

J. Gonda

THE ASPECTUAL FUNCTION
OF THE ṚGVEDIC
PRESENT AND AORIST

Mouton & Co.'s-Gravenhage

294.12
G586A



**INDIAN INSTITUTE OF
ADVANCED STUDY
SIMLA**

THE ASPECTUAL FUNCTION OF THE ṚGVEDIC
PRESENT AND AORIST

DATA ENTERED

DISPUTATIONES
RHENO-TRAJECTINAE

DISPUTATIONES INSTITUTI AD LINGUAS
ORIENTALES
DOCENDAS ATQUE INVESTIGANDAS
IN UNIVERSITATE RHENO-TRAJECTINA
CONDITI

EDIDIT
J. GONDA

VII

MOUTON & CO . 1962 . 'S-GRAVENHAGE

THE ASPECTUAL FUNCTION
OF THE ṚGVEDIC
PRESENT AND AORIST

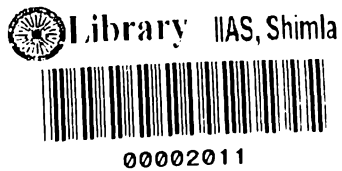
BY

J. GONDA

MOUTON & CO . 1962 . 'S-GRAVENHAGE

CATALOGUED

© 1962 Mouton & Co., Publishers, The Hague, The Netherlands.
No part of this book may be translated or reproduced in any form, by print,
photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written
permission from the publishers.



Printed in The Netherlands by Mouton & Co., Printers, The Hague.

CONTENTS

I. Introduction	7
II. Uses of the aorist	54
III. The 'mythological' aorist	80
IV. The aorist of the antecedent process	93
V. Some observations on the use of the present stem	103
VI. Uses of the imperfect.	112
VII. Imperatives	130
VIII. Participles	152
IX. The use of past tenses (impf., aor., perf.) in dialogues and quotations	159
X. Alternation of present and aorist	170
XI. The use of tenses in connection with the particle <i>mā</i>	185
XII. Detailed examination of the aspectual functions of some roots in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda	194
XIII. Clauses introduced by conjunctions	204
XIV. Some remarks on the use of the present indicative	214
XV. The function of the preverbs	225
A. Vedic <i>sam</i>	225
B. Vedic <i>pra</i>	231
C. Greek <i>ἐκ</i>	242
XVI. The pertinent Ṛgvedic facts viewed in their historical perspective	251
Index of technical terms used	275
Index of the main text-places studied	278

I

INTRODUCTION

The study of the phenomena which are for convenience often indicated by the rather vague and deceptive term 'aspect' has admittedly proved one of the most inaccessible and debatable provinces of linguistics. The complex and elusive character of the phenomena themselves¹; the absence of special aspectual categories in most languages; the unfamiliarity of modern investigators with aspect systems or well-defined aspectual categories in their own mother-tongues; the plurifunctional nature of a considerable part of the verb forms to be investigated; the various degrees to, and various ways in, which so-called 'aspectual' possibilities are, in different languages, converted into the actuality of linguistic facts²; the bias for evolutionist or quasi-historical constructions³; the hesitations and mistakes of our predecessors, who for instance did not always realize that similarity is not identity or that a Greek aorist and a Slavonic perfective are not equivalent; the confusions of ideas in many books on this subject⁴ and the inclination of some scholars to view the linguistic

¹ See also A. Meillet, "Sur la terminologie de la morphologie générale", *Ling. hist. et ling. générale*, II (Paris, 1938), p. 32. With regard to the verbal aspects of English, L. Bloomfield, *Language* (London, 1935), p. 280, observes: "the difference between *wrote* and *was writing* is so elusive and differs so much for different verbs and in different phrases, that the definer, after stating the main principles, cannot do better than to resort to a demonstration by means of examples." The observations made by this scholar on aspects in general (see p. 272) are for the rest insufficient. An instructive example of the complexity of the phenomena under discussion is furnished by the East-Iranian Pashto (see H. Penzl, "Afghan descriptions of the Afghan (Pashto) verb", in *J.A.O.S.*, 71 (1951), p. 103): while even the best foreign descriptions of this language failed to recognize the importance of the category of aspect, the Afghan grammarians always clearly describe it, calling imperfective forms "continuous" and perfective or completive forms "single, definite or absolute". The formal distinction may however consist in presence or absence of the morpheme *we*, the different position of the loud stress, or a difference in the stem form (Penzl, *A grammar of Pashto*, Washington, 1955, p. 94).

² Cf. e.g. H. Seiler, *L'aspect et le temps dans le verbe néo-grec* (Paris, 1952).

³ E. Rodenbusch, *I.F.*, 21, p. 116, made, for instance, an attempt to show that the aorist-type derived from the present-type.

⁴ Incorrect definitions continue to turn up even in recent publications (e.g. F. Bodmer, *The loom of language*, London, 1955, p. 102; Ch. F. Hockett, *A course in modern linguistics*, New York, 1958, p. 237). Sound critical observations were at the time made by K. van der Heyde, *Composita en Verbaal Aspect bij Plautus*, Diss. Amsterdam 1926, p. 1 ff.

phenomena in the light of a philosophical or psychological theory or in explaining them from the psychical reactions and dispositions of mind or feeling of the individual speakers without previously instituting a thorough investigation into their systematic, supra-individual character⁵ whilst overlooking what may be learnt from experience, that in many more or less stereotyped syntactic structures speakers do not make their choice ad hoc but independently resort to traditional phrases and schemata which they may vary by way of analogy⁶ – all these factors have seriously interfered with the progress of our knowledge of some no doubt important aspects of the functions of the finite verb forms in several Indo-European languages and of comparable phenomena in languages belonging to other families.

In view of the difficulties inherent in the subject itself, the vagueness of the terminology and the scarcity of the pertinent observations and discussions in the special literature on Sanskrit grammar, it may be well to preface our examination of the relevant Vedic facts with a short historical and methodological introduction to the subject under consideration. In so doing no attempt is made to furnish the reader with complete bibliographical information or to enter into the problems emerging in the study of the verb in the cognate languages.

As is well known the study of 'aspects' originated in the Slavonic group of Indo-European languages⁷ and especially in Russian,⁸ in which the phenomena denoted by this technical term have reached a high degree of development. In the beginning of the nineteenth century a sharp criticism set in on the views of the Russian verb and especially of its tense-forms pronounced by Lomonosov⁹ – who was impressed by the tenets taught by the Grammar of Port Royal¹⁰ – and on those of the Russian Grammar published by the Imperial Academy.¹¹ This reaction¹²

⁵ See also H. Arens, *Sprachwissenschaft* (Freiburg-München, 1955), p. 428.

⁶ See also my *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1959), ch. II.

⁷ For a short introduction see W. J. Entwistle and W. A. Morison, *Russian and the Slavonic languages* (London, 1949), p. 106 ff.; M. Braun, *Grundzüge der slawischen Sprachen* (Göttingen), p. 95 ff.

⁸ In preparing the brief historical survey of the study of the Russian aspect I could utilize a collection of résumés made by Mr. N. Schrotten, lit. drs.

⁹ M. V. Lomonosov, *Rossijskaja Grammatika* (1755).

¹⁰ In the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* of the Convent of Port Royal a disastrous attempt was, in the sixties of the 17th century, made to demonstrate that the structure of various languages and especially of Latin, embodies valid canons of logic. An English translation was published in London (1753): *A general and rational grammar, containing the fundamental principles of the art (sic!) of speaking...*

¹¹ In the years 1802 (1st ed.) and 1805 (2nd ed.).

¹² A detailed history of the study of, and the ideas in connection with, the Russian

was led by A. V. Boldyrev who in the years 1812 and 1816 came to assume the existence, in Russian, of two tense categories (pres. and pret.) and of a fourfold 'aspect' system (indefinite, 'einmalig', iterative, perfective); these constitute – in his eyes – correlative categories belonging to different verbs which derive from the same root. This theory of a fourfold division was subscribed to by other scholars, among whom was Greč, who while combating the view that different aspects derive from different verbs, introduced (1834) the term *vid* which answers to 'aspect'. In this early period the correlation between aspectual and temporal categories was in the main understood, but no clear conception was formed of the difference between 'aspect' in the limited and proper sense of the term and other modifications of the process¹³ on the one hand and of the essence of 'aspect' and the signification of these modifications on the other. In the forties a new theory was founded by G. Pavskij, who distinguished three 'degrees' ("steps": *stepeni*) as quantitative or qualitative modifications of a verb root¹⁴ denoting the degree of duration and extent or compass of the process, the expression of tense being subordinate to that of 'aspect'. Under Pavskij's influence N. P. Nekrasov¹⁵ emphasized the 'qualitativity' of the three degrees, their '*kratnost*', i.e. the degree of duration, the energy inherent in the process which may be represented as short, continuing and frequent. However, the qualitative aspects of the phenomena under discussion as well as their historical development were, in this period, neglected. The first to extend his horizon in the latter direction was, after 1880, A. A. Potebnja¹⁶ who attempted to distinguish between two stages of development, an earlier one characterized by a difference in duration (*dlitel'nost'*), and a later one in which the opposition between 'perfective' and 'imperfective' (*soveršennost'* : *nesoveršennost'*) had come to prevail, the bond between both stages – which were not necessarily mutually exclusive – being this: the lowest degree of duration developed into perfectivity, the highest degree into imperfectivity. Until the present day this train of thought has exerted influence upon other scholars.¹⁷ Another point examined by Potebnja concerned

aspects may be found in V. V. Vinogradov, *Russkij jazyk* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1947), p. 477 ff.; some bibliographical notes may also be found in G. Herbig's article on "Aktionsart und Zeitstufe", in *I.F.*, 6 (1896), p. 157 ff. (see p. 187, no. 1) and in C. G. Regnéll, *Über den Ursprung des slavischen Verbalaspektes*, Thesis Lund 1944.

¹³ See further on.

¹⁴ G. Pavskij, in *Philol. nabl'udenija*, 3, p. 205 ff.

¹⁵ N. P. Nekrasov, *O značenii form r. glagola* (Petrograd, 1865).

¹⁶ A. A. Potebnja, *Iz zapisok po r. grammatike* (²Charkov, 1888), IV, p. 24 ff.

¹⁷ See e.g. R. Ruzicka, *Der Verbalaspekt in der altrussischen Nestorchronik* (Berlin, 1957), ch. I (with a bibliography).

the connections between the verbal prefixes and the 'aspects'; the earlier function of the preverbs was according to this scholar to denote directions or, more generally, spatial relations, the later function to express 'temporal ideas' and degrees of intensity, which could develop into aspectual functions.

While the scholars who wrote after Potebnja were, generally speaking, agreed upon the fundamental character of the opposition 'perfective' : 'imperfective' and concentrated upon an investigation into the aspectual nuances – to which the '*stepeni*' classification now came to be confined – and their grouping round these two central functions, they were at issue with regard to the essential character of the aspects and the methods of determining their functions. How these scholars wrestled with these problems may appear from a short selection from some of the divergent statements about the very nature and limits of the phenomenon under consideration: "aspects are to modify verbal forms in relation to the presence of the process in time" (Fortunatov¹⁸); "the aspect expresses the way in which a process takes place in time or is placed in time" (Peškovskij¹⁹); "the aspects indicate the different ways in which processes, states etc. take place, are performed, reach their completion etc." (Šachmatov²⁰); "the category of aspect characterizes the process as far as its 'qualitativity' is concerned, after criteria of duration, 'inertness', 'rapidity', iteration etc." (Ovsjaniko-Kulikovskij²¹).

With regard to the essential differences between the two basic aspects various theories were advanced. According to Miklosich²² the long and the short of the problem is this: "Eine Handlung wird entweder als dauernd dargestellt oder als vollendet ausgesagt: jenes geschieht durch die verba imperfectiva, dieses durch die verba perfectiva. Die Verba nsl. *vzdigovati* impf. und *vzdignoti* perf. unterscheiden sich von einander dadurch, dasz das erstere das 'Heben' in seiner Dauer oder ein Beschäftigtsein mit dem Heben, ein Bestreben, einem möglicherweise vergeblichen Versuch, das Heben zu bewirken, bezeichnet, während *vzdignoti* das Heben als vollendet aussagt, das Resultat als erreicht ausdrückt. ... Derselbe Unterschied besteht im Griech. zwischen dem Inf. Präs. αἴρειν und dem Inf. Aor. ἄραι: *mačko vzdigovati* heisst demnach wie ἄγκυραν

¹⁸ F. F. Fortunatov, *Otčet o dejatel'nosti... za 1910 g.*, p. 9, quoted by Vinogradov.

¹⁹ A. M. Peškovskij, *Russkij sintaksis* (°Moscow), p. 122.

²⁰ A. A. Šachmatov, *Očerki sovremennogo russk. lit. jazyka* (Petrograd, 1913), p. 157.

²¹ D. N. Ovsjaniko-Kulikovskij, *Sintaksis r. jazyka* (°Petrograd, 1912), p. 143.

²² F. Miklosich, *Vergl. Gramm. d. slavischen Sprachen*, IV, Syntax, 1874 (Heidelberg 1926), p. 274 ff.

αἵρειν 'mit dem Lichten des Ankers beschäftigt sein', *mačko vzdignoti* wie ἄγκυραν ἄραι 'den Anker lichten, die Handlung mit Erfolg unternehmen haben'.²³ This theory meets with difficulties: there are perfectives such as *zagovoriti* "to begin to speak"; Miklosich²⁴ was moreover compelled to distinguish between 'unbedingt perfective Verba' which denote "die Vollendung ohne Rücksicht auf die Dauer der Handlung" and 'bedingt perfective Verba', which again are subdivided into various groups (momentary; durative-perfectives and iterative-perfectives).

Other scholars,²⁵ emphasizing the role of the prefixes, were rather of the opinion that the aspects express the moments or stages of the process, the perfective drawing attention to its initial or final moment, the imperfective to the middle; inchoative and resultative modifications are denoted by the prefix: *za-kričal* "he started crying".

Others²⁶ again consider the difference in relation of the process to the ensuing situation to be the most essential characteristic of the two aspects: in using the impft. the speaker views the process as isolated (the process as such), "ausserhalb der Beziehung zum nachfolgenden Zustand", in using the pft. he views the process "im Rahmen eines grösseren Zusammenhanges von Geschehnissen und Zuständen".²⁷ The 'Nichtabgeschlossenheit' of the impft. results from the above characteristic; it is in fact usually made explicit by adverbs,²⁸ context or sentence connection. It may however also refer to 'abgeschlossene Handlungen' (e.g. in "he always attained his ends"); the 'Abgeschlossenheit' being accidental or irrelevant. The isolation expressed by this aspect enables it to occur in indefinite and general statements ("allgemeine Aussage"); the pft. is on the other hand suited to indicate definite individual cases ("ein pft. Zeitwort verengt die Bedeutung nicht nur auf die 'Vollendung' – d.h. dass die Handlung in ihrer Gesamtheit als tatsächlich stattgefunden zu denken ist –, sondern auf Vollendung auf ein bestimmtes Einzelergebnis: es kommt auch hier weniger auf den objektiven Sachverhalt als auf die gefühlsmässige Haltung des Sprechenden an"). The impf. is, to wind up with, also suited to suggest that the process is (was, will be), at the moment meant by the speaker in progress or that its duration or repetition is

²³ See e.g. also B. O. Unbegaun, *Grammaire russe* (Lyon, 1951), p. 216; H. G. Lunt, *Fundamentals of Russian* ('s-Gravenhage, 1958), p. 59.

²⁴ See Miklosich, *o.c.*, p. 279.

²⁵ L. P. Rasmussen, "O glagol'nych vremenach", *Ž.M.N.P.*, 1891, p. 377 ff.; A. M. Peškovskij, *Naš jazyk*, IV, p. 66.

²⁶ See Braun, *o.c.*, p. 99.

²⁷ Braun, *o.c.*, p. 95; 102 f.

²⁸ For the rôle of adverbs see e.g. also E. Seidel, in *Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague*, 6, p. 128.

emphasized; the pft. to indicate also that the process is viewed as “vollendet” (see above), or as referring to its result.

It may in this connection be observed that although the speaker is in principle given the option between the pft. and impft. in order to make his audience, for instance, understand the sentence: “I went home” either as “I was homeward bound” or as “I came home” there are also objective factors residing in context and situation which necessitate him to use a definite form: in a sentence meaning: ‘when I went home, I met X.’, the verb “I went” must be an imperfective, in “when I went (came) home, I found her better”, “I went (came)” must be a perfective.²⁹

Many scholars, however, had preferred to explain the functions of the aspects by starting from the assumption that processes which take place in time were regarded as movements taking place in space which may be viewed either as points or as lines;³⁰ the perf. corresponds so to say to a point (the process is *neprotjažennyj* “not extended”), the impf. to a line (attention is focused on the whole *protjaženije* “extension” of the process developing).³¹

To interrupt now this survey of Slavonic studies it may be observed that the view mentioned last was adopted by many scholars outside Russia in discussing the Slavonic ‘aspects’ as well as really or pretendedly comparable phenomena in the related languages. According to the Father of Indo-European syntax, Delbrück,³² “ist eine Aktion (a term which he often used instead of ‘Art der Handlung, Aktionsart’) punktuell, wenn durch sie ausgesagt wird, dass die Handlung mit ihrem Eintritt zugleich vollendet ist”; besides, he distinguished between iterative, curative and terminative ‘actions’; in the last case “wird ein Terminus in’s Auge gefasst, sei dieser nun der Ausgangs- oder der Endpunkt, z.B. ved. *ṛnoti*, gr. ὀρνυμι “in Bewegung setzen”; ἄρνυμι “zerbrechen””, in the second case “wird ausgesagt, dass die Handlung vor sich geht, derartig dass man sich weder einzelne Akte innerhalb der Handlung noch ihren Anfangs- oder Endpunkt vorstellt, z.B. Ved. *ḍīyati* “fliegen”.” Brugmann³³ was among those who subscribed to this view: “Aktionsart ist,

²⁹ See A. Mirowicz, *Die Aspektfrage im Gotischen* (Wilna, 1935).

³⁰ I. V. Netušil, in *Ž.M.N.P.*, 1891, p. 86 ff.

³¹ See e.g. C. W. Smith, *De verbis imperfectivis et perfectivis in linguis slavonicis* (Copenhagen, 1875).

³² B. Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax der indogerm. Sprachen*, II (Strassburg, 1897), p. 13 ff.

³³ K. Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Gramm. der indogerm. Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1903), p. 493; cf. also the same, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der indogerm. Sprachen*², II, III (Strassburg, 1913-1916), p. 68 ff. and 712 ff.

im Gegensatz zu Zeitstufe, die Art und Weise, wie die Handlung des Verbums vor sich geht. Man unterscheidet: punktuelle, kursive, perfektische (d.h. die Aktion des Perfektstammes), iterative, terminative Aktion." The adherence, not only of the leading German scholars, but also of the French school,³⁴ to this view of the phenomena under discussion did not fail to give it almost the character of a dogma. Henceforth the discussion came to concentrate on questions of detail, 'einzelsprachliche Entwicklungen' and terminology which in this new province of grammar was closely bound up with the positions taken up with regard to the facts and their explanation. The correctness of Delbrück's terminology was, to mention only this, justly questioned already in some of the reviews of his great syntax.³⁵

The theory of the 'Aktionsarten' was – by Jacob Grimm and then about the middle of the XIXth century by others³⁶ – also applied to the Germanic idioms.³⁷ Scholars learned, it is true, to pay attention to phenomena which were hitherto disregarded but got also accustomed to view these through Slavonic spectacles. Omitting, for the sake of brevity, any attempt at summarizing the history of research and ideas in this particular field of Indo-European, it may suffice to recall, with the help of some quotations borrowed from a few leading authorities writing at different times, some of the essentials. Distinguishing no less than five important

³⁴ See e.g. A. Mazon, *Morphologie des aspects du verbe russe* (Paris, 1908), p. 10; the same, *Emplois des aspects du verbe russe* (Paris, 1914), p. 106 ff. (with some modifications); F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris, 1922), p. 162: "le perfectif représente l'action dans sa totalité, comme un point, en dehors de tout devenir; l'imperfectif la montre en train de se faire, et sur la ligne du temps"; Meillet, *Le slave commun* (Paris, 1924), p. 240: "un verbe impf. exprime une action qui dure et se développe, soit que ce développement soit continu, soit qu'il résulte de la répétition d'un même procès... Un verbe perf. exprime le procès pur et simple, abstraction faite de toute notion de durée"; J. Marouzeau, *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique* (Paris, 1933), p. 34; cf. also V. Stoliaroff et R. Chenevard, *Introduction au Russe*³ (Paris, 1951), p. 116 f.: "impft. s'il s'agit d'une action qui dure un certain temps; qui se répète, qui commence; qui exprime une tendance, un effort; pour laquelle aucune indication de but ni de durée n'est fournie; pft.: action instantanée, momentanée et unique, complètement achevée."

³⁵ Streitberg, *I.F.*, 11 (1900), Anz. p. 57; see also H. Pedersen, in *I.F.*, 12, Anz., p. 153, who then already proposed not to use the terms 'perfective' and 'imperfective' outside Slavonic grammar; Chr. Sarauw, in *K.Z.*, 38, p. 145 ff.

³⁶ See e.g. A. Schleicher, "Das Futurum im deutschen und slawischen", in *K.Z.*, 4, p. 187 ff.

³⁷ Literature: O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, II (Heidelberg, 1924), p. 93 ff.; A. Beer, *Tři studie o videch slovesného děje v gotštině* (Prague, 1915-18). See e.g. W. Streitberg, "Perf. und imperf. Aktionsart im Germanischen", in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Lit.*, herausg. v. H. Paul und W. Braune (*P.B.B.*), 15 (1889), p. 70 ff.; H. W. Pollak, *ibidem*, 44, p. 353 ff.

'Aktionsarten' Streitberg³⁸ regarded the 'durative' or 'imperfective' as pointing to a continuing process (ununterbrochener Dauer): ModGerm. *steigen* "in der Handlung des Steigens begriffen sein". "Ebenso ist z.B. nhd. *gehen* "to be going" wie die meisten unsrer nichtzusammengesetzten Verba imperfektiv." "Graphisch: ... eine nach beiden Seiten hin unbegrenzte Linie." Like the Latin type *senesco* "to become aged" the German verbs in *-nōn* (Goth. *-nan*) constitute an 'inchoative Formkategorie': Goth. *fullnan* "to become full". The perfective 'Aktionsart' "fügt dem materiellen Bedeutungsinhalt des Verbums noch den Nebengriff des Vollendetwerdens hinzu. ... Die Mittel, wodurch die ... Zeitstufen ausgedrückt werden, müssen ... prinzipiell von denen völlig verschieden sein, wodurch die Aktionsarten charakterisiert werden." The ModGerm. *ersteigen* is by Streitberg and many other scholars quoted in illustration of the view that "das zusammengesetzte Verbum Perfektivbedeutung hat, das Simplex durativ ist. Dies Verhältnis ist im Balt.-Slav. und im Altgerm. das regelmässige": cf. e.g. Goth. *hausjan* "ἀκούειν, hören"; *ga-hausjan* "ἀκοῦσαι vernehmen".³⁹ "Führt die Präposition keine selbständige Existenz mehr, so kann ihre materielle Bedeutung in dem Masse verblassen, daß bei der Zusammensetzung die Änderung der Aktionsart das einzige Ergebnis der Verbindung ist."⁴⁰ "Die farbloseste aller Präpositionen *ga-* ist (im Got.) das Perfektivierungsmittel κατ' ἐξοχήν."⁴¹ Like Slavonic, German once offered, however, perfective simplicia and some durative simplicia which do not generally speaking admit of perfectivation. In addition to the above Streitberg assumed the existence of an iterative and a 'perfektische' Aktionsart, the former being absent in Germanic. However, the inadequacy of these views was duly criticized

³⁸ W. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1900), p. 277 ff. It is worth noticing that his survey of the I.E. aspects coincides as to the categories distinguished and even to a considerable extent in the definitions given with his résumé of the Slavonic aspects in *P.B.B.*, 15, p. 70 ff. Likewise antiquated: Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1910), §§ 290 ff.

³⁹ It may however be observed that the distinction between simplicia and compounds in Gothic does not consistently correspond to the opposition present: aorist in the Greek Bible: John 16, 12 βασιτάζειν: *fra-bairan*; Matt. 27, 48 πλάσας: *fulljands*.

⁴⁰ This part of Streitberg's argument is likewise essentially identical with his survey of the Slavonic facts. From both publications it appears, however, that he did not consider verbal compositions to have already been an I.E. means of perfectivation. The identification of Slavonic pft. and impft. with dur.: non-dur. verbs in German was also criticized by Hermann, *I.F.*, 45, p. 210. For composition see also H. Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*.⁸ (Halle a.S., 1911), §§ 305 ff.; 371 ff.; *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV (Halle a.S., 1920), § 316.

⁴¹ Streitberg, *Got. Elem.*, § 294.

by Mourek⁴² who clearly showed the essential difference in function between the Slavonic and the German verbal prefixation.

Behaghel⁴³ justly reduced the number of I.E. 'Aktionsarten' to two, the impf., and the perf.; in the former case "wird ein Vorgang vorgestellt ohne Gedanken an seine Begrenzung", in the latter "im Hinblick auf seine Begrenzung". He moreover criticized⁴⁴ the view that in Germanic and other I.E. idioms verbal composition may express or reinforce the perfective 'Aktionsart', considering, with good reason, the belief that "perfektivierende Kraft dem Präfix als solchem zukomme" an error.⁴⁵ "Die Präfixkomposita sind zum Teil perfektiv, zum Teil imperfektiv, und zwar können unter den Bildungen mit einem und demselben Präfix beide Aktionsarten vertreten sein."⁴⁶ Still more advanced was the standpoint upheld by Krause⁴⁷: the I.E. verb did not only express 'Zeitstufen', but also "verschiedene Arten, wie die durch das Verbum ausgedrückte Handlung vor sich geht, nämlich ob die jeweilige Handlung in ihrem gleichsam streckenhaften Verlauf oder in einem bestimmten Punkt sich darstellt, sei es infolge des objektiven Geschehensvorganges selbst [Aktionsart], sei es durch die jeweilige subjektive Anschauung des Sprechenden [Aspekt]. Es scheint, daß die Unterscheidung der verschiedenen Arten des Handlungsverlaufs einer älteren Sprachschicht angehört ..." Krause's further information⁴⁸ – "ein Verb mit durativer Aktionsart (erhält) durch Präfigierung von *ga-* einen perfektiven Aspekt, ohne daß die durative Aktionsart des Verbs an sich dadurch geändert wurde" – is however no felicitous contribution to a final settlement of the essential and terminological difficulties. Referring to what in a later chapter⁴⁹ will be said on Skt. *sam-*, Lat. *cum-*, *con-*, Gr. *συν-*, which constitute, in essence, parallel cases,⁵⁰ I would venture to regard the expression of

⁴² E. Mourek, in *Zs. für deutsches Altertum*, Anz. 21, p. 195 ff., and the same, *Syntaxis gotských předložek* (Prague, 1890). See also the critical observations made by Mirowicz, *o.c.*, p. 1 ff., and, for further criticism, Else Hollmann, *Untersuchungen über Aspekt und Aktionsart*, Thesis Jena 1937.

⁴³ Behaghel, *o.c.*, II, p. 95.

⁴⁴ Mentioning E. Schlachter, in *I.F.*, 24, p. 203, and A. Thumb, in *I.F.*, 27, p. 195, who upheld, in connection with Greek, the opposite view.

⁴⁵ Cf. also E. Hofmann, "Zu Aspekt und Aktionsart", in *Corolla linguistica* (Festschrift-F. Sommer) (Wiesbaden, 1955), p. 86: "*ersterben* ist kein Perfektivum zum impft. *sterben*, sondern die Aktionsart ist als effektiv verdeutlicht".

⁴⁶ Behaghel, *o.c.*, II, p. 99.

⁴⁷ W. Krause, *Handbuch des Gotischen* (München, 1953), p. 200.

⁴⁸ Krause, *o.c.*, p. 202.

⁴⁹ See chapter XV.

⁵⁰ In spite of absence of etymological identity. See also S. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*³ (Leiden, 1939), p. 173.

“being together with one’s (its) complement, constituting completeness” as the central meaning of Germ. *ge-* (Goth. *ga-*); hence, on the one hand nouns such as Goth. *ga-juk* “companion” (cf. Lat. *con-iux*) and on the other hand its function as a verbal prefix which may be described as a marker of the complete or actual realization of the process, of its thoroughness or completion. Cf. e.g. Luke 8, 10 *ei saihvandans ni gasaihvaina* (ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν); 4, 20 *jah faifalþ þos bokos jah usgibands andbahta gasat*⁵¹ (πτύξας τὸ βιβλίον ἀποδοὺς τῇ ὑπηρετῇ ἐκάθεισεν); 8, 44 *jah suns gastof sa runs bloþis izos* (καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔστη ἡ ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς), in Dutch “kwam tot stilstand” might be a correct translation; John 6, 24 *gastigun in skipa* (ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰ πλοῖα); Luke 8, 27 *jah in garda ni gawas* (καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν) “hielt es nicht im Hause aus, blieb nicht im Hause”; Matt. 5, 28 *ju gahorinoda izai in hairtin seinamma* (ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ).⁵²

That this prefix *ge-* could, in Medieval Dutch, develop into a means of indicating momentariness which sharply interrupts, or contrasts with, a series of imperfects used to tell a narrative is no matter for surprise.⁵³

Whereas in Slavonic the aspectual distinctions developed so as to form a systematic whole, the Baltic languages remained, in this respect, true to a ‘more primitive stage of development’, using, it is true, a ‘préfixe vide’ *pa-* to perfectivize without essentially affecting the lexical meaning of the verb. But no imperfective verbs derive from perfectives and the perfective present did not assume the function of a marker of futurity.

Although the Greek scholars of the Hellenistic period⁵⁴ described the verb forms of their language mainly as a system based on temporal

⁵¹ For the ‘ingressive’ nuance (Streitberg, *Got. Elem.*, p. 194) see further on, p. 32 f.

⁵² Cf. also Mirowicz, *o.c.*, p. 4: “Man hat ... anstatt den Zweck der Verwendung von Verbpaaren im Slavischen gegenüber der Verwendung von Einzelverben z.B. im Deutschen zu ergründen, die wortbildende determinierende Funktion eines der slavischen formellen Ausdrucksmittel des Aspekts zum Ausgangspunkt der Begriffsanalyse gemacht.” In connection with the prefixes the Polish scholar, citing Mourek, argues that many of them express an “Ausschöpfung der Handlung” (p. 13). “In Fällen, in denen zweifellos Imperfektivität erforderlich ist, [verwendet das Gotische] Komposita, die nach Streitberg perfektiv sein müssten, und umgekehrt...” (p. 18).

⁵³ G. S. Overdiep, *De vormen van het aoristisch praeteritum in de Middelnederlandsche epische poëzie*, Diss. Leiden 1914, p. 2. See p. 54: in medieval Dutch epic poetry the syntactic characterization of aoristic processes has much developed; the means used had gradually arisen from the syntactic possibilities of the older German.

⁵⁴ See e.g. H. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*² (1890), I, p. 307 ff.; J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I² (Basel, 1926), p. 15; M. Pohlenz, *Die Begründung der abendländischen Sprachlehre durch die Stoa*

distinctions they realized for instance that the imperfect was characterized as a χρόνος παρατατικός “a continuing ‘tense’” i.e. “a ‘tense’ expressing continuance” (e.g. in the 2nd cent. A.D. Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Syntaxi*, 10, 19⁵⁵, that the perfect could express the idea of ‘completion’: ὁ παρακείμενος καλεῖται ἐνεστὼς συντελικός “the perfect is called the complete present” (Scholion on Dionysius Thrax, p. 251 Hilgard), the term τὸ συντελικόν being (see Phrynichus, 315) also applied to the aorist so far as this category expressed συντέλεια “completed action” (Apoll. D., *Synt.* 205, 14). The very name of the category mentioned last, (χρόνος) ἀόριστος “(the) indeterminate, indefinite (tense)”, which occurs in the works of Dionysius (2nd cent. B.C.; 638, 24) and Apollonius (*Synt.* 276, 5), was to distinguish the function of this category – and that of the future – from the χρόνοι ὠρισμένοι those forms which are, with regard to the expression of time, well-defined or determined, viz. those belonging to the present and perfect systems. In contradistinction to the forms of the pres. and the perf. which are either ‘durative’ or ‘completive’ (“abgeschlossen”) in nature, the aor. is, like the future, according to this theory of Stoic origin,⁵⁶ indifferent with regard to the distinctions between durative and non-durative or completion and non-completion. Although, generally speaking, these ‘aspectual’ distinctions – which stamp their authors as men of good observation and subtle linguistic feeling – were viewed as subordinate to the temporal criterion – hence also the general term χρόνοι –, a different opinion was pronounced by the author of a scholion on Hom. *A* 600 who preferred to consider the expression of the συντελικόν to be the main characteristic of the aorist. Another scholar, Stephanus,⁵⁷ distinguished between the idea of χρόνος and that of ἔργον “action”: “the impf. expresses time elapsed as well as action unfolding”: παρατατικός (sc. χρόνος) ἐστὶ καθ’ ὃν ὁ μὲν χρόνος παρῶχεται, τὸ δὲ ἔργον μετὰ παραστάσεως πέπρακται, οἷον ἔτυπτον, ἔπειθον, ἐπαίδευον. According to the same scholar the main difference between the perfect and the aorist resided in the latter’s

(Göttingen, 1939), p. 177 ff.; E. Schwyzer-A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*, II (München, 1950), p. 248 ff.

⁵⁵ See also Priscianus 8, p. 414, 24: “praesens tempus hoc solemus dicere, quod contineat et coniungat quasi puncto aliquo iuncturam praeteriti temporis et futuri nulla intermissione interveniente.”

⁵⁶ Which deviated from other scholars, among whom was Aristoteles (see Poet. 1457 a 16).

⁵⁷ See I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, II (Berlin, 1816), p. 889: “χρόνος ἐστὶ καιρῶν κύκλος ἦτοι ὠρισμένος ἢ ἀόριστος, ὠρισμένος μὲν ὡς ἐνεστὼς (present), ἀόριστος δὲ ὡς παρῶχμένος (past).”

not being indicative of 'definite' time – i.e. of a continuing or complete process – and in its implying the idea of ἄρτι "just now, a moment ago".

These theories of the Ancients themselves contained elements of value and correct lines of thought which however were not developed by their successors. It was G. Curtius who, so to say, resumed the investigation into the expression of action in Greek by distinguishing, in an imperfect way it is true and under the influence of Slavonic grammar, 'aspects' in this language.⁵⁸ Valuable observations were also made by some of his Czech contemporaries who argued that the indicatives are the only forms to express time – in addition to this they may denote Vollendung, Wiederholung, Dauer –, the other modi being 'timeless', and that the aorist refers to "eine momentane Tätigkeit, eine bestimmte, vollendete, abgetane, vergangene Tatsache".⁵⁹ Comparative inquiries into the relations between Greek and Slavonic verb forms were instituted also.⁶⁰

It is no use reviewing here the ensuing publications on the Greek 'aspects'⁶¹ and the attempts to disentangle the temporal and aspectual functions of the same verbal categories⁶²; nor need we go into the stubborn fight for satisfactory definitions of the aspectual functions⁶³ or subject the dissentient views to a detailed examination.⁶⁴ What however will strike the reader of the books and articles devoted to this chapter of Greek syntax considered as a whole is their almost chaotic character. That a Greek – or Latin – 'aspect' not necessarily coincides with the category usually indicated by the same name in Slavonic Grammar did not always occur to those who wrote on this subject.⁶⁵ That it is a

⁵⁸ G. Curtius, *Die Bildung der Tempora und Modi im Griech. und Lat.* (1846), p. 148; 152; 236 ff.; p. 148 he speaks of the "Dauer" of the impf., of the "reine, nicht näher modificirte Vergangenheit" of the aor.; p. 152 etc. the tempus idea is limited to the indicatives, the present denoting "die dauernde Handlung" and the aorist "die schnell vorübergehende".

⁵⁹ A. Kobliska, "Das Verhältnis des (griech.) Aorists zu den Formen des čechischen Verbums", *Jahresber. Gymn. Königgrätz*, 1851, p. 3 ff.

⁶⁰ For some particulars see Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 251, no. 1.

⁶¹ The main publications up to 1950 may be found in Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 246 ff.

⁶² See e.g. G. Herbig, "Aktionsart und Zeitstufe", *I.F.*, 6, 157 ff.

⁶³ How, for instance, are phrases such as ἐβασίλευσε τριάκοντα ἔτη to be included if the aorist is regarded as essentially 'punctual', how ἐβασίλευσε "he became king" if it is 'factual'? Much energy has also in this province of syntax been wasted upon attempts to explain particular uses from a presumed 'central' or 'original' function indicated by a technical term which owes its existence to an imperfect insight into the relevant facts.

⁶⁴ Compare also the *Griechische Schulgrammatik* by the same author (Prag, 1852), §§ 484-506 and his *Erläuterungen zu meiner griech. Schulgrammatik* (1863).

⁶⁵ The definitions of the aspectual functions of Greek verb forms given by A. Meillet-J. Vendryes, *Traité de gramm. comparée des langues classiques* (Paris, 1927), p. 188 f.;

preposterous procedure to start from a logical or at least philosophical interpretation of the idea of 'aspect' without founding one's argument on the linguistic reality was a rule not generally adopted.⁶⁶ Moreover, the terminology used was far from being adequate, exact and unambiguous, many authors using the technical terms in a rather vague and undefined way or giving them an interpretation of their own.⁶⁷ In the fourth place, the problem as to the non-temporal and non-modal functions of verbal forms was not adequately considered in all its aspects. The strongly marked bias on the part of most investigators in favour of explications of the historical diversity from one of its uses which was considered to have been its prehistoric 'original function' contributed, last but not least, much to the state of confusion in which three generations of research-workers, notwithstanding their numerous good and intelligent observations and partial solutions of difficult problems, left this province of Greek syntax.

Before other points are considered, something more must be said of the relation between the aor. and the pres. stems in Greek, because this point is of special interest in connection with the main subject of this book. The theories advanced to explain the nature of the aorist are of three types. A) It is considered 'punctual', whether the initial moment (δακρῦσαι "burst into tears"), or the end (πεισσαι "to persuade, talk over") is indicated; the occurrence of a so-called complexive or concentrated aorist is either left unaccounted for or explained away unconvincingly.⁶⁸ B) It is regarded as 'confective, terminative, affective'; the

(²1948), p. 174, were, for instance, identical with those proposed by the former scholar for Slavonic (A. Meillet, *Études sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire du vieux-slave*, I, Paris, 1902, p. 99).

⁶⁶ E. Koschmieder's work *Zeitbezug und Sprache* (Berlin, 1929), in which an attempt is made to reduce aspect as well as tense to the idea of 'Zeitbezug' and an abstract theory is advanced to explain how, in former times, events were given their place in time may perhaps be a meritorious piece of work from the point of view of philosophy, linguistically speaking it does not lead to good results. See also the same author's "Studien zum slawischen Verbalaspekt", in *K.Z.*, 55, p. 280 ff.; 56, p. 78 ff.; A. Debrunner, in *I.F.*, 48, p. 89 ff.; H. Schelesniker, in *Die Sprache*, II (Vienna, 1952), p. 215.

⁶⁷ Whereas for instance F. Hartmann, "Aorist und Impf. im Griech.", *N. Jahrb. f. d. Klass. Alt.*, 22 (1919), p. 316 ff.; *Kuhn's Zs.*, 49, p. 31 ff., is of the opinion that the 'perfective aspect' of the aor. expresses a completed process and the impf. refers to incompleteness of the same, the French school, following Meillet (*Études sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire du vieux-slave*, I, p. 99 ff.; Meillet-Vendryes, *Traité de gramm. comp.*², p. 174), holds, generally speaking, the opinion that "le présent (grec) indiquait un procès considéré dans son développement; l'aoriste un procès pur et simple, abstraction faite de toute considération de durée" (see also above, n. 34).

⁶⁸ Thus Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 230 ff.; Brugmann, *K.V.G.*, p. 562; see also p. 493.

process is seen “als Ereignis, als schlechthin geschehen, vollendet”⁶⁹; cases such as δακρῦσαι are explained by the improbable supposition that the completion indicated is the result of a previous process which is not denoted by the verb itself (as is e.g. the case in χαμαὶ πέσε “he fell to the ground”); δακρῦσαι is so to say the termination of a process of non-weeping; other exceptions are treated as relics; C) the aor. expresses “un procès pur et simple, abstraction faite de toute considération de durée”.⁷⁰ The aspectual role of the present stem has given rise to two groups of theories: A) its functions are said to be many (cursive, durative, terminative etc.)⁷¹; B) it is essentially durative,⁷² some scholars inclining to this opinion mainly because the aor. is ‘punctual’.⁷³ A point which was often overlooked is the absence of a counterpart, in the aorist, of the comparatively frequent unaugmented indic. in the pres. stem. Whereas the augmented forms, the subj., the opt., the imp., the part., and the inf. occur in pairs, the unaugmented pres. ind. is a solitary category. That means that in any attempt to contrast forms of the aor. and of the pres. this category must in the first instance be left out of consideration. Only when a study of the other categories has led to a reasonable success it may, and must, attract due attention. It may finally be emphasized that the Anc. Greek aspects are essentially ‘subjective’: one uses the present-stem because one is concerned with the process in its ‘presentic aspect’, the aorist, not because the process is necessarily in itself devoid of ‘duration’, but because the implications of the present stem do not count to the mind of the speaker.

It is for reasons of space not possible to enter into a short discussion of the aspects in Modern Greek.⁷⁴ Mention may however be made of some of the conclusions arrived at by the author of one of the most recent publications on this subject⁷⁵: “L’aspect (en néo-grec) est un phénomène syntaxique. ... Il met en cause la nature des relations entre le sujet et le

⁶⁹ Schwyzler-Debrunner, *Griech. Gramm.*, II, p. 252; 260 ff.

⁷⁰ The French school; see e.g. Meillet, *Introduction*⁸, p. 249; P. Chantraine, *Morphologie hist. du grec* (Paris, 1947), p. 167; J. M. Stahl, *Krit.-hist. Syntax des griech. Verbums* (Heidelberg, 1907), p. 77: “nur die Erscheinung an und für sich”.

⁷¹ See e.g. Delbrück, *Verg. Synt.*, II, p. 14 ff. It is clear that no distinction is made between ‘aspects’ proper and other modifications. For criticism see e.g. Stahl, *o.c.*, p. 75 f.

⁷² See e.g. Stahl, *o.c.*, p. 74 ff.; Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Gramm.*⁴ (München, 1913), p. 542; the French school.

⁷³ See e.g. Jacobsohn, *Gnomon*, 2, p. 379.

⁷⁴ On the connection between ancient and modern Greek ‘aspects’, on continuity and change see J. Humbert, in *The Link*, 1 (Oxford, 1938), p. 21 ff.

⁷⁵ H. Seiler, *L’aspect et le temps dans le verbe néo-grec* (Paris, 1952) (with a bibliography), p. 164 ff.

prédicat qui est un verbe. La notion du sujet se trouve au centre. L'aspect, c'est l'attitude du sujet vis-à-vis de l'action verbale. Il y a deux attitudes possibles: a) le sujet s'associe à l'action ... (thème de présent, parfait); b) le sujet ne s'associe pas, il n'y a pas ce lien entre le sujet et l'action (aoriste). ... Un phénomène qui émane de la distinction fondamentale entre association et non-association du sujet, sans en avoir la même portée, consiste dans la présentation de cette action même: l'action peut être présentée comme étant ou bien en cours de développement (prés.), ou bien comme n'étant pas en cours (aor., parf.). Il y a encore d'autres modes de présentation: la simple constatation d'une action (aor.), ... une action qui dure, l'accompli et l'inaccompli. ... L'opposition des aspects se trouve vraiment au centre du verbe néo-grec ... La catégorie des aspects ... met en évidence le caractère que possède une action aux yeux du sujet. Elle sert à la 'Veranschaulichung' de l'action. ... Les conceptions aspectuelles ne peuvent jamais être supprimées. ... Le grec a accentué le rôle de la catégorie des aspects au cours de son histoire."

In the course of time the confusion of ideas led scholars to class in the same category a variety of linguistic phenomena which partly concern the grammatical function of verbal forms, partly the semantic differences between related formations different in suffix, prefix etc., partly semantic differentiations of one and the same verb, partly lexical distinctions between different verbs. Besides, the criteria by which the pretended 'aspectual' differences were judged were, in point of fact, rather heterogeneous. The differences between incompleteness and completeness of the process, between extensibility and non-extensibility of the same, between simple or singular and complex, plural or iterated processes, between being and becoming, between expression of facts as temporary, peculiarities of the subject and of facts concerning a permanent quality or condition of the same were, together with semantic nuances and a variety of syntactic possibilities, almost inextricably mixed up. This deplorable confusion, to which even the leading authors of well-known handbooks and introductions fell victims,⁷⁶ proved a disastrous

⁷⁶ See e.g. J. Vendryes, *Le langage* (Paris, 1921), p. 117; Jespersen, *o.c.*, p. 286, and E. Sapir, *Language* (New York, 1921), p. 114, where iterative, resultative, incohesive and other modifications of the verbal idea are mixed up with durative, 'momentaneous' – a term he uses instead of the English *momentary* or *instantaneous* – and continuative verbal forms. W. J. Entwistle, *Aspects of language* (London, 1953), p. 218, while regarding inceptives (Lat. *florescere* "to begin to flower"), desideratives and iteratives as 'aspects' prefaces the relative paragraph by the remark that aspects are too numerous for any measures of prevision.

impediment to a successful study of the phenomena under discussion.⁷⁷

Critical observations about the distinctions⁷⁸ made, categories recognized and terminology applied and attempts to set up order in this province of syntax did not however fail to make their appearance. Especially the twenties of this century were in this respect fruitful, although – to be fair – some not very successful precursors had already been harping on the same string.⁷⁹ Jespersen⁸⁰ for instance argued that the different phenomena which other scholars has brought together under the one class of “aspects” or “Aktionsarten” should rather be distributed into totally different pigeonholes. Thus he divided and described them as follows: first, there is, in some languages, a tempo-distinction between the aor. and the impf. affecting the tense-form (cf. also, with regard to Latin the grammarians’ rule: *perfecto procedit, imperfecto insistit oratio*); 2) there is a distinction between conclusive verbs (e.g. those of catching, ending, killing etc.) and non-conclusive verbs (denoting an activity not begun in order to be finished, e.g. see, hear, love, praise, blame)⁸¹; this

⁷⁷ Objectionable is also the French practice to call “un procès dont le terme est envisagé” an “aspect déterminé” (as opposed to an “aspect indéterminé, quand le terme du procès n’est pas envisagé”). See e.g. Meillet, *Introduction à l’étude comparative des langues indo-européennes* (Paris, 1937), p. 204. – The aversion of French scholars to any term other than the vague and deceptive ‘aspect’ also in the sense of ‘Aktionsart’ (see e.g. J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*² (Paris, 1954), p. 134 (§ 228)) has often been detrimental to a better understanding of these phenomena. Vendryes, who (*M.S.L.*, 20, p. 117) preferred to consider the Greek reduplicated present stems (type μέμνω) as perfectives because they insist on the “point de départ” or on the result of the process, was likewise in error. (For these presents see also P. Chantraine, in *Mélanges-J. Vendryes*, Paris, 1925, p. 94).

⁷⁸ It is needless to repeat that part of these distinctions – for instance the famous praesens de conatu of the classical schoolrooms (e.g. Plato, *Apol.* 30 Α οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πράττειν ἐγὼ περιέρχομαι ἢ πείθειν ὑμῶν καὶ νεωτέρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους) owe their existence only to difficulties in translating. The use of two different words (e.g. *to look for*: *to find*; *to insist*, *press for*: *to persuade*, *talk over*) is often preferable to the long-winded and inadequate periphrases. In cases such as λ 322 ἦν ποτε Θησεύς / ἐκ Κρήτης ... / ἦγε μὲν οὐδ’ ἀπόνητο· πάρος δέ μιν Ἀρτεμις ἔκτα the process denoted by the ‘transformative’ present does not actually reach the moment of ‘transformation’ (‘metaptosis’): “whom once Th. was fain to bear from Crete (to ... Athens); but he had no joy of her, for ere that A. slew her” (Murray).

⁷⁹ S. Agrell, *Aspektänderung und Aktionsartbildung beim polnischen Zeitworte*, Diss. Lund 1908; cf. also A. Noreen, *Vårt Språk* (Lund, 1903 ff.), p. 607 ff.; E. Ahlman, *Über das lateinische Praefix com- in Verbalzusammensetzungen*, Diss. Helsingfors 1916.

⁸⁰ Jespersen, *Philosophy of grammar*, p. 287 ff.

⁸¹ It has also been a matter of speculation how far terms such as infective, ingressive, effective, terminative etc. are applicable to distinctions in the semantic and lexical field. It has for instance often been contended (e.g. by Schwyzler-Debrunner, *o.c.*, p. 249) that *to seek* is in any language an imperfective or infective and *to find* a perfective or confective. We would do well to discontinue this practice, because the fact that *looking for* usually is a process of some duration and *finding* often a process of a single

distinction affects the meaning of the 'second participle': Fr. *l'ennemi est battu*, Ital. *il nemico è battuto* as against *il est aimé de tout le monde*; egli è amato da tutti; 3) the distinction between durative or permanent and punctual or transitory; 4) that between finished and unfinished, the expression of the latter being one of the functions of expanded forms in English, whereas Danish, German and Dutch use prepositional groups: Dan. *han skrev på et brev*; 5) the distinction between what takes place only once, and repeated or habitual action or happening, which in some languages is expressed by suffixes, but frequently not indicated formally; 6) the distinction between change and stability (*fall asleep: sleep; get to know: know*): some languages have special derivative elements to express change or beginning (inchoatives, etc.); 7) in connection with the distinction which may be made according to the implication or non-implication of a result Jespersen justly criticizes the habitual practice of considering compounds such as the German *ergreifen* instances of "Perfektivierung durch Zusammensetzung", part of the *er-* compound being in fact resultative. The Danish author concludes his observations on this point by pronouncing the opinion that it would be better to do without the terms perfective and imperfective – under which different things are comprised⁸² – except in dealing with the Slavic verb, "where they have a definite sense and have long been in universal use". It is to be regretted that the many good elements in these observations and the warnings implied in them have not always been taken to heart by those who wrote on this subject after Jespersen.

Shortly after Jespersen at least three scholars undertook to criticize the vague use of the term 'Aktionsart' – which was usual in German to indicate what in English was generally called the aspect of a verb, although Agrell has applied it to the verbal idea of a compound as compared to the simple verb from which it derives – and to distinguish between aspect in the strict and narrower sense – in which I shall use it in the pages which are to follow –: viz. the point of view of the speaker with regard to non-limitation or limitation, 'duration' or, rather, development or non-duration, continuance or 'momentariness', 'isolation' or

moment is completely indifferent. In fact, a speaker may view the process of finding as imperfective and reduce in language the duration of seeking to an aspectual zero.

⁸² The Gothic instances with the prefix *ga-* collected by W. Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1920), p. 196, show that 'perfectivation' here means "finishing", "change" and "obtaining something through the action": cf. *gasaggq* "set": *saggq* "was setting"; *gaslepan* "fall asleep": *slepan* "be asleep"; *gafrainnan* "learn by asking": *frainnan* "ask".

'non-isolation', etc. of the process⁸³ – "dem Sprecher ist es anheimgestellt, ein Geschehen in seinem Verlauf darzustellen oder als Ganzes zu sehen"⁸⁴ – and what may conveniently be called 'Aktionsart' viz. the expression of objective and intrinsic peculiarities or modifications of the process with special regard to its progress or completion in the lexical sphere.⁸⁵ Whereas however Ed. Hermann⁸⁶ in endeavouring to establish the 'Aktionsarten' as logical categories and in considering them to have been the basis of the aspects renounced linguistic methods and argumentation, the views pronounced and terminology adopted by H. Jacobsohn,⁸⁷ are – though open to criticism – from the point of view of a linguist much to be preferred: by means of the 'aspects' a linguistic system may express "wie der Sprecher den Verlauf der Handlung ansieht"; like the moods, they are 'subjective' in nature; the 'Aktionsarten' (comprising inter alia iteratives, intensives etc.⁸⁸) are on the other hand characterized by a 'Tatbestand'⁸⁹ which differs objectively from that underlying the basic (non-iterative etc.) verb. The 'Aktionsarten' indicate how the process is performed or completed. K. van der Heyde⁹⁰ justly criticized the wide application of the terms 'aspect' and 'Aktionsart' emphasizing that the study of the functions of the Latin verb had greatly suffered under the tendency to view them in the light of Greek and Slavonic categories. It is to be regretted that some authors, e.g. H. Hirt,⁹¹ persisted in applying the term 'Aktionsart' to both categories of phenomena and others continued to use the term 'aspect' in the ancient vague and wide sense.⁹²

There are indeed languages in which the tendency is undeniable formally to distinguish between 'aspect' and 'Aktionsart' in the above sense

⁸³ For the sake of brevity the term process alone will often be used to indicate in a general way the complete range of semantic possibilities (actions, states etc.) expressible by a verb.

⁸⁴ W. Thomas, *Der Gebrauch der Vergangenheitstempora im Tocharischen* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 6.

⁸⁵ Not including however such modifications as the causative.

⁸⁶ Ed. Hermann, in *I.F.*, 45 (1927), p. 207 ff. Cf. also Hermann's article 'Aspekt und Aktionsart', in *Nachr. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1933, p. 470 ff.

⁸⁷ H. Jacobsohn, in *Gnomon*, 2 (1926), p. 379 ff.; cf. also the same, in *I.F.*, 51, p. 292 ff.

⁸⁸ Agrell, *o.c.*, p. 122 f., distinguishes, in Polish, definitive, effective, accurate, augmentative, perdurative, percurative and other 'Aktionsarten'.

⁸⁹ The terms 'subjective' and 'objective' should in this connection not be taken in an absolute sense (see Hollmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 18 ff.). The former does, in the present publication, not mean that those speaking an 'aspect language' may use either aspect when and how they please.

⁹⁰ K. v. d. Heyde, *o.c.* (1926).

⁹¹ H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, VI (Heidelberg, 1934), p. 225 ff.

⁹² See e.g. A. Mirambel, in *The Link*, 1 (Oxford, 1938), p. 48 ff.

of these terms. Among these the Semitic idioms rank foremost.⁹³ The Arabic perfect signifies a) a completed act, whether it has, at the moment of speaking, been already completed and remains in a state of completion (here English and German have the perfect), or was completed at some past time (the historic tense, corresponding to the Greek aorist, the English past tense, the German imperfect); and thus also an act just completed at the present time: Mod. Eg. Arab. *katabt il gawāb* "I have written the letter"; thus the perfect is the narrative form; it is also used to indicate the 'resultative preterit' ('Vorvergangenheit') in clauses introduced by "after" (similarly, in the 'resultative future'); b) a past act, of which it can be said that it often took place or still takes place (often in proverbial expressions); c) a process which is just completed at the moment, and by the very act, of speaking – e.g. *bi'tuk haḏā* "I sell you this"⁹⁴–; d) a process, the occurrence of which is so certain, that it may be described as having already taken place (a use prevailing in treaties, promises, bargains, after *lā* "not", especially in oaths and asseverations); e) a process meant to express a wish, prayer, curse. The last use is no doubt due to the inclination on the part of the speakers to anticipate what they hope or desire.⁹⁵ Finally there is a gnomic use, especially in similes. The impf. indic., on the other hand, does not in itself express any idea of time; it merely indicates a begun, incomplete, enduring existence, either in present, past, or future time. Hence it indicates: a) a process which does not take place at any one particular time, but which happens at all times, or rather in referring to which no notice is taken of time, but only of 'duration'; b) a process which, though begun at the time of speaking, is not yet completed; c) a process which is to take place after the moment of speaking (the simple future); d) an act which was future in relation to the past time of which one speaks; e) a process which continues during the past time.

Although there is no need to dwell on the Semitic aspects any longer

⁹³ W. Wright-W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje, *A grammar of the Arabic language* (Cambridge, 1955), p. 1 ff.; 18 ff.; J. Selden Willmore, *The spoken Arabic of Egypt* (London, 1905), p. 281 ff.; H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1921), p. 10 ff.; the same, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leiden, 1895-8), p. 54 ff.; J. Kuryłowicz, "Le système verbal du sémitique", in *Bull. Soc. de Ling. Paris*, 47, p. 48.

⁹⁴ „Das Perfekt konstatiert ... d) den Zusammenfall (Koinzidenz) zwischen Aussage und Vollzuge der Handlung: "ich verbeuge mich, ich schwöre, ich gebe..." (C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen, 1956, p. 40).

⁹⁵ See e.g. L. Spitzer, in *I.F.*, 48, p. 45: "die Drohung ist besonders kräftig, wenn sie eine Realität antizipiert". One might also compare the Mod.Greek aor. in the sense of a future, a use which belongs especially to familiar language (A. Mirambel, in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, p. 16 f.).

it seems worth recalling the interesting fact that these languages systematically distinguish between aspect and 'Aktionsart'. Whereas the 'perfective' or 'confective' and 'imperfective' or 'inflective' aspects are, e.g. in Arabic, expressed by different stems – *kataba* "he wrote" (perf.): *yaktubu* (impf.) –, the 'Aktionsarten' – which in most handbooks are not distinguished as such – are expressed by means of modifications of these stems (lengthening of vocals or consonants, prefixes): *kattaba* (intensive), *kātaba* (conative). In the derivative stems the aspectual differences are preserved.⁹⁶ A similar procedure has been adopted by the African Yaunde language: in expressing an aspect it is the verbal stem itself which undergoes a modification which formally is similar to the modal or temporal modifications; 'Aktionsarten' being 'Abarten der Verbalhandlungen' are distinguished by means of 'Abarten' of the fundamental stems.

Jacobsohn's views were in substance endorsed by the Slavist Van Wijk⁹⁷ who – while prefacing his article by the statement that the aspectual categories also should only be recognized if they are characterized by formal peculiarities – also insisted on another point: the study of the 'aspects' has often been seriously hampered by an insufficient knowledge of the Slavonic facts by which not a few authors let themselves be guided and inspired. These Slavonic facts are, as already intimated, much more complicated than is suggested by many authors who, for a variety of reasons, have to present them in a brief review. The Czech scholar Seidel⁹⁸ once more emphasized that in individual cases the perfective (confective) and imperfective (inflective) categories mostly serve to express an 'Aspekt' as well as an 'Aktionsart' – the term *vid* of Slavonic grammar covers both concepts⁹⁹ –, the tendency being to express both of them. This may, in daily practice, occasion a certain 'tension' between the 'objective' and the 'subjective' function of the forms concerned; often it is not possible to do justice to both of them at the same time. The close connection with the 'tempus' and the composition with preverbs which is to express lexical nuances as well as modifications coming under the heads 'Aktionsarten' and 'aspects' are only to add to

⁹⁶ Cf. also M. Cohen, *Le système verbal sémitique et l'expression du temps* (Paris, 1924), who observes, *inter alia* (p. 296): "malgré tout dans presque toutes les langues (sém.) le temps situé a un rôle plus ou moins important".

⁹⁷ N. van Wijk, "'Aspect' en 'Aktionsart'", in the Dutch periodical *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 22 (1928), p. 225 ff.

⁹⁸ E. Seidel, "Zu den Funktionen des Verbalaspekts", in *Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague*, 6 (1936), p. 111 ff.

⁹⁹ Cf. also Regnéll, *Ursprung des slav. Verbalaspektes*, p. 23 f.

the complication.¹⁰⁰ In daily usage things are not rarely 'left to the choice' of the individual speakers, who may, according to their view of, or their attitude towards, the process, focus the hearer's attention on one of its two 'aspects'¹⁰¹ but are on the other hand kept within the limits set by the language itself which – to mention only this – does not provide them with the realization of all theoretical possibilities: part of the verbs do not occur in more than one aspect, the Czech. *dovésti* "to hit" being always and *házeti* "throw" being never perfective, a phenomenon to which we may, *mutatis mutandis*, compare suppletive pairs such as the Greek *φέρω*: *ἤνεγκον*. Moreover, in definite contexts or situations the use of a definite aspect is of course obligatory. Among those points which are emphasized by Seidel are the following: the so-called *infektivum* expresses a "Nichtvollendung und Unvollständigkeit" of the process and also the "Dabeisein bei einer Handlung"; in using it the speaker often wants to draw some attention to definite modificatory nuances of the process, to doubt about the success, to the fact that the process is only attempted. It is also used to express an 'iterative' process – which should be distinguished from lexical iteratives to be dealt with under the heading "Aktionsart". It may be observed that the same function is fulfilled by the Greek 'inflective' or 'durative' forms: Plato, Ap. 32 D τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἄδικον μηδ' ἀνόσιον ἐργάζεσθαι (i.e. on any occasion presenting itself) τούτου δὲ τὸ πᾶν μέλει. If this category is used in connection with facts which being 'vollendet' occur only once it is in Czech a device of emphasis and 'rhetorical' exaggeration.

The main function of the Czech perfective is to express 'Vollendung' (to be distinguished from the resultative implication of a definite Aktionsart); it is moreover employed to denote an often unexpected occurrence of a process which may interrupt another process; it is to characterize a process as 'einmalig' – similarly in Greek: Plato, quoted above, continues: ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐκείνη ἡ ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἐξέπληξεν ... ὥστε ἄδικόν τι ἐργάσασθαι –, and occurs in historical reports or descriptions; it is 'complexive' i.e. it condenses an event or occurrence into a single fact or culminating point leaving duration, attendant circumstances etc. out of account. "Dieselbe Funktion hat das Pfkt. als fast ausschließlich gebrauchte Form im Situationstyp der lebhaften Erzählung. Es beschleunigt den Vorbeilauf des Geschilderten. Eine besondere Hervorhebung einer Einzel-

¹⁰⁰ The rôle of other elements of the sentence may for the sake of brevity be left unmentioned.

¹⁰¹ The sentence "I have to read this book" can answer to a Russian *pridet'sja čitat'* (impft.: the process of reading is emphasized) and to *pridet'sja pročest'* (pft.: the knowledge acquired by reading is emphasized).

handlung ist dabei nicht möglich. Dazu wird dann nach Möglichkeit das Impkt. verwendet.”¹⁰² The “merkmallose Verwendung” of the aspects is of special interest: an aspectual category may be resorted to because its opposite would be still less suitable to convey the speaker’s intentions. The living language is however also in the case of Czech much richer and much more complicated than may be concluded from a short grammatical description of the relevant facts: the juxtaposition of two aspectually different forms may for instance entail a pregnant and untranslatable brevity; in case of collision – e.g. of a simultaneous expression of duration and of a nuance which requires a perfective form – one of the two may, in various ways, be neglected; in order to indicate and describe a process more amply the speaker may use both aspects in cumulation, which, in this case, does not mean: in opposition.

There is indeed no denying that matters are much more complicated than some authors would have us believe. On the other hand should an attempt at distinguishing six different categories such as was made by Ed. Hermann¹⁰³ not deter us from investigating into these delicate questions, because not all of them are always and everywhere relevant or even discernible: “Verhaltensart (Tätigkeit, Vorgang, Zustand); Zeit in Hinsicht auf den Sprecher (Gegenwart, Vergangenheit; Zukunft); Zeit in Hinsicht auf einen Sachverhalt (Gleichzeitigkeit, Vorzeit, Nachzeit); Zeitdauerart (durativ, terminativ, zirkuitiv, momentativ, punktiv, koinzidiv); Schau (Gesamtschau, Verlaufsschau, Erlebnisschau); Geschehnisart (konkreter Fall, absoluter Fall: wiederholt, möglich, allgemeingültig).”

However, a consequence of the deepened insight into the nature of the aspects was the reduction of their number in the descriptions of languages other than Slavonic. Whereas in Brugmann’s times and after iterative and non-iterative imperfectives were considered to be two different aspects, Meillet¹⁰⁴ was among those who realized that “la notion de répétition n’a ici aucun caractère essentiel; elle dépend du sens du verbe ... si le procès indiqué est discontinu, le verbe impf. a un sens itératif ...”. Essentially the aspects proper – as opposed to the ‘Aktionsarten’ which may appear in a rich variety¹⁰⁵ – constitute a more or less

¹⁰² Seidel, *o.c.*, p. 118 f.

