, 665
 tasyāḥ suparṇāḥ adhi yau nivīṣtau, 129
 tasyāḥ suparṇā vṛṣaṇā ni śedatuh, 129
 tasyāgne bhājayeha mā, 724
 tasyāḥ devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ, 412, 765
 tasyāḥ devaḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā,
 412, 765
 tasyā vāḥ mātyā, 145
 tasyāsta ṛṇayaḥ ('te harayaḥ) sapta
 śre, 519, 815
 tasyā te devī haviṣā ..., see tasyai ...
 tasyā te devīṣṭake, ..., 152
 tasyā te devy adita ('tir) upasthe,
 331
 tasyā te bhakṣivāṇaś ayāma (bhakti-
 vāno bhūyāma, bhāgam aśmahi),
 849
 tasyāś tvan harasā tapan, 616
 tasyāḥ samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti, 665
 tasyai ('yā) te devī haviṣā vidhema,
 152
 tasyai te devīṣṭake ..., 152
 tasyai tvan harasā tapan, 616
 tasyai namo yatamasyāḥ diṣṭaḥ, 769
 tasyai vayan heḍasi māpi bhūma, 835
 tasyai vāḥ mātyā ('ti), 145
 tā āpaḥ sa prajāpatib, 113, 730
 tāḥ parvatasya vṛṣahhasya pṛṣṭhe
 ('hāt), 79, 661
 tāḥ pṛcya ('yaḥ, 'etre) ujigāhire
 ('hīre, saṁjigātre), 213
 tāḥ viśvair devair ('śve devā) rtubhiḥ
 saṁvidānaḥ ('nāḥ), 412
 tāḥ savitāḥ satyasavāḥ sucitrām, 363
 tāḥ savitur vareṇyasya citrām, 363
 tāś te paridādāmy aham, 739, 849
 tā jānatī abhy anūgata kṣāḥ, 402
 tā juṣasva yaviṣṭhya, 727, 737, 859
 tā te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhyni, 183,
 402, 769
 tāditnā ('knā) śatrūḥ ('rūn) na kilā
 vivitae ('vatse), 703
 tān ito nāśayāmasi, 703
 tāni mām svantu, 304
 tā no amivām ('vā) apabādhamānu,
 703
 tā no muficatam āgasah, 132
 tā no mṛjāta idṛśe, 764
 tāḥ te paridādāmy aham ('dāmi), 739,
 849

tām te vācam āya ādattē (ādade)
hṛdaya ādadhe, 553, 665
tām tvam svadhām taīs sahopa jīva,
840
tām devaīh sam aṅgamam, 419, 840
tām (tām) naḥ punar dehi, 724
tām naḥ pūṣaḥ chivatamām erayasa,
342, 393
tām (tām) nu (me) gopāyāmākam
punar āgamāt, 724
tām pratīco nirdaha jātavedaḥ, 703
tām me punar dehi, 724
tām rakṣadhvaḥ mā vo dabhaḥ, 739
tām sma mānuvṣaṭkṛtāḥ, 407
tābhīr ā vartaya punaḥ, 569
tābhīr na devaḥ savitā punātu, 724, 844
tābhīr yāsi dūtyāsi ('yam) sūryasa,
799
tābhīr vahanaḥ sukr̥tām u lokam
(vabemaḥ sukr̥tāḥ yatra lokāḥ), 396,
698
tābhīh śāntihīh sarvaśāntihīh śama-
yāmy aham, 704
tābhīh tvā devaḥ savitā punātu, 724,
844
tābhīh tvābhīhīcāmi, 306, 737
tābhīh samrabdham anv avindan ('dho
avidat) gad urvīh, 389
tābhya enā ni vartaya, 569
tābhya tvā vartayāmasi, 569
tābhyaḥ namo yatamaśyām dīśtāḥ,
769
tābhyaḥ (t' vayah) pateṣa sukr̥tām u
lokam (pathyāma sukr̥tasya lokam),
704
tām agne heḍaḥ pari te vṛṇaktu, 849
tā mandasānā manuṣo dūroṇa ā, 778
tām pūṣaḥ ('ṣaḥ) chivatamām era-
yasa, 342, 393
tām me gopāyāmākam punar āgamāt,
724
tām me punar dehi, 724
tāvanto aya mahimānaḥ, 705
tā vām vāstīṇy uśmaśi gamadhyai,
183, 402, 769
tā vām gīrbhīr vipanyavaḥ ('yuvah),
229
tāvān aya mahimā, 705

tāv imā upa sarpatāḥ, 765
tāsāḥ viśvānām ('ānyānām), 835
tāsām te sarvāśāḥ vayah ('ām aham),
724
tāsām tvā jama ādadhāmi, 642, 671
tāsu tvāntar jaraśy ā dadhāmi, 642, 671
tā te kṛyantu bheṣajam, 849
tā te gachanivāhutiḥ ('tīr) ghṛtasya,
689
tā tvā jaraśy saḥ vyayantu, 558
tā tvā devīr ('vyo) jaraśy ('sā) saḥ
vyayantu ('yasa), 213, 558
tā tvā vadhu prajāvatīm, 825
tigmena naś tejaś (no brahmaṇā, na
brahmaṇā) saḥ śiśādhi, 771
tirāḥ purū cid arjavāḥ ('vān) jagan-
vān (jagamyāḥ), 698
tirāś cittaṇi ('tā) vaśavo jighāṇati,
167
tirāś tamāṇsi darśataḥ ('tam), 387
tirāś satyāni maruto jighāṇāt, 167
tiro mā śantam āyur mā pra hāst
(tām mā pra hāst), 512
tiro me yajña āyur mā prahāst, 512
tiro rajāśay asṛtāḥ ('tam, asṛtāḥ),
387
tilvilāstām irāvattīm, tilvilā sthājirā-
vatī, tilvilā sthīrāvatī, tilvilā syād
irāvati, 406
tiṣṭhantam ava gūhati (tiṣṭhann evāva
gūhaḥ), 390
tiṣṭhā ratham ('the) adhi tam (yam,
yad) vajraśata ('taḥ), 38, 338, 526,
816
tisraś ca rājabandhavīḥ ('vaiḥ), 459
tisraḥ śilpā vaśā vaiśvadevyāḥ, 213
tisro rohiṇīr (rauhinyo) vaśā maitri-
yāḥ ('tryāḥ), 213
tisro rohiṇī ('nyas) tryavyas tā vaśā-
nām, 213
tīreṇāsu (tīreṇa yamune) tava, 598,
624
tīre tubhyam asau ('bhyam gaṅge),
598, 624
tuje janā ('ne) vanam svaḥ, 637
tujo yujo vanam (balaḥ) sahaḥ, 637
tubhyam sūtāsah somāḥ ('bhyam so-
māḥ sūtā ime), 155

- tubhyadī ca saṁvānanam, 315
 tubhyam āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛgā vane
 hitāḥ, 309
 turaś cid viśvam arjavat tapasvān, 403,
 727
 turyavād gaur ('vāham gāh) vayo
 dadhuḥ ('dhat), 399
 turyāma dasyūn tanūbbhiḥ, 703
 tuvidyumna yaśasvataḥ ('tā), 475
 tṛtiyaśā ('yām) ito divaḥ ('vi), 669
 tṛtiye dhāmāny abhy ('mann adhy)
 airayanta, 278
 tṛptā ('tāh) jubur mātulaśyeva yośā,
 407
 tṛptā mā (mām) tarpsyata ('yantu),
 305
 tṛptāham (tṛpto 'ham), 849
 tṛmpantu botrā madhvo yāḥ (yat)
 eviṣṭāḥ ('tam), 727
 te asmā agnaye ('yo) draviṇam dattvā,
 429, 691, 704
 te aśya yośape divye ('yah), 762
 tejase tvā (vām), 765
 tejo mayi dbehi, 640
 tejo me dāḥ svāhā (dehi, dhāḥ), 640
 tejo me yacha, 640
 te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye, 183,
 402, 769
 te tvā vadhu prajāvatīm, 825
 te devāso (devā) yajñam (havir) imāḥ
 (idāḥ) juṣadhvam ('santām), 157
 te naḥ kṛtvantu bheṣajam, 849
 te naḥ pāntv asmin brahmaṇy ... a-
 min karmaṇy aśyām ..., 275
 tena grhāmi tvām aham ('mi te ha-
 tam), 306
 tena cinvānas tanvo ('nuvo, 'vati) ni
 śda, 708
 tena ta śyuse vapāmi, 558
 tena tṛpyatam aṇḥahau, 94, 579
 tena te vapāmi brahmaṇā ('my śyuse,
 'my aśv śyusā varcasā), 558
 tena tvam garbhini bhava, 850
 tena tvām abhiśiñcāmi, 306, 737
 tena tvāham pratigrhāmi tvām aham,
 306
 tena devā devatām agra ('ram) śyan,
 46, 106, 530, 780
 tena no mitrāvaruṇāv ('pā) aviṣṭam,
 571
 tena no rājā varuṇo bṛhaspatih, 312,
 724
 tena brahmaṇā tena chandasā ...
 dhruvāḥ ('vā) sīdata (sīda), 768
 tena brahmāṇo vapatedam aśya
 (adya), 327
 tena brāhmaṇo vapatu, 327
 tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti, 217, 695
 tena roham śyann upa (rohān ruruhur)
 medhyāśah, 698, 780
 tena saṁvānināu svake, 419
 tena sapatnān pari vṛśdhi ye mama, 851
 tenā no yajñāḥ pipṛhū viśvavāre, 417
 tenāmān indro varuṇo bṛhaspatih, 312,
 724
 tenāmāi yajamānāyuru (yajñapataya
 uru) rāye ('yā) kṛdhi, 558
 tenāyāyuse vapa, 558
 tenāham adya manasā autasya, 409
 tenaitu yajamānāḥ svasti ('tyā), 217,
 695
 te no mṛdantv idrē, 764
 te pūtāso vipaścitah, 155
 te brahmalokeṣu ('ke tu) parāntakāle,
 698
 tebhīr no adya savitota viṣṇuḥ, 60, 80,
 312, 573
 tebhīr mā devaḥ savitā punātu, 724, 844
 tebhīā chidram apidadhmo yad atra,
 583
 tebhīḥ tvam putrāḥ janaya, 171
 tebhīḥ svarād asuntīm etām, 399, 563
 tebhyaḥ svarād asuntir no adya ('tim
 etām), 399, 563
 tebhyo aśmān varuṇāḥ soma indrah,
 60, 80, 312, 573
 tebhyo na indrah savitota viṣṇuḥ, 60,
 80, 312, 573
 te mām avantu, 304
 te māvata te mā jinvata, 304
 te māvatām (māvantu), 304
 te me mā vitṛṣan, 380
 te virājam abhisamhyantu sarve, 299
 te viśvā dīśyuse vasu, 693, 712
 teṣām vayan samatau yajñiyanām,
 739

- teṣām viśipriyāpām ('pām vo 'ham), 835
- teṣāṁ saṁ haṁso akṣāṇi (saṁ dadhmo akṣṇi), 281
- teṣām ehidraṁ prati dadhmo yad atra, 583
- teṣāṁ chinnaṁ saṁ etad (saṁ imaṁ, praty etad) dadhāmi, 583
- teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam, 698
- teṣām ādhipatyam āst, 441
- teṣām iṣṭāni saṁ iṣṭa madanti, 412, 704
- te samrājā abhisaṁyantu sarve, 299
- te 'smā agnaye draviṇāni dattvā, 429, 691, 704
- tais tvaṁ garbbhiṁ bhava, 171, 850
- tais tvaṁ putraṁ ('rān) vindaṣva, 171
- toke vā goṣu tanayo yad (yam) apsu, 816
- to-to (to te) rāyah, 311, 671
- tau no muñcatam anhasaḥ (āgasaḥ), 132
- tau māvatām, 304
- tmanā kṛvanto arvataḥ, 488
- trayastrīṇāṁ tantavo ye (yaṁ, yān) vitatnre (vitanvate), 380, 743
- trayastrīṇṣe 'mṛtaṁ stutam ('mṛtā stutāḥ), 402
- trayo gharṇā ('māso) anu reta āguḥ (retasāguḥ, jyotiṣāguḥ), 157, 467
- trāyatām ('ntām) marutām gaṇaḥ ('nāḥ), 698
- triśad dhāma ('mā, triśaddhāmā) vi rājati, 270
- trigave marutaḥ ('ta) stutāḥ ('tam), 402
- tripadā yā ca catpadā (yāś ca catpadāḥ), 690
- tripād firdhva ud ait puruṣaḥ, 58, 413
- tribhiḥ padbhīr dyām arohat, 58, 413
- triyavir gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 399
- trir ā divo vidatthe patyamānaḥ ('nāḥ), 739, 849
- trivatsaṁ gām ('so gaur) vayo dadhat ('dhuḥ), 399
- trivṛd bhuvanaṁ yad rathavṛt, 438
- trivṛd yad bhuvanaṁ yad rathavṛt, 438
- trivṛn no viṣṭhaya ('vṛd viṣṭhaya) stoma ahnām ('nā), 585, 709
- triṣṭup chanda indriyam (ihendriyam), 399
- triṣṭup tvā chandasām avatu ('āvatu), 583
- triṣṭubhaṁ chanda ihendriyam (indriyam), 399
- triḥ sapta paramaḥ nāma jānan, 741
- triḥ sapta mātub paramāṇi vindaṁ, 741
- trīṇi padāni ('dā) nihitā guhāṣya ('dau), 167, 599, 734
- trīn gharṇān abhi vāvaśānā, 692
- trīn varān vṛṇṣva, 739
- trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān ('gaḥ), 402
- tredhā ni dadhe padam ('dā), 698
- traiṣṭubham sei, 848
- traiṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gach ('bhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ) ..., 585
- traiṣṭubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu vi krame, 627
- traiṣṭubhena chandasendrena ..., 585
- traiṣṭubho 'si, 848
- tryavir gaur vayo dadhuḥ (tryavīm gām vayo dadhat), 399
- tvam yajñeṣv idyah, 380
- tvam rāya ubhayāso janānām, 393
- tvam samudraṁ ('raḥ) prathamam ('me) vi dhārayaḥ (vidharman), 402, 454
- tvam tām agne menyāmenin kṛpu svāhā, 703
- tvam nṛṇāṁ nṛpate (nṛbhyo nṛmanō) jāyase śuciḥ, 699
- tvam no nabhasas pate, 329
- tvam uttamāy ośadhe, 84, 367, 835
- tvayā gām (gā) nāvam ('vān) puruṣam ('śān) sanema, 700
- tvayā bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ, 603
- tvayā vayan saṁghātām-saṁghātām jama, 105, 546
- tvayāhaṁ śāntiā sarvaśāntiā mahyam dvipade ca catuṣpade ca śāntim karomi, 704
- tvastā poṣṭya viṣya nābhīm aame, 326, 486, 623
- tvastar devebbhiḥ sahasāma indra, 109, 336
- tvastā tvā rūpair upariṣṭāt pātu, 739

- tvaṣṭā devaīḥ sahaṁāna indraḥ, 169, 336
 tvaṣṭā no daivyaḥ varah, 723
 tvaṣṭā paśūnām mithunānām rūpakṛd rūpapatih, rūpeṇāmin yajñe yajamānāya paśūn dadātu svāhā, 641
 tvaṣṭā me daivyaḥ vacah, 723
 tvaṣṭā rūpānām rūpakṛd rūpapatī rūpeṇa paśūn aamin yajñe mayi dadātu svāhā, 641
 tvaṣṭā rūpānām vikarī tasyāham devayajayā viśvarūpaḥ priyaḥ puṣyam, 641
 tvaṣṭā rūpāni ("peṇa) samanaktu yajñāḥ ("ām), 59, 461, 689, 707
 tvaṣṭā viṣṇuḥ prajāyā samhratāḥ ("nāḥ), 735
 tvaṣṭā vo rūpāni uparietād upadadhatām, 739
 tvaṣṭāmatī ..., see tvaṣṭrī
 tvaṣṭur aham devayajayā paśūnām rūpaḥ ("yā sarvāni rūpāni paśūnām) puṣyam, 707
 tvaṣṭur varutrībḥ varuṇasya nābhīm, 198
 tvaṣṭrīmantas (tvaṣṭrī, tvaṣṭu) tvā sapema, 483, 725, 849
 tvaṣṭedaḥ viśvāḥ bhuvanāḥ jajāna, 698
 tvaṣṭemā viśvā bhuvanā jajāna, 698
 tvaṣṭrīmatī (tvaṣṭrī) te aspeya, 483, 725, 849
 tvāḥ yajñeṣv Idāte, 380
 tvām rāya ubhayāso janānām, 393
 tvā bhūtāny upaparyāvantante, 308
 tvām agne pradiva āhutaḥ ghṛtēna ("tāḥ), 694
 tvā manasānūrtena ..., 308
 tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it, 675
 tvām bhūtāny upaparyāvantante, 308
 tvām maho vṛgate (vṛgate nara) nānyas tvat, 675
 tviṣṇim indre na ("reṇa) bheṣajam, 611
 tve ā bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ, 603
 tve rāyaḥ, 671
 tve viśve sajoṣasaḥ, 690
 dakṣakratu ("tu) te maitrāvārunaḥ pātu, 751
 dakṣāya dakṣavydhe ("dham), 489
 dakṣiṇyā diśā ("sā saha, "pasyāḥ diśi, "pāyāḥ diśi) māsāḥ pitare mārjayan-tām, 299, 694
 dakṣiṇā dik (diśām), [...], 427, 438
 dakṣiṇābhyah ("pāyā) svāhā, 696
 dakṣiṇyāni tvā diśā indrāyādhipataye tiraściraḥ rāje rakṣitro yamāyēcumate, 427
 datto asambhyaḥ (dattvāyāma, dattvāyāma, dattāyāma) draviṇa bhadram, 313, 396, 704
 dadhatha no draviṇaḥ yac ca bhadram, 313, 396, 704
 dadhad ratnaḥ ("nā) dakṣaḥ pitṛbhya (dakṣapitṛbhya) āyuni (āyāṇi), 538, 704
 dadhad ratnā ("nāni) diśuṣe vāryāni (diśuṣe, vi diśuṣe), 163
 dadhanvāḥ ("vā, "vāu) yo naryo apavantar ā, 267
 dadhanveva tā ihi, 835
 dadhi mantham ("thām) pariśrutam ("rutam), 789
 dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhānā ("nau), 131
 dame-dame suṣṭutir ("tyā, "tir, "ti) vām iyānā (vāyādhānā, "nau), 132, 216, 413, 474
 daśamāṣṭāya (daśame māsi) sūtavai ("ve), 238, 655
 dā agne ("neb, dāgneḥ) prajāyā saha, 396
 dātā vaśūnām puruḥito arhan, 87, 507
 dātā vaśūni vidadhe tanūpāḥ, 87, 507
 dādhrṣṇāḥ dhṛṣṇitāḥ śavaḥ, 842
 dāma grīvāsv avicartiyam (avimokyam yat), 832
 dikṣu viṣṇu vyakraṣṭānuṣṭubhena chandasā, 527
 digbhyah śrotram, 126, 485
 dityavāj ("vāham) gaur (gām) vayo dadhuḥ ("dhat), 399
 didhi deva devayuh ("yum), 401
 divah ..., see divas ...

- divan viṣṇur vyakraṇṣṭa jāgatena
chandasā, 527
- divan samudram ād bhūmim, 293
- divan skabhāna, 294
- divan gacha, 294
- divan ca gacha pṛthivīm ca dharmā-
bhīḥ, 292, 705
- divan te dhūmo gachatu, 294
- divan drāha, 294
- divam agreṣa mā lekṣṭh (hīnāḥ), 294
- divam agreṣāpṛkṣaḥ ('pāprāt, 'pā-
pṛkṣat), 294
- divam agreṣottabhāna, 294
- divam antarikṣam ād bhūmim, 293
- divaś cid antāś upamāś ('tān upamāś)
udānaḥ, 495, 814
- divaś ālpaṃ avatataḥ, 664
- diva ('vas, 'vaḥ) skambhanir ('nir,
'ny) asi, 201
- divas tvā jyotiṣe, 629
- divas tvā paraspāyāḥ ('ya), antarik-
ṣasya tanvas ('uvas) pāhi, 152, 801
- divas ('vaḥ) pṛṇhaḥ ('ṇe) bhanda-
mānaḥ (mand') ..., 527
- divaḥ māṇṣeṣa, 528
- divi jyotiḥ ajaram (uttamam) ārabhe-
tām ('tām), 295
- divi viṣṇur vyakraṇṣṭa jāgatena chan-
dasā, 527
- divi ālpaṃ avatataḥ, 664
- dive jyotiḥ uttamam ārabhetām, 295
- dive tvā jyotiṣe, 629
- diva-diva ā suvā bhūri pāvāḥ, 678
- divo pṛthivyai śaś ca prajāyai ('jāb-
hyai), 702
- divo jyote ('tir) vivasva āditya ...,
265, 326
- divo-diva ā suvā bhūri pāvāḥ, 678
- divo dhūrā ('rām) asācāta, 704
- divo nu mān (mā) bhato antarikṣāt,
305
- divo mātrayā varipā ('mā) prathava,
273
- divyan suparṇaḥ vāyasaḥ (payasaḥ,
vayasaḥ, vayasah) bhāntam, 474
- divye dhūmann ('many) upahūtaḥ
(tā), 278, 849
- diśaś ārotram, 126, 455
- diśāḥ devy (tevy) avatu no gṛhṭāi, 600
- diśo viśvā anu prabhuh, 837
- diśo viṣṇur vyakraṇṣṭānuṣṭubhena
chandasā, 527
- dikṣayedam (dikṣāyedaḥ) havir āga-
chataḥ naḥ, 565
- dikṣāpālāya vanataḥ ('lebhyo 'vann-
taḥ) hī śakrā, 697
- dikṣe ('ṣen) mā mā hāst ('st antapā,
hāst), 327
- dulāyānidhmo ('mān) ghṛtanirguḥ
apsu, 405
- dirgham yae cakṣur aditer anantam,
392, 671
- dirgham vām (ta) āyuh savitā kṛnotu,
765
- dirghaprayajyam ati yo vanuṣyati, 762
- dirghaprayajyā haviṣā vṛdhānā, 762
- dirgham āyuh kṛnotu me (vām), 765
- duraś ca viśvā avṛpād apa svāḥ, 403,
727
- duritāt pātṛ anhaśaḥ, 703
- duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma (duritā
yāni cakṛma), 162
- duḥśāntam ('so) martyam ('yo) ripum
(pū), 387
- duhāhām gharmadughe iva dhenū, 775
- dūrepaśyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛo ca tāni, 759
- dūrebetiḥ patatrī vājiniḥ, 214
- dūrebetir indriyāḥ ('yavān) patatrī
(rī), 214
- dūrva rohantu ('hātu) puspiniḥ ('nī),
660
- dūṣṭābhir brādunim (brad'), 709
- drāha ('hasva) pṛthivīm ('vyām), 550
- drā ca bhāśā bhataḥ suśikmanā, 416,
564
- drā ca bhāśā bhataḥ suśukvanīḥ ('va-
bhīḥ), 416, 564
- deva indro na majmanā, 402
- devam savitāram abhimātiṣāham, 399
- devajūte vivasvam āditya ..., 265,
326
- devajūte sahasvati, 329, 346
- devatābhyas tvā devavitaye gṛhāmi,
182, 714

- devatrā yantam avase sakṣīyah
(^oyam), 402
- deva devebhyo havib (^oyah sutah), 329
- devam trātūram abhimātisāham, 399
- devayuvam (^odevā) viśvavārām (^ore),
352
- deva varuṇa devayajanaṁ no (me)
dehi ..., 724
- deva viṣṇa urv adyāstmin yajñe (viṣṇav
urv adyemaṁ yajñam) yajamānā-
yūdhī (^oānu) ..., 527, 549
- devavīṭaye (^otyai) tvā (vo) grhāmi,
182, 714
- devāśrut (^orūṣ) tvam deva gharma ...,
228
- devāśrud (^orūr) imān (etāni) pravape,
228, 837
- deva savitar etam (etat) te ..., 809
- deva savitar etam tvā vṛpate ^ognim
..., 815
- deva savitar etam tvā (tvām) vṛpate
bṛhaspatim ..., 308
- deva savitar eṣa te somah, 740
- deva savitar devayajanaṁ me dehi
devayajyayai, 724
- deva savitas tvam dikṣāyā (^ośāpām)
dikṣāpatir asi, 706
- devas tvā savitā punātṛ (^ototpunātṛ)
achidreṇa ..., 739
- devas tvā savitā madhvānaktu, 705
- devasya te (tvā) savituh prasaave ...
hastam grhāmy asau, 511
- devasya tvā (vah) savituh prasaave ...
hastābhyām samavapāmi, 740
- devasya tvā savituh prasaave ... saras-
vatyā vācā yantur yantreṇa bṛhas-
patim sāmraṇyāyābhīṣiñcāmi (yan-
treṇemaṁ ... bṛhaspates sāmraṇy-
nābhīṣiñcāmi), 143, 585
- devasya tvā savituh prasaave ... sar-
asvatyai (^oyā) bhāṣajyena ..., 143
- devasya tvā savituh prasaave ... sar-
asvatyai vāco yantur yantreṇāgneḥ
(^ones tvā) sāmraṇyābhīṣiñcāmi, 143,
585
- devasya tvā savituh prasaave ^ovinor
bāhubhyām pūṣo hastābhyām ā
dade, 837
- devasya tvā savituh prasaave ... pṛthi-
vyāḥ sadhashe (^othād) ..., 664
- devasya vah ..., see prec. but five
- devasya savituh savam (^ove), 527
- devasyāham (^oaya vayah) savituh
save ..., 724
- devaḥ savitābhimātisāhaḥ, 399
- devā akrāvam uśijo anarīyave, 420,
448
- devā avo vareṇyam, 28, 343
- devā ājyapā juṣāṇā agna (indra) ājy-
asya vyantu, 340, 391
- devān aśhā na majmanā, 402
- devān avo vareṇyam, 28, 343
- devān ājyapān svābhāgnim hotrāḥ ju-
ṣāṇā agna ājyasya vyantu, 391
- devāni (^ovā) janam agam yajñah, 345
- devā devam avardhatām, 134
- devā devebhyo (^oveṣu) adhvaryanto
(^oriyanto) asthuh, 648
- devā deveṣu śrayantām (^oyadhvam),
327
- devā dhanena dhanam icchamānāḥ, 725
- devānām vakṣi priyam ā sadhasam
(^osthāt), 496
- devānām sumne bṛhate (^onino mahate)
raṇāya, 455
- devānām tvā pitṛpām (^opām) anumato
bhartum śakeyam, 252
- devānām patnīnām ahaṁ devayajyayā
..., 445
- devānām patnīr agnir grhapatir ...,
445
- devānām patnīr (^onyo, ^onayo) diśah
(viśah), 202, 213
- devānām bhāgadā asat, 72, 89, 619
- devān janam agam yajñah, 345
- devān puṣyajanaṁ pitṛn, 488
- devā barhīr āsata, 157
- devāyuvam ..., see deva^o
- devāv sāvinau madhukaśayādyemaṁ
yajñam (^odyāmin yajñe) ..., 549
- devāso dadhire purah, 154
- devāso barhīr āsadan, 157
- devās tvā dadhire purah, 154
- devī vāg yat ... tamin mā (no adya)
dhāḥ (dhāt), 723
- devī devebhir nimitāy agre, 835

