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# Themes and Tasks in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan Linguistics

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# The Vedic medio-passive aorists, statives and their participles: reconsidering the paradigm\*

LEONID KULIKOV

## 1. *-āna*-PARTICIPLES IN PASSIVE USAGES: PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The present paper deals with a group of athematic middle participles with the suffix *-āna-* which exhibit quite unusual syntactic properties in early Vedic, in the language of the Ṛgveda (RV). While the finite forms with which these participles are said to belong are employed only transitively, *-āna*-participles made from the same stem are attested in both transitive and intransitive (passive) constructions. This fact was noted already by Delbrück in his seminal *Altindische Syntax*.<sup>1</sup> Such asymmetry in the syntactic properties of finite and participial forms requires an explanation. To begin with, I shall focus on two typical examples, the participles *hinvāná-* and *yujāná-*.

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<sup>1</sup> "Verhältnissmässig häufig ist passivischer Gebrauch bei aus der Wurzel gebildeten Participien auf *āná*, die man zum Praesens oder Aorist ziehen kann". (Delbrück 1888: 264); see also Delbrück 1888: 379f.; Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 270.

*hinvāná-* (root *hi* ‘impel’) occurs 18 times in intransitive (passive) constructions (as in (1a)), and 10 times in transitive constructions (as in (1b)) in the Ṛgveda (see e.g. Kümmel 1996: 141):

- (1) a. RV 9.12.8b

*sómo hinvānó arṣati*

‘Soma, **being impelled**, flows.’

- b. RV 2.21.5

*dhiyo hinvāná usíjaḥ*

‘Uśij’s, **impelling** the (religious) thoughts...’

The syntactic properties of *hinvāná-* are in sharp contrast with those of the finite middle forms made from the nasal present (3pl. med. *hinváte* etc.), with which *hinvāná-* is supposed to belong. These forms can only be employed transitively, meaning ‘impel’, as in (2):

- (2) RV 9.65.11c

*hinvé vājeṣu vājīnam*

‘I **spur** on this runner [in the race] for prizes.’

Similarly, the participle *yujāná-* (root *yuj* ‘yoke’) occurs 8 times in intransitive (passive) constructions (as in (3b)) and 14 times in transitive constructions (as in (3a)) in the Ṛgveda (see Kümmel 1996: 90):

- (3) a. RV 6.47.19a

*yujānó haritā ráthe*

‘... (Tvaṣṭar,) **yoking** two fallow [horses] to the chariot.’

- b. RV 6.34.2c

*rátho ná mahé śávase yujānáḥ*

‘... like a chariot **yoked** for the great power.’

Vedic grammars treat *yujāná-* as a middle participle of the root aorist (see, for instance, MacDonell 1910: 370). However, again, as in the case of *hinvāná-*, the corresponding finite forms (3sg.med. *áyukta* etc.) can only be employed in transitive usages, as in (4):

(4) RV 7.60.3

*áyukta saptá haritah*

'He yoked (now) his seven dun (horses).'

Such remarkable syntactic behaviour of the middle participles requires an explanation: why do these participles show the syntactic features different from those of the corresponding finite forms?

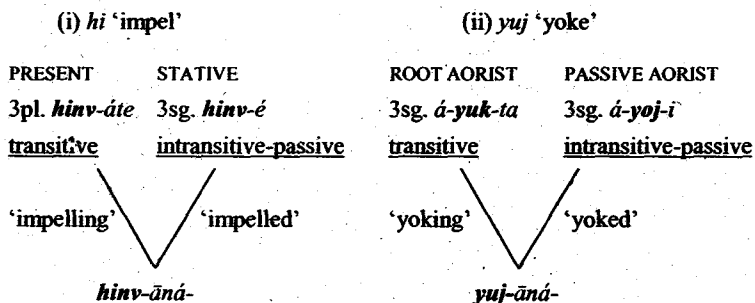
Here it is in order to take a closer look at the syntactic properties of the other forms of the paradigms, where the participles *hinvāná-* and *yujāná-* belong. Apparently, in order to find a clue to our problem, we need to look for finite forms which are derived from the same stem as the participles in question (i.e. *hinv-* and *yuj-*) and can be employed as passives. Such forms indeed exist. In the case of *hinvāná-*, these are the statives 3sg. *hinvé* '(it) is impelled', 3pl. *hinviré* '(they) are impelled'. In the case of *yujāná-*, passive usages are attested for the passive aorist 3sg. *áyoji* '(it) was yoked', 3pl. *áyujran* '(they) were yoked'.<sup>2</sup>

