

# IDIOMATIZATION OF PREVERB + VERB COMPOUNDS IN THE ṚG VEDA

by

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(Under the Direction of Jared S. Klein)

## ABSTRACT

This study considers preverb + verb constructions in the Ṛg Veda, particularly those for which the meaning has become idiomatized- that is, the meaning is no longer transparently the sum of the individual parts of the verb. Despite apparent idiosyncrasy in these non-compositional meanings, there are nevertheless clear patterns which can be identified both in the behavior of individual preverbs and the behavior of preverbs generally. The Vedic Sanskrit preverbs which were considered for this study are *áti*, *ánu*, *antár*, *ápa*, *ápi*, *abhí*, *áva*, *á*, *úd*, *úpa*, *ní*, *nís*, *párā*, *pári*, *prá*, *práti*, *ví*, and *sám*. This study identifies broad patterns of pseudoreversativity, resultativity, and valency-changing constructions among others. The concept of 'construction' which is used in this survey is broadly that of the Construction Grammar framework.

INDEX WORDS: Sanskrit, Vedic, Rigveda, Preverb, Particle verb, Complex verb, Morphology, Separable Prefix, Idiom, Idiomatization, Lexicalization, Language change, Historical linguistics, Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Syntax-morphology interface, Compound verb, Construction, Construction Grammar, Pseudoreversative, Resultative, Valency-changing, Reversative, Prefix

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## DEDICATION

To Schuyler, without whom none of this would have been possible.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In this brief study I propose to investigate Vedic verbal + preverbal compound verbs which have become idiomatized. I will begin with a general overview of preverbs and their history in Indo-European. I will then discuss idiomatization more generally and the types of idiomatization I mention most often throughout this study. Finally, I will treat each of the preverbs individually and examine various idiomatized constructions that they form.

#### 1.1 Background

Booij and van Kemenade (2003) give a useful general summary of what is typically meant by 'preverb': "It refers to morphemes that appear in front of a verb, and that form a close semantic unit with that verb. In many cases the morpheme that functions as a preverb can also function without a preverbal context, often as an adverb or adposition... [Complex verbs] are multi-morphemic, but behave as single words" (2003: 1). In Indo-European languages, these morphemes are adverbial; further, at least in the older daughter languages, such as Vedic Sanskrit, these morphemes may indeed function as adverbs or adpositions.

In the older daughter languages, there is traditionally thought to have been a "tripartition fonctionnelle entre adverbe, préverbe et adnominal (pré- ou post-position)" (Pinault 1995: 57). This observation dates back at least to Meillet's *Introduction à l'Étude Comparative des Langues Indo-Européennes* (1903). Meillet's original description of the three-fold division is worth quoting at length:



En dehors des verbes et des noms, qui forment les deux grandes classes de mots fléchis, l'indo-européen a un assez grand nombre de mots non fléchis, dont beaucoup se dénoncent immédiatement comme des formes fixées et isolées de mots anciennement fléchis: 1° Des adverbes, indiquant diverses circonstances de lieu, de temps, etc. (dor. πέρυτι, att. πέρυσι, arm. *heru*, m.h.a. *vert*, v. irl. (*onn-*)*urid* «ab anno priore»; skr. *parut* «l'an dernier»)... Les adverbes de cette sorte sont nombreux dans chaque langue, mais fort peu se retrouvent identiques dans plusieurs et peuvent être attribués à l'indo-européen. 2° Les prépositions et préverbes, comme: skr. *prá*, v. sl. *pro*, lit. *pra-*, got. *fra*, v. irl. *ro*, lat. *prō-*, gr. πρῶ. Au cours du développement des langues indo-européennes, ces éléments ont tendance à se grouper soit avec le nom..., et on les appelle alors *prépositions*, ou avec les verbes..., et on les appelle alors *préverbes*; mais, en indo-européen, le préverbe était un mot distinct et pouvait n'être pas rapproché soit d'un nom, soit d'un verbe...

Meillet 1903: 162-3  
(underlining mine)

To Meillet, the three varieties of *mots non fléchis* are to be subgrouped into two categories, with adverbs on the one hand and prepositions and preverbs on the other. The tendency currently is to refer to these categories as adverbials, adnominals, and preverbs; this reflects the fact that not all indeclinable elements in the daughter languages are to be found before the word with which they are associated. The appearance of prepositions at all, as opposed to postpositions, is a development away from the original situation. In Indo-European, all adpositional elements are thought to have been postpositional rather than occurring before the words they modified; however, Fortson notes that "only in Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, Sabellic, and vestigially in Latin and Greek is the old postpositional placement still seen" (Fortson 2010: 148).<sup>1,2</sup> Anatolian, in particular, is known for its postpositions (Hoffner and Melchert 2008: 297).

Preverbs are generally thought to be strictly in the domain of the daughter languages, rather than the proto-language. Pinault (1995) asks the question "...le terme de «préverbe»

- 1 Vedic postpositional word order may be seen in the following (fairly late) example: 1.164.51ab samānām etād udakām / úc caítī áva cáhabhiḥ 'This same water here goes up and down throughout the days.' (Klein 1978: 85). By Vedic times, however, the movement was by and large away from postpositional word order to prepositional, although, when metrics or stylistics permitted it, postpositional order was a perfectly legitimate possibility.
- 2 This is not precisely true; cf. NHG 'die Straße entlang' and Classical Armenian 'nok<sup>c</sup>awk<sup>c</sup> handerj' (thanks to Jared Klein for these examples).

correspond-il à une notion pertinente en indo-européen?" (36); apparently, it does not. The general view (seen in, for example, Fortson 2010, but originally from Kuryłowicz 1964) is that in proto-Indo-European, preverbs were still distinct adverbs, primarily with directional meanings. In the following passage Meillet lays out what is still generally accepted to have been the situation of preverbs in PIE:

...en indo-européen, le préverbe était un mot distinct et pouvait n'être pas rapproché soit d'un nom, soit d'un verbe... Les trois places possibles de πρὸς [en homérique]: isolé, devant nom, devant verbe... Les prépositions et préverbes, comme les adverbes, semblent être des formes fixées de noms plus anciennement déclinés. (Meillet 1903: 163-4)

Fortson further elaborates that "the elements traditionally classified as prepositions were most likely simply independent adverbs in PIE, a status they still largely have in Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, and the oldest Greek".

What, then, was the process by which the adverbs of PIE became the preverbs of the daughter languages? Van Kemenade and Los (2003) propose a four-stage historical process of development from adverbial elements to preverbs, beginning with the particle's use as a secondary predicate and ending with the particle bound to the verb in an inseparable complex verb construction. While they developed their approach to deal with the separable- and inseparable-prefix verbs of the modern West Germanic languages, in my view, it could just as easily be applied to the older Indo-European languages, especially Sanskrit.

According to the schema of van Kemenade and Los, the four stages are these: 1) the particle is a genuine predicate in a secondary-predicate construction, and is therefore listed in the lexicon separately from the verb; 2) the particle is a free morpheme and is separable by syntactic processes, but the particle + verb 'operate as a single lexical unit'; 3) the particle (now a 'preverb') is a bound morpheme, and is separated from its verb by other bound morphemes; and, finally, 4) the preverb and verb are inseparable (79). It does not seem unreasonable to me that preverbs, in all of the daughter languages which have them, could have developed in such a way;

after all, van Kemenade and Los are proposing just such a development from IE to the modern Germanic languages, for such inseparable prefixes as *ent-* in *entkommen* and *be-* in *befolgen*.

If 'construction-specific' meanings can be identified for preverbs in the older IE languages, it would mean that perhaps those meanings could have been semi-productive, and thus older than one would presume lexicalized, idiosyncratic P+V formations would be. Hypothetically, the 'construction-specific'-P+V formations could go all the way back to stage 2 of van Kemenade and Los' model; Pinault remarks that "...la modification sémantique du verbe par le préverbe ne dépend pas de la proximité de ce dernier; par exemple, *ví... vr-*, avec séparation du préverbe et du verbe, signifie également «ouvrir», tout autant que l'expression univerbe. Par conséquent, l'unification du préverbe avec le verbe est un fait relativement tardif, dont nous voyons la réalisation progressive dans certaines langues indo-européennes, où elle supplante la disjonction du préverbe." (47-8).

## 1.2. Idiomatization

The tendency of P + V combinations to ultimately create complex verbs with idiomatic, idiosyncratic, or non-intuitive meanings is well-known. Consider the Vedic *ví + √krī*<sup>3</sup> 'make a deal', or Homeric *προκαλέω*, which (in the middle voice) means 'call out to a fight, challenge to a fight'. Are verbal lexemes such as this still analyzable as P+V? Is there anything systematic about the semantic change involved in the definitions of the preverbs?

By idiomatized, I mean that the complex verb is no longer transparently the sum of its parts. To demonstrate this, consider the following examples of what I consider to be non-idiomatized verbal + preverbal syntagms (all the citations are from the *Ṛg Veda*):

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3 In this paper I will follow the convention of identifying verbs by the verbal root, and indicating the root with a  $\sqrt{\quad}$  symbol.

1) 10.14.9a *ápetā víta ví ca sarpatátaḥ*

"Go away, go apart, and creep away from here." (Klein 2014: 4)

In this example, we see three examples of semantically transparent preverb-verb combinations.

The first is seen in *ápetā*, which is a combination of the preverb *ápa* 'away' with the second person plural imperative of the verb *√i* 'go'. The combination carries the meaning 'go away'.

This is no idiom, but is instead very straightforward. The next combination is seen in *víta*, which is a combination of the preverb *ví* 'apart, away' with the second person plural imperative of *√i* 'go'. The combination has the meaning 'go apart'. Finally, the preverb *ví* is seen in combination with the second person plural imperative of the verb *√srp* 'creep', with the resulting meaning 'creep away'.

On the other hand, let us now consider a few examples of idiomatization:

2) 7.48.3cd *índro víbhvāṃ ṛbhukṣá vājo aryáḥ / śátror mithatyá kṛṇavan ví ṇmṇám*

"Indra, Vibhvān, Ṛbhukṣan, Vāja sollen die Kraft des Nebenbuhlers, des Feindes im Wettstreit zunichte machen." (Casaretto 2011c: 172)

The preverb-verb combination which is relevant here is *kṛṇavan ví*: a form of the verb *√kṛ* 'make' + the preverb *ví*, which we have seen above. However, the combination of *ví* + *√kṛ* in this instance does not create a complex verb which is the sum of its parts- that is, it does not create a combination with the value 'make apart, make away'. Instead, the combination carries the meaning 'destroy', which is not transparent from the meaning of either the simplex verb or the preverb.<sup>4</sup> This, then, qualifies as an idiom (although it is only slightly idiomatized).

<sup>4</sup> See section on *ví* and its idioms, below.

Let us consider another example:

3) 1.186.1cd **ápi** yáthā yuvāno **mātsathā** no / víśvaṃ jágad abhipitvé manīṣā

"Auf daß auch ihr Jünglinge uns in gehobener Stimmung versetzt, soll am Abend zur ganzen lebenden Welt die Andacht (kommen)." (Geldner)

The preverb + verb combination here is *ápi* 'towards, into' +  $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$  'become intoxicated, become joyful'. The combination, however, means 'make someone else intoxicated, make someone else become joyful'.<sup>5</sup> While the meaning of the preverb + verb combination shares the basic meaning of intoxication or joy with the simplex verb, the meaning of the combination is in fact quite different from the meaning of the simplex verb. This combination, for that reason, also qualifies as an idiom.

To determine which constructions are idiomatized and which are not, I have attempted to use similar guidelines to those used by Bucsko in his 2011 study of Gothic preverb + verb constructions. Bucsko considers a preverb + verb construction to be lexicalized/idiomatized if either the preverb or the verb itself differs from its basic usage. Determining whether a verb in a preverb + verb construction is markedly different from the simplex verb is simpler than determining whether a preverb is different from its basic usage. However, I have tried to follow the following basic criteria, which I quote from Bucsko:

1. If both components of a compound are non-idiomatic, the compound is non-idiomatic.
2. If not, if either component of a compound is idiomatic, the compound is too.
3. If anything else is the case, the compound is metaphorical. (Bucsko 2011: 43)

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<sup>5</sup> See section on *ápi* and its idioms, below.

This approach is similar to that used by Kulikov (2012), who analyzes later Vedic P+V combinations, nearly all with non-intuitive meanings: "...the meaning of *ádhi-sthā* 'govern' does not add up to 'stand' + 'over'; *úpa-i* 'sexually approach, impregnate' ≠ 'go' + 'to, near'; *pari-viṣ* 'serve, surround (with a halo)' ≠ 'be active' + '(a)round'; *úpa-sthā* 'attend, serve, worship' ≠ 'stand' + 'to, near', etc. Such idiomatic changes typically suggest a univerbation process" (732). It is important to stress, however, that univerbation is a secondary phenomenon to idiomatization, and is not at all necessary for Vedic Sanskrit complex verbal idioms. There is no difference in meaning between a verb which is located at a remove from its corresponding preverb and a verb which is immediately next to its preverb.

### 1.3. Patterns, Constructions, and 'Productive Idiosyncrasy'

Despite the fact that idioms are by definition non-transparent, this does not mean that they are all entirely idiosyncratic. Lexicalized complex verbs are formed in many languages by more-or-less productive processes. Much of my analysis of these lexicalized complex verbs in the R̥g Veda hinges upon finding 'construction-specific' meanings of preverbs. 'Constructional' views of complex verbs have been explored for several phenomena in the past; Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004) proposed a constructional view of English resultative constructions, and McIntyre (2002) for various German constructions. Drawing on their work and the work of several others (Kulikov [2012], Hettrich [1991, 1993, 2002], Schneider [2004-2013] and Casaretto [2004-2013] among them), I will attempt to sort seemingly idiosyncratic Vedic preverb + verb complex verbs into construction types. Three of these occur particularly often and are mentioned quite often throughout this study, and therefore merit special attention: pseudoreversatives, resultatives, and valency-changing processes. First I will give a brief overview of what I mean by 'construction types' and 'construction-specific meanings'; then I will discuss each of the three main construction types in detail.

A useful description of constructions is the following:

Constructions are objects of syntactic representation that also contain semantic and even phonological information [...]. In other words, constructions are like lexical items in the componential model: they link together idiosyncratic or arbitrary phonological, syntactic, and semantic information. The difference between lexical items and constructions is that lexical items are substantive and ATOMIC (that is, minimal syntactic units), while constructions can be at least partially schematic and COMPLEX (consisting of more than one syntactic element). (Croft 2001: 16)<sup>6</sup>

If one takes the view that constructions are a useful way to describe Vedic complex verbs, a considerable number of patterns become apparent, and through them it is possible to better understand seeming compositional idiosyncrasy. For example, it is easier to understand that *ví* + *√brū* might mean 'argue' when seen in light of the fact that *ví* + other *verba dicendi* also means 'argue'.

McIntyre (2002) has implemented this approach to examine preverbs in the modern Germanic languages. He notes that the preposition 'down' in the English verbs *brush down*, *clean down*, *dust down*, *hose down*, *rub down*, *sand down*, *scour down*, *scrub down*, etc. "occurs with many verbs of surface treatment, where it consistently specifies that the action is performed on a substantial part of the entity appearing as object, and where the base verb meaning is preserved exactly."<sup>7</sup> This then would be a "...'construction-specific' meaning, a meaning which is idiosyncratically confined to the pv construction" (97-98). My definition of construction-specific meaning is the same. I propose to identify construction-specific meanings of Vedic preverbs, and to describe the conditions under which they thus appear.

6 It is worth mentioning that this particular definition of 'construction' comes from a syntactic framework known as 'Construction Grammar', which posits that constructions, defined thus, are the basic units of language. This idea is also endorsed by Goldberg and Jackendoff, cited above. While I do not necessarily endorse this view of syntax, I feel that this particular definition of constructions is useful for understanding Vedic complex verbs. In taking this position I join Danesi (2013), Casaretto, Schneider, and Hettrich (in their series *Syntax und Wortarten der Lokalpartikeln des R̥gveda*, 1991-2013).