- devi devebbhir yajate ('tā) yajatraih
(deveṣu yajatā yajatra), 355, 609, 765
- devi dvārau mā mā sahi tāptam, 778
- deviḥ nāvān svaritrām anāgasam,
402
- devir devir ('vair) abhi mā nivartadh-
vam, 353
- devir dvāro mā mā sahi tāptam, 778
- devir vaurir asya bhuvanasya (bhū-
tasya) prathamajā pīvarih, 213
- devebhyaḥ tvā savituh prasave ..., 637
- devebhyo jivanta uttarān bharema,
402
- devebhyo bhāgadā ('dā) asat, 72, 89,
619
- devebhyo mā sukṛtaḥ brūtāt (voceh),
73, 105, 647, 724
- devebhyo havyaḥ vahatu prajānan,
689
- devebhyo havyavāḥ asi, 329, 339
- devebhyo havyavāhana ('nāh), 71, 329,
339, 646
- devebhyo havyā vahatu prajānan, 689
- deveṣu nāh sukṛto ('tu mā sukṛtaḥ)
brūtāt ('ta, brūyāt), 73, 105, 647, 724
- deveṣu havyavāhanāh, 71, 329, 646
- devair uktā (nyuptā, nuttā) vyasarpo
mahitvam ('tvā), 469
- devo devānān pavitram asi, 623
- devo devebbhir vimitāy agre, 835
- devo devebhyah pavaṣva, 623
- devo devebhyah sutah, 329
- devo narśaśo 'gnau ('gnā) vasuvane
..., 221
- devo vah savitā punātṛ achidreṇa pavi-
treṇa, 739
- devo vān savitā madhvānaktu, 765
- devau devam avardhatām, 134
- devy adite svādityam adyāsmān yajṣe
yajamānāyāsuvasva ('te 'nv adye-
maḥ yajṣam yajamānāyaidhi), 549
- devyo vauryo ('riyo) bhūtasya ...,
213
- daivā hotāra ūrdhvam adhvaram nāh,
770
- daivīm nāvān svaritrām anāgasam
('nāh), 402
- daive vede ca gāthinām ('nāh), 443
- daivya hotārāgnā ('gna, hotārā agna)
ājyasya vītam, 136
- daivya hotārāv ('rā) ūrdhvam (hotā-
rordhvam) ..., 136, 770
- dogdhri ('rīm) dhenuh ('num), 387
- dyān stabhāna, 294
- dyān gacha, 294
- dyān ca gacha pṛthivīm ca dharmajā,
292, 705
- dyān te dhūmo gachatu, 294
- dyām agreṇāpṛkṣah ('sat), 294
- dyām antarīkṣam ād bhūmin, 293
- dyām mā lekhiḥ, 294
- dyāvāpṛthivī uro (urv) antarīkṣa
('sam), 250, 333, 336
- dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī ('vīm), 115, 746
- dyutānas tvā māruto minotu mitrāva-
rupau ('mayor) ..., 443
- dyumattamā supratīkṣaya ('kṣah) sū-
noḥ (sasūnuḥ), 444
- dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śuciḥ
('ci), 404, 815
- dyumantah ('taḥ) samidhīmahi, 402
- dyumnah vṛlta puṣyase (vareta
puṣyatu), 550
- dyumnah sudatra māhaya, 704
- dyumnā sukṣatra māhaya, 704
- dyumne vareta puṣyatu, 550
- dyaus asi janmanā juhūr nāma ..., 471
- dyaus iva bhūmā pṛthivīva (tūhmīr
iva) varimpā, 273
- dyaus nāh (me) pitā janitā nābhīr atra,
724
- dyaus mahnāsi bhūmīr bhūnā ('mnā),
273
- dyaus ca nāh (tvā, ma idam) pṛthivī ca
pracetāsā ('san), 131, 488, 723
- dyaus te (tvā) dadātu pṛthivī ('vī tvā)
pratigṛhṇātu, 489
- drapsā cakanda pṛthivīm (pratha-
mān) anu dyām (dyūn), 742
- drapsas te dyām (divam) mā skan
(skān), 294
- drāghīya āyuh pratarah ('rāh, 'tirah)
..., 823
- drupā sadhastham aśnuse (āsadat), 597
- druhaḥ pāśān ('śāh) prati sa (śā) ...,
703

- droge sadhasatham sūnuṣe (śasadat), 597
dvābhyām iṣṭaye viśatya ('ti) ca, 216
dvāro devīr anv aya viśve ('vāh), 840
dvipac catuspad (dvipāc catuspād)
arjuni (asmākam), 257
dvipadam ('dā) chanda indriyam
(ihendr'), 399
dvipadā yā catuspadā (yāś catuspadāh),
690
dvipāc ..., see dvipac ...
dvipāc chanda ihendriyam, 399
dviśatā ca mahyam radhyatu, 380, 633,
703
dviśatāh pātv anhasah, 703
dviśate sah nayāmasi, 645
dviśadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāsam
(pāsam), 74, 645
dviśantam mahyam (mama) randha-
yan, 380, 633, 703
dviśantaḥ tapyantāh bahu, 703
dviśanto radhyantāh mahyam, 380,
633, 703
dviśan me bahu śocatu, 703
dvīpe rājño varupasya, 363
dhattam rayīm sahavīram (daśav')
vacasyave, 489
dhattād asabhyam dravīṇa (asmāu
dravīṇaḥ yae ca) bhadram, 396, 639,
704
dhanamjayam ('yo) tate-rate, 387
dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣu,
850
dhanur hastād ādadāno ('nā) mṛtasya,
737
dhanena devā dhanam ichamānāh, 725
dhartram ('rāś) catusṭomah, 794
dhargā ('śān) mānuṣah ('śam, 'śān), 403
dhātā dhātṛṣṭh ('trṇāh) bhuvanaśya
yae patih, 252
dhātā prajāyā ('jānām) uta rāya īśe, 702
dhānāsomān manthina indra ('rah)
śukrāt, 342
dhāmne ('myai) tvā, 279
dhiyā martah ('tasya) śaśamate (śama-
tah), 449
dhiṣṇāś ('nā) tvā devīr ('vī) viśva-
devyāvatiḥ ('vyavati) ..., 697
dhiṣṇe vīdū ('dvi, vīte) satī ..., 297
dhīmām antah sahardugbah, 402, 519
dhībhir viprah pramatim ichamānāh,
695
dhīrā indrāya (deveṣu) sumnayā ('yau,
sūmayā), 249, 654
dhūmrān ('rā) vasantāyālabhate (vas-
antāya), 376
dhūmrā bahhrunkāśāh pītṛṣṭh soma-
vatām, 618
dhūrta ('te) namas te astu ('atu), 835
dhṛtyai śraieṭhyāya gāthīnāh, 648
dhṛṣṇo ('nām) dhṛitah ('īah) śavah,
842
dhṛṣṇave dhīyate dhanā ('nam), 704
dhenām antah sabardughām, 402, 519
dhenum gām ('nur gaur) na vayo dad-
hat ('dhub), 399
dhehy asabhyam ('māsu) dravīṇam
..., 639
dhruvam yonim ā sīda sādhyā
('dhyā), 784
dhruvam aṅgah priyam yat tanūs te,
311
dhruvām yonim āsīda sādhyā, 784
dhruvā dig viṣṇu adhipatiḥ ..., 427
dhruvāyai tvā diśe viṣṇave 'dhipataye
..., 427
dhruvāśah ('vā ha) parvatā ime, 154
dhruvaidhi pogyā ('ye) mayi, 334, 454,
671
dhvāntam vātāgram anusañcarantau
(abhisam'), 402
dhvāntā vātā agnim abhi ye sam
caranti, 402
na karmaṇā ('ma) līpyate pāpakena
(nare), 409
na ki indra tvad uttaram, 810
na ki devā imāsi, 820
nakir aya pra minanti vratāni, 162
nakir ā yopayāmasi, 820
nakir indra tvad uttarah, 810
nakir evā yathā tvam, 810
nakir devā mināsi, 820
nakir ṣa etā vratā minanti, 162
nakir sa dabbhate janah, 821
na ky ā yopayāmasi, 820
na ky evam yathā tvam, 810
nakṣatrāṇām sakṣān mā yaṇam, 437

- nakṣatrāṇāṃ mā samikṣaś ca pratikā-
 śaś cāvatām, 437
 nakṣatrāṇi rūpeṇa ('paiḥ, pratirū-
 peṇa), 707
 na jyāyān ('yo) asti vṛtrahan, 810
 na jyotīṃśi cakṣāti, 709
 na taṃ vidātha ya imā (idaṃ) jāṇa,
 698
 na tat prajnoti nirṛtiḥ ('tib) parācali
 (parastāt), 389
 na te tanūm tanvā saṃ papṛcyaṃ, 236
 nadāya nāde pari pātu me (no) manāḥ,
 724
 na dhvāsmānas tanvi ('nūvi) repa ā
 dhuḥ, 245
 nanāndari samrājāi bhava, 102, 676
 nanānduḥ samrājāy edhi, 102, 676
 na parā jigye katarāś canaiṇoḥ ('na-
 yoh), 319
 nama ādityāya ('tyebhyaś ...) divi-
 kṣite ('kṣidbhyo) lokasṛte ('amṛte,
 lokakṣidbhyah), 697
 nama āvyādhinibhyo vividhyantibhyaś
 ('dhyadbhyaś) ca vo namaḥ, 836
 namaḥ kṛtenāyatayā ('tāya, kṛtsan-
 vitāya, kṛtsnavitāya) dhāvate, 563
 namaḥ śvanibhyo ('nibhyo) mṛgayub-
 hyaś ca vo namaḥ, 199
 namas ta śyudhāya, 706
 namas te astu bhagavaḥ ('van), 265
 namas te astu śikara ('ro ...), 337
 namas te bṛhate yat ta uttarato yat ta
 uttarāḥ pakṣaḥ (yas ta uttarāḥ pak-
 ṣaḥ, yas ta uttaro bāhur yas ta utta-
 raḥ pakṣaḥ), 826
 namas te bhagavann astu, 265
 namas te rathanitarāya yat te dakṣi-
 ŋato yat te dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣaḥ (yas te
 dakṣiṇo bāhur yas te dakṣiṇaḥ pak-
 ṣaḥ), 826
 namas te rājanāya yas ta ātmā, 826
 namas te rāthanitarāya yas te dakṣi-
 ṇaḥ pakṣaḥ, 826
 namas te vāmadevyāya yat ta ātmā yat
 te madhyam (yat te madhyam yas
 ta ātmā), 826
 namasyāmas tvedyaṃ ('dya) jātave-
 dah, 28, 348
 namaḥ senābhyah senānibhyaś ('nib-
 hyaś) ca vo namaḥ, 199
 namāśaś ta śyudhāya, 706
 na māṃseṣu na snāvasu, 611, 707
 na mā (māḥ) brūyā viryavati tathā
 syām, 305
 namo dive namaḥ pṛthivyaī, 749
 namo dyāvapṛthivibhyām, 749
 namo mṛgayubhyah śvanibhyaś ca vo
 namaḥ, 199
 namo vaḥ pitaro ghorāya ('ya many-
 ave, 'ro yad ghoram tasmai), 426
 namo vaḥ pitaro jīvāya ('ro yaj jīvaṃ
 tasmai), 426
 namo viśvakarmaṇe sa u pātṛ asmān,
 358
 nayantaḥ gṛbhir vanā dhiyaḥ dhūḥ,
 399, 695
 nayanto garbhaḥ vanāḥ dhiyaḥ dhūḥ,
 399, 695
 na yonā ('nāv, 'nir) uṣāśnaktā ('tā-
 neh), 455
 naras tokasya tanayasya sātā ('tiṣu),
 705
 narāśaśena nagnahum ('huḥ), 406
 narāśaśno agniḥ ('no), 324, 333
 nava yat puro navatiḥ ca sadyah, 816
 nava yo navatiḥ puraḥ, 816
 na vā u te tanvā tanvaḥ (te tanūm
 tanvā) saṃ papṛcyaṃ, 236
 na vā oṣṭyo rudra tvad asti, 342
 na vi jānāmi ('nanti) yatarat ('rā)
 parastāt, 851
 navena pūrvaṃ dayamānāḥ syāma
 (dayamāne), 763
 na vai śvetasyādhyācāre ('śyābhyācā-
 reṇa, 'śyābhyācāre, śvetāś cābhyā-
 gāre), 446, 601
 na hi te agne tanvaḥ ('vai, 'uval), 144
 naby asyā ('yai) nāma gṛbhāmi, 145
 nāko 'si bradhnāḥ ('no 'si) pratiṣṭhā
 saṃkramaṇaḥ ('nam, 'patamam),
 794
 nābhā pṛthivyāḥ nihito davidyutat,
 672
 nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne ('nam,
 'no) agnau ('nim), 111, 393, 450, 548
 nābhā samidhāyi ('ya) navyaś ('se), 429

- nābhi prāpnoti (*nuvur) nirṛtiṁ parś-
caḥ (parastāt), 389
nāma tṛtiyam adhi rocane (*nam)
divaḥ, 539
nāma svadhāvan (*vat) guhyam (sva-
ryam) bibhṛṣi, 350
nārī (*ry) asi, 200
nārī (*ryas) te patnayo (*nyo) loma,
202, 213
nāsām āmitro vyathir ā dadharṣati, 509
nikāyaś (*yam) chandaḥ, 792
nicerur asi nicumpuṣaḥ (nicāṅkuṣa,
nieuṅkuṣaḥ), 335
ni tad dadhiṣe *varam (*re) parath
(*re) ca, 552
nitānas tvā māruto nihantu mitrāva-
rupau ..., 443
ni duryoṣa āvṛṇaṁ mṛdhravācaḥ
(*cam), 703
nidhanveva tūā imi, 835
ni mitrayur aratīn atārīt, 703
nirastā (*tau) śaṇḍāmarkau saha tena
yam dvigṣmaḥ (sahāmunaḥ), 134
nir āhāvān (*vam) kṛṇotana, 692
nirṛtiṁ (*tir iti) tvāhaṁ pari veda vi-
vataḥ (sarvataḥ), 32, 393
nirṛtyāḥ (*tyai) pañcamī, 143
nirdagdā arūṭayaḥ (*gḍhārātīḥ), 703
niveśanaḥ (*ni) saṅgamano (*ni) vasa-
nām, 849
niveśayann amṛtaṁ (*tān) martyam
(*yānā) ca, 701
nīlrya śalyānāṁ mukhā (*kham), 707
niṣaṅgiṇa (*giṇn) upa sprāta (*śa), 697
niṣaṅgiṇe (*gibhyaḥ) svāhā, 697
niṣkā ime (hy ete) yajamānasya bra-
hṇe (*nam), 550
niṣkā ete yajamānasya loke (santu),
550, 637
niṣkovalyam uktham avyathāyai (*ya,
*thayat) stabhnātu (*notu), 420, 797
niṣkṛitāḥ sa (*to 'yam, *tā te) yajū-
yam bhūgam etu (*gam yantu), 737
niṣṭyam (*tyā) nakṣatram, 798
nīcā uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthan,
113, 474, 575, 705, 734
nīcāir uccāḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthan,
113, 474, 575, 705, 734
nīlathgoḥ (*gave) kṛmīḥ (krīmīḥ), 618
nīllohitaṁ (*te) bhavati (*taḥ), 765
nudan sapatnān adharśāś ca kṛvan,
850
nu vām jīhvā ..., see anu vām jīhvā ...
nū cit sa dabhyate janah, 821
nṛbhīr yataḥ kṛṇute nirṇijam gāḥ
(gām), 700
nedīya it ṣṇyaḥ (*yā) pakvam eyāt (ā
yavan, āyat), 449, 589
ned eṣa yuṣmad (tvad) apacetayātai,
713
neva māṁse na pībasi, 611, 707
nainā amito vyathir ā dadharṣati, 509
naiva māṁsema pīvari, 611, 707
nyadhur mātṛāyāḥ (*rayā) kavayo vay-
odhasaḥ (*sam), 402, 603
ny sēvinā hṛṣe kāmā (*mān) ayaṁsata
(araṁsata), 374
ny ūhathuḥ purumitrasya yosām
(*śaśām), 286
pañktiṁ (*tiś) chanda ibhendriyam
(indrī), 399
pañktiś tvā chandasām avatu (*śa-
vatu), 583
pañktyai (*yā) nidhanavat, 150
pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitṛyāvataḥ, 496
pañcāvīm gām (*vir gaur) vayo dadhat
(*dhuḥ), 399
pañcāvīś (*vyas) tīra ādityānām, 213
patīn vāco adābhyam, 386
patīn suryā (*yai, *rayā) bhṛṇjam,
563, 587, 622
patīn turasya rādhasaḥ, 765
patir yad vadhyo (*vai) vīśaś, 144
patir vāco adābhyam, 386
patir viśvasya bhūmanah, 427
patī turasya rādhasaḥ, 765
patyur anuvratā bhūtva, 53, 87, 506
patye viśvasya bhūmanah, 427
patyau (*yur) me śloka uttamah, 671
pathā madhumatā bharan (*mad ābha-
ran), 476
pade-pade pāṇināḥ santi setavaḥ (*ve),
41, 70, 420
panthānam (*thām) bhrūbhyām, 283
popuḥ sarasvatyā (*yām, *tīm) nadyāḥ
(*yām, *dīm), 50, 93, 501, 544, 680

- payasā ('śab) śukram amṛtaḥ jani-
tram, 569
- payo aghnyāsu payo vatsesu, 700
- payo gr̥heṣu payo aghnyāyām ('ni-
yāsu), 700
- payo me dāh (mayi dbehi), 641
- paramachado vara ('chad avarāṇ) ā
viveṣa, 449
- paramajyā r̥cīṣamaḥ ('ma), 330
- paramaḥ padam ava bhāti (bhāri)
bhūri ('reḥ), 522
- paraśur vedib paraśur naḥ svasti, 801
- paraḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi, 378
- parācīṣa ('eīr) anu suhvatam ('taḥ),
698
- parāpūtā arātayaḥ ('pūtārātīḥ), 703
- parāmṛtāḥ ('tāt) parimucyanti sarve,
436
- parā yāta pitarāḥ somyāśaḥ ('yāḥ), 154
- parāśutpāḥ śośucataḥ śr̥ṣīhi, 402
- parāśutpō abhi śośucānaḥ, 402
- parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ, 378
- pari caḥ pāhi viśvataḥ, 724
- pari tmanā vīśvurūpā ('pō) jīgātī ('ai),
849
- pari tvā rudrasya hetir vṛṣaktu, 743
- pari dyukṣaḥ ('śaḥ) sanandrayim
(yīḥ), 401
- pari dhatta dhatta no varcasemam
(tā vācasainām, 'nam), 849
- paridhāyai ('ye) yaśodhāyai (yaśo
dhāye), 183
- pari pitroś ca bhṛātroś ca, 657
- pari mā pāhi viśvataḥ, 724
- pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛṣaktu, 743
- pari satyasya (sakhyaṣya) dharmajā
(nāḥ), 340, 571
- pari sadmeva paśumānti hotā, 264
- pari sarvebhyo jñātibhyāḥ, 657
- pari avayati cinuṣe anuam āṣye (āṣani),
285
- paridam vāḥ ajinaḥ ('dam vājinaḥ)
dadhe 'ham ('nam dhatsvāsu), 406
- parimam yajamānam rāyo manuṣyā-
nām, 442, 521
- parimam yajamānam manuṣyāḥ saha
rāyas poṣeṇa ..., 412, 442
- parimam rāyas poṣe yajamānam manu-
syāḥ (rāyo manuṣyam), 402, 412, 442,
521
- paretana ('ta) pitarāḥ somyāśaḥ
(yāḥ), 154
- paraītu mṛtyur amṛtaḥ na aītu ('tam
ma ā gāt), 723
- paro divā ('vo, 'vaḥ) para enā pṛthi-
vyā ('yāḥ), 574
- paro devebhīr ('bhīyo) asurair ('raḥ)
yad asti ('rair guhā yat), 416, 574
- paro yad idhyate divā ('vi), 598
- parṇaḥ vanaspathi 'nu tvā ('pater iva),
364
- paraśur vedib paraśur naḥ svastib, 801
- pavamānaḥ ('na) kanikradat, 329
- pavamānaḥ vicarṣaṇim, 387
- pavamāna vidharmapi, 693
- pavamāna vy ānūhi, 328
- pavamānaḥ ('na) saṁtanim eṣi kṛvan,
334
- pavamāna vidharmapi, 693
- pavamāno vicarṣaṇib, 387
- pavamāno vy ānavat, 328
- pavaṣa deva āyusak (devāyusak), 336
- pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau ('pavi), 212,
296
- paśuḥ ('śūn) na gopā iryaḥ pariṁā,
700
- paśūn naḥ śaśaya pāhi, 724
- paśūn naḥ śaśayājūgupaḥ, 724
- paśūn me śaśaya pāhi, 724
- paśūn me śaśayājūgupaḥ ('jūg'), 724
- paśhavaḥ gaur ('vāhaḥ gāu) vayo
dadhuḥ ('dhat), 399
- pāṅktasya ('tena) chandaso 'gneḥ
(śāgneḥ, 'śā br̥haspatinā ...) ...,
585
- pāṅktrāḥ (pāṅktāḥ) kaśo mātṛhīlāvas
(man) te pitṛām ('pām), 252
- pāñcajanyaṣya bahudhā yam indhate,
520
- pātaḥ ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma, 521
- pāta tiryāñcam (tiraścaḥ), 718
- pātaḥ no dyāvōpṛthivī upasthe, 723
- pāta pratyāñcam ('tīcaḥ), 718
- pāta prāñcam (prācaḥ), 718
- pāta mā tiryāñcam (pratyāñcam), 718

- pātāṁ mā dyāvāprthivī upasthe, 723
 pātānvañcam ('nūcah), 718
 pātainaṁ tiryāñcam (pratyañcam, prūñcam), 718
 pātho ghṛtasya guhyasya ('yāni) nāma, 521
 pādo 'syehābhavat (pādasyehā; 'bha-vāt) punaḥ, 449
 pādyaṁ ('yam bhoh), 727
 pāpāt ('pah) svapnyād ('nād) abhū-tyāḥ ('yai), 150, 435
 pāpebhyas ca pratigrahaḥ ('hāt), 434
 pāpmānaḥ te 'pahanmah, 380
 pāpmānaḥ me 'pa jahi (me hata), 380
 pāpmā me hataḥ, 380
 pāvaka ā ('kayā yas) citayantiyā kṛpā, 416
 pāvamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya ..., 586, 852
 pāvamānāḥ (tṛpyantu), 852
 pāvamānāḥ punantu naḥ (tvā), 213, 488, 724
 pāvamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya ('tryā) ..., 586, 852
 pāvamānyāḥ (tṛpyantu), 852
 pāvamānyāḥ punantu mā (te), 213, 488, 724
 pāśaṁ grīvāśv avicartyam ('ertyam), 832
 pāśi duradmanyai ('yāḥ), 150
 pāśi duriṣṭyai ('yāḥ), 150
 pāśi prasṭyai ('yāḥ), 150
 pīkaḥ (pīgaḥ) kṣviṣkā nīśāṣṭrī te 'ryamoe ('ṇaḥ), 618
 pītara āyusmantas te svadhayāyus-
 mantas (svadhābhīr āyus), 689
 pītaraḥ pītāmāhāḥ pare 'varē ('vareb-
 hyaḥ) ..., 428
 pītaraḥ tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ
 pāntu, 412, 697
 pītaro nārāśāsāḥ ('saḥ) ..., 443
 pītā virājām ṛabho ryaṇām, 706
 pītṛpām ..., see pītṛ
 pītṛpāṁ nārāśāsāḥ, 443
 pītṛbhyas somavadbhyo babhrūn
 dhūmrānūkāśān, 618
 pītṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān bab-
 hrvanūkāśān, 618
 pītṛpāṁ ('ṛpāṁ) sadanam aśi, 252
 pītṛpāṁ ('ṛpāṁ) ca maumabhūḥ, 252
 pītṛ hy atra gachāsi, 550
 piteva putram jānas ma emam (naye-
 mam), 702, 718
 piteva putram ('rān) abhi (iha) rak-
 ṣatād imam (imān), 702, 718
 pitre putrāso apy avivatann ṛtam
 (ṛtāni), 705
 pitvo (pidvo) nyaṣkuḥ kakkaṣas (kaku-
 ṭhas, kaṣas) te 'numatyai, 618
 pipṛta ('hi) mā (māgnayāḥ, māgne), 691
 pibāt somasā mamadad ('matn ama-
 dān) enam iṣṭe ('ṣayab), 457
 pibā sutasya matir ('ter) na (iha), 446
 piśācebhyo bidalakāṛim ('ram), 782
 pibaspṛhākam udāraṭhim, 387
 pivoannān ('nā, 'nath) rayivṛdhāḥ
 sumedhāḥ, 829
 pivo vṛkka udāraṭhiḥ, 387
 puṇasā kartur mātary āṣiṣṭa, 569
 puṇsā kartṛ mātari mā niṣiṣṭa, 569
 puṇsāḥ bahūnāḥ mātara ('rau) syāma
 (syāva), 771
 puṇas putrāya vettavai (vittaye, kar-
 tavai, kartave), 238
 puṇyā puṇyam ('yām) aśūt, puṇyāḥ
 puṇyā ('yān) asuvan, 849
 putrah pitarāv ('ram) avṛṇta pūṣā, 775
 putram ('rān) pautram ('rān) abhitar-
 payantiḥ, 702
 punaḥ kṛvaṇs tvā pitarān yuvānam,
 768
 punaḥ kṛvantas pitaro yuvānāḥ, 768
 punaḥ kṛvānā ('vantā) pitarā yuvānā,
 768
 punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā na aitu (pu-
 nar ākūtir aitu), 724
 punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā ma (punar
 ākūtam, punar ākūtaḥ ma) āgāt
 (āgan), 724
 punantu manavo (manasā) dhīyā
 ('yāḥ), 411
 punantu mā (mān) devajanāḥ, 305
 punantu vasavo dhīyā, 411
 punantu viśvā bhūtāni ('tā mā, viśva
 āyavah), 165
 punar agnayo dhīṣṇyāḥ ('yāṣah), 155

punar āgāh punarṇava (punarṇavah, 'va), 337
 punar jarāyur ('yu) gaur iva, 793
 punar draviṇam aitu mā (mām), 305
 punar brahmāṇo ('mā) vasuntīha ('nī-
 tir, vasudhītam, 'te, etc.) yajñāsib
 (agne), 340, 349, 401, 695
 punar brāhmaṇam aitu mā (mām), 305
 punar manah punar āyur (ātmā) ma
 (nā) āgāt (āgan), 724
 punar mām aitu (maitv, mā praitv)
 indriyam, 303
 punarvasur ('sū) oaksatram, 753
 punas te prāṇa āyati (āyāti, āyātu), 382
 punānasya ('nāya) prabhūvasoh ('so),
 364, 635
 pumdhvān ca yavā mama, 311
 pumān enah tanuta ut kṛpatti, 809
 pumānsam putram janaya, 381
 pumās te putro nāri, 381
 pumān enad vasyaty udgrpatti, 809
 pumān putro jāyatām (dhīyatāh) gar-
 bho ('bhe) antah, 437
 purā krūrasya viśpo virapān ('inah),
 368
 purāṇān ('nā) anu venati, 406
 purā diśād āhutiḥ aya hantu, 689
 purā satyād āhutiḥ hantv aya, 689
 purāsam vāsūnah sukṛtasya loke
 ('kam), 526
 purāsam vāsūnah svām yonih yathā-
 yatham, 526
 puruṣu tvaṣṭā ('taḥ) suvīryam ('vī-
 ram), 326
 puruṣu deva tvaṣṭah, 326
 puruṣasmo ('mavad) viśurūpa (viśva-
 rūpam) induh, 401
 puruṣamṛgaś candramasah ('se), 618
 puruṣasya vidma sahaśrākṣasya, 634
 puruṣā janayanti nah, 771
 puruṣe 'dhi samāhitah ('te), 766
 purovāta ('to) jinva rāvaḥ ('vat) svāhā,
 334
 purovāto varṣaḥ jinva āvṛt svāhā, 334
 puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuḥ ..., 359
 puṣṭipataye ('te) puṣṭiś ..., 359
 puṣyema ('yanto) rayim dhīmahe ta
 (tam) indra, 511

pūrṇā darvi ('ve) parā pata, 180
 pūrvah devabhyo amṛtasya nābhīh
 ('bhāyi, nāma), 456
 pūrvo yat (yah) sann aparo bhavāsi,
 816
 pūṣaṇam vaniṣṭhunā, 126, 414, 508
 pūṣāvān karambhah ('bham), 407
 pūṣā nā ādhāt (mādhāt, mā dhāt) sukṛ-
 tasya loke, 724
 pūṣā bhagam savitā me (no) dadātu,
 724
 pūṣā bhagam bhagapatir bhagam as-
 min yajñe mayi dadhātu svāhā, 641
 pūṣā viśān viṣpatir viśam asmin yaja-
 manāya dadātu svāhā, 641
 pūṣā saninām (sanyā), 588, 704
 pūṣā svāhākāraib (svagāk, svagākā-
 reṇa), 704
 pūṣe śarase ('si) svāhā, 655
 pūṣpo vaniṣṭhuh, 126, 414, 508
 prchāmi tvā citaye ('yah) devasukha,
 487
 prchāmi ('mo) tvā (yatra, viśvasya)
 bhuvanaasya nābhīm ('bhīh), 396
 prthivi mātā mā mā hīṣāh ('ātr mo
 aham tvām), 305, 326
 prthivīn viśvur vyakraṇata gāyatropa
 chandasā, 527
 prthivīm śarīram, 381
 prthivīm bhasmanāpṛṇa (bhasma)
 svāhā, 419
 prthivī śarīram ('ram aśi), 381
 prthivy aśi janmanā dhruvā nāma ...,
 471
 prthivyā adhy udhṛtam ('tā), 851
 prthivyām viśvur vyakraṇata gāya-
 tropa chandasā, 527
 prthivyām agnaye samanaman sa ārdh-
 not, 655
 prthivyām ('yā) amṛtam juhomi ...,
 73, 101, 650
 prthivyā mā pāhi, 150
 prthivyā varmāśi, 147
 prthivyā ('yā) sambhava, 589
 prthivy udapuram annena viśā, 800
 prthivyaī mā pāhi, 150
 prthivyaī varmāśi, 147
 prthivyaī sam anamat, 655