To put it in morphological terms, the stem *hinu-/hinv-* is shared by the nasal present (3sg.act. *hinóti*, 3pl.med. *hinváte* etc.), which never occurs in passive constructions, and the stative (3sg. *hinvé*), which is employed in passive usages ('(it) is impelled'). Likewise, the stem *yuj-* (*yōj-*) is shared by the root aorist (3sg.med. *áyukta* etc.), never used in passive constructions (*áyukta* can only mean '(he) yoked', not 'was yoked'), and the passive aorist (3sg. *áyoji*, 3pl. *áyujran*), always employed as passive ('it was yoked', 'they were yoked').

<sup>2</sup> For statives and (medio-)passive aorists (*i*-aorists), two formations with defective paradigms (3sg. and 3pl. only), which are mainly employed in passive usages, see Kümmel 1996. For statives, see also Gotō 1997.

Thus, the passive syntax of the participles *hinvāná-* and *yujāná-* can readily be explained on the assumption that they belong with statives (3sg. *hinvé*, 3pl. *hinviré*) or passive aorists (3sg. *áyoji*, 3pl. *áyujran*).

This means that these participles are homonymous, or morphologically (grammatically) ambiguous, but their grammatical characteristics are distinguished by their syntax. *hinvāná-* is a middle present participle when employed transitively, meaning 'impelling', and a stative participle when employed intransitively (passively), meaning 'impelled'. Likewise, *yujāná-* is a middle root aorist participle when employed transitively ('yoking') and a passive aorist participle when employed in passive constructions ('yoked'):



Despite the fact that participle forms are never listed in the standard Vedic grammars within the paradigms of statives and medio-passive aorists, the assumption that passive *-āna*-participles should be listed within these paradigms seems quite attractive, since it easily explains their abnormal syntax.

## 2. MEDIO-PASSIVE AORIST PARTICIPLES VS. MIDDLE ROOT AORIST PARTICIPLES

A similar account is appropriate for some other *-āna*-participles which display passive syntax. Particularly instructive is the case of the middle participles made from roots which do not have finite

root aorist forms. Traditionally, such forms are treated as middle root aorist participles, but, assuming that they belong with the (medio-)passive *i*-aorists, we can more adequately explain the syntax and morphology of these formations. In this section I shall briefly discuss a few such participles.

### 2.1. *srj* 'set free, emit, create': *srjāná-*

The participle *srjāná-* is attested exclusively in passive constructions, as in (5):

(5) RV 9.76.1c

*háriḥ srjānó átyo ná sátvabhiḥ*

'The fallow [Soma], **set free**, like a horse, by warriors ...'

The only finite formation constructed directly on the root is the passive aorist (3sg. *ásarji*, 3pl. *ásrgran* / *ásgram*; see Insler 1968a: 326f. with fn. 23; Kümmel 1996: 129ff.), as in (6):

(6) RV 1.190.2

*sárgo ná yó ... ásarji*

'... like a discharge (= oblation) which **has been discharged** (in Agni = in the fire).' (see Insler 1968b: 5)

Since *srj* does not form root aorists properly speaking, *srjāná-* can only belong with this passive aorist.

### 2.2. *dṛś* 'see': *dṛśāná-*

The participle *dṛśāná-*<sup>3</sup> (RV 1.92.12, 10.45.8) 'visible' undoubtedly belongs with the passive aorist (3sg. *ádarsi*, 3pl. *ádṛsran* / *ádṛsram*); the middle root aorist first appears in Vedic prose.

<sup>3</sup> For the hapax *dṛśāna-* (RV 2.10.4), with a different accentuation, see Section 5 below.