7 The dialect from which McIntyre draws these examples is Australian English.

### 1.3.1. Pseudoreversativity

McIntyre suggests that perhaps such construction-specific meanings of preverbs could be formed by 'stipulated composition rules', which are, as he puts it, "idiosyncratic rules which license the formation or interpretation of certain non-compositional structures".<sup>8</sup> For example, he suggests a rule for the German 'pseudoreversatives' (verbs such as *auseinanderbauen*, *auseinandermontieren*, *ausparken*, *losbinden*, *abschwellen*, *wegerfinden*): "If a verb V entails a result R, the reversal of R may be expressed by combining V with a particle contradicting R" (115-6).<sup>9</sup> To take a Vedic example,  $v\acute{i} + \sqrt{vr}_1$ <sup>10</sup> means 'open, uncover', which might seem surprising, given that  $\sqrt{vr}_1$  includes among its meanings 'einschliessen, hemmen, aufhalten, zurückhalten' (Grassmann 1873: 1319), and given that "Die Grundbedeutung von  $v\acute{i}$  ist 'auseinander', mit den Kontextvarianten 'weg, fort' und 'durch'" (Casaretto 2011c: 134). But this example fits McIntyre's criteria for pseudoreversativity. Therefore it is very possible that  $v\acute{i} + \sqrt{vr}_1$  could, by a rule similar to the one proposed by McIntyre, have the meaning 'aufthun, eröffnen; [Thüren] aufschliessen' (incidentally, not dissimilar to NHG *entdecken*).

### 1.3.2. Resultativity

Another set of common preverb + verb constructions consists of resultatives.

Resultative particle-verb constructions are those in which the spatial particle is in some way the result of the action of the verb. For example, in the English sentence 'John took the garbage

8 McIntyre remarks that these rules are generally 'semiproductive'. To explain this, he takes the example of English *around*, which may combine with verbs to form such combinations as *fiddle around*, *experiment around*, *play around*, *hammer around*, *sit around*. "Motivating the productivity difference [between English *around*, which associates with verbs selectively, and German (*he*)*rum*, which is far more productive in very nearly the same use as *around*] semantically seems impossible... The most likely conclusion from this is that *around* in this sense is semiproductive, by which I understand that new pv's formed with this use of the particle must be memorised, even if they are compositional." (105)

9 These are to be distinguished from true reversative constructions, which are characterized by a true reversative prefix (for example, English *un-*). A true reversative prefix can 'undo' the meaning of any verb by blanketly contradicting it without regard to its original semantics; a pseudoreversative is a construction involving a prefix whose semantics happen to contradict the semantics of the base verb. True reversative prefixes typically have no other function than to 'undo' verbs. For prefixes that create pseudoreversative constructions, this is not the case.

10 I use subscripts which correspond to Grassmann's ordering of the roots; that is, if a root appears as  $\sqrt{vr}_1$ , then it is the first root  $\sqrt{vr}$  listed by Grassmann (1873).



out', at the end of the action entailed by the particle verb 'take out', the direct object- the garbage- is in some way 'out' (usually 'outside', but at any rate out of its original location).

Resultatives can also occur with adjectives, such as in the sentence 'John watered the plants flat'; the plants, at the end of the action of watering, are flat, just as the garbage, at the end of the action of taking out, is out.

These types of constructions can be either fairly transparent (as in 'John took the garbage out') or less so ('They shouted the dissenter down', in which the dissenter's voice is drowned out, or the dissenter himself sits down, or some other such idea). Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004), as proponents of a construction-based idea of resultatives, identify four separate types of resultative constructions in English, based on both semantics and the syntactic behavior of the verb and its arguments. However, for the purposes of this study, I will not identify resultative (or possible resultative) constructions by subtype, as it is doubtful whether Goldberg and Jackendoff's observations about English resultative behavior apply equally well to Vedic resultatives. It is enough to say that resultatives are preverb-verb combinations in which, at the completion of the action entailed by the base verb, the direct object of the verb can be said to have been in some way spatially affected in whatever direction the preverb requires.

### 1.3.3. Valency-changing

An important feature of preverbs in Vedic, one that is in particular mentioned a great deal in the analyses of Hettrich, Casaretto, and Schneider (1991-2013), and one which I will point out throughout this study, is valency-changing. Kulikov describes it thus: "It is commonplace in Sanskrit scholarship that intransitive verbs typically become transitive after certain spatial (directional and locational) preverbs... which add an accusative object to the syntactic arguments of the verb and thus function as transitivizing, or applicative, markers" (2012: 725). While Kulikov does not consider many thus 'transitivized' verbs in Vedic to be true

transitives (based on the fact that only a few of them go on to be able to form -yá- passives in later Vedic) it is nevertheless true that a spatial preverb can add another argument to a verb.

#### 1.4. Scope of This Study

This study aims to analyze idiomatic uses of complex verbs in Vedic in order to highlight patterns of complex verb formation, using a construction-based approach. The Vedic preverbs that I will consider here are *áti*, *ánu*, *antár*, *ápa*, *ápi*, *abhí*, *áva*, *á*, *úd*, *úpa*, *ní*, *nís*, *pārā*, *pári*, *prá*, *práti*, *ví*, and *sám*. I have selected these because these particular preverbs have the greatest tendency towards lexicalization in verbal syntagms, unlike other adverbial particles such as *ácchā* or *tírás*. Furthermore, I will not be considering metaphoric usages, since, interesting as they are, this study deals only with idiomatization. Finally, I will not be considering idiomatized preverb-verb constructions involving more than one preverb; again, while this material is extremely interesting, it is outside the scope of this brief survey.

#### 1.5. Methodology

I will consider each preverb individually. First I will summarize and demonstrate its basic usages; I will then treat cases of idiomatization, providing construction rules where possible in order to illustrate possible mechanisms through which these idioms may have developed. Finally, in an effort to demonstrate the preverb's development from Indo-European, I will discuss its etymology and cognates. I do not claim to be including every example of lexicalization with these preverbs; since particle verbs are so very prevalent in the Ṛg Veda, it is inevitable that many have missed my attention. Additionally, it is necessary to remark that it is often difficult to tell the difference between a metaphoric use of a verbal lexeme and a fully idiomatized one. As Casaretto remarks, "Der Übergang zur Lexikalisierung ist... ein fließender" (Casaretto 2011b: 209).

## CHAPTER 2

### INDIVIDUAL PREVERBS

#### 2.1 *áti*

##### 2.1.1 Basic Usage

*áti*, in its base meaning as a directional preverb, means 'over, beyond'. It appears in the RV 202 times both as a preposition and as a preverb; as the latter, it pairs with 49 verbs (Casaretto 2011b; Grassmann 1873). A few basic examples are the following:<sup>11</sup>

- 4) *áti* +  $\sqrt{i}$  'to go beyond/over'

9.97.31ab prá te dhárā mádhumatīr asṛgran / várān yát pūtó **at**y **é**ṣi ávyān

"Deine süßen Ströme haben sich ergossen, während du geläutert durch die Schafhaare gehst." (Geldner)

- 5) *áti* +  $\sqrt{kram}$ <sup>i</sup> 'to walk over/beyond'

10.97.10ab **áti** vísvāḥ pariṣṭhā / stená iva vrajám **akramuḥ**

"Über alle Hindernisse sind sie wie der Dieb über den Zaun gestiegen." (id.)

##### 2.1.2. *áti* Idioms, Class I- *áti* + verb of thought = 'despise'

According to Casaretto (2011b), there are two examples of what she considers to be 'vollzogene Lexikalisierung' with *áti*: *áti* +  $\sqrt{uh}$ <sub>2</sub> and *áti* +  $\sqrt{man}$ <sub>1</sub><sup>12</sup>, both with the meaning 'despise, belittle'. The simplex of  $\sqrt{uh}$ <sub>2</sub> most commonly means 'notice, pay attention to', while the simplex of  $\sqrt{man}$ <sub>1</sub> means 'think, consider'. These two may be broadly considered to be verbs of

<sup>11</sup> In general, when giving examples of basic directional preverbal usages, I will try to use common verbs of motion, and to use the same verbs when possible.

<sup>12</sup> *pári* +  $\sqrt{man}$ <sub>1</sub> also yields a similar meaning; see below.

thought. Casaretto sees the first example as an instance of "eine Bedeutungskehr des Grundverbs", what I (after McIntyre) might call pseudoreversativity. This is due to the fact that Casaretto chooses to gloss the simplex of  $\sqrt{uh}_2$  as 'verkündigen, rühmen' (213). This reading of  $\sqrt{uh}_2$  makes it less easy to understand why *áti* should create identical idioms with it and  $\sqrt{man}_1$ ;<sup>13</sup> the similarity of the two meanings makes it tempting to create one construction which applies to both idioms. I propose that there is a pattern here (although of very limited frequency) best expressed by the formula: '*áti* + verb of thought = 'despise'. It is not clear how the semantics of *áti* might contradict the semantics of  $\sqrt{uh}_2$  to create pseudoreversativity. Granted, for Casaretto's suggestion to be the case, it need not necessarily be a pseudoreversative, but pseudoreversativity is to my mind at least a plausible mechanism for such a 'Bedeutungskehr des Grundverbs', and *áti* +  $\sqrt{uh}_2$  does not really admit of such a possibility. Much more plausible would be a development of these complex verbs to 'despise' from something along the lines of English 'look down upon'. Under the following suggested formula, this type of construction would be 'semiproductive':

*áti* Idioms, Class I- *áti* + verbs of thought = 'despise'

- 6) *áti* +  $\sqrt{uh}_2$  'despise' (simplex: 'notice, pay attention to')

8.69.14ab **átid** u śakrá **ohata** / índro víśvā áti dvíṣaḥ

"Der mächtige Indra verachtet alle Feinde..." (Casaretto 2011b: 212)

<sup>13</sup> It is worth noting that Grassmann did not gloss  $\sqrt{uh}_2$  as 'verkündigen, rühmen' either, but instead as 'worauf achten, beachten' (276).

7) *áti* +  $\sqrt{\text{man}_1}$  'despise' (simplex: 'think, consider')

1.170.3ab *kíṃ no bhrātar agastya / sákhā sánn áti manyase*

"Warum verachtest du uns, Bruder Agastya, obwohl du (unser) Freund bist?" (Casaretto 2011b: 213)<sup>14</sup>

### 2.1.3. Etymology and Cognates

The etymology of *áti* is Indo-European \*(H<sub>1</sub>)éti; within Indo-Iranian it has cognates in Young Avestan *aiti*- 'hinüber-' and Old Persian *atīy*- 'id.', Khotanese *ata/atā* 'excessively' (here it has clearly become fully metaphoric). In Greek its cognate is ἔτι, and in Latin its cognate is *et*; Gothic's reflex is *ip* (Mayrhofer 1986: 57).

## 2.2. *ánu*

### 2.2.1. Basic Usage

*ánu*, according to Grassmann, has the basic meaning "'hinter einem andern her, ihm nachfolgend'. Daher hat es fast alle Bedeutungen unseres 'nach'; also räumlich 'nach einem Ziele hin'" (58). Whitney glosses *ánu* as 'after, along, toward' (Whitney 1889: 395). It is quite common, appearing in the RV 507 times, and pairing with 84 verbs (Casaretto 2011a, Grassmann 1873). Its basic meaning can be demonstrated in combination with the following verbs:

8) *ánu* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$  'go after'

1.65.2cd *sajóṣā dhīrāḥ padaír ánu gmann / úpa tvā sīdan vísve yájatrāḥ*

"...ihm gingen die Weisen einträchtig auf seinen Spuren nach. Dir nahten alle Opferwürdigen." (Geldner)

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 1.138.4, 6.52.2, 10.91.2.

9) *ánu* +  $\sqrt{\text{kram}}$ <sup>i</sup> 'go after'

5.53.11 *śárdhaṃ-śárdhaṃ va eṣāṃ / vrátam-vrátam gaṇám-gaṇam suśastíbhīḥ / ánu*

**krāmema** dhītíbhīḥ

"Jeder Heerhaufen von euch, jedes Geschwader, jeden Trupp wollen wir mit

Lobpreisungen, mit frommen Gedanken begleiten." (id.)

2.2.1. *ánu* Idioms, Class I- *ánu* + verba dicendi = 'learn'

With select verba dicendi, *ánu* comes to mean 'learn'. The idea is that the verbal lexemes originally meant something like 'repeat after (someone)', which was presumably a teaching method. Casaretto (2011a) considers this to merely be an example of metaphoricse Verwendung, in which local meanings have simply been semantically integrated with the meaning of the base verb; I, however, by my previously enumerated criteria, consider this to be complete lexicalization, since 'repeat after' does not clearly entail 'learn'. Examples follow:

*ánu* Idioms, Class I- *ánu* + verba dicendi = 'learn'

10) *ánu* +  $\sqrt{\text{brū}}$  'learn' (simplex: 'speak')

5.44.13d **anubruvāṇó** ádhi eti ná svapán

"Wer lernt, versteht es, nicht wer verschláft." (Geldner)

11) *ánu* +  $\sqrt{\text{vac}}$  'learn' (simplex: 'speak')

8.58.1cd yó **anūcānó** brāhmaṇó yuktá āsīt / ká svit tátra yájamānasya saṃvít<sup>15</sup>

"Wenn der gelehrte Brahmane eingespannt ward, welches ist denn dabei die Mitwissenschaft des Opferveranstalters?" (id.)

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15 Cf. 2.5.3.

2.2.2. *ánu* Idioms, Class II- *ánu* + transitive verbs = 'concede ground, concede a point'

There is also a class of verbs which, when combined with *ánu*, mean 'give way, yield, concede ground', or, in the metaphorical sense, 'concede a point'. In addition to being a pattern that is semiproductive with an idiosyncratic meaning, this is also a valency-changing construction. This creates a bivalent verb from a transitive verb; that is, the compound verb can take both a direct object, (that which is conceded), and an indirect object (the person to whom the point/ground is conceded). The simplex verbs themselves do not necessarily have anything in common except for the fact that they may form idioms with *ánu* in this way; they include  $\sqrt{jñā}$ ,  $\sqrt{dā}$ ,  $\sqrt{yam}$ , and  $\sqrt{sac}$ :

*ánu* Idioms, Class II- *ánu* + transitive verbs = 'concede ground, concede a point'

- 12) *ánu* +  $\sqrt{jñā}$  'concede, grant' (simplex: 'know')

10.85.14c víśve devá **ánu** tád vām **ajānan**

"...da gaben alle Götter euch ihre Einwilligung dazu." (Geldner)

- 13) *ánu* +  $\sqrt{dā}$  'concede (ground, a point, property)' (simplex: 'give')

1.127.4a dṛḷhā cid asmā **ánu dur** yáthā vidé<sup>16</sup>

"Selbst die festen (Dinge) geben ihm nach, wie bekannt ist." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 235)

- 14) *ánu* +  $\sqrt{yam}$  'give way' (simplex: 'lead')

1.123.13a ṛtásya raśmím **anuyáchamānā**<sup>17</sup>

"Dem Zügel der Wahrheit gehorchend." (Casaretto 2011a, p.54)

<sup>16</sup> Cf. 2.13.10, 8.62.7, 2.12.10, 7.45.2, 1.61.15 (passive), 1.190.5.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. 1.109.3, 4.48.3, 5.41.13, 6.21.6, 6.75.6, 7.56.13.

### 2.2.3. Etymology and Cognates

*ánu* has Indo-Iranian cognates in Young Avestan *anu* 'after, according to' and Old Persian *anuv* 'id.'. Furthermore, on the basis of several verbs discussed above, Mayrhofer would like to connect Vedic *ánu* with Latin \*en(u)- > *ī(n)*-. Latin cognates would include, then, *ī-gnōscō* 'I forgive, overlook' (with Ved. *anu-jñā-*, but with different connotations), *īn-sequor* 'I follow' (with *anu-sac-*), and *īn-stō* 'I pursue' (with *anu-sthā-*, glossed by Mayrhofer as 'sich anschließen') (Mayrhofer 1986: 74).