- pātam mā dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe, 723
 pātānvañcam ("nñcaḥ), 718
 pātānath tīryañcam (pratyañcam, prāñcam), 718
 pātho gṛhṭasya guhyasya ("yāni) nāma, 521
 pādo 'ayehābhavat (pādasyehā"; "bha-vāt) punaḥ, 449
 pādyam ("yam bhoḥ), 727
 pāpāt ("pah) svapnyād ("nād) abhū-tyāḥ ("yai), 150, 435
 pāpebhyaś ca pratigrahaḥ ("hāt), 434
 pāpmānaḥ te "pahanmaḥ, 380
 pāpmānaḥ me "pa jahi (me hata), 380
 pāpmā me hataḥ, 380
 pāvaka ā ("kayā yāś) citayantyā kṛpā, 416
 pāvamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya ..., 586, 852
 pāvamānāḥ (trpyantu), 852
 pāvamānāḥ punantu naḥ (tvā), 213, 488, 724
 pāvamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya ("tryā) ..., 586, 852
 pāvamānyah (trpyantu), 852
 pāvamānyah punantu mā (te), 213, 488, 724
 pāśāṇ grīvāśv avicartyam ("cṛtyam), 832
 pāhi duradmanyai ("yāḥ), 150
 pāhi duriṣṭyai ("yāḥ), 150
 pāhi prasityai ("yāḥ), 150
 pīkaḥ (pigaḥ) keviṇkā nīśātrṣṇi te "ryamne ("naḥ), 618
 pītara āyusmantas te svadhayāyus-mantaḥ (svadhābhīr āyus"), 689
 pītaraḥ pītāmahāḥ pare "vare ("vareb-hyaḥ) ..., 428
 pīteras tvā manojavā dakṣinataḥ pāntu, 412, 697
 pītaro nārśaṇsāḥ ("saḥ) ..., 443
 pītā virājām ṛṣabho raylūm, 706
 pītṛnāḥ ..., see pītṛ
 pītṛnāḥ nārśaṇsāḥ, 443
 pītṛbhyah somavadbhyo babhrūn dhūmrānūkāśān, 618
 pītṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān bab-brvanūkāśān, 618
 pītṛnāḥ ("ṛnāḥ) sadanam aśi, 252
 pītṛnāḥ ("ṛnāḥ) ca manmabhīḥ, 252
 pītṛn hy atra gachāsi, 589
 pīteva putraḥ jarase mā enam (naye-matn), 702, 718
 pīteva putram ("rān) abhi (iha) rak-ṣatād imam (imān), 702, 718
 pītṛo putrāśo apy avivatann rām (rāni), 705
 pītṛo (pītṛo) nyanūkuḥ kakkaṭas (kaku-ṭas, kaśas) te "numatyai, 618
 pītṛta ("hi) mā (māgnayah, māgne), 691
 pībāt somaḥ mamadad ("mam ama-dann) enam iṣṭe ("īyah), 457
 pībā sutasya matir ("ter) na (iha), 446
 pīśācebhyo bīdalakārm ("ram), 782
 pīśāspṛhākam udārathim, 387
 pīvoannāḥ ("nā, "naḥ) rayivṛdhāḥ sumedhāḥ, 829
 pīvo vṛkka udārathīḥ, 387
 pūṇaḥ kartur mātary āśiṣikta, 569
 pūṇā kartṛ mātari mā niṣīka, 569
 pūṇsāḥ bahūnāḥ mātara ("rau) syāma (syāva), 771
 pūṇse putrāya vettavai (vittaye, kar-tavai, kartave), 238
 pūṇyā pūṇyam ("yām) aśūt, pūṇyāḥ pūṇyā ("yān) auvan, 849
 putrah pītārāv ("ram) avṛṇṇa pūṣā, 775
 putrah ("rān) pautram ("rān) abhitar-payantīḥ, 702
 punaḥ kṛpvaś tvā pītaram yuvānam, 768
 punaḥ kṛvantaḥ pītaro yuvānaḥ, 768
 punaḥ kṛvānā ("vantaḥ) pītārā yuvānā, 768
 punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā na aitu (pu-nar ākūtīr aitu), 724
 punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā ma (punar ākūtām, punar ākūtām ma) āgāt (āgan), 724
 punantu manavo (manasā) dhīyā ("yāḥ), 411
 punantu mā (mām) devajanāḥ, 305
 punantu vasaḥ dhīyā, 411
 punantu vīśvā bhūtāni ("tā mā, vīśva āyavaḥ), 195
 punar agnaye dhīṣṇyāḥ ("yāśah), 155

- punar āgāh punarnava (punarṇavaḥ, 'va), 337
 punar jarāyur ('yu) gaur iva, 793
 punar draviṇam aitu mā (mām), 305
 punar brāhmāṇo ('mā) vasuntīha ('nī-
 tir, vasudhītam, 'te, etc.) yajñaiḥ
 (agne), 340, 349, 401, 695
 punar brāhmaṇam aitu mā (mām), 305
 punar manah punar āyur (ātmā) ma
 (nā) āgāt (āgan), 724
 punar mām aitu (maitv, mā praitv)
 indriyam, 303
 punarvasur ('sū) nakṣatram, 753
 punas te prāṇa āyati (āyāti, āyatu), 382
 punānasya ('nāya) prabhūvasoh ('so),
 364, 635
 punādhivah ca yavā mama, 311
 pumān enah tanuta ut kṛpatti, 809
 pumānsah putrah janaya, 381
 pumāns te putro nāri, 381
 pumān enad vayaty udgrpatti, 809
 pumān putro jāyatām (dhyatām) gar-
 hho ('hhe) antah, 457
 purā krūrasya vierpo virapān ('inah),
 368
 purāṇān ('ṇā) anu venati, 406
 purā diśād āhutir asya hantu, 689
 purā satyād āhutim hantv asya, 689
 puriṣam vāsānah sukṛtasya loka
 ('kam), 526
 puriṣam vāsānah svām yonim yathā-
 yatham, 526
 puruṣu tvaṣṭā ('ṭah) sūviryam ('vi-
 ram), 326
 puruṣu deva tvaṣṭah, 326
 puruṣamo ('mavad) viśurāpa (viśva-
 rūpam) indub, 401
 puruṣamgāś candramasah ('se), 618
 puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya, 634
 puruṣā janayanti nah, 771
 puruṣe 'dhi samāhitāḥ ('te), 766
 purovāta ('to) jinva rāvaḥ ('vat) svāhā,
 334
 purovāto varṣah jinva āyrt svāhā, 334
 puṣṭapate cakṣuḥ cakṣuḥ ..., 359
 puṣṭipataye ('te) puṣṭiā ..., 359
 puyema ('yanto) rayim dhīmahe ta
 (tam) indra, 511
 pūrṇā darvi ('ve) parā pata, 180
 pūrvam devebhyo amṛtasya nābhīḥ
 ('bhāyi, nāma), 456
 pūrvo yat (yah) sasa aparo bhavāsi,
 816
 pūṣanam vaniṣṭhunā, 126, 414, 508
 pūṣagvān karambhah ('bham), 407
 pūṣā nā ādhāt (mādhāt, mā dhāt) sukṛ-
 tasya loka, 724
 pūṣā bhagam savitā me (no) dadātu,
 724
 pūṣā bhagam bhagapatir bhagam as-
 min yajñe mayi dadhātu svāhā, 641
 pūṣā viśam viṣpatir viśam asmin yaja-
 manāya dadātu svāhā, 641
 pūṣā saninām (sanyā), 588, 704
 pūṣā svāhākārāḥ (svagāk", svagākā-
 repa), 704
 pūṣe śarase ('si) svāhā, 655
 pūṣo vaniṣṭhub, 126, 414, 508
 prāhmi tvā citaye ('yam) devasakha,
 487
 prāhmi ('mo) tvā (yatra, viśvasya)
 bhuvanasya nābhīm ('bhīḥ), 396
 prthivi mātar mā mā hīasīḥ ('sīr mo
 ahāsi tvām), 305, 326
 prthivīm viśvur vyakṛāṣṭa gāyatṛepa
 chandasā, 527
 prthivīm śarīram, 381
 prthivīm bhasmanāpṛṇa (bhasma)
 svāhā, 410
 prthivī śarīram ('ram asi), 381
 prthivy asi janmanā dhruvā nāma ...,
 471
 prthivyā adhy udbhṛtam ('tā), 851
 prthivyāḥ viśvur vyakṛāṣṭa gāya-
 trēpa chandasā, 527
 prthivyām agnaye asmanaman sa ārdh-
 not, 655
 prthivyām ('yā) amṛtam juhomi ...,
 73, 101, 650
 prthivyā mā pāhi, 150
 prthivyā varmāsi, 147
 prthivyā ('yāḥ) sambhava, 589
 prthivy udapuram annena viṣṭā, 800
 prthivyai mā pāhi, 150
 prthivyai varmāsi, 147
 prthivyai sam anamat, 655

- pr̥suto (*nto) hemantāya, 376
 pr̥ṣṭibhyaḥ (pr̥ṣṭibhyas) svāhā, 188
 pr̥ṣṭhavād gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 399
 pr̥ṣṭhe pr̥thivyā nihito davidyutat, 672
 peśasvati tantunā samvayanti (*vya-
 yanti), 465
 pauruṣeyād (*yepa, *yān na) daivyaḥ
 (*vyena, *vāt), 570
 prāgam uktham avyathāyai (*ya,
 *thayā) stabhnātu (*notu), 420, 797
 pra candramās (*mās) tirate (*ti, *se)
 dīrgham āyuh, 326
 praetā (*tās) vo (*tvā) rudraih paścād
 ..., 412, 697, 739
 prajānanah (*nam, prajānah), 795
 prajānanam vai pratiṣṭhā ... pitṛnām
 (*rām) ..., 252
 prajāyā ca bahum (*hūn) kṛdhi, 721
 prajāḥ kṛvan janayan virūpāḥ, 727
 prajāḥ pupoṣa (piparti) ..., 702
 prajāḥ pra janayāvahai, 702
 prajā (*jān) jinva, 702
 prajāḥ dadātu parivatsaro naḥ, 702
 prajāḥ no narya pāhi, 724
 prajāḥ no naryājūgupaḥ, 724
 prajāpatih prajāyā (*jābhīḥ) sahrarā-
 nah (sahvidānah), 702
 prajāpatih prathamajā rāsya, 387
 prajāpatih prathamō yam jigāya, 401
 (om) prajāpatim tarpayāmi, 373
 prajāpatim ahaḥ tvayā samakṣam
 rdhyāsam, 403
 prajāpatim prathamajām rāsya, 387
 prajāpatir ahaḥ tvayā sākṣād rdhyā-
 sam, 403
 prajāpatir janayati prajā imāḥ, 702
 prajāpatir yam prathamō jigāya, 401
 prajāpatis tanvaḥ me juṣasva, 326
 prajāpatis tṛpyatu, 373
 prajāpati ramayantu prajā iha, 702
 prajāpate tanvaḥ me juṣasva, 326
 prajāpate na tvad etāny anyah (na hi
 tvat tāny anyah, nahi tvad anya etā),
 165
 prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvaḥ (*vān)
 hutam asi svāhā, 249
 prajāpates tvā (*tes tvā) prāgenābhi-
 prāṇimi pūṣṇaḥ poṣeṣa (*śāya) ...,
 357
 prajābhyaḥ tvā (*bhya vām), 765
 prajābhyaḥ svāhā, 702
 prajāḥ samāsu dbehi, 641, 724
 prajāḥ ā janayāvahai, 702
 prajāḥ piparti bahudhā vi rājati, 702
 prajāḥ pipartu parivatsaro naḥ, 702
 prajāḥ pra janayāvahai, 702
 prajāḥ me dāh, 641, 724
 prajāḥ me narya pāhi, 724
 prajāḥ me naryājūgupaḥ (*jūg), 724
 prajāḥ me yacha, 641, 724
 prajāyā kam (kim) amṛtaḥ nāvṛtta,
 822
 prajāyā svāhā, 702
 prajāvatir (*varir) yaśaso (*se) viśva-
 rūpāḥ, 420
 prajāvatih śayavasam (*se) ruśantih
 (riś), 544
 prajā vikṛvaḥ (*kurvaḥ) janayan virū-
 pam (*pāḥ), 727
 prajāḥ tvānu (tvām anu) prāṇantu, 307
 prajāḥ sarvāḥ ca rājābāndhavaiḥ
 (*vyah), 459
 pra no brūtād bhāgadadhān (*dhām)
 devatāsu, 647, 724
 pra no yacha bhuvas (viśān) pate,
 698
 pra tad viṣṇu (*vub, *vus) stavate vi-
 ryeṣa (*yāṇi, *yāya), 474, 486, 558, 705
 pra tad voced amṛtasya (*tam nu, voce
 amṛtam nu) vidvān, 504
 pra tam naya pratarah (*rām) vasyo
 aha, 823
 pra tāry agne pratarah na āyuh, 823
 prati kṛtyākṛto dāha, 703
 prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caragyet
 (*yat), 765
 prati tvā parvatī (*tir, pārvati) vetu,
 200
 praidhinā pr̥thivyā (*yai) pr̥thivīm
 jinva, 559
 pratipūtā arātayaḥ, 703
 pratiprasthātah paśunehi (*śum upa-
 kalpayasva), 474
 pratiprasthātah paśau (*śum) samva-
 dṣva, 105, 543
 pratiprasthātār dadhigharmenānūdehi
 (*gharmāya dadhy upakalpayasva),
 563

- prati prāṇeṣu ("ṇe) prati tiṣṭhāmi
 puṣṭe ("tau, "my ātman), 707
 prati vām jihvā gṛhṇam uc (ā) caranyat
 ("yāt, "yet), 765
 pratiṣṭhe etho devate ("tānām, "te
 dyāvapṛthivī) mā mā saṁtāptam, 440
 pratikam me vicakṣaṇam, 342
 pratikṣante ("tān) śvaśuro ("śruvo)
 devaś ("rāś) ca, 702, 782
 pratīci dik (diśām), [...], 427, 438
 pratīcya diśā ("śā saha, "cyān diśi)
 gṛhāḥ paśavo mārjayanām, 604
 pratīcya tvā diśe varuṇāyādhipataye
 ..., 427
 pra te divo na stanayanti ("ta) śuśmāḥ
 ("mai), 411
 pratnam ni (pratnāni) pāti kāvyam
 ("yaḥ), 403, 740
 pratyak somo atisrutah, 404, 815
 praty aṅgeṣu prati tiṣṭhāmy ātman
 ("ni), 275
 pratyāñ ud eṣi mānuṣān ("ēḥ), 841
 pratyāñ ("aṅk) somo atidrutah ("aru-
 tah), 404, 815
 pratyusṭam rakṣaḥ pratyusṭā arātayah
 ("jāstib), 703
 praty etā vāmā (sunvan) ... pratiṣ-
 thotopavaktar ("ta) uta ..., 342
 pra tvā ni pāti kāvyah, 403, 740
 prathamachad avarān ā viveśa, 449
 pra devāḥ ("vīḥ) prota sūnṛtā, 782
 pra nabhasva pṛthivi, 344
 pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasah, 636
 pra no naya prataram vasyo aha, 823
 pra no yacha (rāsva) viśas pate, 698
 pra no rāyā (rāye) parīṇasā (parīyase),
 63, 557
 pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase, 636
 pra parjanyaḥ sṛjātām rodasi anu, 390,
 697
 pra parvatasya vṛṣabhasya pṛsthāt, 79,
 661
 prapitāmāhān ("ham) bibharti ("rat)
 pinvamānaḥ ("ne), 457, 702
 pra mā hrūtād bhāgadām (dhavirdā)
 devatāsu ("tābhyah), 647, 724
 pra yam rāye niniṣasi, 390
 pra yakṣma etu nirṛtiḥ ("tiḥ) parāśail,
 390
 pra yad gāvo na bhūrnayah, 816
 pra yā bhūmih ("mi) pravatvati, 348
 pra yujo ("jā) vāco agriyah, 587
 prayutam ("tā) dveṣaḥ ("śānai), 703
 pra ye gāvo na bhūrnayah, 816
 pra yo jajñe vidvān ("vān) asya hand-
 hum ("dhuḥ), 401
 pra yo rāye niniṣati, 390
 pra rādhasā ("dhānsi) codayāte ("yate)
 mahitvanā, 62, 469, 704
 pravagena sajoṣasah, 742
 pravayāhnāhar ("vāyāhne "har) jinva,
 559, 788
 pravāsi, 788
 praśīrya śalyānām mukham, 707
 pra śmaśru ("rubhir) dodhuvad ...,
 47, 469, 711
 pra sakṣati pratimānām pṛthivyāḥ, 703
 pra samrājo ("jam) asurasya praśastim
 ("tam), 510
 pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri, 703
 pra sunvānasyāndhasah (sunvānā-
 yāndh"), 623
 pra skannāj ("nnaḥ) jāyatān haviḥ,
 435
 pratotah sūna ("māni) gāya, 690
 prasnāpayanta ("ty) ūrmayah ("mi-
 nam), 390
 pra haṁśasas tṛpalām ("lā) manyum
 (vagnum) aha, 471
 praharṣinām ("ṇo) madirasya ..., 520
 prāktād ("to) apāktād ("to) adharād
 udaktāt ("taḥ), 173
 prākto apācīm anayam tad enām, 498
 prāk (prān, prāṅk) somo atidrutah, 404,
 815
 prāci dik (diśām), 438
 prāci dig agnir adhipatir ..., 427
 prācīm avācīm ava yann ariṣṭyai, 498
 prācīś cojjagāhire, 213
 prācya diśas ("cyān diśi) tvam indrāsi
 rājā, 676
 prācyañ diśi ("cyā diśā, "śā saha) devā
 ṛtvijo mārjayanām, 604
 prācyai tvā diśe "gnaye 'dhipataye ...,
 427
 prāṇaḥ na vīryaḥ naśi, 707
 prāṇasya tvā paraspāyai ("pāya) cak-
 ṣuṣas ..., 152, 801

- prāṇasya panthā amṛto ('taṁ) gra-
 hābhyām, 843
 prāṇaḥ sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat,
 419
 prāṇān na vīryaṁ nāsī, 707
 prāṇāpānāyor ('nā) uruvyacāś taya
 (tvayā) prapadye, 526
 prāṇāpānābhyām (prāṇāya) me varco-
 dasau ('dā varcase) pavethām
 ('vasva), 769
 prāṇā vā āpā, 707
 prāṇā sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat,
 419
 prāṇo agniḥ ('gniḥ) paramātmā pañ-
 cavāyubhir (vai pañcavāyuh) ...,
 413
 prāṇo vā āpā, 707
 prātaryāvabhir ('vāṇo) adhvaṇe
 ('ram), 415, 527
 prātaryujā ('jau) vi bodhaya (mucye-
 thām), 131
 prātāry agne pratarāṁ na āyuh, 823
 prānyā tantūnā tirate dhatte anyā,
 402
 prāmūn jāyābhitne jāyantu, 836
 prāvaṇebhiḥ sajjośasah, 742
 prāvo 'sy aṁnāśi, 788
 priyaḥ kavīnāḥ matī ('tiḥ), 417
 priyaḥ sarvasya paśyataḥ, 616
 priyaḥ mā brahmaṇi ('ṇe) kuru, 101,
 654
 priyāṇy aṅgāni tava vardhayantī,
 154, 311
 priyāṇy aṅgāni ('gā) svadhītā (sukṛtā)
 parūṇi (purūṇi), 165
 priyā devānām subhagā mekhalayam,
 322, 330
 priyeṇa dhāmnā (nāmnā, nāma) pri-
 yaḥ ('ye) sadaśaśa (sadaśaśa),
 472, 528
 priye ('yo) devānām parame janitre
 (sadhasṭhe), 454
 priyo dātūr dakṣiṇāyā iha syām, 142
 priyo devānām dakṣiṇāyāi dātūr iha
 bhūyāsam, 142
 prūṣvā sṛubhiḥ, 709
 preta marutaḥ svatavaś enā viśpatyā-
 mum ..., 219
 pretinā ('tyā) dharmāṇā ('ṇe) dhar-
 maḥ jinva, 218, 559
 preto muñcatu mā pateḥ, 219
 prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pārvyebhiḥ (pā-
 ryānibhiḥ), 170
 praitu hotuś camuśah ... prodigāt-
 yām ('gātuh) ..., 695
 plāśir ('āir) vyaktaḥ śatadhāra utaḥ,
 177
 phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva,
 826
 phalavatyō ('tir, phaliṇyō) na ośadha-
 yaḥ paeyantām, 213
 phalgunī ('nir) nakṣatram, 116, 755
 phalgunibhyām ('nīṣu) vy ūhyate
 (uh), 596, 755
 phalgūr ('gur) lohitoreṇi balakṣi (pal*,
 'kṣi) tāḥ sāsrasvatyaḥ, 206, 227
 bajābojopakṣāni, 207
 bandhur me (no) mātā pṛthivī mahi-
 yam, 724
 bahhravaḥ ('ruḥ) saumyaḥ ('yaḥ), 700
 bahhravo dhūmrāṇikāḥ pitṛnām bar-
 hiṣadām, 618
 barhiś ca vedī ('dih) ca, 387
 balasā mayi dhehi (me dāḥ svāhā), 641
 bahuprajā nīrtim ('tir) ā viveśa, 406
 bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspāśnam
 ('naḥ, anapa), 387
 bahūnāḥ ('hvīnām) pitā bahur aśya
 putrah, 834
 bahvaśvājagavejakam, 459
 bahvīnā prajāḥ janayantīm ('ti, 'tau)
 sarūpām (suratnā, saretasā), 358
 bādhasva ('dhetām) dūre ('ram,
 dveṣo) nīrtim parśenib, 521
 bārhaspatyam aśi ('tyo 'ai), 850
 bāhucyuto dhiṣṇāyā ('ṇayor) upasthāt
 ('the), 664, 769
 bidvo nyanukūḥ kaśaś te 'numatyāḥ,
 618
 bhāc ca te rathaditaram ca pūrvau
 pādau bhavatām, 750
 bhātā tvā rathamtareṇa trīṣṭubhyā
 (trīṣṭubhā) vartanyā ..., 586, 750
 bhātī ('tīm) chanda indriyam, 399
 bhāt sāma pratiṣṭhityā antarikṣe
 ('ṣam, 'tyai), 535