¹⁰³ Ed. Hermann, “Die altgriechischen Tempora, ein strukturanalytischer Versuch”, *Nachr. Akad. d. Wiss. Göttingen, ph.-h. Kl.*, 1943, p. 583 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Meillet, *Le slave commun*, p. 240.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. H. Renicke, “Die Theorie der Aspekte und Aktionsarten”, in *Paul u. Braune’s Beiträge*, 72 (1950), p. 150 ff. “Es gibt kein System germanischer Aktionsarten” (Hollmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 2).

distinct or developed dual correlative system. The term 'aspect' should be applied only to those cases in which the same verbal idea may by means of a more or less consistent and systematic opposition of a pair of verb forms be – for convenience – expressed 'perfectively' ('limited', viewed as a whole, as a fact, an 'Ereignis') as well as 'imperfectively' (unlimited, as being in progress). In Greek and in the Slavonic languages aspects proper and Aktionsarten combine so as to constitute a very intricate and complicated instrument for the expression of a great variety of nuances and modifications. In German and Latin, the Aktionsarten are unquestionably predominant. Individual languages may exhibit these phenomena in their own way.¹⁰⁶ It is much to be regretted that until the present day the terminological – and, I am afraid, also the notional distinction – between both concepts is from time to time still disregarded.¹⁰⁷

The earlier literature on the phenomena under consideration neglected the requirement of more modern methods that linguistic categories should not be defined separately¹⁰⁸: if there are, in a given language, a 'perfective' and an 'imperfective' aspect these two should not be considered in isolation but studied in mutual connection, because they are each other's counterparts or complements – or if one would prefer another formulation – because they constitute a 'system'. The purpose of linguistic description is to identify the elements of the 'system', to determine the meanings of each element and the oppositions between them and to account for every use of each category as a 'realization' in

¹⁰⁶ It may e.g. be observed that the English progressive form has apart from its aspectual function also another task: it may be 'intensive', e.g. *I should be cheating you, if I married you* (see e.g. M. Deutschbein, *System der neuengl. Syntax*, Cöthen, 1917, p. 67 ff.).

¹⁰⁷ Thus W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des idg. Sprachgebiets* (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 147 uses 'Aspekt' instead of 'Aktionsart'. Recently a typically German article was published by W. Schlachter, on "Der Verbalaspekt als grammatische Kategorie" (*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, XIII, München, 1959, p. 22 ff.). Considering Koschmieder's theory (see above, n. 66) "den besten Weg zur Klärung der Begriffe" and expounding the same in a somewhat adapted form, this author distinguishes between an "überwiegend 'objektive' Einstellung: das Interesse gilt nur dem einzelnen Gegenstand oder Tatbestand ohne Rücksicht auf die eigene Erlebnisreaktion... Seine Ausgedehntheit als geschichtliche Grösse, die es zu einem Gegenstand der Erlebniswelt macht, bleibt ausserhalb des Blickfeldes. Bei 'subjektiver' Betrachtung wird das Einzelereignis zum Glied in der Geschehenskette; das Bewusstsein nimmt es auf als eingeordnet in das Nacheinander der Zeitdimension." Besides Koschmieder's theory only the views pronounced by Jacobsohn, Ed. Hermann, Renicke and Deutschbein, and to a certain extent those of Holt, are discussed in this article.

¹⁰⁸ To cry them down for this or to leave their works unread is just as unfair as to blame Ptolemaeus for not having included America in his geography.

'parole' of the values belonging to it in 'langue', that is to say as an element of the system. This study will not always be successful, now because of the inadequacy of the method applied or the human imperfection on the part of the investigator, now because the system is not so rigid and unequivocal as dogmatic minds would have us believe – as if a complete understanding of human language would ever be within our reach.

So far a 'structuralist' approach to the problems connected with 'the aspects' is a necessity. One should, however, while professing to deal with a linguistic subject guard against the mistake of overstepping the line between linguistics and philosophy. Holt's¹⁰⁹ book on the aspects, in which quotations from original texts and technical discussions of syntactic facts are almost completely wanting, may, basing itself on logical and psychological classifications, be a valuable addition to a better understanding of Hjelmslev's structuralist principles, it has contributed little to an elucidation of the linguistic difficulties.

Moreover the search for a correct understanding of the oppositional system constituted by those verbal forms which may express 'aspects' and of the aspectual peculiarities of these forms separately may not exempt a scholar who is really interested in language as the expression of the human mind and as a most important element of human culture, from the obligation to go deeply into the problem of the 'realization', i.e. to investigate into the particular uses and specialized functions expressed by the forms concerned in definite phrases and contexts and to understand the relations which exist between the function of these categories as 'faits de langue' on the one hand and the contextual senses which they express as 'faits de parole' on the other. Only those who would prefer schemata and abstractions to reality and life would be tempted to follow another line of conduct.¹¹⁰

Among the structuralist approaches to our subject the book on Greek tenses and aspects by the Spanish scholar Ruipérez¹¹¹ is worthy of special mention. It is true that it is slightly disfigured by some more or less obvious shortcomings. The author, relying mainly on texts and phrases already discussed by his predecessors, does not give evidence of having instituted a thorough and systematic inquiry into great collections of material; notwithstanding his confidence in the applicability of the principles of phonological research in the strict sense of the term to the

¹⁰⁹ J. Holt, *Études d'aspect* (København, 1943).

¹¹⁰ For other structuralist research see Ruipérez' book mentioned in the next note, chapter I.

¹¹¹ M. S. Ruipérez, *Estructura del sistema de aspectos y tiempos del verbo griego antiguo. Análisis funcional sincrónico* (Salamanca, 1954).

study of syntax he has not put this assumption beyond doubt¹¹²; he is inclined to neglect the chronological differences, unjustly overlooking that Homeric, Attic and postclassic Greek are not identical¹¹³; he has to the detriment of his argumentation omitted applying the theory of the 'Aktionsarten' or, rather, he has not availed himself of the results of the research into this phenomenon; adopting the Saussurian distinction of langue and parole he focuses too much attention on the former to satisfy philologists.¹¹⁴ But these imperfections must not prevent us from recognizing the merits of this remarkable book.

According to Ruipérez¹¹⁵ it is the task of a grammarian to describe the forms of a language as a system of oppositions, each of two terms differing with regard to one idea or function. One term (the marked term) expresses this basic notion positively, the other (the unmarked term) denotes the absence of the basic notion, expresses the contrary notion (negative value), or is completely indifferent to the expression of the basic notion (neutral value).¹¹⁶ The basic notion of the opposition present stem: aorist stem in Greek is that of duration, the present being the marked term, the aorist which is the unmarked term sometimes being indifferent in respect to duration (e.g. the gnomic and the 'complexive' aorists), sometimes expressing punctuality. We may add here that the 'momentaneous function' of the aor. has probably developed because being opposed to the other verbal stems it was, in contradistinction to these, the only category to express 'momentary' processes.¹¹⁷ In certain

¹¹² "The interference of syntactic subsystems makes this analogy, which is only phonetic, hazardous; syntactic categories with a limited number of definable significations are not comparable with phonemes, or their 'archivalor' with archiphonemes" (N. E. Collings, in *Archivum linguisticum*, 7, p. 61).

¹¹³ "Es ist ... gerade bei einer Untersuchung des Verbums besonders bedenklich, wenn man den Begriff 'synchronisch' so weit faszt, dass sowohl Homer als auch das neutestamentliche Griechisch in die Betrachtung einbezogen werden" (W. P. Schmid, in *I.F.*, 63, p. 183 f.). There are indeed striking differences between Homer or Herodotus and Thucydides and even between the earlier and the later books of the work of the last-named (see L. Schlachter, in *I.F.*, 24, p. 189).

¹¹⁴ Ruipérez' critical remarks on the work done by other scholars are moreover not always convincing.

¹¹⁵ For a short English summary of his book see: G. M. Messing, in *Word*, 11 (1955), p. 462 ff.; H. R. Kahane, in *Language*, 32 (1956), p. 325 ff.; D. M. Jones, in *The Classical Review*, N.S. 6, 2 (69) (Oxford, 1956), p. 126; a French review was written by P. Chantraine, in *B.S.L.*, 50, p. 78 ff.; a German by W. P. Schmid, in *I.F.*, 63, p. 182 ff.

¹¹⁶ That in a variety of cases both aspects may be used was already observed by M. Deutschbein, *Sprachpsychologische Studien*, I (1918), p. 5 ff., who in this connection likewise used the term 'Neutrum'.

¹¹⁷ See also Stahl, *o.c.*, p. 77.

conditions an opposition may be wholly or partly abolished: the pres. indic., which is not opposed to an unaugmented aor. indic., is for instance in principle indifferent with regard to the above basic notion. As it is impossible to identify the marked term on the basis of form, oppositions are established on the strength of semantic criteria; a term is 'unmarked' when it does not allow of a clear-cut definition.¹¹⁸ In this connection it is worth recalling that authors have not rarely been inclined to lay too much stress on the aspectual difference between the present and aorist stems, that is to say to regard this difference as more regular and more consistent than it actually is. Already in the 19th century French scholars such as Thurot and Riemann observed "que cette distinction de sens entre le présent et l'aoriste était en bien des cas plus ou moins subtile et qu'il se rencontrait beaucoup de passages où l'aoriste ou bien le présent s'employaient indifféremment".¹¹⁹

Another distinction which, though not left unnoticed by other authors,¹²⁰ constitutes a corner-stone of Ruipérez' theory, is that between transformative (one might also use the term metaptotic, though this has already been given another sense¹²¹) verbs, i.e. those denoting such processes as effect a change of state in the subject or the object, and non-transformative verbs. For psychological reasons the achievement, the transformation or change of state, has the greater prominence in the former class, the initiation of the process in the latter. In the aorist the relevant moment of the process alone is brought to the hearer's notice: if in the life-story of a man the form ἐβασίλευσε occurs after other verbs referring to other incidents and experiences of the hero the translation must be: "he became king" because it is in fact the initial moment which attracts the attention of the audience; if the aorist were ἐπόρθησε the hearers would understand that the process of destroying (a city) was really affected (not only undertaken) by the hero. Neither the initial nor the final stage is however indicated formally. Notwithstanding the

¹¹⁸ See Ruipérez, *o.c.*, p. 7; 29; 37; 49; 67; 79; 91 f. For the neutral character of the pres. indic. see also J. Kuryłowicz, *L'apophonie en Indo-Européen* (Wrocław, 1956), p. 26.

¹¹⁹ Ch. Thurot, in *M.S.L.*, 1, p. 111 ff.; O. Riemann, in *Mélanges Graux* (Paris, 1884), p. 586.

¹²⁰ See e.g. Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 155: "Bei Verben, deren Präsens einen dauernden Zustand oder eine fortgesetzte Handlung bezeichnet, ist der Aor. ... oft durch Wendungen zu übersetzen, die das Eintreten in diesen Zustand, den Beginn der Handlung ausdrücken"; and B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Class. Greek*, I (New York, 1901), p. 104 f.: "The aor. often appears as the point of origin. This is due to the character of the verbs, which are chiefly denominative"; Behagel, *Deutsche Syntax*, II, p. 97.

¹²¹ See Schwyzler-Debrunner, *Griech. Gramm.*, II, p. 261.

preponderance of the 'continuative idea' the same observation applies to the present stem. Thus in N.T. Marc 1, 31 καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετὸς καὶ διηκόνει αὐτοῖς ("she went into service") the moment of beginning to serve, though psychologically relevant, is not explicitly indicated, but to be inferred from context and situation.¹²²

It would appear to the present author that both distinctions¹²³ recognized by Ruipérez in studying the relevant Greek facts,¹²⁴ are, at least as working hypotheses, not devoid of interest to those who apply themselves to the peculiarities of the pres. and aor. stems in Vedic, on the understanding however that the danger of being too explicit, of overshooting the mark and the ever-impending risk of lapsing into the evil of deductive reasonings are constantly borne in mind. It always remains possible that the Greek and Vedic usage is, on the whole, too complex, or too elusive and refractory to permit us more than the recognition of some general trends and patterns, that it will lead us to acquiesce in the existence of puzzles and seeming contradictions inherent in the facts. The question may therefore arise whether Ruipérez has not too stubbornly sought a consistent and fully developed system of opposites.¹²⁵ An unbiased reader, supplied with a salutary dose of scepticism, will not rarely hesitate to follow him everywhere.

There is indeed no denying that the application of Ruipérez' method is apt to degenerate into the merest subjectiveness. The 'reconstruction', or establishment, of the system of the Greek or Vedic 'langue' with

¹²² Otherwise, but unconvincing: F. Hartmann, *K.Z.*, 49, p. 2 ff. In fact, this use of the pres. stem has arisen from exaggerations and anticipations in the stylistic sphere; cf. e.g. also Xen. *Anab.* 1, 8, 27; Thuc. 3, 22, 5 καὶ αὐτίκα βοῇ ἦν.

¹²³ It may be recalled to mind that the Arabic perfect of non-transformative verbs may also occur to lay special emphasis on the initial stage of the process ("es sollte bloß die Verwirklichung ihres Eintritts mitgeteilt werden", Reckendorf, *Synt. Verhältn.*, p. 54 who gives as examples: "er kam zur Regierung", "er stand auf").

¹²⁴ In the above résumé those points which do not pertain to the subject of this book are left unmentioned. For an ample discussion of the method applied by Ruipérez and for the points on which he diverges from other scholars see ch. I and II of his book.

¹²⁵ Compare also F. R. Adrados in his critical review of Ruipérez' book ("El método estructural y el aspecto verbal griego", in *Emerita, Boletín de ling. y fil. classica*, 22 (Madrid, 1954), p. 258 ff., esp. p. 267): "la oposición que forman el presente y el aoristo carece de término positivo y negativo. Es una oposición que no ha llegado a implantarse totalmente; muchas veces el aoristo y el presente son indiferentes al aspecto y prácticamente iguales, como son prácticamente iguales muchos temas que tenían un presente y un pasado y que han quedado englobados en el sistema del presente: ἐγένετο es muchas veces igual aspectualmente a ἐγίγνετο, como ἐγίγνετο es totalmente paralelo a ἔφερε ο ἔδελχνε." See in this connection for instance also the remarks made by H. Meltzer, *I.F.*, 17 (1904-05), p. 276, and Hirt, *Idg. Gramm.*, VI, p. 225.

regard to the expression of aspectual differences must be our first endeavour; only when we know this system we can determine which of the apparent deviations are phenomena of 'parole'. But our only material from which this 'system' is to be reconstructed is the totality of text-places which are, all of them, 'parole'. How are we to discover which uses are, from the systematic point of view, relevant and which are not? Are we not constructing the system from apparent deviations at a stage at which we are still uncertain of their identity as real deviations? There remains, moreover, the other difficulty inherent in the 'system' itself. In all the terms of the system, in many categories belonging to the so-called tense forms, the process may express not only 'an aspect', but also a temporal idea, and in many cases it has both functions simultaneously: all temporal forms express also an aspect. There is further the a priori probability of 'exceptions', that is to say of a certain residue of rarer and intractable uses which at a given stage of development represent relics of a previous system or germs of what is to come.

These considerations cannot however nullify the outcome of a philological investigation into the functions of the verbal forms under discussion: if in a given period or corpus of literature the imperfect is always characterized by what for the sake of brevity may be called duration or at least is never characterized by non-duration and if the aorist indic. is in relation to the imperfect negative or neutral, we may draw the inference that the basic notion of durativeness is more clearly developed in the present than the fundamental idea of nondurativeness ('punctuality') in the aorist. This conclusion is not only by itself of linguistic importance from the 'synchronic' point of view. It may also be used as an element in reconstructing, be it by way of hypothesis, an historical development of the pertinent facts. If it fits in well and helps to build a reasonable theory, its own credibility increases. The difficulty however remains that a philological examination of the functions of verbal forms in ancient texts, however scrupulously conducted, can never achieve complete reliability and never be absolutely free from subjective decisions. But only those who love their ease or are lacking in courage will desist from any investigation because of the possibility of imperfections inhering in the application of the methods¹²⁶ or limit themselves to censure and easy criticism.

¹²⁶ That the early stages of child language may reveal to us the remedy for these difficulties as is held by Kahane, in *Language*, 32, p. 328 f., seems rather improbable.

So much for the study of aspects in general. A brief mention may now be made of the interrelation between aspect and 'Aktionsart' (objective modifications of the verbal idea), especially in connection with the role of the verbal prefixes. Until the present day some vagueness in books on I.E. syntax has not rarely attached to the functions of these elements and to those of compound verbs which are often regarded as partly 'lexical', partly aspectual, i.e. partly 'objective', partly 'subjective'. As already stated some views of these elements – e.g. of the German *ga-* – pronounced by leading authorities are open to criticism.

According to Vinogradov¹²⁷ – who describes the Russian imperfective as expressive of the process in progress, not "narrowed" by any idea of limitation,¹²⁸ the perfective as limited or concentrated in some 'limit' of its progress, as concentrating attention at one of the moments of the process as its limitation – the grammatical tendency to combine forms belonging to the same root and to establish correlative pairs of aspectual categories conflicts, in Russian, with another tendency which is perceptible in the lexical sphere, to produce, mainly by means of verbal prefixes, many different verbs which are to express different processes or different nuances of one process. This lexical trend is in the sphere of grammar counteracted by the 'grammaticalisation' of the prefixes which tends to make them elements of the system of aspectual correlations. The links of the chains of verbs developing in the lexical sphere are in the sphere of grammar tied together in pairs. Thus verbal suffixes which in an earlier period helped to express 'quantitative' nuances (i.e. those of frequency of action, habitual action, interrupted iteration etc.) developed, in the course of time, into markers of qualitativity, i.e. of aspect.¹²⁹

With regard to the verbal compounds the existence of a productive imperfective class (with the *-yva-/-iva-* suffix) which does not correlate to perfective forms and express nuances of '*kratnost*' or, in general, of quantity, must, it is true, be conceded. It comprises for instance so-called durative-comitatives (*prigovarivatʹ* "to say often as it were incidentally"), durative-distributives (*raschaživatʹ* "to pace up and down"), etc. The

¹²⁷ Vinogradov, *o.c.*, p. 497 ff. See also V. V. Vinogradov, E. S. Istrina etc., *Gramm. russk. jazyka*, I (Moscow, 1960), p. 424.

¹²⁸ According to the definition given by Braun, *o.c.*, p. 95, the imperfective is a verb "das die Handlung (= "process") entweder als ausdrücklich nicht abgeschlossen, in der Fortdauer begriffen, bezeichnet oder die Frage der Abgeschlossenheit oder Nicht-abgeschlossenheit als unwesentlich offen lässt".

¹²⁹ As long as a class of verbs (e.g. the *-a-*derivatives: *padati*, *stopati*, etc.) which go back to common Balto-Slavonic (see Van Wijk, in *I.F.*, 53, p. 196 ff.) is limited to a definite semantic group without consistently expressing the same aspect it cannot be said to constitute a member of the aspect system.

prefixes employed are *vy-*, *na-* and *ot-*, the first forming effectives, the second helping to express the ideas of weakening or incompleteness, the third adding an effective-intensive nuance to the verb.¹³⁰ These suffixes may retain their lexical meaning without being a grammatical means of expressing aspectual differences.¹³¹ As a rule however the *impf.* – which is the unqualified member of the oppositional system – is perfectivized by a prefix. But apart from perfectivization – which is an ‘aspectual’ notion – a prefix, which usually has, in addition, its lexical value,¹³² often achieves a semantic shift. Thus the prefixation is characterized by two opposite trends: the prefix serves, on the one hand, to distinguish and complicate lexical meanings; on the other, it helps to produce purely aspectual forms. In particular cases it is often difficult to decide how far the process of “grammaticalization” has made progress or reached its completion. The prefix *po-* has progressed considerably in the process of denudation of its individual meaning, but generally speaking the idea formed of the way in which the ‘duration’ of the process is limited varies according to the prefix chosen. What must in any case be borne in mind is that only if there is lexical synonymy a pair of verbs may be considered to constitute aspectual opposites.¹³³ Unfortunately temporal nuances in the lexical sphere and aspectual nuances in the grammatical sphere have often been confused in the relevant literature.¹³⁴ Terms such as ‘incohatives’ have been incorrectly used or their application has caused confusion when the imperfective and perfective members of a pair convey the same incohative sense. ‘Incohativeness’ is not *per se* a variety of a definite aspect or, in general, a question of aspect. ‘Incohativeness’ and completion are supplementary nuances which strictly speaking lie outside the aspectual sphere.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ P. K. Kovalev, “Funkcii glagol’nych prefiksov v russk. lit. jazyke”, *Russk. jazyk v škole*, 1940, 1-4.

¹³¹ It may be recalled to mind that the intensive prepositional prefixes retain in many cases their ‘original’ (local) sense also; their intensive meaning is unmistakably connected with the latter. See K. v. Garnier-Moewes, *Die Präposition als sinnverstärkendes Präfix im Rigveda, in den homer. Ged. und in ... Plautus und Terenz*, Diss. Heidelberg 1906, p. 64.

¹³² A survey of the Slavonic ‘prepositions’ may be found in Entwistle and Morison, *o.c.*, p. 154 ff.

¹³³ See also G. K. Ul’janov, *Značenijs glagol. osn. v. lit. slav. jaz.* (Warsaw, 1895), II, p. 56, who however like other scholars mixed up ‘empty’ and ‘strong’ preverbs.

¹³⁴ The fact that a considerable part of the compounds do not, from the point of view of aspect, correlate to the corresponding simplicia is not rarely neglected.

¹³⁵ See also Potebnja, *Iz zapisok...*, IV, p. 16. However, these nuances are not necessarily lexical in nature; they may also pertain to the contextual use of verbs. It is on the other hand true that these modifications of the central lexical meaning are not expressed formally.

Now the problem arises why a prefix perfectivizes a simplex even when the simplex does not constitute an imperfective opposite to that perfective compound. The answer given by Fortunatov and others – the prefix does not only modify the meaning, but determines also, in the sphere of grammar, the course of the process, or the way in which it takes place in time – is unsatisfactory, because this ‘determination’ is not identical with ‘perfectivity’, however much it limits or modifies the range of semantic applicability of the verb, however much it may make it more suited to form part of definite constructions (‘transitivization’ etc.). Only when the ‘duration’ inherent in the simplex is eliminated the compound may be considered to enter into an aspectual relation to the simplex. ‘Duration’ in this connection does not mean “continuance in time”, but “development”: “La durée du procès, c’est son développement, son hétérogénéité intérieure ou bien sa reprise, sa répétition, bref, c’est la variété ou la multiplicité du procès. Pour penser la durée on se place ‘dans’ le procès et l’on assiste seulement à son développement, sans en voir ni le début ni la fin.”¹³⁶ Eliminating ‘duration’ means suppressing either the “variété intérieure” of the process or its “multiplicité extérieure”, because ‘duration’ may result from the multiplication of the process – e.g. Russ. *on rybit drova* viewed as an habitual or professional occupation: “he cuts wood (as a woodcutter)” – or from the variety of the elements of the process (the same sentence denoting a man’s occasional action: “he is cutting wood”). As the ‘image’ of the process varies in accordance with the objects which it joins or evokes, a verb may, in principle, admit of a plurality of perfectives. Generally speaking these differ in prefixes, but one and the same prefix may also express different meanings.

The process of elimination of ‘duration’ and the way in which a ‘strong’ prefix comes to be a mere marker of the perfective aspect would be worthy of very detailed investigations. According to Karcevski¹³⁷ “les attitudes psychologiques dans l’opération de la perfectivation peuvent être rame-

¹³⁶ S. Karcevski, “Remarques sur la psychologie des aspects en russe”, in *Mélanges de linguistique offerts à Ch. Bally* (Genève, 1939), p. 235, and, by the same author, *Système du verbe russe*, Thesis Genève 1927, p. 92 ff. Cf. also Braun, *o.c.*, p. 99: “Bei der impft. Auffassung versetzt sich der Sprechende mitten in den zeitlichen Ablauf der Dinge hinein, er betrachtet die Handlung sozusagen aus ihr selbst heraus. Sie erscheint dabei notwendig als ein mehr oder weniger ausgedehnter Vorgang, dessen Endpunkte im allgemeinen ausserhalb des Blickfeldes bleiben. ... Bei der pft. Auffassung wird die Handlung von auszen, aus dem zeitlichen Nachher betrachtet und schrumpft dabei in einer Art perspektivischer Verkürzung zusammen.” We might compare Greek instances such as Plato, *Apol.* 39 B ταῦτα μὲν που ἴσως οὕτως καὶ ἔδει σχεῖν καὶ οἶμαι αὐτὰ μετρίως ἔχειν.

¹³⁷ Karcevski, *o.c.*, p. 231 ff.

nées à trois attitudes typiques. Ce sont: 1^o réduction linéaire; 2^o totalisation et 3^o réduction à l'unité du geste." Those of Karcevski's observations which are of special interest in connection with the matter at issue may be repeated here. In the first case a process which may be seen as a 'line' is reduced to a minimum; "ce qu'il y a partout d'essentiel, c'est que toute la variété intérieure du procès est négligée au profit de quelque caractère unique." In the second case "la perfectivisation résulte de la totalisation d'une multiplicité de mouvements". "Un examen approfondi permet de ramener les diverses valeurs des préfixes aux significations des prépositions. Ainsi *po-* atténuatif nous renvoie à la préposition distributive..."¹³⁸ "Il est plus que probable que la valeur perfective des préfixaux dépend entièrement du caractère doublement concret de leurs valeurs sémantique et transitive. Car la perfectivisation d'un procès n'est autre chose que la concentration de notre attention sur l'un des moments concrets du procès à l'exclusion de tous les autres, d'où l'illusion que le procès perfectif n'a point de durée..."¹³⁹

It may in addition to the above be recalled that the "préverbes vides"¹⁴⁰ which are generally speaking the grammatical means of creating perfectives must not be considered to form words; they form forms. They may according to the view upheld by Vinogradov¹⁴¹ become 'vide' as a result of an incidental shift of the lexical sense of the compound verb; in connection with other verbs however the same prefix may remain strong or 'plein'. In verbs of a definite morphological structure the loss of the real, lexical sense of the prefix is however constant and regular.

It should moreover be pointed out, first that even a very detailed classification will fail to comprise all semantic nuances achieved by the addition of prefixes, that therefore those classifications which have been proposed are open to criticism, and in the second place that also the Russian grammarians themselves have until recent times disagreed with each other in respect of particulars. Šachmatov for instance held the perfective to have two basic functions, viz. expression of the resultative and determination (i.e. limitation or interruption of duration by means

¹³⁸ With regard to the third "attitude psychologique" the author observes (p. 239 f.) that the name of these perfectives in *-nyť* which are in question here ('momentariness'), should not lead us astray: "que la suppression de la pluralité du procès supprime pour ainsi dire ses dimensions temporelles, et qu'inversément le développement du procès fasse penser à son étendue dans le temps, c'est là un phénomène secondaire, l'idée du temps résultant du mouvement." The perfective force of these verbs resides, not in the suffix, but in the root which rests on an exclamation.

¹³⁹ Karcevski, *Système*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁰ For this term see also J. Vendryes, *Le langage* (Paris, 1921), p. 98ff.; 200 ff.

¹⁴¹ Vinogradov, *o.c.*, p. 533 ff.

of the prefix *po-*), and Vinogradov¹⁴² argued that *po-* may be a 'strong' prefix: *po-kormitʹ* e.g. is no pft. beside *kormitʹ*, the simplex meaning a) "to support at one's own expense"; b) "to serve as a means of subsistence"; *po-kormitʹ* "to give something as food". Further, beside the aspectual forms of the verbs there are analytical constructions, the use of which is not always easy to distinguish from that of the aspects. Whereas e.g. the 'ingressive' prefixes *za-* and *po-* are used if the beginning of a process is to be represented as involuntary, the analytical construction is resorted to when the process is willed by a living subject.

In his enlightening article on the psychology of the Russian aspects Karcevski, making also some observations with regard to the problem of the function of perfectivization in general, added some words by way of attempt to ascertain "en quoi consiste l'utilité de la perfectivisation et à quelle nécessité elle répond".¹⁴³ Processes are in thought represented either as successive or as simultaneous. In the first case "on est toujours en présence d'un seul fait à la fois ..., la durée n'a rien à faire ici, ce qui importe, c'est précisément de marquer les limites de chaque fait ...". "Les procès perfectifs sont justement les procès situés sur l'axe de la succession." In the other case processes may co-exist, run parallel, be juxtaposed. "Si sur l'axe de la succession chaque procès réduit son étendue temporelle au minimum, et dans le cas, limite, à zéro, dans la non-succession ... l'unité temporelle peut se dilater indéfiniment." The present which for those who make use of a language broadly speaking is the moment of speaking is, though theoretically a zero-line, experienced more intensively than the past or the future. Hence the special importance of the moment of speaking, 'the linguistic present'. With regard to the past and the future the imperfective expresses the facts without any relation to the present because it implies the real moment of their occurrence. The perfective which does not imply the exact moment may indicate the facts in relation to the present. "Les formes temporelles des imperfectifs, capables qu'elles sont d'exprimer le présent, ne l'impliquent point dans la valeur de leurs prétérit et futur. Chez les perfectifs la situation est inverse." However, the perfective may also express a process which does not relate to the present if the absence of this relation is made explicit. The uses of the impf. are ruled by the idea of co-existence or non-succession (complete parallelism, repetition, etc.). If the idea of repetition coincides with that of succession, the impf. is preferred if

¹⁴² Vinogradov, *o.c.*, p. 521 ff.

¹⁴³ Karcevski, in *Mélanges-Bally*, p. 245 ff.

psychologically speaking the former is emphasized, the pft. (pres.-fut.) if the latter is the more prominent.

It seems worth while to draw attention also to the study of the Polish 'aspects' and 'Aktionsarten' by Agrell,¹⁴⁴ who as early as 1908 observed that "die Präfixe dem Verbum keine eigentlich neue Bedeutung (geben), sondern nur bezeichnen wie die Handlung vollendet wird". They are (a) capable of giving the verb a completely new meaning; they (b) mark the completion (Vollendung) of the process without indicating particulars as to how it is completed (aspect: "durch die Präfixierung ist nur ein Hinweis auf dem Moment der Vollendung hinzugebracht"); they (c) indicate how the process is performed (Aktionsart: "das Präfix markiert näher wie die Handlung ausgeführt wird"). An example may be added in illustration of this: the four compounds of *kończyć* with *u-*, *do-*, *za-*, *s-* are not completely synonymous, the last mentioned being aspectual, the others expressive of 'Aktionsarten'. The sentence *skończył swoją pracę w domu* means "er hat seine Arbeit zu Hause beendet", leaving out of consideration "ob er die ganze Arbeit dort vollendet hat (which is indicated by the parallel form with *u-*), ob er dort den Rest (indicated by the prefix *do-*) oder die letzte definitive Vervollkommnung (denoted by *za-*) abgeschlossen hat". "Bei *skończyć* wird nur der Punkt der Vollendung ohne Berücksichtigung der vorhergehenden Handlung fixiert." That is to say: *s-* perfectivizes *u-*, *do-*, *za-* effect a slight semantic modification intimating how the process takes place in order to reach its close.

There are grounds for supposing that the use of compound verbs to express modifications of the verbal idea in the lexical sphere must have increased in that prehistoric period in which the I.E. languages had lost contact with each other; that is to say: in Orig. I.E. the possibilities of verbal composition do not seem to have been actualized to a considerable extent.¹⁴⁵ As compared to the later periods of the same language the numbers of compound verbs are generally speaking rather limited in the early sources¹⁴⁶; the compounds are, e.g. in Homer and in the Veda, rather unstable, they often have not yet assumed their definitive

¹⁴⁴ Agrell, *Aspektänderung und Aktionsartbildung*, p. 1 ff.

¹⁴⁵ The opposite view was pronounced by Hirt (*Indogerm. Gramm.*, VI, p. 233), whose attempt to explain the double sense of aorists such as Gr. ἔβαλε ("he shot" and "he hit") by the loss of a prefix (p. 230) is utterly improbable. Cf. also W. Porzig, in *I.F.*, 45, p. 153.

¹⁴⁶ See my paper "Quelques observations sur l'emploi du verbe simple 'au lieu d'un composé' etc. dans la langue sanskrite", *Acta Orientalia*, 20, p. 167 ff.

and unalterable form, cases of so-called tmesis etc. being frequent.¹⁴⁷ Ancient compound verbal abstracts containing preverbs are moreover, in Greek, rather rare: when this type of words multiplied the large majority of the verbs from which they derive must have been simplicia¹⁴⁸; the type ἐφορμή, ἀντολαί occurring in the Odyssey, not in the Iliad, and compounds such as διάλογος etc. being post-Homeric. In the course of time the possibilities residing in verbal compositions were to a greater or lesser extent exploited. As the other functions of the prefixes must, broadly speaking, have arisen from their lexical function, the conclusion is warranted that on the whole the expressions of Aktionsarten and of varieties in the aspectual sphere by means of verbal composition is¹⁴⁹ a comparatively recent phenomenon.

There does not seem to be much use in discussing and criticizing the attempts undertaken to explain the role of the prefixes in all ancient I.E. tongues. Let it suffice to observe that not a few articles laboured under methodical¹⁵⁰ or terminological¹⁵¹ mistakes, confusion of ideas and vague or hasty generalizations.¹⁵² It is for instance an unreasonable supposition that all prefixes are, in this respect, of equal force and value.¹⁵³ Special mention may only be made of the relation between a compound and the non-durative or aoristic aspect. Several scholars made a practice of taking the syntactic interchangeability of these two categories – or as they would prefer to express themselves: their aspectual equivalence – for granted. Hirt¹⁵⁴ for instance, in discussing the tendency of the Greek language¹⁵⁵ to prefer aorists in compound verbs, seems to regard these forms and prefixation as completely equivalent to each other, both of them expressing the ‘perfektive Aktionsart’. I would rather consider this trend to be due to a cumulative effort to express objectively as well as

¹⁴⁷ See e.g. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, II² (Basel, 1928), p. 156; 171 ff. I do not include here the syntactic functions of the ‘prepositions’.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Meillet, in *B.S.L.*, 25, p. 123 ff.

¹⁴⁹ In spite of Hartmann’s (*K.Z.*, 48, p. 14) opposite view.

¹⁵⁰ E.g. E. Purdie, “The ‘perfective’ Aktionsart (read: aspect) in Polybius”, *I.F.*, 9, p. 61 ff. (who does not distinguish between the function of the tense stem by itself and that of the preverbs).

¹⁵¹ Thus e.g. in spite of many valuable observations (e.g. prefixation leaves the aspects intact, but helps to express nuances within the aspectual framework): H. Meltzer, “Vermeintliche Perfektivierung durch präpositionale Zusammensetzung im Griechischen”, *I.F.*, 12 (1901), p. 319 ff.

¹⁵² E.g. A. Thumb, “Zur Aktionsart (read: Aspekt) der mit Präpositionen zusammeng. Verba im Griech.”, *I.F.*, 27, p. 195 ff.

¹⁵³ Otherwise: Streitberg, in *P.B.B.*, 15, p. 80 f.

¹⁵⁴ Hirt, *Idg. Gramm.*, VI, p. 235.

¹⁵⁵ See e.g. Schlachter, in *I.F.*, 24, p. 203 ff. and Thumb, *ibid.*, 27, p. 195 ff.

subjectively a certain complex 'nuance'. Thus in ε 414 καὶ οὐ πως ἔστι πόδεςσιν / στήμεναι ἀμφοτέροισι ἐκφυγέειν κακότητα "so that in no wise it is possible to plant both feet firmly and escape ruin" (Murray) the aoristic aspect – "duration is left out of consideration" – combines with the idea of "forth from, out of" added to the sense of the verb. In the next verse the same prefix joins a present stem; attention is focused on the process in progress as well as the fact that the action of going in fact is a going out or a leaving: μή πώς μ' ἐκβαίνοντα βάλλῃ λίθακι προτὶ πέτρῃ / κύμα μέγ' ἀρπάξων "haply were I to seek to land, a great wave may seize me and dash me against the jagged rock".¹⁵⁶ Cf. also cases such as Arist. Av. 1152 τὰ ξύλινα τοῦ τείχους τίνες / ἀπειργάσαντο "have completed, brought to perfection". The much discussed example Xen. Hell. 1, 6, 16 καταφεύγει must not be considered to be identical with a simple aorist¹⁵⁷; the compound means "he flees (pres.) all the way to (κατα-)"¹⁵⁸ or, rather, he "made an attempt to flee all the way to..." because he did not safely reach Mytilene's coast, for which he steered his course; whereas ἀπέφυγον in 17 literally expresses the idea of "they escaped (aor.) away (ἀπο-)": Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις ... καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην. ... Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων. ... Κόνων δ' ὥς ἔφθῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθεῖς, ἡναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι ... καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δ' ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον¹⁵⁹ The proportionally large number of aorists of compounds with ἀπο-, ἐκ- etc. may be due to the very character of the modifications occasioned by these prefixes; special emphasis is by their help laid on nuances of place, position, direction or

¹⁵⁶ A Latin example may be subjoined: Cato, Agr. 5, 7 *opera omnia mature conficias* ("carry out") *face. nam res rustica sic est, si unam rem sero feceris omnia opera sero facies* ("do"). Preverbs expressing the idea of "through, to the end" may inversely combine with (neutral) aorist stems: Xen. Cyr. 5, 1, 2 τοῦτον ἐκέλευσε διαφυλάξαι αὐτῷ τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν σκηνήν; Dem. Phil. 1, 15 τίς ... παρασκευὴ ... διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται, ἕως ἄν ... διαλυσώμεθα τὸν πόλεμον.

¹⁵⁷ Brugmann, *Griech. Grammatik*², § 154.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. e.g. also Thuc. 3, 23, 4 καθεωρῶντο.

¹⁵⁹ The study of the function of the preverbs by J. Brunel, *L'aspect verbal et l'emploi des préverbes en Grec*, Thesis Paris 1939, was disadvantageously affected by the author's ignorance, at the moment of writing, of the foreign literature on his subject which he frankly avowed in an article entitled "L'aspect et l'ordre de procès" en Grec" published in *B.S.L.*, 42 (1946), p. 43 ff., in which he made, among other things, an attempt to ascertain the function of the preverbs more precisely: they play a part in expressing "l'ordre de procès"; loss of 'semantic individuality' does not necessarily mean assumption of a grammatical (aspectual) function. It is regrettable that J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*² (Paris, 1954), who in his chapter on "l'aspect et les préverbes" (p. 330 ff.) subscribes to the views pronounced in Brunel's thesis, should have ignored the latter's article in *B.S.L.*, 42.

degree and often also on the end, aim or object of the process ('determination'), or generally on explicit or implicit nominal ideas which might associate with the ideas expressed by the preverbs (κατά of direction towards an object or purpose, ἀπό in the sense of "away from" or "off, finishing off" etc.), not on particulars and circumstances illustrating the progress and development of the process itself.¹⁶⁰ Often the speaker does not need, or wish, to dwell on duration or development which are a matter of minor importance in the context. When the aspectual force of the verbal categories weakens, the 'terminative', punctual or determinative value of the prefix gains in importance, developing into a means of marking or emphasizing certain stages or specific points of the development of the process, such as, e.g., conclusion, termination, attaining an end, leading to a result, transition from movement to rest, coming into a definite situation, etc. Thus these compounds may, in a sense, replace – on the lexical niveau – the aspects.¹⁶¹ Lat. *conticuit* "he became still" in which the intransformative verb invites attention to the initial moment of the process of "keeping silence" and the preverb intimates that (the beginning of) the process is "realized, or an accomplished fact" came to serve as a translation of Gr. ἐσίγησα.

A comparative study of the preverb as a means of expressing subtle nuances and modifications should include the relevant phenomena in Modern Greek.¹⁶² In this language many prefixes have come to be capable of specifying or limiting the value of the simple verb – leaving aside those cases in which these elements add another meaning to the simple verb or modify the general idea which it expresses. Thus δια- is, generally speaking, used to limit a process to a particular case: δια-βλέπω "to catch a glimpse of": βλέπω "to see"; ἀπο- however marks not so much the limitation of the process as the end envisaged, the completion or exhaustion: ἀπογερνῶ "to complete getting old, to have become completely old": γερνῶ "to grow old"; κατα- marks the end or the completion of a process: καταπεῖθω "to convince"; περι- conveys an augmentation or intensive meaning; συν- completion, result or re-

¹⁶⁰ It is in this connection worth mentioning that in a verbal compound the force of the prefix may come to play a dominant role or the compound may assume a sense in which the prefix has a preponderant influence: Plaut. Trin. 807 *diem conficimus* "we let time go by; we are killing time"; Capt. 673 *opes confecisti omnes* ("destroy completely"). Extreme instances are Dutch *afklimmen* "to descend" (*klimmen* "to climb"); Skt. *prati-muc-* "to put on, fix, fasten" (*muc-* "to loose") etc.

¹⁶¹ Brugmann's term 'Ersatz' is however the exponent of another way of thinking (*Kurze vergl. Gramm.*, Strassburg, 1903, p. 564). Cf. also K. v. Garnier-Moewes, *I.F.*, 25, p. 86.

¹⁶² See A. Mirambel, in *The Link*, 1, p. 48 ff.

inforcement. Thus these functions are not – or no longer are – fulfilled by suffixes but by verbal prefixes which mark definite nuances and modifications which are not proper to the simple verb.

Passing mention may also be made of the Celtic verbal prefixes or verbal particles, indicating, among other things, that a process is perfect or completed.¹⁶³ The system of these ‘perfectischen Präverbia’ has, however, to cite Holger Pedersen,¹⁶⁴ “mit der in gewissen idg. Sprachen ... vorkommenden Unterscheidung eines perfektiven [“Handlung à terme fixe”] und eines imperfektiven Aspekts absolut nichts zu tun”. The Celtic particle *ro*, which is in origin the I.E. preposition *pro* “forward, farther”, occasionally came to have the meaning “up to the end of”: Celt. *saigid* “goes towards, goes with (in speech)”: *ro-saig* “reaches”. Hence this element might well be used to denote completed action. And so might the similarly used OIr. *ad* lit. “thereto, thereunto” and *com* lit. “together, completely” which has some interesting points in common with its Latin relative.¹⁶⁵ These particles are also compounded with present forms when these denote habitual action. Whilst intelligible by itself this feature – which is not peculiar to Celtic – shows that they are no markers of a perfective aspect.

The study of the non-temporal and non-modal functions of the Latin verbal forms – which has long been a preponderatingly French activity – has, as already observed, also greatly suffered from the tendency to find, in the tongue of Rome, the categories of Greek or Russian.¹⁶⁶ Opposing the inclination of his predecessors to take the existence, in this language, of a more or less constant aspectual distinction between imperfective simplicia and perfective composita for granted, van der Heyde,¹⁶⁷ subjecting the verbal composition itself to a thorough investigation, found that the Latin preverbs are not a grammatical means of indicating the degree of completion of the process expressed by the simple verb. It is on the contrary their task to qualify the condition or action of

¹⁶³ See e.g. H. Pedersen, *Vergl. Gramm. der keltischen Sprachen*, II (Göttingen, 1913), p. 261 ff.; R. Thurneysen, *A grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946), p. 339 ff.

¹⁶⁴ Pedersen, *o.c.*, II, p. 282.

¹⁶⁵ See also E. Ahlman, *Über das Lat. Präfix com- in Verbalzusammensetzungen*, Thesis Helsingfors 1916, p. 3 f.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Meillet, “De l’expression de l’aoriste en latin”, *Revue de Philologie*, 21, p. 81 ff.; M. Barone, *Sui verbi perfettivi in Plauto e in Terenzio* (Rome, 1908) (who considered it his task to trace ‘puntuatività’ and ‘perfettività’); D. Barbelenet, *De l’aspect verbal en latin ancien et particulièrement dans Térence* (Paris, 1913) (disfigured by unwarranted *a priori* assumptions). Terminological confusion also detracted from the importance of K. H. Meyer’s study *Perfektive, imperfektive und perfektische Aktionsart im Lat.* (Leipzig, 1918).

¹⁶⁷ Van der Heyde, *Composita en verbaal aspect*.

the subject expressed by the simple verb, or to connect the action of the subject with a term to which this action relates. The study of the Latin verbal compounds is therefore, strictly speaking, a matter of lexicography, not of syntax. Rejecting the doctrine that the Latin perfect is a “temps présent”¹⁶⁸ or that it indicates that at the moment of speaking the process has reached its close (“procès accompli”),¹⁶⁹ van der Heyde adduces a sufficiency of examples to show that its main function is, in Ancient Latin, to state a fact as a transient peculiarity of the subject belonging to the past, in contradistinction to the pres. and imperf. which are chiefly used to relate a fact to the condition of the subject. The perfect does not, according to this scholar, express that the process has, at the moment of speaking, ceased to take place, but the speaker who does not by means of a pres. relate it to the condition in which the subject is at the moment of speaking, indicates that the process belongs to the past; by not using the impf. he does not relate it either to the subject’s condition at a definite moment in the past and so he presents the process as having reached its close.¹⁷⁰ So it may be said that an aspectual function is concomitant with the temporal function. Whereas for instance Plaut. Epid. 135 *illam amabam olim, nunc iam alia cura impendet pectori* means “I loved her formerly; now, another love threatens my heart”; Merc. 264 *amavi hercle equidem ego olim in adolescentia* comes to “I have once been in love before, of course, when I was young” (in Dutch: “ik ben wel eens verliefd geweest ...”). That some compounds are by preference, some even exclusively, used when the process is represented as completed, is due to the fact that their ‘original’, i.e. their local, sense enables them to express the result or consequence of the process denoted by the simple verb: this is no matter of aspect. It should however be noticed that van der Heyde was exclusively interested in the relation between compounds and simple verbs in the works of one early author. A closer investigation into the Latin past tenses will no doubt bring to light an intricate interplay of tense, Aktionsart and aspect.¹⁷¹ The perfect may e.g. express ‘fixed

¹⁶⁸ Meillet, in *Revue de Philologie*, 21, p. 81 f.

¹⁶⁹ Meillet-Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée* (Paris, 1924), p. 283 ff.; in the second edition (1948, p. 261 ff.) the latter author does not appear to have noticed v. d. Heyde’s criticism.

¹⁷⁰ Van der Heyde, *o.c.*, p. 101.

¹⁷¹ H. Reinhold, “Zum lat. Verbalaspekt”, *K.Z.*, 74 (1956), p. 1 ff., arrives at the conclusion that Latin admits of an “Einteilung der Verbalinhalte in solche, bei denen der Endpunkt ihres Ablaufs gewöhnlich in den Blickpunkt des Sprechenden tritt, und solche, bei denen dies gewöhnlich nicht der Fall ist. Für die ersteren ist der pft. Aspekt das Natürliche, für die letzteren der impft., wobei der impft. Aspekt das merkmallöse Glied der Opposition darstellt. ... Die wichtigsten Bedeutungsverschiebungen im Lat. sind: auffälliger impft. Aspekt erhält die Bedeutungen iterativ, emphatisch, kinetisch-

duration': Caes. B.G. 1, 48, 4 *A. his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit*, 'fixierte Leistung': 1, 37, 5 *itaque re frumentaria, quam celerrime potuit, comparata*, etc.

After this original and methodically sound study of the Dutch Latinist, Hofmann¹⁷² unfortunately preferred to follow the beaten track; other handbooks,¹⁷³ to their detriment, did not even mention van der Heyde's book.

From what has in the above pages been said on the subjective character of 'aspect' and the objective nature of 'Aktionsart' it will be apparent that the differences often are very subtle. Not only do phenomena of both orders not rarely concur to express definite nuances of the process, 'Aktionsarten' may also force themselves to the front and come to replace, to a certain extent, aspectual modifications. The greater length and 'weight' of many Aktionsart categories, the special force of the prefixes which often are at the same time independent and oft recurring words with a meaning and a function of their own and, not rarely, their analyzability may in addition to the weakening sense of the subtleties expressed by the aspectual distinctions and the growing importance of the temporal functions of the aspectual categories¹⁷⁴ have been some of the factors which influenced this process. Here also change and substitution have been slow in developing. Definite peculiarities of the Modern Greek system had, for instance, already incidentally cast their shadows before in much earlier times.¹⁷⁵ What this signifies to the student of Ancient Indian or Classical Greek is immediately evident: there is a priori every probability of finding a considerable number of more or less exceptional or marginal cases which do not fit in well with the ideas we have about what is 'normal' in a given period of a definite language.

Turning now to the question as to which method should be adopted in investigating into the general ideas expressed and functions fulfilled by the verbal forms it will appear to the present author to be recommendable to make a serious attempt consistently and systematically to distin-

expressiv, auffälliger pft. Aspekt veranlaszt die Bedeutungen ingressiv, fixierte Dauer, fixierte Leistung."

¹⁷² [M. Leumann-J. B. Hofmann, *Lat. Grammatik*⁵ (München, 1928), p. 551.

¹⁷³ E.g. F. Blatt, *Précis de syntaxe latine* (Lyon, 1952); A. Ernout-F. Thomas, *Syntaxe latine* (Paris, 1953), p. 216 ff.; L. R. Palmer, *The Latin language* (London, 1954), p. 265 f. J. B. Hofmann – who interprets van der Heyde's 'aspect' as 'Aktionsart' – while making some valuable critical observations on particulars and detecting some shortcomings and inadvertences unjustly rejected the author's conclusions.

¹⁷⁴ See my *Character of the I.E. moods* (Wiesbaden, 1956), ch. III; and M. Cohen, *Sociologie du langage* (Paris, 1956), p. 158.

¹⁷⁵ See P. Chantraine, in *B.S.L.*, 40 (1938), p. 69.

guish between the lexical meanings of the verbs themselves; the special functions of the individual form classes as such; the special sense or function of additional elements (prefixes etc.) if there are any; the implications of context and situation¹⁷⁶; a point which, moreover, may not be overlooked concerns the problem as to how far the hearer or reader – and in case of a foreign or ancient language also the foreign or modern reader – is apt to add something of his own to the sense expressed by the verb or by the phrase in which it occurs or even to ‘reinterpret’ these in the light of the verbal system to which he himself is accustomed. It would, in the second place, be a sound method to start our investigations with a ‘synchronic’ study of a rather limited period, region or – in languages such as Sanskrit – also of a well-defined style type. Too often authors have overlooked the a priori probability of the existence of considerable points of difference between different periods of the same language – for instance between Homeric, Attic and Hellenistic Greek – and even between individual authors living in the same period.¹⁷⁷ The results of a philological and ‘synchronic’ study of the relevant facts belonging to different languages and periods should eventually be co-ordinated and arranged in a chronological perspective. As far as the lexical meanings of the verbs and other elements (prefixes) are concerned the methods to be adopted are those of synchronic and diachronic semantics. These methods may however be adapted to the study of the grammatical functions of the relevant verbal forms which is designed to find an answer to the question as to how far these functions have modified the semantic kernel of the verbs themselves. In so doing attention may also be paid to the possibility of functional as well as semantic change¹⁷⁸ in consequence of a frequent use of definite forms in the same phrases or contexts. That in studying dead languages it will as a result of the comparative scantiness of the material and the defectiveness of the tradition often be impossible to conform to the requirements implied in this method is self-evident. The number of occurrences of many verbal forms is too limited to allow us to decide whether in a given text they have a common and usual or extraordinary and context-bound sense

¹⁷⁶ This suggestion is different from the thought expressed by O. Jespersen, *Philosophy of Grammar* (London, 1924), p. 286 ff., who attempts to distinguish the following four possible expressions for “aspects”: the ordinary meaning of the verb; its occasional meaning as occasioned by context and situation; a derivative suffix; a tense-form. Cf. however also p. 268.

¹⁷⁷ For change in the historical period of the Slavonic languages see e.g. N. van Wijk, in *I.F.*, 45, p. 90.

¹⁷⁸ See e.g. S. Ullmann, *The principles of semantics* (Glasgow, 1951), p. 181 f.; the same, *Précis de sémantique française* (Paris-Berne, 1952), p. 243.

or whether they could fulfill also other functions than the particular one which we more or less successfully determine on the strength of a few text-places. In many cases we shall have to acquiesce in a *non liquet*.

In reading the grammars of the Sanskrit language one cannot suppress a feeling of disappointment because of the absence of any adequate observation on the expression of aspect and 'Aktionsart'. That Whitney's¹⁷⁹ excellent book, which appeared 80 years ago when this category did not yet attract the attention of all scholars and which, moreover, does not include chapters on syntax, is silent on this point, is no matter of special surprise. What is said about the use of the imperfect and the aorist relates to their temporal functions, not to aspect, which is in the paragraph discussing the use of the non-indicative modes entirely overlooked: "the uses of the aorist mode-forms appear to accord with those of the mode-forms of the present-system". In Thumb's *Handbuch*¹⁸⁰ the term 'Aktionsart' (i.e. "aspect") is, it is true, mentioned, but only to remind the reader of the fact that in Orig. I.E. "die Tempusstämme nicht die Zeitstufe, sondern die sog. Aktionsart bezeichneten ... wie sich noch deutlich im Griechischen erkennen läßt". In the very recent third edition of this work¹⁸¹ this note is repeated without substantial additions or modifications. The relative remarks made by Renou¹⁸² suffer from the defect of terminological confusion signalized in my preliminary observations which led the author to believe that "la notion d'aspect n'est rendue par aucun procédé stable". The subsequent observations furnished by the same savant in his Vedic grammar¹⁸³ have no bearing on aspect proper; as far as they relate to other functions of the so-called tenses and modes they will be discussed further on. Whereas Macdonell, in his Vedic grammar,¹⁸⁴ limited himself to the note that "no Vedic tense has an imperfect meaning, while the perfect sense is generally expressed by the aorist", he is more explicit, though not completely correct, in his other book¹⁸⁵: "the imperfect", he says, "is the past tense of narration, never having any relation to the present ...; the aorist ind. ... neither describes nor indicates duration, but simply states a fact". In contra-

¹⁷⁹ W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit grammar* (1879) (⁶Leipzig, 1924), §§ 779; 926 ff.; cf. also § 582.

¹⁸⁰ A. Thumb, *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, I (Heidelberg, 1905), p. 282 f.

¹⁸¹ A. Thumb-R. Hauschild, *H. d. S.*, II, 2 (Heidelberg, 1959), p. 190.

¹⁸² L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite* (Paris, 1930), p. 137; 396.

¹⁸³ L. Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique* (Lyon, 1952), p. 364 ff.

¹⁸⁴ A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* (Strassburg, 1910), p. 312.

¹⁸⁵ A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic grammar for students* (Oxford, 1916; ³1953), p. 345.

distinction to Speyer,¹⁸⁶ the other author of a Vedic syntax, Delbrück,¹⁸⁷ touched on the aspectual function of verb forms: "Man hat die Handlung des Aorists wohl als eine momentane oder punctuelle bezeichnet. Besser kann man sagen: es kommt bei der aoristischen Aeußerung der Gesichtspunkt der Zeitdauer gar nicht in Betracht. Es wird ja nur betont, daß eine Handlung überhaupt in die Erscheinung getreten sei."

In Burrow's recent description of the Sanskrit 'tense system'¹⁸⁸ the possibility of an aspectual function is completely ignored. The relation of present-imperfect and aorist is "not at all complicated", the pres. indicating simply present time, and the impf. past time in contradistinction to this: "there exists no trace of an 'imperfect' sense in the Skt. tense of that name. ... The aorist ... is used for describing an action which has just recently been completed [this remark obviously applies to the Vedic aorist]." In this the English author is in substantial agreement with Delbrück who long ago arrived at the conclusion that in the Veda "das Impf. etwas Vergangenes erzählt" and the aorist "in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle das eben Geschehene bezeichnet".¹⁸⁹ Further on ¹⁹⁰ Burrow pronounces the view that "no serious distinction of meaning can be found in the Vedic language between the types of formation (viz. the non-indicatives) formed from the present and those from the aorist stem. As appears from an unpublished Inaugural-dissertation written by G. Buddrusz, to which we have to revert in chapter VII, Professor Karl Hoffmann has "dieses Oppositionsverhältnis im Altindischen wieder neu aufgegriffen": "In einer leider noch unveröffentlichten Arbeit, aus der er auf dem Bonner Orientalistenkongreß 1952 einige Ergebnisse mitgeteilt hat, ist es ihm gelungen, besonders durch Untersuchung des Injunktivs viel zur Klärung des vedischen Verbal-systems beizutragen. Danach dient die Opposition von Injunktiv des Präsens und Injunktiv des Aorists der Unterscheidung von imperfektivem und perfektivem Aspekt. Demgegenüber sind die 'augmentierten Injunktive', also die Indikative des Imperfekts und Aorists, für die Aspektdifferenzierung irrelevant. Sie dienen nur zum Ausdruck des Zeitstufenbezuges: der Indikativ des Aorists bezeichnet eine nahe, der Indi-

¹⁸⁶ J. S. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* (Strassburg, 1896), p. 51, § 174.

¹⁸⁷ B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax* (Halle a.S., 1888), p. 280.

¹⁸⁸ T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* (London, 1955), p. 294 ff. – J. Mansion, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanscrite* (Paris, 1931), p. 72 ff., speaks of "aspects inchoatif, causatif; aspect de la durée, aspect momentané" without going into details.

¹⁸⁹ Delbrück, *Altindische Tempuslehre* (= *Synt. Forschungen*, II) (Halle, 1876), p. 100; 88. Cf. also Whitney, *o.c.*, § 928.

¹⁹⁰ Burrow, p. 295.

kativ des Imperfekts eine entfernte Vergangenheit.” I am afraid that I cannot agree with the second part of these conclusions relating to the ‘augmented forms’. Joining Speyer W. Thomas¹⁹¹ recently pronounced the view that “im Altindischen das Impf. gebraucht (wird), wenn es gilt, der ferneren Vergangenheit angehörige Begebenheiten, die somit keine Beziehung mehr zur Gegenwart haben, zu erzählen, während der Aor. ausdrückt, daß sich etwas soeben ereignet hat. ... Im Gegensatz zu den Zeitstufen spielen im Indischen – wie auch im Iranischen – die Aspekte überhaupt keine bzw. eine nur ganz untergeordnete Rolle. Es kann höchstens von gelegentlich erkennbaren Spuren einer Aspektdifferenzierung gesprochen werden.”

Yet the importance of the question and the light it may throw on the phenomenon of aspect, ‘Aktionsart’ and ‘Zeitstufe’ in prehistoric Indo-European render it worth while to institute a closer investigation into the functions of the present and aorist stems in Vedic literature, the uses of the main verbal forms and the role played by those formative elements which have so often been discussed in the relevant books and articles on aspects etc. in the other I.E. languages. Our first task must therefore be to institute an inquiry into the occurrence of the phenomenon under discussion in the Vedic texts.

There arises moreover an interesting problem. If it is true that – to quote Thumb once more – in prehistoric times the so-called tense stems were characterized by an aspectual function, how is the fact to be explained that in the Vedic texts the “imperfect is the past tense of narration” and the aorist indicative the verbal category to express that “an action has occurred in the past with reference to the present”, or to quote Speyer, who even speaks, in this connection, of a “Grundbedeutung”: “die Grundbedeutung des [vedischen] Imperfectums ist das Erzählen vergangener Begebenheiten, welche ihre Aktualität verloren haben und also zur Geschichte gehören. Der Aorist aber soll Vergangenes erzählen, das entweder selbst oder doch in seinen Folgen noch in die Gegenwart hineinragt, also Aktuelles”. How did these functions develop from the ancient aspectual functions ascribed to the prehistoric imperfect and aorist? How are we to account for the functional peculiarities of the ancient Indian verbal stems as far as they are different from the functions ascribed to the so-called original Indo-European forms, or at least to those of the corresponding verb forms in the related languages? And how are the curious differences between the Vedic texts themselves to be explained? Is the discrepancy between the Vedic prose in which the

¹⁹¹ Thomas, *Vergangenheitstempora im Tocharischen*, p. 8.

distinction of the aor. from the impf. as tenses of narration is – to follow Whitney's¹⁹² lucid statement – closely observed, and the hymns in which the same distinction is prevalent, but less clear and less strictly maintained, indicative of a historical development or is it mainly due to stylistic differences between these bodies of literatures? And do the facts warrant the inference that in early Vedic there were no hard and fast lines between both categories of verb forms^{193?}

Another point which emerges from a perusal of the relevant literature is this: how have scholars been able to draw inferences with regard to the prehistoric period, to 'original' Indo-European, without having instituted a minute investigation into the Vedic facts and without having given an answer to the above problem? "Question de temps à part, le présent (indo-européen) indiquait" say Meillet and Vendryes,¹⁹⁴ "un procès considéré dans son développement; l'aoriste un procès pur et simple ... La différence est appréciable en indo-iranien, sans y être très nette. Elle s'est maintenue en slave. En grec, elle a pris une grande importance et s'est maintenue jusqu'en grec moderne". It will be one of our tasks to examine, in the pages which are to follow, the validity of this verdict, which is, moreover, not in agreement with the opinions pronounced by other scholars on the same problem: "der griechische Aorist entspricht der Hauptsache nach dem indogermanischen ...; das Indische dagegen hat den Gebrauch des Aorist wesentlich eingeschränkt"¹⁹⁵; "die Unterscheidung durch die Art der Stammbildung ist z.B. im Altindischen und im Griechischen bis zu einem gewissen Grad noch vorhanden; im Slavischen ist sie systematisch bis ins äußerste ausgebaut; im Germanischen ist sie fast ganz verschwunden"¹⁹⁶; "der altidg. Zustand der Unterscheidung sowohl von Aktionsarten und Aspekten wie auch von Zeitstufen ist am reinsten im Griechischen bewahrt,¹⁹⁷ wo z.B. der Aorist den perfektiven Aspekt bezeichnet. In den balt. und slav. Sprachen ist demgegenüber das System der Akt. und Asp. außerordentlich fein differenziert worden auf Kosten des Systems der Zeitstufen ..." ¹⁹⁸; "the Slavonic languages have distorted what inherited features the verb contained, and

¹⁹² Whitney, *o.c.*, § 929.

¹⁹³ F. B. J. Kuiper, *Die indogermanischen Nasalpräsentia* (Amsterdam, 1937), p. 72.

¹⁹⁴ A. Meillet et J. Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (Paris, 1948), p. 174.

¹⁹⁵ Delbrück, *Die Grundlagen der griech. Syntax* (= *Synt. Forschungen*, IV) (Halle, 1879), p. 109.

¹⁹⁶ Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, II, p. 96.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. also Palmer, *The Latin language*, p. 265.

¹⁹⁸ Krause, *Handbuch des Gotischen*, p. 201.

the state of things in Indo-Iranian or Greek, which is far less rigid, is likely to be more faithful to the most ancient types.”¹⁹⁹ Whereas therefore opinion is divided with regard to the question as to which languages remained true to the ancient usage, some authorities are inclined to associate Greek and Indo-Iranian. What however strikes us most is the incidental and superficial character of the remarks on ‘aspects’ in Indo-Iranian in some of the books and articles devoted to this subject as occurring in the other I.E. tongues and the absence of any reference to Vedic and Sanskrit in the greater part of these publications.

There is further the problem of the plurality of present categories, by which especially the Vedic phase of the Indian branch of I.E. is characterized. After some other scholars who felt inclined to assume that the formal plurality which runs parallel to Greek ‘variants’ such as μένω: μίμνω, corresponded to a semantic diversity, Bloomfield²⁰⁰ arrived at a negative conclusion. He was for some time followed by Delbrück²⁰¹ who however, in a later book,²⁰² came to the conviction that “unverkennbare Spuren des für das Idg. vermuteten Zustandes im Veda in der Tat vorhanden sind”, on the understanding that the differences are obvious only in a minority of cases. He made therefore an attempt to distinguish for instance the ‘terminative’ character – he used the term ‘Aktion’ – of the nasal classes of the present system, the iterative-intensive nature of the reduplicated class, the cursive ‘Aktion’ of the *ῥο*-class etc. Although several scholars have, more or less completely or explicitly, subscribed to his views,²⁰³ Delbrück has, especially with regard to Vedic, hardly found a successor willing to subject the entire problem of the functional differences between the present classes to a renewed examination.²⁰⁴ This question which constitutes a considerable complication of the problems of aspects and ‘Aktionsarten’ mainly concerns what usually – and especially by French scholars – is called determination: “si ... à la considération du développement de l’action s’ajoute celle d’un point remarquable quelconque de ce développement, que ce point soit initial,

¹⁹⁹ J. Humbert, “Verbal aspect”, in *The Link*, 1 (Oxford, 1938), p. 22.

²⁰⁰ M. Bloomfield, *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Oct. 1882.

²⁰¹ Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 275.

²⁰² Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 14 f.

²⁰³ See e.g. Brugmann, *K.V.G.*, p. 508; 517 etc.; H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1909), p. 301 ff.; Ernout-Thomas, *Syntaxe latine*, p. 217; Meillet’s view of the nasal class being an exception (*Le slave commun*, p. 189 f.).

²⁰⁴ For particulars with regard to the nasal classes, bibliography etc. see Kuiper, p. 202 ff.

final ou intermédiaire, l'aspect est déterminé".²⁰⁵ As already observed the term aspect should be avoided in this connection.