### 2.3. *ruc* 'shine': *rucāná-*

The participle *rucāná-* 'shining, bright' (6x in the RV) must belong with the medio-passive *i*-aorist ((*a*)*roci*, 3x in the RV);<sup>4</sup> the middle root aorist forms properly speaking are unattested.

## 3. STATIVE PARTICIPLES VS. MIDDLE PRESENT PARTICIPLES

As in the case of *hinváná-*, the passive syntax of several middle participles can easily be accounted for on the assumption that they belong with statives made from present stems, not with these middle presents properly speaking.

### 3.1. *su* 'press (out)': *sunváná-*

Unlike the finite middle forms of the nasal present *sunuté*, which are only employed in transitive usages, the middle participle *sunváná-*, next to its transitive attestations, occurs once in a passive construction:

(7) RV 9.101.13

*sunvánáśyāndhasaḥ*

'...[speech ...] of the **pressed** sap.'

(see Gotō 1991: 689 fn. 79; Kümmel 1996: 126)

Most likely, this form belongs with the stative *sunvé*, *sunviré*, employed in passive usages (see Gotō 1991: 689 with fn. 78; Kümmel 1996: 123f.), as in (8):

(8) RV 7.29.1a = 9.88.1a

*ayám sóma indra túbhyaṃ sunve*

'This Soma is **pressed** for you, O Indra.'

<sup>4</sup> Thus, although hesitantly, Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 273 ("*rucāná-* : 3. Sg. *aroci* ?").



### 3.2. *stu* 'praise, sing': *stāvāna-*, *stavānā-*, *stuvānā-*

We find in the RV three athematic middle participles made from the bare root *stu* 'praise':<sup>5</sup> *stāvāna-*, *stavānā-* and *stuvānā-*. Of these three formations, only the first, *stāvāna-*, is fairly frequent in the RV (18x), while the others two are hapaxes. It occurs in passive constructions, as in (9):

(9) RV 1.130.10cd

*divodāśebhir indra stāvāno 'vāvydhūthā āhobhir iva dyáuḥ*  
'Praised by the Divodāśas, O Indra, increase, as the  
heaven [increases] through the days.'

By virtue of its root vocalism, *stāvāna-* can only belong with the stative *stāve* (on which see, in particular, Oettinger 1976: 112, 120; Kümmel 1996: 131f.; Gotō 1997: 180ff.), that has apparently generalized the full grade in the root (cf. the class I present *stāvati* formed from it<sup>6</sup>). By contrast, the participle *stuvānā-* (RV 7.96.3) is made in accordance with the rules of the derivation of the middle participles of the root aorist and therefore is likely to be a member of the paradigm of the *i*-aorist *ástāvi* (on which see Kümmel 1996: 132f.); its non-stative meaning ('being praised', rather than 'praised')<sup>7</sup> corroborates this assumption:

(10) RV 7.96.3

*cetati vājīnīvati grṇānā jamadagnivāt stuvānā ca*  
*vasiṣṭhavāt*

'[Sarasvatī] appears as rich in horses when being praised  
in the Jamadagni style and sung in the Vasiṣṭha style.'

<sup>5</sup> For a synopsis of formations derived from this root, see Narten 1964: 276ff.; 1969: 12ff. [= *Kl. Schr.* I: 100ff.]; Gotō 1997: 180ff.; Kümmel 1996: 131ff.; 2000: 579f.

<sup>6</sup> For the secondary character and genesis of this formation, see Narten 1969; Gotō 1987: 331f. with fn. 807.

<sup>7</sup> For the non-stative usage of the participle *grṇānā* in this passage, see Section 6.

The abnormal accentuation of the form *stavāná-* (a hapax in the RV) may result from contamination of the stative and passive aorist participles, i.e. *stávāna-* and *stuvāná-*.<sup>8</sup> The context does not help in determining its paradigmatic status:

(11) RV 6.46.2

*sá tvām nah ... mahá stavānó ...*

*gām ásvam rathyām indra sám kira*

‘You, O Indra, ... bring us a cow and a horse for chariot together, when **being praised** / **praised** as the great one.’