- bṛhad arkaṁ yuñjānāḥ suvar ābharann
 idam, 743
 bṛhad ṛṣabham gāṁ vayo dadhat, 399
 bṛhad dha tathau bhuvaneṣv antaḥ,
 811
 bṛhadrathashtarayos tvā atomena triṣ-
 ūbho vartanyā ..., 586, 750
 bṛhadrathamtare te pūrvau pādau ...,
 750
 bṛhad vṛṣabham gāṁ vayo dadhat, 399
 bṛhan ha tathau rajaso vimānaḥ
 ('maiva'), 811
 bṛhaspataye pāṇikāya ... caruḥ
 ('rum'), 376
 bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (mahi ṣad) dyu-
 man namaḥ, 358
 bṛhaspatih yajñam akṛvata ṛṣim, 406
 bṛhaspatih sa diśām ... (b' sa) rchatu
 yo maitasyai ('yā) diśo ..., 149
 bṛhaspatir brahma brahmapatir ...
 mayi dadhātu (yajamānāya dadātu)
 svāhā, 641
 bṛhaspatir yajñam atanuta ṛṣiḥ, 406
 bṛhaspatir vācām ('ce), 627, 706
 bṛhaspatimutasya ... indo ('da, 'dor)
 indriyāvataḥ patnivantarāḥ ('vato)
 grahaḥ ('hāo) ..., 31, 365, 520, 692
 bṛhaspate mahiṣa dyuman (mahīṣāya
 dive) namaḥ, 358
 bṛhaspate yāmyāṁ ('yā) yuñgdhi (yuñ-
 dhi) vācam, 605
 bodhasā ca tvā (mā) pratibodhasā (prati)
 ca, 750
 bodhāmasi tvā haryaśva yajñāḥ ('ḥe),
 602, 689
 bodhā me (no) asya vacaso yaviṣṭha,
 724
 brahmācāry asi (asy asau), 334
 brahmajyeṣṭhā sambhṛtā vīryāṇi ('thā
 vīryā sambhṛtāni), 161
 brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāḥ ('ya, 'yai)
 kṣatrasya ..., 152, 708, 801
 brahmaṇā guptaḥ sukrṭā kṛtena, 580,
 704
 brahmaṇā saṁpṛcīṇas sukrṭā kṛtena,
 580, 704
 brahma tena punīhi ('nātu, 'nimahe)
 nah (mā), 724
 brahma devakṛtam upahūtam, 796
 brahma devān ('vā) avivṛdhat ('dhan),
 389
 brahma devānām (brahmadevi) pratha-
 majā ṛtasya, 796
 brahmadviṣaḥ ('ṣe) śarave hantavā u,
 423
 brahma dhārāya, 705
 brahma yajñāḥ ('ḥāḥ) pṛthivīm dhāra-
 yanti, 689
 brahmavani ('nīm) tvā kṣatrasvani
 ('nīm) ... paryūhāmi, 808
 brahma varma mamāntaram, 378, 449
 brahmāṇa ('ṇam) indram vayodhasam,
 406
 brahmā devakṛtopahūtā, 796
 brahmā devānām prathamajā ṛtasya,
 796
 brahmādhiguptaḥ (brahmābhi', brah-
 mābhigūrtam) svārā kṣarāṇi (surak-
 ṣitaḥ svām, svarāṇakṣāṇaḥ) ..., 842
 brahmāham antaram kṛve (karave),
 378, 449
 brāhmaṇaḥ ('ṇāḥ) śāntiḥ, 695
 brāhmaṇas tvā nāthakāma ('maḥ) upa-
 dhāvāmi (prapadye), 740
 brāhmaṇena vācām ('cāḥ), 390, 706
 brāhmaṇo vo nāthakāma upadhāvāmi,
 740
 bhakṣīya te (vo) 'vaso daivyasya,
 739
 bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ ('vāḥ),
 340
 bhagaṁ pūṣā savitā no dadātu, 724
 bhadram paśyemākṣabhir ('kṣibhir)
 yajatrāḥ, 281
 bhadra te (vām) pūṣann ('ṣaṇv) iha
 rātir astu, 765
 bhavataṁ nah samanasaḥ, 723
 bhavati ('vān) bhikṣūḥ dehi (dadātu),
 326, 849
 bhārati grāṇā, 735
 bhāratiḥ sarasvati, 329
 bhīnadmi te kuṇumbham, 380
 bhīndat sapatnān adharāṇā ca kṛvat,
 850
 bhīndhi darbha sapatnānām ('tān
 me), 518

- bhiyañ ('yo) dadhāñś hṛdayeṣu śatra-
vaḥ, 706
bhiyasam ā dbehi śatruṣu ('rave), 642,
703
bhiṣagbhyo ('śajāñ) bhiṣaktarāḥ (sub-
hiṣaktamāḥ), 658
bhiṣajendre ('ram) sarasvatī, 535
bhuvā te dadāmi (tvayi dadhāmi), 641
bhuvā tvam indra brahmaṇā ('no)
mahān, 64, 70, 571
bhūtaye namaḥ, 182
bhūtasya ('tāñāñ) jātaḥ patir eka āstī,
698
bhūtāñāñ brahmā prathamō ha jāñe,
796
bhūtāya tvā nārātaye, 182
bhūtyai tvā (vaḥ), 739
bhūtyai namaḥ, 182
bhūmidrūham acyutañ pārayiṣu, 850
bhūmidrūho 'cyutaś cyāvayīṣuḥ, 850
bhūmir iti tvābhipramanvate janāḥ
(tvā janā viduḥ), 698
bhūmir bhūmnā dyaur variṣā, 273
bhūyā ca (bhūyasiḥ) śaradāḥ śatāt,
734
bhūyāsi haviṣkaraya upahūtaḥ ('tā),
849
bhūyāsmā te sumatau viśvavedaḥ, 332
bhūriśthātrāñ bhūry āveśayantīm
(tā), 14, 402
bhūr bhuvāḥ avā te dadāmi (evaḥ
sarvañ tvayi dadhāmi), 641
bhūs te dadāmi (tvayi dadhāmi), 641
bhūttārāñ bhāṅgurāvataḥ ('tām), 703
bhṛājasvantañ mām ... (bhṛājasvāñ
aham, bhṛājasvy ahañ, bhṛājīṣtho
'hañ) manusyeṣu kuru (bhūyāsam),
378
mañhiṣtham ('tho) vājasātaye, 387
mañhiṣtham vo (mañhiṣthāso) magho-
nām, 388
maghavañ ('vañ) chagdhī tava tan na
ṭtibhiḥ (ṭtaye), 558, 704
maghābhīr gāvo grhyante, 107, 596
maghāso hanyante gāvaḥ, 107, 596
mañinī ('ñiḥ) sahaśravīryam ('yaḥ),
387
mañinā rūpāñi, 218
mañḍūkāñ jambhyebhiḥ ('mbhaiḥ), 172
mañḍūky apsu śanī bhuvāḥ, 419
mañḍūkyā su sañ gamāḥ (gamaya), 419
mañyā rūpāñi, 218
matsyā suṣipra ('rin) harivaś tad (tam)
Imahe, 842
mathavyāñ stokāñ apa yāñ rarādha, 770
made ('eṣu) suṣipram (ṣipram) andha-
saḥ, 693
madhavyaḥ stokāv ('kā) apa tau ra-
rādha, 770
madhu tvā madhulā karotu (kr̥ṣtu,
cakāra), 488
madhu naktam utogasaḥ ('sā, 'si), 68,
96, 107, 584, 596, 678
madhu me madhulā karaḥ, 488
madhu reto ('dhur ato) mādhaveḥ pāt-
v asmāñ, 437
madhoḥ pavanta ūrmayaḥ, 244
madhoḥ pavaśva dhārāyā, 244
madhoḥ pibatañ āsvinā, 244
madhoḥ pibanti gauryaḥ, 244
madhor ato mādhaveḥ pāt-
v asmāñ, 437
madho rasañ sadhamāde, 244
madhoś cakāñś cārur madāya, 244
madhyataḥkīriṇāñ camasādhvaryavo
vaṣaṭkṛtāñnuvaṣaṭkṛtāñ ('te) juḥuta,
761
madhvaḥ pavanta ūrmayaḥ, 244
madhvaḥ pavaśva dhārāyā, 244
madhvaḥ pibatañ āsvinā, 244
madhvaḥ pibanti gauryaḥ, 244
madhvaś cakāñś cārur madāya, 244
madhvo rasañ sadhamāde, 244
manasyāñ hṛdayād adhi, 665
manojavaś vaḥ pitṛbhir dakṣiṇata
upadadhatām, 412, 697, 739
manojavā tvā pitṛbhir ('taro) dakṣi-
ṇataḥ pātu (pāntu), 412, 697, 739
mano jyotir (jōtir) juṣatām ājyasya
(ājyam, ājyañ mo), 501
mano me hārdi (hārd) yacha, 793
mano hārdim yacha, 793
mandrā dhanasya sātaye ('yaḥ), 420
manyuñ ('yur) viśa īdate māñuṣir yāḥ
(te devayantiḥ), 406
manyuñ janasya dūdhyāḥ ('yam), 520
manyunā kṛtāñ manyuḥ karoti ..., 408

manyur akārṣṭin manyuḥ karoti ..., 408

manyur viśa ..., see manyuḥ ...

manyu vajrinn abhi (upa) mām (na) ā vavṛtsva, 723

mama cittaṁ cittaṁnvehi ('itām anu cittebbhir eta), 706

mama tubhya ca saṁvānanam, 315

mama padyāya vi rāja, 636, 655, 845

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vaḥ kṛṇomi, 705, 707, 739

mama vrate te hṛdayaṁ (vrate hṛdayaṁ te) dadhāmi ('tu), 705, 707, 739

mama hṛdaye hṛdayaṁ te astu, 705, 707, 739

mamāmītrān vi vidhyata ('tu), 723

mamāśīr ..., see mayy āśīr ...

mameyam astu poṣyā, 334, 671

mayah patibhyo janayah ('ye) pariṣvaje, 422

mayā gāvo gopatinā sadadhvam, 607

mayi gāvah santu gopatau, 607

mayi grhṇāmi tvām aham, 652

mayi tiṣṭhantu gopatau, 607

mayi te kāmādharaṇām bhūyāt, 739

mayi te rāyah śrayantām, 739

mayi dakṣakratū (dakṣo mayi kratuh), 115, 750

mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājah ('jah kalpatām), 636, 655, 845

mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ, 636, 655, 845

mayi puṣṭim ('taṁ) puṣṭipatir (puṣṭa, puṣṭipatni) dadhātu (dadātu), 849

mayi vaḥ kāmādharaṇām bhūyāt, 739

mayi vo rāyah śrayantām, 739

mayidam indra indriyam dadhātu, 723

mayindra indriyam dadhātu, 723

mayobhuvo vṛṣṭayah santv asme, 737

mayobhūr vāto viśvakṛṣṭayah santv asme, 737

mayy āśīr (mamāśīr) astu mayi (mama) devahūtib, 102, 671

marutir viprudbhīḥ ('pruṣā), 707

marutas triṇave stutam, 402

marutah sadohavirdhānāḥ ('nābhyaṁ), 755

marutāni prastīr ('tān) gacha, 700

marutāni prasave ('vena) jaya ('yata), 66, 593, 601

marutāni manve adhi no (me) bruvantu, 723

marutvatīyam uktham avyathāyai ('ya, 'thayat) śtabhnātu ('notu), 420, 797

marudbhya enomugbhyaṁ ..., 376

martānāṁ ('tāsaś) cid urvāśīr akṛptan, 440

marmāṇi te varmaṇā ('mabhiś) chādāyāmi, 704

marya iva yuvatibhiḥ (yoṣāḥ) sam arṣati ('se), 467

maryo na yoṣām abhy eti paścāt ('eś), 575

mahād adya bharatasya ('tānām), 740

mahād dha tasthau bhuvaneṣv antaḥ, 811

mahaś cid yasya mīdhugo yavyā, 447

mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (paniṣṭama), 446

mahāś avitām anu pūrvyah, 447

mahāś te mahato mahimā, 446

mahākarma bharatasya, 740

mahā kavī yuvānā, 762

mahādevasya ('vāya) dhīmahi, 634

mahānāmni ('mayo) revatayah ('tyah), 202, 213

mahān mahitve ('tvā) tastabhānah (samstambhe), 607

mahām avitām anu pūrvyah, 447

mahinām payo 'ai, see mahinām ...

mahiṣaṁ nah eubhvaṁ ('bhavas, 'bhuvase) tasthivānsam, 234, 402

mahiṣīr ('sy) aśi, 206

mahī grhṇā, 735

mahī cid yasya mīdhugo yavyā, 447

mahī devasya mīdhugo 'vayāḥ, 447

mahinām ('hinām) payo 'ai, 215

mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau, 709

mahīr grhṇāḥ, 735

mahī viśpatnī sadane ('ni) ṛtasya, 455

mahī hy aśya mīdhugo yavyā, 447

mahe cana tvām adriyah (tvādr'), 306

maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājah ('jā), 447

- maho ye dhanam ('nā, ratnam) samī-
 theṣu jabhīre, 704
 mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavatām ('te) kāme
 semin (kāmāyāmai), 99, 646
 mahyaṁ sūro abharaj jyotiḥ kam, 70,
 486
 mahyaṁ grhāmi tvām aham, 652
 mahyaṁ jyotir abharat sūrya tat, 70,
 486
 mahyaṁ dhukṣya yajamānāya kāmān,
 309
 mahyā indraṁ ('ra) svastaye, 348
 mānsāya ('cebhyaḥ) svāhā, 707
 mākin brahmadvīṣe ('gam) vanah, 703
 mā cakrā āvṛtsata, 164
 mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne, 695
 mā cāham dvigate radham, 633, 703
 mā jūmih moṣṭr amuṣā śayānām, 401
 mātā mātari mātā, 444
 mātā yad vīraḥ dadhanad (jajanaḥ)
 dhanīṣṭhā (janīṣṭham), 492
 mātur mātari mātā, 444
 mā te gṛhe ('heṣu) nīṣi ghoga utthāt, 711
 mā te yuyoma saṁdṛśah, 670
 mā te riṣan khanitā, 714
 mā te riṣann upasattāro agne (grhā-
 pām śāle), 695
 māteva putrāḥ bibhṛtāpev enat (bib-
 hṛtā sv enat, 'enam), 837
 māteṣāmā adite ('tiḥ) śarma yacha
 (yaksat), 27, 322, 326
 mā te vyoma saṁdṛśi (saṁdāśa [iti]),
 670
 mā tvam hārṣṭh śrutam mayi, 671
 mā tv ahaḥ dvigatām radham, 633, 703
 mā tvā dabhan, 740
 mā tvā dabhan durevāsah kaśokāḥ
 (durevā yātudhānāḥ), 165
 mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durevāḥ, 165
 mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito ('cittā, 'cit-
 tau) nikāriṇah, 221
 mā tvā paripariṣo (paripari) vidan
 (ete.), 703
 mā tvā vṛkṣah ('sau) saṁ bādhiṣṭa
 ('jām, 'dhetām), 765
 māduṣkṛtau vyenasā ('sau), 131
 mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā, 835
 mā nah sapatnah śaraṇah syonā, 835
 mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt,
 312
 mā no rakṣo abhi naḍ yātumāvātām
 ('vat), 440
 mā no hārdi tviṣā vadhiḥ, 724, 793
 mā no hāsn metthito net tvā jahāma,
 724
 mā no hīnsiṣṭa, 724
 mā no hīnsiḥ janitā yah prthivyāḥ
 ('yām), 684, 724
 mā no hīnsi dhīnsiḥ [dadhāmi] na tvā
 jahāmi, 724
 mā no hrātām ('thā) atithir ('thim)
 vasur agniḥ, 401
 māndā vāsah śundhyūr ('yuvo) ajirah,
 241
 mān dhehi, 723
 mā parā sēci no dhanam (nah svam, me
 dhanam, mat payah), 80, 656, 724
 mān anuvratā bhava, 53, 87, 506
 mā mān mātā prthivī hīnsi, 305, 326
 mā mā hāsn ('sīr) nāthito net (na) tvā
 jahāmi ('ni), 724
 mā mā hīnsiṣṭa, 724
 mā mā (māch) hīnsiṣṭam svam (yat
 svam) yonim āviśantau ('śāthah),
 305, 784
 mā mā hīnsiḥ janitā yah prthivyāḥ, 724
 mā mā hīnsiḥ svam (svam) yonim āvi-
 śanti ('śan), 305, 784
 māniṣāḥ kam canoe chīṣah, 380, 810
 māniṣāḥ moci kaś cana, 380, 810
 mān evā gnābhīr abhigāḥ, 474
 mā me 'vā nābhīm atigāḥ, 474
 mā me hārdi tviṣā ('dih dvīṣā) vadhiḥ,
 222, 724, 793
 mān puniḥ ('nāhi) viśvataḥ, 724
 mā vayan āyusā varuṣa ca, 724
 mā vo dabhat, 740
 mā vo riṣat khanitā, 714
 mā samāṣṭhān parame vyoman
 ('ni), 275
 māsarapa parisrutā ('tam, pariṣkṛtā),
 459
 māsaḥ ('sāch) caturthah, 709
 māśā cārḍhamāśā ca, 410
 mā sv asmān tamasy antarādhāḥ, 312
 māham āyusā ..., 724

- mā hīnsiṣur vāhatum uhyamānam
(ūhyamānam), 840
- mā hīnsiḥ (*ait) puruṣam (*śān) jagat
(mama), 701
- mitēva sadma paśunānti (*manti) hotā,
254
- mitraḥ kṣatrah kṣatrapatiḥ ... mayi
(yajamānāya) dadhātu (dadātu) ...,
641
- mitraḥ pānty adruhaḥ, 115, 733
- mitra satyānām pate (*nām adhipate,
satyaḥ), 329, 438
- mitrasya tvā (vaś) cakṣuṣā ..., 740
- mitrasyāśi kanṭhikā, 789
- mitraḥ satyānām (satyaḥ), 320, 438, 742
- mitrāvaruṇayor dhruveṇā dharmāṇā,
443
- mitrāvaruṇābhyām āgomugbhyām pa-
yasyā (*yām), 376
- mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatam Adhipatyaiḥ
(*ye), 602, 705
- mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnam (*nā) cikitsā
(cikittam, jigatā, cikitvam), 585,
709
- mitrāvaruṇau dhīṣṇyaiḥ (*yebhir ag-
nibhiḥ), 172
- mitrāvaruṇau dhruveṇā dharmāṇā, 443
- mitrāvaruṇau śroṇibhyām (śroṇi), 189
- mitrāvaruṇau sa ... maitasyai (*yā)
dīā ..., 149
- mitrās pānty adruhaḥ, 115, 733
- mitro janān kalpayati prajānan, 608
- mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇaḥ (prajā-
nan), 608
- miham na vāte vi ha vāti bhūma, 709
- mukhaḥ kim aśya (aśyāit) kau (kim)
bāhū, 776
- muñcatu yajñam (*ño) yajñapatim ...,
390
- muñcemam yajñam muñca yajñapatim
..., 390, 695
- muñcemam aśhasaḥ, 695
- muñcemān amūn aśhasaḥ svāhā, 695
- mūrā (*rair) amūrān purān dārmā-
ṇam, 419
- mrgā na bhīmā taviṣibhir (*sebhir)
arcinaḥ (ūrmibhiḥ), 841
- mṛjanti vahnim sadaneṣv aha, 540
- mṛjyamānā (*no) gabhastyaḥ, 712
- mṛtāya jīvān pariṇiyamānām, 701
- mṛtyava ekaśatam paraḥ, 380
- mṛtyur me pāhi, 437
- mṛtyūn ekaśatam suve, 509
- mṛtyūn ekaśatam caye (nude), 380, 509
- mṛtyoḥ padam (*dāni) ..., 698
- mṛtyor ekaśatam suve, 509
- mṛtyor ekaśatam caye, 509
- mṛtyor mā pāhi, 437
- mṛtyor mukṣiṣya mā patyuh, 219
- mṛdam barevaiḥ (*vebhiḥ), 172
- medasaḥ (*sa, medobhyaḥ) svāhā, 620,
694
- me rāyaḥ, 724
- meṣam viprā abhisvarā (*re), 601
- mainam hīnsiṣtam svām yonim āvi-
śantau, 784
- maṣām kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ, 380, 810
- maṣām uecheṣi kim cana, 380, 810
- me aham dvīṣate (*to) radham, 633, 703
- modaḥ pramoda ānandah, 704
- mo sū na indrātra (indra) pṛtau devaiḥ
(*vāh, *va), 29, 55, 353
- mo ṣvatvam asmān tarādhat, 312
- mo ṣv asmān tamasy antarādhā, 312
- ya āgachāt pathibhir devayānāiḥ, 816
- ya ājama (*muh) savano mā (*medam,
*nam idam, ājagmedam savanaḥ)
juzāṇaḥ, 551, 693
- ya ābabbhūva (āvabbhūva) bhuvanāni
viśvā (*vāh), 838
- ya āviṣṭo vayasū yo mṛgeṣu, 526
- ya āhutim (*tir) atyamanyanta devāḥ,
689
- ya indrāgnī asanam sakhāyau, 133
- ya indreṇa saratham yāti devaḥ, 419,
588
- ya imāḥ prajā viśvakarmā jajāna, 417
- ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni cakṛpe, 165
- ya iṣavo yātudhānānām, 449, 455, 788
- ya ihi vāhanta āsubhiḥ, 40, 408
- ya iśe paśupatiḥ paśūnām, 447
- ya usriyā apyā (api yā) antar āsmanah
(*ni), 665
- ya ṛte cid abhiśriṣaḥ, 816
- ya etad (enam) vidur amṛtā te bha-
vanti, 809

ya enad veda sa id enad (enam) arhati, 837
 ya oadhiṣṭu pakṣeṣv apav antaḥ ("ev
 āviveśa), 739
 yaḥ kravyāt tam aśīsamam, 30, 396
 yaḥ puruṣe yo āśmani, 691, 710
 yaḥ pūtaḥ (potā) sa punātu mā (naḥ), 724
 yaḥ hutādām agnirḥ yaṁ u kāmam
 āhuḥ, 396
 yakṣataḥ ("ast) svau (svam) mahimā-
 nau ("nam), 769
 yakṣate cid abhiśriṣaḥ, 816
 yakṣamāḥ śroṇibhyāḥ (śroṇi") bhāsa-
 dāt, 189, 498
 yakṣamāḥ bhāsyadyam śroṇibhyam bhā-
 sadam, 189, 498
 yakṣmā yanti janād ("nān) anu, 495,
 698
 yac ca kimci jagat sarvam ("ty asmin),
 457
 yac cacrānanuvratam, 404, 817
 yac cāham eno vidvāś cakāra yac cā-
 vidvāś ..., 726
 yac cāham eno vidvāś cāvidvāś
 ..., 726
 yaehā naḥ śarma asprathāḥ ("thāḥ),
 257, 721
 yachśamai śarma asprathāḥ, 257, 721
 yajstrā muṣcateha naḥ (mā), 724
 yajamānāya jāgrta, 649
 yajā no (yajāno) devo ("vān) ajarah
 evirah, 402
 yajīṣṭhaḥ havyavāhana ("nam), 332,
 346, 387
 yajīṣṭho havyavāhanah, 332, 387
 yaj jagrantha savitā satyadharmā, 465,
 816
 yaj jātāḥ janitavyaḥ ca kevalam, 448
 yajñāḥ pratyagbāt, 326
 yajñāḥ praty u śhāt sumatsu mati-
 nām, 326
 yajñāḥ yad yajñavāhasah, 474, 689
 yajñāḥ vidvāḥ sukṛtasya loke, 526
 yajñāḥ hinvanty adribhiḥ, 419, 488
 yajñāḥ tapah, 792
 yajñāḥ dadhānāḥ sukṛtasya lokam,
 526

yajña pratigṛha sumatau suśeyāḥ, 326
 yajñam ābur bhuvanasya nābhīm, 392
 yajñāḥ ca dakṣiṇā ("gā) ca (ca dak-
 ṣiṇa), 696
 yajñāḥ tapah, 792
 yajñasya jīhvām avidāma guhyām
 ("yam), 817
 yajñasya te (tvā) yajñapate sūktoktau
 (havirbhiḥ, saha), 483
 yajñasya mātā (mātaram) suhavā me
 astu, 18, 399, 723
 yajñasya hi stha rviṣā ("viyau), 131
 yajñasyāyuh pratiran ("ntau), 765
 yajñāya santv adrayah, 419, 488
 yajñāya stīrparahṣe vi vo made, 489,
 646, 689
 yajñeṣu stīrparahṣam vivakṣase, 489,
 646, 689
 yajñair juhōti haviṣā yajusā ("ti yajusā
 havirbhiḥ), 689
 yajñair vā (vo) yajñavāhasah, 474, 689
 yajñair vidhema pamaśā havirbhiḥ, 689
 yajño bhūtvā yajñam śāda svāḥ
 (svad) yonih ..., 784
 yataḥ prajā akhidrā ..., 569
 yatamānā ("no) rāśmibhiḥ sūryasya,
 739, 849
 yato deva dadhiṣe pūrvapeyam, 656
 yato bhūmih janayan viśvakarmā, 495
 yat karmapāty aricam, 583
 yatkāma idam juhomi tan me samj-
 dhyatām, 726
 yatkānāḥ te juhomas tan no astu, 726
 yat kiṁ ca (cit) tanvo ("vān) rapah,
 708
 yat kusidam apratitāḥ ("tātāḥ, apra-
 dattāḥ) mayi (mayeha), 607, 703
 yat te asmin ghora āsan jubomi, 278
 yat te kruddhāḥ parovapa, 517, 717
 yat te devī nirṣtir ābabandha, 832
 yat te pavitram arcīṣi ("ṣā), 609
 yat te mahe ..., see yat tvemahe ...
 yat te śikvāḥ parāvadhīt, 517
 yat te suśīme ("mam) hṛdaye ("yam),
 340, 457
 yat tvā kruddhāḥ parovapa ("ddhāḥ
 pracakrah), 517, 717
 yat tvā śikvāḥ parāvadhīt, 517

yat tvemahe (te mahe) prati tan no
(prati nas taj) juṣasva, 496
yat pūrtam yāś ca dakṣiṇāḥ, 696
yat prthivyāṁ (*yā) rajah svam, 671
yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma
(nāmā), 270
yatra devāso (*vā) ajuṣanta viśve, 157
yatra bhūmer (*myai) juṣase (vṛjase)
tatra gacha, 143, 182
yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ saṁbhāhūtha,
342
yatra-yatra vibhṛto (bīhbrato) jāta-
vedāḥ, 342
yatra sarasvatyā meṣasya (meṣyā)
haviṣaḥ priyā dhāmāni, 779
yatrādhi sūra udito (*tau) vibhāti
(vyeti), 457
yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ, 144,
488, 517
yatrāpṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsaḥ
(tanuvam yatra vāsaḥ), 144, 488, 517
yatremā viśvā bhuvanādhi tasthuḥ,
164
yatrānān (*raitān) vettha nihitān pa-
rāke (parāsaḥ), 553
yatrauṣadhiḥ samagmata, 193
yat sānoḥ sānum (*nv) āruhat (*haḥ),
795
yat subhṛtam yat svāhā, 727
yat strīṇāṁ jīvaḥhojanam, 808
yathāgnih prthivyā samanamad evam
mahyam bhadrāḥ saṁnatsyaḥ saḥ
namantu, 431, 607
yathā tvam (tvam agne) suśravah suś-
ravā (*vā asy evam, *vā deveṣv evam)
aham suśravah suśravā (*vā brāhma-
neṣu) bhūyāsam (evam mām suśra-
vaḥ sauśravasaḥ kuru), 378
yathā prthivyām agnaye samanamann
evā mahyam saṁnamah saḥ na-
mantu, 431, 607
yathā mitrāya varuṇāya śaṁtamaḥ
(*mam), 397
yathāmi (*miśm) anyo anyam na jānan
(*nāt), 438
yathāyatham nau tanvau (*vā, tan
nau) jātavedaḥ, 134

yathāyatham nau (no) vṛstapate (*pā)
vratāni (vratinor vratāni, vratināḥ
vratāni), 771
yathāvaśam tanvaḥ (*vaḥ) kalpayasva
(*yāti), 708
yathāham aya vīrasya (eśāḥ bhūtā-
nām, eśāḥ vīrjāṁ), 739
yathedaṁ strīpautram agnau rudri-
yāya, 833
yatheyaḥ strī pautram aghaḥ na
rodāt, 833
yathaitesām anyo anyam na jānāt, 438
yathainam jarase mayāt, 431
yathaisām anyo anyam na jānāt, 438
yad agne kavyavāhana, 326, 816
yadi adya te ghora āsan juhomi, 278
yad antarikṣam rajase vimānam, 457
yad antarikṣam tad u me (naḥ) pitā-
bhūt (*tāsa), 724
yad antaḥ samudre kavayo vadanti,
796
yad amuṣṭham avasam paṇim gāḥ
(goh), 505, 700
yad aśuddhaḥ parājaghāna tad va
etena śundhantām, 472
yad aya karmāṇo tyarīricam, 583
yad aham dhanena prapaṇāś carāmi,
472
yad aṁnāt kurute pāpam, 68, 575
yad aṁnā pāpam akāraṁ, 68, 575
yad āgachāt pathibhir devayānāḥ,
816
yadā mahah saṁvarapād (*ṇo) vy
asthāt, 662
yadārāghaḥ varadaḥ (yadā rākhāyau
vadataḥ), 212
yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam ānutaḥ,
174, 476, 809
yad āhuḥ cakṣur aditāv anantam, 392,
671
yad ichāmi manasā sakāmaḥ, 809
yad id bhūmim janayan viśvakarmā,
495
yad indro apibac chacibhiḥ, 501, 809
yadi varuṇasyāsi rājā (varuṇy asi)
varuṇāt tvā rājā *dhikrīṇāmi (tvā
niḥkrīṇāmi), 613