Questions regarding the perfect will not, in this study, be systematically discussed, first because the reader may consult Renou's monograph²⁰⁶ on this subject, and in the second place because the formal opposition between this category and the other members of the verbal system is based on distinctive features different from those underlying the opposition between aorist and imperfect, and also because as far as regards its function the perfect is sometimes opposed, together with the other 'past tenses' to the present, and sometimes, together with the present, to the 'past tenses'.²⁰⁷

It is finally worth recalling that the existence of aspectual distinctions in Sanskrit has also attracted the attention of philosophers. Long ago Masson-Oursel²⁰⁸ wrote: "Le vocabulaire philosophique indien renferme moins des distinctions d'états que des différences d'action. Or ce sont surtout les états de conscience qui se localisent dans le temps selon l'avant et l'après; des actes diffèrent particulièrement selon que l'opération s'achève, est achevée ou se poursuit, c'est-à-dire selon des considérations d'aspect. Il semble y avoir ainsi prédominance du point de vue de l'aspect sur le point de vue du temps dans l'esprit indien." Whether or not we shall be prepared to accept this opinion in all respects, it must be conceded that the importance of syntactic problems such as the one under discussion transcends the limits of grammar proper.

²⁰⁵ M. L. Sjoestedt, *L'aspect verbal et les formations à affixe nasale en celtique* (Paris, 1926), p. 59.

²⁰⁶ L. Renou, *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques* (Paris, 1925). For the perfect see also Kuryłowicz, *Apophonie*, p. 26. – For Iranian, the same, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 16, p. 531 ff.

²⁰⁷ See also T. Elizarenkova, *The development of tenses in Old Indo-Aryan* (Moscow 1960), p. 8 f. [S. Lienhard, *Tempusgebrauch und Aktionsartenbildung in der modernen Hindi*, Stockholm, 1961, reached me at the same time as the proofs of this book.]

²⁰⁸ Masson-Oursel, in *Journal de psychologie*, 1927, p. 620.

II

USES OF THE AORIST

In the following pages an effort will be made to explain certain functional properties of the Vedic aorist and to bring to the fore whatever aspectual nuance it may express. This is done by distinguishing a number of 'uses' which may as a rule be compared to similar uses in the related ancient I.E. tongues. The author is aware that there always is the danger of exaggeration of the importance of the aspectual function, of a subjective 'Hineininterpretieren', of a onesided preference for definite views and translations where other interpretations would not be beyond the bounds of possibility.¹ In a field so filled with difficulties such as this book attempts to explore, it is not to be expected that errors or subjective interpretations are always escaped. The extent to which the discussion of the facts will go into detail varies, mainly in accordance with the relative frequency and importance of the special use. One function of the aorist will be dealt with in a separate chapter because of its frequency and the variety of the complications which it involves.

There is no point in enumerating, in this chapter, a large number of aor. imperatives to show that they often refer more or less obviously to special cases, isolated occurrences, single persons etc. In RV. 8, 66, 14 this function is beyond doubt: "do thou preserve (*ava spr̥dhi*) us from this absence of inspiration² and hunger...". Another instance of a negated aor. (inj.) is 7, 34, 17 *mā no 'hir. . . riṣe dhāt* "nicht soll uns der... Drache in Schaden bringen" (Geldner). Two affirmative injunctives occur in two references to legends: 7, 68, 8 "ye (the Aśvins) even exerted yourself for the wolf who (when he) was exhausted and ye listened to Ś. when he called for you"; interestingly enough the favour conferred upon Ś. on that occasion is described by means of an impf.: "(ye...), because ye caused his cow to swell (*apinvatam*), although she was barren".

Its 'punctual', 'factual' character makes the aor. suited to the purpose

¹ "Dans une étude de ce genre, l'on est exposé, soit à méconnaître des différences de sens réelles, soit à en apercevoir d'imaginaires" (O. Riemann, "L'aoriste grec", in *Mélanges-Graux*, Paris, 1884, p. 587).

² Cf. Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.*, p. 2, no. 1. – For the imperative see chapter VII.

of entering into a single detail or adding a short explication. The poet of R.V. 4, 30, 8 specifies by means of the aor. *vadhiḥ* the heroic feat achieved by Indra and referred to by the perfect *cakartha*: “this deed hast thou achieved, that thou slayedst...”: *etad gheda uta vīryam indra cakartha... striyaṃ yad... vadhiḥ*.

There is another peculiar usage which, though it has received little attention, is none the less interesting. In one of a pair of clauses the impf. may denote a process, which is viewed as continuing, in the other an aor. refers to a momentary or isolated action which takes place while that process is going on. An instance is R.V. 7, 25, 1 “(Wenn) das Geschosz... fliegen wird (*patāti*, pres.), dann soll dein Sinn sich nicht... abwenden (*vi cārīt*, aor.)” (Geldner). This possibility, which is of course only realized if both aor. and impf. occur in the same context, and if the latter is such as to suggest this chronological relation, reminds us of a detail of Czech syntax: the ‘perfective’ (‘confective’) may, in that language, serve to refer to a process which – being moreover, often unforeseen – may interrupt another process.³ The explanation must reside in the capability of the impf. to express simultaneity and incompleteness of the action, whereas the process indicated by the aor. must, here also, be limited in respect to its ‘duration’ and viewed as completed. One might compare also Greek instances such as⁴ γ 292 ἐνθα ... τὰς μὲν (νῆας) Κρήτην ἐπέλασσαν, / ἤχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον “then... he brought some (ships) to Crete, where the Cydonians dwelt”. (Greek authors also like to refer to chief actions by imperfects, setting forth the subordinate points or the particular instances of the general actions by aorists, cf. e.g. Thuc. 7, 19, 3 and 4.) Another instance is: R.V. 5, 34, 2 “(Indra) who filled (was filling: *apiprata* (impf.)) his stomach with soma and enjoyed (*amandata*, impf.) the delicious drink..., when U. handed (*yamat*, aor.) him the weapon...”. Geldner’s translation “gefüllt hatte” – which then should be followed by “berauscht hatte” – is in view of a well-known Greek idiom, not impossible, the process being viewed in perspective: π 50 τοῖσιν δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκε συβώτης / ὀπταλέων, ἃ ῥα τῇ προτέρῃ ὑπέλειπον ἔδοντες “the swineherd set before them platters of roast meats, which they had left at their meal the day before”⁵; cf. also Xen. An. 1, 2, 22 (Κῦρος) εἶδε τὰς σκηνάς, οὗ οἱ Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον (viz. before Cyrus arrived).

³ E. Seidel, in *Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague*, 6 (1936), p. 118.

⁴ See Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 145.

⁵ The translation is Murray’s (Homer, *The Odyssey*, with an Engl. transl. by A. T. Murray, London-Cambridge, Mass. (Loeb Series) 1946).

RV. 4, 7, 7 may be quoted as an instance of two forms of the present-stem (injunctives) occurring in the two clauses of a compound sentence and indicating contemporaneous processes viewed in their development: when (*yat*) the gods are rejoicing (*raṇayanta*), then Agni may (must, will) exert himself (*veḥ*) for the sake of the liturgy.⁶ If however the principal clause contains an aorist, the process expressed by this form is obviously considered to have taken place at some point of time within the course of the process mentioned in the subordinate clause: 6, 11, 5 *vr̥ñje ha yan namasā barhir agnāv ayāmi srug ghṛtavatī suvr̥ktiḥ* where Geldner's attempt to render the initial position of the pres. ind.⁷ is: "sobald das B. ... um A. gelegt wird, ward (ihm) der... dargeboten".

In RV. 1, 174, 2 *dano viśa indra... sapta yat puraḥ... dart* "thou subduedst (impf.) the tribes..., when thou destroyedst (aor.) their seven strongholds"⁸ the latter process may also be taken as being presented in its culminating point only – that is, as a process reaching completion –, whereas the former is presented as continuing and developing.⁹ In 4, 30, 13, a stanza of similar content, the forms alternate in the reverse order: "thou takest the possessions of Ś. away (aor.), when thou ruinedst (imp.) his strongholds". These places leave no doubt about the aspectual character of these verb forms, because chronologically the processes coincide.

An interesting combination of an aor. and an impf. occurs in a reference to "eine Art Weltschöpfungsmythus"¹⁰ RV. 1, 62, 5 "... thou hast with dawn, the sun, the gods uncovered (aor.) the darkness"... (*vi var uṣasā sūryena gobhir andhaḥ*¹¹); thou spread'st (impf.) the surface of the earth, thou proppedst (impf.) (the sky)": the impf. clearly express 'perspective', 'variety' and lasting results, the first process may have been viewed as 'momentary' and devoid of frequency, variety and heterogeneity. For what reason did the poet not use three imperfects? One might also guess that the aor. is 'neutral': as appears e.g. from 1, 68, 10 the impf. would also be possible. Another instructive place is 10, 27, 8 *gavo yavam prayutā... akṣan tā apaśyam... carantiḥ/havā... abhitaḥ sam*

⁶ For *adhvara*- see A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II (Paris, 1956), § 350 b.

⁷ *Place du verbe* (Utrecht, 1952), p. 66.

⁸ For the verbs see Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 252; Renou, *Gr. véd.*, p. 82.

⁹ For aor. and impf. in Greek see also F. Hartmann, in *K.Z.*, 49, p. 1 ff.; L. Schlachter, in *I.F.*, 24, p. 203 ff.

¹⁰ Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 537.

¹¹ For the interpretation of *andhaḥ* see Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 81; Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 319 f. and (differently) p. 530, 536.

āyan “the cows, got away, ate (only the fact as such is stated; dramatically narrative) the corn, I saw (the simultaneity of the process is intimated; beginning or end are left out of consideration; ‘linear’, descriptive) them feed; the calls... came together from all sides”, the processes belonging together and taking place simultaneously.

The impf. may, while retaining its aspectual function, combine with an aorist denoting a ‘passé actuel’: the poet of ṚV. 5, 45, 10 after stating that the Sun has ascended (aor.) the bright ocean (the firmament), and put (aor.) his steeds to his chariot, adds: “the clever ones led (*anayanta*, impf.) him like a vessel over the water”: the impf. clearly refers to continuing activity, the ‘clever ones’ being either the sacrificers (*Sāyaṇa*) or the gods (7, 60, 4); the aorists denoting processes which have reached their close have us, in accordance with the character of the situation described, understand them as chronologically antecedent.

To all appearance the event alluded to in ṚV. 8, 1, 33 does not, strictly speaking, belong to the immediate past. After having praised some of his patrons who had given him large donations, the poet observes: *adha... ati dāsad anyān āsaṅgo...* “then A. surpassed (aor.) the others in giving...; then ten bulls turned up (impf. incoh.: *nir atiṣṭhan*) for me”. Here also the aoristic process is to be understood as antecedent to the other action.

In this connection we may well pay attention to passages such as ṚV. 4, 1, 18 from which it appears that an aor. and an impf. may be used alternately in narratives or descriptions of mythical happenings: after the light had appeared and the sky became bright the *Aṅgiras* woke up and saw the treasure, which was given by heaven, viz. the cows and the gods in their houses: “the darkness disappeared...; when they had woken up, they looked about (*vy akhyān*, aor.), then they held fast (*dhārayanta*, impf.) the jewel given by heaven (thinking) “all the gods are in all the houses””, the quotation being an explication of the words “they held fast, etc.” It is clear that the poet while presenting the process of looking as a momentarily realized fact, dwelt on the process of holding.

In a hymn (ṚV. 6, 27) to commemorate the victory of *Abhyāvartin* over the *Ṛcīvants*¹² the preamble is in the perfect tense (1-3), the direct references to the battle (4-5; 7), containing names of leaders and details of the military operations, are narrated by means of aorists; the facts related do not admit of a simultaneous presentation. The more descriptive and interpretative stanza 6 is narrated by an impf.; the *dānastuti* in

¹² A. B. Keith, in *The Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 84; A. A. Macdonell-A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 29.

8 is mentioned by means of a pres. indicative. Rational and intelligible as this distribution of the verbal forms is, it invites the question as to how to explain the impf. in st. 6, if the aorists in 4; 5; 7 are merely intended to indicate that the events described belong to the immediate past. It does not seem possible to deny that the impf. in 6 is descriptive and evocative, for it cannot be said that the idea expressed by the verb has no relation to the present. If this view is correct, another question arises: have the aorists really lost their 'aspectual' character? One might compare such well-known alternations¹³ in Greek literature as α 102ff. βῆ (aor.) δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἀίξασα, / στῆ (aor.) δ' Ἰθάκης ἐνὶ δῆμῳ ... εὔρε (aor.) δ' ἄρα μνηστῆρας ... οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα / πεσσοῖσι ... θυμὸν ἔτερπον (impf.) / ἦμενοι / κήρυκες ... οἶνον ἔμισγον (impf.) "then she went darting down from the heights of Olympus, and took her stand in the land of Ithaca,... and found the wooers.... They were taking their pleasure at draughts sitting... and heralds... were mixing wine" (Murray).

It is worth while to dwell on the likewise occasional use of the aorist in texts describing events which may be regarded as historical and in memory of which the poets praised the help and deeds of the gods. An important event alluded to in various hymns of the Ṛgveda is the battle of the ten kings, in which many of the prominent tribes and personalities of the earliest period of Vedic history played a part. In the long description of some of the relevant events contained in ṚV. 7, 18 the poet as a rule uses forms of the present and perfect stems. The few aorists which are interspersed among them are, if appearances are not deceptive, 'dramatic' in character. They have reference to the fact that the king (Sudās) threw down twenty-one adversaries (st. 11), to the allotment of the possessions of the Anu chief to the same king (st. 13) which was viewed as a deed of the god Indra and to a feat of this god: he destroyed Śambara (st. 20). As the poet belonged to the family of Vasiṣṭha, who was Sudās' priest, these three events belonged from his point of view, to the most important incidents of the narrative. Whether metrical considerations have something to do with the choice of these short aorist forms or not, they create the impression of throwing the mention of these three events into some relief. From the many parallels in Greek literature Thucydides' account of the pestilence in Athens (2, 49 ff.) may be referred to: all the essential points and the main events are given in the aorist, the less important happenings in the imperfect.

¹³ Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 157 f.

In certain contexts or situations the aorist seems to be 'iterative' or 'frequentative'. Strictly speaking this variety of action is, however, not expressed by the verb, but by another term in the sentence: in RV. 9, 98, 9 *sa vāṃ yajñeṣu... indur janiṣṭa rodasī*¹⁴ the process is considered to take place at every sacrifice: "this Soma was at the sacrifices born as your son, O heaven and earth"; the process itself being a bald statement of a fact is however viewed "im Hinsicht auf seine Begrenzung". One might also adduce sentences such as RV. 6, 49, 8 where an aor. is used in connection with a plurality of objects given to a plurality of recipients. Cf. also 5, 43, 10 (plurality of subjects); 9, 14, 3 *ād asya śusmīṇo rase viśve devā amatsata*. So there can be no doubt that also in the Veda an aor. may also refer to processes which are from the objective point of view repeated or liable to repetition RV. 3, 54, 11 "when thou, O Savitar, hast directed (*asreḥ*, aor.) thy call towards the gods, then assign (*ā suva*, pres.) to us the safe and sound condition of completeness".

The aor. may even be chosen when the author deals with a process which on the one hand occurred regularly in the past and on the other hand continues to do so in the present. An example is RV. 1, 35, 10 *asthād devaḥ pratidoṣam* "the god (= Savitar, the Sun) stands there in the evening" ("steht... allabendlich da" Geldner). Similarly, 6, 71, 4 where Geldner translates the same words: "hat sich... erhoben"! This use reminds us of the Greek aor. of facts known by experience: *N 732 ἄλλω δ' ἐν στήθεσσι τιθεῖ νόον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς / ἐσθλόν, τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἐπαυρίσκοντ' ἄνθρωποι / καὶ τε πολέας ἐσάωσε (aor.), μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὸς ἀνέγνω (aor.)* "and in the breast of another Zeus, whose voice is borne afar, puts a mind of understanding, wherefrom many men get profit, and many he saves; but he knows it best himself"; *Σ 309 ξυνὸς ἐνυάλιος, καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα* "alike to all is the god of war, and lo, he slayeth him that would slay"; *Isocr. 1, 6 κάλλος γὰρ ἡ χρόνος ἀνήλωσεν ἡ νόσος ἐμάρανε*. In Old Church Slav. the perfective present usually answers to a future in other languages - "il indique seulement l'action qui n'est pas en train de s'accomplir, par opposition au présent imperfectif"¹⁵ -; it is however also found in connection with habitual processes: the presents in N.T. Mark 4, 15 *καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν, εὐθέως ἔρχεται ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ αἶρει τὸν λόγον ...* are for instance rendered by perfectives. "Il est... un cas où le prétérit perfectif prête à l'expression de l'action réitérée une allure de vivacité que ne

¹⁴ Vgl. Geldner, *Rigveda übersetzt*, III, p. 102.

¹⁵ Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave*, I (Paris, 1948), p. 325.

saurait lui donner le prétérit imperfectif: c'est le cas... de l'acte habituel caractérisé par un exemple unique."¹⁶

Adverbs and nominal or adverbial groups expressing an iterative idea may therefore accompany an aorist. This structure is suited to express processes which though presented as momentary or terminative, occur repeatedly. The verbal form expresses the (subjective) aspect, the adverb, etc. the objective fact of the repetition. Cf. R.V. 6, 71, 6 *dive dive vāmam asmabhyaṃ sāvīḥ* "every day thou must grant us a desirable thing"; R.V. 4, 53, 1 *tan no mahāṃ ud ayān devo aktubhiḥ* "the great god has set up for (held out to) us that every night (at night)"; 1, 123, 4 *siṣāntī dyotanā śaśvad āgāt* "um (das Ziel) zu gewinnen ist die Leuchtende immer wieder gekommen" (Geldner). Elsewhere however the rather frequent *dive dive* quite intelligibly accompanies a pres. form: R.V. 1, 1, 3 (*aśnavat*); 7 (*bharanta emasi*); 31, 7 (*dadhāsi*) etc. (6, 32, 5; 8, 12, 28 a perfect).

Occasionally an adverb or adverbial phrase expressing a 'durative' idea occurs in connection with a Vedic aorist. Thus R.V. 3, 29, 16 it reads in parenthesis: *dhruvam ayā dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* "thou (Agni) hast worshipped (*ayāḥ*, aor.) constantly and hast constantly exerted thyself in performing rites". Geldner, in translating, adds "(bisher)". The first question which arises is: what is the character of the aorist? One cannot say that the activities indicated have no connection with the present, but on the other hand they are no 'passé actuel'. The author refers to completed activities that took place within a period of time which extends to the moment of speaking, excluding at the same time the idea that the activities should be looked upon as continuing. It would therefore appear to me that the aorists are 'aspectual', the adverb signifying that the processes took place at repeated intervals, whenever there was occasion for them. Another interesting place is 9, 110, 4 *sadāsaro vājam achā saniṣyadat* "thou (Soma) always ranest away flowing rapidly unto vāja". Here also, there can be no question of an ordinary 'passé actuel'; anyhow this aor. is not completely on a par with the preceding *ajījanah* "thou hast produced (the draught, viz. now)". One might say that the form expresses a completed activity that took place within a period of time extending to and including the immediate past: in this case English may also employ adverbials of frequency in connection with the pres. perfect tense. We may compare Greek examples such as Φ 263 ὧς αἰεὶ Ἀχιλλῆα κινήσατο κύμα ῥοοῖο "even thus did the flood of the river ever overtake A." (Murray); as a rule, αἰεὶ combines, in Homer, with the impf.; Xen. Comm. 2, 4, 7 πολλάκις ... ταῦτα ὁ φίλος

¹⁶ Mazon, *Aspects du verbe russe*, p. 223.

πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐξήρκεσεν.¹⁷ Here also the aorists invite the hearer's attention to the culminating point of the process, the adverbs to the idea of repetition. "Soll... die durch den Aorist ausgedrückte Handlung als eine wiederholte oder dauernde bezeichnet werden, so müssen ihm, wenn dies nicht aus dem ganzen Gedankenzusammenhange erhellt, Wörter, welche diesen Begriff bezeichnen, hinzugefügt werden".¹⁸

These adverbials occur also – though likewise infrequently – in connection with non-indicative forms of the aorist: R.V. 8, 103, 5 *tve... sadā... viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* "von dir möchten wir stets alles Gute... empfangen" (Geldner); 61, 17 *viśvā ca no... ahā divā naktam ca rakṣiṣaḥ* "and protect us every day by day and by night".

Adverbials of completeness or inclusiveness may be used also: R.V. 1, 122, 6 *śrutaṃ sadane viśvataḥ sīm* "listen to me... in all respects, completely ("meine ganze Rede")" (Geldner).

It is worth recalling that also in the Slavonic languages adverbs play an important part in enriching the expressive value of the verbal word group in the sentence. Adverbs conveying an iterative force may, in connection with a perfective verb, express the iterative idea which cannot be intimated by the verb; adverbs or adverbial word groups expressing the idea of duration may in a similar way combine with perfective verbs to complement the same.¹⁹

There is a curious difference in idiom between Greek and modern languages such as Dutch, English and German. When, in a dialogue, an English or Dutch speaker remarks that he has failed to understand the meaning of the words of his interlocutor he usually resorts to the present: "What do you mean?"; "Wat bedoel je?", etc. In a similar situation Sophocles however prefers the aorist²⁰: Ai. 270 πῶς τοῦτ' ἐλεξας; οὐ κάτοιδ' ὅπως λέγεις "what do you mean? I do not understand what you say." The same idiomatic difference is apparent in passages such as, e.g. in Homer, X 15 ἐβλαψάς μ', ἐκάεργε, θεῶν ὀλοώτατε πάντων "thou hast foiled me,... most cruel of all gods", words, spoken by Achilles to Phoebus Apollo, who having just turned the former from the walls is now pursued by him. P 173 contains a passionate answer of Hector: "I thought you were the most reasonable of the Lycians", νῦν δέ σευ ὤνοσάμην πάγχυ φρένας, οἷον ἔειπες "but now I have altogether scorn of thy wits, that thou speakest thus": "der Aorist in bekann-

¹⁷ Cf. also Jacobsohn, in *I.F.*, 51, p. 306 f.

¹⁸ Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 162.

¹⁹ See e.g. Seidel, *o.c.*, p. 37.

²⁰ It may be remembered that according to the Semitic usage "der Zusammenfall zwischen Aussage und Vollzug der Handlung" is expressed by means of the perfect.

ter Weise den Moment bezeichnend, in welchem dieses Urtheil im Innern des Sprechenden aufgestiegen ist und sich ausgebildet hat"²¹; Arist. Eq. 696 ἡσθὴν ἀπειλαῖς, ἐγέλασα ψολοκομπίαις ... "je jubile de tes menaces! Je ris de tes vains foudres" (Van Dalle); Soph. Ph. 1434, where Heracles appearing behind the stage and descending from the Olympus is addressing those present: καὶ σοὶ ταῦτ', Ἀχιλλέως τέκνον παρήνεσα "I have a message too for thee, son of Achilles" (Storr). This so-called 'aorist instead of a present', or 'quasi-präsentische Verwendung des Aorists'²² has not always been satisfactorily described by those grammarians who say that "ein auf die Gegenwart bezüglicher Ausspruch als ein bereits geschעהner oder eingetretener ausgedrückt wird".²³

Aorists which "may not rarely be translated by a present"²⁴ occur also in Slavonic. In South Slavonic 1 Mos. 41, 9 *danas se opomenih grijeha svojega* corresponds to Luther's *ich gedenke heute an meine Sünde*; cf. also: *za boga brate molim te! umreh od žedji; daj mi čašu vode* "um Gott, Bruder, ich flehe dich an, ich komme um (eigentlich: bin gerade angekommen) vor Durst, gib mir einen Becher Wassers" (Delbrück).²⁵

It would appear to me that a use of the aor. which is to a certain extent comparable was not foreign to the Vedic language either. Whereas RV. 8, 64, 9 *kaṃ te dānā asakṣata vṛtrahan*, which was translated by Geldner: "wem werden deine Gaben zuteil, Vṛtratöter?", although the verb is an aorist, is rather an instance of the 'passé actuel', RV. 10, 146, 4 seems to come nearer to the Greek idiom: *gām aṅgaiṣa ā hvayati dārv aṅgaiṣo apāvadhīt | vasann aranyānyām sāyam akruṣad iti manyate* "here indeed somebody calls (pres.) a cow, there somebody cuts wood (aor.: in Dutch the present would be used: "daar hakt iemand hout"); who in the evening abides in the jungle thinks: "(somebody) shrieks (aor.)": the words of the poet represent the reactions of a man – according to Durga on Nir. 9, 30 of the poet himself, who has lost his way – who in the evening, lonely and afraid, roves about in the jungle and hears various sounds. The pres. ind. *ā hvayati* which is on a par with the two aorists shows that the Vedic language may in situations like that described in this text use, in the Dutch way, the present. However, *ā hvayati* is doubtless continuative and there seems to be nothing to prevent us from regarding the aorists as 'momentary' or 'neutral'.

²¹ *Homers Iliade*, erklärt von J. U. Faesi-F. R. Franke, III (Berlin, 1876), p. 185.

²² Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 285.

²³ Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, II, p. 163.

²⁴ Cf. Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 342.

²⁵ Cf. also F. Miklosich, *Vergl. Gramm. d. slav. Sprachen*, IV, 1874 (Heidelberg, 1926), p. 788.

The words ṚV. 4, 54, 1 *abhūd devaḥ savitā vandyaḥ nu naḥ* were not inappropriately translated: “Jetzt ist Gott S. von uns zu loben” (Geldner): the next pāda *idānīm ahna upavācyo nṛbhiḥ* “at this moment of the day to be addressed by the men” do not leave the hearer in doubt of the fact that the god is to be praised at the moment of reciting. The process is not viewed as continuative or unlimited; the impf. would evoke the idea of a continuing action, or rather of a characteristic inherent in the god, in the past without any clear reference to the moment of speaking. A similar place is 3, 5, 3 *ā... yajataḥ sāvya asthād abhūd u vipro havyo matīnām* “the adorable one (= Agni) has mounted the surface (of the fire-place); the inspired one is now to be invoked by hymns” (“ist jetzt... anzurufen”, Geldner). The impf. *atiṣṭhat* might have suggested that the god used to mount the surface or that he did so for some time in the past. In another Agni hymn, 6, 11, 5 it reads *amyakṣi sadma sadane pṛthivyā āsrāyi yajñāḥ sūrye na cakṣuḥ*: these words probably mean: “his seat has been fixed on the surface of the earth; the sacrifice rests (on him) just as (the light of) the eye (rests) on the sun”, although Geldner’s alternative “das Opfer ist wie das Auge nach der Sonne (himmelwärts) gerichtet” is another possibility. The thought expressed in 7, 18, 3 *imā u tvā... giro devayanṭīr upa sthuḥ* would in all probability answer to an English counterpart: “these eulogies which serve the gods approach thee (Indra)”, because the eulogy of the poet, far from having reached its close, continues. Yet the Indian poet avoids the present because he does not insist on this aspect: as soon as the eulogies, or part of them, have reached the god (action reduced to its culminating point) the reward, i.e. the god’s favour, is expected to come: so the processes are, in all probability, viewed as successive, not simultaneous.

Another thought which we would couch in a sentence containing a pres. ind. is 8, 13, 16 *indre haviṣmatīr viṣo arāṇiṣuḥ* “with Indra the communities of men which offer oblations are pleased”: there is at least nothing in the text which might have us believe that the process denoted by the aorist is, as ‘passé actuel’, an historical fact. Yet the verb being non-transformative, attention seems to have been focused on its initial stage: “they have come to be pleased”. ṚV. 4, 34, 3 *abhūta... agriyotā vājāḥ* may, with Geldner, be taken to admit of the translation “and ye, Vājās, are... entitled to it”.

A special and in fact most typical use of the aorist, which has given rise to much controversial discussion, is the so-called aoristus gnomicus or “aorist of typical situations”. “Si le terme possède quelque justification, ce n’est que pour rappeler qu’on a commencé par observer dans

des sentences, des proverbes, ou descriptions de coutumes, un trait caractéristique de l'aoriste qui, en réalité, lui appartient en général et représente même l'essentiel de sa fonction."²⁶ Although this use of the aor. is best known in Ancient Greek²⁷ – there are three sub-types: Hes. Op. 218 παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω “but only when he has suffered does the fool learn it” (a general truth based on experience or inferred from a multitude of facts and events); Pind. Ol. 7, 1 φίλας ὥς εἴ τις ... δωρήσεται νεανία ... ἐν δὲ φίλων παρεόντων θῆκε νιν ζαλωτὸν ... “even as when one... gives a bowl to the youth who is betrothed unto his daughter ... and thereby makes him envied in the presence of his friends” (simile); Hdt. 1, 194 ἐπεὰν ὧν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου... ἀπ' ὧν ἐκέρυξαν “schlagen gleich an die Meistbietenden los”²⁸; 7, 10 – it is not limited to that language. According to the explication proposed by Musič²⁹ and subscribed to by Wackernagel³⁰ – who rightly rejected the view pronounced by Delbrück³¹ – this ‘gnomic’ aorist which occurs, for instance, also in Serbo-Croatian, is “‘zeitlos’, um das Spezifische der aoristischen Aktionsart auszudrücken”.³² It denotes, indeed, the verbal process as such without any temporal or circumstantial modification. The same aspectual function of the aorist is proper to Modern Greek: τῆς γυναίκας τῇ δουλειᾷ ποντικὸς τὴν ἔφα καὶ δὲν χόρτασε “the work of a woman – a mouse may eat it without eating its fill”: ἔφα, χόρτασε “ne sont que des constatations de faits purs. Abstraction faite des indic. aoristes, il n’y a pas d’indice spécifiant la situation temporelle; et en effet, on ne sait pas quand se passent ces actions: soit au passé, soit au présent, soit au futur; de là la valeur générale, ‘gnomique’, de ces aoristes.”³³ Although Musič founded his theory of the gnomic aor. in Greek on the corresponding usage in his mother tongue, Slavonic instances do not seem to be fre-

²⁶ H. Seiler, *L’aspect et le temps dans le verbe néo-grec* (Paris, 1952), p. 65.

²⁷ See especially J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I² (Basel, 1926), p. 178 ff.; Ruipérez, *o.c.*, p. 99 ff.

²⁸ H. Stein, *Herodotus erklärt*, I (Berlin, 1856), p. 159: “eine dem Herodot eigen-thümliche Redeform, die er bei Schilderung von Sitten und Gebräuchen anwendet, um eine Thätigkeit als rasch und lebhaft, oder als unverzüglich, eilfertig (daher der Aorist) darzustellen”.

²⁹ A. Musič, “Gnomički aorist u grčkom i hrvatskom jeziku [The gnomic aorist in Greek and Kroatian]”, Publ. (*Rad*) of the Serbian Akad., 112, p. 1 ff. (Zagreb, 1892), and the same, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 24 (1902), p. 482 ff.

³⁰ Wackernagel, *o.c.*, I, p. 180 f.

³¹ Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 286 f. (“der Zeitpunkt der Aoristhandlung wird von einer angenommenen Gegenwart aus bestimmt”).

³² Cf. also Schwyzler-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 285 f. (with the relevant literature until 1950); Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*², p. 145 f.

³³ Seiler, *o.c.*, p. 66.

quent³⁴: in Old Bulg. we find, e.g.: *zlý sě se zlý m brzo sprěže* “the wicked soon conspires with the wicked”.

It must also be conceded to Delbrück³⁵ that this function of the aor. is of rare occurrence also in the Veda. The example adduced by this savant, *ṚV. 9, 14, 3 ād asya śuṣmiṇo rase viśve devā amatsata | yadī gobhir vasāyate*, though not gnomic in the proper sense of the term, may be classified under the third subtype: “then all the gods revel in the juice of this strong one (soma), when he wraps himself in milk”. Gnomic in character is, in my opinion, *7, 32, 10* although the occurrence of a perfect in the same sentence is remarkable: *nakiḥ sudāso ratham pary āsa na rīramat* “nobody overturns (perf.) the chariot of the man who worships the gods well, nor does he stop it”. The second example might suggest the idea that at first it was the aorist injunctive – indifferent as it is with regard to tense and mood – which was especially capable of serving in contexts such as the above. The Avestan instances of the ‘Aorist in Sentenzen’ adduced by Reichelt³⁶ are all of them unaugmented. Cf. e.g. *Y. 49, 5 aṭ hvō mazdā īzācā āzūitiš cā | yā daēnqm vohū sārāštā man-aṇhā* “aber der, o Kundiger, ist Milchlaber und Fettgusz in Person, der seinen Sinn mit dem guten Gedanken verbindet”: “*sārāštā* dürfte als Aorist perfektiv sein”.³⁷

In negative sentences³⁸ the aor. may imply that the subject was not able to perform a deed: *ṚV. 1, 80, 12 na... tanyatendram vṛtro vi bī-bhayat* “V. was not able to intimidate I. by his thundering”. The explanation of this usage may reside in the fact that in resorting to an aorist the speaker invites his audience to consider the limited, ‘successive’ and accomplished activity rather than its performance by the subject. Since the verbal idea is so to say a qualification of the subject rather than an action, it may in connection with a negation express a temporary inability of the subject. The above quotation so to say denies that the subject was at a given moment able to accomplish the act of intimidating. The use of the aor. does not however mean that the subject while making serious attempts to perform the action would not have succeeded in effecting his purpose. The impf. might have pointed to a continuing action simultaneous with the god’s proceeding which is related in the next pāda: “the vajra made for (impf.) him”. Passing mention may be

³⁴ Vondrák, *Slavische Grammatik*, II, p. 391.

³⁵ Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt.*, II, p. 301 f.

³⁶ H. Reichelt, *Awest. Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1909), p. 307, who in explaining this use follows Delbrück.

³⁷ H. Humbach, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* (Heidelberg, 1959), I, p. 143; II, p. 81.

³⁸ For aspect and negation see also Rodenbusch, in *I.F.*, 21, p. 143 ff.

made here of the function of the Russian perfective present. In main clauses this category is used to express possibility or impossibility: *loshadi ich ne povezut* "the horses will never be able to pull them".³⁹

In accordance with its character as an injunctive an unaugmented 'aor. indic.' is neutral from the point of view of tense.⁴⁰ Hence statements such as RV. 1, 24, 7 "Varuṇa places (*dadate*, pres. ind.) the tree in the upper regions, they (the aerial roots) place themselves below (*nīcīnā sthuh*), their root is above"; ("nach unten senken sie sich, oben ist ihre Wurzel", Geldner) seems at least preferable to "(les branches) se tiennent tournées vers en bas" (Renou⁴¹). The process denoted by *sthuh* is not presented as continuing, but as 'initive'-momentary: the aerial roots are, in a way, said to have become attached to this world (cf. also ŚB. 2, 3, 3, 7 *tasmād u raśmayah prāṇān abhyavatāyante* "and therefore the rays extend down to the vital airs")⁴². Other examples are 2, 3, 10 *vanaspatir... upa sthāt* "will, must..."; 1, 167, 9 *dveṣo dhṛṣatā pari ṣṭhuh* "they obstruct the hostility courageously"; cf. also 5, 15, 3; 7, 18, 3.

The question may arise whether Geldner is right in translating the words RV. 7, 70, 1 *aśvo na... asthād āyat sedathur...* by "er (i.e. in all probability the sacrificial draught) steht da wie ein Rosz..., wenn ihr euch darauf gesetzt habt...". The first half of this stanza contains an invitation: *ā... aśvinā gataṃ naḥ pra tat sthānam avāci vām* "O Aśvins, approach us; this place is intended for you". That means that the Aśvins have not yet come (cf. also st. 4 ff.) so that the pādas cd may be considered to refer to the situation which – irrespective of continuance – will set in as soon as the gods have arrived: then it is that the activity denoted by the aor. *asthāt* will take place. From the chronological point of view *asthāt* seems therefore to refer to what at the moment of speaking belongs to the future, unless, of course, *asthāt* means "has stationed itself" and the *ya*-clause contained in d depends, logically speaking, on the adj. of uncertain meaning⁴³ *śunaprṣṭhaḥ* "carrying happiness on one's back" which qualifies the horse and the sacrificial place: "he has stationed himself like a horse which carries happiness, when he has sat down on it". In principle such an application of the aor. ind. would not be beyond the bounds of possibility. It may be remembered that the Semitic per-

³⁹ More examples are e.g. given by F. M. Borrás and R. F. Christian, *Russian Syntax* (Oxford, 1959).

⁴⁰ An aspectual aor. "with the force of a present" occurs in Mod. Greek: A. Mirambel, in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, p. 17 ff.

⁴¹ Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 94.

⁴² See also Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 25.

⁴³ See my *Epithets in the R̥gveda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 146, 211 with n. 27.

fect may also signify processes which are to take place after the moment of speaking. The normal function of the Slavonic perfective present being to refer to future processes, in Russian “l'action unique que le sujet se représente dans l'avenir, en dehors de toute notion de développement et de durée, comme un tout intégralement achevé, s'exprime par l'organe du présent-futur”.⁴⁴ “La possibilité d'une acceptation de futur n'est qu'une conséquence de la valeur essentiellement non-temporelle qu'a cet aoriste. Aussi peut-il se situer n'importe où sur l'échelle temporelle: (en partant) αντίο σας! ἔφυγα! “au revoir! me voilà parti, je pars”. ... Les aoristes présentent les actions comme faites.”⁴⁵ Cf. in ancient Greek, Hdt. 8, 102 ἣν καταστρέψεται ... σὸν τὸ ἔργον ... γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο (Lat. *perfecerint*),⁴⁶ and cases such as I 412 ff., and, in a Dorian inscription (Heraclea 122; 143) κατεδικάσθεν “sie sind zum voraus verurteilt”: auch hier handelt es sich um etwas, das sicher eintritt”.

The term ‘complexive aorist’⁴⁷ has sometimes to be applied to instances such as ŚatBr. 11, 5, 1, 2 *tato ha gandharvāḥ sam ūdire: jyog vā iyam urvaśī manuṣyeṣv avātsīt* “for a long time, indeed, has this U. dwelt among men”. The words ṚV. 6, 49, 8 b *kāmena kṛto abhy ānaḥ arkam* which allude to the mythical tale that Pūṣan who is meant here, proposed to Sūryā, the daughter of the sun,⁴⁸ may likewise be considered a ‘summary’ of a story which was known to the audience: “the enamoured one has gained the day”. The process is viewed ‘im Hinblick auf seine Begrenzung’, stating a mere fact without the implications of frequency or variety. A sort of complexive-recapitulative aor. may be supposed to occur ṚV. 10, 88, 10: after having informed the hearer (st. 8) that the gods created the recitation, Agni, and the oblation and after having recurred (st. 9) to the second event, the poet observes (10): *stomena hi divi devāso agnim ajījanan* “for it was to the accompaniment of a eulogium that the gods, in heaven, generated Agni”. This aorist, bearing upon the mythical past, helps to state a fact in its ‘totality’, to recur to it so as to eliminate, for the hearers who know them, all superfluous particulars.⁴⁹ It is not foreign to Pāli: DN. I, 85, 18 *so ’ham pitaraṃ ... jīvita voropesiṃ*

⁴⁴ Mazon, *Aspects du verbe russe*, p. 135.

⁴⁵ Seiler, *o.c.*, p. 67.

⁴⁶ Cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I² (Basel, 1926), p. 176.

⁴⁷ “Zusammenfassender Aorist”: Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 241.

⁴⁸ See R. Pischel in R. P. und K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I (Stuttgart, 1889), p. 14 ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. also Vondrák, *o.c.*, II, p. 390; Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, I², p. 174 f.; for Pāli: H. Bechert, in *Münchener Studien z. Sprachw.*, III² (1958), p. 58.

“I have deprived my father of his life”; also “bei der Erinnerung an einen ganz bestimmten, abgeschlossenen Tatbestand,” z.B. DhP.3 *akkocchi maṇi avadhi mam* “er hat mich gescholten, er hat mich geschlagen.” The aorist of “the bald statement of a fact” may of course occur in a variety of applications: cf., in Greek, Thuc. 1, 1, 1 Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον which may be translated by “Th. the A. is the author of this history of the war”.

Occasionally an aor. appears to indicate processes which, objectively speaking, can only be conceived as having a certain duration. RV. 1, 71, 6 *yāsad rāyā saratham yaṁ junāsi* “he will go (aor. subj.) on the same chariot with wealth whom thou hurriest on”. The process of driving is per se durative in nature, but this does not for the moment interest the author, who obviously wishes to state a fact, not to dwell on it. One might compare, in Greek, A 2 Μῆνιν ἄειδε ... / ... ἡ μῦρ’ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκεν, / πολλὰς δ’ ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἀϊδι προΐαψεν / ἡρώων “the wrath do thou sing, ... which brought countless woes upon the A., and sent forth to Hades many valiant souls of warriors”: it is evident that the processes indicated by the aorists ἔθηκεν and προΐαψεν are, in view of the duration of the Trojan war, not limited to a single moment, but this is for the moment a matter of indifference to the poet. He may use an aor. without presenting the events referred to as momentary. What he wants is to state bald facts. Similarly α 334 where Penelope coming down from her chamber is said to hold, when standing by the doorpost, her veil before her face: ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα “holding (aor.) before her cheeks her shining veil”; Plato, R.P. 328 a παννυχίδα ποιήσουσιν ἣν ἄξιον θεάσασθαι “they will celebrate a night-festival which will be worth attending”, and in Avestan Y. 9, 24 *kərə-sānīm... yō raosta xšaθrō.kāmya yō davata...* “K. who lamented (aor.) out of solicitude for his sovereignty who said (impf.)...” One might also call to mind of the aor. of the ‘concentrated’ process in Slavonic: OChSlav. Euch. 69 a. 18 *a i samō gospodъ reče* “und der Herr selbst hat gesagt”.

When an aor. occurs in connection with processes which are in the phenomenal reality characterized by duration it may sometimes be regarded as aspectually neutral: then it is ‘indifferent’ with regard to the opposition ‘continuing action: momentary action’, or rather the speaker at the moment of formulating his thoughts is completely indifferent to this aspectual opposition. In point of fact it is often difficult to decide whether a definite form is neutral or momentary. In reading RV. 8, 40, 1... / *yena dr̥hā samatsv ā vīlu cit sāhiṣīmahi* “by which we may succeed

in overpowering, in the battles, the solid strongholds and even what is strong and hard" we are under the impression that the action described takes some time; yet, the author uses the aorist. Cf. 5, 30, 6... *ahim pra māyābhir māyinaṃ sakṣad indraḥ*: subduing the snake who was in possession of creative power by means of similar power may have been a long and even a protracted affair; the process is however presented 'in its totality' or 'complexively' or rather, it is from the aspectual point of view 'neutral'.

Typical instances of the so-called 'complexive' aor. are not wanting. Whereas R.V. 1, 96, 8 *draviṇodā rāsate dīrgham āyuh* "he who grants desired goods may give us a long life" the process of giving may be viewed as 'limited', 4, 24, 8 *dīrgham yad ājim abhy akhyat* "when he has seen the long race" a process is signified which, though of considerable duration in time, is viewed as limited and reduced to a mere fact.

The following example is to illustrate the use of the aor. ind. to denote an activity which in reality is in progress: R.V. 3, 14, 2 (the hymn consists of seven stanzas) the poet states that his poem "has been offered" to the god: *ayāmi te*, whereas, strictly speaking, it is only being offered.⁵⁰ The same use of this category occurs in Greek: commentators often explain the aor. e.g. in Soph. Ai. 693 ἔφριξ' ἔρωτι, περιχαρῆς δ' ἀνεπτόμην "I thrill with rapture, all my heart upsprings" (Storr) or Phil. 1289 ἀπώμοσ' ἄγνων Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου σέβας "no, by the name of Zeus most high, I swear it" (Storr)⁵¹ as intimating that the process has already set in before.⁵² It has been pointed out⁵³ that "die Aorist die Sache ungleich energischer ausdrückt, da er die Handlung selbst urgirt", the text mentioned last coming to "beim Zeus, einen solchen Betrug muss ich abschwören". We might say that here again the aor. is not chosen because of its supposed relations to phenomenal time, duration or non-duration, but because it helps to state the bald fact of a process at its psychologically most relevant moment. That the speaker anticipates the chronology of the events, because at the moment of speaking the sacrifice has not yet been completely performed, is only a result of the well-known tendency to resort, in emotional speaking, to constructions which properly signify a 'fait-accompli'.⁵⁴

That an aor. may be accompanied by a pres. participle appears e.g.

⁵⁰ Sāyaṇa (: *prerayāmi, uccārayāmi*) explains the verb as a pres. ind. ("I approach with prayers": *āyāmi: i-*).

⁵¹ It might be remembered that in these cases Arabic also uses the perfect.

⁵² See e.g. G. Wolff-L. Bellermann, on Sophokles, *Aias* (Berlin, 1913), p. 64.

⁵³ Cf. Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 165.

⁵⁴ See e.g. the author's observations in *Lingua*, 6 (Amsterdam, 1957), p. 158 ff.

from R.V. 7, 79, 1 *vy uṣā āvaḥ pathyā janānām pañca kṣitīr mānuṣīr bodhayantī* “U. has shone forth over the paths of men, awakening the five nations”; 8, 51, 8 *yaded astambhīt prathayann amūṇi divam...* The explication is that the processes expressed by these finite verbs are viewed as ‘non-continuative’ or ‘limited’, those denoted by the participles as continuative or ‘unlimited’, implying variety, etc. The second place is translated by Geldner: “als er jenen Himmel breitete und stützte”, one could also hold it to mean: “when he, whilst spreading the sky, supported it...”. In 1, 33, 4 Indra, while setting out on his great enterprise or being on a journey (*caran*, a process of unlimited continuance) is said to have slain (*vadhiḥ*) the dasyu. Other examples are: R.V. 8, 32, 2 *yaḥ srbindam... | vadhīd... riṇann apaḥ* “who killed S. ..., letting the waters go”, the former activity not necessarily coinciding with the latter; 1, 52, 2 *indro yad vṛtram avadhīn nadivṛtam ubjann arṇāṃsi* “... Indra, since he slew the stream-obstructing V. (bald statement of a fact), subduing the streams (perspective)”; 2, 5, 6 *bharanty* (‘unlimited’ and simultaneous process) *asthita* (limited process); 3, 5, 3; 6, 44, 20; 9, 86, 19. The aor. may refer to an event taking place at a specified point of the time over which the process indicated by the participle extends: 1, 92, 4 “while making (*kṛṇvati*) light, U. has uncovered (aor.) darkness”.

It is time now to dwell on a distinction which though not left unnoticed by his predecessors⁵⁵ was with marked consistency observed by Ruipérez in his book on the Greek aspects,⁵⁶ whose treatment of the relevant forms it dominates. Two classes of verbs may, semantically, be distinguished: those which denote such actions as effect a change of state in the subject or the object, so-called ‘transformative’ verbs, and those which do not effect a change, the ‘non-transformative’ verbs. In the former class the achievement, in the latter the initiation of the process has for psychological reasons, the greater prominence. The values of the categories are consequently realized differently in each class. Whereas the punctual force of the aorist stem is realized as ‘initive’ (‘ingressive’) in non-transformative verbs, the same stem expresses accomplishment (it is ‘finitive’) in transformative verbs. Thus we find in Greek such well-known instances as ἐβασίλευσε “he became king”; A 92 καὶ τότε δὴ θάρσθησε “and then he plucked up courage”; A 201 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα ... προσηύδα “having made his voice sound he spoke the... words to him”; Plato, Civ. 421 d πλουτήσας “dives factus”; α 336 δακρύσασα “bursting into tears”, and on the other hand: Inscr. Gr. 2, II/

⁵⁵ Cf. e.g. Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 155.

⁵⁶ See especially Ruipérez, p. 53 ff.

III 1612, 206 Ἄ. ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὅσα δὲ ἐνελείφθη καὶ τότε μὴ ἐπετελέσθη, ὕστερον Εὐ. ... ἐπεσκεύασεν “A. worked at the construction (impf.), but what was left undone (aor.) and was then not completed (aor.), Eu. brought its construction to its completion (aor.)”. The terminative value of the verb is often reinforced by ‘determination’, in casu by the addition of an object which may, or may not, be introduced by a preposition: Plato, *Phaedo* 113 ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκωνται οἱ τετελευτηκότες εἰς τὸν τόπον “whenever the deceased have arrived at that place”; Rep. 566 ε τυράννος ... γῆν διένειμε “the ruler distributed the land”. Compare also in Avestan ⁵⁷: Y. 29, 9 *aṭčā gəuš urvā raostā* (road- “to lament”, s-aor.) “then the cow began to lament”. The OChSlav. *sěsti* is in a comparable way ‘ingressive’: “to sit down” as opposed to *sěděti* “to sit, be seated”.

As is well known the verb *sthā-* may, in Sanskrit, not only mean “to stand, to stand upon, to stay, etc.”, but also “to place or station oneself, to take up a position on, etc.” If the verb is used in connection with a person who is first described as walking, lying, resting, etc. we will generally speaking resort to the latter translation. If the context does not provide us with clear indications we cannot be completely sure. What is however certain is that aorists of verbs of “standing” and other non-transformative verbs emphasize the starting-point of the process, because if in a narrative or conversation a verbal form is introduced which presents a process that does not consist in, or entail, a change, it is for psychological reasons the beginning, the starting-point of the process which is relevant: a momentary view of a process the ‘semantic kernel’ of which is a state, a being or a remaining in a definite situation, brings the initial stage, the appearance, the beginning of that state, etc., which is, in a narrative, conversation or statement, its relevant and characteristic moment, to the fore. RV. 6, 24, 9 *sthā ū šu ūrdhva ūtī* was translated by Geldner: “steh fein aufrecht mit deiner Hilfe”; I for one would prefer: “take thy stand..., place thyself...”. Similarly *ā-sthā-* ‘means’ either “to stand or remain on or by” or “to mount, ascend”: RV. 8, 5, 28 *ratham... ā hi sthāthaḥ* obviously is “mount the chariot...”; (4, 46, 4); 4, 6, 4 *ūrdhvo adhvayur... asthāt*, not, with Geldner, “steht aufrecht”; similarly, 4, 51, 2 (cf. 1).

In combination with adverbs or preverbs indicating a direction or specifying the relation between the verb and its ‘object’ the verb *sthā-* likewise answers to our “to place oneself” in cases such as RV. 8, 27, 20... / *vayaṁ tad vo... upa stheyāma madhya ā* “so wollen wir... mitten

⁵⁷ H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1909), p. 305, § 634.

unter diesen (Schirm) von euch treten" (Geldner); 7, 95, 5 *upa stheyāma śaraṇam na vṛkṣam* "wollen wir wie unter einen schützenden Baum treten", oder: "... Zuflucht finden wie unter einem Baum" (Geldner); 10, 57, 1 *mānta sthur no arātayaḥ* "the enemies must not interfere with us", ("dazwischen treten", Geldner); cf. also 2, 31, 3. Thus 1, 94, 11 describing the forest-fire may be translated: "then even the birds are afraid (perf.), when thy grass-eating sparks begin (aor.) or come to be scattered about" (not, with Geldner, "haben... Furcht, wenn... stoben"). In examining the relevant passages we should not be misled by the idea we may have formed of the character of a Sanskrit verb or verbal phrase on account of the translation which it admits of. Thus 5, 33, 3 *tiṣṭhā ratham adhi tam* might because of the translations "mount this chariot; besteig diesen Wagen" be considered transformative. However, the 'literal' sense is "place thyself in respect of the chariot on (it)", the verb being non-transformative. Geldner's interpretation of R.V. 10, 106, 2 d seems therefore to be a misjudgement of the character of the aor.: *māpa sthātam mahiṣevāpānāt* "bleibet nicht fern wie Büffel von der Tränke": here also the aor. refers the hearer to the culmination point of the process which is its very beginning, because the verb is non-transformative.

The non-transformative character of a verb plays also a part in oppositions such as may exist, between affirmative pres. imperatives and negated aor. injunctives occurring in the same stanza. Cf. e.g. 10, 128, 5 "... make (*kṛṇota*, pres.) us wide space, ... gods, display your heroism (*vīrayadhvam*): that we do not become deprived (*mā hāsmahi*, aor.) of children or our own bodies; that we will not become subject (*mā radhāma*) to our enemy...".⁵⁸

If the verb is transformative in nature the main attention may in using the aor. often be focused on the transformation itself, on the realization of the process, on the change brought about by it. That means that we interpret the aor. as 'finitive' or 'terminative', because, psychologically speaking, a momentaneous view of a verbal process, the semantic kernel of which is a change of state, involves concentration of the attention on that change which is the relevant and characteristic moment, that is to say on its realization. Compare e.g. R.V. 1, 116, 15 "since in the running-match of Khela one (of your) leg(s) was cut off (*achedi*) like a wing of a bird"; 5, 33, 2 *abhi pra... sakṣi janān* "get even with the (other) men" (*sah-* means "to overpower, to exert superior power"); 10, 28, 4 "the fox

⁵⁸ Some general considerations in connection with the negated aor.: Jacobssohn, in *I.F.*, 51, p. 311 ff.

has (completely succeeded in) stealthily approaching (*atsāḥi*) the lion”.

Instances of a terminative-momentary use of transformative verbs are e.g. also RV. 8, 51, 8 dealing with an episode of the creation of the cosmos: “when he propped and spread out the sky, just then the inhabitant of the earth was born (*janiṣṭa*)”: if appearances are not deceptive this aor. throws some light upon the momentary realization of the birth without inviting the hearer to dwell on the process in its development, on its consequences, or on any possible variety or heterogeneity inherent in the same; 10, 46, 9 “whom, Agni, sky and earth, the waters, Tvaṣṭar, etc. generated (*janiṣṭhām*)”: this aor. is no *passé actuel*; stating a non-repeated fact it however leaves any idea of development or continuance out of consideration. Similarly, in the opt., 7, 8, 6 “these words may become (*janiṣiṣṭa*) for Agni doubly mighty”, the consequences being indicated by a pres. subj.: “that they will conduce to (*bhavāti*) alliance”.

It is not surprising that an aor. is sometimes accompanied by an adverb or adverbial expression expressing momentariness: the process is obviously viewed without respect of variety, frequency or heterogeneity. RV. 8, 1, 14 “once more (*sakṛt su*) should we like to be happy (*anu... mudīmahi*) by thy liberality”; 2, 16, 8 likewise *sakṛt su* + opt. aor.; 10, 61, 10 *makṣu ... agman* “they came promptly”. Compare also RV. 10, 129, 6 *ko addhā veda ka iha pra vocat...* “who knows truly? who shall here declare (whence it has been produced...)”: the aor. of the *hic et nunc*. Thus we find the aor. in connection with *nūnam* “now, just, immediately, now then”: RV. 6, 60, 2 “ihr beide, I., A., kämpfet (auch) jetzt (*yodhiṣṭam ... nūnam*) für die Rinder” (Geldner); 2, 38, 3 *vi mucāti* (aor. subj.) *nūnam*; 1, 39, 7 *gantā nūnaṃ no ’vasā*; 8, 9, 1; with *adya* “today”; 5, 82, 4. The duration of the process is reduced to a moment; there is no question of frequency, variety or heterogeneity.

It should however be emphasized that these adverbs may also combine with an impf.: RV. 2, 13, 1 *apas pari makṣū... aviśat* (mythical past); 3, 31, 20 *makṣū makṣū kṛṇuhi gojito naḥ*; 10, 33, 3. The words 1, 113, 10 *yās ca nūnaṃ vyuchān* (pres. subj.) which refer to a plurality of occurrences were translated “die künftig aufgehen werden” (Geldner). For a pres. imp. see 1, 13, 6 *vi śrayantam... adya nūnaṃ ca*, the two adverbs implying frequency; 5, 56, 5.

From the above examples it is sufficiently clear that the choice of aspects is not determined by the occurrence of temporal adverbs. The verbal aspect is one thing and the force of a particle or an adverb another. Nevertheless, Delbrück’s⁵⁹ observation, “dasz bei *adya* “heute”

⁵⁹ Delbrück, *Altindische Tempuslehre* (Halle a.S., 1876), p. 87.

12 mal der Aorist erscheint, 6 mal das Perfectum (die in der Gegenwart vollendete Handlung bezeichnend), und nur 2 mal das Imperfectum", is not devoid of interest. As already remarked by the same scholar⁶⁰ the particle *nu* "now, just, at once" and the impf. do not bear with one another very well. RV. 7, 20, 2 *indraḥ... prāvīn nu... jaritāram ūtī* "I. has now aided (aor.) the eulogist with his help"; 1, 124, 1 *śavitā nv artham prāsāvīt*; 4, 54, 1 *abhūd... vandyo nu*; 6, 47, 22. Otherwise: 6, 17, 9 *adha... nu*).

With regard to *u* Grassmann⁶¹ made special mention of its use in connection with temporal verb forms which refer to the past (*u* "schon, soeben, sogleich"): "oft wird die Handlung dadurch ganz unmittelbar an die Gegenwart gerückt". This use is in accordance with a pronounced predilection for the aorist: "Hier erscheint bei weitem überwiegend der Aorist, wie das Imperfect, selten das Perfect".⁶² Cf. 1, 46, 10 *abhūd u bhā u aṃśave* "licht ist die Somapflanze geworden" (Geldner), the text probably referring to the rise of the sun which makes the prepared soma clearly visible; *ibid.* 11 *abhūd u pāram etave panthā* (the end of night) "the way has appeared by which to go to the other side"; 3, 5, 3 *abhūd u vipro havyo matinām* was translated by Geldner: "der Redekundige ist jetzt in Liedern anzurufen"; 6, 64, 1; 7, 76, 2; 6, 64, 1 *ud u... uṣaso rocamānā asthuḥ* "dawn has now radiantly arisen"; 8, 19, 16 *abhutsy u pra...* "I have just now waked up"; 22, 10 *tyam ahve ā ratham adya... ūtaye*; 2, 38, 1; 6, 71, 5; 7, 72, 3; 7, 73, 2; 8, 25, 19 etc. The particle often combines with a pronoun: 7, 8, 2 *ayam u śya... avedi*. Two processes belonging to the 'passé actuel' in juxtaposition: 1, 113, 2 *śvetyāgād araig u kṛṣṇā* "the brilliant one (Dawn) has come, the black one (Night) has (just, now) left". In a subordinate clause *u (ha) yat* and the aor. may be rendered by "as soon as": 7, 93, 3 *upo ha yad... vājino guḥ*. Sentences such as 6, 45, 13 may accordingly be considered lively and 'dramatic' references to mythological events: *abhūr u vira... mahān* "thou hast become, O hero (Indra), the great one". Similarly in a piece of 'mythical history': 1, 104, 2 *o (ā + u) tye nara indram ūtaye guḥ* "then those men came to I. for help". The vivid imagination of the poet may have put the words in his mouth (1, 37, 10⁶³): "the sons (of Rudra, i.e. the Maruts who act as celestial bards) have just "extended" their eulogies". The particle occurs also with an aor. subj.: 6, 38, 1 *apād... ud u naś... bharṣad*

⁶⁰ Delbrück, *o.c.*, p. 6. For the perf. with *nu* see e.g. RV. 1, 148, 3.

⁶¹ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 241.

⁶² Grassmann, cited by Delbrück, *o.c.*, p. 87 f.

⁶³ If *anata* forms a zeugma, see Geldner, *o.c.*, I² p. 47.

... *indrahūtim* "he (Indra) has drunk, (and) he must now take for himself our invocation".

It is clear that those comparatively rare places where, in the RV., *u* combines with the impf. do not admit of the above interpretation. Yet it would not be correct to hold⁶⁴ that *u* has, in 3, 1, 3; 3, 31, 7; 7, 23, 1; 8, 24, 14 another meaning: it is the combination *u* + impf. which requires another translation than the group *u* + aorist; the particle, being a 'marker', is by itself hardly translatable.⁶⁵ In connection with a continuing process the transition impresses us as being less sudden, so that we are inclined to 'translate' *u* by "and", not by "now, at once". That the force of *u*, even in combination with an aor., is not exactly "just, now" may appear also from 6, 71, 4 *ud u śya devaḥ savitā... pratidoṣam asthāt* "there god S. has arisen in the evening". The particle may also combine with a perfect: see e.g. 7, 77, 1.

A typical use of the aor. ind. occurs in initial stanzas of R̥gvedic hymns in connection with events which have just come to pass (daybreak, offering of the soma draught, inflammation of the sacrificial fire, recitation of a hymn of praise, Soma's entering upon his course) and which constituted the occasion for composing the hymn. Examples are: 10, 107, 1 "Jetzt hat sich deren grosse Freigebigkeit geoffenbart (*āvīr abhūt*); alles Lebende ist jetzt von der Finsternis erlöst (*nīr amoci*). Das große... Licht ist gekommen (*āgāt*), der breite Weg... ist sichtbar geworden (*adarśi*).". The poet does neither refer to daybreak in general, nor to the many dawns which have preceded the last one; variety and frequency of the process are left out of consideration. The repeated "jetzt" is in the stanzas quoted not, as an adverb, in the original Sanskrit. The hymn is to praise the dakṣiṇā which is to be presented to the priests in the early morning. Cf. also 1, 123, 1; 3, 5, 1; 4, 47, 1; 5, 45, 1; 7, 8, 1; 75, 1; 79, 1; 9, 90, 1; 10, 1, 1; 139, 1. Sometimes however the sentence contains the particle *u* to which, in this connection, the sense of "now, just" may, in translating be ascribed: 4, 51, 1 *idam u tyat purutamam purastāj jyotis tamaso... asthāt* "dort im Osten ist dies Licht zum vielten Male der Finsternis entstiegen" (Geldner); 2, 38, 1; 6, 71, 1 *ud u śya devaḥ savitā... bāhu ayaṃsta*; 4, 51, 1; 6, 64, 1; 81, 1. In 7, 76, 1 an aor. occurring in a sentence containing *u* is followed by two other aorists.

Although instances such as 1, 157, 1 belong also under this heading, they may be dealt with separately, because they illustrate the difference

⁶⁴ Cf. Grassmann, as cited by Delbrück, *l.c.*

⁶⁵ Cf. e.g. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for students*, p. 220; Renou, *Gramm. véd.*, p. 375, 378.

between aorists which draw the hearer's attention to events which have just come to their conclusion and a pres. referring to another process which is going on: *abodhy agnir jma ud eti sūryo vy uṣās... āvo arcīṣā* "Agni has waked up; the Sun is rising, Dawn has diffused her brightness with her rays". In 5, 28, 1 two stages of inflammation are distinguished. R̥V. 7, 38, 1 may be quoted in illustration of the difference between a perf. and an aor. when combining in the initial stanza of a hymn: *ud u ṣya devaḥ savitā yayāma... amatim yām aśisret* "God. S. has set up his splendid image (which now is in the sky), which he (now) has placed (there)".

That the Vedic aor. often expresses what might be called the 'passé actuel', expressing actions or processes "which have occurred in the past with reference to the present"⁶⁶ is a matter of common knowledge. A few quotations may in addition to the examples quoted, for various reasons, in other chapters of this volume, suffice: R̥V. 1, 68, 1 *śrīṇann upa sthād divam* where Geldner's translation "(die Schmalzlöffel) mischend steigt er (viz. Agni)... gen Himmel" is not wholly adequate; 2, 11, 12 *tve indrāpy abhūma viprāḥ* "bei dir, I., haben wir Redekundigen Zuflucht gesucht" (Geldner); 16 "with thine aid, O I., they (sacrificers and eulogists) have come to (aor.) vāja"; 5, 30, 12 – expression of the poet's thanks to the king of the Ruśamas – "the Ruśamas have conferred a benefit (*akran*) (on us) by giving 4000 cows"; 14 "Babhru gained (*asanat*) 4000"; 15 "we received (*praty agrabhīṣma*) 4000"; "we got (*ādāma*)"; 5, 33, 2 where the god is addressed: "becoming mindful by our eulogies thou hast put (*aśreḥ*) the thong on thy horses"; 5, 80, 5 Dawn has come (*āgāt*); 7, 23, 3 "the manifestations of brahman (i.e. the hymns) have approached (*upa... asthuḥ*) him"; 10, 8, 1; 2; 61, 16 (*vandī*); 111, 2.

From the examples which have been quoted we may however conclude that these aorists are not only 'actuel': they are also to refer to the process as such, and its accomplishment, to avert the hearer's attention from variety and frequency, from particulars concerning the development of the process and from accidental circumstances which as a rule are left unmentioned.⁶⁷ Thus 3, 5, 3 c *ā... yajataḥ sānv asthāt* is no doubt viewed as an accomplished fact, as a process that has reached its culminating point: "the... adorable one (Agni) has mounted the surface (of the fire-place)". The general impression we obtain from a perusal of these texts is that the subject is not so much held to perform an activity as to be qualified by

⁶⁶ Macdonell, *Vedic grammar for students*, p. 345.

⁶⁷ This is of course not to contend that epithets, expatiations and other additions are always conspicuous by their absence: see e.g. R̥V. 3, 5, 3.

a deed, an occurrence, an accomplished fact, an event lived through: 10, 161, 2 *aspārṣam enam* "I have gained him"; 7, 18, 3 *imā u tvā... giro... upa sthuḥ* "these words of praise have approached thee"; 6, 44, 8 *śriye manāṃsi devāso akran* "die Götter haben ihren Sinn auf den Vorrang gerichtet".