## 2.3. *antár*

### 2.3.1. Basic Usage

*antár*, as a preposition and as a preverb, appears 154 times in the RV (Lubotsky, 1997). It is not commonly a preverb, pairing with only twenty verbs (Grassmann 1873: 64). The basic definition of *antár* is 'innen, hinein, zwischen, in' (Mayrhofer 1986: 76); Whitney gives 'between, among, within' (Whitney 1889: 396). There are several idiomatized usages of *antár*, although they are admittedly quite rare relative to other preverbs. *antár* is more commonly a true preposition. Its basic usages can be demonstrated in conjunction with the following verbs:

15) *antár* + *√ās* 'sit in'

9.78.3ab samudríyā apsaráso manīṣiṇam / **ásīnā antár** abhí sómam akṣaran

"Die Meerfrauen Apsaras', die darin sitzen, sind zu dem sinnreichen Soma geflossen."

(Geldner)



16) *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{cakṣ}}$  'see into'

1.190.7cd ...ubháyaṃ **caṣṭe antár** / bṛhaspátis tára ápaś ca gṛdhraḥ

"...der blickt... zwischen beides hinein, das Überqueren und die Wasser, der Bṛhaspati als Geier." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 344).

2.3.2. *antár* Idioms, Class I- *antár* + verba videndi = 'know (exactly)'

*antár* + selected verba videndi ( $\sqrt{\text{khyā}}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{paś}_1}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{vid}_2}$ ) yields verbal lexemes with the meaning 'know, know exactly', presumably via a transitional meaning of 'distinguish between'.

Selected examples follow:

*antár* Idioms, Class I- *antár* + verba videndi = 'know (exactly)'

17) *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{khyā}}$  'know exactly' (simplex: 'see')

1.81.9cd **antár** hí **khyó** jánānām / aryó védo ádāśuśāṃ

"Du kennst ja den Besitz des Fremden, der nicht opfernden Leute heraus." (Hettrich 1993: 167)<sup>18</sup>

18) *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{paś}_1}$  'know exactly' (simplex: 'see')

2.27.3c- **antáh paśyanti** vṛjinótá sādhub

"Sie [die Āditya] unterscheiden die falschen und die rechten Dinge." (id.)<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cf. 7.81.9, 5.30.9.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. 1.132.3 (slightly different and perhaps more metaphoric in meaning); 9.96.7.

19) *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{vid}}_2$  'know exactly' (simplex: 'see')

1.72.7cd **antarvidvám** ádhvano devayánān / átandro dūtó abhavo havirvāt

"Du, der die von Göttern begangenen Wege vollkommen verstehst, wurdest der unermüdliche Bote, der die Opfertgaben fährt." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 132)

While the origins of this lexeme's lexicalized meaning are relatively easy to discern, this category of verb + *antár* still constitutes lexicalization, since both the verbs themselves and the preverb are being used in a lexicalized meaning.

2.3.3. *antár* Idioms, Class II: *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$  = 'hide, cover, block'<sup>20</sup>

With  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$ , *antár* produces a verbal lexeme generally meaning 'hide, cover, block', which is perhaps metaphorical change via a meaning of 'place inside', which *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$  can also mean.<sup>21</sup> This is, at its base, a resultative idea.

*antár* Idioms, Class II: *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$  = 'hide, cover, block'

20) *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$  'hide, cover, block' (simplex: 'set, place')

10.18.4cd śatām jīvantu śarādaḥ purūcīr / **antár** mṛtyuṃ **dadhatām** pārvatena

"Sie sollen hundert reichliche Herbste leben und den Tod mit einem Berg absperren."

(Hettrich 1993: 167)

2.3.4. Etymology and Cognates

The Indo-European etymon of *antár* is \*(h<sub>1</sub>)en-ter / \*(h<sub>1</sub>)n̥-ter, with Indo-Iranian cognates Old Avestan *aṅtarə* 'between' (cf. also Young Avestan *aṅtarə* 'within'), Old Persian

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *āpi* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$ , below.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. 10.54.6, 6.44.23, 1.62.9.

<atr> 'by, among'. Outside of Indo-Iranian, there are Old Irish *eter* 'between, among' and Latin *inter* 'id.'. Mayrhofer cites the Latin verb *inter-ficiō* 'I kill, I destroy' as an example of preverbal use. This would be cognate with Vedic *antár + √dhā<sub>1</sub>*, but has become further idiomatized; *antár + √dhā<sub>1</sub>* never acquires this particular meaning in Vedic (Mayrhofer 1986: 76).

## 2.4. *ápa*

### 2.4.1. Basic Usage

*ápa* appears in the RV 254 times, pairing with 54 different verbs (Schneider 2010b, Grassmann 1873). The basic meaning of *ápa*, according to Whitney, is 'away, forth, off' (Whitney 1889: 396). This may be seen in conjunction with the following verbs:

21) *ápa + √kram<sup>i</sup>* 'go forth'

10.164.1ab *ápehi manasas pate / ápa krāma* parás cara

"Geh fort, Herr des Sinnes, zieh fort, wandere in die Ferne!" (Geldner)

22) *ápa + √i* 'go off'

1.124.8ab *svásā svásre jyáyasyai yónim āraig / ápaiti* asyāḥ praticákṣyeva

"Die Schwester hat der älteren Schwester den Platz geräumt; sie geht von ihr wie eine, die man wiedersehen soll." (id.)

### 2.4.2. *ápa* Idioms, Class I: Pseudoreversatives

There are several idiomatic usages of *ápa + verb* which are worth mentioning here. Two are pseudoreversatives, which I will treat first:

*ápa* Idioms, Class I: Pseudoreversatives (*ápa* + verb = reversal of action entailed by simplex)

- 23) *ápa* + √vr̥₁ 'open, uncover' (simplex: 'cover')

1.11.5ab tuvám valásya gómato / **ápāvar** adrivo bílam

"Du mit dem Stein hast die Höhle des Vala, der die Kühe enthält, geöffnet."<sup>22</sup>

(Schneider 2010b: 284)

- 24) *ápa* + √vyā 'uncover' (simplex: 'cover, envelop')

7.81.1cd **ápo** máhi **vyayati** cákṣase támo

"And she uncovers the great darkness for being seen." (Klein 1978: 172-173)

The base verb in the first example has the meaning of 'cover, hide', but the semantics of *ápa* combine with this meaning to create a verbal lexeme meaning 'open, uncover'. The meaning of the verbal lexeme in the second example is formed similarly; √vyā as a base verb means 'cover, envelop'; with *ápa*, however, it means 'uncover'. Since the simplex verbs are near-synonymous, there is a possibility of refining the description of Class I *ápa* idioms thus: verbs meaning 'close, cover' + *ápa* = verbal lexemes meaning 'open, uncover'. However, calling these idioms pseudoreversatives allows them to be grouped together with many other Vedic preverb-verb idioms, and suggests a mechanism by which their idiomatized meaning could have developed. Therefore it is, to my mind, the better alternative.

2.4.3. *ápa* Idioms, Class II: *ápa* + verbs meaning 'follow' + MIDDLE VOICE = 'hide from, avoid'

Another pattern of idiomatization with *ápa* is evident with verbs meaning 'follow':

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. 8.100.6.

*ápa* Idioms, Class II: *ápa* + verbs meaning 'follow' + MIDDLE VOICE = 'hide from, avoid'

25) *ápa* + √*sac* + MIDDLE VOICE 'stay away from, avoid' (simplex: 'follow')

5.20.2cd **ápa** dvéšo **ápa** hváro / anyávratasya **saścire**

"Fern den Hass, fern die List des Andergläubigen halten sie von sich." (Schneider 2010b: 285)

26) *ápa* + √*śri* + MIDDLE VOICE 'hide, hide from' (simplex: 'lean, follow')

8.24.30cd eṣó **ápaśrito** való / gomatīm áva tiṣṭhati

"Dieser Vala, der sich versteckt hat, geht zur Gomatī hinab."<sup>23</sup> (id.)

The verbs, at base, mean 'follow', but *ápa* + √*sac*, in the middle voice, means 'stay away from', while *ápa* + √*śri*, in the middle voice, means 'hide, or 'hide from' (technically this verbal lexeme only appears as a past passive participle, so perhaps it is better to gloss it as 'hidden'). The semantics of this seem to be resultative,<sup>24</sup> although it is not clear why the verbs selected by this construction mean 'follow', rather than something like 'go'. The pattern is small, but the phenomenon seems to exist.

#### 2.4.4. Etymology and Cognates

The Indo-European etymon of *ápa* is \**apo* (or \**h<sub>2</sub>epo*; Hittite has *appa* 'hinter, nach, zurück', however [Puhvel 1981]). In Indo-Iranian, Avestan and Old Persian both have *apa-* in the value of 'weg, von' (but only as a preverb and not as an independent word); cf. Old Persian *apataram* 'weiter weg, außerhalb (von)'. Outside of Indo-Iranian, Greek has ἀπό/ἄπο<sub>2</sub> as seen in

<sup>23</sup> Cf. 1.84.14.

<sup>24</sup> Another explanation may be that these are pseudoreversatives, and that 'stay away from' could be seen as equivalent to 'unfollow'.

ἀπαφίσκω 'I keep off, I deceive' (Dunkel 1981). The first part of this is apparently cognate with Ved. *ápāpa* (a doubled form of the preverb, found only once in the RV, at 5.34.3c); similarly, Latin has *ab* 'von, weg', as seen in *aperīre* 'open', cognate with Ved. *ápa* +  $\sqrt{vr_1}$  (RV 9.86.23d, for example). (Mayrhofer 1987: .82)

## 2.5. *ápi*

### 2.5.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *ápi* is 'to(wards), into' (Schneider 2013: 23). It appears in the RV only 107 times (Schneider 2013). This particle is also relatively rare in combination with verbs in the RV, and pairs with fewer than twenty unique verbs (Grassmann 1873). Its basic meaning may be seen in combination with the following verbs:

27) *ápi* +  $\sqrt{dhā_1}$  'place into' (but see below for idiomatized usages)

10.87.2cd á jihváyā múradevān rabhasva / kravyádo vṛktvī **ápi dhatsva** āsán

"Packe sie mit der Zunge, die Götzenanbeter; die Fleischfresser umringe und stecke sie ins Maul!" (Geldner)

28) *ápi* +  $\sqrt{gam}$  'go onto'

6.51.16a **ápi** pánthām **aganmahi**

"Wir haben den Weg angetreten..." (id.)

As Schneider notes, 'in a considerable number of instances, though, it is used as a lexicalizing preverb' (Schneider 2013: 23). *ápi*'s use as a preverb in an idiomatized syntagm is far more common than its use as a straightforwardly directional preverb (as in the above examples). Many of the idioms involving *ápi*, however, can be interpreted as having developed from a resultative sense.

2.5.2. *ápi* Idioms, Class I: *ápi* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$  = 'hide, close up, block off'

The first few cases of this may be found with the verb  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$ . In combination with *ápi* in some instances, it means 'hide, close up, block off':

29) *ápi* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$  'hide, close up, block off' (simplex: 'set, place')<sup>25</sup>

4.28.5 evá satyám maghavānā yuvám tád / índraś ca soma ūrvám áśviyaṃ góḥ //

ádardṛtam **ápihitāni** ásnā / riricáthuḥ kṣás cit tatṛdāná<sup>26</sup>

"So ist es wahr, ihr Freigebige. Indra und Soma, ihr habt damals das Roß- und Rinderversteck erbrochen und die mit einem Stein verschlossenen (Schätze) freigegeben wie die aufgebrochene Erde." (Geldner)

It seems likely that the meaning could have once been something like 'place into, place inside', a straightforwardly compositional meaning, and then changed into 'hide', since to place something inside something else is often to hide it from view. This syntagm can therefore plausibly be seen as once having had resultative semantics. Given that this is so similar to *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$ , this particular phenomenon might be better described as a pattern with  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$  + preverbs meaning 'in, into', rather than as two distinct but similar patterns with *antár* and *ápi*.

2.5.3. *ápi* Idioms, Class II: Valency-changing: *ápi* +  $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$

*ápi* +  $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$  is a textbook case of the ability of preverbs to increase the valency of verbs they are affiliated with.  $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$  is, of course, intransitive, but when paired with *ápi*, it means 'make someone else rejoice, make someone else intoxicated':<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *antár* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}_1$ , above.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. 4.28.1, 1.32.11, 5.62.1, 10.129.3.

<sup>27</sup> This is also a phenomenon that may be observed with this verb and the particles *ánu* and *abhí*.

*ápi* Idioms, Class II: *ápi* +  $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$  = 'make someone else rejoice/make someone else intoxicated'

- 30) *ápi* +  $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$  'make someone else rejoice, make someone else intoxicated' (simplex: 'be joyful, be intoxicated')

1.186.1cd ***ápi*** *yáthā yuvāno mátsathā no / vísvaṃ jágad abhipitvé manīṣá*

"Auf daß auch ihr Jünglinge uns in gehobener Stimmung versetzt, soll am Abend zur ganzen lebenden Welt die Andacht kommen." (Geldner)

$\sqrt{\text{mad}}$  specifically has a tendency to increase its valency by means of preverbs (cf. *ánu* +  $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$  and *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$ , both also meaning 'make someone else rejoice/be intoxicated'). This, then, is an example of a purely valency-changing construction.

#### 2.5.4. Etymology and Cognates

When *ápi* is not being used as a preverb, it has, in Vedic, the meaning of 'also, moreover', and it is this meaning which can be seen in many cognates throughout Indo-European. The etymon of this is  $*(h_1)epi$ , which produced Old Avestan *aipī* 'auch, späterhin' and Young Avestan *api* 'auch, besonders, über' (both the spatial meaning and the meaning 'and' are seen in both cases). Armenian has continued the meaning 'and' exclusively, and the word has become *ew* 'and'. Greek, however, has *ἐπι/ἐπί* 'dazu, darauf, bei' (and perhaps also Homeric *ἔπισθε[ν]* and the like). Latin has a cognate syntagm with Vedic in *op-erire* (cf. *ápi* +  $\sqrt{v_1}$  'einschliessen'). There is also a Hittite *appa(n)* 'hinter, nach'. (Mayrhofer 1987: 86)



## 2.6. *abhí*

### 2.6.1. Basic Usage

*abhí*'s basic meanings are 'her, gegen, wegen, über' (Mayrhofer 1987: 91); Whitney defines it as 'to, unto, against' (Whitney 1889: 396). It is one of the more common preverbs in the Ṛg Veda, appearing 801 times with 126 verbs (Casaretto 2010: 98; Grassmann 1873). Its basic usage can be demonstrated with the following verbs:

31) *abhí* + √kram<sup>i</sup> 'approach, go up to'

1.144.1cd **abhí** srúcaḥ **kramate** dakṣiṇāvṛto / yá asya dháma prathamám ha níṃsate

"Er geht den von rechts herankommenden Schmalzlöffeln entgegen, die zuerst seine Geburtsstätte mit dem Munde berühren." (Geldner)

32) *abhí* + √gam 'approach, go up to'

10.146.5ab ná vá arañyānír hanti / anyás cén **nābhigáchatī**

"Indeed, the forest maiden does not kill, if another does not approach." (Klein 1985, vol.1: 252)

2.6.2. *abhí* Idioms, Class I: *abhí* + intransitive verbs = 'surpass in power, attack, defeat'

*abhí* also lends itself to a number of idiomatized complex verbs. The first set of these comprises those which have the meaning 'surpass, be more powerful than'; sometimes this even entails a more confrontational meaning, such as 'defeat'. The verbs which behave in this way include √sad, √as<sub>1</sub>, and √sthā:

*abhí* Idioms, Class I: *abhí* + intransitive verbs = 'surpass in power, attack, defeat'

- 33) *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{sad}}$  'surpass in power, intimidate' (simplex: 'sit')

9.7.5 pávamāno **abhí** spṛdho / víso rájeva **sīdati** / yád im ṛṇvānti vedhásaḥ

"Sich läuternd schüchtert er die Gegner ein wie ein König seine Untertanen, wenn ihn die Meister in Gang bringen." (Geldner)

- 34) *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{as}}_1$  'surpass in power' (simplex: 'be')

8.99.5ab t<sub>u</sub>vám indra prátūr<sub>ti</sub>ṣu / **abhí** vísvā **asi** spṛdhaḥ<sup>28</sup>

"Du, Indra, bist bei den Vorstößen allen Gegnern überlegen." (id.)