- yadi vāruny asi varuṇāya tvā parikṛī-
pāmy aham . . . , 613
- yadi śrāto ('tam) juhātana, 397
- yadi somasyāsi rājāḥ (saumy asi)
somāt tvā rājā 'dhikṛīpāmi (tvā
nikṛīpāmi, somāya tvā parikṛīpāmy
oṣadhīm), 613
- yadi vahanty āśavaḥ, 40, 408
- yad r̥te cid abhiśriṣaḥ, 816
- yad enaś cakṛvān buddha eṣa, 439
- yad oṣadhayaḥ saṁgachante (saṁg-
mata), 193
- yad gharṁe, 768
- yad dattam yā ca dakṣiṇā, 696
- yad devasya śvasaś prāriṇāḥ, 816
- yad devā devam ayajanta viśve, 697
- yad devā devān haviśyajanta, 697
- yad devānāḥ ('veṣu) tryāyuṣam, 671
- yad devāso lalāmagum, 816
- yad dha krīṇā vivasvati ('te), 645
- yad dhariṇo ('pī) yavam atti, 779
- yad bhadrām tan na (ma) ā suva, 724
- yad bhūmer līdayam divi candramas
śritam, 363, 396
- yady antarikṣāt en u vāyur eva, 826
- yady aśrāto ('tam) mamattana, 397
- yady asi vāruṇī varuṇāya tvā rājā
parikṛīpāmi, 613
- yady asi saumī somāya tvā rājā
parikṛīpāmi, 613
- yad rātriyaḥ kurute pāpam, 68, 575
- yad rātriya ('ryā) pāpam akāraṁ, 68,
575
- yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva, 826
- yad vo devāḥ prapaṇam carāma, 472
- yad vo devāsa āgure ('ri), 646
- yad vo 'suddha āleḥhe taḥ 'sundhadh-
vam, 472
- yad vo 'suddhāḥ ('dhaḥ) parā jaghnur
(jaghānaitad) . . . , 472
- yantā rāt, 849
- yantāsi yamanāḥ, 849
- yam te devī nirṭir ā bahandha, 832
- yantrī rāt, 849
- yantry asi yamanī ('mitrī), 849
- yam tvām ayam (tvāyam) svadhitis
tejamānaḥ (tetijānaḥ tigmatejāḥ),
306
- yam devāso lalāmagum, 816
- yam dvigmas tasmīn prati muṣcāmi
pāṣam, 703
- yam (yan) naḥ pitā saṁjānīte, 811
- yam nirmasthato aśvinā, 131, 476
- yan mayā duṣkṛtam kṛtam, 580
- yan mayā manasā vācā, 88, 589
- yan me agnī ānāḥ tanvas tan ma (mā)
āpruḥ, 239
- yan me kin canā duṣkṛtam, 580
- yan me manasā vācā, 88, 580
- yan me yamaḥ vaivasvatam, 496
- yam adhvanam agāma dūram, 498
- yam antaḥ samudre kavayo vayanti,
795
- yam abadhniṭa savitā suketaḥ (sūse-
vaḥ), 465, 816
- yam aśvinā namucer āsurād adhi ('cāv
āsure dadhi), 665
- yam asyendro apibāḥ śacībhīḥ, 501, 809
- yamād aham vaivasvatāt, 496
- yamāya yamasūm, 782
- yamāya somaḥ ('maḥ) sunuta (pa-
vate), 382
- yam āśirā dāmpatī vāmam anutaḥ,
174, 476, 809
- yamena tvam yamyā samviditā ('naḥ),
849
- yamena pitṛa (pitarāḥ), 390
- yam pāṇasjanyam bahavaḥ samind-
hate, 520
- yam putriṇa ākramante viśokāḥ, 465
- yam mitraḥ na praśastibhiḥ ('taye),
558, 690
- yamyai ('yā) trayodaśī, 143
- yamyai ('yā) pāṭurāḥ ('tor'), 143
- yamyai yamasūm, 782
- yayāśiḥ dāmpatī vāmam anutaḥ, 174,
476
- yayo rathaḥ satyavartmarjuraśmīḥ,
448
- yavaya dveṣo asmat, 703
- yavayārātī ('tim), 703
- yavayāsmad aghā dveṣāsi ('mad dve-
saḥ), 703
- yavā ('vair) na barhiḥ bhruvi kesarīṇi,
56, 412
- yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan, 441

- yavena ("na vā) kṣudham puruṣṭa
viśvām ("ve), 402
yavenausadhīḥ ("dhayāḥ), 590
yāśaś mā dyāvāpṛthivī, 412
yāśasendrābhaspati, 412
yāśo bhagāś ca (bhagasya) mā vidat
(riśat, "aya vindatu), 442
yāśo mayī dhehī, 639
yāśo mā dyāvāpṛthivī, 412
yāśo me dhāḥ (dhehī), 639
yāśo moudrābhaspati, 412
yas tad veda savituh (sa pituh) pitāśat,
729
yas tāni veda sa pituh ("tuh) pitāśat,
164, 729
yas tā vijānāt sa pituh (savituh) pitā-
śat, 164, 729
yas te deva varuṇa ... tam ta etenā-
vayaje, 472
yas te rājan varuṇa ... tam ta etenā-
vayaje (etad avayaje), 472
ya strīṣāṃ jīvaḥhojanāḥ, 808
ya sma ārutarvaṇ ārkṣye, 449, 457
yasmā jātā na parā naiva kinī canāśa
(jātāṃ na parā kinī canaiva), 729, 810
yasmā jātā na paro 'nyo (anyo) asti,
810
yasmāt paraṃ nāparam asti kinī cit, 810
yasmād anyan na paraṃ kinī canāśti,
810
yasmād anyo na paro asti jātāḥ, 810
yasmād bhūtā ("to) nīśdasi, 849
yasmān na jātāḥ paro anyo asti ("sti),
810
yasminn idam viśvām bhuvanam adhi-
śritam, 698
yasmīn bhūtāṃ ca bhavyāṃ ca, 643
yasmīn viśvāni bhuvanāni (viśvā bhu-
vanādhi) taśtuh, 167, 698
yasmāi ca tvā khaṇāmy aham (khaṇā-
masi), 714
yasmāi cāham khaṇāmi vaḥ, 714
yasmāi bhūtāṃ ca bhavyāṃ ca, 643
yasya jātāṃ janamānaṃ ca kevalam,
448
yasya deva dadhiṣe pūrvapeyam, 636
yasya dyāvo na vicaranti mānuṣā
("ṣam), 402
yasya dyaur urvī pṛthivī ca mahī, 114,
588, 757
yasya vratam ("ta) upatiṣṭhanta śpaḥ,
54, 523, 526
yasya vratam ("te) paśavo yanti sarve,
54, 99, 526
yasya ārutarvā bṛhan, 449, 457
yasya samudraṃ rasyā sahāhuh, 463,
560
yasyā śśāś (imāś) tanvo vitapṛsthāḥ,
671
yasyāni karmāṇi kurvate (krpṇ), 552
yasyāni devā abhisadivīśantaḥ, 412, 765
yasyā bahvyaś tanvo vitapṛsthāḥ, 148,
213, 671
yasyām imā bahvyaś tanvo vitapṛst-
hāḥ, 213, 671
yasyā yonir ... see yasyai yonir ...
yasyās ta śśāni ghorā juhomi, 278
yasyās te aśyāḥ krūra śśāni juhomi, 278
yasyās te ghorā śśāni juhomi, 278
yasyās te yajñīyo (harito) garbhāḥ, 148,
447
yasyāham aśmi purohitāḥ, 718
yasyendro apīśo chaśtibhīḥ, 501
yasyai te yajñīyo garbhāḥ, 148, 447
yasyai bahvīś tanvo vitapṛsthāḥ, 148,
213, 671
yasyai ("yā) yonir hiraṇyayī, 148, 447,
784
yāḥ saṃgrāmān ("maḥ) nayati (jay")
sah yudhe vaśī (sah vaśī yudhe,
"yudhā), 563, 608
yāḥ samidhā ya āhuti ("tyā), 216
yāḥ strīṣāṃ jīvaḥhojanāḥ, 808
yāhī ("vir) ṛtaśya mātara ("raḥ), 766
yā antarikṣa uta pāṛthivīr yāḥ, 451
yā antarikṣyā uta pāṛthivīśaḥ ("vir
yāḥ), 451
yā śāsthatuṛ bhuvanāni viśvā, 528
yā āharaḥ jamadagnīḥ, 740
yā īśavo yātudhānāṃ, 449, 455, 788
yā ośadhayaḥ prathamajāḥ, 193
yā ośadhayaḥ somarājāḥ, 193
yā ośadhīḥ pūrvā jātāḥ, 193
yā ośadhīḥ somarājāḥ, 193
yāḥ parastād rocane ("nāḥ) sūryasya,
455

yāns (yās) te soma prāpāns tān (tān, tān) juhomi, 405
 yā jāta oṣadhayaḥ, 193
 yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛja (tayā vidhema, tasyai te vidhema...) tasyās (*yai) te namaḥ ..., 152, 563
 yā tān rātrīm upāsmāhe, 349
 yātudhānam (*nā, *nān) kimidinam (*nā, *nab), 703, 794
 yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṣṭakikāram (*kakāram), 782
 yā te agne rudriyā ... tasyās (*yai) te svāhā, 152
 yā te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhyai, 183, 402, 799
 yā te patighni (*ny) ..., 671
 yā teṣām avayā durīṣṭiḥ, 431
 yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta, 213
 yā devy asṭajaka (*ke) ... sā mām upaśeṣva (mopaśeṣva) ..., 304
 yāni karmāṇi cakrire, 552
 yāni kestrāṇi yā (dhanvāni ye) vanā (vanāḥ), 793
 yāni gharṇe kapālāni, 768
 yā no dadāti śravaṇaḥ pītṛpām, 252
 yān te cakrur gārhapatyē, 488
 yān tvā jano bhūmir iti pramandate, 695
 yān tvā rātry upāsmāhe (*sate, *tri yaśmāhe), 349
 yāny apāmityāny apratītāny (*titāny) asmi, 703
 yā patyete apratītā sahobhīb, 132
 yā prathamā sathakṛtir yajñe asmin, 830
 yābhīr yāi dūtyām sūryasya, 799
 yābhyām nirmānthatām āśvinau devau, 131, 476
 yām āśām emi kevali sā me astu, 809
 yām āharaj jamadagniḥ, 740
 yām iṣum giriśanta (*tam), 352
 yā rājānān (*nā) sarathān yātha (yāta) ugrā, 402
 yā rocane parastāt sūryasya, 455
 yāvayūrātīm, 703
 yāvayāmad dveṣam (*ṣaḥ), 703

yāv āstastatur bhuvanāni viśvā (*nasya madhye), 528
 yāvānām cāyāvānān sādhipatyam āsit, 441
 yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān ..., 213
 yās ca devīr antān ..., 213
 yās ca devīr tantūn (devyo antān) ..., 213
 yās ca bhūmy adharāḥ yās ca paścā, 180
 yā sarasvatī viśobhaginā (veśabhaginī) tasyām me (tasyā no) rāva ..., 681, 723
 yās tierah prathamajāḥ (paramajāḥ), 438, 835
 yās te bhūme adharād yās ca paścāt, 150
 yās te rātrīb (*trayaḥ) savitar devayānīb, 197
 yās te rudra purastāt senā tābhya eṣa hali tābhya te namaḥ, 667
 yās te rudra pūrvasyānti diśi senā tābhya enat, 667
 yās te viśas tapasaḥ (*sā) sambabhūvuh, 64, 78, 569
 yās te soma prāpāns ..., see yāns te ...
 yāsya apasavyā tanūs tām asyā apajahi, 148, 612
 yāsya aputryā (*riyā) tanūs tām asyā apajahi, 148, 612
 yāsyaḥ (*yai) patighni tanūs tām asyā apajahi (asyai nāsaya svāhā, ito n'), 148, 612
 yāsyaḥ pāpi lakṣmīr yā patighni yāputryā yāpasavyā tā asyā apahata, 148, 612
 yāsyaḥ pāpi lakṣmīr tām asyā apajahi, 148, 612
 yāsyaḥ patighni tanūḥ ... asyai tām kṛpomi svāhā, 148, 671
 yāsyaḥ gṛhaghni (etc.) tanūs tām asyai nāsaya svāhā, 148, 612
 yāsyaḥ ghorā (etc.) tanūs tām ito nāsaya svāhā, 148, 612
 yā svapantān bodhayati (svapante jāgati), 548, 701
 yāb supritāḥ anutā yat svāhā, 727

- yuktā tīro vimṛṣaḥ sūryasya, 380
 yuktā hari vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvān, 815
 yukto vāto 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha, 380, 564
 yuktā hari vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvān ('vāk'), 815
 yunajmi tīro vipreṣaḥ sūryasya te
 (vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save, or savah), 380
 yunajmi vāyūm antarikṣeṇa te (tena)
 saha, 380, 564
 yuvam tām indra vṛtrahan, 715, 836
 yuvo rātho adhvaram ('ro) devavītaye,
 399
 yuṣmān ca dīyam ma upetā ('yam
 copetām), 403
 yuṣmān sakhye aham asmi śevā, 314,
 654, 849
 yuṣmān ('mā) indro 'vṛṣṭa vṛtratūrye,
 803
 yuṣmān rāya uta yajñāśaścata, 112,
 689
 yuṣme ('mām) astu dive-dive, 318
 ye agnayo apsv antar ye vṛtre, 691
 ye antarikṣa uta ye divi śritāḥ, 155
 ye antarikṣa oṣadhīṣu paśuṣv apsv an-
 taḥ, 739
 ye antarikṣe ye ca divi śritāḥ, 155
 ye aprathetām amitebbir ojobhīḥ, 469
 ye aprathetām amitam abhi yojanam
 (amitā yojanāni), 469, 698
 ye apsu śadāśi ('psu śadāśi) cakrire,
 698
 ye amī rocane divaḥ, 672, 815
 ye arvān ('vān madhya) uta vā purāṇe
 ('ṇam), 532
 ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu ('vyām adhi),
 542
 ye keśināḥ prathamāḥ ('me) satram
 śmā, 299
 ye gharṇe, 768
 ye ca tvām anu (atrānu), 307
 ye catvāraḥ pathayo devayānāḥ, 283
 ye ca devān ('vā) ayananta, 401
 ye cātra tvānu ..., 307
 ye cāmī rocane divi, 672, 815
 ye ceme abhito rudrāḥ, 402
 ye cainamī (cemām, ceme) rudrā abhi-
 taḥ, 402
 ye jātā tanvas ('van) pari, 494
 ye ta śrāpyāḥ paśavo mṛgā vane hitāḥ,
 309
 ye tad vidur amṛtāḥ te bhavanti, 809
 ye te panthā adho (panthāno 'va)
 divaḥ, 283
 ye te panthāḥ ('thānāḥ) savitāḥ pūr-
 vyāḥ, 283
 ye te sarasva ('evann) ūrmayāḥ, 265
 ye tvām atrānu, 307
 ye tvā rātry ('rīm) upāste, 349
 ye devā agninetrāḥ purahadaś teḥ-
 hyāḥ svāḥ, 426
 ye devāḥ purahadaś 'gninetrā (agni)
 ..., 426
 ye devā divy ekādaśa stha, 157
 ye devā devaṣv ('vebhyo) adhi devat-
 vam āyan, 665
 ye devānām rtvijo yajñīyāḥ ('jo ye
 ca yajñīyāḥ), 154
 ye devā manoḥjātā (manu) ... dakṣa-
 pitaraḥ ('tāraḥ) ..., 253
 ye devāso divy ekādaśa stha, 157
 ye 'do rocane divaḥ, 672, 815
 yena te te prajāpate, 363
 yena tvam deva veda (tvam veda) ...
 tena mahyati (tenāmahyati) ...,
 724
 yena tvābadhnāt savitā suśevah ('vāḥ,
 suketāḥ), 465, 816
 yena devā amṛtam anv avindan, 154
 yena devā ('vāso) asahanta dasyūn,
 157
 yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ, 154
 yena dyaus ugrā pṛthivī ca dīpṣā
 ('dhe), 114, 588, 757
 yena dhanena prapanāḥ carāmi, 472
 yena dhātā (pūṣā) brhaspateḥ ('tiḥ),
 444
 yena prajā achidrā ..., 569
 yena prajā viśvakarmā jajāna (vyā-
 naḥ), 417
 yena mābadhnāt savitā suśevah, 465,
 816
 yena śriyam akṛṇtām (striyam akṛṇ-
 tam, striyāv akurutam), 774
 yena kramante putriṇo (ye) viśokāḥ, 465

yenākṣā ('śān, 'śyāv, yenā kṣām) abhy-
 asīyanta ('śiñcatam, 'tām), 380
 yenāvṛtam kham ca divam mahīm ('hī)
 ca, 391
 yenā samatsu śasabāḥ ('hīḥ, 'hī), 842
 yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh,
 419, 588
 yemā viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuh, 164
 yenaite prajāpateḥ, 363
 yenaṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhate ('tais tiṣṭhate
 hy) antarātmā, 417
 ye no divīṣanty anu tām rabhasva, 703
 ye panthāno bahavo devayānāḥ, 283
 ye puruṣe ye sāmasu, 691, 710
 ye barhiṣo ('śā) namovṛktīm (namaṭk-
 tim) ..., 588
 yebhir vācān viśvarūpebhir ('pām)
 avyayan (samavyayat), 476
 ye māmakāḥ pitarāḥ, 724
 ye rātrim ('rim) anutiṣṭhanti ('atha),
 196
 ye vanaspatinām, 514
 ye vādo (vāmi) rocane divaḥ, 672, 815
 ye vā vanaspatīr anu ('patinām), 514
 yeśān tīraḥ paramajāḥ, 438, 835
 yeśām adhyeti pravasan, 682
 yeśām apsu sdaś ('daḥ) kṛtam, 698
 yeśām aśmī purohitaḥ, 718
 yeśām iṣe paśupatiḥ paśūnām, 447
 yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ, 449, 455
 yeṣu saumanaso ('eām) bahuh (ma-
 hat), 795
 yeṣv adhyeti pravasan, 682
 ye stha traya ekūdaśāḥ ('śśāḥ), 158
 ye 'smākaḥ pitaras teṣām bārhīr aśi,
 724
 ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti, 703
 yo akṣogova sakriyā ('yau) śacibhiḥ,
 131
 yo agnaye dadāśa havyadātibhiḥ
 ('taye), 567, 742
 yo agnīḥ kravyavāhanaḥ (kavya'), 526,
 816
 yo agnīṣomāv ajuṣe sakṣāyā, 133
 yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānaḥ, 457
 yo apsv antar agnir yo vṛire, 691
 yo asmān abhyaghāyati, 703
 yogakṣemo naḥ kalpatām, 724

yo devakāmo na dhanā ('nāḥ) rūpa-
 dhi, 704
 yo devasya śavasi prāriṣāḥ, 816
 yo devo viśvād yam u kāmam śhuh, 396
 yo naḥ kadā cid abhidāsatī druhā, 724
 yo naḥ kaś cābhyaghāyati, 724
 yonir yas te hiraṇyayāḥ, 447, 784
 yoner iva praṇyuto garbhāḥ, 184
 yo no anti śapati tam etena jeṣam, 724
 yo no divā dipsati yaś ca naktam, 724
 yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva, 703
 yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām, 312
 yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva, 703
 yonyā iva praṇyuto garbhāḥ, 184
 yo mā kadā cid abhidāsatī druhuh, 724
 yo mā kaś cābhidāsatī, 724
 yo mā cakṣuṣā ye manasā, 724
 yo mā divā dipsati yaś ca naktam, 724
 yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam etena
 jeṣam, 724
 yo maitasyā diśo ..., 149
 yo rudro viśvā bhuvanāviveśa, 165
 yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmīḥ satyadharmā,
 448
 yo 'smānś cakṣuṣā manasā cittyākṣīyā
 ca, 724
 yo 'smān dveṣṭi yam ca vayan divīma
 idam aśya grīvā api kṛtāmī, 724
 yo 'smān dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām, 312
 yau te pakṣāv ajarau patatṛiṇau, 447
 yau patyete apratītau saḥobhīḥ, 132
 yau vīryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 170
 rakṣānai tayā (tābhir) dāha jātavedaḥ,
 739
 rakṣāyai tvā nārātyai, 182
 rakṣogho ('ghno vo) valagaghnaḥ
 prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān, 262
 rakṣogho valagaghno 'vasificāmi
 ('vāstrpāmi) vaiṣṇavān, 262, 740
 rakṣoghaṇam tvā valagahanam avasifi-
 cāmi (avāstrpāmi, śāstrpāmi) vaiṣṇa-
 vam, 740
 rakṣoghaṇo ('no vo) valagahanāḥ prok-
 ṣāmi vaiṣṇavān ('vam), 262, 739
 rakṣoghaṇo ('no vo) valagahano 'vas-
 trpāmi vaiṣṇavān, 262, 740
 ratnaḥ devasya savitur iyānaḥ ('nāḥ),
 739

- rathamtarani sīma pratiṣṭhityā anta-
 rikṣe ('kṣam, sīma pratiṣṭhityai), 535
 rathāśvāsa uṣaso vyūṣṭau ('ṣṭu), 700
 rathitamam ('mo) rathinām, 387
 rathu akṣegv ṛṣabhasya ('ṣu vṛṣ') vāje,
 710
 rathesv akṣegu vṛṣabharsjāh, 710
 rantir asi, 178
 ranti ramatiḥ sūnuḥ sūnari, 178
 rabhiyasa ('yāsam) iva kṛtvī ..., 700
 rayin ca naḥ sarvaviraḥ ('rān) ni
 yuchatu ('chāt), 735
 rayin dānāya codaya, 704
 rayin devī dadātu me, 704, 723
 rayin dhehi sarvaviraḥ vacasyam, 489
 rayin no dhehi subhage suviram ('re,
 'ryam), 350
 rāṣas tuṇā devebhyah ('veṣu), 644
 rasati parierutā ('to) na rohitam, 587
 rākām aham suhaviḥ ('vā) suṣṭu
 huve, 58, 470
 rākāyā aham devayajnyā prajāvān
 ('vatī) bhūyāsam, 849
 rājantam ('tāv) adhvarāgām, 765
 rātrih-rātrim aprayāvam bharantaḥ,
 195
 rātrim ('rān) jīva, 195
 rātrim dhenum ivāyatim (upāyatim),
 195
 rātrim pivasā, 195
 rātri stomam na jigyuṣe ('ṣī), 195, 337,
 430
 rātrih-rātrim aprayāvam bharantaḥ,
 195
 rātrih dhenum ivāyatim, 195
 rātrih pivasā, 195
 rātri stomam na jigyuṣe, 195, 337, 430
 rāyas poṣam yajamāne dadhātu, 640
 rāyas poṣam vi syātām ('tu, sya) nāb-
 him asme (asya), 486, 623
 rāyas poṣam eikituṣe ('ṣī) dadhātu
 (dadātu), 430, 640
 rāyas poṣā ('śāya) yajamānam viś-
 antu, 421
 rāyas poṣā ('śāya) yajamānam sacan-
 tām ('nasya santu), 421, 519
 rāyas poṣeṇa ('ṣe) sam iṣā madema,
 100, 603
 rāyas poṣe yajñapatim ābhajantiḥ
 ('ti), 739
 rāye agne mahe tvā, 70, 80, 629
 rāye jātaḥ sahasa vṛddhaḥ, 558
 rāyo agne mahe tvā, 70, 80, 629
 rāyo dānāya codaya, 704
 rāyo devī dadātu naḥ, 704, 723
 rāyo budhaḥ saṅgamano vasuṇām,
 849
 rāstrāy asmā ādhehi (asmin dhehi),
 642
 rudrah paśūnam ('subhyah), 627
 rudra ('raṁ) jalāśabheṣaja ('jam), 346
 rudra yat te kṛayī (krivi, kravi, giri-)
 parani nāma taamai ('min) hutam
 asi, 650
 rudrasya gūṇapatyān ('yān, 'yo) may-
 obhūr ehi, 495, 526, 705
 rudrāḥ paścadaśe stutam ('tāḥ), 402
 rudrās tvā pracetaḥ paśāt pāntu,
 412, 697
 ruho ruroha rohita ā ruroha, 687
 rūpaḥ varuṇa paśūnāḥ mā nirmṛk-
 ṣam, 495
 rūpaḥ indre ('ro) hiraṇyayam, 453
 rūpāḥ piśāṇa bhuvanāni viśvā, 57, 459
 rūpāḥ varuṇa mā nirmṛkṣat, 495
 rūpāḥ apiśāṇa bhuvanāni viśvā, 57, 459
 revaj jātaḥ sahasā vṛddhaḥ, 558
 revati predhā yajñapatim āviśa, 550,
 697
 revati yajamāne priyam dhā āviśa, 550,
 697
 revatir yajñapatim priyadhāviśata,
 550, 697
 rodanā kṛvatir ('ty, 'vanto) agham,
 739, 849
 rohaḥ-rohani rohita āruroha, 687
 rohinī ('nyas) tryavayo vāc, 213
 rohit kuṇḍrṇāc golattikā tā apsarāṣām
 (te 'psarāṣām), 825
 raudreṇāntikena pāhi māgne (pāta māg-
 nayah), 691
 jājīṣā chācīṣā (jājīṣā cācīṣā) yavye gavye
 (yācā mamāgṇ ...), 280
 lekah salekah sulekas te na ādityā
 ājyadh juṣāṇā viyantu, 501
 lokam u (id) dve upa jāmi lyatuḥ, 402

lekam pitṛṣu vittvā, 550
 vañkrir aśvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti, 177
 vatsam gāyatṛm anu tā ihāguḥ, 852
 vatsam jātam na dhēnavah (mātaraḥ,
 *tam ivāghnyā), 709
 vatao jarāyu pratidhuk ptyāṣah, 793
 vatao virājo vṛṣabho matnām, 706
 vanaṣpatayā ulūkān, 699
 vanaṣpataye (namah), 699
 vanaṣpataye svāhā, 699
 vanaṣpatibhya ulūkān, 699
 vanaṣpatibhyaḥ (namah), 699
 vanaṣpatibhyaḥ svāhā, 699
 vanaṣpatibhyo vanaṣpatyebhya ...,
 488
 vanaṣpatin vanaṣpatyān, 488
 vanema pūrvir aryo manīṣah (*ṣā), 469
 vanemā te abhiṣtibhiḥ (*taye), 558, 704
 vandadvārā vandamānā vivasṭu, 402
 vandārus te (*ruṣ te, *ruḥ te) tanvaḥ
 (*nuvaḥ) vande agne, 402
 vande dīrum vandamāno vivakmi, 402
 vapāvantam (*to) nāgninā tapantaḥ,
 402
 vaptā (*trā, *lar) vapasi (*ti) keśāś-
 māśru (keśān), 326, 334
 vayah rājabbhiḥ (*jasu) prathamā dha-
 nāni, 677
 vayah vām mitrā syāma, 449
 vayah saṁghātān (*tan-saṁghātān,
 *te-saṁghāte) jema (jayema, saṁ-
 jayema), 105, 546
 vayah te rudrā syāma, 449
 vayah nāma pra bravāmā (*ma) ghṛi-
 sya (*tena), 587
 vayānai ya āviveśa yo mṛgeṣu, 525, 526
 varam vṛṣṭva, 739
 varuṇa mitra dāśuṣah (*ṣe), 635
 varuṇas tvā dhṛtavṛato ... mitrāva-
 ruṇau (*ṇayor) ..., 443
 varuṇasya skambhanam (*ny) asi, 802
 varuṇasya skambhasarjanam (*ny) asi
 (*janī sthaḥ), 769, 802
 varuṇah samrāṭ samrāṭpatih ... mayi
 dadātu (yajamānāya dadātu) ...,
 641
 varuṇin tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhim,
 198

varuṇir avayan, 198
 varuṇtrayas tvāvayan, 198
 varuṇtrayo janayas tvā devir viśvade-
 vyāvatih ..., 198, 697
 varuṇin tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhim,
 198
 varuṇir (varuḥ) tvā devir viśvadevya-
 vatī ..., 697
 varuṇin tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhim,
 198
 varuṇis tvā (*ruṇis tvā) devir viśvade-
 vyāvatih ..., 198, 697
 varuṇyān (*ye) varuṇe chandyaḥ
 vacah, 552
 vareṇyakraṭūr (*tur) aham, 402
 varca ā dhehi me tanvam (dhāyi me
 tanūḥ), 249, 380
 varcase tvā (vām), 765
 varco aśmānu dhātā (dhehi), 640, 724
 varco dhā yajñavāhase (*si), 639
 varco mayi dhehi, 640, 724
 varco me dāḥ (dehi, dhāḥ, dhehi,
 yacha), 640, 724
 varuṇa pavitrān (purāṇa) punatī ma
 (na) āgāt, 724
 vardhamāno (*nam) mahān (*ha) ā ca
 puskare (*ram), 453, 837
 vardhā samudram ukthyaḥ (*ya), 350
 vardhiṣṭmahi ca vayan ā ca pyāsiṣṭ-
 mahi (pyāyisṭmahi ca), 724
 varma (*mā) svyadhvam bahulā
 pṛthūni, 270
 varṣā rtuḥ (rtūnām), 438
 varṣāni (*ṣā) cākṣuṣāni (*syah), 797
 varṣābhis tvartunā (*nām) haviṣā dik-
 ṣayāmi, 581
 varṣīyo varṣiyasi (*so) yajñe (*flaḥ)
 yajñapatim (*tau) dhāḥ, 537, 670
 varṣo varṣiyasi yajñe yajñapatim dhāḥ,
 537, 670
 varṣma (*man) divah, nābhā pṛthivyāḥ,
 458
 varṣman kṣatrasya (rāṣtrasya) kaku-
 bhiḥ (*bhi, *bbhiḥ, kakudi) śiśriyā-
 nah (śrayasva), 611
 valmikān klomnā (*mabhiḥ), 707
 vavrān anantā (vavram anantam) ava-
 sī padīṣṭa, 698