It is hardly necessary to point out that the above observations do not involve the identity of what for the sake of convenience might be called 'punctuality' and 'recentness'. It would indeed hardly be a sound conclusion to hold that in the times of the poet of ṚV. 7, 71 the favour bestowed by the Aśvins on Atri and Jāhuṣa was quite recent because of the aorist used in mentioning it, and that the assistance lent to Cyavāna and Pedu was not recent because in referring to it the poet resorts to the perfect stem. The aorists which may have presented the events as if they were recent, may on the other hand have preserved, to a certain degree, their aspectual function.

As the 'perfective' verbal forms are much suited to suggest that the action expressed has, to the mind of the person speaking, come to a close, it is not surprising to find an aorist in the last stanza of a hymn in which the poet states that "with this the god has been praised" or something to that effect. Cf. ṚV. 7, 64, 5 *eṣa stomo... tubhyam... ayāmi* "this eulogium (or: here, now an eulogium) has been offered to thee..."; 2, 35, 15 "I have, O Agni, given (*ayāṃsam*) a secure dwelling to the people, I have offered (*ayāṃsam*) a good hymn to the benevolent patrons", the hymn being the text which with this stanza is brought to its conclusion, the secure dwelling being the purpose for which it was composed and recited. See also 1, 78, 5 *avocāma... agnaye madhumad vacaḥ* "(with this) we have pronounced..."; 114, 11 *avocāma namo asmā avasyavaḥ* "wir haben ihm (sc. in this hymn) gunstsuchend eine Huldigung ausgesprochen" (Geldner); compare also Sāyaṇa's note *avocāma: etatsūktarūpaṃ stotram avādiṣma*; 1, 116, 25 *pra vāṃ daṃsāmsy... avocam asya patiḥ syāṃ sugavaḥ suvīraḥ*, the feats of the god being commemorated in the preceding stanzas; Sāyaṇa's note is quite appropriate: *evam anena sūktenāśvinor mahimānaṃ praśasya adhunā mantradraṣṭā svābhīṣṭam prārthayate*. Compare also 1, 182, 8 (where Geldner adds: "heute"); 189, 8; 4, 2, 20; 3, 16; 5, 1, 12; 73, 10; 6, 34, 4 and 5; 7, 95, 6, etc. and 9, 92, 6 *somaḥ punānaḥ kalaśām ayāsīt*.

The same use of the aor. occurs at the end of more or less independent sections of a hymn, for instance in 10, 40, at the end of the "Einlage" in st. 12. Sometimes the poet adds some stanzas after such a recapitulatory statement that he has completed his hymn, etc.: 8, 59, 5. Thus in

1, 59, 6 the words *pra nū mahitvaṃ vṛṣabhasya vocam* while stating that the poet in the preceding stanzas had praised the god (cf. 5 where the word *mahitvaṃ* occurs) are followed by the commemoration of another feat. In these cases the aor. refers to a process or activity which has just come to its conclusion or which is being brought to its close. So far it is the ancient terminative or confective aorist. As, however, the process itself interests the poet himself and his audience very much, the aor. expresses at the same time an event, subject or activity which is at the moment of speaking what the French call 'actuel'. The process is – without regard to variety, frequency, heterogeneity, continuance or duration – stated as completed or being completed; expressing an occurrence in the immediate past which is related to the present or which concerns poet, patron or audience – these points are clear from context and situation –, speaker and hearer take a lively interest in it. The concluding force of the phrases containing this aor. is not rarely much in evidence: cf. e.g. also at the end of a hymn of Nodhas, a descendant of Gotama: 1, 63, 9 *akāri ta indra gotamebhir brahmāṇi* and 1, 80, 16 *tasmin brahmāṇi pūrvathendra ukthā sam agmata*, and especially 19, 146, 6 *prāham... aranyānim aśaṃsiṣam* “die Frau des Waldes habe ich jetzt gepriesen” (Geldner), or “with this (hymn) I have now praised...”.

The difference between the perfect and the aorist may also be illustrated by sentences of the type ṚV. 1, 113, 13 *śaśvat puroṣā vy uvāsa devy atho adyedaṃ vy āvo...* “in olden times Uṣas (Dawn) always shone forth formerly and also today she has shone forth”: whereas the aor. refers to the ‘passé actuel’, the perf. while referring to the past does not exclude the present time (cf. also 8, 80, 2).

The adverb *śaśvat* alone, expressing the idea of unlimited succession which may be characterized by endless repetitions,⁶⁸ is often accompanied by the perfect in ṚV. 1, 30, 16 *śaśvad indraḥ... jigāya... dhanāni* “immer wieder hat I. (mit Rossen)... Reichtümer erobert”, or: “I. has always been victorious”. ṚV. 1, 35, 5 *śaśvad viṣaḥ savitur... upasthe viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuḥ* was translated by Geldner: “allezeit ruhen die Menschenstämme... im Schosze des S.”; however, “again and again they abide...”, or “with beginningless regularity they have come to rest...” are likewise possible translations. In connection with the salutary activity of the Aśvins the poet of 1, 47, 9 observes that they *śaśvad ūhathur dāśuṣe vasu* “in an ever recurrent way ye have brought things of value to him who honours the gods” or “ye always bring”. Similarly *ibid.* 10; 6, 21, 8 *śaśvad babhūtha suhava eṣṭau*; 32, 3 (*indraḥ*) *ś. jigāya* “he has al-

⁶⁸ See also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 48.

ways gained the victory”, or “he is constantly, repeatedly, again and again victorious”; 40, 4 *ś. gayātha* “immer wieder bist du gekommen”, following the invitation to come (now): *ā yāhi*; 6, 62, 3 (of the circuit of the Aśvins); 8, 67, 16; 9, 66, 16; 10, 69, 11; 112, 5. The above processes and activities are all of them characterized by their ever-recurrent character; they have occurred from times immemorial and they occur nowadays.

Now the question arises as to the difference between *śaśvat* + perf. and *śaśvat* + aor.: 1, 123, 4 *siṣasantī dyotanā śaśvad agāt* “endeavouring to gain (welfare) the shining one (Uṣas) has always come”. It would appear to me that, as opposed to the perf., the aor. throws one moment, one culminating point, which no doubt is the most recent appearance of the goddess, into relief. One might perhaps say that in the words *śaśvad agāt* a twofold thought is expressed: “Uṣas has recently appeared, as she has always appeared”. Cf. 2, 38, 1 *ud u śya devaḥ savitā sevāya śaśvattamaṃ... asthāt* “dieser Gott S. hat sich zum vielten Male aufgemacht” (Geldner); 3, 35, 6; 9, 87, 4, where the aor. is perfectly normal and intelligible, the adverb informing the hearer on the previous recurrence of the activity.

The same adverb is also – but not frequently – followed by a pres. ind.: 6, 41, 2 *yā te kākut... yayā ś. pibasi* “the hollow of thy mouth... with which thou always (or: from of old again and again) drinkest” (with ‘extension’ of the psychological present); similarly, 8, 5, 23; 71, 3. Cf. also, with *śaśvattamaṃ*, 3, 62, 2; 10, 70, 3. Otherwise: the opt. pres. 9, 97, 58.

III

THE 'MYTHOLOGICAL' AORIST

As was already noticed by my predecessors¹ the aorist may in the language of the Vedic mantras also occur in the narrative sections, i.e. in those very numerous passages which describe or allude to myths or mythological events. Although part of the relative passages contain, not a 'narrative' or 'mythological' aorist, but the aorist of the antecedent process, there is, indeed, a sufficiency of examples to show the above use of this verbal category. All narrative verbs of the Indra hymn R.V. 1, 11 are imperfects – there is also one perfect – with the exception of the two aorists in st. 5: "thou hast opened (*apāvaḥi*) the cave of Vala; the gods have assisted (*āviṣuḥ*) thee...". Whatever the value of these aorists and whatever the explication of their use, they must – even if their prosodic form might have thrown its influence into the scale – have stood out from the other preterite tenses occurring in this hymn. If we attempt to explain this use from the general function of the aorist in the Veda we must suppose that the poet viewed the above activities of the gods, contrary to fact, as belonging to the immediate past with reference to the present, as having taken place in his own experience, that is to say that his vivid imagination presenting the mythical events as experienced history evoked them dramatically. Although, from the 'synchronic' point of view, this may be the main characteristic of the aorist as used in the above context, diachronically speaking it may perhaps be connected with the well-known function of the aorist in the cognate languages, to emphasize, while presenting the process as a fact, its 'completion', to inform the auditors of a mere happening without inviting them to dwell on particulars with regard to duration or development or to the way in which it took place, to state or relate facts in a 'complexive or concentrative' way, to refer to the events described "einfach als geschehen, ohne jede Nebenbeziehung".² Cf. e.g., in the beginning of the Iliad, A 1 ff. μῆνιν ἄειδε ... ἥ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν, / πολλὰς ... ψυχὰς Ἀϊδὶ προΐαψεν; 9 f. ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεὶς / νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε

¹ See e.g. Delbrück, *Altindische Tempuslehre* (Halle, 1876), p. 88; Renou, *Gramm. véd.*, p. 365.

² Kühner-Gerth, *Griech. Gramm.*, II, I, p. 155.

κακῆν. In Slavonic, too, the aorist is used in narrative style when successive facts are viewed as punctual processes or activities.³

That this way of presenting mythical events accelerates and dramatizes the narrative seems unquestionable. Would it be too unconsidered an assumption that it was this element of dramatic vividness – this way of focusing attention on the mere facts, on the verbal processes themselves, the activity of the subjects, the events themselves without regard to development or continuance, without inviting the hearers to dwell on those events or to give their imagination free play –, which is the main point of resemblance between the idea we have of an ancient Indo-European 'aorist' and the aorist as it was used by the Vedic authors? Is it improbable that it has *inter alia* been this function which has occasioned the typically Vedic use of this category?

Other examples are to be found in RV. 1, 33, an Indra-hymn which while describing the god's feats – some of which are not mentioned in other hymns – uses all preterites and present forms alternately. As it appears that a closer study of some details will be of importance for the problem under consideration, it will be necessary to analyze the use of the verbal forms in this hymn. After two stanzas of an introductory character in which the poet expresses his intention to invoke the god's favour and in which no preterites occur, the poet prefaces his prayer (st. 3) that the god may not be stingy, with the statement that Indra has hung on (*ni asakta*, aor.) his quiver, that he drives the cows of the foreigner to whomever he will: here the god's activity is viewed as contemporaneous, his hanging on the quiver as belonging to the immediate past. The next stanzas are devoted to an obscure myth the theme of which is the defeat of an enemy of the gods (*dasyu*), whom Indra slew with his club. The verb "slew" is in the aor. (*vadhīh*), in contradistinction to the two verbs in the following quarters of the verse relating to flight and death of definite beings who were present at the combat: *vy āyann* "they went in different directions" (impf.) and *pra īyuh* "they advanced" (perf.). It may be observed that these three verbs could, from the point of view of aspect, be interpreted as if they were Greek 'perfective' or 'imperfective' i.e. momentaneous or 'neutral' and continuative forms: the aorist may be considered to be narrative, 'complexive', the imperfect as linear, descriptive, continuative, as serving "une évocation prolongée de l'action verbale" (Mazon⁴). From an 'objective' point of view it is perfectly intelligible that the process of 'flying' is presented in the 'eye-

³ For particulars: Vondrák, *Vergl. Slav. Gramm.*, II, p. 389.

⁴ A. Mazon, *Emplois des aspects du verbe russe* (Paris, 1914), p. 181.

witness' aspect, whereas the act of defeating is given as a mere fact. One might compare, for instance, in Greek, Hdt. 1, 95 οὔτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο (aor.) ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν (aor.) "ceux-ci (les Mèdes) se montrèrent braves en combattant les A. pour se libérer et, secouant le joug de la servitude, se rendirent libres", but, two lines further on: οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίησε τοιάδε "ce D., convoitant le pouvoir absolu, procédait de la façon suivante...": ἐποίησε introduit le récit".⁵

The next stanzas contain digressions: in 5 the enemies lost their heads (perf.) and Indra blew them away (imperf.) etc., in 6 three imperfects; and, in 7, some observations on particulars regarding Indra's activity in this mythical combat (3 imperfects); similarly, 8 d and 9; 8 a-c and 9 a containing perfects which refer to the condition of the enemies. In st. 10 c d Indra whose ally is his vajra (the thunderbolt) – here the perfect refers to the god's condition – is related to have performed another important deed: he brought the cows to light: again an aorist, which while throwing the culmination of the process into relief, adds to the 'dramatical' character of this part of the narrative. St. 11 ab is on the other hand descriptive: the waters flowed, or rather began to flow, according to the god's desire (impf.); cd seems to be an after-thought: Indra slew the enemy (impf.). In st. 12 other episodes of Indra's 'heroic life' are broached: he threw down strongholds and pierced Śuṣṇa (impf.); he killed, the poet adds (aor.), the enemy with as much power as possible: the completion of this action is emphasized. A similar alternation occurs in st. 13 ab "he went straight and successfully to his enemies (impf.), he destroyed (aor.) the strongholds", both verbs (*ajigāt* and *abhet*) lending themselves very well to continuative and instantaneous expressions. St. 13 cd is more or less 'contemplative' in character, the narrative is retarded: two imperfects. In 14 ab the god is related to have assisted Kutsa and the bull Daśadyu: two imperfects; but in the short statement that the dust of the latter's hooves reached the sky the poet resorts to the aorist (14 c). In the final stanza the poet describes Indra's aiding a domesticated bull in military exploits (impf.), ending up by stating that the god has got a hold (*akāḥ*, aor.) on the property of the hostile beings.

It seems clear that in the eyes of the poet's auditors who were accustomed to the Vedic use of the preterite tenses those processes which were referred to by an aor. – which helped to throw the dramatic culminating

⁵ Quoted and translated by J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*² (Paris, 1954), p. 143 f.

points into relief –, were so to say brought nearer to them, that the aor. helped to tie a bond between the past events narrated and the present, that it made them feel interested in the deeds and activities narrated.

The occasional occurrence of an aorist in a description of mythical events may therefore substantially add to the dramatic character of the narrative. This effect is no doubt primarily due to the accelerative character of the aorist. Thus we find R.V. 4, 24, 8 “in einer kleinen dramatischen Szene”⁶ which closes an account of competition for Indra’s favour the sudden occurrence of an aor.: “when she had perceived (aor.) the competition... the wife of the bull (Indra) called (aor.) him towards (her)...”: here the form used is the aor. *acikradat*. A similar use of the aor. occurs also in Homeric passages referring to the former adventures of gods: E 395 ff. τλῆ δ’ Ἀΐδης ... ὦκὺν οἰστὸν, / εὔτέ μιν ... υἱὸς Διὸς ... / ... ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν. / αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ...; θ 267 ff.

This dramatic character is especially apparent when it occurs in combination with an apostrophe. Thus 1, 187, 6 food is addressed: *akāri cāru ketunā tavāhim avasā vadhīt* “something agreeable has been done through the intellectual light given by thee; through thy favour I. has slain (aor.) the serpent”.

In descriptive and narrative passages dealing with mythical events an aor. ind. may therefore appear so as to interrupt a series of imperfects. Whereas the imperfects help to evoke scenes and images in the minds of the auditors, the aorist is, in cases such as 1, 61, 11, to present a process as a mere fact: (10) “by his own heroic power I. hewed V. in pieces (impf.)..., he released (impf.)... (11) by his energy the rivers stood still (aor.), when he stopped (impf.) them by his vajra”.

This so-called ‘emphatic’ or ‘dramatic’ function is also proper to the aoristic or ‘perfective’ forms in the related languages. In vivid narratives the non-progressive character of the aorist or ‘perfective’, which does not invite the hearer to accompany the process in his mind, makes it especially suited to denote ‘affektbetonte’ events, on which the speaker wishes to focuss the attention of his audience. One might compare e.g. Thuc. 4, 57 αὐτοῖς κίνδυνος ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατακλῆσθαι· ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα ... ἡσύχαζον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ... χωρήσαντες εὐθὺς ... αἰροῦσι τὴν Θυρέαν. καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν κατέκαυσαν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα ἐξεπόρθησαν ..., and, in Czech, *na požádání dodá se mléko i do domu* “on demand the milk is delivered at the (customer’s) house.”⁷

⁶ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 452.

⁷ For more Czech examples see E. Seidel, in *Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague*, VI (1936), p. 121 f.

It is worth while to examine some other hymns in a somewhat more superficial way. The Indra-hymn RV. 1, 80, which deals almost exclusively with the great Vṛtra-combat, contains among other verbal forms a number of aorists which again refer to some of the most dramatic moments of the text. The statements of the god's power and victoriousness are in the perfect (st. 1; 4; 13), the description of his intoxication, of the cheers of the onlookers or adherents in the impf. (st. 2; 9); in the impf. are also explanations and after-considerations (st. 10); the story of Indra's attack, the impression of his heroic activity upon nature and general statements about the god's character and activity are in the 'historical present' (st. 5; 6; 11; 14) or perfect (15). The aor. however occurs in 7: "als du jenes listige Tier (angriffst), da hast du es mit List erschlagen (*avadhiḥ*)" (Geldner); in the account of the marvellous multiplication of the god's weapon in 8: "the vajras have spread (*vi... asthiran*) over the ninety-nine rivers"; in the observation that the enemy was not able to intimidate the god by his thundering and expectorations (12), and finally in the last stanza (16) where it is the aor. of the 'passé actuel'. These alternations between aor. and impf. are not essentially different from such significant Homeric oppositions as e.g. E 390 ὁ δ' ἐξέκλεψεν Ἀρηά / ἥδη τειρόμενον, χαλεπὸς δέ ἐ' δεσμὸς ἐδάμνα "and he took away A., who was now much distressed, for his grievous bonds were overpowering him"; ι 40 ff. ἐνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς ... τοὶ δὲ ... οὐκ ἐπίθοντο, / ἐνθα δὲ πολλὸν μὲν μέθυ πίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα / ἔσφαζον "there I sacked the city and destroyed the men, ... but they did not listen. But there much mead was drunk, and they slew many sheep".

Whereas in RV. 6, 26 part of Indra's exploits are referred to by the impf., some aorists crop up: 3 "thou incitedst (impf.) the K. in the effort to..., thou brokest (*vark*, aor.), on Kutsa's behalf, Śuṣṇa's neck, thou struckest off (impf.) the head of the invulnerable one...": as objectively speaking all three processes are mythical and the invulnerable one and Śuṣṇa may be identical,⁸ the aor. seems to be dramatically narrative – and hence it may have an 'aspectual' function –, the impf. to be expatiatory and descriptive. The last word of RV. 10, 8 is, after other verb forms in the triad of stanzas 7-9 which deals with Indra, Trita and Viśvarūpa, the aor. *parā vark*: "he beheaded (impf.) him who strove after superior power...; he wrung off (aor.) his three heads". Why different forms? As they refer to the same event, may they be believed to express the 'passé historique' and 'passé actuel' only on the assumption

⁸ Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 125.

that the poet in the last words expresses himself somewhat more vividly and emphatically? Is the repeated aorist *bhuvāḥ* in st. 5 and 6 due to the same inclination on the part of the poet? If so, was this form an 'aspectual' or a 'temporal' aorist? Whether the author of 8, 32, 2 wished to present the process as 'punctual' and 'complexive' or to suggest that it was as good as a 'passé actuel', the aor. impresses us – in accordance with the character of the whole exordium – as vivid and dramatic: 1ff. "proclaim the exploits of Indra, who slew (*vadhīt*, aor.) *Śṛbinda*, A., etc.; 'subdue A.'s greatness', this heroic deed hast thou performed".

The contents of the larger part of the *Ṛbhu*-hymn *ṚV.* 1, 110 as well as the absence of aorists invite the hearer to a quiet contemplation and reconsideration of the gods' performances. One aor. however makes a salient feature in the poet's expatiations: 6 the *Ṛbhus* who in fashioning a cup equalled the efficiency of *Tvaṣṭar*, ascended (*aruhan*) the heavenly regions. In contradistinction to such processes as marching on, making or becoming immortal, coming, fashioning, rejuvenating, which are referred to in the other stanzas, the deification of the *Ṛbhus*, their reception among the gods, is, while being related as a mere fact without regard to development or continuance, presented in its culmination point.

In addressing Indra the poet of *ṚV.* 1, 174, 2 praises some of the god's great achievements: "thou subduedst (impf. *danah*⁹) the tribes which resort to injurious speech, when thou destroyedst (aor. *darī*¹⁰) their strongholds; thou causedst the waters to flow (impf. *ṛnoḥ*), thou madest *Vṛtra* subject... (aor. *randhīḥ*)". Whereas in the former part of this stanza the alternation impf.: aor. may be explained otherwise, the flowing of the rivers is clearly viewed as incohesive-continuative ("setzest... in Bewegung" Geldner), the subjection of the great enemy as punctual-terminative. This explication is, as far as I am able to see, to be preferred to the other possibility: the impf. refers to the 'historical past' without any relation to the present, and the aor. to the immediate past. St. 4 cd of the same hymn is also instructive: "when he after a combat let the waters flow (*śṛjad ava*, impf.)..., he mounted (*tiṣṭhat*, impf.) his two steeds and boldly took possession of (*mṛṣṭa*, aor.) the *vājas* (the power-substance obtained by his activities)": here too the use of the preterites seems to be determined by the same factors as it was for instance in Greek.

It is difficult to see what is the function of the aorists in 10, 61, 13, if

⁹ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 252.

¹⁰ Renou, *Gramm. véd.*, p. 82.

not to lend a tinge of vividness to the passage. Relating the history of the Aṅgirasas, their first sacrifice, Indra's booty and the action of the demons, the poet refers to the activity of the last-mentioned by the aor. *agman* "they came". In 13 cd the irresistible one succeeded to discern (*vi... vidat*, aor.) the hidden vulnerable point of Śuṣṇa. Similar occurrences of the aor. are: 10, 67, 4; in st. 3 the poet narrates the story of Brhaspati, who by means of his voice destroyed the cave in the rock in which the cows were detained (two impf.), in st. 5 the liberation of dawn, sun, cow (impf. and perf.), in 4 "below through two doors, at the upper end through one (door) B. has driven out (*ud... ā kaḥ*, aor.) the cows..."; the curious stanza 7 of the same hymn "*b. ... draviṇam vy ānaḥ* (aor.) "B. has come into possession of movable property": or does the aor. indicate that this event has come about before? Cf. ṚV. 10, 134, 1 *ubhe yad indra rodasī āpaprātha... |... tvā... devī janitry ajījanat* "when thou, O I., spread both parts of the universe..., the divine mother has generated (aor.) thee"; 1, 161, 5; 6, 31, 1; 7, 87, 6; 8, 23, 18; 10, 111, 3.

The possibility of inserting aorists on a comparatively large scale in their accounts of mythical events may therefore also be considered a device enabling the poets to introduce some variation in their presentation of details. In ṚV. 1, 63, 1 for instance a reference to Indra's power to frighten sky and earth – as soon as he was born! – is expressed by an aorist (st. 1), just like the observation that the poet – by means of his powerful words – has supplied the god with a weapon (2); in the somewhat detailed commemoration of the Śuṣṇa combat the poet resorts to an impf. (3), in the statement that he animated (his allies) an aor. (4), one of the occasions on which the god did so being referred to by an impf. (*ubhnāḥ* "thou subduedst"), the other by an aor. (*vi... akṛtaḥ* "thou choppedst up"). That the god broke open seven strongholds is narrated by means of an impf. of an intensive (7), that he culled the enemies as easily as if they were grass and that he freed a king from distress by an aor. (7).

The difference between aor. and impf. is especially conspicuous in passages such as ṚV. 2, 11, 20 "having increased (in size, power, etc.) through the intoxicating draught he has overthrown (*astah*, aor.) Arbuda. Like the sun its wheel he caused (it¹¹) to revolve (brandished it?: *avartayat*, impf.):... I. cleft (*abhinat*, impf.) Vala". In a reference to a legend 7, 18, 11 "the king overthrew (*ny astah*, aor.) twenty-one men of the V. ...; like an accomplisher of wonderful deeds the barhis... he thrusts (them) down (pres. ind., betraying the wish of the author to give

¹¹ Cf. Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 289.

a lively picture of the events described); the hero Indra instituted (impf., continuative action) a race among them." In 2, 30, 3 which exhibits a great variety of verb forms the aorist seems to express the author's vivid imagination and the lively character of his description: *ūrdhvo hy asthād adhy antarikṣe* "for erect he took up a position in the atmosphere"; *adhā vṛtrāya pra vadhaṃ jabhāra* (perf.) / *mihaṃ vasāna upa him adudrot* (plpf.: "denn er (der Vṛtra) hatte ihn angelaufen, in Nebel sich hüllend"¹²) *tigmāyudho ajayac* (impf.) *chatrum indraḥ*.

Detached mythical, legendary or perhaps historical deeds ascribed to gods are not infrequently referred to by an aorist: after some introductory stanzas the poet of ṚV. 4, 30 reminds the god of some of his exploits, referring to them by means of imperfects. In st. 8 he uses the first aorist: "this heroic deed also belongs to thine achievements that thou hast felled (aor.) the daughter of heaven"; in the next stanzas, which constitute a digression on the same event, the poet reverts to the impf.; in st. 11 he takes so much pleasure in describing and evoking that he switches over to the pres. indicative. Passing on to other myths he again resorts to aorists (12) *sindhūm vibālyam...* / *pari śthā indra māyayā* "thou hast, O Indra, also obstructed, by thy māyā, the river V."; ibid. 13 *uta śuṣṇasya ... pra mṛkṣo abhi vedanam* / *puro yad asya sampiṇak* "and thou seizedst (aor.) the property of Ś., when thou destroyedst (impf.) his strongholds"; ibid. 15 *uta dāsasya varcinah sahasrāṇi śatāvadhīḥ* "thou hast also killed thousands, hundreds (of men) of the dāsa V.". The vividness of these references seems unmistakable. Cf. also 8, 51, 8 "when he fixed (aor.) and spread (part.) yonder sky, then the lord of the earth has been born (*janiṣṭa*, aor.)".

Other instances of the 'aorist of a mythic event' are ṚV. 5, 30, 4 *vido gavām ūrvam usriyāṇām* "du fandest die Höhle der rötlichen Kühe" (Geldner): as st. 3 d contains a pres. indic. ("im Geist sieht jetzt der Sänger den Gott in voller Anfahrt"¹³), this aor. may be considered a 'passé actuel', that is to say the poet may have viewed this process as if it belonged to the immediate past; there is on the other hand nothing to prevent us from regarding it as a 'complexive' narrative or rather punctual terminative aor. (the verb is transformative), used 'dramatically'; 5, 32, 5 *amarmaṇo vidad id asya marma*; 8 *tyaṃ cid... śayānam... ādad*¹⁴ *ugrah*, both events relating to the great Vṛtra combat. Cf. also 1, 39, 6.

In a reference to the battle of the ten kings the poet of ṚV. 7, 33, 5

¹² P. Thieme, *Das Plusquamperfektum im Veda* (Göttingen, 1929), p. 27.

¹³ Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 27.

¹⁴ Renou, *Gr. véd.*, p. 82.

uses the impf. in describing how those who were surrounded by the enemies looked like thirsty men to the sky and in relating Indra's succour: *akṛṇod u lokam*; that the god heard Vasiṣṭha who praised him is however stated by means of an aorist: *vasiṣṭhasya... indro aśrot*. It is difficult not to conclude that the function of these forms is aspectual rather than temporal, the more so as in st. 4 *āvat* "(Indra) came to their rescue" is, like the other verbs of this passage, an imperfect. In referring to an important incident in the conflict between the Aryans and Kuyava the poet of RV. 1, 104, 2 resorts to an aorist: "those men came (*gūḥ*) to Indra for assistance". In 5, 61 the poet Śyāvāśva while narrating the kindness shown to him by a woman uses the aor. (4) and the impf. (9) alternately: "she gave (*sanat*, aor.) horses etc."... "she described (*arapat*, impf.) the way"; an aor. of the latter verb does not occur in these texts.

The mythical and the historical 'history' – or rather contemporaneous occurrences – may fuse to such an extent that the poet in the conviction that the god takes action in human affairs, aiding his patrons and combating the enemies, describes his activity as occurring at the moment of speaking. An instructive hymn is RV. 1, 33: the poet invokes the god, "flying towards him" and honouring him with his songs of praise. In 3 he continues: "he (Indra) has fastened (aor.) his quivers; he drives (pres. ind.) the cows to whom he wishes...; for thou slewest (aor.) the rich dasyu...", the last words probably referring to a mythical event.

However, the activities of the gods do not, in principle, pertain to any fixed time. Indra extends his help to contemporaneous kings or to those who by their exploits live on in the tradition of the Aryan community: 4, 16, 13 (aorist of a recent manifestation of divine help); 1, 174, 2. The Aśvins for instance make the round of the atmosphere up to the present. So the aor. is (1, 119, 2) in connection with this happening intelligible: *ā vām ūrjānī ratham aśvināruhat*. The fact that the goddess Ūrjānī has mounted (aor.) their chariot may, therefore, though mythical in character and always repeated, be considered an occurrence belonging to the 'passé actuel' (aor.: *ibid.*). The mythical wedding of Sūryā is however also narrated in the aorist (st. 3), just like some references to the gods' assistance to historical personalities, which of course might be viewed as recent (st. 4; 5), and the statement that their marvellous skill became, on these occasions, manifest. These aorists may have served to create the impression that these occurrences belonged to the immediate past or, rather, to the 'passé actuel' in which speaker and hearer take special interest; they may however also be regarded as 'aspectual' and 'narrative'. A similar instance of a narrative-dramatic aor. occurs in 1,

174, 5 where the poet, after encouraging the gods observes: "(thus Indra) attacked (aor.) the adversaries, armed with the vajra"; the apostrophe helps to create the impression that the scene is laid in the presence of the audience. Hence also Geldner's ¹⁵ remark on RV. 2, 11, 7 *harī nu ta indra... svāraṃ asvārṣtām* "dein Falbenpaar... hat sein Getöse ertönen lassen": "der mythologische Vorgang ist nach dem Aorist in die Gegenwart gerückt". This line, which follows after the expression of the poet's intention to praise the god, precedes the statement that the earth became flatter and larger (impf.!) and the mountain, which was about to run away, came to rest (aor.): although the former process is no doubt also "in die Gegenwart gerückt", it is in all probability also viewed as continuing, as opposed to the other actions which are presented as momentary. Similarly, st. 8 ("eine bestimmte Szene aus dem Mythos oder aus dem groszen Aufruhr in der Natur" Geldner): "the mountain sat down (aor.), he raised a roar (aor.), they spread (impf.) Indra's blowing (impf.)". Compare also st. 18 *apāvr̥ṇor jyotir āryāya ni savyataḥ sādī dasyur indra* "for the Aryan thou uncoveredst (impf.) the light, the Dasyu was given the cold shoulder (aor.), O I.": the first, very important event is evoked in its development, the second fact merely put on record; we now return to st. 20 "fortified by (the Soma)... he knocked Arbuda (a demon) out (aor.); like the sun its wheel he made (it, the demon's head?) roll (impf.); ... he cleft Vala (impf.)". The aor. may, it is true, serve to bring the first event nearer to the auditors, but the other processes which lend themselves especially to continuative presentation are remarkably enough denoted by an imperfect. This use and contexts of this description may have contributed much to the development of the 'Vedic' functions of these forms out of the older functions the existence of which is not completely hypothetical.

Ritual acts viewed as reiterations of mythical or cosmogonical events may be described in the language of myth and mythical occurrences are on the strength of the same identity not rarely transferred to the present. Thus it reads, RV. 3, 5, 10, "Agni (fire) rising by means of the fuel has upheld (*ud astambhīt*, aor.) the sky": the aorist is from the point of view of the audience, no doubt 'actuel'.

The general tendency of natural language towards vividness of expression is in some cases attended by circumstances which give it a peculiar interest for the student of stylistics or historical linguistics as well as for the student of the history of religion. It led these poets to use the aorist and the imperfect alternatively in those poems in which myth-

¹⁵ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 288.

ical occurrences are described that are repeated in ritual acts. The first stanza of RV. 9, 110, a hymn which "vor allem den Gedanken vertritt, dasz Soma sich selbst entdeckt und seinen eigenen Kult gestiftet hat",¹⁶ addresses the soma which, being clarified, flows off (pres. ind.), the second is to hail and praise the divine draught. St. 3 states that Soma has by distributing his 'milk' produced the sun (*ajijanaḥ*, aor.): cf. 9, 97, 41 where the same achievement is described by means of an imperfect. Both views on the process are legitimate, because it admits of being presented as a mythical event as well as a ritual re-enactment of the same. St. 4 continues: *ajijanaḥ*, adding *sadāsaro vājam achā saniṣyadat* "thou hast always run towards vāja, flowing rapidly" the verbal action is presented as a realized fact (aor.), the adverb expressing that it occurred "on all occasions"; as the last occurrence of the process is taking place at the moment of reciting the text, the process is at the same time actual. The next line, which is introduced by *hi* "since, because", and containing a perfect (*tatardithotsam* "thou hast sunk a well") interrupts the regular succession of thoughts. St. 6 *ād im ke cit... anūṣata* "then certain (persons, viz. gods and ṛṣis) applauded him": *abhy amīṣata*, the aorist referring to a series of events as units of history, the intention of the poet obviously being to say that every time when the Soma ran in order to obtain vāja, the gods and ṛṣis incited him by their shouts.

It may be remembered that the Greek aorist also may be used in connection with reiterated processes. The repetition is however not expressed by the verb, but is implied in context and situation. Often an adverb is the bearer of the iterative force: Φ 263 ὥς αἰεὶ Ἀχιλλῆα κιχῆσατο κῦμα ῥόοιο καὶ λαίψηρον ἐόντα "ever thus did the flood of the river ever overtake A. for all he was fleet of foot". The verb is punctual but the process denoted by the verb is, punctual as it is, repeated. Cf. also A 396 πολλάκι γάρ ... ἄκουσα εὐχομένης "for often have I heard thee glorying"; Plato, Apol. 18 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ λέγοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ᾗ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε παῖδες ὄντες.¹⁷

There can indeed be no doubt whatever that in a considerable number of cases the Rgvedic aorist does not refer to the immediate, but to the 'mythical' past. This is however not to contend that all occurrences are clear or unambiguous. In 1, 63, 1 "thou, O Indra, art the great one, who as soon as thou wert born struck terror (*ame dhāḥ*) into the sky and

¹⁶ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 116.

¹⁷ Cf. also Ruipérez, *o.c.*, p. 88 f.; for Slavonic see N. van Wijk, "Die sogenannten Verba iterativa und die Bezeichnung der wiederholten Handlung im Altkirchenslavischen", *I.F.*, 45, p. 93 ff.

earth" there is a complication because this clause is followed by a *yad*-clause containing an impf.: "when..., even the mountains stirred (*aijan*) from fear". As the impf. expresses, in this context, no doubt a continuing process, the aor. may be regarded as representing in the ancient way 'momentary activity' considered as completed before the other process is thought to have set in. So the translation should rather be "thou hadst struck terror". It probably would be preferable to render the impf. by "began to stir". A similar interpretation may apply to st. 4 "thou, O I. hadst inspired (thy friends) as a companion (*codiḥ sakhā*), when thou conqueredst (*ubhnāḥ*) Vṛtra". In these cases the aor. clearly refers to a past fact presented as being opposed to a process which took place at a later time. We are reminded of the well-known 'aorist of the past when regarded as opposed to the present', e.g. in Pāli D.N. I, 71, 35 *tassa evaṃ assa: ahaṃ kho pubbe... payojesiṃ* "he thinks now: 'formerly I had to put out at interest'".

In 10, 68, 6 the form *ādat* may be considered an impf. of *ad-* "to eat" as well as an aor. of *ā-dā-* "to take".¹⁸ If an aorist, its function seems to be to "dramatize" the narrative: "when Bṛhaspati had forced open the prison (hiding-place?), he took (has taken) (them) away like..."

It is however not always easy to decide why in a mythological context an aorist has incidentally been preferred. Does RV. 6, 39, 2 *rujad aruṅ-ṇaṃ vi valasya sānum pañīṃr vacobhir abhi yodhad indraḥ* mean "he (Indra) destroyed (impf.) the indestructible mountain-ridges of Vala, I. has fought the P. by means of words", the aor. being dramatic, or does the last sentence express the – less probable – sense: "I. had f. ...", the aor. expressing what is antecedent to the process of destroying V.'s ridges?

Sometimes we are uncertain as to the poet's intentions – if he had any intention at all to present the activities related as 'momentary' or 'continuing' as 'historique' or 'actuel'. Why, for instance, is in RV. 6, 26, 3 "du (Indra) ermutigtest (*codayaḥ*) den Kavi im Kampf; du rangst (*vark*) für... Kutsa mit Ś.; du schlugst das Haupt des... ab (*parāhan*)" (Geldner) the second action which is from the objective point of view as well suited to continuative expression as the other activities, denoted by an aorist? In a reference to the first ages of the world when Indra was born and the soma sacrifice was instituted it reads, RV. 9, 111, 8 *divaḥ pīyusaṃ... nir adukṣata* (aor.) "they have milked the biestings of the heavens"; and *indram abhi jāyamānaṃ sam asvaran* (impf.) "they praised

¹⁸ Renou, *Gramm. véd.*, p. 261; 284.

in chorus I. when he was born". Passing mention may also be made of similar alternations of perf., impf. and aor.: 1, 51, 6. A curious line occurs 7, 32, 10 "nobody obstructs (perf.) the chariot of the liberal one, nor does he cause it to stay (*rīramat*, aor. inj.)"; the latter form does not however refer to the past.

IV

THE AORIST OF THE ANTECEDENT PROCESS

Neither imperfect nor aorist expressed by itself relative antecedence, in spite of the well-known fact that they are in ancient I.E. languages often used where we would have a pluperfect. In Greek for instance an aorist is, especially in a subordinate position, the correct form to denote a process which is antecedent to the process of the principal clause or, more generally, of the sentence with which the clause or sentence containing the aorist is closely connected. Thus, Xen. An. 1, 10, 19 ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη may be translated as follows: "so that the majority of the Greeks were left without an evening meal; and in the morning they had taken (impf.) no breakfast; in fact, before the army made a halt to take breakfast, the king had appeared (aor.)". Also in Latin, even in the works of Cicero, a subordinate clause is not rarely characterized by 'absolute Zeitgebung' where we might expect to find 'ein bezogenes Tempus'.¹ Compare e.g. Liv. 2, 19, 4 *quia Tarquinius esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit, quin... confligerent*, and the use of the 'independent aorist perfect' in clauses introduced by *ut, ubi, postquam, cum primum*. It would be worth while to consider the similar phenomena in the language of the R̥gveda more closely, the more so as they sometimes escaped the attention of the authors: Macdonell² for instance limits his relative observations to this: "(the aor. also) expresses what... is antecedent to a ritual act", quoting from the ŚB. *yad dhy asyāmedhyam abhūt tad dhy asyaitad avadhūnoti* "what has been impure in it, that in it he shakes off in this way".

Examples of an aor. in the subordinate clause and an impf. in the principal clause, the aor. referring to a previous event are numerous.³ In explaining this idiom – which may be exemplified by R̥V. 10, 113, 3

¹ (Leumann-)Hofmann, *Lateinische Grammatik*, p. 702.

² Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 346.

³ This use of the aor. was neglected by the authors of handbooks Delbrück, *Ved. Syntax*, p. 280 ff.; Macdonell, *Ved. Gr. for Students*, p. 345 f.; Renou, *Gramm. véd.*, p. 365 ff.

“als (*yat*) du... mit V. zusammengestoszen warst (*samasthitāḥ*), um zu kämpfen..., da stärkten (*avardhan*) alle Marut... deine Größe” (Geldner) – we may start from the hypothesis that the Vedic aorist forms originally were in principle aspectual in nature, expressing the psychologically relevant moment of a process. The juxtaposition and close connection of two clauses, one of them exhibiting an aor. and introduced by *yat* “as to (the fact that), speaking of, concerning, as to, quant à etc.”⁴ and the other containing a present form, did not by itself express any temporal relation whatever. What was indicated was first that the psychologically relevant moment of the former process was seen as a fact or ‘fait réalisé’, and in the second place that the other process was seen as developing and continuing. The chronological relation between both processes was like the logical connections implied in the context. It was left to the hearer – and perhaps we should say, especially to the interpreter of later generations and to the modern translator – to supply the incompleteness of the text, to replace its vagueness by more precise ideas of the logical and psychological relations. His knowledge of the subject, his common sense and a few indications in the text could help him. If the aor. was non-transformative, the process expressed by the other verb could partly coincide with it in time; if the aor. was transformative, the process denoted by it was viewed as completed, and the other process may be regarded as setting in after the completion of the former activity: R.V. 1, 51, 4 “when thou, O Indra, hadst slain (*avadhiḥ*) the snake..., then thou madest the sun rise (*arohayaḥ*)”. “Es bedarf keiner Bemerkung, dass wir in dem sogenannten plusquamperfektischen Sinn nicht etwa eine Entwicklung der Aoristbedeutung zu sehen haben, sondern lediglich den Reflex des Gesamtsinnes der Stelle”.⁵ Similarly, 5, 31, 3 “sobald seine Kraft aus der Kraft geboren war (*ājaniṣṭa*), zeigte (*dediṣṭa*) Indra alle seine Indrakräfte” (Geldner); 5, 32, 1 not “als du den... Berg aufschlossest (*vi yad vaḥ*)..., da liesdest du (*srjo vi*) die Ströme laufen” (Geldner), but “when thou hadst opened...”; 7, 98, 5 *yaded adevīr asahiṣṭa māyā athābhavat kevalaḥ somo asya*; 10, 61, 5; 7 (Geldner incorrectly “besprang”); 10; 92, 3.

As is well known the same use of the aorist (“instead of a pluperfect”) is, often in connection with temporal and causal conjunctions (ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ὅτε, ὥς etc.), very frequent in Greek: B 311 ἐνθα δ’ ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί ... / ὁκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα “now upon this

⁴ See *Lingua*, 4, p. 15 ff.

⁵ Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, IV (*Die Grundlagen der Griechischen Syntax*), p. 107.

were the fledgelings of a sparrow, eight in all, and the mother that had brought them forth then was the ninth"; Thuc. 1, 102 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν, ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο ... "as soon as they had withdrawn...".⁶ In Old-Slavonic, the aorist, "qui exprime un fait réalisé dans le passé",⁷ likewise assumes the function of a 'passé antérieur': Marc. 15, 20 the Greek words καὶ ὅτε ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτῷ, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὴν πορφύραν are translated as follows: *egda porogaše se emou, sūvlěše... praprodū*. This use of the aorist which may be considered to have belonged to the common prehistoric language, is indeed natural and intelligible. It shows however that this category while being aspectually characterized, had already in ancient, and in any case in prehistoric times, in definite contexts, a temporal function.

A curious place is RV. 5, 30, 5 ... *yat tvam... ājaniṣṭhāḥ... | ataś cid indrād abhayanta devāḥ*, where the words *ataś cit* add a new element, the literal translation being: "when thou (=Indra) wert born, from then the gods were afraid of Indra"; anyhow the aor. is 'momentary' as opposed to the 'incohesive-continuative' impf.; only the fact and the moment of the god's birth being thrown into relief.

It would not be out of place here also to discuss cases such as RV. 10, 100, 3 where the aor. is a subjunctive: *ā no devaḥ savitā sāviṣad vayaḥ ... | yathā devān pratibhūṣema* "the god S. will (is expected to) produce (generate, make active), for us, vigour, that we may bestow our support on the gods"⁸: the former process is expressed by an aorist, the latter by a present: the latter may begin and continue, as soon as the activity of Savitar is a 'fait réalisé'.

The subordinate clause exhibiting an aor. may also follow the principal clause: RV. 5, 31, 8 *avaho ha kutsaṃ saṃ ha yad vām uśānāranta devāḥ*. Similarly 5, 29, 5 where Geldner translates "brachtest": I would prefer "gebracht hattest"; 1, 103, 7 f. where Geldner, whose translations often show a lack of consistency, is right: "zerstört hattest". RV. 10, 76, 3 is remarkable in that the adverb *purā* "before, formerly" is added to the aor. which occurs in a *yathā*-clause: *tad id dhy asya savanaṃ viver apo yathā purā manave gātum aśret* "for that Soma-oblation performed (impf.) his (i.e. Indra's) work, as it had before paved the way for Manu".

The aor. ind. may indicate a process or an activity which, while preceding another activity which is referred to by means of a pres. ind., has

⁶ For other examples see Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, II, p. 169. Cf. also Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 283 f.

⁷ A. Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave*, I (Paris, 1948), p. 330; see also p. 241.

⁸ *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 77.

been brought to a conclusion before the beginning of the other process, or, if the process expressed by the aor. is non-transformative, a process or an activity which has begun before the other process sets in. R̥V. 7, 103, 3 “when he has rained upon (*abhy avarṣīt*) – or: when it has begun to rain upon him – the eager... one approaches (*eti*) the other...”; *ibid.* 4 “one of the two accepts (*anu grbhṇāti*) the greeting of the other, when they have revelled (*amandiṣātām*) in the discharge of waters”.

The aor. ind. is indeed not infrequently used to indicate the process of a subordinate clause which precedes the process referred to by the principal clause when the latter contains a present indicative: R̥V. 10, 94, 6 “when they have roared (*arāviṣuḥ*) – or, the verb being non-transformative, “begun to roar” –, their snorting is heard (*śṛṇve*)”. In 1, 65, 8 Geldner’s translation could be improved upon: *yad vātajūto vanā vy asthād agnir ha dāti romā prthivyāḥ* “wenn er vom Winde getrieben sich im Holze ausbreitet (more precisely: “has begun to spread”), mäht Agni das Haar der Erde”; 87, 2; 119, 3 not “zusammengekommen waren” (*agmata*) “... da tat sich... hervor” (*cekite*), but “have come..., is conspicuous”; 1, 141, 7-8 (“has begun to spread...”)”; 2, 4, 7 “who has spread (*vy asthāt*)..., he goes (*eti*) like an animal”; 5, 6 *yadī... asthita* /... *modate*; 1, 80, 11 and 5, 31, 3 where the mythical process is described by means of a present employed to add a new statement in a vivid manner; 5, 55, 6 (in 5 *ud īrayatha... varṣayatha, upa dasyanti*) “when ye have yoked (*ayugdhvam*) the antelopes, have put on (*praty... amugdhvam*) the golden garment, ye scatter (*vy asyatha*) O Maruts, all the rivals”. 5, 34, 4; 58, 6; 10, 27, 3; 1, 119, 3 (*intens.*).

R̥V. 7, 3, 4 consists of two subordinate clauses exhibiting aorists and a principal clause containing a pres. ind.: “as soon as thy bulky presence⁹ has spread (*aśret*, aor.) over the earth, when it has eagerly seized (*samavṛkta*, aor.) the victuals with its jaws thine attack goes (*eti*, pres. ind.) like an army for which the charge has sounded”.

In the following instances the subordinate clause containing the aor. follows the principal clause: R̥V. 1, 64, 7 “like the elephants ye devour (pres. ind.) the trees, when ye have yoked (aor.)...”; 5, 31, 1 “I. gives (pres. ind.) a swift course¹⁰ to the chariot, which he has mounted (aor.)”; 7, 57, 1; 10, 118, 2. Cf. also 4, 5, 8; 7, 3, 2. In 1, 80, 11 the event described, though mythical, is presented as belonging to the present.

Chronologically speaking the activity indicated by the aor. may belong

⁹ See e.g. J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954) p. 850; Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 68.

¹⁰ Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 100.

to the future, if the process expressed by the present is not viewed as a fact but as an event awaiting realization: 10, 67, 9 and 10 “we will (intend) to applaud (pres. subj.) the victorious Bṛhaspati, when he will have gained (*asanat*, aor. ind.) the vāja and has ascended (*aruhat*, aor. ind.) heaven”.

The pres. ind. may be accompanied by *sma* which lends the verb the force of a past tense referring to habitual processes or activities: 4, 38, 8 not, with Geldner “wenn Tausend ihn bekämpfen (*abhi śim ayodhīd*), so war (*smā bhavati*) er nicht aufzuhalten”, but “when a thousand had joined battle with him...”.

Sometimes the principal as well as the subordinate clause of a bipartite sentence dealing with a mythical subject contains an aorist: R̥V. 5, 32, 5 “he found (*vidat*, aor.) the mortal spot of the invulnerable one, when thou hadst placed (*dhāh*, aor.) him who desired to fight in the stronghold” the aor. *vidat* may be considered ‘dramatic’; 1, 63, 7 *barhir na yat sudāse vṛthā varḡ aṃho rājan varivaḡ pūrave kaḡ*; 8, 7, 2 *yad aṅga... yāmaṃ... acidhvam | ni parvatā ahāsata* “wenn ihr ... die Fahrt wirklich beschloßen habt, so haben sich schon die Berge gesenkt” (Geldner): the two aorists do indeed not fail to create the impression of an immediate succession of momentary activities. A similar place is 9, 79, 1 where the aorists contrast with the pres. imp. in pāda a: “our juices must flow (*dhanvantu*) spontaneously...; when (or rather as soon as) enviousness reached (*naśan*) our refreshing draughts, our prayers will reach (*naśanta*) the enemies”.¹¹ Cf. also 8, 2, 39. As the forms of the injunctive lacked modal and temporal characterization¹², they may indeed sometimes invite us to resort, in translating, to a future. Hence Geldner’s translation of R̥V. 6, 26, 5 ab *tvaṃ tad uktham indra barhaṇā kaḡ pra yac chatā sahasrā śūra darṣi* “du, I., wirst dies Preislied überschwenglich machen, wenn du, Tapferer, Hunderte, Tausende herausschlagen wirst (rather: herausgeschlagen haben wirst)”.

That the aor. may also refer to a process which is antecedent to another process when the latter is also expressed by an aor. may also appear from R̥V. 8, 51, 8, where Geldner’s translation “als er jenen Himmel breitete und stützte (*astambhīt prathayann*), da erst ward der Erdbewohner geboren (*janiṣṭa*)” should be rectified: “... had supported”. Similarly 10, 68, 6, if the verb of the principal clause *ādat* is an aorist: *yadā valasya... jasum bhed B...*, not “als B. das Gefängnis des... Vala erbrach”, but “erbrochen hatte”.

¹¹ Cf. also Thieme, *Fremdling*, p. 44.

¹² *The character of the Indo-European moods* (Wiesbaden, 1956), p. 37 ff.

The aor. occurs – less frequently, it is true – also in connection with a principal clause containing a form of the perfect: RV. 8, 12, 26 “when thou slewest (aor.) V. ... just then (more than ever) thy... bay steeds were strong (perf.)”: the former activity is in the poet’s eye terminative-punctual (*‘fait réalisé’*), with regard to the second no development, beginning or end is expressed (cf. 1, 52, 2). Cf. also 1, 87, 5 and the somewhat obscure stanza 10, 31, 10. A somewhat complicated case is RV. 6, 27, 4: “now thy particular power has become conspicuous (*aceti*, aor.), through which thou slewest (*avadhiḥ*, aor.) the descendants of V., when the rear was in such a situation as to be dispersed (*dadāra*, perf.)”. Another type of compound sentence occurs 5, 32, 7: “when Indra raised (or: had raised), *ud yaniṣṭa* (terminative-momentary aor.) his weapon ... when he hurt (without regard to progress or development: *dadābha*, perf.) him in the stroke of the vajra, he made (*cakāra*, perf.) him the lowest of all creatures”. The subordinate clause may occupy the second place: RV. 1, 94, 11 “then even the birds are afraid (perf.), when thy grass-eating sparks have begun to scatter (*vy asthīran*, aor.)” rather than “wenn deine... Funken stoben” (Geldner): the inchoative character of the non-transformative aor. is evident; 1, 52, 2 “like a mountain Indra was great and strong (*vāyrdhe*), when he killed (*avadhīt* V.” (cf. 8, 12, 26). In 10, 134, 1 an aorist is again opposed to a perfect: “when thou, O Indra, extendst thyself (*āpapratha*, perf.) over both parts of the universe, then the divine mother had created (*ajījanat*) thee”: here we must translate “had created”, because the process of creation must logically precede that of extending oneself.

Sometimes however the positions are reversed: the aor. may occur in a principal clause following a subordinate clause with an impf.: RV. 5, 34, 8 “wenn... I. erfahren hat (rather: “erfuhr”: *sam aved*, impf.¹³), dasz ..., da verbündet sich (or: hat sich verbündet: *akṛta*, aor.) der Schreckens-verbreiter mit dem einen und er treibt (*srjate*, pres. ind.)... heraus”. Here also, it seems impossible to maintain that the impf. has no relation to the present. The aor. expresses the ‘passé actuel’. Both forms seem to be ‘aspectual’ in character, the vivid aor. inducing the poet to continue in the ‘historical present’: the statement bears upon warfare. The impf. deriving from a transformative verb focuses, while presenting the process as continuing, some attention on its final term, so that the momentary activity of allying himself is understood as taking place after the gods’ noticing had reached its close. Another example occurs 10, 48, 9 “als ich ihm... seinen Pfeil lieh (*manhayam*), da erst machte (*karam*)

¹³ Cf. however also Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 34.

ich ihn zu einem... (Helden)". A remarkable construction may be exemplified by RV. 6, 11, 5 "(as soon) as the barhis is bent (*vrñje*, pres. ind.) round the fire, the wooden ladle with ghee has been stretched out (*ayāmi*, aor.) (to him)". The placing of the barhis is antecedent to the other process, but the poet creates the impression that it is so to say interrupted by the presentation of a ladle of ghee. The above translation is an attempt to render the idea of immediate succession implied in the juxtaposition of these two clauses. Cf. also 9, 14, 2 f. *yadi... pariṣkr̥ṇvanti dharṇasim || ād asya... rase viśve devā amatsata*: here also the gods' revelling is no doubt represented as having taken place while the preparation of the draught is (was) still going on: "when they prepared (Soma) the supporter, then indeed all the gods have reveled in the juice of the strong one".

I am under the impression that Geldner's translation of RV. 1, 121, 4 cd *yad dha prasarge trikakum nivartad apa... duro vaḥ* "als der Dreispitz sie (die Kühe) im Zuge zurückführte, da schloz er die Tore auf ..." should be rectified: "als... zurückführte, da hatte er... aufgeschlossen". As appears from 10, 139, 6 "he opened the doors of the (cows) whose pen was a rock"; 6, 62, 11 "open the doors of the locked-up"; 17, 6; 18, 5; 10, 120, 8 the doors are opened to set the cows free; so, the action of bringing back necessarily followed that of opening, and the clause containing the aor. which refers to a fact that is antecedent to the process indicated by the impf. in the correlative clause, here follows the latter.

An aor. inj. in the principal clause may refer to a process which awaits realisation and so belongs, chronologically speaking, to the future in cases such as RV. 1, 129, 1 "wenn du den Wagen... vorauslenkst (*pranayasi*, pres. ind.)..., so wirst du ihn... bringen (*karaḥ*)" (Geldner).

If however in sentences of a similar structure both verbs are imperfections, both processes are thought, not only to belong to the past, but also to be in progress and, at least in part, simultaneous in cases such as RV. 5, 40, 5 "als dich, Sūrya,... Svarbhānu mit Finsternis geschlagen hatte (rather: schlug: *avidhyad*, impf.), da schauten (impf.) die Geschöpfe wie ein Verirrter" (Geldner). Cf. *ibid.* 6.

That an indicative or unaugmented aorist occurring in an independent sentence which is followed by another independent sentence containing a pres. form may likewise denote a process which is presented as being concluded when the process indicated by the pres. is considered to begin and which therefore must, from the chronological point of view, be understood as preceding the other process, may be exemplified by a

perfectly unambiguous instance: R.V. 10, 106, 11. In this final stanza the poet after expressing the wish that he may have accomplished his hymn of praise successfully, gives utterance to his hope that he may gain 'the prize' (*vāja*): *rdhyāma stomaṃ sanuyāma vājam*. Geldner's translation is correct (that is to say: his German sentence may be considered a tolerably adequate equivalent): "möchten wir... richtig getroffen haben, möchten wir... gewinnen". Cf. also 5, 31, 11. Yet it is by no means a matter of course that the two processes are, from the chronological standpoint, viewed as earlier and later.

When an aor. combines, in this way, with other forms of the present stem the differences in aspect are as a rule evident. In R.V. 4, 6, 2 "like Savitar he (Agni) has diffused (aor. ind.) his light upwards: like a builder he presses (pres. inj.) the smoke against the sky" the first activity is viewed as momentary and accomplished, the second as being in progress. A chronological difference is however not much in evidence, in contradistinction to 4, 6, 11 *akāri brahma... śaṃsāty uktham*, where the second verb (pres. subj.) while representing a mental image on the part of the speaker which in his opinion is capable of realization or even awaits realization is nevertheless viewed as continuative, whereas the former process has without doubt reached its close: "a manifestation of brahma has been achieved for thee; (the hotar) will recite the eulogy".

Other examples exhibiting an indicative are: R.V. 9, 86, 16 *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtaṃ | sakhā sakhyur na pra mināti saṃgiram* the same event, Soma's arrival at the sacrificial place and his willingness to keep his 'agreement' with Indra, is expressed twice with different words: "the soma juice has advanced (aor.) towards Indra's place (of rendezvous), the friend does not break the promise (appointment) with the friend". Still the former sentence is clad in the form of a statement about the immediate past ('passé actuel'), the other is a sort of commentary, explaining Soma's punctuality as a quality of his character or elevating the occasional happening to a higher moral niveau of more than momentary significance. One could also in translating insert a causal-temporal conjunction in the first sentence: "now that he has advanced", and "it is again evident that" before the second sentence. However there is, in the text, no more question of subordination than of chronological relation. Compare also instances such as 10, 39, 14 (no chronological relation).

Elsewhere the first sentence expresses, by means of an aor., a recent accomplished fact, the second a situation, process or activity which is setting in after that fact and is considered to exist at the moment of speak-

ing. See e.g. RV. 5, 28, 1 "Agni has diffused (*aśret*) his radiance over the sky,... he shines brightly (*vi bhāti*)". Cf. also 6, 44, 20; 63, 4 "das Feuer ist bei euren Opfern emporgestiegen (*asthāt*), die Gabe naht (*pra... eti*)" (Geldner); 9, 97, 8; 10, 68, 7.

Or the former sentence (aor.) refers to an activity which has just taken place (or rather: which is viewed as an accomplished fact), when an activity mentioned in the second sentence (impf.) is going on: 10, 3, 3 "he (Agni) has come (*agāt*)... as her lover he approaches (*eti*) behind (after her)". The aor. may of course occur in the last sentence of a stanza: 10, 64, 2 where the man whose desires have been extended (recent accomplished fact) to the gods, states, in the preceding sentences, that his thoughts and mental eye are active, that there is (*vidyate*, pres.) no other compassionate being than the gods.

RV. 10, 48, 9 may be quoted as an example of two co-ordinated sentences, the first containing an aorist, the second an imperfect: "N.S. obtained priority of me..., he made friendship (with me)...": the aspectual difference is obvious, a chronological relation may be inferred.

Cases present themselves also in which the former of two clauses which belong together contains a pres. form, the other an aor., the latter indicating a process or activity which takes place while the former is considered to happen or to go on. Examples are: RV. 7, 98, 4 *yad yodhayā mahato manyamānān sākṣāma tān bāhubhiḥ śāśadānān* "when thou engagest those in battle who think themselves to be great, we will defeat those who pride themselves on the force of their arms": here the enemies indicated by *tān* "those" are no doubt identical with the conceited ones mentioned in the subordinate clause.

The former of two sentences which fill up a stanza contains a pres. indic., the latter an aor. in cases such as RV. 4, 13, 4 "with thy best draught-horses thou comest (pres. ind.: Agni is addressed); the rays of the sun... have plunged (aor.) into the water". Again, the second process having, according to the view of the speaker, reached its close, the former is presented as setting in.

The second of a pair of co-ordinated sentences may contain an aorist, the other another past tense: RV. 1, 121, 11 "heavens and earth rejoiced (*anu madatām*, impf.) over thy deed, O Indra. Thou hadst, by means of thy weapon, caused Vṛtra to sleep (aor.)". (Geldner: "du hast..."). It is from the very context probable that both processes are related. The one being presented as a line, the other as a point, the context and the nature of the activities referred to induce us, when transposing the words of the poet into terms of a temporal verb system, to choose the above

English tense forms. In 7, 18, 13 Indra is described first as “splitting open” strongholds (impf.), in the second place as assigning the property of the king of the Anus to Tṛtsu (aor.): here the chronological relation is not the same, probably the reverse. Cf. also 1, 33, 15; after a perfect: 5, 32, 3.

A sentence containing an aor. may also combine with a nominal sentence: ṚV. 4, 2, 18ab is an example of a subordinated nom. sent.: “he has enumerated (aor.) (them), when the races of the gods are near”.¹⁴

The aor. may even occur in this function when the other sentence is left unexpressed. Thus the words *antar hy akhyad... dhene* “for he had seen the two breasts” in ṚV. 5, 30, 9 presuppose a preceding “thus he spoke”.

This possibility of combining different verbal forms enabled the poets to grasp a number of ‘faits réalisés’ round a happening that is going on. In ṚV. 1, 157, 1 *ahodhy agnir jma ud eti sūryo vy uṣāś candrā mahy āvo arcīṣā...* “Agni has woken up, the sun rises from the earth; the shining great dawn has with its ray shone forth” some other events are brought into contact with an occurrence which takes place at the moment of speaking: sunrise. If the main function of the verbs used is to express ‘aspect’ the logical and chronological relations between Agni’s awakening, Uṣas’ appearance etc., evident though they may be, are not explicitly stated. As they precede and introduce the appearance of the sun above the horizon they require, in translating into a language with a developed system of tense-forms, the above rendering.

Similar remarks apply to clauses introduced by particles (e.g. *hi*): 10, 111, 6 (in 5 Indra propped the sky, over which he spread (perf.) the light of the sun), “for (*hi*) had slain (aor.) Vṛtra, with his vajra”; not, with Geldner, “er hat ja...”. An interesting and somewhat complicated structure is 2, 14, 3 “who has slain (*jaghāna*, perf.) D., who drove the cows out (*udājat*, impf., continuative) – for (*hi*) he had opened (*apa... vaḥ*, aor., presented as momentary and chronologically antecedent activity) – (makes) for him (the soma flow)”. In 10, 67, 4 both sentences contain an aorist: “Bṛhaspati... has driven the cows out (*ud... ākaḥ*, dramatic aor.) for he had opened (*vi hi... āvaḥ*) the three (doors)”.

¹⁴ ṚV. 4, 2, 18cd should be considered one sentence rather than, with Geldner, two (a verbal and a nominal).

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF THE PRESENT STEM

Instances of processes which objectively considered are of some duration and in the R̥V. expressed by present forms are: *rohati* “to grow”: R̥V. 10, 16, 13 where after the funeral fire has been extinguished with much water, some aquatic plants are invited to sprout forth: *kiyāmbv atra rohatu*... The process while seen, by the author, as continuing impresses us as ingressive-durative, because we learn from the context that it is yet to begin. Cf. also 10, 62, 8 *manus tokmeva rohatu*; 142, 8. The opt. pres. is likewise quite natural in 4, 16, 19 *kṣapo madema śaradaś ca pūrvīḥ* “we should like to revel many nights and autumns”; 6, 49, 3 *tasya te sarmann... madema tanvā tanā ca*. The addition “a hundred years” and the subject “we” admit, in sentences such as 6, 4, 8 *madema śatahimāḥ suvīrāḥ*; 10, 7; 7, 19, 8 of no doubt whatever. The processes are viewed as continuing, developing, unlimited, characterized by frequency and variety.

Here and elsewhere the ‘durative’ character of the verb is unmistakable: 6, 54, 5 “Pūṣan must go after (*anv etu*) our cows, P. must protect (*rakṣatu*) our horses, P. must win (*sanotu*) *vāja* for us”; 7, 31, 2 *śamsed uktham sudānave* “recite a hymn of praise in honour of the liberal one”; 6, 75, 16 *avasrṣtā parā pata... gachāmitrān pra padyasva* “shot, fly along (O arrow), go and fall upon the enemies” (the speaker may be considered to ‘follow’ the process); 4, 6, 11; 16, 2.