**3.3. *duh* ‘milk, give milk’: *dú(g)hāna-* / *duhāná-***

As Kümmel (1996: 58) has demonstrated (see also Gotō 1991: 681ff.; 1997: 170ff.), the meaning and syntax of the middle participles *dú(g)hāna-* and *duhāná-* depends on their accentuation: forms with the accent on the root give the meaning ‘giving milk, milch(-cow)’, whilst those with the suffix accentuation (2x in the RV) are employed in the sense ‘milking (for oneself)’. This semantic contrast is perfectly parallel to that between the stative 3sg. *duhé*, 3pl. *duhré* ‘give milk’ and middle root present (3pl. *duhaté*) ‘milk (for oneself)’ (discussed at length by Kümmel 1996: 52ff.). Obviously, the difference in accentuation between these formations correlates with their grammatical characteristics: the root-accented participle *dú(g)hāna-* belongs with the stative 3sg. *duhé*, 3pl. *duhré* (‘give milk, be a milch(-cow)’), whilst *duhāná-* (with suffix accentuation) belongs to the paradigm of the middle root present, together with 3pl. *duhaté* etc. (‘milk (for oneself)’).

**3.4. *idh* ‘kindle’: *indhāna-* and evidence from the Atharvaveda**

The participle *indhāna-* occurs 5 times in transitive usages (‘kindling’), as in (12a), and 3 times in passive usages (‘kindled’), as in (12b), in the R̥gveda:

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 273: “*stavāná-* (einmal; in *stuvāná-* zu verbessern?)”.

## (12) a. RV 2.25.1a

*indhāno agnīm vanavad vanuṣyatāḥ*‘The one who **kindles** Agni will overpower those who envy [us].’

## b. RV 1.143.7

*indhāno ... vidātheṣu dīdyat ... úd u no yaṁsate dhiyam*‘**Being kindled**, shining during the sacrifices, [Agni] will raise our prayer.’

The ratio of the transitive and passive usages is summarized in Table 1:

*indhāna-* in RV

transitive (‘kindling’)	intransitive-passive (‘kindled’)
5x	3x
RV 2.25.1, 8.102.22, 10.3.4, 10.45.1, 10.128.1	RV 1.143.7, 8.19.31, 8.23.11

Table 1

The usage of this participle nicely parallels the syntax of the finite forms derived from the stem *indh-*: middle present (3sg. *in(d)dhé*,<sup>9</sup> 3pl. *indháte/indhaté*, etc.) is used transitively, as in (13a); by contrast, the form *indhé*, attested at RV 7.8.1 in a passive construction (13b), must be a stative made from the present stem (see Kümmel 2000: 125f. fn. 80; Kulikov 2001: 46f.):

## (13) a. RV 3.13.5c

*ḥkvāṇo agnīm indhate*‘The singers **kindle** the fire.’

<sup>9</sup> With the secondary loss of gemination.

b. RV 7.8.1ab

*indhé rājā sām aryó námobhir' yásya prátikam áhutam  
ghṛtēna*

'With reverence the king, the noble [Lord] is **kindled**,  
whose face is anointed with ghee.'

Thus, the transitive ('kindling') and intransitive-passive ('kindled') occurrences of *indhāna-* belong with the transitive nasal present *in(d)dhé* and with the stative *indhé*, respectively.

Such an analysis of *indhāna-* is further supported by evidence from the Atharvaveda (Śaunakīya). Since the category of stative almost disappears after the RV (see Kümmel 1996: 11), we can expect that the *-āna*-participles which are grammatically ambiguous in the RV (i.e. belong either to stative or to some other formation with which stative shares the stem) will no longer be ambiguous in the Atharvaveda (AV). This assumption is corroborated by the ratio of usages of *indhāna-* in the AV, summarized in Table 2:

*indhāna-* in AV

transitive ('kindling')	intransitive-passive ('kindled')
2x AV 19.55.3, 19.55.4	

Table 2

#### 4. RECONSTRUCTING STATIVES AND MEDIO-PASSIVE *i*-AORISTS

On the assumption that several *-āna*-participles with the 'unexpected' passive syntax belong with statives or *i*-aorists, we not only are able to account for their 'abnormal' syntax, but also to reconstruct some unattested statives and passive aorists.