- vaśāni vebatani gām (gām: na) vayo
dadhat, 399
- vaśā meśā avasṛjāsa ('tā) āhutaḥ, 157
- vaśā vebad ('had gaur na) vayo dad-
huh, 399
- vasanta ṛtuh (ṛtūnām), 438
- vasantena tvaritunā ('nām) haviṣā dik-
ṣyāmi, 84, 581
- vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca, 697
- vasavaś trivṛtā stutam ('tāh), 402
- vasavo rudrā ādityā upariṣṛtaḥ mā,
402, 511, 723
- vasavo rudrā ādityā etā vaḥ panneja-
nīh, 359
- vasuḥ sūnuḥ sahaso jātavedasam, 521
- vasudāvā vasupatīh (vasupate vasudā-
van), 336
- vasubhyaḥ kapiñjalāh, 615
- vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo vi-
vebhyo vo devebhyah pannejanir
grhāmi, 359
- vasumatā ('īm agne) te chāyām upa-
theṣam, 521
- vasumadgaṇasya ... upahūtasypa-
hūto (upahūta upahūtaḥ) bhakṣa-
yāmi, 501
- vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca, 697
- vasuḥ sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rāja, 447
- vasūnām kapiñjalāh, 615
- vasūnām tvādhītena ('nām ādhītaḥ)
..., 601
- vasūnāh pavitram aśi ..., 697
- vasūni cārur (cārye, cāryo, cāryo) vi-
bhajāsi (bhājāsi, bhajāsa) jīvan, 334,
840
- vasūni jāte jansmāna (jāto janimāny)
ojaśā, 458
- vasoḥ kuvid vanāti naḥ, 244
- vasoḥ pavitram aśi ..., 697
- vasor vaso (vaso vasvaḥ) purnasphah,
244
- vasoḥ sūnuḥ sahaso jātavedasam, 521
- vasoḥ sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rāja, 447
- vasyaṣṭaye ('tyai) tvā, 182
- vasvaḥ kuvid vanāti naḥ, 244
- vasvi rantīh sumanāh, 178
- vaha kālā ('lāh) vaha śriyaḥ mābhi
vaha, 349
- vahāsi śi sukṛtāḥ yatra lokāh, 396, 698
- vahāsi mā sukṛtāḥ yatra lokāh, 396, 698
- vāk pataṅgāya dhīyate (śīriye, hūy-
ate), 431
- vāk pataṅgo adīriyat ('gā adīrayuh),
431
- vāḥ mā āsan (āsyē, āsyan), 285
- vācaspataye tvā hutāḥ prāśnāmi, 501,
563
- vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe ... (huta-
sya ..., hutasyāśnāmy ...), 501, 563
- vācaspate vidhe nāman, 280
- vācā mendriyepāviśa (vācām indr'),
589, 706
- vāci ('ce) svāhā, 655
- vājah vājino jayatādhvānaḥ ('vanas)
..., 698
- vājasya mā prasavona ('vaḥ), 411
- vājasya hi prasavo ('ve) ..., 457
- vāji tvā sapatnasāhaḥ sam mārjmi
(mārjti), 850
- vājinaḥ tvā vājino 'vanayāmaḥ ('ny
avanayāmi), 455
- vājinaḥ tvā vājino vājatyāyāi sam
mārjmi, 850
- vājinaḥ tvā vājedyāyāi (sapatnasā-
haḥ) sam mārjmi (mārgmi), 850
- vājino vājajito 'dhvāna ('no vājah
jayatādhvāna) akabhnuvanto ...,
327, 698, 777
- vājino vājajito vājah sarisyanto ...
bhāgam ava jighrata, 327, 777
- vājino vājajito vājah sarvāśo (jig-
vāśo) ... bhāgam ('go) ..., 327,
777
- vājinau vājajitau vājah jitvā ... bhā-
gam ('go) ..., 327, 777
- vājo naḥ (me, mā) sapta pradiśah, 519,
724
- vājo no (me) adya prasuvāti dānam,
723
- vājo no (mā) viśvair devaiḥ, 724
- vātaḥ prāṇam anvavasṛjatāt, 381
- vāta ('tāh, 'tas, 'tā) sprtaḥ ('tāh),
709
- vātena prāṇān, 390
- vāto vā (vā vo) mano vā, 741
- vānasatyāsi ('tyam aśi, 'tyo 'si), 848

vāmāḥ duhāthāḥ gharṁadughe iva
dheṇū, 775
vāmam prayaty adhvarē, 527
vāmī (vāmyā) te samidhī viśvāḥ reto
dheṣṭya (dhi*) tava vāmīr (*my) anu
samidhī, 207, 705
vāyav etc (etau, esa) te vāyo, 773
vāyavyaḥ śvetam, 407
vāyavyaḥ śvetāḥ puehe, 407
vāyuh pūtaḥ pavitreṇa, 443
vāyuna prāṇāḥ, 390
(om) vāyuna tarpayāmi, 373
vāyur na iditā iditavyair devair anta-
rikṣyaiḥ (Antarikṣaiḥ) pātu, 576
vāyur na (mā) tebhyo rakṣatu, 723
vāyur vā tvā manur vā tvā, 741
vāyus tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ,
576
vāyusavitṛbhyām āgomugbhyām pa-
yāḥ, 424
vāyus tṛpyatu, 373
vāyoh pūtaḥ pavitreṇa, 443
vāyo prāyaścitte (*tīr asi) tvam ...,
339
vāyosāvitra āgomugbhyām caruḥ, 424
vārāḥ (*raḥ) yat pūto atyeṣy avyān
(*yam), 711
vi kumārāḥ jarāyupā, 61, 459
vi garbhāḥ ca jarāyu ca, 61, 459
vicaranty apativratā, 404, 817
vichandā yāś (yā) ca sachandāḥ, 690
vi jihṣva (*trva) lokam (*kān) kṛnu
(kṛdhi), 698
vi te bhīnadmi takartm (*rim, meha-
nam), 190
vi te muṇāmi raśanāḥ (*nā) ..., 710
vidānā asya yojanam (*nā), 698
vidā rāyaḥ (*ye) suviryam, 630
viduḥ pṛthivya divo janitram (*rāt),
495
viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanāni, 698
vided (*der) agnir (*ner, *ne) nabho
..., 333, 369, 449
videyam enad dhṛdaye niviṣṭam (enāḥ
manasī praviṣṭam), 809
vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutrā, 698
vidmā te sadma vibhṛtaḥ purutrā, 698

vidyutam (*tau) kanīnakśbhyām (ka-
nini*, kanāna*), 774
vidvāḥ ārodhanam divaḥ, 698
vidhṛtir asi (*ti sthaḥ), 765
vidhes tvam asmākaḥ nāma (nāmnā),
474
vi parjanyaḥ (*yāḥ) ṛjanti rodasi anu,
390, 697
vipipānā (*nāḥ) sarasvatī, 758
vipra (*cas, *caḥ, *cau) stha (sthaḥ),
770
viprasya dhārāyā kavīḥ, 446
viprasya vā yac chāsamāna ukthyam
(*yāḥ), 401
viprah sa dhārāyā sutāḥ, 446
viprā (*rāya) gātham gāyata yaḥ ju-
ṣati (*ṣat, yaḥ juṣate), 360, 816
viprā viprasya bhṛato vipsācitāḥ, 446,
739
vipre viprasya sahaso vipsācit, 446, 739
vibhave svāhā, 233
vibhūm kāmam vy aśīya (aśnavai), 704
vibhūr asi pravāhanāḥ, 232
vibhūr mātṛā prabhūḥ pitṛā, 232
vibhūve svāhā, 233
vibhūn kāmam vy aśnavai, 704
vibhūr asi pravāhanāḥ, 232
vibhūr mātṛā prabhūḥ pitṛā, 232
vibhṛtāmānāḥ sarasasya (salī*) mad-
hye (*yāt), 664
vibhve svāhā, 233
vi mamarāḥ roḥito viśvarūpaḥ, 402
vi mītra evair arātim atārit, 703
vi yo mame rajasi sukratūyayā, 413,
755
vi yo rajāśy amimlta sukratūḥ, 413,
755
virājam (*rāt) chanda ihendriyam
(indr*), 399
vi roḥito amṛtā viśvarūpam, 402
viliptī yā (*ptyā) bhāspate, 445
vivadhāś chandāḥ, 792
vivasva (*vann, *vān) ādityaiṣa te
somapithas tena (tasmin) mandasva
... (tasmin mateva), 265, 340, 693
vivasvān aditir devajātis te na ādityā
ājyam juṣāṇā viyantu, 326

- virṛttacakrā āśināḥ, 340, 454
 viśantu ... see viśvantu ...
 viśākhaḥ ('khā, 'khe) nakṣatram, 752, 798
 viśāḥ kavim viśpatim mānuṣpām ('pīr iṣaḥ), 446
 viśām agnim atīthim suprayasam ('yāsam), 258
 viśo yantro ('rī) nudamāno arātim, 800
 viśo-viśaḥ pravivivāṇsam īmahe, 526, 687
 viśo viśvā anu prabhuh ('bhu), 837
 vi śloka etu (eti, 'kā yanti) pathyeva ('theva) sūroḥ ('rīh, 'rūh, 'rah), 284, 419, 443, 690, 709
 viśloka viśvadāvyo tvā sahjuhomi svāhā, 673
 viśvakarmaṇa tanūpā sei, 762
 viśvakarmaṇa namaḥ te pāhy asmān, 358
 viśvakarmāṇau tanūpau me sthaḥ, 762
 viśvakarmā tvādityair uttarataḥ ('rāt) pātu, 173, 739
 viśvakarmā manasā yad viḥāyāḥ, 816
 viśvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upa-dadhatām, 173, 739
 viśvakarmā vimanā ād viḥāyāḥ ('nā yo vyomā, vimame yo viḥāyāḥ), 816
 viśvajanaṣya chāyā ('yāsi, 'yām), 387
 viśvantu ('vaḥ tu, viśantu) tvām āhu-tayāḥ (tvāhutayāḥ) ..., 306
 viśvam anyābhivāvṛdhe (anyābhi va-vāra, anyām abhivāra), 359
 viśvam astu draviṇaḥ vājo ('je) asme ('min), 457
 viśvam aṣya ('yāḥ) priyam upahūtam, 849
 viśvam ā bhāsi rocanam ('nā), 351
 viśvarūpā śabaltr (śavaly) agniketuḥ, 206
 viśvalopa viśvadāvyo tvāsaḥ juhomi, 673
 viśvavidāḥ ('do) vācam aviśvaminvām (aviśvavinām), 402
 viśvasṛjāḥ prathama ('māḥ) satram ānata ('te), 299
 viśvasya jagato niśām (rātri), 387
 viśvasya jantor adhamāṇa cakāra ('maṣ padīṣṭa), 379
 viśvasya te ... vāmtr anu samdṛāi
 viśvā retāṇaḥ dhiṣṭya, 207, 705
 viśvasya priyaṣyopahūtaṣyopahūtaḥ ('tā), 549
 viśvasyāḥ viśi pravivivāṇsam ('sānam) īmahe, 526, 687
 viśvasyēśāna ojaṣā ('saḥ), 585
 viśvā abhiṣṭiḥ pṛtanā jayati, 177
 viśvā amivāḥ pramuṣcan mānuṣibhiḥ ('sebhyaḥ), 474, 573, 587, 835
 viśvā āśāḥ pramuṣcan mānuṣtr bhiyaḥ, 474, 573
 viśvā āśā dakṣiṇasat ('sāt, 'pataḥ, 'padhak), 255
 viśvāḥ pṛtanā abhiḥhūtarāḥ naram ('rah), 402
 viśvādām agnih yam u kāmam āhuḥ, 396
 viśvā deva pṛtanā abhiṣya, 326
 viśvā devāṇām janimā vivakti, 160, 164, 269, 448
 viśvāni deva vayunāni vidvān, 329
 viśvāni devo janimā vivakti, 164, 269, 448
 viśvāni devo vayunāni vidvān, 329
 viśvāni yo amartyaḥ, 402, 457
 viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe ('nā vi-caṣṭe), 167
 viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe, 167
 viśvārād sei viśvānāḥ ('vāśāḥ) nāṣṭrā-pām hantā, 299
 viśvā rūpāḥ bibhrataḥ ('tam), 388
 viśvā rūpāḥ vasūny āveśayanti, 704
 viśvā rūpāḥ sambhṛtā ('tam), 737
 viśvā rūpāḥy abhi-caṣṭe (rūpābhi caṣṭe) śacibhiḥ, 164
 viśvā vasu ('sūni) dadhire vāryāḥ, 248
 viśvāś ca deva ('vaḥ) pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ ('yak), 326
 viśvāś tvām (tvā) prajā upāvarobantu, 308
 viśvāḥ dhattam (santv) anapasphu-rantim ('tīḥ), 378, 739
 viśvā hi bhūyāḥ pṛtanā abhiṣṭiḥ, 177
 viśvā hi māyā avatthāḥ svadhāvantau (avasi svadhāvaḥ, 'van), 265, 765
 viśvet tā te (vāḥ) savaneṣu pravācyā, 765

viśve devasya netuḥ, 731
 viśve devā aśṣuṣu nyuptaḥ ("pyamā-
 neṣu), 454
 viśve devā aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ, 157
 viśve devā anu tiṣṭhantu meha, 154
 viśve devā abhi rakṣantu ("ti) tveha
 (pakvam, paścāt, meha, mām iha),
 154, 303, 327
 viśve devā iha mādasyantām (vīrayadh-
 vam), 157
 viśve devā yad ajuṣanta pūrve, 157
 viśve devāsa iha vīrayadhvam (māda-
 yadhvam, mādasyantām), 157
 viśve devāso aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ, 157
 viśve devāso adhi vocatā naḥ (me), 154,
 327, 723
 viśve devāḥ sajoṣasāḥ, 157
 viśve no devā avasā gamantu (gamann
 iha), 724
 viśvebhyo devebhyā uśrāpām ... me-
 dasām anubrūhi ("mām preṣya), 694
 viśvebhyo devebhyāḥ prṣtān ("taḥ),
 618, 700
 viśvebhyo devebhyāḥ chāgānām ...
 medaso 'nubrūhi ("saḥ preṣya), 694
 viśve mā devā avasāgamann iha, 724
 viśve yasminn amartye, 402, 457
 viśve rāya iśudhyasi, 731
 viśveṣām devānām ahaṁ ("gām ahaṁ
 devānām) ... prāṇaiḥ ("nānām) sāyu-
 jyaḥ gameyam, 578
 viśveṣām devānām prṣtāḥ, 618, 700
 viśvair devaiḥ pitrbhiḥ ("vair yajñi-
 yaiḥ) sahavidānaḥ ("nau), 765
 viśvair devair anumatā ("tath) marud-
 bhiḥ, 388, 404, 817, 849
 viśvo devasya netuḥ, 731
 viśvo rāya iśudhyati, 731
 viśvurūpā yat salakṣmāṇo bhavatha, 727,
 848
 viśvūkuham iva ("hasya) dhanvanā, 519
 viśvūcīn vi vṛhāmasi, 849
 viśvūcīnān ("nā) vyasyatām ("tāt), 850
 viśvambhant diśām adhipatnī bhuvanā-
 nām, 381, 698
 viśvambhena vṛṣṭyā ("yai) vṛṣṭiḥ jīva,
 559
 viśvhitāḥ ("tā) pṛthivīm anu, 851

viśvūḥ pṛthivyāḥ vyakraṇsta gāya-
 treṇa chandasā, 527
 viśvukrānte vasumdhārā ("re), 342
 (om) viśvum tarpayāmi, 373
 viśvum agan varuṣam pūrvahūtiḥ, 115,
 399, 457, 748
 viśnur antarikṣe vyakraṇsta traistu-
 bhena chandasā, 527
 viśnur divi vyakraṇsta jāgadena chan-
 dasā, 527
 viśnus tṛpyatu, 373
 viśnus tryakṣareṇa ("kṣarayā) ..., 808
 viśnus tvaṣṭā prajāyā samhrāṇaḥ, 735
 viśnus tvā (tvām) nayatu, 308
 viśnus tvām indriyepa pātu (tvām
 pātu), 308
 viśnus tvām unnayatu, 308
 viśnū agan varuṣa pūrvahūtau ("tim),
 115, 399, 457, 527, 748
 viśnor dhruvo 'ai ("vam asi), 121, 808
 viśnor manasā pūte sthāḥ (pūtam asi),
 769
 viśnoḥ ("no, "no) śreṣṭhena (śreṣ-
 ṭhyena) rūpeṇa, 363
 viśno ("no, "no) sthānam asi (sthā-
 māsi, sthāmanāḥ), 35, 433
 viśvak patantu didyavaḥ, 404, 815
 viśvañcam vi vṛhāmasi, 849
 viśvañcam āsmac charavaḥ patantu, 404,
 815
 viśvāya rogāḥ tanvaḥ ("vām) svāyāḥ
 ("yām), 671
 viśu chapathajambhant, 699
 viśvharāṇa tapa ugro ("raḥ) mayobhūḥ,
 842
 vītaḥ śamitre ("rā, "tath) śamitā
 ("tath) yajadhyai, 563
 vītaḥ ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma, 521
 vīty arṣa canisṭhaya (paniṣṭaye), 567
 vītho ghṛtasya guhyā juṣāṇā ("ṇau), 132
 vīraḥ ("rān) videya tava samdr̥ṣi (tava
 devi s"), 702
 vīraḥ hi vīravataḥ suśevā, 402
 vīraḥ dhatta (me datta, no datta)
 pitarāḥ, 702, 724
 vīrān naḥ pitaro dhatta, 702, 724
 vīrān me pitaro (tatāmahā, pratatā-
 mahā) datta, 702, 724

- vīraṁ videya ..., see vīraṁ ...
 vīraṁ chapathayopani, 699
 vīrudhaḥ pārayiṣṭvaḥ ("pavaḥ"), 229
 vīrudham ("dhām") halavattamām
 ("mah"), 515
 vīrebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 170
 vīryebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā (śaci"), 170
 vīvadham ("dhaṣ") chandaḥ, 792
 vīhi havyaṁ prayatam āhutam me
 (naḥ), 723
 vīkṣam ivāśanya ("ninā") jahi, 218
 vīraṁ yo jaghāna yatir na, 742
 vītraghna ("naḥ") stomā upa māṁ upā-
 guḥ (mema āguḥ, māṁ ihāguḥ), 303
 vītrasya kantiṁkṣai ("nakṣai"), 789
 vītrasyāśi kantiṁkṣaḥ ("nikā ..."), 789
 vīrasaṁ śuśman āyuse varcase kṛdhi,
 486
 vīrasam āpābhyām, 774
 vīrasaḥ samidhīmahi, 290
 vīrasā āpābhyām, 774
 vīrase śuśmāyāyuse varcase, 486
 vīrabhāya gavayi, 779
 vīrabheṣa gāvaḥ (gāḥ), 390
 vīrabho gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 399
 vīrasaḥ samidhīmahi, 290
 vīśā punāna āyuse (āyūḥ), 550
 vīśā vanam ("ne") vīśā madaḥ ("de,
 utaḥ"), 457
 vīśā vīśe ("vaḥ") pari pavitre akṣāḥ,
 89, 621
 vīśāi vīśyāvān ("van, "vati), 849
 vīśāy ūrmīḥ, 85, 440
 vīśormir asi, 85, 440
 vīśīm divaḥ pavaṣva ritim apām
 (apaḥ), 509
 vīśa ūrmir asi rāṣṭradāḥ, 85, 440
 vīśaḥ sutasyaujaśā ("śaḥ"), 591
 vīśināḥ ("vayaḥ"), 390
 vīśe ("no") codaṣva suṣṭutam, 621
 vedam savitrā prasaṭitaḥ (pr"sa") magho-
 nām ("nā"), 591
 veda te bhūmi hrdayam, 363, 396
 vedaśya ("dānāḥ") nidhipo bhūyāsam,
 690
 vedim āhuḥ param antaḥ prthivyāḥ,
 32, 392
 vedim bhūmīm kalpayitvā, 380
 vedir bhūmir akalpata, 380
 veśāriyai ("ye") tvā, 309
 veśāśir ("śir") asi, 199
 veśāya vām (tvā), 789
 vairājam sāma pratiṣṭhityai ("yā anta-
 rikṣam, "kṣe"), 535
 vairāji ("je") puruṣi, 296
 vairūpaḥ sāma pratiṣṭhityai ("yā anta-
 rikṣam, "kṣe"), 535
 vairūpaḥ ca vairājam cāparau, 750
 vairūpavairāje anāci, 750
 vairūpeṣa sāmā tae chakeyam, 601
 vairūpe sāmān iha (adhi) tae chakema
 (chakeyam), 601
 vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukiḥ avyathāyai
 ("ya, "thayanti) ..., 420, 797
 vaiśvadevāmikṣā, 296
 vaiśvadevy āmikṣā, 296
 vaiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ,
 417, 723
 vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu, 417, 723
 vaiśvānaram dvādaśakapālam, 376
 vaiśvānaram ita ā (itāya) jātam agnim,
 653
 vaiśvānaraśya tejaśā ("ai"), 608
 vaiśvānaraśya daśaśrayaḥ ("rābhyām),
 609
 vaiśvānaraśyainam daśaśrayor api da-
 dhāmi, 609
 vaiśvānaraśya matir navyaśi ("se") śuciḥ,
 429
 vaiśvānaro aṅgiraśam ("robhyaḥ, "āgi-
 raśam), 621
 vaiśvānaro na ūtaye (ūtyā), 62, 558
 vaiśvānaro no (me) adadhāḥ ("dāḥ")
 tanūpāḥ, 724
 vaiśvānaro mahimnā ("hinā, "hinaḥ")
 viśvakṛtīḥ (viśvaśambhūḥ), 273
 vaiśvānaro rāśmibhir mā (naḥ) punātu,
 724
 vocad brahmāṇi ("meti") ver u tat, 299,
 690
 vyaciṣṭham annai ("nam") rabhasaḥ
 dṛśnam (vidānam), 473, 704
 vy amivāḥ pramuṣean mānuṣāpām,
 474, 573, 587, 835
 vy amivāś ("vāśā") cātayavā viśuciḥ,
 788

vy astabhnā (ask*, aṣṭ*, aṣṭ*, askab-
hnād, aṣṭ*) rodasi viṣṇav (*ṇa, *ṇur)
etc., 333

vyāghraṇṇāyān paśūn (*ṇyāḥ paśa-
vaḥ), 390

vyānāḥ (*ṇi) pavase soma dharmabhiḥ
(*maṇā), 214, 705

vyānāś ca me 'auś (*au) ca me, 791

vyomā (*ma) saptadaśaḥ, 118, 794

vratam rakṣanti viśvāḥ, 705

vratam ca ma pīvaś ca me, 709

vratā dadante agneḥ, 705

vratānām vratapate (*īayo) vratam
acāriṣam (acāriṣam), 697

vratāni (vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā
adabdhyaḥ (adabdhyaḥ), 164