- 35) *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$  'surpass in power, defeat' (simplex: 'stand')

8.21.12ab jáyema kārē puruhūta kārīṇo / **abhí** **tiṣṭhema** dūḍhīyaḥ<sup>29</sup>

"Wir wollen im Kampfspiel die Kampfspieler besiegen, du Vielgerufener, und die bemeistern, welche Böses im Sinn haben." (id.)

The semantics of these compounds covers the spectrum from mostly transparent (*abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{as}}_1$ ) to metaphoric verging on non-compositional (some instances of *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$ ). *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{as}}_1$ , if read as strictly compositional instead of with its idiomatized meaning, would be 'be over (spatially)'; the only thing required to change this into 'surpass in power' is to read the preverb in a metaphoric way. *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{sad}}$  is similar, with the additional element of a negative connotation to the preverb when the complex verb has the meaning of 'intimidate'. The same may be said of the instances of *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$  meaning 'surpass in power'; those meaning 'defeat' can either be thought of as a development from 'surpass in power' or as a non-transparent idiom.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. 8.24.19, 8.17.15, 8.100.4, 9.35.3, 1.178.5, 10.53.4, 10.48.7, 10.69.6, 10.89.15, 10.117.7, 10.132.2, 2.8.6, 3.1.16, 4.16.15, 4.21.2, 7.1.13.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. 6.21.7, 10.174.2, 10.69.12, 5.28.3, 10.81.4, 7.8.4, 4.50.7.

2.6.3. *abhí* Idioms, Class II: *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{jan}}$ <sup>i</sup> = 'be born for something, be determined from birth'

Another interesting combination is *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{jan}}$ <sup>i</sup> 'be born for something, be determined from birth':

36) *abhí* +  $\sqrt{\text{jan}}$ <sup>i</sup> 'be born for something, be determined from birth' (simplex: 'be born')

1.168.2 vavráso ná yé s<sub>v</sub>vajáḥ svátavasa / íṣaṃ súvar **abhijáyanta** dhútayaḥ / sahasrívāso  
apám ná ūrmāya / āsá gāvo vāndiyāso ná ukṣāṇaḥ<sup>30</sup>

"Die Schüttler, die, wie Höhlen, von selbst geboren, selbststark, auf Nahrung (und) Sonnenlicht geboren werden- sie sind tausendfach, wie die Wogen der Wasser, (sie sind) die Kühe mit dem Mund, wie die zu lobenden Jungtiere." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 313)

This makes sense in light of the fact that the particle *abhí*, by itself, can signify 'for the sake of'. Casaretto (2010b) explains it as a loss of directional semantics: "...ein Verlust der direktionalen Bedeutung... ist mit der Bedeutungsvariante 'zu x hin, um x zu erlangen' → 'für, wegen, um willen' verbunden" (98). It seems that, despite the fact that it is in composition with a verb, *abhí* has this meaning here as well.

#### 2.6.4. Etymology and Cognates

The Indo-European etymon of this is \*h<sub>2</sub>m̥b<sup>hi</sup> 'um, auf beiden Seiten' (Rix 1970: 90). In the other Indo-Iranian languages, however, it does not appear to have had any cognates as a preverb (although Old Avestan, Young Avestan, and Old Persian had adverbs that were similar to the Vedic adverbial usages of *abhí*; they are *aibi*, *aīβi*, and *abiy*, respectively<sup>31</sup>). Outside of Indo-Iranian, we find Latin *amb(i)-/am-/an-*, OHG *umbi*, as well as Greek ἀμφί 'on both sides' (Mayrhofer 1986: 91).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. 10.66.9, 10.180.5.

<sup>31</sup> Additionally, in Young Avestan, one finds nominal formations involving *aibi*: cf. *aibi-ḡarəiti-* (f.) 'song of praise' (Mayrhofer 1986, p.92). One does not generally find finite verbs with *aibi-* in Avestan.

## 2.7 *áva*

### 2.7.1. Basic Usage

*áva* has a base meaning of 'down, down from, down to'. It appears around 243 times in the RV, in combination with 74 verbs (Schneider 2004, Grassmann 1873). Its basic usage may be demonstrated in combination with the following verbs:

37) *áva* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$  'go down'

8.35.7b sómaṃ sutám mahiṣéva**áva gachathah**

"You descend to the pressed soma like a buffalo [to the watering hole]."

38) *áva* +  $\sqrt{\text{i}}$  'go down'

1.164.51ab samānám etád udakám / úc **caíti áva** cáhabhiḥ

"This same water here goes up and down throughout the days." (Klein 1978: 85)

### 2.7.2. *áva* Idioms, Class I: Pseudoreversatives

There are a number of pseudoreversatives in which *áva* appears. The verbs themselves do not seem to share any semantic similarities, which is puzzling:

*áva* Idioms, Class I: Pseudoreversatives (*áva* + verb = reversal of action entailed by simplex)

39) *áva* +  $\sqrt{\text{ci}_1}$  'undo a seam, take out stitching' (simplex: 'line up, string together, put in layers')

3.61.4ab **áva** syúmeva **cinvatí** maghón,y / uṣá yāti svásarasya pátnī

"Wie eine Frau, die die Naht auszieht, kommt die gabenreiche Usas, die Herrin des Frühtriebes." (Geldner)

- 40) *áva* +  $\sqrt{vy\bar{a}}$  'uncover' (simplex: 'cover')  
 4.13.4ab váhiṣṭhebhīr viháran yāsi tántum / **avavyáyann** ásitam deva vásma  
 "Tu vas avec les (chevaux) qui conduisent le mieux, dissociant le fil (des ténèbres),  
 écartant le noir vêtement, ô dieu." (Renou 1961, vol.13: 16)
- 41) *áva* +  $\sqrt{si_1}$  'untie' (simplex: 'tie, bind')  
 6.74.3cd **áva syatam** muñcátam yán no ásti / tanúṣu baddhám kṛtám éno asmát  
 "Bindet ab, löset von uns die getane Sünde, die an unsere Leiber gebunden ist."  
 (Geldner)
- 42) *áva* +  $\sqrt{s\bar{a}_2}$  'untie' (simplex: \*'tie, bind')<sup>32</sup>  
 1.104.1cd vimúcyā váyo **avasáya** ásvān / doṣá vástor váhīyasaḥ prapitvé<sup>33</sup>  
 "...nachdem die Jugendkraft losgebunden hast, die Pferde angehalten hast, die bei  
 Dunkelwerden und bei Hellwerden vor der Essenszeit am besten ziehen!" (Witzel/Gotō  
 2007: 185)
- 43) *áva* +  $\sqrt{tan_1}$  'make slack' (simplex: 'stretch')  
 8.19.20c **áva** sthirá **tanuhi** bhúri śárdhatām<sup>34</sup>  
 "Entspanne die Kräfte der viel zu Übermächtigen." (id.)

Despite the very loose-to-nonexistent semantic connection between these roots<sup>35</sup>, these are all fairly straightforward examples of pseudoreversativity.

32 As Grassmann remarks, "mit dem daraus geschwächten si... ursprünglich identisch" (1506).

33 Cf. 7.28.4, 1.179.2, 3.53.20 for more metaphoric examples, such as 'solve (a problem)'; also cf.  $\sqrt{v}$  +  $\sqrt{s\bar{a}_2}$ , below.

34 Cf. 4.4.5, 10.116.5, 10.134.2, 2.33.14.

35 I suppose one could say that in each case something needs to be suspended, or tautened, or arranged, and if the state of equilibrium required for the execution of the actions described in the verbs were to be 'let down' in some way, the action in the verb would be undone; this is a bit over-vague, though.

### 2.7.3. Etymology and Cognates

Indo-Iranian cognates include Old Avestan *auuā* and Young Avestan *auua*; Old Persian had a preverb *ava-*. Further-flung cognates include Greek  $\alpha\upsilon$  and Latin *au-* in compositions such as *au-fugiō* 'I flee'. A possible etymon is perhaps  $*h_2eu-$  (or  $*au$ ), with Indo-Iranian having  $*aua$ . (Mayrhofer 1987: 129)

## 2.8 *á*

### 2.8.1. Basic Usage

*á* is one of the more enigmatic Vedic particles. Its base meaning is something like 'to here, to me (from the point of view of the subject)', but it can also mean 'to (the general location of the action)', or 'to (the direct object)'. Mayrhofer glosses it as 'her, hinzu; zumal, gar, fürwahr; zu-hin, auf', which encompasses almost everything, but does not take into account the relative frequencies of each definition (Mayrhofer 1988: 157). A general meaning 'to here (from the point of view of the subject)' can most likely be taken as the base meaning. It is prone to lexicalization, although it certainly has a great number of basic usages as well. It is by far the most common preverb in the RV, appearing 3,347 times with 176 verbs (Casaretto 2012: 16; Grassmann 1873).

Its basic usages may be demonstrated by the following examples:

44) *á* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$  'come here'

1.4.3c *má no áti khya á gahi*

"Übersieh uns nicht, komm her!" (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 5)

45) *á* +  $\sqrt{\text{bhṛ}}$  'bear here, carry here'

8.93.28a *bhadráṃ-bhadraṃ na á bhara*

"Bear hither to us every auspicious thing." (Klein 2004: 783)

### 2.8.2. *á* Idioms, Uncategorized

The several idioms which appear with *á* are difficult to categorize, and I will list them here and treat them individually:

- 46) *á* +  $\sqrt{\text{ghar}_1}$  'throw towards' (simplex: 'drizzle [as with fat]')

5.48.3ab *á grávabhir ahaníyebhir aktúbhir / váriṣṭhaṃ vájram á jigharti māyīni*<sup>36</sup>

"Mit den täglichen Preßsteinen Nacht für Nacht schleudert er die beste Keule auf den Zauberischen." (Geldner)

- 47) *á* +  $\sqrt{\text{pṛc}}$  'give many gifts to' (simplex: 'fill')

5.50.2 *té te deva nayitar / yé cemám̐ anuśáse / té rāyá té hí āpṛce / sácemahi*

*sacathíyaiḥ*

"Diese sind dein, o göttlicher Führer, und die, welche diesen nachbeten sollen, wir hier möchten des Reichtums- den diese sind damit zu überhäufen- und deines Beistands teilhaftig werden." (id.)

- 48) *á* +  $\sqrt{\text{vṛṣ}}$  + MIDDLE VOICE 'slurp, drink' (simplex: 'rain')

1.104.9c *uruvyácā jaṭhára á vṛṣasva*<sup>37</sup>

"Du mit weitem Umfang schütte die (davon) in deinen Bauch ein!" (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 184)

<sup>36</sup> Cf. 4.17.14.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. 8.61.5, 10.116.4, 3.60.5, 3.40.2, 10.96.13, 6.47.6, 3.32.1, 10.116.1, 1.108.3, 3.51.11.

49)  $\acute{a}$  +  $\sqrt{d\bar{a}}_1$  + MIDDLE VOICE 'take' (simplex: 'give')

1.121.8a  $a\check{s}t\acute{a}$  mahó divá **ádo** hárī ihá<sup>38</sup>

"Acht Falben paarweise hast du vom großen Himmel genommen [hier]." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 222)

The first example may perhaps best be taken as figurative; that is, 'cause something (a projectile, for example) to move as though it had been greased, i.e., quickly'.  $\acute{a}$  adds an element of spatial directionality. What is most interesting here is that the combination of  $\acute{a}$  +  $\sqrt{ghar}_1$  appears to be useful in far more general circumstances than the simplex verb, and indeed, any other combination of preverb +  $\sqrt{ghar}_1$ . While  $\acute{a}$  +  $\sqrt{ghar}_1$  can also have the meaning of the simplex, 'drizzle with fat'<sup>39</sup> (and so can  $v\acute{i}$  +  $\sqrt{ghar}_1$ <sup>40</sup>), all of these occur in ritual or sacrificial contexts, while  $\acute{a}$  +  $\sqrt{ghar}_1$  at 5.48.3 and 4.17.4 does not. This is an interesting example of the degree of specificity decreasing with the addition of a preverb, rather than the other way around, as is more usual.

The second example,  $\acute{a}$  +  $\sqrt{p\check{r}c}$ , may be interpreted in a similar way: to 'fill someone up with gifts' is to bestow gifts lavishly upon him<sup>41</sup>. This combination appears only once in the RV, and the development of the meaning appears fairly clear. What is not so clear is why  $\acute{a}$  itself should have been chosen as the preverb to perform this function.

The third example,  $\acute{a}$  +  $\sqrt{v\check{r}\check{s}}$  + middle voice, is also best seen as figurative and also changes the valency of the verb; previously it was intransitive and now it is transitive.  $\acute{a}$  additionally appears to be assuming a semantic role here, and transfers the action of the verb from a very general to a more immediate location (the body of the subject).

38 Cf. 5.32.8, 2.12.4, 5.30.15, 10.48.2, 8.78.10, 10.49.2, 8.72.17, 1.161.12, 9.68.3, 7.6.7, 5.7.3, 8.45.4, 8.19.31, 1.139.2, 10.18.9, 4.19.9, 4.26.7, 4.26.6.

39 Cf. 2.10.5, 10.87.1, 10.6.4.

40 Cf. 3.54.6.

41  $sám$  +  $\sqrt{p\check{r}c}$  can have a similar meaning 'give gifts generously to' (again with the recipient in the accusative and the gifts in the instrumental), which is similar to the meaning of other instances of  $sám$  +  $\sqrt{p\check{r}c}$  (for example, 'share something with'). Cf. 6.20.6, 3.54.21, 1.110.4.



The final example is very much more difficult. Can this construction be thought of as a resultative- that is, at the end of the action entailed by the verb, the object is in some sense 'to' the subject? The particular solution to this long-standing puzzle is beyond the scope of this study, but it is one of the most intriguing questions surrounding the use of *á*. A likely explanation is that *á*, which has such a strong afferent meaning, can cause lexical change to an efferent verb such as  $\sqrt{d\bar{a}}_1$ , making it also afferent. The role of the middle voice may be to reinforce the direction of this change, since 'take' has inherent middle semantics.

### 2.8.3. Etymology and Cognates

Cognates of *á* include Old/Young Avestan *ā*- 'hin - zu, gegen, auf'. Interestingly, both had a complex verb *ā-dā* 'in etwas einsetzen'. The Indo-European would have been *\*é ~ \*ó* (or *\*éh<sub>1</sub> ~ \*óh<sub>1</sub>*), and yielded Greek *\*ω-* (as in *χωρῶσται*), and Latin *\*ē-* (as in *hēr-ē-d-*, m. 'Erbe'). (Mayrhofer 1996: 157).<sup>42</sup>

## 2.9. *úd*

### 2.9.1. Basic Usage

*úd* is of medium frequency in the RV, appearing 314 times and combining with 73 verbs (Schneider 2011, Grassmann 1873). The basic meaning of *úd* is 'auf, empor; weg, heraus' (Mayrhofer 1988: 214). Schneider describes it nicely thus: "Die LP *úd* bezeichnet in ihrer Grundbedeutung 'empor, nach oben, hinauf', kann aber, bei einer dem Sprecher unsichtbaren Bewegungsquelle auch die Kontextvariante 'herauf, hervor' haben" (Schneider 2011: 185). Its basic meaning may be demonstrated in composition with the following verbs:

<sup>42</sup> Mayrhofer also notes that "Idg. *\*éh<sub>1</sub> ~ \*óh<sub>1</sub>* möglicherweise ein alter Instrumental des Pronominalstamms *\*e* (oder *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-*)" (158).