#### 4.1. *ad* ‘eat’: *adāná-* : \**ádi*

The middle participle *adāná-* (hapax in the RV) is employed in the passive usage (‘being eaten’; cf. (14)), whilst finite forms of the root present (3sg.act. *átti* etc., middle forms are unattested and probably did not exist in the language of the RV), with which this participle is traditionally connected, never occur in passive constructions:

##### (14) RV 4.19.9

*vamrībhiḥ putráṃ agrívo adānám ... á jabhartha*

‘You [O Indra] have carried out [of a hole] the virgin’s son, **being eaten** by ants.’

The passive syntax and the non-stative meaning (‘being eaten’, not ‘eaten’) of this RVic hapax are likely to point to the unattested passive aorist \**ádi* ‘was eaten’.

#### 4.2. *hū* ‘call’: *huvāná-* : \**áhāvi*

The root aorist participle *huvāná-* (root *hū* ‘call’) is employed both in transitive (as in (15a)) and intransitive (passive) (as in (15b)) constructions:

##### (15) a. RV 7.30.3cd

*ny āgniḥ sīdad ásuṛo ná hótā ' huvānó átra subhágāya devān*

‘Agni sits down, the Hotar, like the Asura, **calling** the gods hither for the fortunate [sacrificer].’

##### b. RV 10.112.3cd

*asmābhir indra sákhibhir huvānáḥ ' sadhrīcīno mādayasvā niśádyā*

‘O Indra, **being called** by us, [your] friends, be exhilarated, having sat down together [with us].’

By contrast, the finite forms of the root aorist (*áhūmahī* RV 6.45.10 and a few other forms) are employed transitively. Thus, passive occurrences of *huvāná-* must belong with the unattested passive aorist *\*áhāvi* ‘(he) was called’.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4.3. *hi* ‘impel’: *hiyāná-* : *\*áhāyi*

The participle *hiyāná-*, attested 8 times in the RV, is only employed in passive constructions (‘being impelled’) and has no corresponding finite root aorist forms (active root aorists, such as 1pl. *ahema*, 3pl. *ahyan*, are employed transitively). Most likely, this is the participle of the unattested passive aorist *\*áhāyi* ‘was impelled’.

### 5. SOME FORMAL FEATURES OF THE PASSIVE -āna-PARTICIPLES

In general, the rules of derivation of (passive) -āna-participles do not differ from those for athematic middle participles made from other stems. There are, however, some cases of accent vacillation which have not yet received a satisfactory explanation. The majority of the participles in question have the zero grade in the root and, accordingly, bear the accent on the suffix (-āná-), not on the root. There are, however, a few participles made from the full grade root with root accentuation (*śáyāna-*, *stávāna-*). It seems that the grade of the root depends on its structure: *CaR* (*CaC*) roots display the full grade (*śī / śay*: *śáyāna-*, *stu / stav*: *stávāna-*), whilst *CaRC* / *CRC* roots have a zero grade (cf. *dṛś*: *dṛśāná-*, *ruç*: *rucāná-*, etc.). Although we find only two examples of the former type (*śáyāna-*, *stávāna-*), active stative participles (see Section 7 below) seem further to corroborate this regularity, cf. *járant-* ‘old’ (not *\*\*juránt-*) and *máhant-* ‘great’ (made from *CaR* / *CaC* roots), as opposed to *pṛṣant-* ‘speckled’ and *bṛhánt-* ‘high’ (*CaRC* / *CRC* roots).

<sup>10</sup> The morphologically unclear form *huvé* (RV 1.30.9) ‘(he) called’ cannot represent a stative; see Kümmel 1996: 142 (“[e]s handelt sich um eine Augenblicksbildung nach 1. Sg. *huvé* in [pāda] b”); Lubotsky 1997: 1659 (“3sg., inf. or pf. w[ith]out red[uplication] (?)”).