The present which also in other languages may indicate time begun in the past and extending into the present is, quite naturally, also used to denote the continuation of processes which are already taking place at the moment of speaking¹ or which take place usually. Cf. R̥V. 6, 52, 5 *viśvadānīm sumanasah syāma paśyema nu sūryam uccarantam*: the implication is in Geldner’s translation “immerdar wollen wir gutes Mutes sein, wir möchten noch weiter die Sonne aufgehen sehen” made explicit because the words “noch weiter” are as such not in the text; 10, 59, 4 the same words: “wir möchten noch die Sonne aufgehen sehen!”; *ibid.* 6; AV. 9, 3, 9 which is a text to accompany the releasing of a house, it

¹ For Avestan see H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1909), p. 303 f.

reads “he who, O dwelling accepts you, and he by whom you are built – let both of them... live to attain old age” (*jīvatāṇi jaradaṣṭī*), the sense obviously being “let them continue to live”; 19, 27, 8 “live (*jīva*) thou with the life-time of...; live (*jīva*) as one long-lived; do not die (*mā mrthāḥ*); live (*jīva*) with the breath of those that have an ātman....”; 19, 67 “may we see (*paśyema*), live (*jīvema*), wake (*budhyema*), etc. a hundred autumns”: a part of these hundred years is of course behind the speakers.

Two ‘parallel’ processes, both of which are continuative in character, that is to say: two processes which while coinciding are such as to invite the speaker to present them as developing, are quite naturally both referred to by a pres. form: ṚV. 10, 97, 5 “you will (subj.) of course claim a cow, when you will save (subj.) the man”.

The context, in a larger sense of the term, not infrequently helps us in determining the aspectual function of a verb form. ṚV. 10, 179, 1 *ut tiṣṭhatāva paśyatendrasya bhāgam ṛtvīyam | yadi śrāto juhātana yady aśrāto mamattana* “...rise, look at Indra’s portion; if it is done (cooked), so offer it; if it is not yet done,...”.

It hardly needs demonstrating that the occurrence, in a sentence exhibiting a form of the present, of an adverb which expresses an idea of duration or continuation may be considered an objective confirmation of the subjective view of the process expressed by the poet by means of the verb form: cf. e.g. ṚV. 10, 148, 1 *īmanā tanā sanuyāma tvotāḥ* “selbst wollen wir dauernd mit deiner Hilfe Gewinn haben” (Geldner); 1, 22, 20 *tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ*; 125, 5 *pinvate sadā*; 3, 54, 21; 6, 45, 33; 6, 41, 2 *śaśvat pibasi madhva ūrmim*; 7, 37, 8; 8, 19, 28; 25, 21 *abhy uc cara sadā*; 44, 20; 53, 8. From the ‘objective’ as well as the ‘subjective’ point of view the process is ‘durative’.

An adverb of the above description may of course also qualify a pres. participle which in its turn accompanies a finite verb form: 9, 16, 8 *tanā punānaḥ... vi dhāvasi*; 1, 140, 9. It hardly needs mentioning that these adverbs may also combine with other forms of the verb: 1, 123, 4 *śaśvad āgāt*; 1, 30, 16 *śaśvad... jigāya*; 35, 5; 6, 21, 8, etc.

The use of a present form does not on the other hand exclude the occurrence of adverbs for “quickly, soon, immediately, etc.”. Thus ṚV. 1, 44, 7 *sa ā vaha... agne devāṃ iha dravat* “do thou, O Agni, bring the gods here speedily”: the adverb obviously does not prevent the poet from presenting the process as developing or capable of intimating differentiation. Cf. also 1, 2, 5 *ā yatam upa dravat*; 3, 35, 2 *dravad yathā...*

ā vahāta indram. Another example is 1, 84, 18 *kasmai devā ā vahān āśu homa* “for whom will the gods drive quickly to the sacrifice?” Greek counterparts are not wanting: β 8 τοὶ δ’ ἡγείροντο μάλ’ ὄκκα “and they assembled very quickly”: the process of gathering executed by many people is subjectively viewed as differentiated, unlimited and being in progress; this does not involve that it cannot, from the objective point of view, be characterized as taking place at a rapid rate. In ṚV. 10, 33, 3 the pres. imper. *mṛṣaya* combines with *sakṛt* “noch einmal erbarne dich” (Geldner).

In order to gain an insight into the force of the Vedic perfect a renewed discussion of an idiom which has also been touched upon in another section of this publication may by way of digression be useful. In referring to events or states of affairs which occurred or existed formerly as well as in the times of the poet the use of the perfect is of considerable frequency. An instructive example is ṚV. 6, 34, 1 *purā nūnaṃ ca stutaya ṛṣiṇām pasprdhra indre adhy ukthārkā* “früher und jetzt haben die Lobpreisungen der Ṛṣi’s, die Gedichte und Gesänge um I. gewetteifert” (Geldner). Here also the perfect is neutral with regard to the aspectual or the temporal distinctions the expression of which is the domain of aorist and imperfect; in connection with *purā* the use of a past tense was possible, in connection with *nūnaṃ* the present indicative: the combination of both adverbs precluding the possibility of using aor., impf. or pres. ind., requires the perfect. Similarly, 6, 45, 11 *tam u tvā yaḥ purā-sitha yo vā nūnaṃ...*; 8, 67, 16 *śaśvad dhi yaḥ ūtibhir vayam | purā nūnaṃ bubhujmahe* “for repeatedly (perpetually, always) we have, formerly and nowadays, experienced the manifestations of your helpfulness”; 9, 99, 3 *yam gāva āsabhīr dadhuḥ purā nūnaṃ ca sūrayaḥ*; 6, 27, 1... *kiṃ te asya purā vividre kim u nūtanāsaḥ*; 10, 54, 2 *nādyā śatruṃ nanu purā vivitse* “neither at present nor formerly thou hast found an equivalent rival”; 8, 80, 2 *yo naḥ śaśvat purāvitha ... | sa tvaṃ na indra mṛṣaya*. See also 8, 24, 15.

If however the verb which had to accompany the adverb *nūnaṃ* is omitted, a form of the pres. stem may be used: ṚV. 2, 28, 8 *namaḥ purā te varuṇota nūnaṃ utāparaṃ... bravāma* “unsere Ehrfurcht (haben wir) dir früher (ausgesprochen), o V., und wollen sie jetzt und in Zukunft aussprechen...”.

As discussed at greater length in another chapter of this volume the perfect is also used in connection with *śaśvat* “repeatedly, perpetually, ever”: 1, 30, 16 *śaśvad indraḥ jigāya* “I. kept being victorious”: this is decidedly not to contend that the god is no longer victorious; 35, 5

śaśvad viśaḥ... bhuvanāni tasthuḥ; 47, 9; 10; 3, 54, 1, etc. The same adverb may however also combine with an aorist: 1, 123, 4 (*Uṣas*) *śaśvad āgāt*.

Cases are not rare in which the addition of an adjective or participle causes the 'durative' character of a present form to stand out more clearly. Thus ṚV. 1, 100, 19 *aparivṛtāḥ sanuyāma vājam* "not endangered we would gain the vāja (generative power)": notice the preceding pāda: "at all times Indra must be our advocate (protector)".

A phrase indicating a course or lapse of time and accompanying a present form may clear up any misunderstanding as to the objectively durative character of a process: ṚV. 10, 85, 39 *dirghāyur asyā yaḥ patir jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam* "he who is her husband must be long-lived, he must live a hundred years"; AV. 1, 10, 2 "a hundred years shall this man live (*jīvāti*)"; 2, 29, 7 *tayā tvam jīva śaradaḥ* "by it live thou for autumns"; 19, 67, 1. It is interesting to notice that the verbs of sentences containing the adj. *dirgha-* "long" are *not* always in the present as they are in: ṚV. 1, 173, 11 "any act of worship... brings (*ā kr̥ṇoti*) Indra towards the house (of the sacrifice) like a long (*dirgha-*) way the man who is successful", a general statement which would require a pres. even if the adj. was absent. Cf. 1, 123, 8. 'Continuative' are also 1, 116, 25 *uta paśyann aśnuvan dirgham āyur astam ivej jarimāṇam jagamyām*; 1, 32, 19 *dirgham tama āśayat*; 2, 27, 14 *mā no dirghā abhi naśan tamisrāḥ*. However, 4, 24, 8 *dirgham yad ājim abhy akhyat* "when he has seen the long race" is an instructive example of a 'complexive' aor. signifying a process which though by itself of considerable duration is presented "im Hinblick auf seine Begrenzung" and viewed as chronologically anterior to the process of the principal clause; cf. also 1, 96, 8 *draviṇodā rāstate dirgham āyuh*.

The continuative character of a process is not infrequently intimated, not only by the choice of the present stem but also by the addition of a simile or image expressing or suggesting in a descriptive and picturesque way a 'durative' process or activity. Thus the words ṚV. 6, 47, 7 *indra pra ṇaḥ puraeteva paśya* "O Indra, look out for us as a guide" evoke, in the minds of the hearers, an image of a guide, going ahead and being on the look-out; the next pādas *pra no naya prataraṇ... | bhavā supāro atipārayo no bhavā...* being in part semi-nominal are likewise continuative: "lead us further onward..., be thou one who leads to a prosperous issue...". Cf. also 8, 3, 18 *sa tvam no ... indra... veno na śṛṇudhī havam*²;

² For *vena* ("équivalent ésotérique du kavi; une hypostase de la Parole mystique") see Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 18.

1, 56, 2 *patiṃ dakṣasya... giriṃ na venā adhi roha tejasā*. AV. 6, 54, 1 “do you increase (*vardhaya*) his royal power and his prosperity as the rain the grass”; 3, 24, 3 (for abundance of grain) “they will bring (*samāvahān*) fatness here, like streams (bring) drift when it has rained”; 2, 28, 5 *mātevēsmā adite śarma yacha* “give him shelter, O Aditi, like a mother”³; 19, 50, 3 *gambhīram aplavā iva na tareyur arātayaḥ* “may the niggards fail to pass (it) like men without a boat a deep water”. Cf. e.g. also RV. 1, 106, 1; AV. 3, 18, 6. An intensive pres. imp. may also be reinforced by a simile: AV. 5, 1 “like a lion, about to conquer thunder loudly (*taṃstanihi*) against (them)”.

In verses such as 8, 47, 5 the activity mentioned in the simile is habitual, the process desired is hoped to be continuing: *pari no vṛṇajann aghā durgāṇi rathyo yathā* “evil and mishap must avoid (spare; pres. subj.) as just as carriage-drivers avoid impassable places”.

Even in describing or referring to processes which in reality are momentary the pres. stem is often preferred no doubt also because the simile emphasizes particulars concerning the process and invites the hearer to contemplate its development. Cf. AV. 5, 14, 10 *putra iva pitaraṃ gacha svaja ivābhiṣṭhito daśa* “like a son to a father go; like a viper trodden upon bite”; 7, 109, 4 *vṛkṣam ivāśanyā jahi yo...* “like a tree with a thunderbolt, smite (him) who...”; 10, 1, 17 *vāta iva vṛkṣān ni mṛṇihi pādaya* “like the wind the trees, crush down, bring to ruin”. Also in cases such as AV. 6, 105, 3 the pres. is preferred: “as the sun’s rays fly away (*parā-patanti*) swiftly, so do thou, O cough, fly forth (*pra pata*)”. Not rarely the simile adds an element of emphasis to the utterance: RV. 1, 63, 5 *ghaneva vajriṇ chnathiḥy amitrān* “wie mit dem Hammer trifft die Feinde, du Keulenträger!” (Geldner).

The simile sometimes contains an impf.: AV. 9, 2, 18 “as the gods thrust forth (*prāṇudanta*, continuing activity) the asuras... so, Kāma, thrust forth (*pra nūdasva*)... my rivals”; 1, 3, 9 “as the arrow flew forth (*parāpatat*), shot off from the bow, so be your urine released (*mucyatām*)”.

The above observations are not to deny that a simile may occur in connection with an aorist. Some fine examples of ‘momentary’ or ‘instantaneous’ processes expressed by an aor. and illustrated by a simile occur RV. 1, 53, 1 *nū cid dhi ratnaṃ sasatām ivāvidan* “never one has found a jewel like (a thief) with a sleeper”; 2, 33, 6 *ghṛṇīva chāyām arapā aśīya* “I would like to reach (them) safely like the shadow in (?) the sun”; 8, 75, 12 *mā no asmin mahādhane parā varḡ bhārabhṛd yathā* “do not abandon us in this great contest like a bearer of loads”; 6, 33 3 “schlage,

³ See *Remarks on Similes in Sanskrit literature* (Leiden, 1949), p. 43.

tapferer Indra, diese beiden Gegner... nieder (*vadhīh*, aor.) wie die Bäume" (Geldner). AV. 10, 4, 19 (against snakes) "I have grasped (*agrabham*) together their heads, as a fisherman the karvara"; 8, 6, 8 "the demons who surprise her (the text is to preserve a pregnant woman from inimical powers) – them like a shadow, the sun, circling, has made to vanish (*anīnaśat*)". In these sentences the phenomenal duration of the processes does not seem to interest the speaker for the moment.

That the pres. impf. *śṛṇu* in RV. 8, 37, 7 was conceived as referring to a continuing process appears from the present participle which accompanies the object: *śyāvāśvasya rebhataḥ tathā śṛṇu* "listen also to Ś. who is singing thy praise". Cf. also 10, 102, 9 *imaṃ tam paśya... drughanaṃ śayānam* "see this... wooden mace lying"; AV. 13, 2, 36 *uccā patantam... paśyāma tvā sa vitāram...* "we hope to see thee, S., flying on high". Cf. also RV. 7, 17, 2; 10, 18, 12. Sometimes a pres. and a perf. part. combine to accompany a pres. form: 1, 52, 8 *jaghanvān... vṛtram manuṣe gātuyann apah | ayachathā bāhvor vajram... adhārayo divi ā sūryam drśe*.

A derivative of the pres. stem may serve to signify that the process occurs as often as a definite occasion arises, or that it is habitual. RV. 4, 2, 8 seems to furnish a good example: "who praises (*praśamsāt*) thee (Agni) at night, in the morning or gains thine affection (*kṛṇavate*) with sacrificial gifts", as opposed to 10, 96, 1 "I will praise (*pra... śamsiṣam*, aor.) thy bay horses on the occasion of (this) important rite". In 1, 113, 11 those who will see the daily event of the appearance of dawn in the future (*o te yanti ye aparīṣu paśyān*) are opposed to those who saw the former dawns and to those who see the present-day dawn. This present of the "gegenwärtig wiederholte Handlung"⁴ is hardly in need of comment: β 55 οἱ δὲ ... ἡμαρτα πάντα ... πίνουσί τε αἶθοπα οἶνον. In Russian "le présent imperfectif exprime une action particulière réitérée, et notamment une action habituelle".⁵

Those scholars who consistently regard the pres. as an 'infektivum' and the aor. as a 'confectivum' run the risk of laying too much stress on the difference between both categories with regard to their possibility of expressing termination or commencement. That is to say: they sometimes are too much inclined to consider the pres. as the category which always and in any case excludes momentariness, whether it concerns the initial or the final stage of a process, or they suggest that in using the pres. the speaker or writer is unable to refer to the initial or final stage of

⁴ Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 132.

⁵ Mazon, *Aspects du verbe russe*, 120 f.; cf. also p. 196 f.

the process. It would appear to me⁶ that this misapprehension has tricked also Schwyzer-Debrunner⁷ when they attempt to distinguish between 'infektiv-konfektive (terminative)' and 'konfektiv-infektive (ingressive) Präsens', placing in the former category e.g. ἵστασθαι to which they ascribe the sense of "sich (nach und nach) hinstellen" and in the other φεύγειν, which they explain as "sich auf die Flucht machen (und dann auf der Flucht sein)" and especially πείθειν "(auf einen einreden und) ihn überzeugen", e.g. ψ 230 νῦν ... πείθεις δὴ μοι θυμόν "jetzt überzeugst du mich". It would probably be better whilst avoiding the above cumbersome terminology, to argue that the idea of the initial or final stage of the process does not depend on the will, thought, opinion or view of the speaker but either on the meaning of the verb itself or on context and situation. In this there is no fundamental difference between a so-called ingressive or terminative present and an ingressive or terminative aorist.⁸ In pronouncing a sentence such as B 139 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἴπω πειθώμεθα πάντες / φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν "nay, come, even as I shall bid, let us all obey: let us flee with our ships to our dear native land" the person speaking does not – as is suggested by Schwyzer-Debrunner – join an 'ingressive' pres. to a 'terminative' form of the same category. He does not mark the 'final' stage of the process πείθειν nor draw special attention to the initial phase of the process φεύγειν. He uses the present forms because in both cases he wishes to present the process as continuing or developing. But when a man in addressing his companions says "let us listen to my words or respond to my appeal, let us take to flight" the very context has the hearer understand that the durative activity of persuading reaches its close and that the likewise durative activity of flying begins. That the activity of persuading expressed by an impf. may in certain contexts imply the idea of 'termination' appears also from Xen. Cyr. 5, 5, 22 ἐλθὼν ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐς ἔπεισα τούτους ἔχων ἐπορευόμην "I drew near and brought my powers of persuasion into play and with those whom I (had) persuaded I went on...": the very occurrence of the words οὐς ἔπεισα τούτους ἔχων invites the hearer or reader to consider the process indicated by ἔπειθον as terminated.

Vedic parallels are: RV. 10, 16, 1 *yadā śṛtaṃ kṛṇavo jātavedo 'them enam pra hiṇutāt pitṛbhyaḥ* "wenn du ihn (the deceased) gar gemacht haben wirst (pres. subj.), o J. (Fire), dann entlasz ihn zu den Vätern!"

⁶ See also Ruipérez, *o.c.*

⁷ Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 259.

⁸ For the use of the aorist see ch. II.

(Geldner). Whereas the objectless pres. part. *sahant-* is in 5, 23, 1 purely continuative: *agne sahintam ā bhara... rayim* “O A. bring overpowering wealth” in its transitive use (“to overcome, conquer”), the same verb may also express an activity which is crowned with success: see e.g. 3, 30, 16 *vr̥ścem... vi rujā sahasva jahi rakṣaḥ* “cut him down, crush (him), overpower, slay the demoniac power”. Similarly, 8, 16, 5 *yeṣām indras te jayanti* “on whose side is Indra, those men win the day” and 1, 80, 3 *hano vr̥tram jayā apaḥ* “thou wilt slay V., win the waters”. In hearing sentences such as 4, 58, 10 *asmāsu* (locative indicating that the object conveyed is to reach the place of arrival and to remain there) *bhadrā draviṇāni dhatta | imaṃ yajñam nayata devatā no* a Vedic audience might have paid special attention to the final stages of the processes. These verbs are transformative.

The possibility of using a present form so as to focus the hearer’s attention in the first place on the initial stage of a process is likewise not questionable, on the understanding, however, that the verb is non-transformative. Thus RV. 10, 98, 4 *ni śīda hotram* may be translated by “take up your post as a hotar” (“tritt du das Hotr-Amt an”, Geldner), *ni sīdati* meaning “to sit or lie down upon; to perform or celebrate by sitting, etc.”; 6, 15, 16 *agne viśvebhiḥ... devair... prathamah sīda yonim* “Agni, with all the gods sit down as the first on the abode”. The verb *pari śī-* signifies in 1, 133, 1 quite naturally a process of “lying round or surrounding” viewed as continuing: *yatra hatā amitrā... pari... aśeran* “where the enemies, killed, lay round...”; elsewhere however the initial stage of the process is decidedly emphasized: 1, 34, 1 it reads in connection with the Aśvins who are considered to come to the sacrifice at morning, noon and night⁹: *trir... dive dive pari... pṛthivīm aśāyatam* “you used to come round the earth three times every day” (...“kommet ihr Aśvin herum”) (Geldner). In 8, 73, 9 the words *pra saptavadhrir āśasā dhārām agner aśāyata* seem to mean¹⁰: “S. was by his hope (confidence) able to lie down (to put himself in a recumbent position) on the ‘sharp edge’ of the fire”. The words *ni śu svapa* in 7, 55, 2 and 3 must mean: “fall asleep”, the preverb *ni* expressing some meaning as “down, in, into, etc.”.

As already observed, this phenomenon is not foreign to the related languages. The Greek ἵστασθαι, which is a non-transformative verb, does not only ‘mean’ “to be set or placed, to stand” – e.g. K 173 οὖν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς “for now to all it stands on

⁹ Cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 50.

¹⁰ For another interpretation see Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 400.

a razor's edge" – but also "to assume a standing position": B 172 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἵσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη "... A. placed herself near (him)", or "to stand still, to halt": A 348 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ στέωμεν "but come, let us stand (halt)". The Greek ἐζόμην impf. may in a similar way be used where we would expect an aorist¹¹, e.g. Soph. O.C. 100 κατὰ σεμνὸν ἐζόμην βᾶθρον τόδε "set me on this august bench".

¹¹ H. L. Ahrens, *Griechische Formenlehre*, § 95, already drew attention to the fact that this 'impf. pro aoristo' occurs if there is no aorist available.

VI

USES OF THE IMPERFECT

To the examples of the general function of the imperfect given in the handbooks as well as in other chapters of this book there may be added some instances capable of throwing light on the relations between the use of the Vedic impf. and that of its counterparts in other ancient I.E. languages, a point which has hitherto escaped due attention.

The impf. is sometimes, it is true, used in connection with the functions or achievements of divine or mythical beings; the events described or referred to are however obviously repeated: ṚV. 10. 183, 3 the genius of procreation addresses a married couple: *aham garbham adadhām oṣadhīṣv aham viśveṣu bhuvaneṣv antaḥ | aham prajā ajanayam prthiviyām aham janibhyo aparīṣu putrān* which comes to "I (always) placed a germ in the plants, in the creatures, I generated the children on the earth, I (shall continue creating) sons in the married women". That is to say: the processes performed by the genius are presented as continuative in character, or rather, they are characterized by repetition, they have however also been performed 'from the beginning' as they will be performed now and in the future. They are moreover not limited to special cases. Hence the possibility of continuing the narrative with a pres. ind.: 2, 35, 13, describing the activity of Apām Napāt who being an aquatic genius was considered the 'prototype' of Agni and hence also to be present in any sacrificial fire, it reads: "he generated (*ajanayat*, impf.) the embryo; when a child he sucks (pr.)...; they lick (pr.) him".

The impf., while used in connection with mythical events, is sometimes unequivocally 'continuative' not only in the aspectual sense of the term, but also because it denotes processes which must have lasted some time. In ṚV. 10, 121, 6 describing the behaviour of heaven and earth which were established and fixed by the great unknown god, it reads: *yam... abhy aikṣetām manasā rejamāne* "auf den... im Geiste bebend hinblickten" (notice the pres. part.). If the Vedic impf. were not used to describe mythical processes, it had nevertheless no doubt occurred in passages of this character. One might compare, in Greek mythological description (Hes. Theog. 157 ff.), "he (Heaven) used to hide (ἀποκρύπτασκε, impf.) them all (his own children) away in a secret place... and would

not suffer them to come up (οὐκ ἀνέεσκε) into the light; and Heaven rejoiced (ἔπετέρπετο) in his evil doing. But... Earth groaned (στοναχίζετο, impf.) ... and she thought (ἐφράσσατο, aor.) a crafty and an evil wile. Forthwith she made (ποιήσασα, part. aor.) ... and shaped (τεῦξε, aor.) a great sickle..."; *ibid.* 190 f.¹

The descriptive and pictorial character of many passages dealing with mythical events is beyond doubt. In a reference to some of Indra's heroic deeds the poet of ṚV. 10, 67 says (st. 6): "together with those who were moist with perspiration seeking for (pres. part.) the milk he made the Paṇis weep (*arodayat*, impf.), he took the cows away (*amuṣ-ñāt*, impf.)". These processes are not represented as successive and as reduced in respect of duration. This use reminds us of the Greek impf. of endeavour and evolution: Thuc. 2, 19, 2 ἔτεμνον πρῶτον ... Ἐλευσῖνα "they proceeded first to pillage Eleusis"; the author confining his attention to the work of pillaging does not inform his readers how the ravaging turned out. In the Agni hymn 10, 45 it reads (st. 6): "he forced even the firm rock open (*abhinat*, impf.), marching on (pres. part.), when the five tribes of men were worshipping (impf.) Agni". ṚV. 2, 12, 1-12 describing, in subordinate clauses, Indra's glorious exploits, contain 10 impf., 7 perf. and (in 4bc!) 2 aorists. Compare, in Greek, e.g. such descriptive passages as H 471 ff. δῶκεν Ἰησονίδης ἀγέμεν μέθυ ... / ἔνθεν ἄρ' οἰνίζοντο ... Ἀχαιοί, / ... τίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα θάλειαν. / παννύχιοι ... δαίνυντο ... / παννύχιος δὲ σφιν κακὰ μήδετο ... Ζεὺς / ... τοὺς δὲ χλωρὸν δέος ἥρει, / οἶνον ... χαμάδις χέον ... "I. had given wine to be brought..., from these ships the A. brought wine,... and they made themselves a rich feast. So the whole night through... they... feasted..., and all night long Zeus... devised them evil... then pale fear got hold of them and they let the wine flow...". According to the myth Indra took the earth and the water from the inimical Dāsas to give them to the Aryans; in a reference to this feat the poet of 1, 131, 4 says: *māhīm amuṣṇāḥ pṛthivīm imā apo mandasāna imā apah* "thou takedst away (from them) the great earth, these waters, (being) intoxicated these waters". Cf., in Greek, Hes. Th. 150 describing the outward appearance of three sons of Earth and Heaven: "from their shoulders sprang (ἀίσσοντο, impf.) a hundred arms".

An interesting passage is ṚV. 10, 61, 9-12, which dealing with the

¹ Cf. also Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*², § 238. For the impf. of evolution see also B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, I (New York, 1900), § 205; J. L. Rose, "The durative and aoristic tenses in Thucydides", *Language Diss.*, 35, Ling. Soc. of America, Baltimore Md., 1942, p. 12.

Āṅgiras (seers, who are sons of heaven, or sons of the gods²) relates some of their adventures and experiences. They – being referred to as *prajā* “issue, progeny” – came to (*upa sīdat*, impf.) the udder like the unclothed one to the fire (st. 9, the simile introducing a descriptive, ‘non-successive’ element). Then they obtained (aorist!: *agman*) the friendship of the Maiden (Uṣas?). As they intended to sacrifice they wished to milk (*dudukṣan*, ‘impf’.) the cows (which were stolen by the Paṇis). Thereupon they accelerated (*turaṇyan*, ‘impf’.) their sacrificial pursuits in connection with the milk, which is described as pure, as belonging to the god, as coming from a cow which yields nectar.

A mythical and exemplary ‘Urakt’ may by means of a *yathā*... *evā* clause be brought into connection with cult action in the present which, depending on some deed or event which is superior to man, is, in the eyes of the faithful, ‘re-done’ and representative action. ṚV. 1, 76, 5 “As thou (Agni) worshippedst (*ayajāḥ*) the gods with Manu’s oblation, do so worship (*yajasva*) today, O hotar Agni...”.

The impf. in a *yathā* clause of the above description may however also refer to a repeated or habitual activity in the past: ṚV. 10, 7, 6 *yathāyaja ṛtubhir deva devān evā yajasva tanvam sujāta* “as thou worshipped, at the moments appointed (for ritual acts), the gods, so worship thyself...”. Cf. also 3, 17, 2.

It is therefore not surprising that activities ascribed to those beings who in the mythical sphere were the first to perform exemplary deeds replete with power or to establish rites or institutions, which are repeated or celebrated by men in phenomenal time, are referred to by imperfects: the hearer is invited to dwell on the consequences of those deeds, on their being repeated in his own time. In ṚV. 1, 116, 17 the mythical bride, the daughter of the Sun, who is represented by every human bride, is stated to have mounted her chariot: *atiṣṭhat*; all gods consented: impf. In 1, 163, 2 Indra is related to have been the first to mount the ‘Urpfers’: *indra eṇam prathamam adhy atiṣṭhat*; ibid. 9, and likewise with *prathama*:- 1, 101, 5: Indra who was the first to ‘find’ the dakṣiṇā cows for the brahman; 10, 92, 10 *yajñair atharvā prathamam vi dhārayat*; in 2, 12, 1 this interpretation of *prathamam* + impf. seems to corroborate my view³ that *devo devān kratunā paryabhūṣat* means “the god (I.) by his resourcefulness strengthened the (other) gods”; 4, 1, 11 (Agni’s first birth); cf. 6, 1, 1; 9, 107, 23; 10, 88, 4; 109, 2. See also 3, 33, 6: *indro asmāṃ aradat* “Indra led us into our bed” (the rivers are speaking):

² For particulars see A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 142 f.

³ *Four studies*, p. 82.

the god's creative action is not viewed as completed, but as continuing.

In 10, 85, 40 *prathama-* is accompanied by the perfect but here the first, second, third and fourth husbands of the young woman are enumerated (*somaḥ prathamō vivide*) and the hearer can therefore not be invited to dwell on the consequences or repetitions of a unique and exemplary mythical event. In stating that Atharvan was the first to break, by means of worship, a way the poet of 1, 83, 5 resorts to the perf. (*pathas tate*): is it because the impf. could lead to the misunderstanding that this process also was to be redone by men in phenomenal time? Similarly, 10, 14, 2 *yamo no gātum prathamō viveda*. The perf. is also used in the 'definition' 10, 107, 6. In 8, 23, 18, where the verb is an aorist, *prathama-* is predicatively used.

The impf. is also used in connection with events which, though belonging to the mythical sphere, were considered to have occurred only once, to happenings which may be described as belonging to 'mythical (pseudo-)history' rather than myth in the proper sense of the term. In a description of a number of the achievements of the Ṛbhus, ascribed to the god Agni (RV. 1, 161, 6 f.), the impf. is the usual form... "B. drove (*uājata*) the cow V. near; as Ṛ., V., V., you went (*agachata*) to the gods ..., you built (*atakṣata*) a horse...". The actions are however such as to lend themselves well to continuative and 'non-successive' description.

As appears from a comparison of some texts exhibiting forms of the verb *randh-* "to make subject" the same thought: "thou (the god Indra) deliveredst X. into the hand of Y." could, while referring to a mythical episode or incident, be expressed by an aor. as well as an imperfect. It is difficult to decide whether there is any difference between RV. 1, 174, 2 *vrtram purukutsāya randhiḥ* "thou madest V. subject to P." and 5, 29, 11 *arandhayo vaidathināya piprum*, although one might be under the impression that the former place, which is immediately followed by an apostrophe (cf. also 4, 16, 13), is more vivid in character than the latter (cf. 7, 18, 9; 2, 19, 6; 1, 130, 8). Moreover, the verb of 5, 29, 11 is preceded by another impf.; the processes may be represented as simultaneous; in 1, 174, 2 a succession of facts is touched upon. In 7, 19, 2 the use of a 'durative' form is intelligible: "thou, O I., assisted K., when thou made Ś. subject (*arandhayah*) to him".

In recalling or hinting at the content or subject-matter of a myth the poets resort to the impf.: 1, 93, 4 "Agni and Soma, this heroic deed is well-known that ye deprived (*amuṣṇitam*) Paṇi of his... cows". The Greeks often preferred the impf. in referring to something which was mentioned previously: Thuc. 2, 23, 2 τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς ... ὥσπερ παρε-

σκευάζοντο “the hundred ships which I told you they were getting ready” (Shilleto). Such imperfects may be translated into English by progressive pluperfects, and into German by pluperfects.

That the presentation of mythical events which were repeated or of a series of similar occurrences normally required an impf. is not surprising. Thus we find e.g. ṚV. 8, 52, 2 *prṣadhre medhye mātariśvanīndra... amandathāḥ* “how thou (Indra) revelledst at P.’s, M.’s, M.’s”, those mentioned being sacrifices who did not belong to the same ‘epoch’. Cf., in Greek, Hes. Th. 207 “these sons whom he begot himself... Heaven used to call (καλέεσκε, impf.) Titans”.

Mythical events are repeated in history, in phenomenal time. The god is invited to drink soma as he drunk it the first time, which easily passes into: ‘as he did formerly’, the former repetitions of the mythical act being vaguely identified with the ‘Urakt’ itself. Thus ṚV. 3, 36, 3 it reads “drink....; yours are the pressed Soma draughts, O Indra, the first (initial, original: *prathamāḥ*) and also these; as thou hast drunk (*apibah*, impf.) the former soma draughts, so do thou drink now...”.

In a reference to a mythical event – according to Sāyaṇa to the Paṇi myth – the poet of ṚV. 5, 54, 5 recalls to memory that the path of the Maruts extended (perf.) like that of the sun, when they went down (*ny ayātanā*, impf.) into the mountain which did not give the cows (back). The event referred to may, in the opinion of those who believed in these myths, have been considered a unique, an ‘einmalig’ fact of a (pseudo-) historical nature. Another event supposed to have happened in ‘mythological history’ is the marriage of Sūryā, the daughter of the sun: ṚV. 10, 85, 14 “when ye, O Aśvins, went (*ayātam*, impf.) to Sūryā’s nuptials, proposing (to her), all the gods consented (*anu ajānan*, impf.) ... Pūṣan chose (*avrñīta*, impf.) you to be his fathers”. The durative character of the first process is certain, the two other actions may have been viewed as continuing (perspective). Cf. also st. 15.

In ṚV. 2, 11, 19 a mythical occurrence is brought into relation to the person speaking and his surroundings: *asmabhyaṃ tat tvāṣṭraṃ viśvarūpam arandhayaḥ* “uns gabst du damals den Tvaṣṭṛsohn V. in die Hand” (Geldner). The process may easily be conceived as viewed in ‘perspective’.

As both the historical and the mythical past are usually expressed by the impf., there may in interpreting these texts arise ambiguities and difficulties. After having summarized the Namuci myth the poet of ṚV. 5, 30 tenders his best thanks to the king of the Rūśamas, through whom he came into possession of many cows. It is however not clear,

whether the cows mentioned in st. 10 were mythical animals playing a part in the Namuci myth (Sāyaṇa) or historical cows belonging to the people of the Ruśamas (Geldner). The stanza contains four imperfects; “the cows lowed (*anavanta*) from all sides, because they were (*āsan*) separated from their calves. Indra brought them again together (*sam asrjad*), when the soma draught had intoxicated (*amandan*) him”: it is anyhow clear that these occurrences could easily have been viewed as ‘unlimited’ and unreduced in respect of duration; they may even be regarded as ‘simultaneous’.

The question may also arise whether the definitions of the function of the impf. as taught by Macdonell and Renou – “la forme courante du narratif dans l’énoncé mythique”⁴ – are completely applicable to sentences such as the following. ṚV. 10, 122, 7 *tvām id asyā uśaso vyuṣṭiṣu dūtaṃ kṛṇvānā ayajanta mānuṣāḥ* “dich (Agni) machten (pres. part.) die Menschen bei Aufgang dieser Morgenröte zum Boten und opferten (impf.)”. The implication clearly is that Agni remained, until the moment of speaking – and is to remain in the future – the messenger of the gods, and that men perform sacrifices from the moment referred to in this stanza to this day. So the verb of “worshipping”, though used in connection with an aetiology refers, in point of fact, to an activity which commenced in the ‘mythical past’ but has been repeated and continued through the ages. We might for convenience speak of the aetiological function of the imperfect, or of the imperfect of the initiation. Cf. 5, 3, 8. This use does not widely differ from the tendency proper to Greek, Latin, German⁵ etc. to refer to “naturgegebene, geographische, ethnologische u.ä. Tatbestände, die an keine Zeit gebunden sind oder doch von der Vergangenheit in die Gegenwart des Sprechenden hineinreichen”⁶ by the same form: in Homer it reads γ 292 f. (Ζεύς) τὰς μὲν (νέας) Κρήτην ἐπέλασσαν, ἤχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον where we would prefer “... where the C. live”; Xen. Hell. 2, 1, 21 ἐπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ... διεῖχε δ’ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτην σταδίου ὥς πεντεκαίδεκα “they sailed to A.P. ... the H. is (in Greek: “was”) about fifty stades wide at this point.”

Curiously enough the ancestors who introduced a ceremony or performed it are not infrequently indicated by the term *pūrve* “(as the) first, for the first time”; the verbal form used in this connection is the impf.: ṚV. 10, 130, 6 “with mind as an eye I believe I can see those who as the

⁴ Renou, *Grammaire védique*, p. 365.

⁵ Cf. W. Horn, in *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Spr.*, 180 (1942), p. 113.

⁶ Schwyzler-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 279.

first ones (for the first time) worshipped (*ayajanta*) this yajña (act of worship)”, that is to say who introduced this form of worship. Cf. also 1, 164, 50.

Other places in which *pūrve* occurs in connection with an impf. are 1, 62, 2 *yenā naḥ pūrve pitarāḥ padajñā arcanto āṅgirasō gā avindan*; 1, 179, 2 “even the ancestors, who were (*āsan*) engaged in these activities which tended to maintain the harmony of the universe and who had conversation (*avadan*) with the gods...”; 9, 97, 39 where the ancestors are described to have regained the cows; 10, 82, 4; 98, 9; 109, 4 *devā etasyām avadanta pūrve... tapase ye niṣeduḥ|....* Of special interest is 7, 22, 9 *ye ca pūrva ṛṣayo ye ca nūtnā indra brahmāṇi janayanta viprāḥ* – “the former as well as the recent seers, the inspired ones created (pres. inj., augmentless impf.) manifestations of brahman (hymns) –”; the very ideas of repetition and continual occurrence implied in this statement would have justified the use of the present stem.

In sentences such as 5, 42, 6 *na te pūrve maghavan nāparāso na vīryaṃ nūtanāḥ kaś canāpa* “neither the former ones, O M., nor the later ones or somebody who belongs to the present day has equalled thine heroism” the perfect is used.⁷ Cf. 10, 15, 2. The perfect is also employed after *pūrve* in statements such as 9, 96, 11 *tvayā hi naḥ pitarāḥ soma pūrve karmāṇi cakruḥ... dhīrāḥ* “denn mit dir, o Soma, haben unsere weisen Väter vormals ihre Taten getan”. Here the poet does not give an opinion on the consequences or ‘perspective’; nor does he present the activity of the ancestors as momentaneous or continuing. Cf. 10, 15, 8; 54, 3; 130, 6; and also 10, 17, 11; 10, 14, 2. When an activity performed in former times is opposed or compared to the present the perfect is used in sentences such as 1, 48, 4. Cf. 5, 25, 2; 6, 19, 4; 7, 53, 1.

In connection with *purā* “formerly, before, of old” the impf. is used: R̥V. 1, 103, 1 *tat ta indriyam paramam parācāir adhārayanta kavayaḥ puredam* “jenes sein höchstes indrisches (Wesen) ist weit weg, dieses hielten die Seher vor Zeiten fest” (Geldner). The consequences of this unlimited, unreduced, and non-successive activity of the ancient kavis are still perceptible, for it is another aspect of the god’s nature which makes its presence felt to the present inhabitants of the earth (st. 1 cd), his highest nature being hidden to them; 7, 91, 1 dealing with a state of affairs and an important recurrent phenomenon which existed “certainly already in olden times”: *kuvid aṅga namasā ye vṛdhāsaḥ purā devā anavadyāsa āsan*.

⁷ See Renou, *La valeur du parfait*, p. 22 f.

Elsewhere *purā* combines with an aor. of the antecedent process in connection with an impf. which refers to a mythical event described so as to invite the hearer to ponder over its significance: 10, 76, 3 “for this soma libation performed (impf.) his (i.e. Indra’s) work – as it had before (*purā*) cleared (aor.) the way for Manu – with regard to the son of T.”⁸ (aor.: ‘fixed’ process, limited to a special case).

The same adverb is however also followed by a form of the perfect: ṚV. 1, 112, 16 *yābhir narā... purā manave gātum īṣathuḥ* “by means of which... ye formerly endeavoured to find a way for Manu”: there is no question of duration or consequences. Similarly, 2, 20, 4; 6, 22, 4, and compare also 4, 51, 7; 5, 53, 1. In 2, 30, 4 the past and the present are opposed or, rather, they are co-ordinated in a *yathā... tathā* sentence: *yathā jaghantha dhṛṣata purā cid | evā jahi śatrum asmākam indra* “wie du schon früher mutig erschlagen hast, so erschlag unseren Feind, o Indra!” (Geldner). Cf. also 8, 8, 6 and, in addition to these places, also 8, 21, 9 *yo na idam-idam purā pra vasya ānināya tam u va stuṣe*; 8, 66, 5; 6, 34, 1⁹; 8, 21, 7; 8, 75, 16.

The impf. is used to refer to processes which usually occurred in the times of the ancestors, which of course may vaguely merge its character in the ‘mythical past’. Cf. ṚV. 9, 82, 5 *yathā pūrvebhyaḥ... sahasrasāḥ paryayā vājam indo | evā pavasva suvitāya navyase* “as thou, winning a thousand for the ancestors, went about for vāja, so do thou clarify thyself for new prosperity”.

The impf. is therefore also used to denote the historical or pseudo-historical character of habitual events or happenings performed by or in connection with more or less historical or legendary individuals: ṚV. 1, 116, 18 *yad ayātam divodāsāya vartir bharadvājyāśvinā...* “when ye made your tour for D., for Bh., O Aśvins”.

Occasional or incidental occurrences concerning legendary or pseudo-historical individuals are also expressed by the impf.; ṚV. 5, 29, 9 “when ye (Kutsa and thou), Indra, came (*ayātam*, impf.) with the... horses to U. ..., then thou camest (*yayātha*, perf.) on the same chariot with K.”. A similar “dunkler Sagenzug” is alluded to by the poets of 1, 116, 19; 20; 5, 31, 8; 8, 7, 26. One might imagine that these processes were, in an earlier period, conceived as developing or continuing, as presented

⁸ For *purā* with a pres. indic. to indicate an action which has extended through the past down to the present see e.g. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar for students, p. 340; Renou, *Gramm. védique*, p. 365.

⁹ One might compare constructions with *pūrve* such as occur 5, 42, 6, to the type of sentence represented by this place.

by means of an 'eye-witness construction'. Anyhow, they do not belong to a series of events. Cf. also 8, 21, 10.

It is however not to be supposed that the impf. does not occur in connection with processes which concerned the speaker. It is on the contrary used to denote 'durative' or 'repeated' activities in passages such as R̥V. 8, 46, 27 "who inspired (*amandat*) him to give me... in (the houses of) A., A., N.": although the sense of this verse is not completely clear, it refers to an activity which in the past, but with reference to the speaker, resulted in several acts of giving. That the use of the impf. is not confined to actions and processes which have lost their 'actualité' may also be illustrated by 8, 7, 1 *pra yad vas triṣṭubham iṣam maruto vipro akṣarat / vi parvateṣu rājatha* "when the inspired singer has for you, O Maruts, poured out the refreshment consisting in 'triṣṭubh', ye are illustrious in the mountains".

A curious instance of this impf. occurs R̥V. 5, 45, 2. In this description of the first sunrise after the rains the poet, after using a series of aorists – the eulogists have come, the sun has appeared, etc. –, says: *sthūṇeva sumitā dṛm̐hata dyauh* "the sky was firmly established (*dṛm̐hata*) like a well-fixed pillar". As this verb cannot reasonably be assumed to have no connection with the present time, it must represent that nuance of the continuative impf., which indicates that the results of a continuing process which happened in the past, remained in existence.

In passages such as 1, 164, 43 the use of the impf. is also from the 'aspectual' point of view completely justified: ... *dhūmam ārād apaśyaṇi ... / ukṣāṇam pr̥ṣṇim apacanta vīrās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan*.

In descriptive passages and accounts of occurrences which, though concerning the speaker, have the character of a narrative or a recapitulation, an impf. is by no means out of place: R̥V. 5, 30, 11 "when the soma juices rinsed by Babhru (i.e. the reciter) intoxicated him (or "were intoxicating him" rather than: "ihn berauscht hatten": *amandan*), the bull roared loudly (*aroravīt*)...; Indra gave some (of the cows) back (*adadāt*)"; these processes are apparently viewed as simultaneous, not as successive. According to Geldner¹⁰ the 10th stanza constitutes an "Übergang zum Gegenwartslied: Indra brachte die... geraubten Kühe zurück". The occurrences described in 11 do not necessarily belong to the immediate past; they concern however the speaker and his surroundings. We may easily imagine these processes as 'continuing'. The activity of 'pouring' lends itself well to continuative presentation.

¹⁰ Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 28.

Similarly 9, 101, 4 *pavitravanto akṣaran devān gachantu vo madāḥ*; 9, 98, 11; *paryakṣarat* 9, 64, 11; *vi akṣarat* 9, 39, 4.

This force of the impf. to express that the chief interest in a past process or activity is in their unlimited continuity or in their occurrence within a period which includes the present is also apparent when the verb is accompanied by definite adverbs or adverbial phrases, e.g. ṚV. 3, 29, 14 *pra saptahotā sanakād arocata* "with seven sacrificial priests he shone forth from of old". It may be observed that the Greek impf. may also express processes which belong to both the past and the present: Hes. Op. 20 "(the elder daughter of Night) καὶ ἀπάλαμόν περ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν "she stirs up even the shiftless to toil".

An impf. may be accompanied by a participle or other adjectival word which expresses or suggests a certain duration: ṚV. 10, 98, 7 contains two instances: "when D. (who was a legendary figure), mourning, was engaged in visionary thought, B. bountifully (*rarāṇaḥ* part.) granted him (the faculty of) speech heard by the gods"; cf. also 10, 81, 4 *yad adhya-tiṣṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan* "whereupon he (Viśvakarman, the creator) stood when he fixed the world". Cf. also 4, 33, 7 and, in Greek, Hes. Th. 189 f. "as soon as he had cut off (aor. part.) the members...and cast them (aor. ind.)... into the sea, they were swept away (φέρετο pres. stem) over the high sea a long time".

If an impf. occurs in the same stanza and so as to refer to the same events as an aor. which may be regarded as expressing a 'passé actuel', the chances are that it is no 'imparfait historique', but helps the author to present the action as continuing. Cf. ṚV. 10, 111, 2 "die Erkenntnis (d. h. die dichterische Inspiration) ist aufgeblitzt (*adyaut*, aor.)¹¹, the bull (Indra) has joined (aor.) the cows; he stood up (*ud atiṣṭhat*, impf., implying: he remained standing) with a powerful roar (notice the detail!); he encompasses (*vivyāca*, perf.) also the great spaces".

Cases in which the impf. denotes continuing activity or a 'durative' process in the non-mythological past are e.g. ṚV. 1, 133, 1 (addressed to evil spirits on the earth and in the higher regions): "... I burn the demon foes... where the enemies, crushed, remained lying (*pari... aśeran*) on their lurking-places", King Sudās who was together with his army surrounded by a confederacy of ten kings, succeeded in retreating over the Paruṣṇī. When the enemies caused this river to overflow its banks in order to destroy Sudās's army they were themselves either drowned or slain by Sudās. These legendary or partly historical events are referred to in 7, 18, 8: *mahnāvivyak prthivīm patyamānaḥ paśuḥ kavir*

¹¹ See also H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, II (Göttingen, 1959), p. 611.

*aśayac cāyamānaḥ*¹² “by his greatness (majesty) he (the conqueror) encompassed (impf.) the earth, being the master; (like) a sacrificial animal he (i.e. those defeated) laid (impf.) there respectfully (? , pres. part.) ...”. The duration of these processes, which are clearly presented as simultaneous, is not reduced. According to 8, 1, 33 king Asaṅga surpassed the others in giving (*ati dāsat*, impf.); “there”, the poet adds, “ten white bulls came for me out of (*nir atiṣṭhan*, impf.) the lake like reed”. In cases such as the following the impf. likewise indicate continuing and simultaneous activities performed, in the past, by historical or legendary persons: RV. 10, 98, 7 “when D. ... chosen as a hotar, pondered mournfully (*kṛpayann adidhet*), B. granted (*ayachat*) him readily (*rarāṇaḥ*)...”. In the Āprī hymn 1, 188 it reads st. 4 *prācīnam barhīr ojasā sahasravīram aśṛṇan | yatrādityā virājatha* “they spread through their creative power the barhis, which suffices for a thousand men, to the east, on which you Ādityas are pre-eminent”. In a subordinate clause we find RV. 9, 71, 8 *yatrāśayat samṛtā sedhati sridhaḥ* “wo er (Soma) im Zusammenstosz erlag, beseitigt er die Schäden” (Geldner).

Special attention may be invited to those cases in which an impf. does not refer to a past which has no relation to the present. In RV. 1, 11 in which Indra is praised because of his friendship, his many gifts and bounties, his heroic deeds performed in the interest of men, the poet states (st. 6) that he returned with the god’s presents – i.e. the gifts he had obtained through Indra – to the river of his native country: *tavāhaṃ śūra rātibhiḥ praty āyaṃ sindhum āvadan*. One might expect to find here the usual aor. of the ‘passé actuel’, because it seems difficult to imagine that the poet’s activity, which he rescues from oblivion, has in his own eyes no more than ‘historical’ interest. The conclusion may therefore be that the impf. was used to present the process of returning as developing, that it was to make an appeal to the hearer’s imagination. The poet continues in the same way: *upātiṣṭhanta (kāravaḥ)* “the poets were present (as witnesses)”.

In the well-known and much discussed stanza RV. 10, 88, 15¹³ which deals with the two ways between earth and heaven, the poet states that he has heard about these means of communication between the two parts of the universe. The verb “I heard” is an impf.: *aśṛṇavam*. According to most commentators the source of the poet’s knowledge is the Śruti or ‘Holy Writ’. It may be that this information was imparted to him long ago, but it is impossible to maintain that it has no relation to the

¹² See Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 196.

¹³ See Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 282.

present. Elsewhere poets expressed themselves otherwise: 10, 86, 11 “among those divine ladies Indrāṇi is, thus I have heard (*aśravam*, aor.), the fortunate one”; 1, 109, 2 “for I have heard (aor.) that you give more than...”. In 10, 95, 11 Urvaśī reminds Purūravas of his kingly duty, which he for her sake neglects: “Indeed you are born (perf.) to protect, and you have given (perf.), O. P., your creative energy to me, but I, who knew (perf. part.), informed (impf.) you on that day –, you however, did not listen (*aśṛṇoh*, impf.) to me (simultaneity). Why will you speak in vain?” The two imperfects do, it is true, not refer to the immediate past, but the occurrences to which they refer have not yet lost their significance. The hearer is, on the other hand, invited to dwell on the occurrences to which they refer, to consider their full import and consequences.

Another instance seems to occur in ṚV. 10. 13, 3¹⁴ where it would not be advisable to disconnect the activity mentioned in pāda a (*aroham*, impf.) from that referred to in b (*emi*). The poet of ṚV. 10, 171 is, according to the Anukramaṇī (“Table of contents”) Iṭa(t); if this is true, the contents of stanza 1 do not, in all probability, refer to an event which is devoid of significance to the person speaking, i.e. the poet himself: *tvam tyam iṭato ratham indro prāvah*.

So many instances are, in this publication, given of the use of the impf. when it is desired to express that an action or process which took place in the past endures in its results and consequences, that one more example may suffice here: ṚV. 10, 88, 5 “since thou, O (Agni) Jātavedas, took up (*atiṣṭhaḥ*, impf.) a position on the summit of the world, we have impelled (aor.) thee with poems...”. From the point of view of ‘Vedic’ syntax the impf. denotes, it is true, the non-immediate past; at the same time, however, the above function appears to be undeniable.

“Wenn die durch das Imperfekt ausgedrückte Handlung mit einer anderen vergangenen Handlung verbunden ist, so kann es eine Handlung ausdrücken, welche entweder mit jener gleichzeitig war... oder schon vorher stattfand. In dem letzteren Falle gebraucht das Deutsche, wie das Lateinische, oft das Plusquamperfekt, während das Griechische... die Nebenhandlung nur in ihrer Entwicklung vorführt, ihr zeitliches Verhältnis zur Haupthandlung aber unbezeichnet lässt”¹⁵: B 1 ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ ... εὔδον / παννύχιοι, Δία δ’ οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος “all the other gods and men slept the whole night through, but the sweet sleep did not hold Zeus”; π 50 τοῖσιν δὲ κρείων πίνακας παρέθηκε συβώτας

¹⁴ For *rup-* see also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, II, p. 86, n. 1.

¹⁵ Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 145.

/ ὀπταλέων, ἃ ῥα τῇ προτέρῃ ὑπέλειπον ἔδοντες “then the swine-herd set before them platters of roast meats, which they had left at their meal the day before”. Strictly speaking, however, the imperfect is no more a marker of anteriority than the aorist: it is the juxtaposition of the two verbal forms in two successive clauses or sentences which creates the impression of anteriority or simultaneity. The same remark applies to the language of the Veda. Examples are: R.V. 1, 161, 11 “ye placed (impf.), for him, the grass on the heights..., when ye had slept (*asastanā*, impf.) in the house of A.” and in connection with the same legend, 4, 33, 7 “when the Rbhus had, sleeping for twelve days, taken pleasure (*raṇanta*, impf.) in A.’s hospitality, they made (impf.)... (and) lead (impf.) the rivers...”; 5, 30, 10 “Indra brought them together (the cows) ..., when the soma draughts had intoxicated (*amandan*) him”; 40, 5 “when... Svarbhānu (the demon supposed to eclipse the sun) had struck (*avidhyat*) thee, O Sun, the creatures considered (that situation, impf.) like one who has gone astray and is not familiar with the locality”: it should be noticed that this hymn relates the family saga of the Atris who are said to have found the sun when it was hidden by Svarbhānu. The stanza consequently refers to a legendary event, not to any sun eclipse in the past. Cf. also st. 9 “the Atris found (*avindan*) the sun..., which S. had struck (*avidhyat*) with darkness”. In 9, 71, 8 the principal clause contains a pres. ind.: *yatrāśayat samṛtā sedhati sridhaḥ*.

A characteristic function of the impf. is to express, also outside the mythical sphere, processes which are going on or continuing while another event takes place. The ‘continuative’ or ‘simultaneous’ impf. occurs in a subordinate sentence in cases such as R.V. 10, 98, 7 “when D. was mourning and engaged in visionary thought (*kṛpayann adīdhet*), B. granted (impf.) him the ability to speak so as to be heard by the gods and to produce rain”.

A curious use of the impf. may be illustrated by R.V. 9, 100, 9 which is the final stanza of a hymn addressed to Soma pavamāna, i.e. to the soma juices which are purified while flowing off clearly. The verbs of the preceding stanzas which describe the implications of the process of clarification (“thou destroyest darkness”, etc.) are in the pres. indic.; the verb of 9 I is in the perfect: “thou extendest over sky and earth”, the last verbal form of the hymn, however, is an impf.: *prati drāpim amuñcathāḥ*... “thou putttest on (thy) mantle (i.e. the threefold garment of water, milk and whey (or soma-juice))”. While belonging to the present or to the recent past this activity is presented as continuing; it is the ‘eyewitness aspect’ of the impf. which allows the audience to recon-

sider the process of clarification, moments of which were referred to in the preceding stanzas.

In some final stanzas, intended to restate in a brief form the poet's intentions and the purpose of the invocation, the function of an impf. may perhaps be best described as recapitulatory. Thus the last (16th) stanza of RV. 3, 29 – which is to accompany the ceremonious generation and establishment of fire at the beginning of a sacrifice – while, in a way, summarizing the contents of the hymn, addresses the god Agni as follows: “as we chose (impf.) thee today at this beginning act of worship – come here as a knowing one...”. Obviously this implication of the verbal process had to prevail over the element of actuality which, objectively speaking, is not absent. Curiously enough the parenthesis which is inserted into this sentence refers by means of two aorists to habitual activity performed by the god until the moment of speaking: 3, 29, 16 *dhruvam ayā dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* “du hast (bisher) beständig geopfert und beständig den Dienst versehen” (Geldner): the habitual character of these actions is, however, indicated by the adverbs.

An impf. which is accompanied by a negative particle, may in definite contexts be translated by: “was (were) not able to..., could not...”: RV. 1, 33, 10 *na māyābhir dhanadām paryabhūvan* “they were not able to surpass by means of their marvellous creative power, the giver of treasures”. This use of this form is not foreign to other languages¹⁶: the Greek ‘imperfective’ and especially the iterative impf. may for instance imply a nuance which is to be translated by “willing” or “being able”, the negative impf. commonly denoting “resistance to pressure or disappointment”: η 258 ἀλλ’ ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε θυμὸν ... ἔπειθεν “but she could never persuade my heart”; Hdt. 6, 34 καὶ σφεας ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλει “als wieder und wieder niemand Anstalten traf, sie einzuladen”; Thuc. 8, 20, 2 ὥς οὐκ ἐλάμβανε τὴν πόλιν “weil er trotz wiederholter Versuche die Stadt nicht nehmen konnte”; N.T. Ev. Mc. 14, 55 ἐζήτουν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαρτυρίαν ... καὶ οὐχ ἠύρισκον “... und konnten immer wieder nicht finden”. In the Avesta it reads, V. 2, 5 *nōit̥ taṭ̥ χʼarənō pairi.abaom* “I was not able to take possession of that dominion.”

¹⁶ See also Gildersleeve, *o.c.*, § 216; Rodenbusch, in *I.F.*, 21, p. 116 ff.; E. Hermann, in *Glotta*, 10, p. 129 ff. (Homer, with Slavonic and Armenian parallels); L. Hillesum, *De imperfecti et aoristi usu Thucydideo*, Thes. Leyden 1908, p. 31; Rose, *o.c.*, p. 14; A. Svensson, *Zum Gebrauch der erzählenden Tempora im Griechischen* (Lund, 1930), p. 26 f. etc.; H. Jacobsohn, in *I.F.*, 51, p. 311 f.; J. Vendryes, in *B.S.L.*, 42, p. 11 f.; Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 279; Mazon, *Aspects du verbe russe*, p. 203 ff. For the preference, in Greek and Slavonic, for the impf. in negative sentences see Jacobsohn, *l.c.*, and Rodenbusch, in *I.F.*, 21, p. 143 ff.

Just as the affirmative impf. can sometimes be interpreted to mean “could” or “would”, so when accompanied by a negative particle it may be translated by “could not” or “would not”. The negative aor. differs from the negative impf. in that while the former may deny the attainment of the action, the latter denies the process as it proceeds: cf. Thuc. 1, 24, 7 οὐκ ἐδέξαντο “they did not receive” (absolute denial).

The impf. is sometimes chosen to denote processes which used to take place in the past without however having reached their close. From 9, 107, 7 it may appear that soma is expected to make, also in the present and in the future, the sun rise: the form used is the inj. (*ā sūryam rohayo divi*; Geldner’s translation “mögest du... aufsteigen lassen” is not adequate). In any case, the immortal draught is frequently assimilated to the sun; it shines like or with that luminary or clothes itself in its rays.¹⁷ The impf. in 9, 86, 22 *sūryam ārohaya divi* “thou causedst the sun to ascend the sky” may therefore be classed under this heading. Similarly, 1, 34, 7 *trir no aśvinā ... dive dive pari ... prthivīm aśāyatam* “dreimal Tag für Tag kommet ihr Aśvin... auf der Erde” (Geldner). The impf. may alternate with the ‘historical present’. With regard to R.V. 1, 31, 3 *tvam agne prathamam mātariśvana āvir bhava... | arejetām rodasī... ayajo maho vaso* Geldner observes: “Der Mythos wird in lebhafter Rede in die Gegenwart versetzt, bez. die gegenwärtigen Feueranzünder mit Mātariśvan und Vivasvat als den ersten Feuererzeugern und Opfern vertauscht”. Yet the author almost imperceptibly passes on to the ‘durative’ past. The augmented impf., which may serve to denote habitual processes in the past or processes which up to the moment of speaking used to occur, may also combine with a pres. ind. in cases such as R.V. 1, 67, 4 “there the men who are worthy of the gift of poetry¹⁸ usually find (*vidanti*) him (Agni), whenever they recited (*aśaṃsan*) the formulas”.

Special attention may be drawn to the occasional inchoative character of non-transformative imperfects.¹⁹ Like the aorist, the imperfect may, if deriving from non-transformative verbs, throw the initial stage of the process into some relief, when deriving from transformative verbs, the final moment. The idea of initial or final term does however neither arise from the speaker’s view of the process nor interfere with the ‘durative’ character of the imperfect. There does not exist a special aspectual

¹⁷ See e.g. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 108. – For the iterative impf. see also F. Hartmann, in *K.Z.*, 49, p. 38 ff.

¹⁸ See Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 3 f.

¹⁹ Ruipérez, *o.c.*, p. 73.

type of imperfect such as the ingressive imperfect ('konfektiv-infektives Präsens') assumed by Schwyzer-Debrunner²⁰ in cases such as the Greek ὀρνυμαι "to move" when translatable by "to arise, start up", but the normal imperfect may, in case the verb does not express a transformation, be used to focus some special attention on the initial stage of the development. When Homer Γ 13 says ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κονίσσαλος ὥρνυτο he draws the hearer's attention especially to the initial stage of the continuing process: "a cloud of dust began to fly up from under their feet".

An instructive Vedic example is RV. 2, 15, 7. Dealing with the well-known miraculous aid rendered to the abandoned son of the unmarried woman and the recovery of the blind and the paralyzed from their disabilities the poet observes: "he (Indra) knew (perf. participle) the hiding place of the unmarried maiden, the abandoned one appearing stood up or rose to his feet (*ud atiṣṭhat*), the lame one got up (so as to rest) firmly (with his feet on the ground) ("prit appui": *prati... sthāt*, aor.), the blind one became seeing (*acaṣṭa*, impf.)". The form *ud atiṣṭhat* literally means "up he stood": as the verb *sthā-* is non-transformative it is the initial moment that strikes the imagination of the hearer somewhat more than the central meaning of the verb, so that 'still more literally' the sense is: "up he rose to his feet and he remained standing". One might compare, in Greek, Φ 240 ἀμφ' Ἀχιλλῆα ... ἵστατο κύμα "the wave towered (arose) about Achilles"; ξ 162 τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἵσταμένοιο "as one month ends and the next begins". The aor. *prati... sthāt* however invites the hearer to notice only the initial moment of the process without regard to its duration or non-duration. The impf. *acaṣṭa* again denotes the initial moment of a continuing process. An interesting place is also RV. 5, 30, 5 "when thou (Indra) wert born (aor.), from that time (*atah*) even the gods began to be afraid (*abhayanta*) of Indra": the text itself indicates the beginning of the continuing process. Not explicit, but still evident is 10, 138, 5 "he (Indra) sharpens (pres.) his missiles; she (Uṣas) became afraid (impf.) of I.'s vajra; she ran away (impf.)". In connection with *tras-* "to tremble, quiver" attention may be drawn to 10, 95, 8 "but when I... would mix with the immortal women..., they recoiled (*atrasan*, impf.) from me"; in connection with *śī-* "to lie (down), recline, rest" to 1, 32, 7 "der (Indra) schlug ihm die Keule in den Nacken (perf.)... der Vṛtra lag (impf.) zerstückt da" (Geldner): it is however clear that the demon did not lie down before his neck was struck. Hence also Geldner's trans-

²⁰ Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 259.

lation of st. 10 *dirgham tama āśayat*: “in langes Dunkel versank (er)”; and, a very clear instance, 1, 52, 6... *rajaso budhnam āśayat / vṛtrasya yat... nijaghantha hanvor indra tanyatum*, where Geldner’s “lag er... als du, I., deinen Donner dem V. in die Fresse schlugst” is not unambiguous, the meaning being “he lay down”. RV. 4, 33, 7 *dhanvātiṣṭhann oṣadhīr nimnam āpah* “es zogen die Pflanzen in die Wüstenei ein, in die Niederung die Gewässer” (Geldner); 5, 45, 10 *āśṛṇvatīr āpo... atiṣṭhan* “listening... the waters came to rest”; 10, 98, 6 *āpo devebhir nivṛtā atiṣṭhan*; 8, 1, 33 *nalā iva saraso nir atiṣṭhan* lit. “like reed from the lake, out of (it) they assumed an erect position”, i.e. “da tauchten... auf” (Geldner).

An impf. may, however, impress us as finitive or terminative. Yet, it is not the speaker’s intention to emphasize the end or completion of the process. It is the meaning of the verb, the context or the situation which lead us to the conclusion that an impf. of a transformative verb, though from the aspectual point of view expressing an action in progress, must at the same time refer to its end or completion. When in the Iliad Agamemnon, at the end of a long address exhorts the Greeks to be won over by him and to hasten away, the first verb though a present and as such ‘continuative’, acquires the sense of “to obey (after persuasion)”²¹: B 139 ff. ἄλλ’ ἄγεθ’ ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες / φεύγωμεν ... ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν “nay, come, even as I shall bid, let us all obey; let us flee to our... native land”. Similarly, Xen. Cyr. 5, 5, 22 ἐλθὼν ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐς ἔπεισα τούτους ἔχων ἐπορευόμεν²² “I came and tried to persuade them and with those whom I succeeded in persuading I went”: from the form ἔπεισα it appears that the process of persuading, though viewed as continuing, was brought to its close, that it was effective. When therefore a poet of the RV. says (5, 40, 9) that the Atris recovered (*anv avindan*) the sun, when Svarbhānu struck it with darkness, the impf. *avidhyat* no doubt expresses that the process was viewed by the author as continuing, but the context shows that it came to an end, because as long as the eclipse continued there would be no question of recovering. Geldner’s translation: “die Sonne, die ... S. mit Finsternis geschlagen hatte” neglects the continuative element. When in 2, 17, 2 it reads: “(Indra) put (*praty amuñcata*) the sky on his head” the end of the process is likewise thrown into some relief; cf.