- 50) *úd + √i* (where *úd* = 'auf, empor') 'go up'  
 1.50.5 *pratyáñ devánāṃ víśaḥ / pratyáññ úd eṣi mánuṣān / pratyáñ víśvaṃ sūvar dṛśé*  
 "Den Sippen der Götter zugewandt, gehst du auf, den Menschen zugewandt, der ganzen Welt zugewandt, so daß sie das Sonnenlicht sieht." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 93)
- 51) *úd + √i* (where *úd* = 'weg, heraus') 'go off, go away'  
 10.27.15ab *saptá vīrāso adharád úd āyann / aṣṭóttarāttāt sám ajagmīran té*  
 "Sieben Männer gingen von Süden hinauf, acht von Norden, die kamen zusammen."  
 (Geldner)
- 52) *úd + √bhṛ* (where *úd* = 'auf, empor') 'carry up, bear up'  
 8.19.23 *yádī ghr̥tébhir áhuto / vásīm agnīr bhárata úc cáva ca / áśura iva nirñijam*  
 "Quand, arrosé de beurres-fondus, Agni élève et abaisse la hache / (on dirait que),  
 comme le Maître (Varuṇa, il met ou enlève) sa robe-d'apparat." (Renou 1961, vol. 13: 67)
- 53) *úd + √bhṛ* (where *úd* = 'weg, heraus') 'bear off, bear away'  
 10.5.5ab *saptá svásṛr áruṣṛr vāvaśānó / vidván mádhva új jabhārā dṛśé kám*  
 "Die sieben rötlichen Schwestern hat der Kundige voll Verlangen aus dem Süßen herausgeholt zum Schauen." (Geldner)

### 2.9.2. *úd* Idioms, Class I: Resultatives

There are also a few idioms with *úd*, most of which have the semantics 'up(ward)' or 'away' evident in the meaning of the compound, although this may not be immediately apparent. The first class of these encompasses those which could be said to have evolved from a resultative sense; this includes *úd* + the verbs *√bhid* and *√śri*:

*úd* Idioms, Class I: Resultatives

- 54) *úd* + √*bhid* 'be successful' (simplex: 'split, break')

10.45.10cd *priyāḥ sūrye priyó agná bhavāti / új jāténa bhinádad új jānitvaiḥ*

"Beliebt bei Sūrya, beliebt bei Agni soll er sein, mit dem geborenen und den künftigen (Söhnen) soll er Erfolg haben." (Geldner)

- 55) *úd* + √*sri* 'erect, raise up, rise up (the latter + MIDDLE VOICE)' (simplex: 'lean')

7.62.1ab *út sūryo bṛhád arcīṃṣi ásret / purú vísvā jānima mānuṣāṇām*<sup>43</sup>

"Hoch hat Sūrya seine Strahlen aufgerichtet, all die vielen Menschengeschlechter (geweckt)." (Schneider 2011: 229)

The one that seems the most difficult to analyze at first is surely *úd* + √*bhid* 'be successful', since, after all, this does not appear to be a composite of the meanings 'upward (or 'away') + 'split, break'. In fact, Grassmann does not define this compound verb as 'be successful', but rather as 'hervorsprudeln mit' (Grassmann 1873: 935). Schneider, following Geldner, disagrees: "Die anzusetzende Grundbedeutung ~\*'emporbrechen' lässt sich inhaltlich etwa mit dt. 'den Durchbruch schaffen' vergleichen" (Schneider 2011: 225). It is not too far a jump from 'break through' to 'be successful' (see Eng. catch a break, get a big break<sup>44</sup>). While I find this combination to be non-transparent, Schneider disagrees, and counts it as a strong metaphor instead: "Andererseits lässt sich aber die Grundbedeutung der beiden Elemente LP und Verb aber noch gut nachvollziehen" (id.).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. 3.8.2, 3.8.3, 7.76.1.

<sup>44</sup> It is worth remarking, as evidence that the Vedic idiom may have developed along the same lines as English 'break through', the fact that √*bhid* on its own may mean 'break through (barriers)'. Cf. 1.52.5cd *índro yád vajrī dhṛṣāmāṇo ándhasā / bhinád valásya paridhīm̐r iva tritáḥ* "...als Indra, der Keulenträger, durch den Soma kühn geworden des Vala Schranken sprengte gleich Trita." (Geldner)

*úd* + *√śri* also appears to have resultative semantics. The simplex means 'to lean' (or, in the case of sunlight, 'spread over [the earth, etc.]'), but the compound means 'to erect, to rise up (the latter in the middle voice only)'. This is not as unusual as it might first appear. Grassmann gives as the 'Grundbegriff' of the simplex verb the following definition "...'etwas woran lehnen'... daher 'etwas wohin bringen, dass es dort ruhe oder verweile', insbesondere 'Licht [A.] verbreiten über etwas' [L.]" (Grassmann 1873: 1422). This seems to me to be a broad enough definition that, with the addition of a preverb meaning 'up(wards)', the meaning 'raise, rise' could easily follow.

2.9.3. *úd* Idioms, Class II: *úd* + *√vap<sub>2</sub>* 'dig something/someone up, pick someone/something out'

*úd* + *√vap<sub>2</sub>* is, on the other hand, completely opaque; 'upward (or 'away')' + 'scatter, strew' does not transparently mean 'dig something/someone up, pick someone/something out'.

Consider the following example:

56) *úd* + *√vap<sub>2</sub>* 'dig something/someone up, pick someone/something out' (simplex: 'scatter')

1.117.5cd śubhé rukmám ná darśatām níkhātam / **úd ūpathur** aśvinā vāndanāya<sup>45</sup>

"Zur Pracht habt ihr für Vandana den ansehnlichen, wie ein Schmuckstück vergrabenen (Rebha) ausgegraben, ihr Aśvin." (Schneider 2011: 229)

One might be tempted to say that this is a metaphor for digging something up, and that the earth turned up by performing such an action can be said to be 'scattered away', or something like that; however, the direct object with this compound is always in the accusative case (with an optional inclusion of whatever the direct object was picked or dug out of in the locative case), and therefore it seems clear that the direct object itself should be thought of as that which is

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45 Cf. 1.117.12.

'scattered away' or 'strewn away'. It is clear that this compound is completely lexicalized, but the mechanism by which it has become so is not so obvious.

#### 2.9.4. Etymology and Cognates

Old Avestan and Young Avestan have *us-/uz-* in compounds; Old Persian has an *ud-*, and Khotanese has *uys-* 'up, out'. Greek ὕστερος could be connected to this, as could Old English *ūt* and Old High German *ūz* (becoming NHG *aus*). The IE etymon of these would then be *\*ud-*. (Mayrhofer 1988: 214)

#### 2.10 *úpa*

##### 2.10.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *úpa* is 'to, onto, toward', Casaretto (2004) remarks that it appears "mit meist horizontaler Gerichtetheit; als semantische Referenzpunkte dienen ein Bezugsnomen, die Sprecherposition oder der Kontext" (36). Its basic usage may be demonstrated in the following examples:

57) *úpa* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$  'go toward (someone, something)'

6.52.8 *yó vo devā ghṛtásnunā / havyéna pratibhúṣati / táṃ víśva úpa gachatha*

"Wer euch mit schmalzbedeckter Spende aufwartet, ihr Götter, zu dem kommt alle her."

(Geldner)

58) *úpa* +  $\sqrt{\text{bhṛ}}$  'raise toward, bear toward'

1.166.2ab *nítyaṃ ná sūnúm mádhu bíbhrata úpa / krīḷanti krīḷá vidátheṣu ghṛṣvayah*

"Wie einen leiblichen Sohn das Süße tragend tändeln die Tändler herbei, auf die Worte der Weisheit ungeduldig wartend." (Geldner)

Lexicalized compound verbs involving *úpa* are surprisingly few. I will focus on one completely opaque item: *úpa* +  $\sqrt{jiv}$ .

### 2.10.2. *úpa* Idioms, Class I: *úpa* + $\sqrt{jiv}$ = 'feed on, live on something'

An example of lexicalization with *úpa* is *úpa* +  $\sqrt{jiv}$  'feed on, live on something'. While this could perhaps be thought of as simply another valency-changing operation of a preverb (and indeed Casaretto takes it as such), this does not appear to be the case. To examine what a straightforward transitive meaning of  $\sqrt{jiv}$  might be, one can look to the causative. The causative of  $\sqrt{jiv}$  carries the meaning 'to make alive, to revive'; this is a simple valency-changing operation which does not drastically alter the semantics of the base verb. Something further is going on with *úpa* +  $\sqrt{jiv}$ , and the meaning is now something like 'utilize x (accusative) to make oneself alive':

#### 59) *úpa* + $\sqrt{jiv}$ 'live on something' (base verb: 'live')

1.164.42 *tásyāḥ samudrá ádhi ví kṣaranti / téna jīvanti pradísáś cátasraḥ / tátaḥ kṣarati akṣáram / tád vísvam úpa jīvati*

"Von ihr strömen Meere aus, davon leben die vier Weltgegenden. Davon strömt das unvergängliche aus, von dem zehrt alles." (Geldner)<sup>46</sup>

The opacity of this verbal lexeme may be comparable to the opacity of the English 'live on something', but this does not shed any light on the question of its semantic development.

### 2.10.3. Etymology and Cognates

Cognates of *úpa* include Old Avestan *upā* (which, when combined with  $\sqrt{gam}$ , yielded 'hingelangen zu', similar to the Vedic), Young Avestan *upa* 'hin-zu, bei, an, in', Old Persian *upā*

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46 Cf. 1.190.5.

'bei', Khotanese *bā* 'gegen'. Outside of Indo-Iranian there are Greek ὑπό/ὑπο 'unter, unten', Gothic *uf*, and Old Irish *fo* 'unter'. The Indo-European cognate would thus be *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)upo*, but Mayrhofer remarks that "Laryngal nicht sicher" (Mayrhofer 1988: 219).

## 2.11. *ní*

### 2.11.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *ní* is 'niederwärts, hinunter, hinab, rückwärts' (Mayrhofer 1992, p.40); Whitney glosses *ní* as 'down; in, into' (Whitney 1889: 396). It appears in the RV 665 times and pairs with 90 verbs (Schneider 2009, Grassmann 1873). Its basic usage is demonstrated by the following examples:

60) *ní* + √dhā<sub>1</sub> 'set down'

2.3.1a sámiddho agnír **níhitah** pṛthivyám

"Agni ist angezündet, auf die Erde niedergesetzt." (Schneider 2009: 28)

61) *ní* + √kram<sup>i</sup> 'go down'

1.51.6c mahántaṃ cid arbudám **ní kramīh** padá

"Sogar den großen Arbuda trittst du mit dem Fuß nieder." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 96)

### 2.11.2. *ní* Idioms, Uncategorized

Additionally, there are several unusual and hard-to-classify idioms involving *ní*. Two of them, frustratingly, appear only once, and the third is also relatively rare:

62) *ní* + √bhṛṣ\* 'make dull, unsharpen' (simplex: ?)

10.116.5a **ní tigmáni bhrásáyan** bhrásíyāni

"Mache[nd] ihre scharfen Spitzen stumpf!" (both Geldner and Schneider 2009: 164)

- 63) *ní* +  $\sqrt{\text{ghuṣ}}$  + CAUSATIVE 'make someone be silent' (simplex: 'shout, make a loud sound')

8.50.8c *yébhira ní dásyum mánuṣo nighóṣayaḥ*

"(Deine Falben) mit denen du den Dasyu vor Manu zum Schweigen brachtest..."

(Schneider 2009: 165)

- 64) *ní* +  $\sqrt{\text{miṣ}}$  'blink' (simplex: 'open one's eyes')

9.73.4c *ásya spáśo ná ní miṣanti bhúrṇayaḥ*<sup>47</sup>

"Of this one (viz. Varuṇa) the spies, eager (for action), do not blink." (Klein 2004: 777)

$\sqrt{\text{bhṛṣ}}^*$  does not appear as such in the RV, and the form here looks as though it is a causative to such a root (Schneider 2009). Given that this is a hapax, the meaning is relatively unclear; Grassmann, in fact, analyzes this form as being from a causative to  $\sqrt{\text{bhraṅś}}$  'fallen'<sup>48</sup>, and glosses it as 'was zum Fallen gebracht werden kann, von den Pfeilen' (965). If this were the case, *ní* +  $\sqrt{\text{bhraṅś}}$  would merely carry a slightly more specified meaning than the simplex, but would not necessarily be a non-compositional idiom, and thus would not be in the scope of this study. Geldner and Schneider, however, both have this as 'stumpf machen, entschärfen', and so I tentatively include it here. It is unclear to me what  $\sqrt{\text{bhṛṣ}}^*$  might mean, but in the event that it were to mean 'sharpen', as Schneider posits, this would be a pseudoreversative.

*ní* +  $\sqrt{\text{ghuṣ}}$  is also a hapax, and appears here in the causative. To me, this seems like an analog of the English idiom 'shout (someone) down'; the idea would be that someone's voice is drowned out, or perhaps the idea is more of a resultative one and the person who is being 'shouted down' literally sits down and ceases to speak. Nevertheless, since this appears only

<sup>47</sup> Cf. 3.29.14, 10.10.8, 10.121.3, 8.25.9, 2.28.6.

<sup>48</sup> He glosses this root with *ní* as 'niederfallen, erliegen; Caus. niederfallen lassen, machen dass etwas niederfalle' (965).



once, despite the fact that the context seems clear, it is difficult to ascertain the semantics exactly.

Finally, *ní + √miṣ* is unusual for the reason that *√miṣ* does not appear to be a directionally unmarked term for moving one's eyelids, but instead, without a preverb, means 'open one's eyes'. It takes no other preverbs. The instances of *ní + √miṣ*, however, outnumber the instances of *√miṣ* without a preverb; *ní + √miṣ* appears six times (and has a related substantive, *nimíṣ-*, which appears three times), while *√miṣ* appears twice. The semantics here may be pseudoreversative, if *√miṣ* by itself truly does mean 'open one's eyes' rather than simply 'move one's eyelids', with the direction of the movement being inferred through context rather than being contained within the verb itself. Alternatively, if *√miṣ* simply means 'move one's eyelids' and the meaning is context-based, *ní + √miṣ* could not properly be considered as an idiom.

### 2.11.3. Etymology and Cognates

Old Avestan *nī*, Young Avestan *nī*, and Old Persian *nī-* are all cognates of this; outside of Indo-Iranian, we find Armenian *n-* (as seen in *n-stim* 'I sit down', cognate with Ved. *ní + √sad*), and Old High German *nidar* (apparently cognate with Ved. *nitarám*). Its Indo-European etymon is then *\*ni*.<sup>49</sup> (Mayrhofer 1992: 40)

## 2.12. *níṣ*

### 2.12.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *níṣ* is 'hinaus, aus, weg von, darüber hinaus, ent-, un-, nicht-' (Mayrhofer 1992: 47); Whitney gives 'out, forth' (Whitney 1889: 396). It appears in the RV 128

<sup>49</sup> Mayrhofer adds that "Idg. *\*ni* 'nieder' ist von möglichen Schwundstufenformen zu *\*eni* 'in'" (Mayrhofer 1992: 40).

times, pairing with 38 verbs (Schneider 2010a, Grassmann 1873). Its basic usages can be seen in the following examples:

65) *nīṣ*+ √bhr̥ 'take out, carry off'

10.68.8cd **nīṣ** ṭáj **jabhāra** camasám ná vṛkṣád / bṛhaspátir viravéṇā vikṛtya

"Hervor holte Bṛhaspati es (mádhu) wie einen Holzbecher aus dem Baum- (den Berg) durch sein Gebrüll auseinandergebrochen habend." (Schneider 2010a, p.151)

66) *nīṣ*+ √han 'smite off, strike off'

5.32.3ab ṭyásya cin maható **nír** mṛgásya / vādhar **jaghāna** táviṣibhir índraḥ

"Sogar die Waffe jenes großen Tieres hat Indra mit Kraft weggeschlagen." (Schneider 2010a, p.153)

Despite the relative infrequency of this preverb, there are a few intriguing idioms involving *nīṣ*. *nīṣ* + √ar/ṛ 'suffer from a lack of something, suffer a loss of something (ablative)' will be discussed first, with *nīṣ* + √bhaj 'deprive someone of something (ablative)'; I will then move on to *nīṣ* + √ubj, which seems to be a pseudoreversative, and then the three idioms that occur with *nīṣ* + √kṛ: 'heal', 'make visible', and 'detach/peel off' (the latter of which is considerably more transparent than the first two).