vratā rakṣante viśvāḥ, 705

vrihīpāḥ medha (*dhaḥ) sumanaṣya-
mānaḥ, 336

śam yajurbhyaḥ (*bhīḥ), 570

śam yāḥ kumbhebhīr abhīṣtāḥ, 100, 600

śam rātri (*rīḥ, *rīḥ) prati dhīyatām,
195, 206

śakmana oṣiṣṭhāya tvā, 655

śakmane śākvarāya śakmanā oṣiṣṭhāya
tvā grhṇāmi, 655

śakmanā oṣiṣṭhāya [tvā grhṇāmi], 655

śakrāya sunave (*vai) tvā, 238

śakvarīr aṅgulo diśāś ca me yajñena
kalpanām, 202

śamgāyī (*gavī, *gaye) jiradānā
(jīva*), 296

śam ca no (me) mayāś ca naḥ (me), 724

śandāmāṣā (*ḍo marka) upaviraḥ, 749

śatam kumbhāś asificatam surāyāḥ
(madhūnām), 704

śatam tā indro agnīḥ savitā bṛhaspatīḥ,
749

śatam indrāgnī savitā bṛhaspatīḥ, 749

śatamūtiḥ (*te) śatakṛtum (*to), 346

śatamūṣā (*lāḥ) śatāśākuraḥ (*rāḥ), 699

śatam pavitrā vitatā hy (*tāny) āsu,
165

śatam bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ (ūtaye), 558,
704

śatāyusaḥ (*eṇa) kṛnta dīrgham
āyub, 849

śam te parebhyo gātrebhyāḥ (para-
mai gātrāya), 707

śam te methī bhavatu śam yugaṣya
tṛdina, 178

śam tokāya tanuve (*nvai) ayonāḥ, 237,
616

śam no bhavantv āpa (apa) ośadhayaḥ
(*dhīḥ) āivāḥ, 193, 261

śaphārujamī (*jo) yena paśyasi yātud-
hānamī (*nān), 703

śam astu tanve mama, 237

śam asv avaribhyaḥ (*rāya me,
parāya te), 707

śam ahobhyaḥ (*yām), 756

śamibhiḥ śamyantu tvā, 203

śam u te tanve (*nuve) bhuvat, 237, 311

śam u yāḥ kumbha abhīṣtāḥ, 100, 600

śam padam magham rayiṣṇe (rayiṣṇi)
na kāmam (somah), 644

śambhu (*bhūr) mayobhu (*bhūr) no
hrde, 842

śambhūr (*bhur) mayobhūr abhi mā
vāhi svāḥ, 232

śam methir bhavatu śam yugaṣya
tardina, 178

śam me paramai gātrāya, 707

śam v astu tanvai tava, 237, 311

śaradā tvartunā (*nān) haviṣā dīkṣa-
yāmi, 581

śarad rṭub (rṭūnām), 438

śarade (*dbhyaḥ) svāḥ, 709

śaravye brahmasamāite (*tā), 336, 831

śartrah me vicarṣaṇam (vicarṣaṇam),
342

śaro brahmasamāitāḥ, 336, 831

śardhāśy agne ajarāṇi (*rasya) dhak-
satāḥ (*syase), 521

śarman (*maṇa) te syāma trivarūtha
udbhau, 311, 454

śarma yachātha saprathāḥ (*thāḥ), 257

śarma varūtham (śarmavarūthe) pu-
natī na āgāt, 724, 750

śarmā (*ma) saprathā āvṛṇe, 257

śaviṣṭha (*thāḥ) vajrim ojaś (rūjase),
342

śākvaram raivatarā eśma, 750

śākvararāivate śāmani, 750

- ākvararāivate āmanāṁ pratiṣṭhityā an-
 tarikṣe ('śāya, 'sam), 535
 ākṣhābhyaḥ ('bhyaṁ) svāhā, 778
 āntā naḥ santv oṣadhīḥ, 313
 āntir no (me) satu ('tu āntīḥ), 506,
 724
 ārgaḥ arjayaḥ śayāṇjakas te maitrāḥ,
 700, 779
 ākṣā sakhibhyo haviṣi ('śā) svadhūvaḥ,
 601
 ātipāc chityoṣṭhaḥ ātibhrus ('rūs) ta
 āindrāvaiṣṇavāḥ, 232
 ātibhravo ('ruvo) vasūnām, 234
 āprāḥ ārṣan ('śasu vitatā) hiranya-
 yīḥ, 707
 āimāḥ ('māḥ) kṛṣvantu āimyantāḥ,
 407, 789
 āimibhīḥ (āimī) āimyantv tvā, 203
 āirah-āirah prati sūri vi caṣṭe, 178
 āiro devī prati ārir vicāṣṭe, 178
 ālpa vaiśvadevī ('vyah), 213, 781
 ālpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ, 781
 āivam āyantam abhy atra yugmāḥ
 ('mā), 803
 āivam prajābhyo ... madhasthād ('the)
 ..., 98, 664
 āivam mahyam madhumad astv an-
 nam, 309
 āivah śagmo bhavāsi naḥ, 724, 849
 āivā tokāya tanvo ('ve) na ehi (edhi),
 616
 āivā asmabhyam oṣadhīḥ, 313
 āivā ca me śagmā eaidhi, 724, 849
 āivā tvam mahyam edhi, 724
 āivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma,
 322, 330
 āivā na ihaidhi, 724
 āivā no astv aditer ('tir) upasthe, 444
 āivābhīr adya pari pāhi no gayam
 (vrdhe), 835
 āivā rutasya (rudrasya, 'va rtasya)
 bheṣajī ('jā), 296
 āivā viśvāha ('hā) bheṣajī ('jā), 296
 āivena tvā (mā) cakṣuṣā paśyantv āpaḥ
 (paśyatāpaḥ), 327
 āivena me sadi tigṭhasva, 605
 āivebhīr adya pari pāhi no gayam
 (vrdhe), 835
 āive me sadi tigṭhasva, 605
 āiṣṭe śrīge rakṣase ('śobhyo) vinikṣe
 ('nakṣe), 703
 āirṣā girau (āiro) vakṣasā vakṣa eja-
 yan, 551
 āirṣā āiro 'pasāpso ardayan, 551
 ālāyāśjanīkārīm ('ram), 782
 āleṣu ('le ca) yac ca pāpakam, 706
 āukraṁ vām (te) anyad rajatanī (yaj')
 vām (te) anyat, 765
 āukraṁ te āukra āukreṇa ..., 489
 āukraṁ te āukreṇa kṛpāmi ..., 489
 āukraṁ te āukreṇa gṛhāmi, 489, 559
 āukraṁ tvā āukra ādhūnomi, 489
 āukraṁ tvā āukra āukrāya ..., 489, 559
 āukraṁ tvā āukreṇa kṛpāmi ..., 489
 āukraṁ na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā
 ('nāḥ), 114, 735
 āukraḥ āukraśociṣā, 412, 769
 āukrām ('rā) vāyanty (vi yanty) asu-
 rāya nirṇijam ('je), 402, 487
 āukro hṛban ('had) dakṣiṇayā ('pā tvā)
 pipartu, 411, 811
 āukrau āukraśociṣau, 412, 769
 āusiḥ āukre ('ro) ahany ('hany, ahann)
 ojasnā ('ne, 'nām, ojasye), 277, 447,
 454, 683
 āuddha āāirvān mamattu, 416
 āuddhā bhavata ('vanto) yajñiyāḥ
 ('yāsah, 'vantah āucayah) ..., 158
 āuddhā caritrāḥ, 380
 āuddhair āāirvān mamattu, 416
 āuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ ('ya), 334
 āunah kṛnāṣā ('ko) abhi (anu) yantu
 (abhy etu) vāhāḥ ('hān), 47, 467, 701
 āunāśtrāv imām vācām juṣeṭhām, 136
 āunāśtreha sma me juṣeṭhām, 136
 āundhatām ('ntām) lokah ('kāl) pitṛ-
 sadanah ('nāḥ), 698
 āundhyur ('yūr) sai mārjāliyah, 227
 āubham yātām ('bhe kam) anu rathā
 avṛtanta, 479
 āubham gamiṣṭhau ('thā) suyamebhīr
 āsvaiḥ (āsubhīḥ), 134
 āumbhantām lokāḥ pitṛsadanah, 698
 āumbhamāna ('nā) rāyubhīḥ, 712
 āuṣṇasāpāṇi bhedati, 163
 āudrāya cāryāya ca, 77, 654

āṣaṁ na madhye nābhyām (*yāb), 672
 āṣotu mitro aryamā bhago naḥ (me),
 723
 āṣvanti (*tu) viśve amṛtasya putrāḥ
 (amṛtāsa etat), 449
 āṣvanti apo dhiṣṇāḥ (*pā) ca devāḥ
 (*vi), 692
 āṣṭam haviḥ śamitāḥ (*tāḥ, haviḥ
 śamitāḥ), 342
 āṣṇe vaneṣu mātrob (*trṣu), 777
 āśiṣkeṣaṁ viśakṣaṇa (*nam), 349
 āśad aśmai naro vacase dadhātana, 738
 āśaddhā ca no mā vyagamat, 724
 āśaddhā me mā vyāgāt, 724
 āśadīhe āśad dhāpaycha naḥ (mā), 112,
 723
 āśavase no maghonaḥ (*nām), 695
 āśavo devasya āśuasim (*ai), 222
 āśūtā ta indra somā vātīpayo (*per,
 *pe) havanaśrutāḥ, 340, 447
 āśiyam vāsānāś carati svarociḥ (*cāḥ),
 706
 āśiyam ca lakṣmīḥ ca puṣṭim ca ...,
 390, 704
 āśiye (*yai) putrāya vedhavaḥ (vetta-
 vai), 209
 āśiyo vāsānāś carati svarociḥ, 706
 āśi (āśi) me bhajata (*tu), 208
 āśi ca puṣṭiś cāṅṣyam ..., 390, 704
 āśi ca lakṣmīś ca puṣṭiś ca ..., 390, 704
 āśutakakṣo arath (*āśraṁ) gave, 326
 āśutam me mā pra hāṣiḥ, 671
 āśuṣṭi (*te) jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidah,
 607
 āśupibhyām (*pibhyām) svāhā, 189
 āśotraṁ te cakre āśtām, 774
 āśotraṁ mayi dbehi, 640
 āśotraṁ me dāḥ (dhattam), 640
 āśotrāya me vareodā varease (me var-
 codāḥ) pavasva, 778
 āśotrāya [me varecodau varease pave-
 thām], 778
 āśotre te cakre āśtām, 774
 āśūtāś cādhyayū (*yo, *yor) navatīś ca
 pāśāḥ, 390, 769
 sa idam viśvam abhavat sa ābhavat,
 698

sa indra stomavāhasām (*sa) iha āru-
 dhi, 695
 sa imāṁ devo aryamā (adhvarah), 312
 sa ih (i) mandrā suprayasah (*drāsu
 pra*, *drā suprayasā śarīman), 458
 saṁ yuyāva sanibhya ā, 655
 saṁyopayanto duritāni viśvā, 161
 saṁ revatir jagatiḥ (*tībhiḥ ..., *bhir
 ...), 412
 saṁlobhayanā duritā padāni, 161
 saṁ vata iya mātṛbhiḥ, 383
 saṁvatsarasya pratimam (*mā), 395
 saṁvatsarasya śaṣṭhaḥ (*ṣi), 849
 saṁvatsarasya savitā no ahnām (ahnā),
 585, 709
 saṁ varatrā (*rāṁ, *rān) dadhātana,
 692
 saṁ vanāthām (*sethām) svarvidā
 (*dau), 134
 saṁvasānam (*no) vīvasvataḥ (*tā),
 88, 386, 578
 saṁ vaḥ śjāmi hṛdayāni (*yam, *yāni
 vaḥ), 707
 saṁ vājehhiḥ (*jāḥ) puruścandrar
 abhiduyhiḥ, 169
 saṁ vām manāṁsi saṁ vrata, 766
 saṁveśanāś tanuvai (*ve) cārur edhi,
 74, 237, 455, 560, 578, 617
 saṁveśane tanvaś (*vā) cārur edhi, 59,
 74, 455, 560, 578, 617
 saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatrīyābhibhave
 ..., 233
 saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatrīyai (etc.)
 ..., *bhibhuve svāhā, 233, 629
 saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatrīyai (*rīyā,
 etc.) ..., *bhibhūtaye (*tīyai, *bhī-
 tyai) svāhā, 182, 629
 saṁ vo manāṁsi saṁ vrata, 766
 saṁśītaḥ kṣatraḥ jīṣu (... jīṣuḥ),
 837
 saṁśītaḥ cit saṁtaraḥ (*rāṁ) satī
 śīśādhi, 823
 saṁ sanuyāva varīṣv ā, 655
 saṁsarpa (*pau) trīṁ samudrān svargān
 (*gān lokān), 402
 saṁ sūribhir maghavan (harivah, hari-
 van) saṁ svetyā (*ti), 217, 265

- saṁhṛāṣṭu yutav indro gaṇeṣu, 454, 548, 607, 684, 698
 saṁhṛāṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena, 454, 548, 607, 684, 698
 saṁhitāṣi viśvarūpā (*pī, *pīh), 206, 296
 sakpī yat tvā (te) manasā garbhā (*bham) āśayat, 406, 519
 sakṣā devī subhagā mekhalēyam, 322, 330
 sakṣāyaḥ sapta-padā abhūma, 764
 sakṣāyau sapta-padāv abhūva (*dā bah-lūva), 764
 sakṣā sakṣāyam ajaro jarimpe, 336
 sakṣā sakhyur na pra mināti saṁgiram (*rah), 706
 sakṣā sapta-padā (*dā) bhava, 296, 334, 764
 sakhe sakṣāyam ajaro jarimpe, 336
 sakhe sapta-padā bhava, 296, 334, 764
 sakhyam te mā yoṣāḥ sakhyam te mā yoṣāḥ, 493
 sakhyāt te mā yoṣam, 493
 sakhyān me mā yoṣāḥ, 493
 sam grbhāya purā (*ru) śatā, 248
 sa cakārānasmā viṣam, 849
 sa cittāni (cittā) mohayatu pareṣām, 167
 saṁhāṁ yā sa viśandāḥ, 690
 saṁhānām madhyamaśthā edhi (madhyameṣṭhā, madhyameṣṭheyāya, madhyameṣṭhā yathāśāni), 420
 sa jāyamānāḥ parame vyomani (*man), 275
 sa jīva śraddaḥ śatam, 849
 saṁjūr agnir vaiśvānara iḍābhīḥ, 694
 saṁjūr abdo (abdā) ayavohīḥ (etc.), 709
 saṁjūr devebhīr avaraiḥ paraiś ca, 171
 saṁjūr devaiḥ (*vebhyaḥ) prātaryāvahīḥ (*vabhyaḥ), 563
 saṁjūr devaiḥ (*vebhyaḥ) āśyamyāvahīḥ (*vabhyaḥ), 563
 saṁjūr vaiśvānara iḍāyā (ilayā), 694
 saṁjōṣā indra (*rah) saṁjōṣa marudbhīḥ, 323, 336
 saṁjōṣā devair avaraiḥ paraiś ca, 171
 saṁjagmānā abihhyuṣāḥ (avihṛutāḥ), 416, 739, 849
 saṁjagmāno abihhyuṣā, 416, 739, 849
 saṁjagmāno divaḥ kavīḥ (divā kave), 335
 saṁjagmāno (*nā, *nau) divā (*va ā) pṛthivya (*yā [ā]), 59, 134, 578, 789
 saṁjānānau vijahatām arātīḥ, 703
 saṁjānām naḥ (na) svebhyaḥ (svebhīḥ, svaiḥ), 169, 560
 saṁjānām aratebhyaḥ (*nebhīḥ, *naiḥ), 169, 560
 satā ni yonā (*nau) kalāṣeṣu śidati, 221
 satyam citraśravastamam, 850
 satyadharmānam (*po) adhvarā (*ram), 346, 527
 satyadharmānā parame vyomani (*man), 275
 satyam pūrvair (*vebhīr) ṛṣibhīḥ ..., 171
 satyā citraśravastamāḥ, 850
 satyasya dharmāṣa pati (*te, satyasya dharmāṣa), 340
 satyā eṣām (etā) āśiṣāḥ (*śas) santu kāmāḥ (*māiḥ, *māt, santu sarvāḥ, sarvnamantām), 412, 437, 572
 satyā tā (*tyād ā) dharmāṣa pati (pari, dharmāṣa), 437, 588
 satrīcyā maghavā (*vānt) sūnapitaye, 266
 sa tvam no nabhaṣaṣa pate (*tiḥ), 329
 sa tvam say amo 'ham, 849
 sa tvā rakṣatu sarvataḥ, 488
 sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtām bibhartu (pi-partu), 643, 705, 720
 sa dādāra pṛthivīm dyām utemām (*vīm uta dyām, *vīm divam ca, *vīm antarikṣam divam ca), 292
 sadā pāhy abhiṣṭaye (*tibhīḥ), 558, 704
 sadhasṭhe vā (*theṣu) maho divaḥ, 698
 sa naḥ pāvako draviṇam (*pe) dadhātu, 534
 sa naḥ piteva sūnave (putrebhyaḥ), 702
 sa naḥ pito madhumān ā viśha (vi-veśa), 333
 sa naḥ pṛthu (*thub) śravāyām, 402

sa nah śarma trivarūṭham vi yaśsat, 849

sa nah sindhum iva nāvayā (nāvā), 289
sa no aryamā devaḥ, 312

sa no dadātu taḥ (tāh) rayim, 785
sa no dohatāḥ suviryam (*ram), 849

sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat (*ni joṣat), 162, 734

sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni (*nā) joṣate (jujoṣa), 162, 734

sa no mayobhūḥ pite āviśasva (pitav āv*, pitav āviśha, pitav āviveśa), 333

sa no mṛdātāḥ, 764

sa no rakṣatu sarvataḥ, 488

sa no rayim sarvaviraḥ ni yachatu, 785

sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām dadhātu, 643, 705, 729

sa no viśvā ati diviṣaḥ, 849

sam taḥ sūcatu rādhase, 11, 121, 556, 809

sam takṣā hanti cakri vaḥ (cakripaḥ), 406

sam tat sūcatu rādhase, 11, 121, 556, 809

sam tvā nabyāmi payasaugadhīm (*my apa oṣadhībhiḥ, *my adbhīr oṣ*), 460, 588

samdhātām gharomadugheva dhenuḥ, 775

sam devānām sumatyā (*tau) yajñiyanām, 59, 605

sam devi (*vi) devyorvaśyā pśyaasva (*vaśyākhyata), 326

samdhātā samdhīm (*dhīr) maghavā purūvasuḥ (puro*, puru*), 403

samdhināntarikṣeṇāntarikṣam (*kṣā-yāntarikṣam) jinva, 559

sam nas tābhyām (tebhiḥ) sṛjatu viśvakarmā, 770

sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām, 412, 704

sapatnāḥ pradiśo me bhavantu, 309

sapatnāḥ mahyam randhayan, 380, 633, 703

sapatnīr abhibhūvarī (*rīḥ), 207

sa pavaṣva madintama, 329

saputrikāyām jāgratha, 649

sa punāno madintamaḥ, 329

saptarṣayas tapase (*sā) ye tiṣeduh, 558

sapta ca mānuṣīr imāḥ, 459

sapta ca vāruṣīr (*pār) imāḥ, 459

sapta yonīr (yonīr) ā pṛṇasva (*vā) ghṛtēna, 784

sa praty ud (pratyāñ) aid dharuṣam (*po) madhvo agram, 402

sa prathamah samikṛtīr viśvakarmā, 830

sa budhnyād (*nād) āṣṭa januṣo *bhy (*śābhy) agram, 576

sa bhadram akar yo nah somam (*ma-sya) pśyayisyati, 501

sam arīr (arīr) vidām (*dāḥ), 177

sam aryamā sam bhago no ninīyāt, 419

sam asya (asyai) tanvā (*nuvā) bhava, 851

sam ākūtīr (*tīr, *tīh) namāmasi (anahāta, manāmasi), 705

samā ca mā indraś ca me, 709

samā chandaḥ, 709

samānam yonim anu satīcarantam (*ti, carete), 388

samānam ajmam (ayman) pary eti (*mā pari yāi) jāgrīh, 406

samānā (*nī) vā (va) ākūtāni (*tīḥ), 706

samā bhavantūdvato (*tā) nīpādāḥ, 412, 698

sa mām ā viśatād iha, 849

sa mā mā hīṣeti parama vyoman, 850

sa mām pātu, 724

samarabhyordhvo adhvoro divispṛām, 401

samās ca ma indraś ca me, 709

samās chandaḥ, 709

sam it taḥ rāyā (*yāḥ) sṛjati svadhāvan (*dhābhiḥ), 588

samidhho agnā āhuta (agnīr āhutaḥ), 329

samidhho mā (mām) sam ardhaya, 305

samidbhyaḥ (samidhaḥ) pṛeṣya, 488

samidha (*dham) ā dhehi, 692

samidhyamānāḥ prathamānu dharmā (prathamā nu dharmāḥ), 403

sam indreṣa viśvebhīr devebhīr āk-tām, 419

sam indro viśvadevebhīr āk-tām, 419

sam i vatsam na mātṛbhiḥ, 383

samudraṁ yasya rasayā sahāhuḥ, 463, 550
 samudraṁ gandharveṣṭhām ... patma-
 neḍitā (patmann ījitā), 597
 samudraṁ chandab, 792
 samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ,
 234, 402
 samudraṁ na subhvaṁ (*huvam, sub-
 huvas) taasthivāṁsam, 234, 402
 samudraṁ chandab, 792
 samudrasya tvākṣityā (vo 'kṣityā) un-
 nayāmi (naye), 716
 samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi (*paḥ), 665
 samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi (*pe) mantṣi-
 paḥ, 665
 samudrā (*rān) nadyo veśantāḥ (*tān),
 391
 samudrāya śiśumārāḥ, 618
 samudreṇa (*re na) sindhavo yādama-
 nāḥ, 611
 samudre yasya rasān id āhuḥ, 463,
 550
 sam u vām (vo) yajñam mahayam
 (*yan) namobhiḥ, 766
 samādhikarapāṇi tava (*pāṇi mama),
 727
 sam eta viāṁ (*ve) vacasā (ojasā) pa-
 tiṁ divaḥ, 835
 sa me rakṣatu sarvataḥ, 488
 sam oṣadhayo rasena, 193
 sam oṣadhībhir oṣadhīḥ, 193
 sam patni patyā sukrteṣu (*tena) ga-
 chatām, 605, 704
 samapāyan pañktir (pañtim) upatiṣ-
 ṭhamāṇaḥ, 706
 sampra (*cas, *caḥ, *can) stha (sthaḥ)
 sam mā bhadreṇa prākta (*tam), 770
 sampriyaḥ paśubhir bhava (bhuvat,
 paśubhiḥ), 827
 sampriyaḥ prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat,
 827
 sam babhūva samibhya ā, 655
 sam brahmanā (*pāṇi) devakṛtāḥ (*hi-
 taḥ) yad asti, 587, 690
 sam bhagena sam aryamā, 419
 sam mīṣṇe varcasā rja, 303
 sam mām āyusā varcasā (*sā prajāyā)
 rja, 303

sam mā rjāmy adbhīr (apa) oṣadhīb-
 hiḥ, 59, 460
 samyag āyur yajñam (*no) yajñapatau
 dadhātu (dhāt), 399
 samrājā īvaśure bhava, 702
 samrājā īvaśvāḥ (*ruvāḥ) bhava,
 676
 samrājāy uta īvaśvāḥ, 676
 samrājāy odhi īvaśureṣu, 702
 samrāj asi kṛśānuḥ (*no), 334
 sa yajña dhukṣva mahi me prajāyām
 (*yai), 644
 sarasvatīdā mahi, 329
 sarasvati puṣṭiḥ (*tiḥ) puṣṭipatni
 (*tiḥ) ... yajamānāya dadātu (mayi
 dadhātu) ..., 641
 sarasvati vayati peśo antaram (*rab),
 401
 sarasvati (*tiḥ) avapasaḥ sadantu
 (*tām), 207
 sarasvate 'nu (*ty anu) manyasva, 204
 sarasvaty asunod indriyāya (*yeṣa), 70,
 558
 sarasvatyā (*yām) adhi manāv (mānā,
 māpāv, vanāva) ..., 671
 sarasvatyā (*yai) nipakṣantiḥ, 143
 sarasvatyā (*yāḥ) supippalaḥ, 587
 sarasvatyāḥ tvā vīryeṇa yaśaso 'mnā-
 dyāyābhi ..., 143
 sarasvatyai bhāṣajyena vīryāyānnā-
 dyāyābhi ..., 143
 sarāḥ (*rā) patatirīḥ (*ṇi) sthana
 (stha, bhūtā), 739
 sa rāyo sa purandhyām (*yā) 67, 603
 sarūpavarā ehi, 334
 sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahī, 334
 sarvaṁ viṣṭam suhutaḥ karotu (*tu
 me), 724
 sarvaṁ tad astu te gṛhṭam (me śivam),
 309
 sarvaṁ tam bhasmasā (mamasā) kuru,
 717
 sarvaṁ punatha me yavāḥ, 311
 sarvasmi ca vipaśyate, 616
 sarvāś tām mṛṇmṛṣā (maṣmaṣā) kuru,
 717
 sarvā devānāṁ janimāni vidvān, 164,
 269

sarvān ni magmaṣākaram, 717
 sarvān mac chapathāā adhi, 724
 sarvāś ca rājabāndhavāḥ (*vaiḥ, *vyah), 459
 sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā (naḥ) priyāḥ, 724
 salakgmā (*ma) yad viṣurūpā (*paṁ) bhavāti (babbhāva), 727, 848
 salilāḥ saligāḥ saḡaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣāpā vyantu ..., 501
 sa vāḷi rocanā (*naḥ) divaḥ, 698
 savātaraṁ na tejasaḥ (*at), 477
 savitāḥ prasavānām adhipate, 329
 savitā tvā savānām (prasavānām) suvatām, 627
 savitā devo 'bhimātisāhaḥ, 399
 savitā prasavānām (*nām adhipatiḥ sa māvat), 329
 savitā rāṣṭram ... mayi dadhātu (yajamānāya dadātu) ..., 641
 savitur bāhū sthō devajanānām vidharaṇiḥ (*ai), 758a
 savitrā prasavitrā ... indreṇāsme (*mai) ..., 721
 savitrā prasūtā ... tanūm (*nvaṁ) ..., 236
 sa virājaḥ (*jā) paryeti (etu, pari yāti) prajānan, 469
 sa viśvāḥ (*vā) prati cākṣipat (*pe), 698
 sa viśvācītr (*ci) abhi caṣṭe ghrīacīḥ (*ci), 763
 sa viśvā dāśuṣe vasu, 693, 712
 sa viśvā bhuva ābhavaḥ (bhuvō abhavat sa ābhavat), 698
 sa śukrebhiḥ śikvabhiḥ (śukreṇa śikvanā) revad asme (agniḥ), 709
 sa sūtrāmā svavān indro asme (asmat), 75, 80, 612
 sa supraṇīte (*ti) nṛtamaḥ svarāḍ asi, 371
 sa sūra ā (sūrye) janayāḥ jyotiḥ indram (*rah), 390
 saha kṣatreṇa vareṇā balena, 506
 saha dharmaḥ cara (*maś caryatām), 380
 saha naḥ sādhuḥkṛtyā, 766
 saha nau vratapate (*te vratinor, vratapā vratinām) vratāni, 778

sahamānā (*nāḥ, *ne) sahasvatī (*ti, *tim, sarnavati), 329, 346
 sahasradhāra utso akṣiyamāṇaḥ, 387
 sahasradhāram śatadhāram utsam akṣitam, 387
 sahasradhāram akṣitam, 387
 sahasradhārā (*rām) payasā mahi (*him) gauḥ (gām), 387
 sahasradhārāḥ mahiṣo bhagāya, 387
 sahasradhāro akṣitaḥ, 387
 sahasrapoṣaḥ subhage (*gā) rarāpā, 329
 sahasrasā (*sām) medhasātāv (*tā) iva tmanā (*sātā sanisyaṇaḥ), 388
 sahasrākṣa medha ā (medhāya) cīyamānāḥ, 101, 336, 651
 sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi, 634
 sahasrākṣāya mīdhuse (vājine), 566
 sahasrākṣāyāmartya, 332, 427
 sahasrākṣeṇa vājina, 566
 sahasrākṣo amarīyaḥ, 332, 427
 sahasrākṣo medhāya cīyamānāḥ, 101, 336, 651
 sahasrāpoṣaḥ subhage rarāpā, 329
 sahasraṇa upa no māhi vājān (no yanto vājāḥ), 382
 sahasrotiḥ (*te) śatāmagaḥ (*gha), 329
 sahasva no abhimātim (me arātīḥ), 703, 724
 sahasvārātīḥ (*tiḥ) sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ (sahasvārāḥlyataḥ), 703
 sa hi purū (puru) cid ojaś virukmatā, 247
 sa hi viśvāti (*vāni) pāṛthivā, 163
 sahaiva nau sukṛtaḥ saha dṣkṛtani, 766
 saḥobhau caratāḥ dharmam, 380
 saho mayi dhehi (me dāḥ ...), 641
 sā cakarthārasaḥ viṣam, 849
 sā jīva śaradaś śatam, 849
 sātā (*tau) vājasya kāravaḥ, 221
 sā tubhyam adite mahi (*he), 204
 sā tvam asy amo 'ham (aham, amūham, āpy amo 'ham), 849
 sā naḥ pūṣā śivatamām eraya, 342, 393
 sā naḥ śarma trivarūtham ni yachāi, 849