²¹ “Infektiv-konfektive (terminative) Präsensien” in Greek were e.g. discussed by Schwyzler-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 259.

²² Cf. also Ruipérez, *o.c.*, p. 77; 80, who translates the words ἐλθὼν ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς by “estaba persuadiéndoles”, “intentaba convencerles”.

also 1, 173, 6 when the same god is described as wearing (*bharti*) the sky like a head-dress(?²³)".

If an aorist does not exist the impf. of the same root, being 'neutralized', was used where we would expect to find the former verb form. Examples will be found among the intensives, where the non-presentic forms are rare. Thus ṚV. 2, 38, 4 has in a description of nightfall among four aorists one impf., viz. *adardhaḥ* (intens. impf. *dhṛ-*) which however is completely on a par with the other forms. An instance of an int. impf. combining with a verbal adjective used predicatively: 1, 80, 9 *śatainam anu anonavur indrāya brahmodyatam* "hundert haben ihm zugeschrieben ..." (Geldner), in 8, 70, 4 the same impf. refers to the mythical past. The stanza 8, 6, 40 may, in this context, be regarded as referring to the immediate past: *vāṽṛdhāna upa dyavi vṛṣā vajry aroravīt* "bis zum Himmel wachsend hat der Bulle, der Keulenträger, sein Gebrüll ausgestoszen" (Geldner).

ṚV. 3, 31, 21 is a somewhat complicated instance: "the slayer of Vṛtra, as lord of the cows, assigned (*adediṣṭa*, intens. impf.) the cows; he excluded (*antaḥ... gāt*, aor.) the black ones", the latter sentence in all probability referring to the non-Aryans as well as, mythologically, to the representatives of darkness. The next sentence shows that the impf. may be regarded as 'regular': "he opened (*avṛṇot*) all his doors". Cf. also 5, 30, 11 *yad im somā babhrudhūtā amandann aroravīd vṛṣabhaḥ sādaneṣu |... indro asya punar gavām adadād...*

²³ Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymol. Wtb. des altind.* (Heidelberg, 1953), p. 132.

VII

IMPERATIVES*

The rather frequent combination of an aor. and a pres. imperative is not rarely of special interest. Places such as RV. 8, 8, 13 could, as far as the force of the tense forms contained in them is concerned, be explained as if they were ancient Greek: *ā no viśvāny... dhattam... / kṛtam na ṛtviyāvato mā no rīradhataṃ nide* “bring (pres.) us all..., make (aor.) us accurate sacrificers, do not make us subject (aor.) to blame”. Is it a mere coincidence that e.g. 1, 14, 12 *yukṣvā... rathe harito deva... / tābhir devāṃ ihā vaha* “put thy bay steeds to the chariot, O god... drive the gods hither” the request to put the horses to the chariot is expressed by an aor., the incitement to convey the gods to the sacrifice by a present? It is true that the pres. imp. *vaha* is very frequent, whereas strictly speaking an aor. imp. of the same word does not occur; still the poet might have chosen a non-presentic form to express a similar

* After this chapter had been written I became acquainted with the typewritten and unpublished thesis by G. Buddrusz, *Verbalaspekt und Imperativ im Rgveda*, Frankfurt a.M. 1954, 106 pp. (not mentioned in the *Linguistic Bibliography for the year 1954* published by the Permanent International Committee of Linguists). Although one never knows whether the universities encouraging their pupils to hide the results of their scientific endeavour from publicity want them to plough the sands rather than to be useful to their colleagues, I have afterwards quoted some passages from this book which I have, on the whole, read with approval. After stating (in chapter A) the problem, the author discusses (B) “den Begriff des Verbalaspekts” modifying the ‘Zeitbezug’ theory of Koschmieder to which he is in general inclined to subscribe, and focuses attention mainly on the pres. and aor. imperatives of four frequent verbs, viz. *vid-* “to find”, *i- gam- gā- yā* “to go”, *pā-* “to drink”, and *śru-* “to hear”, adding (E) some observations on those cases in which a pres. and an aor. imp. combine and “Schlussbemerkungen”. His line of thought is rather traditional, no attempt being made to establish the aspectual ‘neutrality’ of one of the categories discussed. Though somewhat ‘rectilinear’ his argument is free from doctrinarianism: “Man darf ... die Regelmäßigkeit im Gebrauch der Aspekte nie überfordern. Es kann immer nur darum gehen, gewisse sich abzeichnende Tendenzen aufzuzeigen”. He is also right in assuming the existence of aspectual differences on the strength of comparatively manifest distinctions in the use of a limited number of frequent verbs notwithstanding the impossibility of distinguishing ‘aspects’ in other cases: “man darf auch beim vedischen Imperativ nicht erwarten, dass sich in jedem Verse überzeugend der Gebrauch dieses oder jenes Aspektes motivieren liesse. Es kommt vielmehr darauf an, Beispiele aufzuzeigen – und seien es auch nur wenige wirklich stichhaltige –, in denen diese Motivierung möglich ist.”

idea. Is not the former process viewed as ‘momentaneous’, and in any case as non-simultaneous, the latter – which from a chronological point of view cannot begin after the former has been accomplished – as continuing and apt to express variety, frequency and heterogeneity? The same remark applies to 1, 48, 11 *uṣo vājaṃ hi vaṃsva... | tenā vaha sukṛto adhvarān...* “gain (aor.), O Uṣas, the vāja..., drive (pres.) with that towards the liturgy of those who are precise and scrupulous (in carrying out their religious obligations)”. Are we mistaken in ascribing a durative character to the pres. imp. in 10, 15, 11 *eha gachata... atta ... dadhātana* and a momentary to *sadata*: “come, sit down, eat, provide (us)...”? Cf. also 1, 10, 3.

Not infrequently indeed an aor. imp. is followed by one or two pres. imperatives, an alternation which may be considered an ‘allegro-lento presentation’, the author obviously wishing to dwell on the last process, or to create the impression that this is to continue or to be continued. Examples are ṚV. 2, 41, 13 = 6, 52, 7 “O gods, approach (*ā gata*, aor.), hear (*śṛṇutā*, pres.) this call of mine, sit down (*nī śidata*, pres.) on this barhis”; – one could also say that here, in 8, 73, 10 *ihā gatam... śṛṇutam ma imaṃ havam* and elsewhere the aor. refers to the antecedent process –; 1, 4, 2 *upa... gahi piba*; 10, 7; cf. also 8; 9 *śrudhi havam... dadhiṣva me girah*; 25, 19; 30, 22; 10, 14, 5; 15, 4; 5, 78, 5 “hear (*śrutam*, aor.) my call and set S. free (*muñcatam*, pres.)”. The more or less introductory former process is presented as being exempt from duration. Cases such as 8, 54, 3 *vasavo rudrā avase na ā gamañ chrṇvantu maruto havam* may owe their form to metrical considerations.

Combinations such as 4, 2, 11 are also worth mentioning: *ditim ca rāsvāditim uruṣya* “remit (aor.) (us) the (our) lack of freedom, secure (pres.) (our) freedom”. Although the verb *uruṣyati* does not occur outside the present-system, it must be conceded that the first process must have reached its close before the second which, the speaker hopes, will continue can set in.

Instances of the reverse order are e.g. ṚV. 7, 81, 5 “bring here (*ā bhara*), O Uṣas, the excellent bounty...; the nourishment of men which you possess, give (*rāsva*) us that, that we may enjoy (it)”: the process of bringing is again presented as continuing. It is one of those verbs which indicating movement are very suitable for demonstrating that the ‘duration’ is essentially in the ‘vision of the narrator’, who is so to say able to follow the motion with his mental eye. An interesting combination which occurs several times may be illustrated by 8, 4, 16 *saṃ naḥ śīśihi ... rāsva rāyaḥ* “sharpen us (i.e. incite us) thoroughly (pres.) ...; give

(aor.) (us) possessions”: the former process is no doubt viewed ‘in perspective’, that is to say the poet asks the god to ‘sharpen’ him and his patrons so that they may remain ‘sharp’. The same idea is expressed in the reverse order: 3, 24, 5 *dāḥ* (aor.): *śiśīhi*; cf. also 1, 42, 9; 10, 42, 3. A similar combination occurs 8, 60, 6 *śocā śociṣṭha dīdihi viśe mayo rāsva*, where “flame (glow)” and “shine” are, perhaps, seen as continuing processes, “give” as momentary. Cf. also 9, 43, 6 *pavasva: rāsva*; 61, 26 *ā bhara, jahi: rāsva*; and 10, 16, 1. There is however no denying that in particular cases (e.g. *bhara*) a pres. stem is decidedly preferred: cf. also 2, 17, 7. See also 1, 26, 5.

The juxtaposition of different imperatives is also in texts of a somewhat different character very instructive. RV. 6, 48, 4 Agni is implored to convey the sacrifices to the other gods: “mache (*kr̥nuhi*, pres.) sie geneigt zur Gnade..., spende (*rāsva*, aor.)¹ und erwirke (*vaṃsva*, aor.) Belohnung” (Geldner): the inclination of the gods to give wealth etc. to men is obviously seen ‘in perspective’, as implying frequency and variety, or the implication is that the gods should continue showing favour to their adherents.

In this connection mention should also be made of RV. 10, 100, 8 “Savitar must drive (aor. subj.) the pain off; the mountains must remove (pres. imp.) (it) very far away!”.

Sometimes however the occurrence of a pres. form among a number of aorists may be due to the defectivity of the verb: RV. 1, 42, 9 *śagdhi pūrdhi pra yaṃsi ca śiśīhi*. In other cases it is not evident what the alternation signifies: 1, 172, 3 (cf. also 7, 84, 2 and similar instances).

The question arises whether Geldner’s translation of RV. 8, 3, 1 *pibā sutasya... matsvā na indra...* “trink vom (Saft), berausche dich, I., an unserem... Saft” is correct: *pibā* no doubt refers to a continuing activity, but the verb *mad-* “to rejoice, exult, be drunk” is non-transformative and hence the aor. imper. *matsva* rather means “get drunk” (cf. e.g. also 8, 13, 14 *ā tū gahi pra tu drava matsva*).

It is worth mentioning that similar combinations of both imperatives are not foreign to Greek literature either: Arist. Nub. 88 ἐκστρεψον ὥς τάχιστα τοὺς σαυτοῦ τρόπους / καὶ μάνθαν’ ἐλθὼν, ἂν ἐγὼ παραινήσω “change (aor.) tout à fait et au plus vite ta manière de vivre, et va apprendre (pres.) ce que je te recommanderai” (H. v. Daele); Ach. 204 τῇδε πᾶς ἔπου, δίδωκε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πυνθάνου / τῶν ὁδοιπόρων ἀπάντων ... ἀλλὰ μοι μνύσατε ... “par ici tous (pres.), suivons (pres.) l’homme, demandons-le (pres.) à tous les passants... Donnez-moi (aor.) donc une

¹ As to *rāsva* cf. the frequent δός “give” in Homeric prayers, e.g. Γ 322; 351.

indication...”; Thuc. 3, 33, 3 ὁ δὲ ... ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν καὶ μέχρι ... Πάτμου τῆς νήσου ἐπεδίωξεν “he began the pursuit, and actually did pursue (Alcidas) as far as the island of Patmos”; Lys. 1, 19 ψεύσῃ δὲ μηδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τ᾽ἀληθῆ λέγε; Dem. 20, 87 σκοπεῖτε δὴ καὶ λογίσασθε. These instances – in which the difference between the aor. and the impf. is brought out very strikingly – may be paralleled by Slavonic examples in which the imperfective imper. denotes a) a single process or activity presented as developing; b) a repeated process; c) a process viewed generally; and the perfective imper. a) a single process viewed, not as developing or being in progress, but as attaining to completion; b) a process which while being repeated or at least being subject to repetition is presented as taking place in a moment.²

Not infrequently indeed the aor. imp. seems to express what might be called ‘punctuality’ in that it is preferred when the order or request concerns a single or particular case: R̥V. 10, 39, 6 *purā tasyā abhiśaster ava spr̥tam* “preserve me from this misfortune”; 11, 2 *iṣṭasya madhye aditir ni dhātu naḥ* “A. soll uns inmitten unseres Wunsches versetzen” (Geldner); 7, 91, 4 “drink (*pātam*) the soma with us..., sit down (*sadatam* ... *ā*) on this barhis”; 1, 174, 7 *kṣāṃ dāsāyopabarhaṇīm kaḥ*; 6, 15, 18 *yajñam deveṣu piṣpr̥saḥ* “convey (this) sacrifice to the gods” (Agni is addressed; cf. 6, 49, 12 where the subj. *piṣpr̥sati* is used); 10, 4, 6 “this hymn is intended for thee, O Agni, put (aor.) (the horses) to your chariot”; 14, 12 “these must give (aor.) us today our pleasant life back”; 2, 33, 15 *havanaśrun no rudreha bodhi* “be here, O Rudra, listener to our invocations”; 1, 24, 11 *ahelamāno varuṇeha bodhi* “sei hier ohne Groll, V.” (Geldner); but also 2, 9, 2 “be (*bodhi*) the attentive protector for the continuation of our offspring and of ourselves”; 1, 31, 9; 1, 7, 6 “uncover (*apa vrdhi*) the saucepan for us”; 25, 20 *sa yāmani prati śrudhi* (the term ‘konstatierend’ applied to this use by Buddrusz is not felicitous); 26, 2 *ni no hotā vareṇyaḥ sadā* “sit down as our dear (desirable) hotar”; 36, 12 *rāyas pūrdhi...* (*sa no mṛla*) “present us with abundant possessions”; 14 *vidā deveṣu no duvaḥ*. Cf. also 7, 93, 5. – These requests and injunctions do not rarely impress us as being exact, direct, vigorous.³ As is well known, the Greek aor. imp. often clearly refers to a single case, “wenn die Handlung als eine abgeschlossene mit einem

² For examples see Mazon, *Aspects du verbe russe*, p. 59 f.; 77 f. For the thesis that the ‘duration’ is essentially in the vision of the narrator see e.g. B. L. Gildersleeve, in *Amer. Journal of Phil.*, 4, p. 160; the same, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, I, § 212; F. Hulstsch, “Die erzählenden Zeitformen bei Polybios”, I, in *Abh. phil.-hist. Cl. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 13 (Leipzig, 1891), p. 64 ff.

³ Cf. Mazon, *o.c.*, p. 86 ff.

Blick überschaut wird”⁴: Isaeus 7, 21 ff. λαβὲ δὴ αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους παρ’ οὗς ταῦτα πεποιήκασι, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι.

Cases in which the continuative force of a pres. imp. is in some way or other apparent are likewise far from rare. Sometimes the process is so to say to continue in its results or consequences: R̥V. 1, 5, 7 *ā tvā viśantv...* *somāsa indra* “the soma juices must enter thee, O I.” (notice the plural subject implying frequency and variation); 13, 5 *str̥ṇīta barhīr...* *yatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇam* “spread the barhis... where ‘immortality’ (the immortal beings) will appear”; 6 *vi śrayantām...* *dvāro devīr...*; 23, 21 *āpaḥ pr̥ṇīta bheṣajam...* *jyok ca sūryam dṛśe* “O waters, give your medicine abundantly (notice this adverb)... that (I may) see the sun for a long time”; the pres. focuses the attention on details and circumstances; 24, 9 *bādhvasa dūre nir̥rtim parācaiḥ*; 28, 9 (*śiṣṭam*) *ni dhehi gor adhi tvaci*; 30, 6 *ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā na ūtaye*; 36, 9 *saṃ sīdasva*; 7, 86, 5 *ava dru-gdhāni pitryā sr̥jā*; 90, 1 *pibā sutasyāndhaso madāya* “drink of the pressed Soma in order to be intoxicated” (perspective); 6, 59, 9 *ā na iha pra yachataṃ rayiṃ viśvāyupoṣasam* “hand us here over wealth which causes prosperity in a complete lifetime”. Compare also instances such as 1, 5, 8 *tvām stomā avīvr̥dhan...* / *tvām vardhantu no girah*; 10 *iśāno yavayā vadham*; 7, 95, 5. Compare, in Greek, a variety of places, inter alia Soph. El. 925 μηκέτ’ ἐς κεῖνον γ’ ὄρα “don’t look at him any longer”; Andoc. 1, 18 βλέπετε εἰς τοὺτους καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω “diese haltet euch vor Augen, und so gebt mir Zeugnis (nicht das μαρτυρεῖν an sich, sondern die näheren Umstände, die Art der Ausführung wird hervorgehoben)”.⁵ “Exprimant un désir qui se borne au processus même de l’action verbale ou, en d’autres termes, invitant simplement à l’action et non à l’exécution intégrale de celle-ci, l’impératif imperfectif est moins catégorique et pourtant souvent moins autoritaire que l’impératif perfectif”.⁶

Elsewhere the meaning of the verb and the context do not leave us in doubt about the view of the poet: R̥V. 1, 1, 9 (final verse) *sacasva naḥ svastaye* “be (O Agni) with us for (our) well-being!”; 5, 1 *ā tv etā ni śīdatendram abhi pra gāyata* “come here, sit down, start your praise of Indra (which is to follow)”; 13, 9 “the three goddesses must sit down (pres.) on the barhis”; 22, 8; 7, 88, 1 *pra...* *varuṇāya preṣṭhām matiṃ...* *bharasva*; 93, 2 *pr̥ṇktaṃ vājasya sthavirasya ghr̥ṣveḥ* is another instance of a pres. used when particulars with regard to the performance of the

⁴ Kühner-Gerth, *Gramm. d. griech. Sprache, Satzlehre*, I⁴, p. 189.

⁵ Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 190.

⁶ Mazon, *o.c.*, p. 66.

activity are mentioned: “give (us) lavishly of the strong and comforting *vāja*”; 98, 1.

The present imperative not rarely refers to a general request or prayer for help, etc.: ṚV. 1, 7, 4 *indra vājeṣu no 'va* “O I. favour us on the occasions of winning *vāja*” (“der Vorgang wird vorgestellt ohne Gedanken an seine Begrenzung”); 8, 1 *endra sānasiṃ rayiṃ... sadāsaham* / ... *ūtaye bhara* “O I. bring us, in order to help us, possessions which bring gain and which are always superior”; 29, 7 *sarvam parikrośaṃ jahi* “slay every ‘crier’”; 36, 14; 2, 33, 2; 3; 7, 94, 8 *indrāgnī śarma yachatam* “I. and A. give protection”; 95, 6 *vardha*; 96, 2 *ā coda rādhaḥ maghonām* “stimulate liberality of the benevolent (munificent) ones”; 97, 10 “bring (get) (*dhattam*) Reichtum dem Sänger, auch dem geringen” (Geldner). In Greek, this function of the pres. imp. is sometimes much in evidence: Ps. Isocr. 1, 16 τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς φοβοῦ, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς τίμα, τοὺς δὲ φίλους αἰσχύνου, τοῖς δὲ νόμοις πείθου “stand in awe of the gods, honour your parents, feel shame before your friends, obey the laws”. In Russian, “l’impératif imperfectif exprime parfois l’action verbale dans son indétermination, comme posant en quelque sorte une question de principe et, par conséquent, comme jusqu’à un certain point généralisée”.⁷

An instance of four pres. imp. occurring in one stanza, all of them expressing continuing action is ṚV. 6, 75, 12 ... *pari vr̥ndhi no 'śmā bhavatu naṣ tanūḥ* / *somo adhi bravītu no 'ditiḥ śarma yachatu*. The durative character of a pres. form is sometimes reinforced by a pres. participle: 10, 7, 7 *trāsvota naṣ tanvo aprayuchan* “und schütze unablässig unsere Personen” (Geldner); 10, 87, 11.

If the pres. imp. is practically speaking the only possibility to express the idea which is present to the poet’s mind it is also used in cases where on the strength of the above examples an aor. might be expected: 7, 93, 7 *mṛḷa* followed by *śīsrathantu*; 94, 12 *udadhiṃ... hatam* “slay U.”; 92, 5 *asmin savane mādayasva* “be at ease at this pressing (of Soma)” may however be a pres. in its own right.

As is well known there may, from Greek, be quoted curious instances of an opposition between a pres. and an aor. imp. deriving from the same verb and sometimes occurring in the same context: Eur. Hipp. 473 λῆγε μὲν κακῶν φρενῶν, / λῆξον δ’ ὑβρίζουσα “cease (in general) from malice, cease (now) being wanton”; cf. also Soph. O.C. 188 ἄγε νῦν με παῖ “be my guide...” as opposed to Ω 337 Πρίαμον ... ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν

⁷ Mazon, *o.c.*, p. 77.

/ ὦς ἄγγ(ε) “conduct P. to the ships of the A.”⁸; the latter process is viewed “im Hinblick auf seine Begrenzung”, it is ‘limited’ and ‘déterminé’. In Old Church Slav. “le perfectif est (à l’impératif) dans l’ensemble beaucoup plus fréquent que l’imperfectif... Mais l’imperfectif s’emploie librement avec tous les verbes, quand on veut marquer la durée ou la répétition d’une action, et non son achèvement.”⁹

The examples which are to follow will show that in the Ṛgveda similar combinations of a pres. and an aor. imp. deriving from the same verb or from suppletive verbs are not wanting: 4, 46, 5 *rathena...* / *dāśvāṇsam upa gachatam* / *indravāyū ihā gatam* “move with the chariot towards the worshipper; O Indra and Vāyu, come hither!”, the word *rathena* being accompanied by a descriptive adjective; 8, 22, 12 *tābhir ā yātaṃ vṛṣaṇopa me havam...* *yābhiḥ kriviṇi vāyrdhus tābhir ā gatam*: “mit diesen Hilfen fahret, ihr Stiere, auf meinen Ruf zu... kommt doch her” (cf. Geldner) would seem to be an adequate translation; 6, 41, 1 “do thou, not displeased, come near (*upa yāhi*) the act of worship..., like the cows to their place, do thou come (*ā gahi*), O Indra”; 1, 137, 1; 2 and 3; 7, 74, 3; 8, 87, 5 and 6, etc.; in 8, 35, 22 it even reads *ā yātam āśvinā gatam*.

In this case the aor. normally follows the impf., an order of words which may perhaps be considered an instance of *lento-allegro* expression, or to quote Buddrusz: “man wird diese Erscheinung am angemessensten so erklären müssen, dasz die Aufforderung sich vom sanfter bittenden Präsens im Aorist zu grösserer Eindringlichkeit steigert”. Compare e.g. 8, 8, 6 *ā yātam āśvinā gatam upemām suṣṭutim mama*; 21, 3 and 4; 6, 17 1 and 2 *pibā somam... sa im pāhi*; 7, 66, 18 and 19 *pibatam somam... pātam somam*; 8, 76, 2, etc.

It might therefore be of some use to institute a detailed examination of all imperatives (and injunctives used to express an order) deriving from the verb for “drinking” which is, especially in these forms, of frequent occurrence in the Ṛgveda.

The following passages might appear to lend some support to the assumption of a ‘punctual’ or ‘limited’ (aor. imp.) *pāhi*, etc. “drink”. In RV. 10. 160, 1 Indra is explicitly invited to drink the soma of the sacrificer whose priest is speaking, not that of other sacrificers; so the idea of *hic et nunc*, the absence of frequency and variety, is emphasized: *tivṛasyābhivayaso asya pāhi*. Cf. 3, 51, 7 *indra... iha pāhi somam yathā śāryāte apibah*; ibid. 8 and 3, 36, 3 *pibā vardhasva ... yathāpibah pūrvyāṇi indra somam eva pāhi...* (whereas the aor. refers to a particular case, the

⁸ For other examples and literature see Schwyzler-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 340 ff.

⁹ Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave*, p. 328.

jmpf. makes a general statement on which mind and phantasy may dwell); cf. also 3, 35, 8; 8, 57, 2. In 7, 98, 1 the god is requested to drink the soma which stands in readiness; cf. also 1, 2, 1; 3, 35, 8; 3, 58, 9; 5, 43, 3; 9, 88, 1 *ayaṃ soma indra tubhyaṃ sunve... asya pāhi*; 6, 17, 2 to drink as of old, i.e. once again; cf. 3, 35, 6 *śaśvattamaṃ sumanā asya pāhi* “zum soundsovielsten Male trink wohlgemut von diesem!” (Geldner), the adverb indicating that the individual case is preceded by many others; cf. e.g. πολλάκις and the aor. in Xen. Mem. 2, 4, 7. Elsewhere the poet lays stress on the fact that it is the soma of his patron, “our soma”, which is presented, or that the invitation is meant to ask, on behalf of the patrons, the god’s particular favour: 3, 37, 8; 40, 6; cf. also 1, 47, 5. The word *adya* “today” occurs in the invitation: 1, 47, 3; the adverb *iha* “here”: 10, 160, 2; the word *asme* “with us, in our home”: 7, 91, 4; the pronoun *ima-* “this” is added to the name of the draught: 8, 13, 21. Passages such as 3, 40, 1 may be considered to refer to a special occasion: *indra tvā... sute some havāmahe | sa pāhi madhvo andhasaḥ*. Anyhow, the idea of duration does not appear to be hinted at in the above passages. Cf. also 1, 45, 10 (final stanza); 3, 62, 18 (id.); 4, 35, 4; 7, 91, 6; 8, 33, 4 *pāhi gāya* (allegro: lento, Buddrusz supposes: ‘Aor. der relativen Vorzeitigkeit’).

Other passages seem to contradict the above statements exhibiting instances of the aor. imp. where – in view of the use of the pres. imp. which is to be discussed further on – we might expect to find a pres.; 2, 11, 15 *ṛpat somam pāhi drahyad indra*: “drink strongly, so as to become satisfied” (see further on): here the aor. is ‘neutral’; cf. 17 *mandasānas... pāhi*; 1, 46, 5 *pātam somasya dhṛṣṇuyā* “... firmly”; 153, 4 *vītam pātam* “bekommet Lust, trinket beide” (Geldner); 3, 12, 1 and 2; 47, 3; 4, 34, 6 and 7. The poet obviously wanted to emphasize the non-limitation. There is however room for the observation that in using an aor. the poet as a rule avoids the lively and picturesque description or digressions which so often accompany the pres. imperative. Not rarely the aor. ‘states’, the pres. ‘describes’.

What strikes us first in considering the differences between the aor. and the pres. imp. is that the former is only in some cases, the latter often used ‘absolutely’. It is true that in stanzas such as 1, 177, 4 *prajāhi pibā niṣadya vi mucā harī iha* the god is explicitly invited to sit down on the barhis of the poet’s patron and to take his horses out on the festive occasion meant by the poet, the very fact that he should unharness his animals shows that his drinking will be a prolonged affair (cf. also 2, 37, 5). ṚV. 3, 32, 3 is part of a hymn which is to invite the god

to the midday oblation: *mādhyamdine... pibā rudrebhiḥ saganāḥ*: the imp. refers to an otherwise unqualified and unrestrained drinking. Cf. 4, 34, 4 which refers to the evening pressing. The imp. is reinforced by another pres. imp.: 3, 40, 2 *pibā vṛṣasva...* “drink, pour... into thyself”; 2, 36, 4; 8, 35, 10 *pibatam ca tṛṇutam ca*. Elsewhere it is another addition which seems to point to the continuative force and ‘unlimited’ character of the imp.: 8, 82, 2 *pibā dadhṛg yathociṣe* “trink herzhaf, wie du gewohnt bist!” (Geldner); 8, 2, 1 *pibā supūrṇam udaram* “drink your fill”; a simile: 1, 16, 5 “trink (*piba*) like a thirsty buffalo”; similarly, 5, 36, 1 “thirsty like a buffalo who goes in a desert, he (Indra) must drink (*pibatu*) the extracted soma”; 1, 130, 2; 8, 45, 24; an adj. 7, 59, 3 *viśve pibata kāmīnaḥ* “eagerly”, other instances of courteousness being 8, 4, 10 *pibā somam vaśām anu* “... at pleasure”; 3, 48, 10; 7, 59, 3. The passage is characterized by repetition or insistence: 6, 40, 1 *indra piba tubhyaṃ sutah* cf. 2 *asya piba...*; 2, 41, 3; 4, 46, 6; 8, 22, 8; 6, 43, 1-4 (refrain); 8, 4, 3; 12 *tasyehi pra drava piba*; in 3, 50, 1 *indrah svāhā pibatu* “Indra must drink! hail!”; 2, 36, 1 the invitation is accompanied by the well-known exclamation used in making oblations to gods. Repetition of the process is implied by the use of *ṛtubhiḥ*, *ṛtunā* “selon les divisions temporelles régulières”¹⁰; “selon les instants particulièrement actifs du rite” (*rtu*:- le moment crucial qui résulte de l’ajustage des temps, des espaces et des gestes, ajustage qui forme l’essence du sacrifice védique...¹¹; 2, 37, 1-3 *piba ṛtubhiḥ*; cf. 1, 15, 2 *ṛtunā*; (cf. *ibid.* 1; 5; 11). In 1, 46, 15 the absence of contextual indications makes it impossible to determine the force of the imperative; in 5, 51, 2 the general character of the invitation is however evident.

The only example of a verbal form occurring, in the R̥V., as an iterative is *piba piba* “drink, drink”: 2, 11, 11 it doubtless urges the god to continuous drinking.

On reviewing the other passages containing a pres. imp. it might be said that not infrequently, though the reference to a particular invitation and a particular sacrifice is often beyond doubt, the ‘durative’ view of the process may have induced the poet to prefer the present. Thus 7, 90, 1 *pibā sutasyāndhaso madāya* “drink of the pressed soma in order to get (be) intoxicated” must refer to a prolonged and ‘unlimited’ action. Similarly, 1, 104, 9 (which constitutes a remarkable instance of repetition with variation: “this soma has been pressed out; drink of it, pour it into thy stomach, O capacious One”; cf. also 3, 47, 1; 6, 68, 10f. etc.)

¹⁰ Renou, in *Archiv Orientalní*, 18, p. 431 ff.

¹¹ L. Silburn, *Instant et cause* (Paris, 1955), p. 35.

135, 5; 3, 47, 1 “drink in order to become intoxicated, pour the wave of the sweet drink into thy stomach”; 6, 40, 1; 7, 22, 1; 8, 36, 1; 95, 3, and also 7, 29, 1 (cf. 2); 3, 50, 2 (cf. 3); 51, 10 (cf. 11). Cf. also 3, 32, 5 *pibā somaṃ śāsivate vīryāya* “drink soma in order to acquire complete heroic strength”; 1, 16, 6 *tām indra sahase piba*; 9, 113, 1 *balam dadhāna ātmani*. The conclusion may be that the tendency is manifest to prefer the pres. imper. if the invitation to drink is couched in vivid and imaginative language so as to call up a picture in the mind of the hearer, if it is accompanied by amplifications giving details or containing variations.

A simile in addition to a prepositional group shows the intensity of the action meant by the poet: 8, 4, 10 (see above) “draw near like a thirsty antelope; drink soma at pleasure (*vaśāṃ anu*)”; the simile “empty (the soma cup) like a gaur a lake” (*saro gauro yathā piba*) is, 8, 45, 24, self-evident; cf. also 5, 36, 1 (simile and part.: “eagerly”); 1, 130, 2 (simile and descriptive adj.); see also 8, 4, 3. “Ist der Vorgang des Trinkens durch eine dichterisch geformte bildhaft-anschauliche Erweiterung der miterlebenden Phantasie nahe gebracht, so ist in der Regel der präsentische Imperativ die für diese Aufforderung als angemessen empfundene sprachliche Form”, thus also Buddrusz.

Other contextual evidence is, in 8, 17, 4, the addition (in st. 5) *ā te siñcāmi kukṣyoḥ* (compare also 5 and 6!) and (in 4) the epithet *śiprin* which usually occurs in passages bearing upon soma-drinking¹²; see also st. 1; 4, 45, 3 “drink of the mead with mead-drinking mouth”; 1, 34, 10; 1, 108, 1 (cf. 2); 3, 51, 9f. In 8, 3, 1 *pibā sutasya... matsvā na indra gomataḥ*; in 4, 50, 10 *pibatam... mandasānā...*; and in 8, 35, 22 and 23 the poet repeats the idea expressed by the imp. twice so as to show insistence: *pibatam somyam madhu... pītaye*; cf. also 8, 57, 4 (in 3: *upa yātā pibadhyai*); 7, 74, 2 and 3 *pibatam somyam madhu: madhvaḥ p.*; 7, 66, 18 (cf. 17 and 19); 1, 45, 10 (cf. 9 *somapeyāya... barhir ā sādāyā*); 1, 135, 4; 2, 36, 4 *prati vīhi... piba... tṛpṇuhi*; 37, 1-3; 3, 47, 1-4; 4, 46, 6 (cf. 7); 49, 6; 7, 38, 8 *asya madhvaḥ pibata mādayadhvam tṛptā yāta...* “drink of this sweet draught, be intoxicated, being satisfied go!...”; 8, 8, 1 (cf. 3); 64, 12; 65, 5 (cf. 8); 76, 7 (cf. 8-9); 6, 60, 7 (cf. 9); 69, 7; cf. also 6, 40, 2; 4, 46, 1 (cf. 2); 3, 32, 1; 6, 17, 1 (cf. 2); in 8, 5, 11 a perf. part. is added: *vāyṛdhānā... pibatam*; 87, 4. Cf. also 2, 36, 1-2 and 1, 108, 5-12 (refrain); 6, 47, 6; 8, 35, 1 (id.); 82, 7-9 (id.).

¹² *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 53 f. – “In (diesem) Beispiel liegt es deutlich vor Augen wie genau der Dichter den trinkenden Indra beobachtet, wie er immer wieder neu ansetzt, um den Vorgang, den er wünscht, in neuen Einzelheiten und Bildern zu schildern und als in der Gegenwart sich vollziehend mitzuerleben” (Buddrusz).

The addition of one or more adjectives to the object of the verb of drinking shows that the author dwells on that object and on the process itself. R.V. 1, 84, 4 *imam indra sutam piba jyeṣṭham amartyam madam*; 3, 32, 2; 36, 2; 42, 7; 5, 40, 1; 6, 23, 7; 68, 10; 8, 5, 14; 2, 41, 14; cf. also 1, 23, 1; 2, 36, 1; 3, 43, 7; 6, 60, 15; 8, 1, 26; 4, 12; 17, 11 and 8, 91, 2. In 3, 35, 9 the part. *vāvaśānaḥ* “eager” is added; 52, 7 the part. *vidvān*; 5, 60, 8 *mandasānaḥ*; 3, 58, 7 and 8, 65, 8 *juṣāṇaḥ*; in 6, 47, 6 the adv. *dhr̥ṣat* “boldly, confidently”; 2, 36, 5 *tvam asya... trpat piba*. Adjectives and adverb (*pratikāmam*) in cumulation: 3, 48, 1.

The request to drink seems to be meant in a rather general sense without special application to an individual sacrificer in 8, 32, 19 “geh nach Belieben den Anrufungen der Völkerschaften nach; trink, I., von den Somasäften”; cf. 2 a; 1, 14, 8 *ye yajatrā... te te pibantu jihvayā*; 8, 95, 2 *pibā tv asyāndhasa indra viśvāsu te hitam*; 7, 51, 2 “the gods must drink soma today”. Cf. also 2, 16, 4. Similar places are: 10, 87, 18 *viṣaṃ gavāṃ yātudhānāḥ pibantu* “poison must the ‘sorcerers’ drink from the cows”; 169, 1 “the cows must drink (*pibantu*) abundant (water) which is rich in vital powers”; 1, 164, 40. Not rarely the tendency is manifest to prefer the pres. in invitations of some length; sometimes they coincide with the stanza.

Though doubtless referring to a particular occasion the pres. imp. is used in 8, 32, 21 “pass by (others), drink this (soma)”, perhaps to intimate that a continual drinking is meant. See also 8, 6, 36; 26, 20. A sequence of three pres. imperatives such as 8, 4, 8 and 12 *ehi (pra) dravā piba* lit. “draw near, run, drink”, where Dutch would have “kom snel drinken” is apt to create the impression of a process that is in progress. This analytic procedure is a frequent speech-habit of many ‘untrained’ communities which survives in various languages. Where we would prefer a verb and an adverb Old-Javanese for instance often has constructions such as *kinabehan rinēbut pinanah* “they, all of them did with regard to him, they overpowered him, they shot arrows at him”, i.e. “they overpowered him with arrows in joint action”. The plural of the object occurring in the same stanza may point the same way: 8, 21, 3 *ā yāhīma indavo... | somaṃ somapate piba*. In 8, 76, 9 the sacrifices¹³ on the occasion of which the god is requested to drink are in the plural; 8, 101, 10 speaks of two kinds of soma.

It is however sometimes difficult even tentatively to account for the author’s motives: 1, 4, 2 *somasya somapāḥ piba*; 14, 10; 7, 74, 3 *ā yātam upa bhūṣatam madhvaḥ pibatam aśvinā*; 6, 41, 3; 8, 64, 10.

¹³ Cf. Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 23 f.

ṚV. 3, 36, 3 may be quoted in illustration of the difference between pres. and aor. imp.: *pibā vardhasva... evā pāhi... adyā...* “drink (pres.), grow! the soma draughts are thine...; as thou usedst to drink the former soma juices, drink (aor.) also today once more!” There can be no denying that the former part of the stanza containing the pres. imper. gives evidence of imagination, graphicalness and descriptive fulness; the last line however refers to the *hic et nunc* situation. In 8, 87, 2 a seemingly ‘neutral’ aor. combines with a pres.: *pibataṃ gharmam madhumantam... ni pātaṃ vedasā vayah.* Cf. 7, 66, 18-19.

On considering the above evidence with regard to the verb *pā-* “to drink” it does not seem warranted to maintain that there is no difference between the pres. and the aor. imperatives. Although our argumentation is not always founded on text places which will carry conviction to critical readers and although in many cases both forms might, for metrical convenience, have been possible, some general trends may, I am convinced, be said to stand out with a fair chance of having really belonged to at least the poetic usage of those days.

An interesting case, showing by a frequency of examples an often – but, it is true, not always – obvious opposition between a present and an aorist imperative, is furnished by the verb *śru-* “to hear”. The aorist forms *śrudhi* etc. “hear, listen to” are often used in a special case, in connection with the call or invitation of an individual who is not rarely mentioned by name: ṚV. 8, 95, 4 *śrudhī havam tiraścyā indra* “erhöre den Ruf des Tiraścī, Indra” (Geldner); 10, 148, 5; 1, 45, 3; 1, 120, 6; 6, 21, 8 *sa tu śrudhīndra nūtanasya brahmaṇyataḥ* “so, O Indra, do thou listen to the present reciter of prayers”; 1, 131, 6 *ā me asya vedhaso navīyaso manma śrudhi navīyasaḥ*; 6, 36, 5 *sa tu śrudhi śrutyā yo duvoyur...* “listen to the (words) worth hearing (of him) the worshipper”; 8, 24, 14; 99, 1 *sa indra stomavāhasām iha śrudhi* “höre, I., auch diesmal auf die... (Sänger)” (Geldner); 1, 10, 9 *śrudhī havam nū cid dadhiṣva me girah* “answer my invocation, accept my words of praise”: “nachdem Indra mit seinen scharfen Ohren den Ruf des Dichters vernommen hat, soll er nun mit innerer Anteilnahme zuhören” (Buddrusz); 8, 66, 12 *śrudhi me havam*; 6, 18; 82, 6; 10, 11, 9 *śrudhī nah* (cf. the Greek $\chi\lambda\omega\theta\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\upsilon$; in my opinion no cases of ellipsis); 1, 48, 10; 7, 32, 1 *iha vā sann upa śrudhi* “oder wenn du (schon) hier bist, höre zu, (Indra)” (Buddrusz, adding: “Es handelt sich um die Fälle, wenn ein Gott angerufen wird, er möge herkommen, wo immer er sich auch im Augenblick befinden mag. Hier liegt der konstatierende Aorist näher, da der Sänger nicht vom Bilde des nahenden Gottes gefangen ist...”); 1, 122, 6; 184, 2; 2, 14, 4

mamed iha śrutam havam; 5, 78, 5 (“hier handelt es sich nicht um einen Ruf, der zugleich eine stilisierte Einladung, ein Loblied ist, dem man zuhören kann, sondern um den Hilfeschrei eines Geängstigten, der nicht ungehört verhallen soll”, Buddrusz: *śrutam me aśvinā havam saptavadhrim ca muñcatam*); 8, 26, 17; 10, 92, 13; 10, 125, 4 *śrudhi śruta śraddhivam te vadāmi* “listen, O famous one, I tell you something credible” (I would avoid using in this connection the terms ‘konstatierender Aorist’ and ‘nichtdurativ – perfektive Auffassung’ proposed by Buddrusz); 1, 25, 19 *imam me varuṇa śrudhī havam adya ca mṛḷaya* “erhör, o V., diesen Ruf von mir und sei heut barmherzig” (Geldner); 1, 45, 5 *imā u śu śrudhī girah | yābhiḥ kaṇvasya sūnavo havante vāse tvā* “listen to these words of praise by which the sons of K. call upon thee for help”; 1, 26, 5; 2, 6, 1; 5, 24, 3 *sa no bodhi śrudhi havam*; 1, 133, 6 (cf. 1); 10, 61, 14; 21; 7, 38, 2... *savitah śrudhy asya... prabhṛtāv ṛtasya* “höre zu, S., bei der Darbringung dieses Liedes”¹⁴: that is, if I am right, the god must already at the moment of speaking, in the early morning hear the word of the singer. As already appears from some of the above instances the reference to the moment of speaking, to the present speaker or to the particular case under consideration must sometimes be inferred from the context: ṚV. 1, 2, 1 *vāyav ā yāhi... pāhi śrudhi havam* “O Vāyu, come... drink, listen to the call”; 142, 13; 2, 11, 1 *śrudhī havam indra... syāma te dāvane vasūnām*; 6, 21, 10 “these invokers praise thee..., being invoked listen to the invocations of the invoker” (*śrudhī havam ā huvato huvānah*); 6, 45, 11; 7, 22, 4: cf. 3 *bodhā su me... vācam emām*; 6, 17, 3 “drink as of old... listen to...”; 26, 1; 1, 44, 13; cf. 1 *adyā*; 8, 74, 11: cf. 7 ff. Cf. also AV. 2, 5, 4.

The present imperative of the same verb is, on the other hand, sometimes used when the words to which the god addressed is to listen are quoted: ṚV. 8, 45, 6 *uta tvam... śṛṇu yas te vaṣṭi vavakṣi tat...* “and hear...: ‘if someone wants (something) of thee, thou disposest that...’”, the object of the verb being, so to say, a communication the ‘durative’ presentation of the verbal idea is easily intelligible; 9, 82, 4 *śṛṇuhi bravīmi te | antar vāṇīṣu pra cara su jīvase* “höre zu, ich sage dir: ‘Unter Gesangesstimmen zieh (in uns) ein zum Leben!’” (Geldner); cf. 10, 36, 10. In 10, 62, 4 those addressed are requested to listen to the singer who speaks nicely of them. In stanzas such as the following the final dative makes the audience dwell on the process expressed by the imperative which accordingly is in the present: 8, 85, 4 *śṛṇutam jaritur havam... madhvah somasya pītaye* “listen to the invocation of the praiser... in order to

¹⁴ H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951-1959), p. 423.

drink of the sweet soma"; ibid. 2. Cf. also AV. 1, 30, 2; 2, 12, 2; 13, 2, 44; 45; 14, 2, 9 "pray hear ye now of me, O men, by what blessing the two spouses attain...". The name of the person who is to be listened to is accompanied by a present participle: RV. 8, 37, 7 *śyāvāśvasya rebhataḥ tathā śṛṇu* "listen to Ś. who is singing (thy) praise"; 38, 8; 35, 19. As will be observed further on, the object *pūrvyastutiṃ* "first praise" suggests the idea of duration (8, 35, 19). That the speaker views the process as continuous may be inferred from the context in cases such as 10, 91, 13 "I will pronounce this new song of praise in honour of the ancient one who is desirous (to hear it); he must listen to us" (*śṛṇotu naḥ*).

Sometimes the sentence containing the present imperative has the character of an urgent request: 8, 52, 8 *yasmai tvam ... śikṣasi... / asmākaṃ gira uta suṣṭutiṃ... śṛṇudhī havam* "whomsoever thou wishest to help... hear our words of excellent praise, our invocation"; 7, 28, 1 "it is true, all mortal men vie in invoking thee; listen to us (*asmākaṃ śṛṇuhi*)"; 1, 181, 7; 3, 54, 20; 4, 9, 7; 22, 10; 6, 50, 14; 7, 38, 5; 82, 8; 10, 39, 6; 64, 10; 67, 11. Cf. also AV. 7, 47, 2 "let her listen eagerly (*uśatī*) to our sacrifice". The urgency of the request may appear from its being repeated by means of a negative sentence: RV. 1, 82, 1 *upo śu śṛṇuhi giro maghavan mātathā iva*, or from a certain repetition of the thought expressed: 2, 32, 4 *śṛṇotu naḥ subhagā bodhatu tmanā* ("der Dichter bittet um das besonders aufmerksame Anhören seines Liedes," Buddrusz, cf. also 1, 82, 1; 8, 93, 18, etc.); 3, 54, 1 (anaphora of the imp.) *śṛṇotu no damyebhir anīkaiḥ śṛṇotu agnir divyair ajasraiḥ*; 1, 93, 1; 5, 41, 12; 42, 1; 43, 11; 7, 44, 5; 94, 2 where the invocation of the singer is, in the next clause, explained as words of praise: *śṛṇutaṃ jaritū havam ... vanataṃ girāḥ*: Buddrusz is right in observing that "der Präsensimp. immer dann steht, wenn der inhaltliche Charakter des *hava-* als *brahman-*, *gir-*, *stuti-* oder *stoma-* angezeigt wird" (cf. also 1, 93, 1; 8, 85, 2; Vāl. 4, 8, etc.); 8, 54, 4; 93, 18; 10, 92, 12. Anaphora e.g. 7, 44, 5. Stanzas containing a simile not rarely create the impression of being more or less insistent demands: 8, 3, 18 *sa tvam... veno na śṛṇudhī havam* "so listen to our invocation like a vigilant seer¹⁵"; 1, 27, 12, where "sich die Bedeutung "zuhören, anhören" deutlich aus der Situation ergibt" (Buddrusz). A simile and a present participle combine in 1, 104, 9 *piteva naḥ śṛṇuhi hūyamānaḥ*. In cases such as 1, 139, 7 *o śu no agne śṛṇuhi* one may imagine that the poet speaks somewhat emphatically, or that the continuative present has greater directness and vividness ('eyewitness

¹⁵ See L. Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 118.

aspect'); cf. also 1, 47, 2; AV. 2, 12, 3; 5, 8, 2. Sometimes the function of the form may perhaps have been to emphasize the idea of continuation or it may have suggested that the person addressed should behave as he used to behave formerly: RV. 8, 13, 7 *pratnavaj janayā girah śṛṇudhī jaritur havam* "as of old (in the usual way) I will compose words of praise, listen to the invocation of the singer". The plurality of the subject may have induced the poet to use the pres. imp. in cases such as 6, 52, 13 "all gods, who are in the atmosphere, in the sky..., hear my call"; cf. st. 7; 3, 33, 9; 3, 54, 20; 7, 36, 14, etc. It is in this connection worth mentioning that in the RV. the plural imp. is in the present three times as numerous as the aor. imp. Most aor. imperatives, moreover, refer to particular cases.

Elsewhere the present imperative seems to express that the request does not, or not only, refer to the present case, the speaker expressing himself in a general way: RV. 8, 84, 3 *nṛmḥ pāhi śṛṇudhī girah* "protect the men, listen to the words of praise". The verb is not accompanied by an object in 5, 42, 1; 46, 8. The imperative occurs also in connection with an object which suggests the idea of continuing action: 1, 118, 3 *imaṃ śṛṇutam ślokaṃ adreḥ* "höret dies Geklapper des Preszsteins" (Geldner); 3, 58, 3; 8, 17, 2 *upa brahmāṇi naḥ śṛṇu* "give ear to our powerful words"; 35, 19 (see above); 84, 3. The occurrence of a pres. imp. after an aor. imp. (type 8, 73, 10 *ihā gataṃ... śṛṇutam*) is discussed elsewhere. The present imperative is therefore also used with reference to special cases: 8, 17, 2 *upa brahmāṇi naḥ śṛṇu*; between this form – which may have been somewhat 'intensive' – and *śrudhī* in 6, 17, 3 *śrudhī brahma*; 1, 26, 5 *śrudhī girah*; 45, 5, where the aorist is aspectually neutral, no difference is perceptible. Cf. 1, 114, 11; 2, 27, 1; 3, 54, 19; 7, 35, 6; 46, 1; 8, 73, 10; 10, 64, 4; 75, 5; AV. 4, 35, 7; 19, 10, 6.

With regard to the root *vid-* in the sense of "finding" the observation does not appear to be out of place here that the pres. imp. seems to express the idea of "try to find": 7, 13, 3 *jāto yad agne bhuvanā vy akhyaḥ / paśūn na gopā iryaḥ parijmā / ... brahmaṇe vinda gātum* "since, O Agni, as soon as thou wert born, thou keptst watch over all creatures like a herdsman who, active and running round (his herd), watches over his cattle, – try to find the way for my hymn". I agree with Buddrusz who, observing that this stanza was used during the paryagnikaraṇa, the ceremony of carrying fire round the sacrificial place in order to ward off the evil powers (cf. also 3, 2, 9; 4, 6, 4), subjoins the comment: "Wie er die Herde überblickt und sie umwandelt, sucht er einen Durchgang, einen sicheren Weg im Falle der Bedrängnis zu entdecken". It must be

admitted that the translation of the same form in 7, 18, 18 proposed by the German author is possible: *śaśvanto hi śatravo rāradhuṣ ʔe | bhedasya cic chardhato vinda randhim* “alle Feinde sind dir ja erlegen. Suche nach der Unterwerfung auch des starken Bheda”. The aor. imp. may in 1, 151, 2 mean “find”: “find, (O Mitra and Varuṇa) inventiveness and progress for him who praises...”. Buddrusz draws attention to Y. 49, 1 where the Avestan text *ahyā vohū aošō vīdā manajhā* no doubt means “seinen Untergang finde (bewirke) durch das gute Denken”. Interestingly enough the incantations in the AV. exhibit (in 3, 23, 4; 5, 7, 5) the pres. imp.: 3, 23, 4 *yāni bhadraṇi bījāny ṛṣabhā janayanti ca | tais tvaṃ putraṃ vindasva* “do thou acquire a son with whatever excellent seed the bulls generate”. Buddrusz’ explanation: the present is due to the general iterative character of the sentence, may apply to 5, 7, 5 *yam yācāmy ahaṃ vācā... śraddhā tam adya vindatu* “whomever I solicit with speech ... may Faith find him today”.

As to the root *yam-* “to extend, stretch out, offer, restrain etc.” the pres. imper. *yacha* is used in prayers to obtain happiness and well-being for the speaker’s offspring (4, 12, 5), security for the institutors of the sacrifices (6, 46, 9, where the adjectives are noteworthy; “thy threefold, defending fence which protects in three ways and confers happiness”; 7, 30, 4) and other patrons of the poets (5, 27, 2), subsistence for him who praises the gods (8, 8, 16), wealth or protection for those speaking (2, 27, 6; 3, 54, 20; 6, 15, 3, all three passages exhibiting descriptive adjectives; cf. 10, 152, 5); safety for the cows (10, 169, 2). Cf. also 6, 59, 9. The wish is moreover expressed, in 7, 39, 7 and 62, 3 that some gods may “give” i.e. inspire the poets with the power to compose the best hymn; *pra yacha* is 10, 141, 1 used absolutely. In the sense of restraining, subduing, controlling, the pres. imp. occurs 10, 152, 4 in connection with aggressors; *ni yacha* (refl.) means 3, 51, 11 “stay”. It is clear that the above processes could be presented as ‘continuing’ just like 10, 98, 11 *etāny agne... sam pra yacha... indrāya bhāgam* “give these, O Agni, ... Indra as his share”; 4, 57, 7 *indraḥ sītāṃ ni grhṇātu tām pūṣānu yachatu* “I. soll die Ackerfurche festlegen, P. soll sie einhalten” (Geldner); 8, 34, 2 *ā yachatu* “he must bring hither”; 10, 19, 2 *ni yachatu* “he must hold”; 8, 35, 1 *yachatam upa* “seize, lay hold of”.

It does not, however, seem possible to adduce any reasonable argument in favour of the thesis that the aor. imp. of the same verb is the aspectual opposite of the present. In cases such as 5, 55, 9; 8, 47, 10 it occurs in similar contexts and in connection with the same nouns and similar descriptive adjectives; 7, 75, 2 *mahe saubhagāya pra yandhi*

“give (us) that we may be very happy”; 7, 88, 6 “extend thy protection to the praiser”; 4, 32, 7; 6, 67, 2; 8, 5, 12; 68, 12. In 3, 36, 9 the aor. is accompanied by a partitive genitive: *asme pra yandhi... rāyo... bhūreh*; in 4, 2, 20 it follows two pres. imper.: *uc chocasva kṛṇuhi... pra yandhi*. So the conclusion must be that these aor. imp. are, with regard to aspect, ‘neutral’.

It is somewhat difficult to decide whether there is, in the RV., a definable difference between the pres. forms of the imper. and the aor. imp. and other non-present forms deriving from the root *yaj-* and serving to express an order to worship the gods. There is nothing to prevent us from explaining the pres. imp. *yaja* in 1, 14, 11; 15, 12; 26, 1; 45, 1; 5, 21, 1; 6, 47, 27 as aspectually ‘durative’: sometimes there is a plurality of objects (e.g. 1, 45, 1), sometimes the object is general; the request may be somewhat urgent (3, 10, 7); when pronouncing it in the initial stanza of a hymn the poet may see, in his mental eye, the action in progress: 1, 26, 1 “put on (pres.) your clothes, perform, on our behalf, this ritual worship”; 10, 2, 1. Repeated activity is clearly intended in 6, 52, 12 *imaṃ no agne adhvaraṃ hotar vayunaśo*¹⁶ *yaja*. The clause containing the imp. depends on a clause of a ‘durative’ character: 10, 2, 2. The adverb *iha* “here” does not prevent the poet from preferring the present (3, 25, 1). The aor. imp. *yakṣva* is 5, 42, 11 as far as I am able to see, aspectually ‘neutral’ (cf. 6, 29, 1 with a pres. imp.); 1, 45, 10 it is however ‘terminative’: *arvāñcam daivyaṃ janam agne yakṣva* “bitte, Agni, das göttliche Volk her”. The dual *yakṣatām* may be (momentary) terminative: 1, 13, 8; 142, 8; 188, 7.

Sometimes the context in which the aor. imp. of *vr-* “to cover” occurs seems to suggest that the poet wished to present the process as momentary or occasional: RV. 1, 7, 6 *sa no... amuṃ caruṃ... apā vṛdhi... apratiṣkutaḥ* “do thou unresistingly uncover this pot for us”. We might compare, in Greek, instances such as E 366 μάλιστα δ’ ἐλάαν, τὼ δ’ οὐκ ἄεχοντε πετέσθην “... and nothing loath they sped onward” and similar sentences. In 1, 10, 7 Indra, after having been praised as the god who is willing to open (the cow-pen) and to drive (the cows out of it), is requested to be liberal and to open the cow-pen: *apa vrajaṃ vṛdhi*: no doubt “once again”, or “for me” is to be supplied; cf. also 7, 27, 2; 4, 31, 13 the same god is implored to do so by a new token of his helpfulness. See also 8, 23, 29; 9, 45, 3; 64, 3. Elsewhere (2, 2, 7) this view of these forms seems less convincing. The pres. imp. of the same verb is in any case in 9, 91, 4 to be taken ‘generally’: *punāna inda ūṛṇuhi vi*

¹⁶ See Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 34.

vājān “while clarifying thyself, O Soma, show the manifestation of *vāja*” (notice the pres. participle). Elsewhere the pres. imp., though used intelligibly, may have been preferred for the sake of metrical convenience: 10, 38, 2 *sa* (Indra) *naḥ... sadane vy ūrṇuhi... rayim*; 18, 11; 73, 11; 9, 96, 11. In 2, 14, 3 *indram somair orṇuta* and elsewhere the ‘durative’ character of the action is however clear.

Buddrusz draws attention to Śat. Br. 1, 1, 4, 12 *tāni vā etāni catvāri vāca eḥīti brāhmaṇasyā gahy ā draveti vaiśyasya ca rājanyabandhoś cā dhāveti śūdrasya* “now there are four different forms of this call, viz. ‘come hither!’ in the case of a brahman, ‘approach’ and ‘hasten hither’ in the case of a member of the military order and a vaiśya,¹⁷ and ‘run hither’ in that of a śūdra”. The call *ehi*, the text continues, is the most gentle and friendly and, besides, best adapted for a sacrifice. Curiously enough the pres. imp. *ehi* is, according to this text, more polite than the aor. *ā gahi*. This may be due to the imperfective nuance of the former: “be moving towards”. These facts would be in agreement with the use of the pres. imp. in Russian; “the soft tone” of the pres. imp. and “the urgent tone” of the aor. imp. have, with regard to Greek, been often commented upon.¹⁸ Whereas in R̥V. 8, 13, 14 *ā gahi* (aor.) and *pra drava* (pres.) are juxtaposed, the pres. imp. *yāta, ihi, gacha*, etc. are sometimes used in connection with rather vague objects so as to express the idea of an undetermined moving: 8, 32, 22 *ihī pañca janāṃ ati* “gehe über die fünf Völker hinweg” (Geldner); 7, 38, 8 *trptā yāta pathibhir deva-yānaih* “gesättigt fahrt dahin auf den gottbefahrenen Pfaden” (Budrusz); 3, 33, 12 *ā vakṣaṇāḥ prṇadhvaṃ yāta śibham* “füllet eure Euter an, gehet schnell dahin”; 1, 82, 3, etc. What is especially interesting and instructive is the rather frequent combination *yāhy arvāṇ* or *yāhy arvāk* which has also arrested the attention of the German author, who made an attempt to define its sense as follows: “befinde dich auf dem Wege uns zugewandt, mit Fahrtrichtung auf uns zu”. The relevant passages are of course not all of them equally suitable for demonstrating this ‘continuative’ aspect. Cf. e.g. 3, 4, 11 *ā yāhy agne samidhāno arvāṇ* “approach, O Agni, kindled, hitherward”; 1, 35, 10; 3, 6, 9; 43, 1; 6, 18, 11. Sometimes the verse contains descriptive adjectives showing the poet’s pleasure in the products of his imagination: 7, 67, 3 *pūrvibhir yātam pathyābhir arvāk | svarvidā vasumatā rathena* “do you (O Aśvins)

¹⁷ The ‘inversion of the order’ (Eggeling, Śat. Br. transl. I, p. 28) is not so strange, because the shorter word often precedes (W. Caland, in *Acta Orient.*, 9, p. 59 ff.).

¹⁸ See e.g. A. Poutsma, *Over de tempora van de Imperativus en de Conjunctivus... in het Grieks* (Amsterdam, 1928), p. 3 ff.; Rose, *o.c.*, p. 38, n. 25.

travel towards us by many roads by means of your light-bestowing rich chariot"; 10, 15, 9 "with the bountiful Fathers, the true, the wise who sit at the heating vessel, come hither, O Agni"; 2, 18, 6; 5, 62, 4; 83, 6; 10, 89, 16, etc. "Noch deutlicher sieht man die Gegenüberstellung von perfektivem und imperfektivem Aspekt in ṚV. 5, 43, 8: "Dieses... Lob soll wie ein Bote zu den Ásvin gehen (*gantu*, aor.), sie zu rufen. Heilbringend fährt auf einem Wagen auf uns zu (*yātam arvāk*, pres.), kommet (*gantam*, aor.) um den Schatz festzuhalten..." "(Buddrusz). In the lines 7, 82, 8 a and 83, 3 d where *arvāñc-* is accompanied by the aor. *gatam* it may have lost its full 'etymological sense' of "turned, coming towards"¹⁹: 7, 83, 3 *arvāg avasā... gatam* "kommt näher mit eurem Beistand". The explication proposed by Buddrusz (*arvāk* belongs to *avasā*, cf. 3, 32, 13): "kommet her, mit eurer Hilfe uns zugewandt", is however worth considering. The aorists may be neutral, like that in 2, 39, 3, where the interpretation "wie die Hörner (eines Tieres vor dem übrigen Tier) so kommt beide als erste (vor den übrigen Göttern) uns geneigt her (*prathamā ā*)" proposed by Buddrusz fails to convince me. I agree with the German author in considering other places exhibiting a pres. imp. as 'continuative', especially when they are unmistakably 'descriptive' in character: ṚV. 4, 29, 1 "being praised do thou approach (*upa... yāhi*) us past the many libations of the stranger"; 1, 108, 1 "come hither, standing together on your very conspicuous chariot, which is gracious to all creatures..."; 7, 69, 6 "ihr Männer, fährt heute auf unsere Somaspinden zu wie die durstigen Büffel nach dem Blitz laufen, in Richtung des Gewitters, wo es regnet" (Buddrusz); 5, 75, 7; 8, 26, 4, etc. The aor. imp. mostly occur in short requests: 1, 4, 3 *mā no ati khyā ā gahi* "do not overlook us, come"; 6, 9 *ataḥ pariḥmann ā gahi* "come from there, O omnipresent one!"; 14, 2 *devebhir agna ā gahi* "come, O Agni, together with the gods", etc. This preference does not, of course, exclude its use in passages such as 8, 1, 9 *ye te santi... śatino ye sahasriṇaḥ / āsvāso ye te vṛṣaṇo raghudruvas tebhir nas tūyam ā gahi*; 8, 20, 10, etc., where the poet's imagination though probably guided by tradition and practice made him add some adjectives. The assumption of an aspectually 'neutral' aorist can save us discussions about the "nature of those aorists" and about the more or less "*anschauliches* Character" of passages such as these, as compared to those exhibiting present imperatives (Buddrusz).

The aor. imp. *vaṁsva* "win, conquer, acquire" is used 1, 48, 11; 6,

¹⁹ For *-añc-* see F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Vāk*, 2 (Poona, 1952), p. 96.

48, 4; 7, 17, 5; 8, 23, 27; 60, 14 in prayers addressed to Agni or Uṣas to win or procure for men some highly appreciated power-substance: 1, 48, 11 *uṣo vājaṃ hi vaṃsya yaś citro mānuṣe jane* “O Uṣas, win the vāja which is excellent among the human race”. The pres. imp. *vanuṣva* has 1, 169, 1 the same function: *sa* (Indra) *no... sumnā vanuṣva*, but the following words *tava hi preṣṭhā* “for it (the favour which is to be won) is dearest to you” may indicate that there is ‘duration’ in the vision of the poet.

From the root *rā-* “to give, bestow, surrender” derive a rather frequent middle aor. imper. *rāsva* and an active pres. imper. *ririhi*. The former sometimes occurs in contexts which make us believe that the request or prayer refers to a single case: RV. 1, 114, 6 “these words are spoken (to thee)... and give us food of mortals”; 9 “I have driven songs of praise towards thee; accord us thy favour”: we may perhaps translate: “now accord us...”; 3, 62, 4 *juṣasva no havyāni... | rāsva ratnāni dāṣuṣe*; 7, 16, 4; 79, 4 “give (*rāsva*) us (*hic et nunc*) so much, as thou (Uṣas) used to bestow on (*aradaḥ*) the praisers (in former days)”. Elsewhere however there are no indications whatever to explain why the poet has preferred the aorist: cf. the final stanza 3, 57, 6 *tām asmaḥbyam pramatim jātavedo vaso rāsva sumatim viśvajanyām*, and also 3, 13, 7; 9, 43, 6; 10, 7, 7; 8, 60, 11. In cases such as 4, 2, 11 *ditim ca rāsvāditim uruṣya* the aor. imp. may be regarded as neutral. The supposition that the form *rāsva* was preferred for the sake of metrical convenience is, though not to be proved, warranted. The imp. *ririhi* (pres.) occurs in the final stanza 6, 65, 6 after two other pres. imperatives and accompanied by an adjective which may arouse the hearer’s imagination: *urugāyam adhi dhehi śravo naḥ* “give us wide-striding renown”. Generally speaking, the motives of the use of this form are obscure (cf. e.g. 6, 39, 5; 9, 11, 9), although in 6, 46, 8 *vṛṣṇyam | asmaḥbyam tad ririhi sam... amitrān pṛtsu turvaṇe* the verbose context may have induced the author to prefer the present.