Perhaps, under the influence of the two very common stative participles, *śáyāna*- and *stávāna*-, some stative participles with the zero grade in the root have undergone secondary accent shift to the root (cf. *indhāna*-, *cītāna*-, *dú(g)hāna*-).<sup>11</sup> Thus, there may have been a weak tendency to **generalize the root accentuation for all stative participles**; cf. especially the root-accented participle *dú(g)hāna*- (see Section 3.3) opposed to the middle root present participle *duhāná*- with suffix accentuation.

## 6. PARTICIPLE OF STATIVES OR *i*-AORISTS?

The morphological identification of most passive *-āna*-participles poses no problem, but in some cases we may need additional criteria in order to determine which of these two passive formations (stative, passive aorist, or either of them) the participle in question may belong with. Below I shall briefly discuss the features which can disambiguate some unclear *-āna*-participles.

### (i) *Stem*

Since passive *i*-aorists can only be made from root stems, those *-āna*-participles which are derived from the stems other than the bare root (i.e. from non-root present or intensive stems) can only belong with statives. In cases where a participle is formed directly from the root it may, theoretically, belong either with the medio-passive *i*-aorist or with the stative made from the root present stem.<sup>12</sup> Most often, however, only one of these two formations exists, which rules out the other option. Only in cases where either both or none are attested we are faced with a dilemma: the participle of statives or *i*-aorists?

<sup>11</sup> For the only example of a full grade root participle with suffix accentuation (*stavāná*-, RVic hapax), see Section 3.2.

<sup>12</sup> Statives derived from root aorist stems are almost unknown in Vedic, the only (possible) exception being *cītē* (see Kümmel 1996: 10).

(ii) *Accentuation*

The accentuation of the passive *-āna*-participles, briefly discussed in Section 5, may provide an additional clue to the morphological identification of participles made from bare roots. Thus, the root accentuation of the participle *cītāna-* (RV 9.101.11) 'made perceivable' may support connecting this formation with the stative *cité* (RV 10.143.4) (as actually suggested by Kümmel 1996: 39 on semantic grounds), rather than with the passive aorist *áceti*.

Quite remarkable is the difference in accentuation between two *-āna*-participles made from the root *ḍṛś* 'see'. While *ḍṛśāná-* (RV 1.92.12, 10.45.8) 'visible', discussed in Section 2.2, is a regular participial derivative of the passive aorist, the hapax *ḍṛśāna-* (RV 2.10.4), judging from its abnormal root accentuation, might belong with the unattested stative *\*ḍṛśé* 'is seen'. The context seems to support this analysis; note also the adjacent *brhánt-* 'high', which may represent a stative participle, too (see Section 7 below):

## (16) RV 2.10.4

*jigharmy agnīm ... váyasū brhántam vyáciṣṭham ánnai  
rabhasám ḍṛśānam*

'I besprinkle Agni, ... which is high by vital force, most expansive, appearing (lit. **seen**) as impetuous through food.'

(iii) *Temporal/aspectual semantics*

The temporal/aspectual meaning of the form in question may also hint at its grammatical characterization. Thus, for the participle *adāná-* (see Section 4.1), both the non-stative meaning ('being eaten', rather than 'eaten') and the suffix accentuation (*adāná-*, not *\*ádāna-*) seem to support the passive aorist analysis.

(iv) *Paradigmatic features*

There may also be some paradigmatic indications that favour one of the two interpretations. Thus, in the case of the passive participle



*mṛjāná-* '(being) wiped, (being) cleansed' (*mṛj* 'wipe, cleanse'), we can probably rule out the stative analysis (stative *\*mṛjé?*) and reconstruct the passive aorist *\*ámarji*, since this root already has a stative participle, made from the intensive stem (*marmṛjāná-*).