2.12.2. *nīṣ* Idioms, Class I: *nīṣ* + verb (of motion?) = 'suffer a loss/deprive someone of something'

67) *nīṣ* + √ṛ 'suffer a lack of' (simplex: 'set in motion')

7.56.21a má vo dātrán maruto **nír arāma**<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Cf. 6.35.5, 1.119.17, 1.56.5, 1.85.9, 2.23.18, 8.21.16, 1.4.5.

"Wir möchten nicht eurer Gabe entbehren, ihr Marut!" (Schneider 2010a, p.185)

68) *nīṣ* + √bhaj 'deprive someone of something' (simplex 'share')

8.81.6c indra má no vásor **nír bhāk**<sup>51</sup>

"Indra, schließ uns nicht von dem Gute aus!" (Geldner)

Both of these idioms are concerned with deprivation, and the end result of the action of the verb makes someone 'away' (*nīṣ*) from something; they also seem to operate in a similar way. The first one seems to have developed from a resultative idea; Schneider remarks that "Dieser weist zwar noch darauf hin [Hettrich 1995], dass ursprünglich eine Grundbedeutung \*'sich wegbewegen von' vorgelegen hat, *nír* 1. *ar* aber bereits als Idiom zu sehen ist". It is the subject who is 'away' from the thing of which he is deprived (which, appropriately, takes the ablative). Similarly, the action of *nīṣ* + √bhaj ends with the subject being 'away' from whatever is 'shared out' (ablative). However, as Schneider points out, these are clearly idiomatic verbs.

### 2.12.3. *nīṣ* Idioms, Class II: Pseudoreversatives

*nīṣ* + √ubj is a different case. The simplex verb means 'restrain, subdue', while the complex verb means 'release'. Unfortunately, all three attestations of this idiom are in the same formula ('you released the floodwaters'), an example of which may be seen below (the formula is underlined):

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. 9.72.8.

69) *nīṣ* + √ubj 'release' (simplex: 'restrain, subdue')

1.56.5cd s<sub>u</sub>varmīl<sub>he</sub> yán máda indra hársiyā / áhan vṛtrám *nír apám aubjo arṇavám*<sup>52</sup>

"Als du im Kampf um die Sonne im Rausche kampffreudig den Vṛtra erschlugst, o Indra, da ließest du die Flut der Gewässer heraus." (Geldner)

Schneider remarks that "Vergleichbar damit ist vielleicht ein Fall wie *áva sthirá/sthirám tan* 'die feste(n) (Bogensehnen) abspannen, lockern', das auch von der Stellung der Satzglieder her parallel ist."<sup>53</sup> This seems likely to be the case; that is, it seems to be a pseudoreversative in the same way as *áva* + √tan<sub>1</sub>, based on the same reasoning.

*nīṣ* + √kṛ = 'undo' is also a pseudoreversative, which occurs only once:

70) *nīṣ* + √kṛ 'undo' (simplex: 'make')

10.97.9d yád āmáyati *nīṣ kṛtha*

"Was schmerzt, das macht ihr heil" (Schneider 2010a: 187)

Its contextual meaning is 'heal', but only since that which is being 'undone', in this case, is 'harm'.

#### 2.12.4. Etymology and Cognates

Cognates of *nīṣ* include Old Avestan *nīš*/Young Avestan *nīš*. Outside Indo-Iranian there are few other cognates, except for perhaps Old Church Slavic *nīštъ* 'poor' (Derksen 2008: 353).

The Indo-European etymon would be \*nis. (Mayrhofer 1992: 47)

<sup>52</sup> Cf. 1.85.9, 2.23.18.

<sup>53</sup> Schneider further notes that "Ferner passt, dass einige Belege des Simplexverbs *ubj* ebenfalls mit dem Wasser als Objekt verbunden sind." (Schneider 2010a.: 186)

2.13. *pārā*

## 2.13.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *pārā* is 'off, away (from)' (Schneider 2012: 221). *pārā* is the least common preverb in the RV, appearing only 94 times with 23 verbs (Schneider 2012, Grassmann 1873). Its basic usages may be demonstrated in the following examples:

71) *pārā* + √gam 'go off, go forth'

10.97.21ab yás cedám upaśṛṇvánti / yás ca dūrám **pārāgatāḥ**

"Which ones hear this (speech), and which ones have gone forth into the distance..."

(Klein 1985, vol.1: 160)

72) *pārā* + √i 'go off, go away'

10.95.13d **pārehi** ástaṃ nahí mūra mápah

"Go off [from me] home! You shall never reach me (Urvaśī), you fool (Purūravas)!"

(Schneider 2012: 223)

Additionally, there are several idioms involving *pārā*, two of which are nearly metaphorical resultatives, and two of which are non-compositional. I will treat the resultatives first:

2.13.2. *pārā* Idioms, Class I: Resultatives

73) *pārā* + √dā<sub>1</sub> 'hand someone over, expose/betray someone' (simplex 'give')

10.87.18c **pārainān** deváḥ savitá **dadātu**<sup>54</sup>

"Let the god Savitar hand them (the sorcerers) over!" (Schneider 2012: 236)

<sup>54</sup> Cf. 6.27.7, 8.2.15, 1.189.5, 7.1.19, 8.71.7, 10.59.4, 5.3.12, 7.21.5.

74) *pārā* + *√i* 'depart, die' (simplex: 'go')

10.14.2cd *yātrā naḥ pūrve pitāraḥ pareyūr* / *enā jajñānāḥ pathiyā ānu svāḥ*<sup>55</sup>

"...auf welchem Weg unsere Vorväter abgeschieden sind, auf dem ziehen die Geborenen je ihren Straße." (Geldner)

The first example, *pārā* + *√dā*<sub>1</sub>, can be seen as having developed from the idea of 'give (something/someone) away, hand (something) over'. However, 'betray' goes beyond that and is not immediately transparent, nor is it perfectly compositional (to highlight this, there are examples of *pārā* + *√dā*<sub>1</sub> being used in the purely compositional sense, as in 'to give away a gift'). *pārā* + *√i* works in a similar way, and, like *pārā* + *√dā*<sub>1</sub>, there are instances of *pārā* + *√i* used in a purely compositional sense (as in 'go away'; see example above). The compositional sense is in fact the most common usage of *pārā* + *√i*. Although the origins of these examples may be clearly seen, they may still be considered idiomatized.

### 2.13.3. *pārā* Idioms, Class II: Opaque

The next two examples, however, are much less transparent:

75) *pārā* + *√ji*<sub>1</sub> 'be defeated, suffer the loss of' (simplex: 'conquer, be victorious')

6.69.8ab *ubhā jigyathur ná pārā jayethe* / *nā pārā jigye katarás canaínoḥ*<sup>56</sup>

"You both won, you both are not defeated. Neither of the two of you are defeated."

(Schneider 2012: 237)

<sup>55</sup> Cf. 10.14.1, 10.161.2.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. 10.48.5, 10.84.7, 10.87.18.

76) *pārā* +  $\sqrt{vrj}$  'remove, reject' (simplex: 'turn')

6.47.17a *pārā pūrveṣāṃ sakhiyá vṛṇakti*<sup>57</sup>

"He (Indra) casts off the fellowship of the elders." (id.)

In the first example, *pārā* +  $\sqrt{ji}_1$ , the meaning of the complex verb contradicts the meaning of the simplex, as one would expect of a pseudoreversative. However, it is not clear why *pārā* should be seen to be contradictory to the meaning of  $\sqrt{ji}_1$ . Alternately, perhaps there is some connection here with Vedic *pāra-*, a substantive which is etymologically related and can mean 'enemy' (more precisely 'other'); obviously, if one's enemy has won, then one is defeated.<sup>58</sup> This latter explanation, however, would make the complex verb idiosyncratic and not a pseudoreversative.

The second example, *pārā* +  $\sqrt{vrj}$ , perhaps has resultative semantics; it could be similar to 'twist off', or 'turn away from' (depending on whether it is construed as transitive or intransitive). I actually reject the idea that *pārā* +  $\sqrt{vrj}$  means precisely 'reject'; given the value of the simplex, it seems to me much more reasonable to render it 'turn away from'.

#### 2.13.4. Etymology and Cognates

Cognates of *pārā* include Old Avestan *parā*/Young Avestan *para-*, and Old Persian *para*. Outside of Indo-Iranian, there is Greek  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  'beyond, across, over', Oscan *perum* 'without', and Hittite *perān* 'before' (Schneider 2012: 243). The Indo-European etymon would then be \*per-o-; Schneider suggests that "this root may well be connected to other preverbs, adverbs, adpositions such as \*pro (= ved. *prā*) and \*péri (ved. *pári*) etc." (id.); this is in fact extremely likely to be the case.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. 10.8.9, 4.30.16, 6.59.7, 8.75.12, 8.97.7, 1.33.5 (perhaps; Schneider notes that it "remains somewhat cryptic" (2012: 237).

<sup>58</sup> A different and perhaps more plausible explanation is that this construction was influenced by the syntagm *jīyāte páreṇa* 'is conquered by another'.

## 2.14. *pári*

### 2.14.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *pári* is 'um - herum, ringsum' (Hettrich 2002: 215). *pári* appears 478 times in the RV with 93 different verbs, and is thus fairly common (Hettrich 2002, Grassmann 1873). Its basic usages can be demonstrated by the following examples:

77) *pári* + √arṣ 'flow around'

9.18.6ab **pári** yó ródasī ubhé / sadyó vájebhir **árṣati**

"Der beide Welten alsbald mit seinen Trophäen umströmt..." (Geldner)

78) *pári* + √kram<sup>i</sup> 'walk around, stride around'

10.56.5a sáhobhir víśvam **pári cakramū** rájaḥ

"They strode around the entire space with their power."

*pári* also creates a considerable number of compound verbs with lexicalized meanings.

Hettrich organizes them into four broad classes, according to type of verb and resulting meaning;

I follow him in this and will use his examples in what follows (accordingly, all translations that follow are from Hettrich 2002: 219-220, unless otherwise indicated).<sup>59</sup>

2.14.2. *pári* Idioms, Class I- *pári* + verb of rest/verb of motion<sup>60</sup> = 'hinder, hold, imprison, capture, obtain'

<sup>59</sup> However, as Hettrich remarks, crucially, 'Es ist indessen zu beachten, daß keine dieser Kombinationen an allen ihren Belegstellen als lexikalisiertes Kompositum eingestuft werden kann' (Hettrich 2002, p.221); cf. also 'Dieses Nebeneinander von bewahrter Grundbedeutung und lexikalisierter Bedeutung derselben Kombination aus LP und Verb, auch bei gleichbleibendem Kasus des BN, ist auch bei anderen LPs belegt und scheint typisch für die Sprache des RV zu sein', from Casaretto 2010 (47).

<sup>60</sup> Hettrich includes √as<sub>1</sub> and √bhū in this class, which is justified by the fact that they behave like verbs of rest and motion with other preverbs as well (cf. *abhí* + √as<sub>1</sub> beside *abhí* + √sthā / *abhí* + √sad, above).



- 79) *pári* + *√as*<sub>1</sub> 'trap, hem in' (originally 'be around, surround') (simplex: 'be')  
 6.17.5c mahám ádrim **pári** gá indra **sántam**<sup>61</sup>  
 "...den großen Fels, der die Kühe gefangenhielt, o Indra..."
- 80) *pári* + *√bhū* 'trap' (see above) (simplex: 'become')  
 1.33.10ab ná yé diváh pṛthivyá ántam āpúr / ná māyábhīr dhanadám **paryábhūvan**  
 "Die das Ende von Himmel und Erde nicht erreichten, noch mit ihren Listen den  
 Schatzgeber umgarnten..." (Geldner)
- 81) *pári* + *√sthā* 'imprison, surround, block' (simplex: 'stand')  
 1.32.8cd yás cid vṛtró mahinā **paryātiṣṭhat** / tāsām áhiḥ patsutaḥśīr babhūva<sup>62</sup>  
 "Die ein Vṛtra in seiner Größe umlagert hatte, zu deren Füßen lag der Drache." (id.)
- 82) *pári* + *√sad* 'include, encompass, surround' (simplex: 'sit')  
 4.2.17cd śucánto agníṃ vavṛdhánta índram / ūrvám gávyam **pariśádanto** agman  
 "Das Feuer entflammend, den Indra stärkend, indem sie die Rinderhöhle belagern, [sie]  
 sind gekommen." (id.)
- 83) *pári* + *√i* 'obtain, capture' (simplex: 'go')  
 1.123.8d ékaikā krátum **pári yanti** sadyáḥ  
 "Eine um die andere erreichen sie ihre Absicht an einem Tage."

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61 Cf. 7.32.10.

62 For a meaning closer to 'block, obstruct', cf. 5.53.9.

84) *pári* + √gam 'obtain, capture' (simplex: 'come, go')

2.15.4a *sá pravolḥñ parigátyā dabhīteḥ*

"Als er die Entführer des Dabhīti eingeholt hatte..."

85) *pári* + √yā 'obtain, capture' (simplex: 'go')

9.82.5ab *yáthā pūrvebhyaḥ śatasá ámḍhrah / sahasrasáḥ paryáyā vājam indo*

"Wie du für die Vorfahren Hundert und Tausend gewinnend, nie zurückstehend den Siegespreis einholtest, o Saft..." (Geldner)

All of these particular idioms seem fairly straightforward; they could well have developed from a purely adverbial use of *pári* + verb.

2.14.3. *pári* Idioms, Class II- *pári* + verb of physical or mental activity = 'avoid, shun, despise, overlook, forget'

The next set of idioms, however, is slightly more complex:

*pári* Idioms, Class II- *pári* + verb of physical or mental activity = 'avoid, shun, despise, overlook, forget'

86) *pári* + √vtj 'spurn, avoid' (simplex: 'turn')

1.129.3c *parivṛṇáksi márt,yam*<sup>63</sup>

"Du verschmähst den Sterblichen."

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63 Cf. 2.27.5.

87) *pári* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$  'avoid' (simplex: 'go')

4.43.6b  $\text{hṛṇá váyo aruśásaḥ pári gman}$

"Die rötlichen Vogel[rosse] vermeiden die Gluten."

88) *pári* +  $\sqrt{\text{khyā}}$  'forget, overlook' (simplex: 'see')

5.65.6cd  $\text{má maghónaḥ pári khyatam / mó asmákam ṛṣiṇām}$ <sup>64</sup>

"May you two [O Mitra and Varuṇa] not overlook our liberal ones nor our Rishis." (Klein 1978: 174)

89) *pári* +  $\sqrt{\text{man}_1}$  'despise' (simplex: 'think')<sup>65</sup>

7.59.3ab  $\text{nahí vaś caramám caná / vásiṣṭhaḥ parimámsate}$

"Denn nicht einmal den letzten unter euch wird Vasiṣṭha verachten."

The presence in Class II of a verb which also appeared in Class I ( $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$ ) complicates the picture, as does the class description (to say that verbs of motion do one thing and then do another does not make for a particularly good analytical description). However, these categories are meant to be broadly descriptive, not to make predictions or judgments about precisely why these patterns occur. Class I creates idioms meaning 'obtain' (most neutrally) and Class II creates idioms meaning 'avoid'; in the first instance, the directionality of *pári* should be thought of as applying to the subject or subjects (such as English 'We are all around you; you are trapped'), and in the second instance, the directionality of *pári* could be thought of as applying to the physical/mental path of the subject (cf. English 'talking around the topic').