It is difficult to find any reliable indication in the contexts to establish a definable difference between the pres. and the aor. imperatives of the root *mā-*. The aor. *upa māhi* is in the sense of “apportion to, grant” used RV. 4, 22, 10 *asmaḥbyam... citrām upa māhi vājān*, and similarly 7, 26, 5 (*sahasriṇaḥ*); 10, 28, 12 (without a descriptive adjective), and *upa māsva* 9, 72, 9 (*upa māsva brhatī revatīr iṣaḥ*); the stanza 93, 5 however begins with *nū* “now”: *nū no rayim upa māsva*. The pres. *upa mimihi* occurs, likewise in final stanzas, 1, 84, 20 *viśvā ca na upamimihi... vasūni carṣaṇibhya ā* “und weise uns von (allen) Völkern alle Güter zu...” (Geldner) and 7, 19, 11 (without descriptive adjectives); *sam mimihi* in

3, 54, 22 (final stanza); 3, 1, 15; 5, 4, 2; 6, 19, 3. The conclusion must be that the above aorists are 'neutral'.

Another instructive, but unfortunately not frequent opposition concerns the pres. and aor. imperatives of *radh-* *randh-* "to be or make subject". The imper. *randdhi* is typically 'aoristic': ṚV. 4, 22, 9 *asmabhyaṃ vrtrā suhanāni randhi* "gib die Feinde in unsere Hand, dasz sie leicht zu töten seien" (Geldner), the imp. *radhya* is however decidedly 'linear': VS. 10, 28 *indrasya vajro 'si, tena me radhya* "Indra's bolt art thou; be therewith my vassal"; AV. 17, 1, 6 *dviṣaś ca mahyaṃ radhyatu* "let my hater be subject to me".

The frequent imp. *ā vaha* is used to invite the god of fire, Agni, to conduct the gods to the sacrifice: ṚV. 1, 12, 3 *agne devāṃ ihā vaha*. Although the goal of the activity, *ihā* "here", is sometimes added (cf. 1, 12, 10; 14, 12) or the sentence contains the adverb *adya* "today" (1, 142, 1), the pres. form may have signified that the poet witnessed the process with his mental eye. 1, 14, 12 and 1, 142, 1 give evidence of the poet's imagination, the latter passage reading: "conduct the gods to the (man who sacrifices), who raises the sacrificial ladle". It is of course impossible to make out "what was going on in his mind" when he resorted to the form *ā vakṣi*, which so far as I am able to see is aspectually neutral. In part of the many passages in which this form occurs there is nothing which would have us expect a present, e.g. 2, 36, 4 *ā vakṣi devāṃ ihā vipra yakṣi ca* (cf. 6, 12, 2 *ā devān vakṣi yakṣi ca*; 8, 102, 16 where the request is short and to the point); 3, 4, 1; 5, 9, 1 *havyā vakṣy ānuṣak*; 1, 188, 3 *devāṃ ā vakṣi yajñīyān*; elsewhere, however, the flight of the poet's imagination might have asked for an aspectually 'descriptive' form: 3, 15, 5 (simile); 6, 21, 12 (descriptive adjectives: *ye aśramāsa uravo vahiṣṭhās tebhīr na indrābhi vakṣi vājam*); 47, 9 (apposition): 7, 78, 1 etc. Everywhere (1, 188, 3; 2, 36, 4; 3, 7, 9; 5, 1, 11; 26, 1, etc. with the exception of 10, 3, 7) the position of the word in the verse requires the metrical sequence – ~ to be in harmony with the prevailing scheme of the verse. As the pres. imp. *ā vaha* is likewise used so as to fit in with the most usual metrical scheme – exceptions are 7, 1, 24 *rayiṃ sūribhya ā vahā bṛhantam*; 6, 64, 4 and 5 (addressed to Uṣas i.e. to daily returning Dawn); 7, 10, 4; 39, 5 –, the conclusion must be that the exigencies of versification have been the main factor determining the choice of either imperative.

Although an aor. imp. of *stu-* "to praise" does not occur and the pres. imp. must therefore be considered a 'neutralized' form, *stuhi* is, as might be expected a priori, in the ṚV. decidedly applied to processes which are

viewed as continuative or as otherwise non-punctual. Cf. ṚV. 2, 33, 11 *stuhi śrutaṃ*... *yuvānam* (viz. Rudra) *mṛgaṃ na bhīmam*; 5, 38, 1; 8, 1, 30 *stuhi stuhīd*; 13, 10; 96, 12 *stuhi suṣṭutam*.

In concluding this chapter it may by way of recapitulation be observed that, although in many cases no difference of aspect is perceptible, there is a sufficiency of places left to show that in principle such a distinction did exist. The present author feels therefore compelled to disagree with the general statement made by K. Hoffmann²⁰: “Im vedischen Verbal-system stehen Präsens- und Aoriststamm in strenger Opposition, die nur bei Konjunktiv, Optativ und Imperativ nicht in Erscheinung tritt”.

²⁰ K. Hoffmann, in *Münchener Studien zur Sprachw.*, II² (München, 1957), p. 128.

VIII

PARTICIPLES

On the syntactic use of the participle Delbrück¹ expressed himself as follows: “Es scheint allerdings in einzelnen Fällen, als ob man in ihnen (i.e. the thematic aorists) die eintretende Handlung zu erkennen habe, z.B. in *bhiyāna-* “in Furcht geraten” (RV. 6, 9, 7) gegen *bhayamāna-* (2, 29, 6). Auch *drśāna-* ist wohl am besten zu übersetzen: “zur Erscheinung gekommen” (1, 92, 2). Am entschiedensten erscheint vielleicht die aoristische Bedeutung in *idhāna-*.... In anderen Fällen dagegen ist das Part. Aoristi von dem des Präsens in der Bedeutung nicht zu unterscheiden.... Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass nur in seltenen Fällen in dem aoristischen Part. auch der aoristische Sinn sichtbar wird.” There seems however to be some occasion to make the following observations.

The aorist of the antecedent process may be recognized in cases such as RV. 10, 22, 6 *adha gmandośanā prchate* “als ihr beide ankamst (rather: had come), da fragt (hist. pres.) euch Uśanas” (Geldner). The pres. part. *gacchant-* is on the other hand always used of simultaneous processes: 9, 25, 5 “Soma flows off clearly... while going (*gachan*) to Indra”; 15, 1; 90, 1; 4, 38, 4; 5, 45, 9 etc. Since in destroying a rock the process of splitting or cleaving is antecedent to that of scattering or breaking to pieces the above explication may apply to 4, 3, 11 *adriṃ vy asan bhi-dantaḥ* “sie warfen den Felsen auseinander, ihn spaltend” (Lüders²); for the pres. part. expressing simultaneity see 1, 103, 3; 7, 104, 21, etc.; AV. 5, 28, 14. Cf., in Greek, such frequent cases as K 30 ἐπὶ στεφάνην κεφαλῇφιν / αἰείρας θήκατο “he lifted up and set upon his head a helmet”; Xen. Cyr. 3, 1, 37 νῦν μὲν δειπνεῖτε· δειπνήσαντες δὲ ἀπελαύνετε.

Examples of the much more frequent middle participles are: RV. 4, 5, 10 where Geldner is not right in translating “wenn er bei den Eltern mit dem Munde (Gesicht) erstrahlte (*dyutānaḥ*), gedachte er an das... (Euter)”, i.e. “after having become bright the fire desires to be fed with ghee”³; 7, 8, 4 *dyutāno daivyo atithiḥ śuśoca* “after having become bright

¹ Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 381.

² Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 510.

³ See Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 425.

the divine guest (Agni) flames” rather than “... ist hell aufgeflammt” (Geldner); 6, 15 4 *dyutānaṃ vo atithim... suvrktibhir... rñjase* “eurem aufleuchtenden Gast... will ich mit Lobliedern den Vorzug geben” (Geldner) rather: “who has become bright”; cf. also 7, 75, 6; 9, 64, 15; 75, 3. A similar meaning of *idhāna-* was already signalized by Delbrück: 2, 2, 8 “alle Morgen, Nacht für Nacht entzündet (*idhānaḥ*) soll er (Agni) wie die Sonne mit rötlichem Lichte scheinen”; 4, 12, 2 *sa idhānaḥ prati doṣam uṣāsam puṣyan rayiṃ sacate*, not with Geldner: “und... dich entzündet, der gedeiht und kommt zu Reichtum” but: “he after having kindled thee... thriving enjoys wealth”; 6, 10, 2; 11, 6; 12, 6; 10, 45, 5 *vi bhāty agra uṣāsām idhānaḥ*; 1, 143, 7; 2, 2, 6 not “wenn du entzündet wirst, (strahle) uns reiches Gut” (Geldner); 5, 26, 6 (“entzündet wirst” Geldner); 6, 48, 7 (“entzündet” Geldner); 7, 67, 2 *aśocy agniḥ samidhānaḥ*. For the pres. part. *indhāna-* AV. 5, 3, 1, etc. (simultaneity). The part. *drśāna-* has RV. 1, 92, 12 the same function: *sūryasya ceti raśmibhir drśānā* “she (Uṣas) is perceived after having appeared...”; 10, 45, 8 not “(wie) ein Goldschmuck aussehend ist er weithin erglänzt” (*vy adyaut*) but “after having become visible like...”; 2, 10, 4.

It may therefore be taken for granted that cases such as 3, 15, 6 *devebhīr deva surucā rucānaḥ* ‘literally’ mean “(come), O god (Agni), together with the gods having become bright with bright light” rather than “in schönem Glanze strahlend” (Geldner): actually the hearer’s attention is here focused on the initial moment of a non-transformative process viewed as momentary; in syntactic connection with a principal verb it may therefore indicate a previous event. Similarly 10, 45, 8 and 4, 51, 9 *uṣasaś caranti... rucānāḥ* where Geldner’s “glänzenden” is too weak, an adj. at the end of an otherwise complete sentence being, in a variety of cases, thrown into relief.⁴ It is worth comparing the adjectival use of *rucāna-* in 7, 69, 1 *ā vāṃ ratho... yātv aśvaiḥ* |. ... *rucāna...* which may perhaps be described as touching on the quality expressed, and that of the pres. part. *rocamāna* which in any case expresses the permanent or continuing character of the quality: 10, 118, 4 *agniḥ sam ajyate... rocamāno vibhāvasuḥ* “A. is smeared over..., radiant, abounding in light”; 1, 95, 2; 9, 115, 2; 3, 7, 5; 4, 14, 1; 7, 3, 9; 62, 1; 9, 111, 2; 10, 51, 3; 6, 64, 2 “thou makest (pres. ind.) thy breast visible, O Uṣas... radiant (r.) in majesty”. The same character seems obvious in 1, 165, 12; 5, 44, 2; 6, 64, 1; 10, 3, 5.

A previous process is also expressed by *vrāṇa-* “locked in” 1, 61, 10;

⁴ See my treatise “On amplified sentences...”, in *Four studies in the language of the Veda* (s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 43 ff.

urāṇa- (*vr-* “to choose”): 4, 7, 8 *dūtas īyase pradīva urāṇaḥ* “thou (Agni) movest from of old choosen messenger”; 6, 4; cf. also 3, 19, 2; 10, 18, 6 (Geldner: “ausbittend”); the pres. part. *vrṇāna* expresses simultaneity 1, 108, 6; 5, 11, 4 *agniṃ vrṇānā vrṇate kavikratum*; 10, 124, 4; 8; 8, 6, 29 *vipāna ejati*. Cf. also *prcāna-* 9, 97, 11 and *prñcāna-* 1, 95, 8, both of the soma; *hiyāna-* 9, 92, 1; 9, 30, 2, other places being ambiguous; the passive *s(u)vāna-* 9, 18, 1 *pari suvāno... somo akṣāḥ* “soma after having been pressed out flowed round”; 6, 3; 9, 1 “ausgepreszt ist”, not “... wird” (Geldner), the same sense also appearing in 9, 34, 1 *pra suvāno... indur hinvāno arṣati* “the bright drop... (having been) pressed out, being urged on, flows forth” and many other places, as against the pres. middle part. *sunvāna-* which denotes “(the man) who habitually presses soma, the offerer of a soma-sacrifice”: 1, 133, 7, etc.; *rucāna-*, which is not always unambiguous in this respect, seems to express a previous process in 10, 45, 8; *rocamāna-* denotes 3, 46, 3; 10, 51, 3 a permanent quality, a continuing process: 7, 62, 1 *dadṛṣe rocamānaḥ*; 1, 52, 5 *dhr̥ṣamāno... bhīnat*.

It seems warranted to attribute the ‘aorist’ function also to *prathāna-* “having become larger or extended, becoming (beginning to become) extended, spreading”, etc. in 1, 92, 12... *prathānā... urviyā vy aśvait*. In 6, 64, 3 *vahanti sīm aruṇāso... gāvāḥ... urviyā prathānām* “reddish conveyed her (Uṣas) when she spreads over a great distance” both processes may be regarded as coinciding, because the activity of the horses is the cause of Dawn’s covering the great part of the sky. If so this use may be compared to Greek constructions such as Thuc. 1, 101, 3 Θάσιοι... ὠμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίοις τεῖχος τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες: “das Niederreißen der Mauer und das Ausliefern der Schiffe werden als mit der Kapitulation zusammenfallend, in derselben liegend bezeichnet.”⁵ The perf. part. *paprathāna-* mostly refers to a condition or state of affairs: 3, 54, 10; 7, 18, 5; 4, 56, 1; 10, 31, 6. In 4, 51, 8 it occurs in connection with the endless series of Dawns which from time immemorial to this day have appeared and extended and which, all of them, come and spread, uniformly, from the east.

Examples of an aor. part. expressing a previous process are in addition to the above: RV. 7, 68, 9 “this praiser sings to (rouse⁶ you, the Ásvins, who are matutinal gods), having waked (*budhānaḥ*) up before dawn”; 4, 51, 8 *devīḥ... budhānā... uṣāso jarante* “erwacht sind die Göttinnen

⁵ Kühner-Gerth, *o.c.*, I, p. 198; cf. also *Thukydides erklärt* von J. Classen-J. Steup, I⁵ (Berlin, 1919), p. 270 f.

⁶ For the sense of *jar-* see Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 57 f.

Uṣas' früh munter" (Geldner); cf. also 4, 23, 8. The pres. part. is however decidedly continuative: 5, 3, 6; 4, 51, 10. RV. 4, 2, 3 "du schirrst die beiden Rotfüchse an (*yujānaḥ*) und verkehrst zwischen..." (Geldner), i.e. "after having yoked thou movest..."; 7, 70, 2 "who brings you over the sea... after having harnessed (y.) your horses" rather than "indem er... anschirrt" (Geldner); 6, 39, 2; 8, 13, 27; 9, 86, 37 *bhuvanāni vīyase yujā naḥ*; 10, 22, 4; 2, 18, 5 *yāhy... yujānaḥ*; 8, 50, 7; 1, 65, 1 *catantam... yujānaṃ... vahantam*; 3, 57, 4, etc. The same function is fulfilled by the aor. part. when used in a passive sense: 3, 43, 6; 6, 44, 19; 49, 5; 7, 69, 5; 9, 64, 19; perhaps also 6, 34, 2 and 9, 97, 28. The only instance, in the RV., of the pres. part. *yuñjat-* denotes a continuing action: 5, 47, 1 *prayuñjatī... eti... bodhayantī*. A remarkable instance is 8, 72, 2 "the hotar (probably Agni) sits down near the stalk, taking delight (*juṣānaḥ*) in his fellowship at Manu's time."⁷

The part. *srjāna-* expresses a previous process in 9, 64, 14 *varivas krdhy ūrjam... srjānaḥ*; 76, 1 not, with Geldner, "der losgelassen wird"; 86, 22 *pavasva... srjāna indo kalaṣe pavitra ā*; 95, 2; 10, 22, 4; 6, 32, 5. The pres. part. *srjat-* does not express priority of the process in 1, 142, 11; 2, 3, 10; 8, 76, 3; 43, 32 *srjan sūryo na raśmibhiḥ... tamāṃsi jighnase* (subj. Agni); 10, 65, 11. The aspectual and temporal difference between the participles of 7, 24, 4 does not seem to be fortuitous:... *brahma juṣāno... yāhi | varīvrjat sthavirebhiḥ... dadhad... śuśmam indra*: after having taken delight in the poet's invitation (which is a manifestation of brahman) the god is to come, and it is hoped that while coming he will give energy. Cf. 7, 29, 2 (Geldner otherwise). The initial moment is clearly indicated by the part. *tṛṣāna-* in 5, 36, 1 "got thirsty (*t.*, somewhat more exact than Geldner's "durstig") like a bull who wanders in a desert he (Indra) must drink the soma". As opposed to the pres. part. *mandasāna-* which expresses a simultaneous continuing process – e.g. 10, 50, 1; 6, 67, 5, the aor. part. *mandāna-* means "(got) drunk" in 1, 80, 6; 82, 5 *mandāno yāhy andhasaḥ*; 6, 43, 4; 8, 33, 7 *puro vibhinatty... mandānaḥ... andhasaḥ* "sich berauscht hat" rather than "berauscht" (Geldner); 2, 19, 2; 3, 50, 3; 5, 32, 6; 6, 44, 17, etc.; in 8, 13, 4 *mandāno... vi rājasi* is not exactly "der du dich berauscht" (Geldner); 9, 97, 30 *kratubhir yatāna ā pavasva*.

Elsewhere the process denoted by the aor. part. may perhaps be regarded as antecedent to that of the main verb; the possibility of another explication cannot however be precluded: RV. 6, 20, 2 *yad vṛtram... hann... viṣṇunā sacānaḥ* "when thou killed V., united with Viṣṇu" (cf.

⁷ If Geldner's interpretation is right.

1. 85, 7) or “after having allied thyself with V.”: cf. 4, 18, 7⁸; with regard to the part. *sacamāna-* there is no doubt, it means “accompanied by, together with”: 9, 96, 19; 10, 3, 3 etc.; – 8, 40, 8 *indrāgnyor* and *vrataṃ uḥānā yanti sindhavaḥ*: Geldner and Schmidt⁹ translate: “die fließenden Ströme (Flüsse)”; although it is of course not impossible that even in cases such as 6, 47, 28 the delight precedes the act of accepting: *semāṃ no havyadātiṃ juṣāṇo deva ratha prati haryā grbhāya*, the part. is practically speaking an ‘apposition’ to the principal verb. The difference between *juṣāṇa-* and *juṣamāna-* is obvious in 4, 23, 1.

Elsewhere the text does not give indications of the priority of the process expressed by the aor. part.: ṚV. 9, 97, 18 *atyō na krado harir ā srjānaḥ* “like a courser thou wiltst neigh when thou, the tawny one, rushest forward”; 3, 43, 4; 10, 69, 10; 7, 7, 2 *ā yāhy agne... devānāṃ sakhyam juṣāṇaḥ* “come, O A., appreciating the fellowship of the gods” (otherwise 8, 72, 2?), the phrase like this frequent participle in general being largely stereotyped (cf. e.g. 9, 97, 11); 1, 118, 10. Cf. also *vr̥dhant-* 6, 66, 11. Both processes coincide in cases such as ṚV. 3, 32, 5 *indra yavanam juṣāṇaḥ pibā somam* “taking delight in the oblation (of soma) drink, O I., the soma” and 3, 58, 7 *juṣāṇā somam pibatam* “trinket gerdn Soma” (Geldner); 8, 57, 2; 1, 171, 2; see also further on; 10, 160, 2; 4, 58, 8 *tā juṣāṇo haryati jātavedāḥ* “the fire likes them (the fuel-sticks) and takes pleasure in them”; 8, 44, 8 *juṣāṇo... imā havyāni... | agne sajñam naya* “taking delight in these oblations lead the sacrifice, O Agni”; 7, 52, 1 *sanema... sanantaḥ* “(diese) gewinnend möchten wir gewinnen” (Geldner); 6, 3, 4; 10, 91, 7 “your hosts (i.e. your flames), O Agni, line up, while thou burnst (*dhakṣataḥ*)”, both processes being identical; 2, 4, 7; the pres. part. *dahant-* expresses a process which though accompanying it does not coincide with that denoted by the main verb: 3, 29, 6; 8, 43, 26; 9, 73, 5; an interesting place is also 4, 12, 1 *abhy astu prasakṣat* “he must surpass, being victorious”; otherwise 5, 87, 5 *yenā sahanta rñjata*; 7, 56, 5 (pres. part.). Cf. also 10, 115, 4 *tritaṃ naśanta pra śiśanta iṣṭaye* “they reached T. instructing him to go in search of him”.

Strictly speaking the Adhvaryu priest casts the oblation into the fire on hearing the exclamation *vaṣaṭ* which is uttered at the end of a sacrificial verse; at that moment the god Agni has of course already come to accept the oblation and to conduct it to the gods.¹⁰ Yet ṚV. 7, 14, 4

⁸ See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 32 f.

⁹ H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vrata und awestisch urvata* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 61.

¹⁰ Cf. also J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa translated*, I (Oxford, 1882), p. 88, n. 2.

it reads *ā no devebhir upa devahūtim agne yāhi vaṣatkṛtiṃ juṣāṇaḥ*, no chronological relation being intimated. An inversion of the usual chronological relation occurs also 7, 66, 19 *ā yātam... juṣāṇān āhutim* “come and enjoy the oblation”.

An aor. part. may also express a motivation: ṚV. 3, 43, 2 “these thoughts formed into a hymn call thee, O Indra, since they delight in (*juṣāṇāḥ*) thy company”; 7, 38, 4; AV. 4, 38, 5; cf. also 6, 125, 3; 9, 2, 8. ṚV. 1, 165, 3 *saṃ prchase samarāṇaḥ*. Compare in Greek sentences of the type Λ 313 τί παθόντε λελάσμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς; “what has come over us that we have forgotten our furious valour?”; Arist. Ach. 826 τί δαὶ μαθὼν φαίνεις ἄνευ θρυαλλίδος; Plato, Apol. 36 b τί ἄξιός εἰμι παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι, ὅ τι μαθὼν ἐν τῷ βίῳ οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἤγον and also the type Xen. Anab. 5, 8, 15 ἐν ἐμαυτῷ οὖν πεῖραν λαβὼν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλον ... ἤλαυνον.

It is therefore often difficult to decide whether there is any difference in sense between a part. which may be said to belong to an aor. stem and a pres. part.; compare on the one hand 8, 102, 7 *agnim vo vṛdhantam... achā*; 5, 86, 5 *vṛdhantān anu dyūn*; 1, 158, 1; 6, 49, 11 and on the other hand 9, 8, 1 *ete somā... akṣaran | vardhanto asya vīryam* which is no doubt continuative; 5, 62, 5; 9, 63, 5; 10, 20, 8, etc. The middle form *vṛdhāna-* may mean “having increased” in 7, 99 1, but this sense is certain in 10, 55, 8 *ā vṛdhānaḥ śūro nir... adhamad dasyūn*; 99, 6 and probably 1, 55, 6; 95, 11; in 3, 28, 6 both processes seem to coincide: *agne vṛdhāna āhutim... juṣasva*. The pres. part. *vardhamāna-* always expresses a continuing and simultaneous process: 2, 3, 4; 3, 8, 5; 30, 8; 6, 9, 4; 10, 142, 6; 161, 4 *śatam jīva śarado vardhamānaḥ*. Does *sadant-* in 7, 70, 3 mean “when you (the Aśvins) are sitting” or “when you have taken your seat”? *nī parvatasya mūrdhani sadantā*; cf. 10, 61, 13; 4, 2, 17; for the pres. *sīdant-* which occurs in the usual way see e.g. 1, 65, 9 *śvasity apsu haṃso na sīdan*; 9, 86, 22; 92, 6; 96, 23, etc.

Instances of a momentary sense of an aor. part. which is used as an adjective are: ṚV. 10, 89, 12 *aśmeva vidhya diva ā srjānaḥ* “strike like a stone which is (has been) hurled from the sky”; 6, 6, 5. That a person who has got thirsty remains so until he quenches his thirst goes however without saying; hence *trṣāṇa-* in the sense of “thirsty”: 8, 33, 2 “when wilt thou, (being) thirsty, come to the soma?”; 7, 69, 6; 4, 19, 7. Practically speaking this aor. part. is in this use synonymous with the pres. *trṣyat-*: 8, 4, 3; 10 (cf. also 5, 61, 7) and the perf. *tātṛṣāṇa-*: 1, 31, 7, etc. which however always expresses a condition: 1, 130, 8. Similarly, *bhiyāna-* “(having become) afraid”: 4, 22, 6 *bhiyānāḥ pra sindhavo...*

cakramanta; 6, 9, 7, etc., also in its relations to *bhayamāna*:- 2, 29, 6 and *bibhīvas*- 6, 23, 2; *yatāna*- “having come to fly in line with, flying in line with”: 3, 8, 9; 5, 33, 10; *yatamāna*- 1, 123, 12, etc. The part. *urāṇa*- “choosen” is an attributive adj. in 6, 63, 4, an apposition in 1, 173, 7. ṚV. 1, 54, 3 and 4 may be quoted to exemplify the connections between the participial and the adjective functions: 4 *tmanā dhr̥ṣatā śambaram bhinat* / *yat... mandinā dhr̥ṣac... pṛtanyasi*; 3 *yasya dhr̥ṣato dhr̥ṣan manah*; cf. also 2, 30, 8; for *śucant*- see e.g. 2, 34, 12; 10, 67, 7. The form *riṣant*- is an example of substantivation: 1, 12, 5 *prati śma riṣato daha*.

A curious instance of an aor. part. denoting a continuing process or situation occurs ṚV. 4, 6, 8 where the ten fingers are called “the ten sisters who live together”: *saṃvasānāḥ svasārah*.

Sometimes an aor. part. is syntactically speaking a mere adjective which as such may be used semi-predicatively or ‘verbal appositiv’¹¹: 5, 75, 3 *ā... gachatam... juṣāṇa vājinīvasū* “kommet her... gern... ihr ...” (Geldner); 7, 95, 4.

¹¹ See my observations in “‘Prolepsis’ of the adjective in Greek and other ancient Indo-European Languages”, in *Mnemosyne*, IV, 11 (Leiden, 1958), p. 1 ff.

IX

THE USE OF PAST TENSES (IMPF., AOR., PERF.) IN DIALOGUES AND QUOTATIONS

Although there can be no question of drawing, in the Ṛgveda, a hard and fast line between those passages in which the poet himself is speaking, addressing and inviting the gods, praising and recalling their deeds, adhorting them to favour and assist his patrons, narrating legends and recounting mythological events, and those places where he presents his characters dramatically so as to have them speak and discuss, it may be worth while to collect the past tenses occurring in those stanzas which may, in all probability, be considered to constitute quotations, parts of dialogues, questions and answers, in short which were intended (by the poets) and understood (by their contemporaries) to be "direct speech". Without contending that the picture of Old-Indian speech habits given by these quotations and dialogues is true to nature, it may be supposed that such an important detail as the use of the tenses did not considerably deviate from the accepted standards of those communities on the usage of which this poetical idiom was founded. By grouping together the various ways in which the past tenses are used in these passages it has at the same time been my intention to furnish the reader with a survey illustrating the main functions of these forms and to help him to become familiar with the idea that the rules which they obey are less simple, less rigid and less absolute than is suggested by the authors of the handbooks. In order to show the peculiarities of the aorist and the imperfect as clearly as possible much attention has in these pages also been paid to the perfect.

Imperfect.

It seems impossible to maintain that in ṚV. 1, 125, 3 the impf. has no relation to the moment of speaking: "I set out (*āyam*) today (the morning guest is speaking¹) with a chariot, looking for the one who (from the

¹ Cf. Thieme, *Fremdling*, p. 81: "Der Zusammenhang zwischen der Morgenröte und dem Fremdling ist leicht zu finden... Sie zeigt auch den Augenblick an, zu dem der über Nacht aufgenommene Fremdling, der Gast, natürlicherweise das Haus verlässt..."

religious point of view) behaves well". The poet's reason to prefer this form seems to have been the wish to dwell on the process of going and its consequences. Sāyaṇa, however, explains *prāpto 'smi*, Mādhava *gataṁ asmi*. In 1, 161, 2 "'....' that the gods spoke (impf.) to you, therefore I have come (aor.) to you" the impf. also expresses an idea that – though less 'recent' than that denoted by the aor. – is of interest for those addressed; it however also invites the hearer to see the process of speaking as being in progress and to dwell on the words spoken by the gods. Similarly st. 4 *apṛchata*. Indra, boasting, says that he slew his opponents, who made him fight: two impf. 10, 48, 6; cf. 8. In 10, 51, a conversation between Agni who had hidden himself, and the other gods who had found him, the impf. is repeatedly used in connection with an event which – as far as appears from context and situation – must have occurred shortly before the moment of speaking and which is still of interest to those speaking: 3 *taṁ tvā yamo aciket* "da entdeckte dich Y." (Geldner). Agni's motivation of his disappearance (st. 4) referring to a less recent occurrence also contains an impf.: *āyam* "I went away" ("bin ich gegangen", Geldner); as he has, however, not yet left his hiding-place² the process of going away cannot be said to have no relation to the moment of speaking. Similarly, st. 6 *āyam* and *avije*. Cf. also 10, 98, 2 "the messenger has come (*agachat*) from you to me".

A fine instance of a dur. impf. expressing a previous prolonged activity and an aor. denoting a more recent momentary event occurs 10, 53, 1 *yam aichāma manasā so 'yam āgāt* "now he has come, whom we longed for in our mind" (an aor. of *iṣ-* does not however occur in the RV.); cf. also 86, 1; 95, 7; 108, 10. In 10, 40, 6 the maiden Ghoṣā, who has remained unmarried, makes an attempt to win the favour of the Aśvins: "you are (pres. ind.) skilful...; to you the bee (fly) brought (impf.) the honey": the event is, of course, not recent, but its consequences still are of special importance to the person speaking. Cf. also 10, 53, 11.

The two imperfects in 10, 135, 2 are indubitably 'continuative' and, although the processes do not, perhaps, belong to the immediate past, they have not yet ceased occupying the mind of the speaker and affecting his opinions and reactions: "I saw (*abhy acākaśam*) him look back reluctantly and go...; I longed (*asprhayam*) to see him back". Cf. also st. 3; 4 and 10, 183, 1 (and 2) "I saw you (*apaśyam*) while you were observing in your mind...". The descriptive impf. inducing the audience to dwell on the process referred to and to consider its full import oc-

² See the Anukram. and Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, II (Stuttgart, 1909), p. 165 f.

curs 3, 33, 6 a, b, c; 7b, d; 4, 18, 7; cf. also 26, 2 (*anayam*). Saramā, who has just arrived, gives the Paṇis a somewhat detailed account of her journey: the river assisted (impf.) her in crossing, etc. The hearer is invited to consider the consequences of the process and their continuance: R̥V. 4, 26, 1; 2 “I (Indra) gave (*adadām*) the land to the Aryan”; ibid. *anayam* and *āyan*; 3. In 10, 52, 2 Agni who has quite recently been appointed hotar priest states that he has taken his seat: the verb used is the impf. *ny asīdam*; I would venture to explain this form in a similar way: “the god, who has recently been installed will occupy his place as a permanency”. The event referred to belongs to the past, but its significance is the object of the speaker’s reflections: 10, 33, 4.

A continuative impf. which, it is true, does not strictly speaking refer to the immediate past, occurs also R̥V. 1, 165, 6 “where was (*āsīt*) your autonomy, when you left me (impf.) alone?; for I averted (*anamam*, impf.) (the weapons) of every enemy”. Cf. also 7, 33, 4; 8, 96, 14; 10, 27, 4. The impf. *apaśyam* does not necessarily refer to the immediate past; it is however typically ‘durative’. A continuing process belonging to the remote past occurs 4, 27, 1 where the eagle says that already in the womb of his mother he knew (impf.) all the races of the gods; that a hundred strongholds protected (impf.) him; that he flew away (impf.); 10, 27, 15; 16; 17; 23. An illustrative place is 10, 28, 8 “the gods marched out (impf.) carrying axes...; cutting down the trees they marched off (impf.)”; the third verb is a pres. ind.

The impf. may indeed express a durative or habitual process in the past: 10, 52, 6; 95, 6 “when during four years I passed (*avasam*) my nights among men..., I consumed (*āśnām*), once a day, a drop of...”; 124, 4 *bahvīḥ samā akaram* “many years I was active (with, in the employ of...)”³.

Instances of a continuative impf. used in connection with mythical occurrences are however not wanting: see the second impf. in R̥V. 5, 40, 9 “the Atris found the sun again (*anv avindan*, impf.), for other people were not able (*aśaknuvan*, impf.) (to do so)”; 7, 18, 12 “(Indra threw K. down into the water, impf.) while thine adherents rejoiced over (*amadann anu*) thee”, the latter process being no doubt with regard to phenomenal time as well as to expression in language continuing; 10, 62, 2; 3; 167, 1 *tvaṃ (=Indra) tapaḥ paritapyājayaḥ svaḥ*.

The impf. could also be used if the same subject executed the same deed with regard to a plurality of objects or if the action is performed repeat-

³ Cf. also A. Thumb-R. Hauschild, *Handbuch des Sanskrit*³, II (Heidelberg, 1959), p. 268.

edly, the so-called 'iterative impf.': cf. in Greek, Xen. Mem. 1, 2, 61 Λίχας... τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ξένους ἐδείπνιζε "L. used to entertain the foreigners who came to stay in L."; K 77 ζωστήρ... ὃ ῥ' ὁ γεραῖος ζώννυθ' ὅτ' ἐς πόλεμον... θωρήσσοιτο "the belt with which the old man girded himself, whenever he armed himself for war". Examples are: RV. 10, 51, 1 "one god repeatedly beheld (*apaśyat*) all thy bodies, O Agni"; ibid. 2 *bahudhā paryapaśyat*; 3 *aichāma tvā bahudhā*; cf. also 10, 87, 19. The impf. of the repeated action occurs 10, 95, 5 "thrice a day you possessed (*śnathayaḥ*) me"; ibid. *āyam*; cf. also 8 d. Although an aor. of *bhakṣ-* does not occur in the RV. the impf. *abhakṣayam* in 10, 167, 4 is worth noticing: *adya... kalaśām a*. "habe ich heute aus den Bechern getrunken" (Geldner; cf. Sāyaṇa: *kalaśasthān hutaśiṣṭān somān bhakṣitavān asmi*). Here again, the impf. cannot be said to have no relation to the present. In 4, 18, 1 a plurality of subjects underwent the same process: "this is the ancient way in which all gods were born (*udajāyanta*)".

RV. 4, 42 (Indra's and Varuṇa's self-praise) was justly quoted by Renou⁴ as an example of the tendency to avoid a perf. in narratives containing forms of the 1st person. It follows, however, that the activities of the gods – "I created both worlds", etc. – are in the usual way presented as 'durative' processes belonging to the past.

Conceding that the impf. often indicates processes which are no longer 'passé actuel', mythical and legendary events (e.g. 5, 40, 9 *anv avindan*; 7, 18, 12 *ni vṛṇak* in connection with Indra's throwing down some opponents into the water) and activities which by themselves could have been expressed by a 'punctual' form, we arrive at the conclusion that its use agrees in many cases with that of an 'aspectual' impf. which is mainly characterized as expressing a continuing activity.

Imperfect and perfect.

Some places are helpful to deepen our knowledge of the difference between a perf. and an impf.: RV. 1, 165, 11 – "Indra nimmt zwar diese (cf. the preceding stanzas) für sich allein in Anspruch, erinnert sich aber mit Vergnügen an das Lob, das ihm die Marut als Barden dabei gespendet haben"⁵ – "your praise used to inspire me (*amandat*, impf., indicating that the praise was a repeated or habitual activity), which you bestowed (*cakre*, perf.) upon me": the 'resultative' perfect *cakre* "désigne une action

⁴ Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 82.

⁵ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 240.

durable".⁶ In 3, 33, 7 relating Indra's chief exploit the god is said to have hewn in pieces (impf.) Vṛtra and to have destroyed (perf.: *jaghāna*⁷) the ramparts; the waters are described to have moved (impf.) forward: the forms of the impf. are narrative and descriptive, the perf. seems to mark something definitive.⁸ Why does the impf. *ud atiṣṭhat* and *sam piṇak* in 4, 18, 8 d occur among six forms of the perfect stem, all processes referring to the same cycle of myths?: it does not seem to be meaningless that the two imperfects contained in this passage express activities ascribed to the god Indra himself, the perf. to deeds of his mother, who abandoned him, to those of a rival, etc. Is it because the poet wished to picture the exploits of the great god himself while presenting the activities of the others merely as accomplished facts? If a perf. and an impf. of the same verb or two supplementary forms occur in the same stanza, "l'opposition de valeur est souvent celle du général et du particulier"⁹: 10, 51, 2 "l'imparfait précise l'indication fournie par le parfait": *ko mā dadarśa katamaḥ sa devo yo me tanvo bahudhā paryapaśyat*. The 'durative' and descriptive function of the impf. is, here again, unmistakable.

Why does the itihāsa-stanza¹⁰ 4, 18, 13 contain two perf. of the first person: *pece*, *vivide*, one perf. of the third person: *ā jabhāra* and one impf.: *apaśyam*?¹¹ Are *pece* and *vivide* intended to sketch a situation, the impf. to have us dwell on a detail, presenting it as a prolonged condition, and is *ā jabhāra* resultative? In connection with the eagle who stole the soma from the heavenly world, the divine draught is 4, 27, 2 related to have said: "he did not take me away (perf.) with pleasure; I surpassed (perf.) him in energy...; (the goddess of) abundance removed (impf.) the powers of envy (that frustrate good intentions); he (the eagle) passed (impf.) the wind (while flying)". It seems difficult to deny that the two perfects refer to 'situations', the imperfects to actions. Cf. also 10, 48, 2 and 3.

Aorist.

It is not surprising that the aor. ind. is, in direct speech, the usual form when the person speaking refers to the immediate past or, rather, to the

⁶ Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 165 ff.

⁷ Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 62 ff.

⁸ 'Représentation vive' (Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 64).

⁹ Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 50 f.

¹⁰ R. Pischel in R. Pischel-K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II (Stuttgart, 1897), p. 50; V. Henry, in *M.S.L.*, 9, p. 246 f.

¹¹ Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 83.

‘passé actuel’: R.V. 1, 4, 5; 158, 5; 161, 2 *tad va āgamam* “darum bin ich zu euch gekommen” (Geldner); 4; 179, 4; 3, 33, 3; 12; 7, 33, 1; 83, 3; 8, 100, 5; 7; 10, 10, 7; 27, 7; 34, 2; 39, 6; 40, 12; 53, 2; 3; 62, 7; 102, 11; 108, 3; 119, 1 ff.; 124, 5. A fine example of an aor. of a recent fact which being of special interest to speaker and audience is viewed without regard to duration, occurs 10, 124, 3 *paryāvard rāṣṭram* “government has changed (‘the opposition is in’)”.

The same form is however also used in a dramatic reference to an event which certainly, though ‘passé’ or even belonging to a more remote past, is still ‘actuel’: 1, 104, 5; 161, 5; 5, 30, 8 (“Worte des überlisteten Namuci, der Indra an den früheren Pakt erinnert”¹²). An interesting place is 10, 10, 5 where Yamī, in making an attempt to seduce her brother says that “already in the womb the god made them man and wife: *dampatī kaḥ*: any particular of the deity’s activity would be a superfluity, the mere completed fact claiming the hearer’s attention. Similarly, 10, 28, 7 where Vasukra boasts that it has been he who slew the Vṛtra (*vadhīm*) and uncovered (*apa... vam*) the cattle-shed: here also it is the mere facts that are the points at issue; cf. also st. 9; 10, 40, 7; 48, 1 (?); 95, 2; 10.

‘Aspectual’ rather than ‘temporal’ are the aorists in 10, 28, 4, describing topsyturvydom: “the rivers carry (pres. ind.) the floating wood against the stream, the fox approaches (*atsāh*, aor.) the lion stealthily, the jackal pounces upon (*ataкта*, aor.) the boar”, the momentary view of these two processes being evident. One might compare the use of the Greek aor. in similes and descriptions springing from the author’s phantasy: Γ 33 ff. ὥς δ’ ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη (aor.), / οὐρεὸς ἐν βήσσης, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε (aor.) γυῖα, / ἅψ τ’ ἀνεχώρησεν (aor.), ὥχρός τέ μιν εἶλε (aor.) παρειάς ... “and even as a man at sight of a snake in the glades of a mountain starts back, and trembling seizes his limbs beneath him and he draws back again and pallor lays hold of his cheeks...”; Plato, Phaedr. 247 e (in the myth of the ideas) (ἡ τῶν θεῶν ψυχὴ) τὰ ὄντα ὄντως θεασαμένη ..., δῦσα πάλιν εἰς τὸ εἶσω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οἷκαδε ἦλθεν (aor.).

How to explain the aor. in 10, 34, 1 d “the dice gladden (pres. ind.) me, as they roll...; the vibhīdaka (the nuts used as dice) has pleased (*achān*) me”? If the meaning is “the dice always gladden me, and now again the v. has pleased me”, the aor. may be described as expressing a recent individual case.

¹² Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 27.

ṚV. 10, 124, 1 d *dyog eva dīrghaṇi tama āśayiṣṭhāḥ* was correctly translated by Geldner: “schon zu lange hast du im... Dunkel gelegen”; in Dutch also, the periphrastic past tense would have been used to indicate a process, which, while taking place within a period of time that extends to and includes the present moment, has not yet reached its completion. Even the Greek aor. admits of this use: Lysias 12, 4 ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ ... ἔτη τριάκοντα μετώκησε καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ... ἐδικασάμεθα.¹³

The aor. of the antecedent fact, combining with a durative pres. ind.: 10, 34, 4 “others embrace the wife of him for whose possessions the... die has been eager (*agr̥dhat*, aor.)”; *ibid.* 5. Cf. 1, 121, 12 (aor. of the previous action).

In this function the aor. combines with a durative pres. ind. *ibid.* 9 cd; 10, 48, 4. The same aor. seems to refer to an event which belongs to the future: 10, 167, 4 “I stipulate for this hymn if I shall have come to your house (*āgamam*: *āgacchāmi*, *Sāyaṇa*)”.

Aorist and imperfect.

An instructive place showing the difference between an aor. and an impf. in direct speech is ṚV. 7, 83, 3 f.; in Vasiṣṭha's prayer pronounced during the battle the aor. refers to recent events which aspectually speaking may be considered to be of a ‘momentary’ character: “the horizon has darkened, the cries raised themselves...”, the poet's invocation of the gods in which their deeds are praised, prefers the descriptive and more ‘quiet’ impf. which invites the audience to contemplate the events described from a distance. In 10, 176, 3 and 4 the impf. *kalaśāṃ abhakṣayam* is used in connection with a plurality of objects; *bhakṣam akaram* (which seems to be an aor.) to the drinking of one portion. If this interpretation be right, this place is a counterpart of such well-known Greek examples as A 437 ff. ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, / ... ἐκ δὲ Χρυσήϊς νηὸς βῆ ... “they disembarked themselves on the sea's edge, and Ch. left the ship also”. Cf. also 10, 40, 9 ab *janiṣṭa yoṣā patayat kanīnakaḥ*: statement of a fact and repeated action.

May we interpret the alternation aor.: pres. ind. in 10, 40, 7 and 8 – which deal with similar events – to the poet's reverting to a non-dramatic ‘lento’ style after having allowed himself to relate part of the communication vividly and ‘dramatically’? For a similar alternation between aor.

¹³ The form *akaram* in st. 4 *bahviḥ samā akaram* should rather be considered an imperfect.

and impf. see 10, 48, 8 and 9, the actions to which these forms refer belonging to the same 'time'. So much seems clear that also in 10, 49, 1 ff. there is no 'chronological difference' between those processes which are expressed by aorists and the larger number of the god's activities on which he prides himself by means of imperfects: the words 2 *mām dhur indram nāma devatā* for instance do not refer to the immediate past and the sentence 1 *ayajvanah sākṣi viśvasmin bhare* describes a repeated action in the past. Cf. also 3, 26, 8 "hat er sich aus eigener Kraft das höchste Kleinod verdient (*akṛta*) und er überschaute (*pary apaśyat*) Himmel und Erde" (Geldner). Although the lightning in 10, 95, 3 preceded Urvaśī's disappearance (st. 2) both facts belonged to a past which cannot – according to ŚatBr. 11, 5, 1, 4 – be regarded as 'immediate'; however, the latter event is recalled, by herself, to her partner's memory by the 'dramatic' aorist; the lightning and the Gandharva's bleating, by Purūravas, through the imperfect. The tendency to express the previous process by an impf., the later event by an aor. – both processes being of interest to the person speaking – is also apparent in 10, 108, 1 "(why) have you come (aor.)?... how did you cross (impf.) (the river)?" : without belonging, like the former action, to the immediate past, the crossing had not yet lost its 'actualité'. Cf. st. 2.

Aorist, imperfect and perfect.

It is at first sight difficult to account for the co-ordination of an aor. and a perfect in cases such as RV. 1, 165, 8 where Indra in reply to the Maruts, who have stated that the god has achieved many objects, observes: "I have slain (*vadhīm*, aor.) the Vṛtra..., I made (*cakara*, perf.) the waters passable". However, the aor. may, here again, be regarded as 'aspectual', emphasizing the culminating point, the perf. as not expressing with regard to the process itself, any idea of duration, merely emphasizing the condition attained as the result of the action expressed by the verbal root.

That the impf. was in a dialogue also used to refer to the immediate past, that it may at least – no doubt because it focused some attention on a nuance which the aor. left unexpressed – alternate with it appears from 3, 33, 5: Viśvāmitra having approached the rivers in order to persuade them to let his patron cross their beds, while using in st. 3 the aor. to state that he had come, resorts in st. 5 to the impf.: "requiring help I, K.'s son, I called". In repeating (st. 9; cf. also st. 10) that he has come from afar – "with cart and war-chariot" – he employs the perf. *yayau*;

possibly because he wished to state that as a result of his coming he was there. Cf. also 10, 34, 2; 109, 3.¹⁴

Perfect.

It is true that in cases such as RV. 2, 105, 10 – the person speaking had to spend a night in a well – the perfect depicts a situation; both aor. and impf. could however have led the hearer to misinterpret the poet's intentions. Neither continuance or 'historical past', nor momentariness or 'passé actuel' were indeed to be suggested: "those five stars which (some hours ago?, a moment ago?) stood (*tasthuḥ*, perf.) in the sky..., have disappeared (*ni vāvṛtuḥ*)". Later on (12) the same person states that the sun "has spread truth" (*satyaṃ tātāna sūryaḥ*)¹⁵ and these words follow the statement that "the rivers flow (*aṣanti*, pres.) ṛta". The words 1, 121, 12 *tataḥśa vajraṃ* "he fashioned the vajra" may be regarded as equivalent to "he is the maker of the vajra", the fact being neither "actuel" nor "historique" and the presentation of the process neither momentary nor 'linear'. The perf. *jajāna* in 8, 96, 6 "we will praise him (Indra) who has engendered all those creatures" is practically speaking equivalent to "he is the father of...". In 10, 27, 6 *ye niniduh* may also be translated by a substantive. 10, 125, 8 *etāvatī... sam babhūva* "solch eine... bin ich geworden" (Geldner). Being indifferent to that which is conveyed by both aorist and imperfect the perfect indeed focuses the hearer's attention on the process after its completion; hence it may often be said to denote the condition attained by the subject as the result of a preceding action.

It may however also express an action which has been completed in the more or less recent past. RV. 1, 161, 1 *kad yad ūcima* "was war es, das wir gesagt haben?" (Geldner); "we did not revile (*nindima*) the goblet ..., we only spoke (*ūdima*) of the origin of the wood"; 6, 9, 4 *jajñe* "he (Agni) was born"; compare also instances such as 8, 96, 9 *kaś ta indra prati vajraṃ dadharśa* where Geldner's translation seems felicitous: "wer hat je deiner Keule getrotzt, Indra?". Cf. also 8, 100, 3 where those who deny the existence of Indra ask "who did (ever) see (*dadarśa*) him?" Similarly, 10, 10, 6.¹⁶

The perfect is therefore the proper form to be used in statements, reflections, etc. in which only the existence or continuance of a situation

¹⁴ Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 170 f.

¹⁵ See also Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 577.

¹⁶ For *āsa* in the sense of *āsīt* (e.g. 10, 124, 6) see Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 20.

brought about by a completed process is emphasized: 10, 95, 11 *jajñīṣa itthā gopīthyāya hi dadhātha... ma ojaḥ* “indeed you are born to protect; you gave me (and I possess) your virile strength”. Cf. 10, 98, 3; 102, 9; 108, 7 *reku ā jagantha* “you have come in vain” (indicating a situation); *tām mā devā vy adadhuḥ purutrā bhūriṣṭhātrām bhūry āveśayantīm*; 136, 3 *vātām ā tasthimā vayam*. In 1, 165, 1 – “St. 1 skizziert diese Situation” (Geldner) – the person speaking, probably Indra, asks: “with what splendour did the Maruts mingle (?)”; st. 2 *kasya brahmāṇi juṣuḥ* “... were they delighted?”; *ko... ā vavarta* “wer hat... gelenkt?” (Geldner): these questions are to inquire into a state of affairs, to seek information about its origin; 1, 179, 5 *yat sīm āgaś cakṛmā* “if we have committed sin (which is practically speaking equivalent to “if we are sinners”); the question 10, 86, 3 “was hat dir V. getan (*cakāra*), das... Tier?” (Geldner) leaves, in a similar way, aspectual or temporal details out of consideration.

There are many examples of the so-called resultative and present perfects. The form *jagāma* in 10, 28, 1 means “has come (and now is here)”; in 10, 23, 6 Uśanas addresses his guests who have newly arrived: *ā jagmathuḥ parākād* “you have come from afar”: that is to say “you have come and now are here”; *tasthau* in st. 2 “he stands”; 6 *aśatruṃ hi mā janitā jajāna*; 7 *jajñuḥ* “have come to know and know (now)”; 34, 12 *babhūva*; 40, 7 *ā cake*; 10 *dīdhiyuḥ*; 14; 10, 51, 1; 4 *ciketa*; 52, 3; 4; 53, 10; 62, 9; 86, 12.¹⁷ Cf. RV. 1, 165, 5 *indra svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* “du, I. hast dich ja in unsere Selbständigkeit geschickt” (Geldner); st. 14.

In 10, 34, 2 *na mā mimetha na jihīḥa eṣā* may be translated¹⁸: “she does not scold me, she is not angry”, but also: “sie hat mich nie gescholten, nie war sie ärgerlich”, the following *śivā... āsīt* “she was kind” suggesting that the situation(s) arising after the completion of the process(es) may have set in long before.

The perfect may also indicate, without entering into details, an accomplished fact which occurred in the past. In references to fables: 10, 28, 9 “the hare swallowed (*jagāra*) the knife”; 10; 1, 179, 6 in “einem resumierendem Erzählvers” (Geldner) *agastyah... | ubhau varṇāv... pupoṣa* “A. applied himself to both forms”; *ibid. satyā deveṣv āśiṣo jagāma*.

The events referred to belong to the ‘mythical past’, but the use of the perf. seems to emphasize that the processes actually are timeless: 8, 100, 10 the goddess Vāc sat down among men: *niṣasāda*.

¹⁷ For *ūhe* (10, 52, 3) see Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 180.

¹⁸ A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic reader for students* (Oxford, 1928), p. 187.

The 'time' of the perfect is therefore sometimes to be understood from the context: cf., in addition to RV. 1, 105, 10 which has already been quoted, RV. 10, 27, 11 "if a man's daughter is (*āsa*, perf.) blind –, who would marry her". That *dadṛṣe* expresses e.g. in 10, 48, 10 "l'état acquis"¹⁹ appears also from a pres. ind. in the parallel sentence. The 'time' in which the processes denoted by *jagāra* and *dadhau* in 10, 27, 13 are considered to take place is determined by the pres. *atti* in the same line. The processes *tasthau* and *atti* in st. 14 are no doubt simultaneous; and so are, in all probability, *mimāya* – cf. the Greek μέμυκε, μεμυκώς: Hes. Op. 508 μέμυκε δὲ γαῖα καὶ ὕλη "earth and forest howl" – and *dadhe* in c and d. That the process indicated by *samerire* in 10, 40, 10 took place long ago appears from its subject, the *pitarah*. RV. 1, 165, 13 *ko nv atra maruto māmahe vaḥ* "wer feiert euch wohl hier (auf Erden), o M.?" (Geldner). Cf. also 10, 48, 5 (*na... kadā cana*); 11; 102, 10. It is therefore not rarely difficult to decide whether a perf. is to be translated by a past or a pres. form, and a decision is sometimes scarcely founded on reasoned judgment: cf. e.g. 10, 27, 7 *viveṣa: sarvato vyāpnoti* (Sāyaṇa), but "gewirkt hat" (Geldner).

The perfect may also be employed in cases where classical Latin would have resorted to a futurum exactum or future perfect, that is to say: it may indicate the priority of a future event to some other future event. Cf. RV. 1, 158, 1... *ha yad rekṇa aucathyo vām pra yat sasrāthe... ūtī* "da ja der Sohn des U. euch... seine Haben (spenden will), wenn ihr mit euren ... Hilfen zum Vorschein gekommen seid!" (Geldner).

The perfect is chosen when a completed process or a situation resulting from activities performed in the past is in a more or less parallel sentence opposed or compared to a process which still awaits realization. Cf. RV. 1, 165, 7 "thou hast done (*cakartha*) much...; we will do (pres. subj.) many deeds" (or: "it is our intention to do..."). Only the perfect is expressed, the other form is to be supplied: 10, 10, 4.

An interesting idiom concerns the opposition between a perfect participle and a participle of the future in cases such as RV. 1, 125, 4 *ijānaṃ ca yakṣyamāṇaṃ ca* "him who has worshipped and him who will w.": the unqualified past as opposed to the expression of future or intention.

It would be useful to quote also some sentences in which the poet had good reason to use a variety of verb forms. RV. 1, 179, 1 "even the ancestors who were (impf.)... and used to converse (impf.) with the gods about..., have finished (aor.), for they did not find (perf.) the end".

¹⁹ Renou, *Valeur du parfait*, p. 174.

ALTERNATION OF PRESENT AND AORIST

According to Grassmann's Dictionary the root *budh-* means, in the Ṛgveda, "1) erwachen; 2) wachen, wachsam sein; regsam, achtsam sein...". On closer inspection, however, it appears that the first meaning belongs only to the aorist. The aor. *abodhi* occurs 1, 92, 11; 123, 2, etc. in connection with Dawn; 1, 157, 1 Agni has, in the morning, woken up, cf. 3, 56, 4, etc.: all these places refer to a recent awakening of daylight or fire. The present forms on the other hand express the sense of "notice, understand, pay attention to": 2, 32, 4 *śṛṇotu naḥ subhagā bodhatu tmanā*; cf. 5, 10, 4; 1, 77, 2; 147, 2; 2, 25, 2; 7, 21, 1 *bodhāmasi tvā... yajñaiḥ* and similarly, 7, 22, 4; 4, 15, 7 (not "awakened, roused")¹; 2, 30, 7; 36, 6. In 10, 156, 5 *bodha* may with Sāyaṇa (*asmadīyaṃ stotram avagaccha*) be taken to mean "notice! be attentive!", or they are opposed to "to sleep, to be inactive": 1, 29, 4 *sasantu: bodhantu*. The stem *budh-* (aor.) expresses the idea of "awaking; awakening": 7, 9, 4; 72, 3; 78, 5; 10, 35, 1 and 7, 80, 1; but also that of "perceiving, noticing": 10, 61, 12. In 1, 131, 6 the imp. phrase *bodhi havisaḥ* means "direct thine attention to the oblation"; cf. 3, 14, 7; 8, 44, 2, etc.

An examination of the lexical meanings attributed in translating to present and aorist stems deriving from the same roots will show that they are sometimes, and in part of the cases probably unconsciously, based on, or connected with, aspectual distinctions. In the pres. the verb *śak-* is for instance translated by "to be able" – cf. e.g. 1, 73, 10 *śakema rāyaḥ sudhuro yamaṃ te* "wir möchten imstande sein, die wohlgeschirrten (Rosse) deines Reichtums zu lenken" (Geldner) –, in the aor., however, by "to help, assist" – cf. 1, 10, 6 *sa śakra uta naḥ śakat*; 8, 3, 11 *śagdhi na indra* "tu für uns, was du kannst, I." (Geldner) – "to make possible" – 8, 61, 5 – or "to help to" – e.g. 2, 2, 12 *vasvo rāyaḥ ... śagdhi naḥ* "erwirk uns Gut, Reichtum" (Geldner); 3, 16, 6 *śagdhi vājasya*; 4, 21, 10.

A fine example of a non-transformative verb the pres. and aor. stems of which in translating must be rendered by different words is *sac-*. Expressing the general sense of "being associated, united or together with, belonging to, following, accompanying" – cf. *saciva-* "associate,

¹ See Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 434, and Sāyaṇa's note.

companion"; Lat. *socius* "sharing, united, associated; fellow, partner, companion"; ONo. *seggr*, OEngl. *secg* "fellow, companion, mate, man"; Lat. *sequor* "to follow, attend" –, the verb may in the pres. forms be translated by "stay or remain with": ṚV. 10, 19, 1 *mānu gātāsmān siṣakta* "folgt keinem (anderen), haltet euch zu uns" (Geldner); "to follow": 4, 5, 9; "to be with a person": 1, 1, 9; "to be on friendly terms with": 8, 48, 10; "to go together": 8, 69, 7; "to assist, stand by": 5, 41, 15 *siṣaktu mātā mahī rasā naḥ* "es soll uns... die grosze Mutter R. zur Seite stehen" (Geldner); 1, 18, 2 "mit uns sein" (Geldner); "to conduct while protecting": 1, 129, 9; 6, 24, 10; 7, 37, 8; "to attend affectionately" ("ergeben sein", Grassmann): 7, 97, 3 *indram śloko... siṣaktu*; "to pursue, run after" 8, 75, 13; "to belong to": 10, 57, 5; "to participate in, share, enjoy"; 5, 50, 2 *sacemahi sacathyaiḥ* "wir... möchten... deines Beistands teilhaftig werden". Geldner's translation "teilhaft werden" – cf. also ṚV. 8, 19, 28; 10, 7, 1 – is no doubt less correct than "teilhaft sein": 1, 136, 6 "lange lebend möchten wir der Nachkommenschaft teilhaft sein (*prajayā sacemahi*)"; 2, 8, 6. Nor is "wehrlos sollen sie dem Nichts verfallen" a completely adequate translation of 4, 5, 14 *anāyudhāsa āsatā sacantām*.

The aorist, on the other hand, must be translated by expressions such as: "to join": 1, 129, 10... *tvā mahimā sakṣad avase* "greatness (majesty) must join thee for aid"; 8, 13, 28 (or a neutral aor.?); "to join, come together, meet": 7, 39, 6 (*devaiḥ*), where Geldner translates: "zusammen sein"; "to fall to a person's lot or share": 8, 64, 9 *kaṃ te dānā asakṣata* "wem werden deine Gaben zuteil?"; "to acquire a share in": 7, 51, 1 ("teilhaft werden"); 54, 3 (pronounced on the occasion of one's moving into a new house) "O Lord of the building- (and dwelling-)place, may we enter upon (*sakṣimahi*) thy company": here Geldner inconsistently has "teilhaft sein".

The present forms of the root *śri-* "to resort to, rest on, lay on or in, cling to etc." are unmistakably continuative in character. Cf. ṚV. 10, 85, 37 "who (the married woman) will willingly separate (*viśrayāte*) her thighs for us", the part. *uśatī* "desiring" pointing in the same direction as the pres. subjunctive. The next pāda is similar: "into whom we will (are to) thrust (*praharāma*) the penis willingly". Cf. also 10, 18, 12 *sahasram mīta upa hi śrayantām* "for a thousand posts must stand (there) as supports" not, with Geldner "... sollen angebracht werden". In 3, 8, 2 and 3 the sacrificial post is requested to stand erect: *uc chrayasva*. Cf. also 7, 2, 6; 17, 2; 10, 70, 5; 110, 5, etc.

The aorist is on the other hand not only expressive of a 'passé actuel'

but also aspectually 'fixed' or 'limited', devoid of duration and variation in cases such as ṚV. 1, 124, 1 *uṣā uchantī samidhāne agnā... jyotir aśret* "while the fire is kindled Dawn becoming (and remaining bright)... has spread her light"; similarly 4, 6, 2; 13, 2, etc.; 7, 39, 1 "hat (jetzt) emporgesrichtet" (cf. Geldner).

Although the 'durative' character of the present stem *as-* "to be" is generally considered so self-evident that it needs no demonstration it would be worth while to enumerate some non-indicative forms and to contrast them with the corresponding forms of *bhū-* "to become" because Delbrück's² examples of the opposition *as-*: *bhū-* are limited to the indicatives: TS. 2, 1, 4, 4 *yamo vā idam abhūd yad vyaṃ smaḥ* "Yama has become that what we are". Cf. e.g. ṚV. 8, 43, 30... *ahā viśvā... / tarantaḥ syāma durgahā* lit. "may we all days be overcoming difficulties" i.e. "may we o. d. every day, may we always o.d."; 6, 50, 9 "I would like to be (*syām*) always present when thou art granting gifts; may I be (*syām*), O Agni, by thy favour rich in heroic sons": the verbal idea is viewed as typically continuing and unlimited; 3, 15, 1 *suśarmaṇo... śarmaṇi syām agner aham...*; 6, 63, 11 *ā vāṃ sumne variman sūribhiḥ syām* ("leben" Geldner); 1, 116, 25 *asya patih syām*; 7, 1, 9 *uto na ebhiḥ sumanā ihā syāḥ*; 4, 16, 18; 10, 69, 6 *prtanāyūmr abhi syāḥ* "mayest thou overpower the enemies"; 6, 68, 7 *sūribhya(h) rayiḥ syāt* "(unseren) Gönnern soll Reichtum zuteil werden" (Geldner); 1, 17, 6 *syād uta prarecanam* "es möge ein Überschuss bleiben" (Geldner); 7, 34, 21 *syād asme aramatir...* "A. ... gehöre uns!" (Geldner); 1, 4, 6; 24, 15; 38, 4; 120, 7; 2, 28, 3; 4, 41, 11; 51, 11; 5, 55, 10, etc.

The aor. opt. is on the other hand used in contexts which do not necessarily involve a preponderatingly 'continuative' view of the process expressed by the verb: ṚV. 1, 164, 40 (cf. AV. 7, 73, 11) addressing the cow which is meant also in st. 26 and 27 where she is said to have come recently and the wish is expressed that she will grow prosperously: *sūyavasād bhagavatī hi bhūyāḥ* "may you eating good grass become happy"; the author adds: *atho vyaṃ bhagavantaḥ syāma* "we also should like to be happy". The initial stage of the process is to all appearance somewhat emphasized also in stanzas such as: 6, 47, 26 being a blessing of a chariot which obviously is regarded as newly built because it is addressed as "tree": *vanaspate viḍvaṅgo hi bhūyāḥ* "O tree, may thou become (be) strong-limbed (firm in structure)". A 'punctual-ingressive' opt. occurs also 1, 17, 4: (3) we beseech ye for the next (riches which

² Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 273.

ye are to give) “for we would like to enter upon (*bhūyāma*) the manifestations of your favour”. A similar interpretation is possible: 3, 19, 3; 4, 32, 6; 8, 3, 2.

There can be no doubt whatever that the imp. of *as-* refers to a continuing process: 10, 173, 2 *ihaivaidhi māpa cyoṣṭhāḥ* “hier bleibe, weiche nicht” (Geldner); *ibid.* 1; 3, 56, 8 *trir ā divo vidathe santu devāḥ* “the gods must three times a day be present at the ritual”; 10, 128, 2 *mama devā vihave santu sarve* “all the gods must during the competitive invocation belong to me”; 7, 54, 2 *pratarāṇo na edhi gayasphānaḥ* “be for us promoter (of a long life), a promoter of domestic wealth”; 10, 84, 6 *kratvā no manyo... medy edhi* “be, O Fury, by thine inventiveness our companion”; 1, 91, 15 *sakhā suśeva edhi naḥ* “be to us a kindly disposed friend”; 4, 1, 5 *suhavo na edhi*; 10, 56, 1, etc. Thus 5, 2, 10 *svānāso divi śantu* must mean “the sounds must be (i.e. be audible) in the celestial region” rather than “das Getöse soll zum Himmel dringen” (Geldner); cf. also 9, 70, 3 *te asya santu ketavo... januṣi ubhe anu*. Cf. also AV. 3, 28, 3; 4, 31, 2, etc.