To conclude this brief discussion of the features of the passive *-āna*-participles, a general methodological remark is in order. In some cases, evidence for the paradigmatic status (stative or passive aorist?) of *-āna*-participles is controversial. Thus, the well-attested participle *gṛṇāná-* (44x in the RV) can only belong with the stative *gṛṇé* 'is praised' (and the nasal present *gṛṇīte*), but some contexts rather point to the non-stative meaning, as in (10), where this form is coordinated with the passive aorist participle *stuvāná* 'being praised'. Since the verb *gṛ* 'praise, sing' forms no aorists at all, one may assume that the participle *gṛṇāná-* could supply, where necessary, the participles of the non-existent passive aorist (*\*ágāri*, *\*girāṇá-*), thus being functionally shared by the two passive formations. This means that, even in cases where formal (morphological) features unambiguously determine the paradigmatic status of a participle, its actual usage can, in a sense, 'accommodate' both functional values, those of the passive aorist and stative.<sup>13</sup>

## 7. ACTIVE PARTICIPLES OF STATIVES?

Thus far, I have only discussed participles of statives and passive aorists formed with the suffix *-āna-*, thus presuming that only the middle morphology was possible for such participles (which, in general, meets our expectations with respect to the morphology of the forms employed in passive usages). Yet there seems to be evidence for the assumption that stative *-āna*-participles may have had active counterparts. It has frequently been noted (Renou 1966: 6 [= *Chōix* I: 22]; Watkins 1969: 142ff.; Schaefer 1994: 45f.) that

<sup>13</sup> On the formal and functional overlapping of the stative and passive aorist, see Kümmel 1996: 20f.

the formation *stavánt-* (active participle?), which occurs three times in the family maṇḍalas of the RV (at 2.19.5, 2.20.5, 6.24.8, only in the nom. sg. form *stavān*), attests quite an unusual (for an active form) passive syntax, cf.:

(17) RV 2.20.5c

*muṣṇánn uśásah sūryeṇa stavān*

‘...while (he), the **praised** one, abducted the dawns with the sun.’

By virtue of its suffix accentuation and active morphology, this form cannot belong to the class I present *stávate*, which is only attested in the middle (see also section 3.2). On the other hand, its semantics and passive syntax plead for the connection of this formation with the stative *stáve*, as the active counterpart of the (middle) participle *stávāna-*.

The assumption of the existence of **active** stative participles may shed light on the paradigmatic status of some other formations in *-ant-* (most of which are traditionally taken to be adjectives). Watkins, who first drew attention to these formations (1969: 142ff.; see also Schaefer 1994: 45f.), assumed that they represent active participles with the secondary accent shift marking their passive (intransitive) syntax. These participles include, besides *stavánt-*:

(1) *járant-* ‘old’ (i.e. ‘(having) grown old’), treated by Gotō (1987: 153 with fn. 238) as an adjective outside the verbal paradigm because of its intransitive syntax (‘(grown) old’, not ‘making old’), different from that of the class I present *jáрати* ‘makes old’;

(2) *pépiśat-* ‘adorned’ (RV 10.127.7; see Schaefer 1994: 45, 152f.), which may point to the unattested stative *\*pépiše* ‘is adorned’ of the type *cékite* (on which see Schaefer 1994: 44);

(3) *pṛṣánt-* ‘speckled’ (see Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 165; Watkins 1969: 144);

(4) *brhánt-* 'high' may be the active stative participle of the verb *br̥h* 'be high, strong' (on which see, in particular, Narten 1959: 45f. [= *Kl. Schr.* 1: 7ff.]; Jamison 1983: 97f.);

(5) *mahánt-* 'great' [whose parallelism with *stavánt-* was noted by Watkins (1969: 144)] may belong with the hapax stative *mahe* 'is able' (RV 7.97.2); see Kümmel 1996: 79ff.; Gotō 1997: 179f.