While Class I and Class II idioms involving *pári* often influence the direct object in a hostile way (capture, ignore, forget, despise), the next two classes can be broadly thought of as

<sup>64</sup> Cf. 7.93.8.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *áti* +  $\sqrt{\text{man}_1}$ , above.

having a distinctly more protective force; indeed, it is not clear that they should not be in the same class with one another. However, for the sake of consistency, I preserve the distinction of Hettrich's classes:

2.14.4. *pári* Idioms, Class III- *pári* + verb of motion = 'spare'

90) *pári* + √vṛj 'spare' (simplex: 'turn')

8.67.8ab má naḥ sétuḥ siṣed ayám / mahé **vṛṇaktu** nas **pári**<sup>66</sup>

"Nicht soll uns diese Fessel fesseln; sie soll uns zu großem [Glück] verschonen."

91) *pári* + √gā<sub>1</sub> 'spare' (simplex: 'come, go')

2.33.14ab pári ṇo hetí rudarásya vṛjyāḥ / **pári** tveṣásya durmatír mahí **gāt**

"Uns soll das Geschoß des Rudra verschonen, die große Ungnade des Furchterregenden soll uns umgehen."

2.14.5. *pári* Idioms, Class IV- *pári* + verb of rest or motion = 'protect, shield, serve'

92) *pári* + √bhū 'shield, protect' (simplex: 'become')

6.67.5c **pári** yád **bhūthó** ródasī cid urvī

"...da ihr sogar die beiden weiten Welten beschirmt."

93) *pári* + √bhūṣ 'serve' (simplex: 'be active')

1.136.5fg ukthair yá enoḥ **paribhūṣati** / stómair ābhūṣati vratám

"Wer mit Lobliedern [des Dienstes] beider wartet, mit Preisliedern ihres Dienstes wartet." (Geldner)

<sup>66</sup> Cf. 2.33.14 (below) and 10.165.2.

94) *pári* +  $\sqrt{\text{as}_1}$  'serve, protect' (simplex: 'be')

9.73.3a pavítravantaḥ **pári** vácam **ásate**

"Die Seihe haltend pflegen sie die Rede..."

95) *pári* +  $\sqrt{\text{car}^i}$  'serve' (simplex: 'go')

5.29.13ab kathó nú te **pári carāṇi** vidván / vīryā maghavan yá cakártha

"Wie kann ich dir jetzt dienen, der ich die Heldentaten kenne, die du, Gabenreicher, getan hast?" (Geldner)

These seem to be the 'positive' correlates of the 'negative' examples listed under Classes I and II.

It is important to note that the same complex verb, in different contexts and with different connotations, may mean two quite different things (*pári* +  $\sqrt{\text{as}_1}$  may mean both 'protect' and 'trap', for example; in this way it is similar to such verbs as English *surround*).

#### 2.14.6. Etymology and Cognates

Cognates of *pári* include Old Avestan *pairī* 'inmitten von, um' and Young Avestan *pairi* 'um - herum, bei, über - hin'. The Indo-European etymon is \**péri*; other cognates outside of Indo-Iranian include Greek περί/περί 'ringsum, um, überaus, in betreff', and Latin *per* 'hindurch, über - hin' (Mayrhofer 1992: 91).

#### 2.15. *prá*

##### 2.15.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *prá* is 'forth, forwards' or 'away'; Casaretto remarks that this is "consistent with a movement away from a source without inherent goal-orientation" (Casaretto 2013: 15). *prá* appears 1,319 times in the RV, with 185 verbs, and is the second-most common

preverb after *á* (Casaretto 2013, Grassmann 1873). Its basic meaning can be demonstrated with the following examples:

96) *prá* +  $\sqrt{\text{kram}}$  'run away, go away'

10.138.5d **prákrāmac** chundhyúr ájahād uṣá ánaḥ

"The one beautifying herself ran away; the dawn abandoned her chariot."

97) *prá* +  $\sqrt{\text{bhṛ}}$  'bring forth'

6.42.4ab asmā-asmā íd ándhaso / ádhvayo **prá bharā** sutám

"To him (viz. Indra) alone bring forth the pressed (drink) of the (soma) stalk, O Adhvaryu." (Klein 2004: 786)

2.15.2. *prá* Idioms, Class I: *prá* + verbs of being = 'be preeminent'

Despite *prá*'s great frequency, instances of lexicalization with *prá* are strangely rare. The most striking examples of idiomatization with *prá* are those with verbs of being, which become slightly lexicalized to mean 'be preeminent':

98) *prá* +  $\sqrt{\text{as}}$  'be preeminent' (simplex: 'be')

4.26.4a **prá** sú śá víbhyo maruto vír **astu**<sup>67</sup>

"Dieser Vogel soll vor den (anderen) Vögeln doch den Vorrang haben, o Marut."

(Casaretto 2013: 58)

99) *prá* +  $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$  'be preeminent, stand out, remain valid' (simplex: 'be')

6.68.4cd **prá** ebhya indrāvaruṇā mahitvā / dyaús ca pṛthivi **bhūtam** urvī<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Cf. 8.10.3, 1.124.11, 5.1.8, 1.13.11, 8.10.4, 7.58.2, 1.54.8, 1.150.3, 7.41.3, 10.29.2, 1.173.6, 3.59.2, 7.20.5, 7.58.4, 7.100.3.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. 1.127.19, 6.63.5, 3.54.3, 10.50.7, 2.13.4, 1.119.7, 6.18.13, 10.46.5, 10.48.9.

"Da waret ihr beide, o Indra und Varuṇa, ihnen an Größe voraus, (und ihr beide,) o Himmel und Erde, die weiten." (id.)

Both of these are only slight idioms, but they nevertheless represent the best examples of idiomatization with *prá*.

### 2.15.3. Etymology and Cognates

Cognates of *prá* include Old Avestan/Young Avestan *fra* (as seen, among many other places, in *fra-uuač* 'announce', a direct cognate with Vedic *prá* +  $\sqrt{\text{vac}}$  'id.'), and Old Persian *fra*. Outside of Indo-Iranian, there are Greek  $\pi\rho\acute{o}$  'voran, vorwärts, vor', Latin *pro-*, Old Irish *ro-*, and Gothic *fra-*. The Indo-European etymon is \**pro* (Mayrhofer 1993: 175)

## 2.16. *práti*

### 2.16.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *práti* is 'gegen, entgegen, nach - hin' (Mayrhofer 1993: 176); Whitney defines it as 'in reversed direction, back to or against, against, in return' (Whitney 1889: 396). Its basic meaning may be seen in the following examples:

100) *práti* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$  'come up against, meet'

5.41.18cd *sá naḥ sudánur mṛṛáyantī devī / **práti** drávantī suvitáya **gamyāḥ***

"Puisse cette déesse riche en dons, compatissante, venir en courant à notre rencontre, pour (notre) bien-être!" (Renou 1959, vol. 5: 21)

101) *práti* + √han 'smite against'

1.32.12ab *ásv<sub>i</sub>yo váro abhavas tād indra / sṛké yát tvā **pratyáhan** (...)*

"Zu einem Pferdeschweifhaar wurdest du da, Indra, als er gegen dich die beiden Zacken schlug." (Casaretto 2010a: 4)

Additionally, there are several instances of idiomatization with *práti*. These include two instances of a verb of physical motion becoming a verb of thought, one instance of a verb of thought becoming a verb of physical action (which is slightly unusual), and one pseudoreversative. The following two examples illustrate the first group:

2.16.2. *práti* Idioms, Class I: *práti* + verb of physical motion = verb of thought

102) *práti* + √i 'be aware of, become aware of' (simplex: 'go')

8.67.17 *śásvantam hí pracetasah / **pratyántam** cid énasah / dévāḥ kṛṇuthá jīvāse*

"Denn einen jeden, o Weise, auch wenn er sich einer Sünde bewusst ist, lasst ihr leben, o Götter." (Casaretto 2010: 47)

103) *práti* + √pad 'recognize, know' (simplex: 'step, go')

10.114.9ab *kás chándasām yógam á veda dhîrah / kó dhīṣṇiyām **práti** vácam **papāda***

"Welcher Kenner weiß die Anschirrung der Metren, wer hat die gottesdienstliche Rede erkannt?" (Geldner)

We have seen this before with preverbs; they are able to take a verb from its original realm (usually the physical realm) and change its scope to another (usually the mental realm). This may happen in the other direction, however, as may be seen below.



2.16.3. *práti* Idioms, Class II: *práti* + verb of thought = verb of physical action

While this usually happens in the direction 'physical → mental', the following example, interestingly, goes in the opposite direction:

104) *práti* + √jñā 'greet, welcome, say hello to' (simplex: 'know')

7.54.1a vástoṣ pate **práti jāñihy** asmán

"O Herr des Hauses, heiß uns willkommen!" (Casaretto 2010a: 47)

It is interesting and intriguing that each of the idioms mentioned thus far in this section appear only once in the RV; this may indicate a lack of productivity on the part of *práti* to form idioms.

Finally, we come to the one pseudoreversative involving *práti*:

2.16.4. *práti* Idioms, Class III: Possible Pseudoreversative

105) *práti* + √muc 'put on, accept' (simplex: 'loosen, liberate')

9.100.9c **práti** drāpím **amuñcathāḥ**<sup>69</sup>

"Du hast das Gewand angelegt..." (Casaretto 2010a: 48).

It is not entirely clear why the semantics of *práti* should contradict those of √muc, but if pseudoreversativity is to be the hypothesis for the mechanism of the formation of this compound verb, then this must be the case. Alternatively, this could be completely idiosyncratic and not fall into any greater constructional pattern.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. 5.81.2, 2.17.2, 10.27.11.

### 2.16.5. Etymology and Cognates

Cognates of *práti* include Old Avestan *paitī* / Young Avestan *paiti*, Old Persian *patiy* 'gegen, entgegen, auch'. Mayrhofer further remarks that "...iranisch \*pati ist nach Ausweis von gr. ποτί 'zu - hin, gegen, bei' ebenfalls vor-iir. Ursprungs"; additionally, he remarks that it is worth considering that \*poti is the original form and that \*proti is a contamination of \*poti and \*pro (Mayrhofer 1993: 176).

### 2.17. *ví*

#### 2.17.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *ví* is 'auseinander, abgetrennt, weg, fort' (Mayrhofer 1995: 549), and Whitney defines it as 'apart, asunder, away, out' (Whitney 1889: 396). Its basic usages can be demonstrated in the following examples:

106) *ví* + *√dru* 'run apart, scatter' (simplex: 'run')

6.75.11cd *yátrā nárah sáṃ ca ví ca drávanti* / *tátrāsmábhyam íśavaḥ śárma yaṃsan*

"Wo die Männer zusammen und auseinander laufen, dort sollen uns die Pfeile Schutz gewähren." (Casaretto 2011c: 136)

107) *ví* + *√i* 'go in different directions'

10.61.26d *ví ádhvanti páyasa usríyāyāḥ*

"Der Weg der Milch der Kuh scheidet sich jetzt." (Geldner)

*ví* is also extremely prolific when it comes to creating idioms. There are three major categories of idioms with *ví* which I will treat here. The first two are nearly metaphorical in sense

(although still lexicalized, according to the criteria I laid out in the introduction), and the final category comprises the many pseudoreversatives which occur with *ví*. I will begin with Class I:

2.17.2. *ví* Idioms, Class I: *ví* + verba dicendi + MIDDLE VOICE = 'argue, contest'

The first class of idioms with *ví* involves verbs of speech:

*ví* Idioms, Class I: *ví* + verba dicendi (always in the middle voice) = 'argue, contest'

108) *ví* +  $\sqrt{\text{brū}}$  'argue' (simplex: 'speak')

6.25.4cd toké vā góṣu tánaye yád apsú / **ví** krándasī urvārāsu **brávaite**

"Oder wenn zwei Schlachthaufen sich um dem Samen, oder um Kühe, um leibliche Nachkommenschaft, um Wasser, um Felder, streiten." (Casaretto 2011c: 168)

109) *ví* +  $\sqrt{\text{vac}}$  'argue' (simplex: 'speak')

6.31.1cd **ví** toké apsú tánaye ca sūre / **āvocanta** carṣaṇāyo vīvācaḥ

"The folk have battled in verbal competition over seed, over water, over offspring, and over the sun." (Klein 1985, vol.1: 198.)

110) *ví* +  $\sqrt{\text{hū}}$  'argue' (simplex: 'call, speak')

1.36.13 ūrdhvā ū śú ṇa ūtāye / tíṣṭhā devó ná savitā / ūrdhvó vājasya sánitā yád añjībhir / vāghádbhir **vihváyāmahe**<sup>70</sup>

"Aufrecht, zur Hilfe stehe uns recht (bei), wie Gott Savitar, aufrecht als Gewinner des Siegespreises, wenn wir mit (anderen) salbenden Sängern uns darum streiten."

(Witzel/Gotō 2007: 71)

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70 Cf. 1.108.6, 8.5.16.

These idioms are not strictly compositional; 'speak apart, speak separately' does not necessarily entail the idea of 'argue'. Semantic change has certainly occurred here.

2.17.3. *ví* Idioms, Class II: *ví* + verbs of thought = 'distinguish between, differentiate'

The second class of idioms with *ví* involves verbs of thought:

*ví* Idioms, Class II: *ví* + verbs of thought = 'distinguish between, differentiate'

111) *ví* + *√cit* 'differentiate' < 'recognize as separate' (simplex: 'recognize, know')

4.16.10cd *s<sub>u</sub>vé yónau ní ṣadataṃ sárūpā / ví vāṃ cikitsad ṛtacíd dha nārī*<sup>71</sup>

"Auf eure eigene Stätte setzt euch beide nieder, die ihr gleiche Gestalt habt! Die Frau, die die Wahrheit kennt, wird euch beide doch unterscheiden." (Casaretto 2011c: 168)

112) *ví* + *√jñā* 'differentiate' < 'recognize as separate' (simplex: 'recognize, know')

4.51.6cd *śúbhaṃ yác chubhrā uṣásaś cáranti / ná ví jñāyante sadṛśír ajuryáḥ*<sup>72</sup>

"Wenn die glänzenden Uṣas leuchtend (herum)fahren, dann sind sie nicht zu unterscheiden, die gleichaussehenden, alterlosen." (id.)

113) *ví* + *√man<sub>1</sub>* 'differentiate' < 'recognize as separate' (simplex: 'think')

10.92.3a *báḷ asya nīthá ví paṇés ca manmahe*

"...We distinguish the ways of him and of the Paṇi." (Klein 1985, vol.1: 51)

While the English idiom here is 'see (the difference) between', it is not hard to imagine that these particular Sanskrit idioms could be working along the same lines. Since 'differentiate'

<sup>71</sup> Cf. 1.164.16, 2.27.11 (and perhaps 4.55.4, although that example has more of a sense of 'find out').

<sup>72</sup> Cf. 1.51.8, 1.164.16, 1.189.7, 3.39.7, 5.61.7 (and perhaps also 1.72.8, 4.61.7, although these, too, have more of a sense of 'find out').

is not identical to 'think, know', and since 'think to be separate' is not necessarily identical to 'differentiate', these still qualify as idioms.

#### 2.17.4. *ví* Idioms, Class III: Pseudoreversatives

The final class of idioms with *ví* are less straightforwardly explained. *ví* is clearly the closest thing that Vedic has to a reversative prefix (such as English *un-*, as in *undo*), but this follows from the fact that there are so many verbs for which 'apart, away, separately' contradicts the semantics.<sup>73</sup> Those verbs for which that explanation is insufficient may perhaps be explained by the influence of the others (perhaps this may be true, for example, for *ví* +  $\sqrt{ūh_2}$  'despise'). Nevertheless, the verbs which fit into this category do not necessarily have anything in common with one another, so it is difficult to describe 'Class III' with a rule such as I have done for Classes I and II. Therefore, I will simply call them pseudoreversatives:

*ví* Idioms, Class III: Pseudoreversatives (*ví* + verb = opposite of verb)

114) *ví* +  $\sqrt{kr}$  'destroy' (simplex: 'make')

7.48.3cd índro víbhvām̐ ṛbhukṣá vājo aryáḥ / sátror mithatyá **kṛṇavan ví** nṛmṇám<sup>74</sup>

"Indra, Vibhvān, Ṛbhukṣan, Vāja sollen die Kraft des Nebenbuhlers, des Feindes im Wettstreit zunichte machen." (Casaretto 2011c: 172)

115) *ví* +  $\sqrt{crt}$  'loosen, untie' (\*simplex: 'bind, tie' [this verb never appears as a simplex, however; when it has the value of 'bind, tie', it appears with *sám*. It is therefore unclear to me that this counts as a pseudoreversative, but I include it for the sake of completeness])

<sup>73</sup> Delbrück, interestingly, thinks that *ví* is somehow contradicting the semantics of the simplex directly: "Im Anschluss hieran entwickelt sich der Begriff des Gegensatzes gegen das simplex, der ebenfalls bei *ví* hervortritt" (1888: 466).