- sā naṣ samantam anu parthi (abhi pary
 chi) bhadrāyā ('re), 356, 724
 sā naḥ stte payasābhyaṣvavṛta, 312
 sā naḥ supṛāci supṛāci edhī ('ei
 bhava, 'ei sam bhava), 724
 sā no aamin suta ābhabhūva, 419, 550
 sā no dadātu śravasāṁ pīṭhām
 ('ṛpām), 252
 sā no dohatām suvīryam ('ram), 849
 sā no nābhīḥ paramaṁ jāmi tan nau,
 771, 777
 sā no bhūmīḥ pūrvapeye ('yath) dad-
 hātu, 534
 sā no yajñam pīṭhi viśvavāre, 417
 sā no viśvā ati dviṣaḥ, 849
 sā nau nābhīḥ paramaṁ jāmi tan nau,
 771, 777
 sā paprathe pṛthivī pāṛthivāni ('vāya),
 48, 479
 sā prathamā samskṛtiṣ viśvavārā, 830
 sā mandasānā manasā āvena, 778
 sā mām ā viśatād iha ('tām ihaiva),
 849
 sā mā śāntir edhi, 506, 724
 sā mā samantam abhiparyechi bhadre,
 356, 724
 sā mā supṛāci supṛāci bhava, 724
 sā me dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān
 ('yva sarvān bhūtikāmān), 309
 sāmrajyāya pratarāṁ ('rān) dadhānaḥ,
 823
 sāmrajyāya sukratuḥ ('tā), 765
 sā vā apasyaj janitāram agre, 780
 sāvitṛiḥ bho ('rīm me bhavān) anu
 brūhi (bravitu), 326
 sā śāntitāti ('tā, śāntāci) mayas karad
 apa eridhaḥ, 402, 550
 sāhyāma dasyuḥ tanūhīḥ, 703
 sīāhir ('hy) asi ..., 206
 sīdham adya divispṛāḥ ('sam), 388
 sīnvalyā aham devayajyayā paśumān
 ('matī) bhūyāsam, 849
 sīndhutaḥ pary ābhṛtaḥ ('tam), 387
 sīndhuh ('dhur) na nāvā duritāti paṛṣi,
 407
 sīndhur avabhṛtham avaprayan (ava-
 bhṛthāyodyataḥ), 479
 sīndhol sīśumārāḥ (sīśum), 618
 sīmāḥ kṛvāntu (śamyantu) śamyant-
 tīḥ, 789
 sīdan yonā ('nau) vanesv ā, 221
 sīrāḥ patatṛiṣi sthāna, 739
 sukālpam agne tat tava (tvayā), 583
 sukratāṁ nau saba, 766
 sukratāṁ mā deveṣu brūtāt, 647, 724
 sukhaḥ (sugāḥ) meṣāya meṣyai ('ye),
 209
 sugaḥ panthānam āruksam, 283
 sugārhapatyō vīdāhann arātīḥ (vīta-
 pann arātim), 703
 sugā vo devāḥ sadanā ('nam) ākarma
 (kṛmōi, sadanāni santu, sadanedam
 astu), 164, 378, 698
 sugrhapatir mayā ('tis tvath) ... grha-
 patinā ('tyā) bhūyāḥ, 219
 sugebhir ('gena) durgam atītām, 704
 sucaḥṣā aham akṣīhiyām (akṣī) bhū-
 yāsam, 189
 sujyotir jyotiṣā ('gām) svāhā, 583
 suta ('tā) indrāya vāyave, 693
 sutam ('taḥ) somam ('mo) diviṣiṣu,
 387
 sūtāsa ('teṣv) indra girvapaḥ, 452
 sūtrāmendro ('rām) sarasvatī, 535
 sudakṣā dakṣapitarā ('tārā), 253
 sudughendro ('ram) sarasvatī, 526
 sudughe mātārā ('rau) mahī, 134
 sudevam indre nāvinā (indrāyāśvinā),
 639
 sudhīn yonin suśadāḥ pṛthivīḥ ('vī)
 svāhā, 550, 707
 suparṣo avyathir ('thī) bharat, 214
 supippalā ośadhīḥ kartanāśme (kartam
 namaī, 'same), 721
 suprajāḥ prajābhi syāḥ ('jayā bhūyā-
 saḥ) suvīro vīraiḥ supoṣaḥ poṣaiḥ
 (prajābhir bhūyāsam supoṣaḥ poṣaiḥ
 suvīro vīraiḥ), 702
 suprajāḥ prajābhiḥ syāma suvīrā vīraiḥ
 supoṣaḥ poṣaiḥ (prajāyā bhūyāsam
 suvīro vīraiḥ supoṣaḥ poṣaiḥ), 702
 suprāve ('yā) yajamānāya sunvate,
 429
 supṛito manuṣo viśi ('śe), 101, 654
 subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka, 336
 subhagamkaraṇī mama, 851

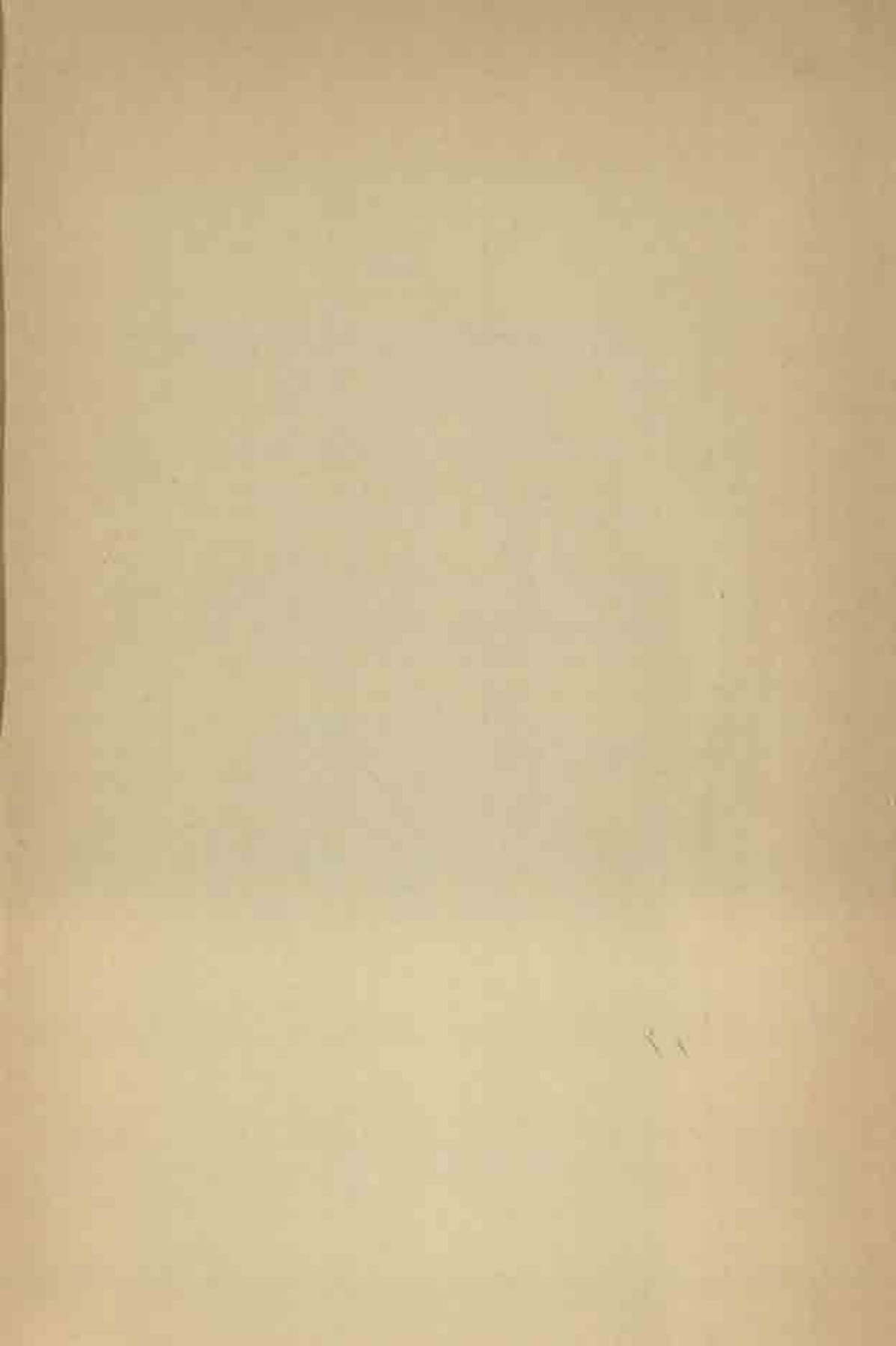
- subhage kāmṣṭlavāsinī, 350
 subhadrikām kāmṣṭlavāsinīm, 350
 subhāgamikaraṇam mama, 351
 subhūṭāya tvā (vā), 739
 subhūr asī (nāmāsi) śreṣṭho rāsmīr ...
 (rāsmīnām), 84, 439
 subhūḥ svayambhūḥ prathamah
 ('mam), 43, 404
 sumanīḥ subhiraṇyavān ('vā), 342
 sumatiḥ satyadharmagah (satyarādha-
 sah, 'sam, viśvarādhasah, vājini-
 vataḥ), 518
 sumanmā vasvī ranti sūnari, 178
 sumṛdikaḥ svavān ('vā) yātv arvān,
 267
 sumṛdikaḥ ('kām) abhiṣṭaye, 739, 849
 sumṛdikaḥ sarasvatī ('ti), 242
 sunnahūr ('hur) yajña (yajño devān)
 ā ca vakṣat, 232
 sunnyayuvah ('yavas) sunnyāya sum-
 nah ('nyah) dhatta, 229
 surayā ('rāyā) mūtrā janayanti ('ta)
 retah, 569
 surayā ('rāyāḥ) somah suta śanto ma-
 dāya, 569
 surāṣṭrā īha māyata (no 'vata), 724
 suvān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre 'atar
 abasta kṛśāno, 341
 suvirāḥ prajāḥ prajānayan parihi, 402
 suvirīṇaḥ arja-arja, 336
 suviro virān prajānayan parihiy ...,
 402
 susadā yonau ('nīh) svāhā ..., 550, 707
 suśamiddham ('dho) vareṇyam ('yah),
 387
 suśvāṇah ('yo) devavīṭaye, 387
 suśamiddham ('dho) vareṇyam ('yah),
 387
 suśambhṛtā ('te) tvā sah bharāmi, 50,
 569
 suhavā nā ehi saha rāyaspoṣeṇa, 724
 suhavā mehi saha prajāyā ..., 724
 sūktam ('tā) brūhi, 690
 sūnuh ('nuh) satyasya yuvānam, 394
 sūyavasād bhagavati ('ti) hi bhūyāḥ,
 334
 sūyavasinī manave (manuṣe, mānuṣe)
 dāśasyā ('ye, yaśasye), 417, 654
 sūr asī suvanasya retah ('tā iṣṭakā
 svargo lokah), 455
 sūr asī avar asṭakā svargo loka, 455
 sūro ahnām prataritā uśasīm divah, 709
 sūryah cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā
 ('sur gamayātāt vātam prāṇam an-
 vasṛjātāt), 381
 sūryah cāmum riśādasam (cāmū riśā-
 dasah), 402
 (om) sūryah tarpayāmi, 373
 sūryah te cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā,
 381
 sūrya prāyasoitte ('tīr asī) tvah ...,
 339
 sūryas cakṣur vātah prāṇam, 381
 sūryas tṛpyatu, 373
 sūryas te cakṣuḥ ..., 381
 sūryas tvā (tvā rāsmibhiḥ) parastāt
 ... abhiśastyai ('yāḥ), 150
 sūryasya maricīḥ, 406
 sūryasyaṅkā carati niskṛtesu ('tāni),
 524, 527
 sūryāgni dyāvāpṛthivī uro antarikṣāpa
 ośadhayaḥ, 193
 sūryāyā ādho 'dityā (adi', ādhar aditer,
 ādho aditer) upasthe, 184, 282
 sūryeṇa dyām (divam), 294
 sūryo devo (divo) diviṣadbhyo dhātā
 kṣatrāya ('rasya) vāyuh prajābhyah
 (prajānām), 636
 sūryo nas (mā) tebhyo rakṣatu, 723
 sūryo maricim ādatte, 406
 sūryo me cakṣur vātah prāṇo ..., 381
 sūryo rūpam kṛpate dyor (dyaur) upas-
 the, 290
 sṛkṣvāṇam gharman abhi vāvaśānā, 692
 sṛjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han, 703
 sṛjo vi dhārā ava dānavān han, 703
 sadam priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sādā
 āstā (priyeṇa nāma priye sadasi
 āstā), 472, 528
 so adhvarā ('dhvarā karati) jātavedāḥ,
 769, 791
 so apakṣyāj janitāram agro, 780
 so asmān pātu sarvataḥ ('mān sarvataḥ
 pātu), 850
 somah kalāṣe śatayāmā ('manā) pa-
 thā, 272

- somaḥ prathamō vivide, 404, 449, 815
 somah rājānam oṣadhīṣv apsu, 374
 somah sa ... maitasyai ("yā) diśo ..., 149
 somam āhur vṛṣṇo aśvāsyā retah, 392
 somah pihataḥ madyaṁ dhṛtavrata ("tau), 131
 somam piba vṛtrahā śūra ("hañ chūra) vidvān, 323, 335
 somaś ca yo brāhmaṇān ("nam) āviveśa, 695
 somasya jāyā prathamam, 404, 449, 815
 somasya rājñah kuluthgaḥ, 618
 somasya śuṣmah surayā ("rāyān) sutasya, 901
 somasyāgne vihi, 693
 somasyāhaṁ devayajayā ... reto dhi-
 śya (dheṣ"), 445
 somā arṣanti ("tu) viṣṇave, 693
 somā divyāni pārthivā, 693
 somānah ("nāh) avaraṇam, 509
 somānām agne vihi, 693
 somāya kuluthgaḥ (kulañ"), 618
 somāya rājñe kuluthgaḥ, 618
 somena tvātanaśmindrāya dadhi, 621
 somo arṣanti viṣṇave, 693
 somo ahnaḥ ("nām) prataritoṣaso ("sām) divah, 709
 somo divyāni pārthivā, 693
 somo no rājāvatu mānuṣiḥ prajā nivī-
 śacakrāṣu ("kra asau), 454
 somo rayiṁ sahaviraṁ ni yānsat, 785
 somo rājā rājapati ... mayi dadhātu (yajamānāya dadātu) ..., 641
 somo rājagadhīṣv apsu, 374
 somo rādhasām ("sā), 588, 704
 somo rudrair ("rebhir) abhi rakṣatu tmanā, 169
 somo retodhāṁ tasyāhaṁ devayajayā suretodhā reto dhiśya, 445
 soruḥ asti na nivartate, 849
 so 'amān devo aryamā, 312
 so 'amān pātu, 724
 so 'syni ("yāh) prajāṁ muñcatu mṛtyu-
 pāśāt, 622
 so 'haṁ vājam saneyam (sanāmy) agne ("neḥ), 363
 skannemā viśvā bhuvanā, 163
 stani mandras suprayakṣuḥ, 458
 stotāra ("tṛbhya) indra girvaḥ, 427
 stomatrayastrīṇaḥ (stomas traya-
 strīṇa) bhuvanasya patni ("ni), 342
 stomena ("mehhir) prati bhūṣati (bh"
 pr"), 690
 stomebhir viśvacarṣam ("ae), 346
 stomebhir havanaśrutam ("tā), 346, 765
 stome saptadaśe stutam ("tāh), 402
 stomair vardhanty atrayaḥ, 474
 stomo yajñāś ca ("śāsyā) rādhyo havi-
 smatī ("tāh), 449, 591
 striyaḥ satīś tāt (tā) u me puṁsa āhuḥ, 826
 spardhante dhiyaḥ (divah) sūryo na (sūre na, sūryeṇa) viśah, 606
 sphātyai tvā nārātyai, 182
 syāma te sumatīḥ api, 311
 syāma sumatau tava, 311
 syāma sumnasyādhrigo (sumno te adh-
 rigo), 675
 syonam annam madhuman me kṛṇomi, 309
 syonam patye ("tṛbhya) vahatuṁ kṛṇu-
 śva (kṛṇu tvam), 702
 srucāḥ sahmṛdḍhi, 770
 srucājyāni ("yena) juhvataḥ (srucā-
 nyena juhvata), 466, 694
 srucīva gṛtaḥ camviva (camū iva) somah, 245
 srucāu sahmṛdḍhi, 770
 srucāḥ ca srucāś ca sahmṛdḍhi, 770
 svahpatir yadi vṛdhe, 397
 svam yonih gacha svāhā, 784
 svam yonim ihāśadāḥ, 784
 svagān ..., see svargān ...
 svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarṇa (sada-
 nāni santu), 164, 378, 698
 svatikṛto 'si, 824
 svam jarāyū gaur iva, 793
 svadhā pitāmahāya ("hebhyaḥ), 702
 svadhā pitre (pitṛbhyaḥ), 702
 svadhā prapitāmahāya ("hebhyaḥ), 702
 svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe (svapna
 svapnābhikarapena, "dhi"), 342, 601
 svayambhūr asi āreṣṭho rāśmih ..., 84, 439

- svayā tanvā tanvam airayat, 236, 240, 604
 svayonir̥ gacha svāhā, 784
 svargam̐ ('gān, svagān) arvanto (arvato) jayema (jayata, jayataḥ, 'ti), 350, 401, 608
 svargam̐ me lokam̐ yajamānāya dhehi, 72, 103, 482, 533
 svargān ..., *see prec. but one*
 svargena lokena sampror̥gavāthām, 601
 suvargeyāya (svar') śaktyai ('yā), 182, 567
 svarge loka pinvamāno bibhartu, 457
 svarge loka pror̥gavāthām ('vāthām, 'vuvāthām), 601
 suvarge loka yajamānam̐ hi dhehi ('hi mām), 72, 103, 482, 533
 suvarge (svarge) loka sampror̥gavāthām ('vuvāthām), 601
 svargyāya śaktyā ('taye), 182, 557
 svar devā (devān) aganma (agāma), 340, 349, 401
 svarpatim̐ yad̐ ih vridhe, 397
 svasā devī ('vānān) subhagā mekhalayam, 322, 330
 svasāro mātariḥbharir̥ aripṛāḥ, 770
 svasārau mātariśvari ('bhvari) aripṛe, 770
 svastidā viśas ('śān) patib, 608
 svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu, 266
 svasti naḥ pūr̥gamukhaḥ ('kham) pari krāmātu (krāmāntu), 404, 815
 svasti no maghavā karotu, 266
 svasti no maghavā dhātuv indraḥ, 266
 svasti mā am̐ vahāya yajñasyod̐ci svāhā, 523, 526, 606
 svasti mā samprār̥aya ('yāya yajñasyod̐cam), 523, 526, 606
 svas te dadāmi, 641
 svasty apu vr̥jane (vr̥j') svarvati ('taḥ), 683
 svasty uttarān ('raṇ, 'rāny) nātya, 837
 svas (suvas) tvayi dadhāmi, 641
 svāh yat tanūm tanvām airayata, 236, 240
 svāh yonim̐ gacha svāhā, 784
 svāh yonim̐ ihāsadaḥ, 784
 svām̐kṛto 'm̐, 824
 svā tanūr̥ baladeyāya mehi (baladāyā na ehi), 723
 svātām̐ sad dhavir̥ āpo devib̐ svadantu, 327
 svātām̐ cit̐ saddevam̐ havyam̐ āpo devib̐ svadatainam, 327
 svāna bhr̥ājān̐ghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛāno, 341
 svāna bhr̥āt̐, ān̐ghār̐ir̥ bambhār̐ir̥, hastat̐ suhastat̐, kṛānūr̥ viāvāvasub̐, 341
 svān nabhr̥ād̐ ān̐ghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛāno, 341
 svā yat tanū tanvam airayata, 236, 240, 604
 svāyān̐ yat tanvān̐ ('vuvān̐) tanūm airayata, 236, 240, 604
 svāyān̐ tanū ('nūn) ṛtviya ('eye) ..., 240, 249a
 svāyudhāḥ notrbhīb̐ pūyate vṛṣā ('bhīb̐ soma sūyase), 328
 svāveśayā ('śā) tanvā sam̐viśasva, 174, 415
 svāveśo 'ay agreḥ netṛpām̐ ('pām̐), 222
 svānūr̥ aśvaḥ ('vā) suyāmi (yāmi), 779
 svānasthas ('thā) tanuvā sam̐viśasva, 849
 svāhākṛtibhyah̐ ('tibhyah̐) pṛegya, 188
 svāhāgnim̐ na bheḡajam̐ ('jaib̐), 459, 704
 svāhāgnim̐, 126, 485
 svāhā devā ('vān) ājyapāḥ ('pān), 126, 377
 svāhā pūḡape śarase, 655
 svāhā prajāpataye ('tim), 485
 svāhā marudbhīb̐ ('bhyaḥ) ..., 559
 svāhā yajñam̐ manasaḥ ('sā, 'm̐, yajñamanasaḥ), 570, 607
 svāhā r̥jasōyāḥ ('yāya citānāḥ, r̥jasvab̐), 492, 742
 svāhā vanaspatim̐ priyam̐ pātho na bheḡajam̐ ('jaib̐), 459, 704
 svāhā vāce, 655
 svāhā viśvān̐ devān̐ (viśvebhyo devebhyah̐), 455

- svāhā sarasvatīm ("tyai), 455
 svāhā somam indriyam ("yaih), 459, 705
 sviṣṭam subutam karotu svāhā ("tu nah svāhā), 724
 sva dakṣe (svair dakṣair) dakṣapiteha stha, 62, 100, 603, 705
 svo (suvo) ruhānā adhi nākam ("ka) nttamam ("me), 526
 hatas te atriṣā krimiḥ (krimi), 703
 hate me pāpmā, 380
 hanubhyām (hanu) stenān bhagavaḥ, 230
 hanubhyām (hanu) svāhā, 230
 hantāraṁ bhaṅgurāvatām ("taḥ), 703
 hanti rakṣo bād hate pary arātīḥ ("tim), 703
 hayasya chāgasyastasya candravapā-nāth medasaḥ preṣya ("so 'nuhrūhi), 604
 haṣamāṇāso dhṛitā ("yatā) marutvaḥ, 156, 265, 417
 haṣamāṇā hṛitāso marutvan, 156, 265, 417
 havanaśrun no rudreha bodhi, 228
 haviṣā yajña ("nam) indriyam ("yaih), 19, 473, 540, 705
 haviṣ ("viḥ) kṛvantah parivatsariṇam ("nām, "riyam), 838
 havyaḥ ("yath) pārvatebhyah, 407
 havyaḥ marīṣa indhate, 457, 689
 havyā marteṣu rapyati, 457, 689
 havyāyāmai voḍhave ("vai) jātave-dah, 238
 haṣagrābhāsyā didhiṣo (da) tavedam (tvam etat), 449
 hastāyutī ("tām) janayanta ("yata) prāṇastam, 477
 haṣṭāya ("tena) vajrah prati dhāyi darśataḥ, 562
 hastau pṛṇasya bahubhir vasavyaiḥ, 132, 704
 hastyaśvāśvatarai rathaiḥ (hastyaśvā-digave ratham), 459
 hāvanaśrūr no rudreha bodhi, 228
 hinva ("vā) me gātrā ("rāṇi) harivaḥ, 166
 himavate ("to) hastī ("tinam), 126, 376, 618
 hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ, 329
 hiraṇyavarṇa śakune, 329
 hiraṇyapāṇir amimīta sukratub kṛpā ("pāt) evaḥ (suvaḥ), 572
 hiraṇyayāḥ ("yā) śucayo dhārapitāḥ, 402
 hiraṇyarūpam ("pā) uṣaso vyūṣtau (vi-roke), 402, 709
 hiraṇyavarṇam uṣaso vyūṣtau, 402, 709
 hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ, 329
 hiraṇyavarṇāḥ uṣasām viroke, 402, 709
 hiraṇyavarṇā ("ne) subhagā ("ge), 329
 hiraṇyābhīṣam ("śur) aśvinā, 387
 hiraṇyena varcāṁsi ("caḥ), 704
 hutādam agniḥ yam u kāmam āhuh, 396
 hṛtau kratum varuṇaḥ ("po) vikṣv (apav, dikṣv) agnim, 399
 hemantaśiśirābhyāḥ tvartunā ("nām) haviṣā dikṣayāmi, 581
 hemantaśiśirāv ("rā) rtū (rtūnām), 438
 hotaś eikītv ("vann) avṛṇmahīha, 265, 349
 hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm ("ti), 398
 hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm meṣasya ("syā) ..., 779
 hotā yakṣad aśvinā ("nau) chāgasya ..., 134
 hotā yakṣad aśvinau ("nā) sarasvatīm ..., 134
 hotṛṣadanam haritām hiraṇyayam, 727
 hotṛṣadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ, 727
 hotrābhīr agne ("nir) manuṣaḥ svadh-varaḥ, 329
 hrādāś ca ("do vā) puṇḍarikāṇi ("ka-vān), 698
 hrādunībhyah ("nibh) svāhā, 188
 hrādunir dūṣikābhiḥ, 709





Central Archaeological Library,
NEW DELHI.

Call No. D 2898 - 30974

Author— Bloom field,
Maurice + others

Title— Vedic variants
M. 217

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return
Mrs. Jha Majumdar	18/10/65	28/11/65

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.