## 8. PARTICIPLES OF STATIVES AND *i*-AORISTS:

### A SUMMARY

The results of this preliminary sketch of the passive *-āna*-participles are summarized in tables 3 and 4, which bring together finite (3rd person singular and plural) and non-finite forms (participles) of the medio-passive aorists and statives attested in early Vedic, foremost in the RV:

#### Medio-passive *i*-aorists

Verb	3sg.	3pl.	participle
<i>ad</i> 'eat'	* <i>ādi</i>		<i>adāná-</i> RV 4.19.9
<i>dṛś</i> 'see'	<i>ādarśi</i> RV 15x, inj. <i>dārśi</i> RV 2x	<i>adṛśran</i> RV 7x, <i>ādṛśram</i> RV 2x	<i>dṛśāná-</i> RV 1.92.12, 10.45.8
<i>nid</i> 'revile, blame'	* <i>ānedi</i>		<i>nidāná-</i> RV 4.5.12
<i>bhī</i> 'fear'	* <i>ābhāyi</i>		<i>bhiyāná-</i> RV 3x
<i>mṛj</i> 'wipe, cleanse'	* <i>āmarji</i>		<i>mṛjāná-</i> RV 3x
<i>yuj</i> 'yoke'	<i>āyoji</i> RV 4x	<i>āyujran</i> RV 2x	<i>yujāná-</i> RV 8x
<i>ruc</i> 'shine'	<i>aroci</i> RV 2x, <i>roci</i> RV 1.121.6		<i>rucāná-</i> RV 6x
<i>vr̥</i> 'cover'	<i>āvāri</i> RV 4.6.7		<i>vr̥āná-</i> RV 1.61.10
<i>su</i> 'press (out)'	<i>āsāvi</i> RV 7x		<i>s"vāná-</i> RV 32x
<i>śj</i> 'set free, emit'	<i>āsarji</i> RV 12x, inj. <i>sarji</i> RV 2x	<i>āsrggran/m</i> RV 19x, <i>āsasrggram</i> RV 2x	<i>śjāná-</i> RV 11x
<i>stu</i> 'praise'	<i>āstāvi</i> RV 5x		<i>stuvāná-</i> RV 7.96.3 ( <i>stavāná-</i> RV 6.46.2)
<i>hi</i> 'impel'	* <i>āhāyi</i>		<i>hiyāná-</i> RV 7x
<i>hū</i> 'call'	* <i>āhāvi</i>		<i>huvāná-</i> RV 10x

Table 3

### Statives

Verb	3sg.	3pl.	participle
<i>idh</i> 'kindle'	<i>indhé</i> RV 7.8.1		<i>indhāna-</i> RV 3x
<i>gṛ</i> 'praise'	<i>grné</i> RV 5x		<i>grnāna-</i> RV 44x
<i>cit</i> 'appear, perceive'	<i>cité</i> RV 10.143.4		<i>citāna-</i> RV 9.101.11
<i>duh</i> 'give milk'	<i>duhé</i> RV (10x) +	<i>duhré</i> RV (7x <sup>14</sup> ) +	<i>dú(g)hāna-</i> RV (12x <sup>15</sup> ) +
<i>dṛś</i> 'see'	<i>*dṛśé</i> (?)		<i>dṛśāna-</i> RV 2.10.4
<i>brū</i> 'say'	<i>bruve</i> RV 5.61.8		<i>bruvāna-</i> RV 3.59.1
<i>mḡj</i> 'wipe, cleanse'	<i>*marmjé</i>		<i>marmjāna-</i> RV 6x
<i>śr</i> 'lie'	<i>śāye</i> RV 11x	<i>śére</i> AV	<i>śáyāna-</i> RV 18x
<i>śubh</i> 'be beautiful'	<i>śóbhe</i> RV 1.120.5		<i>śubhāna-</i> RV 2x
<i>su</i> 'press (out)'	<i>sunvé</i> RV 3x	<i>sunviré</i> RV 4x	<i>sunvāna-</i> RV 9.101.13
<i>stu</i> 'praise'	<i>stāve</i> RV 5x		<i>stāvāna-</i> RV 18x ( <i>stavāna-</i> RV 6.46.2)
<i>hi</i> 'impel'	<i>hinvé</i> RV 2x	<i>hinviré</i> RV 8x <sup>16</sup>	<i>hinvāna-</i> RV 18x

Table 4

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<sup>14</sup> 2x in transitive usages ('they milk the cow/udder').

<sup>15</sup> 1x or 2x in transitive usages ('milking'); see Kümmel 1996: 58.

<sup>16</sup> 6x in transitive usages.

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