<sup>74</sup> Cf. 10.68.8.

2.27.16ab yá vo māyá abhidrúhe yajatrāḥ / páśā ādityā ripáve **vīcṛttāḥ**<sup>75</sup>

"Eure erstaunlichen Fähigkeiten gegen den Betrüger, ihr Verehrungswürdige, die aufgelösten Fesseln, die ihr für den Unredlichen (habt), ihr Ādityas." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 396)

116) ví + √takṣ 'chop off' (simplex: 'build')

1.158.5cd śíro yád asya traitanó **vitákṣat** / svayám dāsá úro áṃsāv ápi gdha<sup>76</sup>

"Wenn Traitana seinen Kopf abhackt, beißt der Diener selbst in seine Brust und Schultern." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 284)

117) ví + √tan<sub>1</sub> 'loosen' (simplex: 'stretch')

10.116.6ab **ví** aryá indra **tanuhi** śrávāṃsi / ója sthiréva dhánvano 'bhímātīḥ

"Spann, Indra, des Nebenbuhlers Ruhm ab, seine Kraft, seine Anschläge wie die Straffheit des Bogens!" (Geldner)

118) ví + √dās 'disdain' (simplex: 'worship, pay homage')

7.19.9cd yé te hávebhir **ví** pañím̐r **ádāsann** / asmán vṛṇīṣva yújiyāya tásmai

"Erwähle uns zu derselben Genossenschaft (wie die,) die durch deine Anrufungen die Pañis verschmähten!" (Casaretto 2011c: 172)

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75 Cf. 1.25.21, 1.67.8.

76 Cf. 10.180.2.

- 119)  $v\acute{i}$  +  $\sqrt{dh\acute{r}}$  'divide, allocate' (simplex: 'hold, fasten')<sup>77</sup>  
 2.13.7ab  $y\acute{a}ḥ$   $puṣṭ\acute{r}\acute{i}ṅ\acute{i}s$  ca  $pras\acute{u}vaś$  ca  $dh\acute{r}maṅ\acute{a}$  /  $\acute{a}dhi$   $d\acute{a}ne$   $v\acute{i}$   $av\acute{a}n\acute{i}r$   $\acute{a}dh\acute{a}rayaḥ$ <sup>78</sup>  
 "Der du die blühenden und fruchttragenden (Pflanzen) nach der Ordnung, und die Ströme über den Weideplatz verteiltest..." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 371)
- 120)  $v\acute{i}$  +  $\sqrt{p\acute{r}c}$  'share out, allocate, remove, make empty' (simplex: 'fill, mix')<sup>79</sup>  
 4.24.5c  $\acute{a}d$   $\acute{i}t$   $s\acute{o}mo$   $v\acute{i}$   $pap\acute{r}cy\acute{a}d$   $\acute{a}suṣv\acute{i}n$   
 "Dann soll der Soma die Nichtpressenden (von den Pressenden) trennen..." (Casaretto 2011c: 173)
- 121)  $v\acute{i}$  +  $\sqrt{yu_1}$  'empty, separate' (simplex: 'harness, hold fast')  
 9.108.9c  $v\acute{i}$   $k\acute{o}śam$   $madhyam\acute{a}m$   $yuva$ <sup>80</sup>  
 "Entleere die mittlere Kufe!" (id.)
- 122)  $v\acute{i}$  +  $\sqrt{v\acute{r}_1}$  'uncover, open' (simplex: 'enclose, cover up')  
 4.16.6cd  $\acute{a}śm\acute{a}naṃ$   $cid$   $y\acute{e}$   $biḥhid\acute{u}r$   $v\acute{a}cobhir$  /  $vraj\acute{a}m$   $g\acute{o}mantam$   $uśijo$   $v\acute{i}$   $vavruḥ$ <sup>81</sup>  
 "Die Uśij, die durch ihre Worte selbst den Fels spalteten, haben den Rinderpferch geöffnet." (id.)
- 123)  $v\acute{i}$  +  $\sqrt{s\acute{a}_2}$  'loosen, untie' (\*simplex: 'tie, bind' [this verb also never appears in the simplex, but instead appears only with  $\acute{a}va$  and  $v\acute{i}$ , both meaning 'untie']  
 5.85.8abc  $kitav\acute{a}so$   $y\acute{a}d$   $riri\acute{p}\acute{u}r$   $n\acute{a}$   $d\acute{i}v\acute{i}$  /  $y\acute{a}d$   $v\acute{a}$   $gh\acute{a}$   $saty\acute{a}m$   $ut\acute{a}$   $y\acute{a}n$   $n\acute{a}$   $vidm\acute{a}$  /  $s\acute{a}rv\acute{a}$   $t\acute{a}$   $v\acute{i}$

<sup>77</sup> Casaretto remarks that Old Avestan  $v\acute{i}$  +  $\sqrt{dar}$  means 'hold fast', rather than 'divide/share' (Casaretto 2011c: 173).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. 2.38.4.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. 1.163.3, 4.13.3.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. 10.85.42, 10.61.12, 10.3.1.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. 4.1.15, 4.16.6, 4.51.2, 5.32.1, 5.45.1, 6.17.6, 6.62.11, 7.79.4, 7.90.4, 7.95.6, 4.54.2, 5.31.3, 5.80.6, 6.44.8, 6.50.8, 7.79.1.

*ṣya śithiréva deva*<sup>82</sup>

"When (we have cheated) like gamblers cheat at dice, whether we have truly known it or not, all those (sins) unbind (from us) as if (they were) a loose (knot), O heavenly one."

(Klein 1985, vol. 2: 175)

The verbal lexeme in this class which is the most unusual is *ví + √dāś* (and interestingly, this appears only once). All of the other verbs share a vague semantic notion of holding, tensing, or enclosing something (*√cṛt*, *√vr<sub>1</sub>*, *√pṛc*, *√sā<sub>2</sub>*, *√dhṛ*, *√yu<sub>1</sub>*, *√tan<sub>1</sub>*) or setting various things in a sort of order (*√takṣ*, *√kṛ*). It is unclear how *ví + √dāś* fits into the general pattern; the action of the verbs *√cṛt*, *√vr<sub>1</sub>*, *√pṛc*, *√sā<sub>2</sub>*, *√dhṛ*, *√yu<sub>1</sub>*, *√tan<sub>1</sub>*, *√takṣ*, and *√kṛ* would indeed be 'undone' if the objects involved were put apart, dispersed, distributed, or anything else implied by *ví*, but the possible pseudoreversativity of *ví + √dāś* is truly opaque. This one may be more like something such as the substantive *ví-māya-*, glossed by Mayrhofer as 'dessen Zauberkraft weg ist' (Mayrhofer 1995: 549-550); that is, the base meaning of the verb itself may be blanketly negated by *ví*, not specifically, but generally, more like a true reversative particle.

#### 2.17.5. Etymology and Cognates

Cognates of *ví* include Old Avestan *vī-*, Young Avestan *vii-*, and Old Persian *vīy-*, with the same general meaning as in Vedic. The Indo-European etymon would be *\*ūi-*, also yielding Gothic *wīþra* 'against', and probably Latin *uītō* 'I shun, I avoid' (< *\*ūi-√i*). (Mayrhofer 1995: 550)

### 2.18. *sám*

#### 2.18.1. Basic Usage

The basic meaning of *sám* is 'together, with, at the same time as'. This may be demonstrated by the following examples:

<sup>82</sup> Cf. 2.3.9, 2.40.4, 3.4.9, 5.45.1, 4.11.2, 5.45.2.



124) *sám* + *√i* 'go together'

1.31.10cd **sám** tvā ráyaḥ śatínaḥ **sám** sahasríṇaḥ / suvīraṃ **yanti** vratapám adābhya

"Zu dir kommen die Reichtümer hundertfältig zusammen, tausendfältig zusammen, zu dem Heldenhaften, dem Hüter des Gebotes, du Untrüglicher." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 58)

125) *sám* + *√bhṛ* 'bear together'

1.115.4ab tát sūryasya devatvám tán mahitvám / madhyá kártor vítataṃ **sám** jabhāra

"Das ist die Göttlichkeit, das die Größe des Sūrya: Mitten im Werk hat er (ihr) ausgespanntes (Gewebe) zusammengelegt." (Witzel/Gotō 2007: 205)

There are, additionally several idioms which are formed with *sám*. It is not easy to categorize them, so I shall simply list the examples and then give my analysis below:

#### 2.18.2. *sám* Idioms, Uncategorized

126) *sám* + *√pṛc* 'share with' (simplex: 'fill, mix')<sup>83</sup>

9.97.1ab asyá preṣá hemānā pūyámāno / devó devébhiḥ **sám** apṛkta rásam

"Auf sein eigenes Geheiß und Betreiben geläutert hat der Gott seinen Saft mit den Göttern geteilt." (Geldner)

127) *sám* + *√rī* 'join together, restore, let flow together' (simplex: 'let go, let run, let flow')

1.117.4c **sám** táṃ riṇītho víprutaṃ dáṃsobhiḥ

"...den füget ihr mit Meisterkünsten wieder zusammen, da er schon auseinander gegangen war..." (id.)

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83 Cf. *ví* + *√pṛc*, above.

128) *sám* +  $\sqrt{dhā}_1$  'make a pact, form an alliance' (simplex: 'set, place, lay')

10.100.4abc índro asmé sumánā astu viśvāhā / rájā sómaḥ suvitáśyádhi etu naḥ / yáthā-yathā mitrádhitāni **samdadhúḥ**<sup>84</sup>

"Indra soll uns jederzeit wohlgesinnt sein, König Soma soll auf unser Wohlergehen bedacht sein, ganz so wie man Bündnisse schließt." (id.)

128) *sám* +  $\sqrt{cakṣ}$  'count' (simplex: 'see, appear')<sup>85</sup>

7.18.20ab ná ta indra sumatáyo ná ráyaḥ / **samcákṣe** púrvā uśáso ná nútnāḥ

"Deine Gnade und deine Reichtümer, o Indra, die früheren und die neuesten, sind nicht vollständig aufzuzählen, so wenig wie die Morgenröten." (id.)

The first idiom, *sám* +  $\sqrt{pṛc}$ , might be said to be a pseudoreversative if the combination of *ví* +  $\sqrt{pṛc}$ , which means nearly the same thing, should be said to be a pseudoreversative. However, since *ví* and *sám* have nearly opposite meanings to one another, it is difficult to say how they could both operate on the same verb to create pseudoreversatives. Therefore, I think it is best to think of this particular example, *sám* +  $\sqrt{pṛc}$ , as having a different underlying structure. Perhaps the underlying meaning is of several people being poured drinks at nearly the same time, or at the same place; the central idea is not the emptying of the source vessel, but rather the sharing of the drink among several people, in contrast to *ví* +  $\sqrt{pṛc}$ .

*sám* +  $\sqrt{rī}$ , however, is a possible pseudoreversative, since 'flow' can be thought of as implying movement away, or a separation. The meaning of the compound may in fact be closer to what Geldner suggests, 'put back together', than simply 'put together (not necessarily implying prior destruction)'.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Cf. 8.67.21.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. also  $\acute{a}$  +  $\sqrt{khyā}$  and  $\acute{a}$  +  $\sqrt{cakṣ}$  (Delbrück 1888: 451).

*sám* +  $\sqrt{dhā_1}$  has roughly resultative semantics: 'to establish (something) with the result that (some people) are together'. The specificity of the definition is what led me to group it with the small number of idioms with *sám*; regardless of how much sense it may make when one knows the meaning, its meaning is not entirely compositional and it is not readily deducible from its parts.

Finally, *sám* +  $\sqrt{cakṣ}$  is fairly idiosyncratic, but straightforward. To 'see (some things) together' is to be able to count them, and it is not difficult to see how this specific meaning could have developed.

### 2.18.3. Etymology and Cognates

*sám*'s cognates in Indo-Iranian include Old Avestan *hām*, Young Avestan *hām* 'together' and Old Persian *ham* 'id.'. The Indo-European etymon is something like \*sem/som/\*sm 'together', with additional cognates in Greek  $\acute{\alpha}$ -/ $\acute{\alpha}$ -, and Lithuanian *saĩ-* (Mayrhofer 1996: 702).

### CHAPTER 3

#### FINAL REMARKS

What I have tried to show in this brief study is that Vedic idioms are often categorizable and classifiable by construction type. These types may include pseudoreversatives, resultatives, valency-changing constructions, or some combination of these. They may include constructions which originally grew out of metaphor, or they may be entirely opaque as to their origin or internal structure. These types of construction patterns not only occurred in Vedic Sanskrit, but they seem to have been at least moderately productive. Perhaps these patterns occurred beyond Vedic as well. Several of the studies referenced in the Introduction (McIntyre 2002, van Kemenade and Los 2003, Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004) are based on data from the modern Germanic languages, not older Indo-European languages. Given that these processes can be seen to operate in more than one language family, perhaps these processes might be expected to be found in the other older Indo-European languages, and perhaps played a role in Indo-European itself. A better understanding of the mechanisms underlying these processes could be very useful for not only understanding complex verbs in the individual daughter languages but also for understanding how Indo-European may have behaved at the syntax-morphology interface.

Pinault (1995) makes the following intriguing observation about possible compositional uses of what could perhaps be called preverbs in Indo-European. The first one he discusses is the use of \*H<sub>1</sub>en-tṛ / \*H<sub>1</sub>ṇ-ter + verbs of speech in the daughter languages; cf. Av. *antar (...)* *mrū-* 'parler en mettant à part, pour écarter'; Lat. *inter-dicō* 'interdire'; OHG *untar-quedan* (and NHG *unter-sagen*) 'interdire, prohiber'. His other suggestion is the preverb \*énu, which has, in the daughter languages, combined with verbs which do not have spatial meaning, and

contributed to them the meaning of 'along, along with' (although he cautions that 'plusiers sont devenus inanalysables'): \*enu-gnō- [sic] 'consentir, admettre' > Ved. *anu-jñā-* 'consentir, admettre', Lat. *ignōscō* 'pardonner'; \*enu-sek<sup>w</sup>- > Ved *anu-sac-*, adv. *ānuṣák* 'continûment, sans interruption', Lat. *inseque* 'faire une discours, dire'; \*enu-steH<sub>2</sub>- > Ved. *anu-sthā-* 'se placer juste après', Lat. *instāre* 'être [dressé] sur, être menaçant, imminent; presser vivement'. He also points out that, lest one suppose the meaning of \*enu had acquired an entirely figurative meaning, the prepositional meaning existed alongside these forms, as seen in \*enu-H<sub>2</sub>p-ó- 'le long de l'eau' > Ved. *anūpá-* 'rivage, région côtière' (Pinault 1995: 53-4). Through analysis of preverbs in the daughter languages, one might very well find more examples of this type, and shed light on the nature of preverbs in Indo-European. Future research could involve a similar analysis of each of the daughter languages, with an eye to eventually reconstructing Indo-European preverb-verb constructions. Although this would be difficult, it is not in my opinion impossible, since, as Pinault points out, there are at least a few good candidates. Latin and Homeric Greek are excellent languages for such future studies; hopefully, at some point each preverb in each of the daughter languages will receive a thorough and detailed analysis. Meanwhile, hopefully this small study has shed some light on the phenomenon of preverb-verb idiomatization.

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