Turning now to the aor. imp. *bodhi* (*bhū-*), it may be observed that it refers to a single event or occasion in RV. 3, 51, 6 *bodhy āpir avaso nūtanasya* “be a friend of the favour of this moment (of the new favour)”; the process is presented as ‘fixed’ or ‘limited’. Elsewhere also the *hic et nunc* situation is obvious: 1, 24, 11 *ahelamāno varuṇeha bodhi* “be here, OV., not displeased”; 2, 6, 4; 4, 16, 17 *adha smā nas tanvo bodhi gopāḥ* “be then the protector of our person!”; 2, 23, 19 *tvam asya yantā sūktasya bodhi* “be thou the guide of this ‘hymn’”; 8, 88, 6; 2, 33, 15 (*iha*); 3, 19, 5; 7, 32, 11 “be a protector of our chariots, of our men”; 4, 22, 10. Cf. also 1, 76, 4.

Not rarely however the form seems to be aspectually neutral, 1, 31, 9 *tanūkṛd bodhi pramatiś ca kārave* “be for the poet a preserver of life and a provider” (or *hic et nunc* situation?); cf. also 1, 44, 6; 2, 2, 11, and especially 2, 9, 2 *agne... aprayuchan... bodhi gopāḥ* “O A. be an attentive herdsman” (in 3, 15, 2 reference is however made to definite moments: ... *sūra udite bodhi gopāḥ*, see above, 4, 16, 17); 3, 4, 1; 30, 21; 31, 14; 4, 17, 18; 5, 4, 9; 6, 21, 12; 10, 44, 9. It is worth observing that *edhi* and *bodhi* are prosodically interchangeable.

The *hic et nunc* situation is also apparent in sentences containing other aor. imperatives of *bhū-*: 1, 136, 4 *ayam mitrāya... śamtamaḥ somo bhūtu* “this soma must be(come) most salutary to M.”; 8, 5, 18 *asmākam adya vām ayam stomo vāhiṣṭho... bhūtu* “this song of praise of ours must today be...”; 8, 1, 3; 6, 45, 30.

The initial stage is more of less evidently thrown into some relief:

7, 99, 3 (Viṣṇu addressing both parts of the universe while separating them) “you both must (will) be rich in refreshing food, cows, etc.”; 8, 73, 1 *anti śad bhūtu vām avah* (addressed to the Aśvins), lit. “your favour must become being in (our) presence” i.e. “your favour must come to make its presence felt”. In the Āprī hymn (a liturgical invitation introducing the animal sacrifice) 10, 70, 4 the barhis (the sacrificial layer of ‘holy’ grass) is requested to be, whilst “being long in length”, fragrant (*surabhi bhūtv asme*); 3, 2, 23 *agne sã te sumatir bhūtv asme* “A., diese Gnade von dir soll uns zuteil werden!” (Geldner), the preceding stanza beginning with *syãn naḥ sũnuḥ* “ein Sohn soll uns werden”; 8, 26, 16 “(this song of praise) will, must belong (*bhūtu*) to you”; 44, 28 *ayam... tve api jaritã* “dieser Sãnger soll bei dir Zuflucht finden” (Geldner); cf. also 1, 131, 7; 1, 185, 11; 3, 54, 3; 7, 104, 6.

Elsewhere however these forms seem to be ‘neutral’: cf. 2, 2, 5; 4, 41, 5; 5, 42, 16; 8, 8, 9; 2, 45, 36; 9, 19, 1; 10, 157, 3. Yet one might consider interpreting AV. 6, 98, 1 and 2 as follows: “Indra must be a conqueror (*jayãti*, pres. subj.)...; be thou here one to be... revered (*namasyo bhavehi*, pres. imp.); thou Indra art (no verb) a supreme king; be (become: *bhūh*) thou an overcomer of people...”.

In connection with the aor. injunctives *bhuvas*, *bhuvat*, etc. attention may be drawn to texts such as 4, 16, 18 “be thou a favourer of the poetic intuitions of Vãmadeva”, where the *hic et nunc* situation seems to be evident, or to statements such as 4, 2, 6 which obviously are of a general character, so that the aor. stem must be considered aspectually ‘neutral’: to 6, 48, 2, etc. where it is aspectually neutral.

The augmentless forms of *gã-* which forms an aorist stem impress us as ‘neutral’ in contexts such as RV. 10, 56, 3 (a race-horse is addressed) *divaṃ gãh* “go to heaven”; 4, 3, 13; 16, 9; 7, 62, 2; 7, 3, 9. Cf. also 2, 38, 11 *asmabhyaṃ tad divo... tvayã dattam... rãdha ã gãt* “to us that bounty granted by thee must come”; ibid. 8; 7, 67, 8; 4, 18, 3; 8, 20, 22 *adhi no gãta marutaḥ* “gedenket unser, o M.” (Geldner); 10, 78, 8; 10, 12, 3. ‘Punctual’ are to all appearance: 1, 164, 4 “who comes across (*upa gãt*) a man who knows to ask this?”; 4, 37, 2 *juṣṭãso adya... guh* “today they will come, being welcome”. The initial stage stands out in 2, 33, 14 *pari tveṣasya durmatir mahi gãt* “the great bad-disposition of the awful one must come to go round us”. With *mã*: 1, 38, 5; 3, 53, 2 *mã parã gãh*: 8, 5, 39; 10, 18, 4.

In 7, 69, 4 we encounter a timeless aor. inj. expressing a general truth and leaving any idea of duration out of consideration: “when you (the Aśvins) aid the man who honours the gods with your favour and as-

sistance, his vitality escapes (will escape, *pari gāt*), by your protection, the glow". In a subordinate clause of a general, timeless character the duration of the process is, in 7, 93, 3f. to all appearance likewise a matter of indifference: *upo ha yad vidatham vājino gur... | | viprah... iṭṭe rayim* "when those who will possess vāja come to the rite, the inspired singer implores (in praising) wealth". A general truth or a matter of common experience is also elsewhere expressed by the aorist stem which may be compared to the Greek gnomic aorist: 3, 7, 7 *devā devānām anu hi vratā guh* "denn die Götter kommen den Geboten der Götter nach".

The corresponding forms of the root *i-* in Vedic are sometimes perfects, usually presents and never aorists. The opt. of *i-* is doubtless continuative 10, 101, 3 *nedīya it... ayāt* (the process may be viewed in perspective); 117, 4 *apāsmāt preyāt na tad oko asti*. Elsewhere this character is less obvious: 7, 86, 4. An aor. opt. of *gā-* does not however occur. The subj. is continuative, both processes being viewed as simultaneous, in 5, 37, 2 "while the pressing-stones... make noise (pres. ind.), the adhvaryu will descend (*ayad ... ava*) to the river"; 2, 30, 7 *yo mā sunvantam upa... āyat*; 7, 61, 4 "for the man who does not worship, the months will pass (*ayan*) without (bringing him) a son" (typically unlimited process); 10, 12, 4 *ahā yad... ayan* "when the days... pass" (general and unlimited). See also: 1, 33, 1; 7, 20, 7; 83, 2; 8, 92, 11; cf. also 4, 2, 16 *śucīd ayan dīdhitim*. In a minority of cases the continuative character of the form is less pronounced: 8, 55, 1 *abhy āyati rādhas te* "möge (jetzt) deine Ehrengabe herankommen" (Geldner); 66, 15.

The imp. may be accompanied by a pres. participle: 10, 155, 2 *arāyyam ... udṛṣann ihi* "geh du, ... die Unholdin aufzuspieszen!" (Geldner); 10, 53, 6; 62, 11. The process is repeated in cases such as 10, 37, 9 *sūryā-hnāhnā... ud ihi*. Examples of a continuing and 'metaphorical' process are: 10, 33, 7 *adhi... ihi pituṣ te asmi vanditā* "remember... "I am the eulogist of your father"; 100, 4.

Other texts in which the imp. creates the impression of being 'durative' are e.g. 3, 45, 1 *ati dhanveva tāṃ ihi* "pass them like a desert"; 4, 32, 8 (similes); 10, 164, 1 "go away (*apehi*), retreat, walk off"; 1, 80, 3; 10, 18, 1 *param mṛtyo anu parehi panthām*; 8, 17, 9; 10, 108, 11 *dūram ita... varīyaḥ*; 9, 107, 19 (plural object, cf. the context); 9, 64, 13; 10, 83, 3; 6, 16, 16 (the process is seen 'in perspective'; 8, 4, 12 "come here, make haste"; 10, 86, 20 *astam ehi grhāṃ upa*; 7, 36, 9. Sometimes this function is less evident: 8, 32, 21; 1, 9, 1; 76, 2; 2, 33, 1.

Whereas the aor. forms deriving from the root *vadh-* are – as far as they are indicatives or serving as indicatives – in meaning aoristic in the

Vedic sense of the term and in non-indicative form and function unmistakably 'punctual' or 'neutral' – 1, 53, 8 Indra is addressed: "thou hast slain (*vadhīḥ*) K. and P."; 1, 104, 8 "do not kill (*mā no vadhīḥ*) us, I."; 4, 41, 4 *indrā yuvaṃ varuṇā ... asminn... ni vadhiṣṭaṃ vajraṃ* "I. and V., do you hurl down the 'thunderbolt-weapon' upon this (injurer)"; 5, 44, 12 *yajato vi dviṣo vadhīt*; 6, 17, 1 –, the pres. forms which trace their origin back to the root *han-* are more or less evidently 'continuative': 1, 80, 3 "advance, approach, dare to attack!; thy vajra will not fail, for thine is manly valour and heroism, thou wilt slay (*hanaḥ*, pres. subj.) the *Ṛtra*, conquer (*jayāḥ*, pres. subj.) the waters": the various stages of Indra's warlike activity in a vivid and detailed description unfold before the mental eye of the hearer. Similarly, 8, 89, 4; 100, 12. In 1, 81, 3 the grammatically singular object represents an indefinite plurality in reality: *kaṃ hanaḥ kaṃ vasau dadhaḥ* "whom wilt thou slay, whom help to possessions?". Indra refers to the arduous task of slaying the great enemy for which he gets ready: 10, 124, 6 *hanāva ṛtraṃ nirehi soma*; similarly 10, 83, 6; in a context such as 10, 22, 7 the pres. is likewise easily intelligible: "thou wilt trouble thyself about us..., we beg this favour of thee, that thou killest Ś. ...". In 8, 89, 3 the poet while dwelling on particulars likewise prefers the present: *ṛtraṃ hanati ṛtrahā śatakratur vajreṇa śataparvaṇā*. Cf. also 8, 21, 12; 7, 104, 7; 16 *indras taṃ hantu mahatā vadhena*; 83, 1; 9, 101, 13; 10, 87, 5. In 6, 29, 6 the grammatical object is a plurality of adversaries to be killed in succession. In 10, 182, 1 a general request is formulated: *Bṛhaspati* "should remove (*kṣipad*) (the) curse, ward off (*apa... han*) envy"; cf. also 1, 132, 6; 184, 2; 7, 85, 2; 93, 5; 94, 12; 8, 35, 12; 16; 10, 40, 13, etc.

The continuative aspect of the pres. stem *paśya-* "to see" is evident: *RV. 1, 164, 16 paśyad akṣaṇvān* "wer Augen hat, seht (sie)" (Geldner); 1, 89, 8 *bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāma devā bhadraṃ paśyemākṣabhir...* "may we hear what is good with our ears, see what is good by our eyes" the statement is general and the process viewed as unlimited implying variation and heterogeneity; cf. 4, 2, 12; 10, 14, 7; 85, 35; 158, 4. A contemplative activity is meant 10, 72, 1 *yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge* "wenn sie (viz. die Geburten der Götter) einer in dem späteren Zeitalter noch zu erschauen vermag" (Geldner); 10, 55, 5 *devasya paśya kāvyam mahitvādyā mamāra...* "behold the god's wisdom in its greatness: today he has died...". An 'iterative' process is expressed 1, 113, 11 d "the human beings who saw (*apaśyan*) the former dawns become visible have passed away;... those come who will see them (become visible) in the future"; continuation of a process and iteration 6, 52, 5 *paśyema nu*

sūryam uccarantam “may we (also in the future) see the sun rise”; 10, 59, 4; 6; 7, 66, 16 *tac cakṣur* (die Sonne)... *uccarat paśyema śaradaḥ śatam*; 8, 63, 7; 8; 10, 158, 4; 5. Cf. also 8, 4, 7. Continuative imperatives are also: 4, 26, 1 *ahaṃ kavir uśanā paśyatā mā*; 8, 100, 4 *ayam asmi jaritaḥ paśya mā*; 10, 85, 33 *sumaṅgalir iyaṃ vadhūr imāṃ sameta paśyata* “this young woman is very auspicious, come together and look at her” 6, 9, 4; with a pres. participle: 10, 102, 9 *tam paśya*... *śayānam*; a simile helps to determine the aspect: 6, 47, 7; an adjunct 3, 23, 2 *agne vi paśya bṛhatābhi rāyā*; the context (object, etc.): 1, 22, 19; 103, 5; 10, 179, 1.

To these ṚV. places I subjoin: AV. 6, 62, 3 *iheḍayā sadhamādaṃ madanto jyok paśyema sūryam uccarantam* “here, revelling in joint revelling with Iḍā, may we long see the sun going up” (Whitney-Lanman): the adverb as well as the participial clause point to the durative character of the process; there can be no question about the speaker’s dwelling on the prolonged repetition of the process. Cf. 19, 67, 1. Reference to a continuous process is no doubt intended 7, 5, 3 *madema tatra parame vyoman paśyema tad uditau sūryasya* “we should like to revel there in the highest firmament; we should like to see that at the rising of the sun” and 6, 120, 3 “where... the well-doing revel... undamaged in heaven, there may we see (*paśyema*) our parents and sons”; similarly 18, 1, 54 *ubhā rājānau svadhayā madantau yamaṃ paśyāmi varuṇaṃ ca devam*. In 13, 2, 36 the present participle shows that the process expressed by the principal verb is viewed as continuous: *uccā patantam paśyāma tvā savitāram* “we will see thee, O Savitar (the Sun), flying high”. In 4, 20, 2 the plurality of the object and the diversity of the scene of action point in the same direction: cf. 1, 7, 5; 10, 3, 6. In 13, 4, 48; 55 the sun is addressed *paśya mā* “look at me”; 1, 33, 4; 16, 1, 12 the waters are requested to look at a person with propitious eye: *śivena mā cakṣuṣā paśyata*, no doubt viewed as a prolonged process. The imperative *paśya* in 10, 8, 32 invites the hearer to contemplate the fact that the god does not die and grow old: *devasya paśya kāvyam na mamāra na jīryati*.

Sometimes the continuative aspect is, in an imperative, not evident; as an aorist imperative does not occur, the aspectual function may be regarded as neutralized: cf. ṚV. 10, 87, 10 *nṛcakṣasā rakṣaḥ pari paśya* “... erspähe den bösen Geist” (Geldner); 8, 33, 19.

The -i aorists deriving from the root *drś-* are on the other hand typical Vedic aorists: ṚV. 1, 136, 2 (sunrise) *adarśi gātūr urave* “the way for the broad (light) has become visible”; 5, 1, 2; 7, 77, 3; 8, 103, 1; 10, 3, 1; 107, 1. So are the other indicative forms (cf. also 10, 123, 2): 1, 48, 13; 4, 52, 5; 8, 43, 5, etc. The unaugmented forms of the act. and middle

aorists are sometimes momentaneous in character: 1, 25, 18 *darśam nu viśvadarśatam* “may I see now (the god who) is visible to all”; cf. 10, 127, 6; 1, 6, 7. Elsewhere, however, the form is aspectually neutral: 8, 26, 4.

It is worth while to contrast the corresponding forms of *brū-* “to say” which occurs only in the pres. and impf., and *vac-* “to speak” which apart from a reduplicated present, a perf. and a future, is frequently represented by the aorist. The pres. subj. of *brū-* is ṚV. 1, 139, 7 without doubt used so as to focus some special attention on the contents of the communication: *o śū ṇo agne śṛṇuhi tvam iḷito devebhyo bravasi...*: “...” “listen to us, O Agni; thou shouldst, being implored, inform the gods: “...””. Cf. also 6, 54, 1; 2; 9, 39, 1. The pres. is also used in the sense of “announcing, relating something with regard to somebody”: 4, 3, 5-7 *kathā... garhase... kathā... bravaḥ*, etc.; 7, 60, 1; in the ‘pregnant’ sense of “speaking on a person’s behalf”: 7, 64, 3; with *prati* in the sense of “answering”: 4, 3, 8 *kathā śardhāya marutām... pr̥chya-mānaḥ | prati bravaḥ*; with *adhi* “to speak on a person’s behalf” 1, 84, 17; “to speak in defence of” 10, 173, 3. Similar remarks apply to the pres. opt.: 10, 135, 5; 5, 49, 2; 8, 21, 11; 92, 32. The aor. subj. *pra vocāti* seems to be aspectually neutral (10, 75, 1). The opt. may be neutral or ‘punctual’ in 1, 129, 6 *pra tad voceyam... indave*; 165, 3; 2, 35, 2; 7, 28, 5; 10, 91, 13. In 1, 132, 3 the opt. is ‘punctual’: *vi tad vocer adha dvitā* “du mögest uns das doch noch einmal bestimmt sagen” (Geldner); the form *acha voceḥ* 7, 93, 7 also: “to invite”. Cf. also 1, 43, 1; 120, 3.

As to the pres. forms of *vad-* “to speak” mention may be made of 2, 1, 16 *brhad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ*; 10, 6 *manuvad vadema*; 1, 28, 5 *iha dyumattamaṃ vada jayatām iva dundubhiḥ* which belong to a variety of places where the pres. stem is completely intelligible.

As to *ad-* and *ghas-* “to eat” the former occurs in the ṚV. only in the present. The most interesting forms are: *addhi* and other imperatives which are doubtless ‘durative’ in 1, 164, 40 “eat always grass, O cow...”; 10, 15, 12 (Agni is addressed) “eat the oblations which are offered to thee”; 3, 35, 3 *dive dive addhi dhānāḥ*; 3, 52, 7; 10, 15; 8 and 11; 100, 10; 116, 7 and 8; 10, 87, 7. The opt. *adyuḥ* is 10, 95, 14 likewise used in a general ‘non-punctual’ sense with the implications of variety and heterogeneity: “the wild wolves, should they devour him”. Cf. also 10, 37, 11.

The root of *ghas-* on the other hand occurs after *mā* 10, 95, 15 (in reply to the above stanza 14) *mā tvā vṛkāso... u kṣan* “the wolves must not devour you”; its forms are ‘neutral’: 1, 158, 5 *dāsa uro aṃsāv api gdha* “der Diener soll sich selbst die Brust und Schultern zerfleischen” (cf.

Geldner); 3, 52, 3 “eat our sacrificial cake and take delight in (*joṣayāse*, pres.) our words of praise”; 10, 86, 13.

According to Pāṇini 7, 3, 78 *dhāv-* acts, in the present, as substitute for *sṛ-* “to run”. Although the punctual character of the unaugmented forms of *sṛ-* is not always unambiguous, there is no need to follow Grassmann³ who considers them to constitute a present stem. In ṚV. 10, 61, 8 the form *sarat* comes after *asyad* and *parait* which are imperfects: “sie eilte (*sarat*) wie eine Verbannte zu den südlichen Orten”; in 4, 17, 3 it however joins the aor. *vadhīt*: “he slew (v.) Vṛtra with his vajra..., the waters ran away (*saran*) quickly”; these *pādas* are preceded by *bhinad* (impf.) *girim*... “he cleft the mountain...”: lento-allegro. In 10, 61, 23 *sarat* occurs in a subordinate clause preceding a clause with two aorists (*parā ca vakṣad uta parṣad enān*) and may be punctual or neutral: “when during a raid he goes rapidly to his singer...”. A determinate and possibly aspectually ‘neutral’ form *sarat* occurs 9, 101, 14 *saraj jāro na yoṣaṇām* “he goes rapidly like a lover to a woman”. The imper. *sara* in 9, 41, 6 does not however impress us as punctual: “flow for us round in a protecting stream, O Soma, like the (mythical river) Rasā...”.

As to the non-indicative forms of the pres. stem *dhāv-*, they are doubtless unlimited or continuative: 6, 17, 11 “P. and V. made, for him, the (soma) filament, three lakes (full), run”; 9, 86, 48 “O Soma... flow round (*pari dhāva*) in the hair-sieve”; cf. 8, 17, 5; 9, 49, 4; 10, 29, 3; 10, 145, 6 *mām anu pra te mano vatsaṃ gaur iva dhāvatu*; 8, 22, 4; 10, 145, 6; 9, 106, 9 *ā naḥ sutāsa indavaḥ punānā dhāvatā rayim* “ihr ausgepreßten Säfte, strömet uns Reichtum zu, wenn ihr euch läutert” (Geldner); see also 8, 100, 7 *pra nūnaṃ dhāvata*, and the pres. part. *dhāvat* in 1, 88, 5; in 1, 101, 6 *dhavantaḥ* means “those flying, the fugitives”.

Although the clearly recognizable opposition between the pres. and aor. of *sic-* “to pour (out), sprinkle” can as far as the ṚV. is concerned be exemplified by only one pair of forms, it is too interesting to be omitted. In 10, 101, 5 f. the poet expressing his intention to draw water (for pouring it out) from a pit, dwells on its being rich in water and inexhaustible: *siñcāmahā* (pres.) *avatam udriṇaṃ vayaṃ suṣekam anupakṣitam*; it is easily intelligible that the poet wishes to present this intended activity as continuing; cf. also st. 6 where he is drawing water from the same inexhaustible source. The poet of 2, 16, 7 however draws from Indra whom he calls a source of goods: *indram utsaṃ na vasunaḥ sicāmahe*; here the aor. is adequate for his purpose.

There is no need to discuss the other instances of Vedic verbal sup-

³ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 1570.

plementation⁴ with the same fulness of detail, but it is worth recalling that this phenomenon was already in the XIXth century associated with the aspectual differences between those roots which supplemented each other so as to form a complete paradigm. “Bedeutungsverwandte Wurzeln, von denen die einzelne nicht alle Actionen ausdrücken kann,” Delbrück observed,⁵ “vereinigen sich zu einem Verbum. Eine deutliche Scheidung findet nur statt zwischen Praesens und Aorist”. Curiously enough, this scholar, while ascribing in his other syntactic works “punktuellen” or “nicht punktuellen (indefiniten, durativen...) Sinn” to the “Bedeutungszentren der idg. Verba” or stating that “z.B. das Präsens, welches doch die Aktion in ihrer Entwicklung vorführt, nicht von einer Wurzel gebildet werden kann, welche nur den Akt des Erblickens, des Ergreifens, des Eintreffens usw. ausdrückt – vielmehr kann eine solche Wurzel nur im Aorist vorkommen –” avoids using this aspectual terminology in discussing, in his *Altindische Syntax*, the Vedic examples.

As is well known the pres. and aor. stems combine, in Greek texts, very often in the same passage so as to result in a style of speaking and writing capable of expressing a variety of delicate distinctions with regard to the presentation of the processes: α 125 ὥς εἰπὼν ἡγεῖθ' (impf.), ἡ δ' ἔσπετο (aor.) Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη “so saying, he led the way, and P. A. followed”; *ibid.* 141 ff. δαιτρός δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν (aor.) ἀείρας / παντοίων, παρὰ δέ σφι τίθεν (impf.) χρύσεια κύπελλα / κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν θάμ' ἐπώχετο (impf.) οἰνοχοεύων “and a carver lifted up and placed before them platters of all manner of meats, and set by them golden goblets, while a herald ever walked to and for pouring them wine”; Thuc. 8, 8, 2... οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐβουλευόντο, καὶ ἔδοξε πρῶτον ἐς Χίον αὐτοῖς πλεῖν “the allies were deliberating and they resolved first to sail to Chios”; here the result of the deliberation is given by the ‘upshot aorist’ ἔδοξε.⁶ A similar passage is Thuc. 2, 94, 1 ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας φρυκτοὶ τε ἦροντο πολέμιοι καὶ ἑκπληξίς ἐγένετο “and beacon-fires indicating a hostile attack were being blazed to Athens and the result was a panic,” the impf. and the aor. referring to cause and effect; see

⁴ See Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 256 ff.; the same, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 273 f.; Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1 (Göttingen, 1905), p. 16; Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, II (Paris, 1930), p. 399; and with regard to other I.E. languages H. Osthoff, *Vom Suppletivwesen der idg. Sprachen* (Heidelberg, 1900); Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, IV (Halle a.S., 1879), p. 92 ff.; the same, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 256 ff.; W. Wundt, in *I.F.*, 11, Anz. p. 5 f.; Schwyzler-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 257 f.

⁵ Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 273.

⁶ See e.g. Rose, *The dur. and aor. tenses in Thuc.*, p. 19; Gildersleeve, in *Am. Journal of Phil.*, 23, p. 243.

also Xen, Anab. 3, 3, 5 διέφθειρον ... τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν “they made an attempt to corrupt the soldiers, and they succeeded in corrupting one captain.” When the aor. indic. is employed to refer to the result of the process expressed by the impf. the idea of incompleteness implied in the latter is very manifest. This alternation of aorist and present forms is also in the Vedic hymns not rarely of special interest. In ṚV. 2, 24, 1 it may – to quote an example chosen at random – be likewise described in aspectual terms: “favour (*avidḍhi*, aor.) this offering of praise (because) thou art lord (*īśiṣe*, pres. ind.) (of it); with this new and great song of praise we will worship (*vidhema*, pres. opt.) thee; that our design will become crowned with success (*sīśadhas*, aor. inj.) that our gracious favourer will be praised (*stavate*, pres. subj.)”. A curious alternation occurs also 4, 17, 14 *ayaṃ cakram iṣaṇat sūryasya ny etaśaṃ rīramat śaśmāṇam*. For what reason has the poet of ṚV. 6, 26, 6, in relating two occasions of Indra’s helpfulness, used different preterites?: “for D. thou hast caused (aor.) C. to sleep” and “for P. thou killedst (impf.), through thy force, R. and 60000 men”. Both forms refer to an occurrence which may be called legendary. Whatever the difference between this aor. and this impf. may have been, it is improbable that metrical considerations alone could induce the poet to use them without regard to their grammatical function. It would appear to me that the aor. is ‘complexive’ and narrative, the impf. (notice the fulness of detail) descriptive.

Mention may also be made of ṚV. 10, 92, 7 and 8. This hymn, which is addressed to the gods in general, after enumerating, by means of pres. and impf. forms, functions and activities of some individual deities, observes first, that those who have exerted themselves, i.e. the eulogists, have come to (aor.) profit with Indra, and in the second place that even the sun caused his steeds to stay (aor.), the latter piece of information relating to a myth. Here the contrast seems to be between general process and particular instances, the impf. relating to general statements, the aor. to particular examples. One might perhaps compare, in Greek, Thuc. 4, 8, 2 περιήγγελλον ... βοηθεῖν ... καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ... ναῦς ... ἔπεμψαν “they sent out a general call for help..., and in particular sent to the ships”, where however this contrast is much more in evidence.

An aor. in a final stanza stating that the poet has now completed a new poem in the god’s honour expresses, as is observed in another section of this volume, the immediate past. It would however be absurd to contend that an impf. which occurs in the same context with reference to the same activity would signify that the process which it expresses has

no relation to the moment of 'writing'. Yet we find places such as RV. 5, 29, 15 "O Indra, rejoice in the new manifestation of brahman which we have made (*akarma*, aor.);... like an energetic artificer a chariot I fashioned (*atakṣam*, impf.) it". What else should the impf., the form used when the mind follows the course of the process, in this retrospect and in connection with a simile which cannot fail to evoke the idea of 'duration', suggest than the development, continuance or 'nicht-Begrenzung' of the action?

Another indication of the value of the two forms under discussion and of their interrelation is given by those stanzas or lines which while relating to the same mythical events contain different preterites. Cf. e.g. RV. 5, 29, 10 "one wheel of the sun thou torest off (impf.), the other thou causedst (aor.) to go for K.". As metrical considerations can hardly be believed to have turned the scale and as the opposition 'historical' past : immediate past ('passé actuel') is outside the question here – unless of course the poet pursued special effects –, the most plausible conclusion seems to be that both tenses have in this line an aspectual function. In 4, 1, 11 Agni's birth is related by an impf., but in 12 the aor. is employed to add – probably in a more dramatical way – that the host (probably of the *Āṅgiras*) approached applauding this important event; that the ancestors sat down by it is, in 13, added by a perfect, that they made the cows leave the cave, by an impf.

An interesting case of opposition between a pres. and an aor. opt. occurs RV. 8, 42, 3 *yayāti viśvā duritā tarema* (pres.) *sutarmāṇam adhi nāvaṃ ruhema* (aor.) which was felicitously translated: "Wir möchten das rettende Schiff besteigen, mit dem wir über alle Fährlichkeiten hinwegkommen können" (Geldner). The 'neutral' or 'complexive' character of the aor. opt. is clear in 2, 27, 5 "I might experience (*vidyām*) your favour; under your guidance I would like to avoid (*vrjyām*) the dangers". Two forms of the same verb are juxtaposed in 5, 45, 7 and 8: *ṛtaṃ yatī saramā gā avindad...* | | ... *ṛtasya pathā saramā vidad gāḥ*: whereas the impf. in st. 7 refers, in the usual way, to the distant past, the repeated communication in 8 does not require the same precision; the mere statement suffices.

A curious instance of alternation is RV. 3, 8, 11 where the sacrificial post is addressed: *vanaspate śatavalśā vi roha sahasravalśā vi vayaṃ ruhema* "O tree, sprout (go on sprouting) with a hundred branches; may we come to sprout forth with a thousand branches": the idea underlying this sentence may be that the person speaking regards himself as a being which may begin to 'ramify', i.e. to produce offspring, whereas

with regard to a tree which has been made a sacrificial post the process of sprouting witnessed in the past is, when occurring again, considered as continuing.

Whereas the pres. subj. of *san-* “to gain, acquire” is 10, 97, 5 no doubt preferred to emphasize the continuative character of the action: “you will no doubt earn a cow, when ye will gain (the life of) this man (*yat sanavatha pūruṣam*)”, the aor. subj. serves in 10, 75, 9 and elsewhere to focus the attention on a mere fact the occurrence of which is to be expected without regard to duration or continuance: *tena vājaṃ saniṣad asminn ājau* “with it (a chariot) she will gain vāja in this race”; cf. e.g. also 5, 12, 4; 10, 142, 2.

Sometimes the meanings of the verbs may to a considerable extent have determined the choice of the ‘tense stems’: R.V. 4, 43, 1 “who (among those worthy of worship) will hear (*śravat*, aor.)? which god will enjoy (*juṣāte*, pres.) the celebration?”. The nature of the processes makes in 7, 88, 3 the alternation of the forms intelligible: “when we take ship (aor. subj.), when we steer our course for (pres. subj.) the main; when we will sail (pres. subj.) on the backs of the waters, then we will swing ourselves (pres. subj.)...”. Compare also 2, 30, 7 *na mā taman* “may I not become exhausted” (intransformative aor.)... *na vocāma na suno-teti somam | yo me prṇād yo dadat*... (‘absolute’ or objectless pres.).

It is however not easy to decide whether there exists any difference between the unaugmented forms of the present and the aorist stems of the same verb. Whereas, for instance, the pres. opt. *vanema* may in 7, 47, 1 be considered to refer to a more or less lasting acquisition of the essence of the waters: *taṃ (ūrmim) vo vayaṃ śucim*... *vanema* – cf. also 2, 5, 7; 11, 12 –, the sense of the verb does not exclude this implication in the case of an aorist: 1, 139, 10; 5, 70, 1; 6, 68, 5; 8, 103, 7; 10, 26, 2. The absolute use of the pres. opt. in 8, 19, 20 may suggest the translation “may we be victorious”. The same interpretation is possible 1, 73, 9; 132, 1; 5, 3, 6; 8, 40, 7; 10, 38, 3; 10, 5, 8, etc., but also 1, 127, 7; 6, 19, 8; 8, 60, 12 where an aor. is used. The conclusion may therefore be that the semantic factor may predispose an aor. to ‘neutrality’.

A place illustrating the difference between an habitual event taking place in the past, a recent single occurrence (belonging to the ‘passé actuel’) and a process which is expected to take place habitually also in the future is R.V. 1, 113, 13 *śāśvat puroṣā vy uvāsa devy atho adyedaṃ vy āvo*... / *atho vy uchād uttarāṃ anu dyūn*... “the goddess Dawn was formerly always shining (perf.), and today she has shone forth (aor.) and she will shine forth all later days (pres.)”. There seems to be not

only a temporal, but also an aspectual difference between the verbs in 7, 72, 4c *ūrdhvaṃ bhānuṃ savitā devo āśret* “god S. has spread his light upwards” and ibid. d *bṛhad agnayaḥ samidhā jarante* “the fires keep watch and ward by means of the fuel”; 4, 6, 11 *akāri brahma... tubhyaṃ śaṃsāti* (sc. the priest).

A very instructive place is RV. 10, 33, 1 describing the former prosperity of the bard who is speaking and his distress in later times: “der Vorschub der Menschen hat mich vorgespannt” (*pra... yuyujre*, perf.); ich führ (*vahāmi sma*⁷) unterwegs den Pūṣan; damals schützten (*arakṣan*, impf.) mich alle Götter; da kam (lit. there was, *āsīt*, impf.) ein Geschrei: ein übler Züchtmeister ist gekommen (*agāt*, aor.)” (Geldner). Here also the use of all forms may be described in accordance to ‘aspectual’ criteria. Cf. also 4, 1, 11 ff. *sa jāyata... | | pra śardha ārta... | ... ajanya- yanta... | | ... pra seduḥ... ud... ājan*.

An interesting type of sentence occurs RV. 10, 27, 18 *pacāti nemo nahi pakṣad ardhaḥ* “der eine Teil soll braten, denn die andere Hälfte wird nicht braten” (Geldner): there are two parallel sentences, one of which is positive, the other negative; in the positive sentence the present stem is used, in the negative the aorist. The explication obviously lies in this that the negative “the other part will not roast (or cook)” is the mere negation of the prospective occurrence of the verbal action, whereas the positive member gives occasion to dwell on the process which is to take place.

⁷ See e.g. Macdonell, *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 341 (§ 212 A 2 b a).

XI

THE USE OF TENSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE PARTICLE *mā*

As is well known the 'prohibitive' particle *mā*, which essentially rejects the realization of a process,¹ is in the Veda in the vast majority of cases followed by an aorist injunctive, not by a form of the present: "dabei erscheint in der weitaus überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle der Inj. des Aorists, der auch schon im Veda (i.e. in the *saṃhitās*) der häufigere ist"; thus Delbrück² who also observes: "man sagt also regelmässig: *vada*, aber *mā vadiḥ*", omitting however to add an explication of this remarkable fact.³ In this point the Sanskrit use may be considered to reflect an ancient idiom because the same predilection for the aorist injunctive is also proper to other languages, e.g. Greek⁴: "zwar scheint von Haus aus der aoristische Injunktiv Regel gewesen zu sein, zB. ai. *mā dhāḥ* "setze nicht hin". Für die hohe Altertümlichkeit dieser Ausdrucksweise spricht nicht nur der arische Gebrauch, sondern auch die regelmässige Verwendung von Aoristformen im Verbot im Griechischen (*μὴ ποιήσης* ...), ferner die Verhältnisse im Italischen."⁵

As the injunctive was not explicit in point of mood or tense it follows that the only idea which it expressed was, apart from the semantic meaning of the verb, aspect. Moreover, when the construction *mā* + inj. is chosen the subject, object, or attending circumstances are as a rule known, definite, or specified⁶: AV. 11, 2, 29 *mā no hiṃsiḥ pitaraṃ mātaraṃ ca* "do not harm our father and mother". That means that the prohibition or rejection expressed concerns, as a rule, a well-defined particular case. When RV. 1, 104, 8 it reads *mā no vadhīr indra mā parā dā mā naḥ priyā bhojanāni pra moṣiḥ* "do not kill us, Indra, do not abandon us, do not take away our dear enjoyments" the person speaking desires to prevent the god from discontinuing, by actions which may, in reality,

¹ *The character of the I.E. moods*, p. 198.

² Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 360.

³ Similarly, Macdonell, *Vedic grammar for students*, p. 352.

⁴ Cf. also Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 594.

⁵ K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergl. Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*², II, 3 (Strassburg, 1916), p. 807 f., 828 f. For ancient Italian (cf. e.g. ancient Latin *ne me attigas*): *ibid.*, p. 831. See also E. Hermann, "Zur Aktionsart im neg. Satz bei Homer", *Glotta*, 10, p. 129 ff., and the same, in *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1943, p. 643 f.; Ammann, in *I.F.* 45, p. 328 f.

⁶ *I.E. moods*, p. 198.

be of very brief duration and which in any case are presented as limited or 'momentary', some condition or state of affairs which it is the speaker's wish to see continue. Among the many cases which are to follow the aor. inj. often refers to similar processes which may easily be conceived as short and interruptive, the speaker rejecting their realization which would involve the termination of a condition of happiness or of normal circumstances for himself, his patrons or the community to which he belongs. Speaking more generally these phrases are deprecatory in character, they are to prevent the divine and demoniac powers from injuring a person's health or reputation, from depriving him of his life, children, cattle, from damaging his property, the poet's main intention being to avert, by his prayers, the occurrence of a fact or the action of the powers, not to dwell on the specific forms, duration or development of these processes. It should in this connection be remembered that the peculiar force of the particle was such as to attract most of the attention to the prohibition which it expressed. In many cases IE. *mē*, Gr. *μή* etc. was obviously used when the negation (prohibition), not the verbal idea was emphasized.⁷ In view of the semantico-syntactic differences between present and aorist stems this peculiarity of **mē* seems to have been another factor that has contributed to the preference for aorists in prohibitive sentences.

Very often the processes are in reality of short duration: 1, 24, 11 "do not deprive (*mā... pra mosiḥ*) us of a complete lifetime" (Varuṇa is addressed); 1, 104, 6 *mā... rīṣaḥ*; 7, 46, 3; 1, 25, 8 "do not abandon us to your (Varuṇa is addressed) deadly weapon"; 7, 1, 19 "do not surrender (*parā dāḥ*) us to want of sons"; 8, 71, 7 "do not surrender (*parā dāḥ*) us to the malevolent one"; 10, 59, 4 similarly "... to death"; 2, 18, 4 *ayaṃ sutaḥ... mā mṛdhas kaḥ* "this (soma) has been pressed out ... do not despise it"; 3, 33, 8; 4, 3, 13 and 10, 108, 9 *mā gāḥ*; 32, 22; 8, 75, 12; 80, 8 *mā sīm avadya ā bhāk* "bring sie nicht in Unehre" (Geldner); 10, 54, 5 *kāmam in me... mā vi tāriḥ*; 16, 8 *imam agne camasam mā vi jihvaraḥ* "diese Becher, o Agni, sollst du nicht umkippen"; in 95, 15 there are two instances: ... *mā mṛthā mā pra paptō (mā tvā vṛkāso... u kṣan)* "do not die, do not depart from here, (not must the wolves de-

⁷ Cf. e.g. in Greek: Soph. El. 1276 τί μή ποιήσω; "what am I nót to do?"; Hdt. 7, 214 καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεύς "even though he was nót Melian", not "even though he was no Mélian", and in general B. Th. Koppers, *Negative conditional sentences*, Thesis Utrecht 1959 (who however has not succeeded in presenting her views with perfect clarity and with the dispassionateness desirable). In his, likewise recent, *Studies in the Greek negative* (Cardiff, 1959), A. C. Moorhouse's ingenuity could not (p. 12 ff.) counterbalance the disadvantage of not being aware of this force of **mē*.

vour you" (see further on); 1, 71, 10 *mā pra marṣiṣṭhāḥ* "do not forget"; 3, 33, 8; 8, 79, 8 "mach uns nicht aufgeregt (*saṃ vīvijah*)... jag uns keinen Schreck ein (*vi bībhiṣathāḥ*); schlag nicht unser Herr (*vadhīḥ*)" (Geldner). Very often the verb is in the 3rd pers. sing.: 2, 23, 12 "his deadly weapon must not reach (*praṇak*) us"; 1, 38, 6 "Nirṛti must not kill (*vadhīt*) us; may she perish (*padīṣṭa*) together with Avidity"; 3, 15, 6 *mā no martasya durmatih pari ṣṭhāt*, not, with Geldner, "nicht soll uns... im Wege stehen" but "... must not get in our way"; 10, 18, 4 *mā... gāt*; 8, 67, 20 *mā vadhīt*; 5, 40, 7 *mā ni gārīt*; 7, 25, 1 *mā te mano viṣva-dryag vi cārīt* "thy mind shall not turn away to all other directions"; 8, 60, 20 *ā veṣīt*; 10, 165, 3 *mā no himsīd iha... kapotaḥ*; 1, 189, 4 *mā te bhayaṃ jaritāram... vidat* "fear should not befall thy praiser"; cf. 2, 42, 1; 2; 10, 62, 11 *mā riṣat* "soll nicht zu Schaden kommen" (Geldner); 1, 105, 3 may the sun not fall down (*ava pādī*); 2, 28, 5 *mā tantuṣ chedi... mā mātrā śāry apasaḥ* "the thread must not break; the measuring-rod of the skilful one must not break to pieces"; 3, 53, 17 "the pole must not break off nor the yoke break to pieces (*vi śāri*)"; 8, 22, 14 *mā no... atī khyatam*; 10, 106, 2 where Geldner's translation "bleibet nicht fern" (*māpa sthātam*) *mahiṣevāpānāt* does not take account of the force of the aorist as it does 1, 94, 1 ff. *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayaṃ tava* "O A., in deiner Freundschaft sollten wir nicht zu Schaden kommen"; 10, 128, 5 *mā radhāma dviṣate*; 2, 33, 4 *mā tvā cukrudhāma* "far be it from us to make you angry"; 8, 41, 16; 2, 29, 5 *mā mādhi putre vim iva grabhīṣṭa*; 7, 21, 5; 1, 139, 8; 5, 41, 16. Cf. also AV. 2, 28, 3 *memam prāṇo hāsīt* "let not breath leave this one"; 1, 19, 1; 2, 7, 4; 28, 1; 3, 29, 8; 4, 34, 8; 6, 123, 4; 7, 52, 2; 8, 1, 5.

However, the same construction does not fail to appear in connection with verbal ideas which could easily be conceived as taking some or even much time to evolve, to attain a certain point of development, or to reach their close: RV. 7, 22, 6 "there are many soma-juices for you..., the sage calls you repeatedly; do not delay (*jyok kaḥ*) far from us" (Indra is addressed); 1, 22 "don't charge (*pra vocaḥ*) us with (the failing of) scanty maintenance"; 4, 7 *mā patho vi dukṣaḥ* "mögest du nicht die Wege... miszbrauchen"; 31, 5 *mā no nide... randhīḥ* "do not make us subject (*randhīḥ*) to contempt"; 1, 158, 4 *mā mām edho... dhāk* "the fuel must not burn me"; 7, 1, 21 "nicht soll es bei dir an einem eigenen leiblichen Sohn fehlen (*ā dhak*), nicht soll uns ein mannhafter Sohn mangeln (*vi dāsīt*)" (Geldner); 50, 1 "the crawling animal must not seize (*vidat*) us with a defect in our feet"; 1, 162, 15 "the fire which smells of smoke must not envelop (*dhvanayīt*) thee (in smoke); the glowing cald-

ron must not boil over (*abhi vikta*)..."; 9, 114, 4 *arātīvā mā nas tārīn mo ca naḥ kiṃ canāmamat*; 10, 87, 17 "the milk yielded by a cow during a year, the sorcerer shall not drink (*aśīt*) of it"; 1, 183, 4 *mā pari varktam uta māti dhaktam* "meidet (uns) nicht und bleibt nicht aus!" (Geldner); 6, 59, 7; 1, 158, 4 *mā mām ime... vi dugdhām* "these two must not squeeze me dry"; 1, 11, 2 *sakhye ta indra... mā bhema*, the sense no doubt being: "in thy friendship, O I., we should not become afraid"; 8, 4, 7 *mā bhema mā śramiṣma*; 7, 46, 4; 62, 4; 8, 1, 13; 10, 37, 6; 7, 1, 11 *mā śūne agne ni śadāma*; 1, 89, 9 "tut uns mitten auf dem (Lebens)weg am Leben kein Schaden (*rīṣata*)" (Geldner); 1, 162, 1 "may Mitra, Varuṇa etc. not disregard (*pari khyan*) us, when we will proclaim the exploits of ..."; 2, 18, 3 "the other sacrificers must not cause thee to stay (*nī rīra-man*)"; 3, 35, 5, etc.; 3, 45, 1 "... should not detain (*nī yaman*) thee like bird-catchers a bird"; 10, 95, 15 *mā tvā vṛkāso... u kṣan* "let the wolves not devour you" (see above); 5, 31, 13 *mo te aṇiḥa āran* "nicht sollen diese in Not geraten" (Geldner); 7, 32, 27. Similarly, in the AV. 2, 29, 4 *mā kṣudhan mā tṛṣat* "let him not hunger, not thirst" or rather, "... become hungry and thirsty"; 3, 25, 1 *mā dhr̥thāḥ śayane sve* "do not abide in thine own lair"; 30, 3 *mā bhrātā bhrātaram dvikṣat* probably "let not a brother take a hatred against a brother"; 5, 8, 3 "let not Agni carry (*vākṣīt*) his oblation"; 6, 127, 1; 8, 1, 10 *maitam panthām anu gāḥ* may literally mean "don't start along that way" rather than "do not follow that road" (Whitney-Lanman); 9, 2, 10 "let them not live (*jīviṣuḥ*) any day soever"; 11, 10, 16 *mā śakan*; 12, 1, 18 *mā no dvikṣata kaścana* "take a hatred against us"; 28; 18, 2, 24 *mā te mano... hāsta* "let thy mind... not be left here". Notice: AV. 3, 31, 8... *prāṇena jīva mā mṛthāḥ* "live by the breath of the..., do not die": the imperative *jīva* expressing the hope of continuation of life, is in the present, the negated verb form for "to die" is an aorist; 19, 27, 8 *āyusmām jīva mā mṛthāḥ* "live as one long-lived, do not die"; 8, 2, 5 *ayaṃ jīvatu mā mṛta*. The opposite idea is expressed in an incantation directed against serpents: 5, 13, 4 *ahe mriyasva* (this is a 'neutralized' form) *mā jīvīḥ* "die, O snake, do not live"; again, the positive member is in the present, the negative in the aorist, although the process of 'dying' is not going on at the moment of speaking. Cf. also 16, 7, 13 *sa mā jīvīt taṃ prāṇo jahātu*.

From this survey of places, which has been much extended purposely to give an adequate insight into the character of this construction, it appears that the real duration of the process often was a matter of indifference. In cases such as AV. 8, 1, 11 "let not [the fire] of heaven consume (*dhāk*) thee" the attention was completely focused on the pro-

cess itself which was to be averted, not on any concomitant circumstance; nor did in 12, 1, 33 "so far let my sight not fail (*mā meṣṭa*) from one year to another" the words *uttarām uttarām samām* prevent the author from using the aorist, which in itself does in all probability not express duration. Also in cases such as ṚV. 1, 33, 3 *mā pañir bhūr asmad adhi* "do not become (*mā bhūh*) a niggard with us" it was no doubt the 'transformation' or 'metaptosis', the change or sudden turn on which the aor. sheds light. It is therefore not clear why ṚV. 1, 162, 20 *mā svadhitis tanva ā tiṣṭhipat te* should mean "nicht soll das Beil deinem Körper dauernden Schaden tun" (Geldner); a simple "hurt" or "wound" (cf. ŚB. 3, 8, 2, 8) would be preferable.

A verb which occurs frequently enough to illustrate the opposition between the positive pres. imp. and the negated aor. inj. is *randhayati* "to make subject, to deliver over to": ṚV. 1, 51, 8 *barhiṣmate randhayā śāsad avratān* "punishing the disobedient, deliver them over to the sacrificer"; 1, 132, 4; 3, 53, 14; 6, 19, 12; 53, 5; 7, 30, 2; 10, 87, 8 – cf. also the intensive: 6, 25, 9 – and on the other hand: *mā no... rīradhaḥ* (*rīradhat*, etc.) "do not abandon us to..." in a formula which occurs 1, 25, 2 *m. n. vadhāya... r.* ("to the deadly weapon"); 2, 23, 2; 3, 16, 5; 8, 60, 8; 2, 33, 5; 7, 94, 3; 8, 8, 13; 6, 51, 6. Another example is: 10, 42, 1 "cause to stop (*ni rāmaya*, pres.) O praiser, Indra at the soma (-sacrifice)" as opposed to 2, 18, 3 "let the other sacrificers not detain (*mo... ni rīraman*, aor.) thee".

The contrast between the decided preference for the aor. in negated expressions and the use of the pres. in affirmative utterances is for instance striking in cases such as the following. The pres. imp. of *yuyodhy* "to ward off, keep away" occurs several times in prayers for removing or warding off evil⁸: cf. e.g. ṚV. 1, 189, 1 *yuyodhy asmaj juhurāṇam enaḥ* "remove from us the sin that leads us astray"; 1, 189, 3 (sickness); 2, 6, 4 (manifestations of enmity); 8, 11, 3, etc.; 3, 54, 18 *yuyota no anapatyāni gantoḥ* "save us from becoming childless"; 1, 39, 8 *vi tam (abhvam) yuyota śavasā vy ojasā* "ward it (the horror) off by heroic power and (creative) energy". The only examples of *mā* occur 2, 33, 1 and 8, 71, 8, in connection with injunctives: *mā naḥ sūryasya saṁdṛśo yuyothāḥ* "verwehr uns nicht den Anblick der Sonne" (Geldner); *mākiṣ te devasya rātīm adevo yuyota*⁹ "no godless being must exclude thee from the god's favour". It may easily be imagined that the poets wished to view these processes as continuing. The negative particles, on the other hand, ac-

⁸ See S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil* (Lund-Copenhagen, 1946), passim.

⁹ This form is usually considered an imperative.

company forms deriving from an aor. stem in the following instances: 2, 32, 2 *mā no vi yauḥ sakhyā* "our friendship must not break up"; cf. 2, 18, 8; 4, 16, 20; 8, 86, 1 and 10, 23, 7; 10, 85, 42 *ihaiva stam mā vi yauṣṭam* "do stay here, do not separate". These processes may indeed be expected to have been expressed by aspectually 'fixed' forms. R.V. 8, 31, 17 *na pra yoṣan na yoṣati*; 33, 9 "when I. hears the call, he should not withdraw (rather than, with Geldner, "möge nicht fern bleiben": *yoṣati*), he should come (*āgamat*)"; cf. 8, 1, 27; 2, 33, 9 *na vā u yoṣad rudrād asuryam* "from R. the asuric nature will not part"; 4, 2, 9 *na sa rāyā... vi yoṣat* "will not lose his possessions". Here too the 'fixed' character is obvious. There is a striking contrast in contexts and shades of meaning of the verb between the affirmative present forms – which may intimate that the performance of the process required a certain exertion – and the negated aorists. Affirmative aorists are 8, 79, 4 *yāvīr aghasya cid dveṣaḥ* "ward off the enmity of the sinful one", and in the precative: 7, 104, 15 *adhā sa vīrair daśabhir vi yūyāḥ* "... may he lose ten sons".

The coordination of a present imperative and a negated aorist is in expressing desires and prohibitions a phenomenon of frequent occurrence. In part of the instances both phrases may be considered as supplementing each other. Not rarely the positive member precedes: R.V. 3, 53, 2 *tiṣṭhā su kam maghavan mā parā gāḥ* "bleib fein da, du Gabenreicher, geh nicht fort!" (Geldner); 19... *viḷayasva mā yāmād asmād ava jīhipo naḥ* "bleibe fest...; setz uns nicht auf der Fahrt ab (the axle is addressed)" (Geldner). In both cases the process or action expressed by the present lends itself admirably to 'durative' expression; the aorists can easily be conceived as indicating momentary interruptions or terminations of continuities. Other instances are: 10, 173, 2 *ihaivaidhi māpa cyoṣṭhāḥ* "stay here, don't move from your position"; 7, 56, 9 *yuyota: mā praṇak*; 2, 11, 21 *śikṣā stotṛbhyo māti dhak bhagaḥ* "try to aid the praisers, let happiness not pass us over"; 7, 36, 7 "the Maruts must favour (*avantu*) our hymn...; let not the grazing imperishable one disregard (*pari khyat*) us"; 10, 173, 1 *vāñcantu mā... adhi bhraśat*; 10, 85, 42 *ihaiva stam mā vi yauṣṭam* "stay here, do not separate"; 5, 53, 8 "come (*ā yāta*), O Maruts, from the sky, from the atmosphere, from near at hand; do not go away (*ava sthāta*) to distances" (cf. however 8, 20, 1); 8, 30, 3 *trādhvam, avata... mā naiṣṭa*; 10, 15, 6 *abhi grṇīta viśve / mā himsiṣṭa*; 7, 59, 5 *o ṣu... yātana... mo śv anyatra gantana* "come here... do not go to another place"; 2, 23, 8 "O Bṛhaspati, throw down (*ni barhaya*) the god-haters; the evil-doers must not obtain (*un naśan*) a higher favour"; 10, 87, 19 "burn (*anu daha*) those who consume flesh

..., they must not escape (*mukṣata*) thy missile”. In most cases we may easily imagine that the poet viewed the processes expressed by the presents as durative, those denoted by the aorists as momentary. Cf. also 10, 19, 1. Examples are not wanting in the AV.: 3, 31, 8 *jīva mā mṛthāḥ* “do thou live, do not die”; 8, 1, 15 *jīvebhyas tvā samudre vāyur indro dhātā dadhātu...* | *mā tvā prāṇo balaṃ hāsīt*; 19 “let the vigour-givers blow together (*saṃ dhamantu*); let not the women wail (*rudan*) for thee”: the processes expressed by the present stems are typically ‘durative’ and, what is more, it was no doubt the speaker’s wish that they should continue. Cf. also 11, 9, 13 “let their arms be confounded (*muhyantu*)... let not anything of them be left (*uc cheṣi*)”; 20 *hantu... mā moci*; 14, 2, 19 *pra pata meha raṃsthāḥ*; 8, 2, 1; 5; 14, 2, 50.

The particle *mā* is however also followed by a pres. injunctive. The ‘durative’ character of the relative expressions is clear in cases such as RV. 1, 23, 9 *mā no duḥśaṃsa īśata* “let the malicious have no power over us”; similarly, 36, 16; 2, 23, 10 etc.; 7, 100, 6 “do not keep (*apa gūha*) this concealed from us”; 1, 126, 7 “do not believe (*manyathāḥ*)”; 8, 97, 7 *mā na indra parā vṛṇag bhavā naḥ sadhamādyah* “lasz uns nicht fallen, Indra; sei unser Teilgenosse” (Geldner); 2, 33, 1 *mā naḥ sūryasya saṃ-dṛśo yuyothāḥ* “don’t keep us from seeing the sun”; 5, 79, 9 *mā ciraṃ tanuthā apah* “zieh dein Werk nicht in die Länge” (Geldner); 8, 2, 19 *mā hṛṇīthā abhy asmān* “don’t be angry with us”; 7, 9, 5 *agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah* “O A. go as a messenger, don’t be unsuccessful”; 7, 40, 6 *mā... irasyah* “don’t be envious”; 6, 44, 11 *mā jasvane... no rarīthāḥ* “don’t hand us over to a hungry one”; 2, 30, 7 *na vocāma mā sunoteti somam* “we will not say: do not press soma (for him)”; 4, 5, 2 *mā nindata*; 7, 32, 9 “do not blunder (*mā sredhata*), act to the satisfaction (*dakṣatā*) of the great one, cause (*kṛṇudhvam*) him to...”; 8, 1, 1 *mā cid anyad vi śaṃsata* “do not recite something other (viz. in the long hymn which is to follow)”; 10, 34, 14 *mā no ghoreṇa caratābhi dhrṣṇu* “do not forcibly bewitch us with (your) terrible power”; ibid. 13 “play not (*mā dīvyah*) with dice; ply (*kṛṣasva*) your tillage; rejoice (*ramasva*) in your property”; 10, 18, 11; 8, 66, 15 *kalayo ma bibhītana*; 7, 104, 24 “the idolaters must be scattered (*rdantu*), their necks twisted; they should not see (*mā dṛśan*) the sun rise”. In most cases it would be difficult to conceive the process as momentary or instantaneous. Similar places occur in the AV.: 2, 15, 1 *evā me prāṇa mā bibheḥ* “so my breath, fear not”; cf. 7, 60, 1; 4, 37, 12 *martyān mā sacadhvam* “do not accompany mortals”; 5, 18, 1; 22, 11 *mā smaitān sakhīn kuruthāḥ*; 7, 53, 2 “walk together (*saṃ krāmatam*); do not leave (*jahītam*) the body”; 7, 68, 3

“let us not be separated (*yuyoma*) from sight of thee”; 8, 2, 7 “bless thou (*adhi brūhi*); do not take hold (*rabhathāh*); let him loose (*srja*)”; 10, 1, 7 *māsmān iccho anāgasah*; 5, 31, 2; 75, 7; 78, 1; 6, 48, 7 *mā... ud vrhaḥ*. AV. 10, 1, 26 *parehi kṛtye mā tiṣṭha* “go away, O witchcraft; do not stand (abide)” the pres. is, to express this shade of meaning, even a necessity. In part of these instances the present may also convey a more or less distinct intensive idea. In prohibitions of a general character or pronounced with regard to a plurality of objects this form is perfectly intelligible.¹⁰

Sometimes two pres. imperatives precede a negated aorist: 8, 81, 6 “bring (*ā bhara*) to us with the right one, seize (*abhi pra mṛsa*) with the left; O Indra do not exclude (*nir bhāk*) us from what is good”.

The positive member may also occupy the second place: RV. 3, 41, 8 *māre asmad vi mumuco haripriyārvān yāhi* “don’t unharness far from us. O thou that liketh the bay horses, come towards (us)”; 5, 65, 6 “do not overlook (*pari khyatam*) the patron..., give us free scope (*uruṣyatam*); 7, 19, 7; 1, 5, 10; 2, 32, 2; 7, 104, 23 *mā... abhi naṭ... apochatu*; 2, 42, 2; 10, 97, 20 *mā... riṣat... astv*; AV. 8, 1, 12 *mā... abhi maṁsta... cara*; 9, 4; 24; 10, 1, 16. The affirmative verb is in the 2nd person, the negated in the 3rd: RV. 1, 18, 3 *mā naḥ śaṁso... praṇak... / rakṣā naḥ*; 7, 94, 8 *mā praṇak: yachatam*. The verb of the affirmative sentence may be omitted: 3, 53, 20... *mā ca hā mā ca ririṣat / svasty ā grhebhyaḥ*... “... must not leave us, nor hurt us; (bring us) successfully home!...” Two pres. imperatives are made to follow an aor. inj. with *mā*: 4, 20, 10 *mā no mardhīr ā bhara daddhi tan naḥ*... “don’t forsake us, bring that, give us that...”; 8, 3, 2 “don’t lay us low (star) for the insidious one; assist (*avatāt*) us with excellent protection; retain (*yāmaya*) us in thy care and benevolence”. The above remark may be repeated: the presentic processes lend themselves generally speaking very well to durative, the aoristic to momentary presentation.

The contrast between the present-stem and the aorist is especially obvious in instances such as RV. 10, 85, 32 *mā vidan paripanthino ya āsīdanti dāpati* “let not the waylayers who lay in wait for (them) find (surprise) husband and wife”; or in sentences such as AV. 12, 1, 46 *tan naḥ sarpan mopa srpat* “let not that which crawls crawl upon us”: the activity characterizing the subject in general is opposed to a special case or one single action. The practically equivalent sentences AV. 16,

¹⁰ As is well known Slavonic prefers the impft. aspect in negative sentences, in Armenian – which employs the aor. in orders and injunctions – it has become usual (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, 3, p. 829).

7, 13 *sa mā jīvīt tam prāṇo jahātu* "let him not live; let breath quit him" and 17, 1, 6 "both let my hater be subject (*radhyatu*, pres.) to me, and let not me be subject (*radham*, aor.) to my hater" (cf. st. 24) are likewise illustrative. In the last instance the same verbal idea is expressed positively and negatively, the positive wish by a present, the deprecation by an aorist (cf. ṚV. 1, 50, 13 *randhayan... mo radham*).

Remarkably enough AV. 18, 2, 36 *śam tapa māti tapaḥ* "burn propitiously, do not burn too much", the pres. is preferred after *mā* when the action is not directed to a definite object; the text continues: *mā tanvaṃ tapaḥ* "do not burn the body!"

There are of course exceptions.

Sometimes a negative and a positive aorist combine: ṚV. 7, 73, 4 *mā no mardhiṣtam ā gataṃ śivena* "don't neglect us, come auspiciously"; 2, 27, 14 *aśyām: mā... abhi naśan*; 7, 59, 10 *ā gata: māpa bhūtana*. ṚV. 8, 5, 13 "come (*ā gataṃ*) quickly to...; don't hasten (*mo śv... upāratam*) to others"; 2, 28, 7 *mā jyotiṣaḥ pravasaṭhāni ganma vi sū mṛdhaḥ śīsratho jīvase naḥ*. Compare on the other hand also combinations such as 6, 51, 7 *mā... bhujema* (opt.) *mā... karma*; AV. 1, 1, 14.

A positive aorist imperative sometimes combines with a present prohibition: ṚV. 2, 11, 1.

The injunctive deriving from the present stem being indifferent to tense and mood expresses processes characterized by 'duration'. ṚV. 1, 165, 10 *yāni cyavam indra id īśa eṣām* "was ich ins werk setze, das bemeistert I."

The question therefore arises whether there actually is not some aspectual difference between the verb forms in sentences such as AV. 8, 1, 7 *mā te manas tatra gān* (aor.) *mā tiro bhūn* (aor.) *mā jīvebhyaḥ pra mado* (pres.) *mānu gāḥ* (aor.) *pitṛn | viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (pres.) *tveha* "let not thy mind go there; let it not be lost; do not neglect the living, go not after the Fathers; let all the gods defend thee here". In st. 8 it follows "do not regard (*ā dīdhīthāḥ*, pres.) the departed"; in 9 "do not stand there (*tiṣṭhaḥ*, pres.), thy face turned away". Cf. also ṚV. 9, 81, 3; 10, 16, 1; 22, 15. It may be suggested to consider the present form in AV. 10, 1, 31 and similar instances as opposed to the aorist, to be more or less 'intensive': "(their) progeny do thou destroy (*mṛñīhi*); do not leave (*ucchiṣaḥ*, aor.) them (alive); slay (*jahi*) (them)".

There are of course also combinations of an aor. and a perfect: ṚV. 10, 27, 20 *mo śu pra sedhīr muhur in mamandhi* "treibe sie doch ja nicht an, warte doch ein Weilchen!" (Geldner).

XII

DETAILED EXAMINATION OF THE ASPECTUAL FUNCTIONS OF SOME ROOTS IN ṚGVEDA AND ATHARVAVEDA

The interrelations between the relevant present and aorist forms of a number of verbs some of which are of considerable frequency may appropriately be presented here in a somewhat detailed exposition. The relevant forms of the verb *jan-* “to generate, to be born” exemplify some of the main differences between the progressive and the punctual aspects. In ṚV. 4, 18, 1 an augmented impf. and an aor. opt. occur in the same context: *ayam panthā... purāṇo yato devā udajāyanta viśve | ataś cid ā janiṣīṣṭa pravṛddhaḥ* “this is the ancient way in which all the gods were born; on this (way) he also could be born, when he is fully developed”: the impf. refers to an habitual process in the past, the aorist to an event that is to take place once, to an individual happening.

The impf. in the sense of “was (were) born” is used in connection with beings, entities, or phenomena (gods, powers etc.) which, though having been born in the ‘mythical past’, are considered to be still alive or extant at the moment of speaking: 10, 180, 3 *indra kṣatram abhi... ajāyathāḥ* “O I., thou wert born unto dominion”; 1, 5, 6 (Indra); 6, 3; 1, 31, 1 (Maruts); 37, 2; 141, 9 (Agni); 6, 48, 22 (sky, earth); 8, 89, 6 (the sacrifice); 10, 55, 1 (the gods); 72, 2 (*sat* “the really existent”); 90, 10 (horses); 12 (the *śūdra*, i.e. the lowest class of the ancient Indian society); 13 (the sun); 190, 1 (die Nacht); 2 (the year, i.e. time). One might compare Homeric passages such as N 450 ff. Ζηνὸς ... / ὃς πρῶτον Μίνωα τέκε ... / Μίνως δ’ αὖ τέκεθ’ ... Δευκαλίωνα, / Δευκαλίων δ’ ἐμὲ τίκτε, the person speaking being of course alive, the others, who are dead, being only mentioned in passing: one could translate “D. is my father”.¹

The difference between an impf. and an ind. of the aor. becomes clear when we survey those stanzas which refer to Agni. In 1, 141, 9, occur-

¹ I cannot subscribe to the views expressed by Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 278, and H. Koller, in *Museum Helveticum*, 8 (1951), p. 92. One might compare also, in O. Pers. NR a 1 “Ahuramazda who has created (*adā*, aor.) heaven and earth..., who made (*akunauš*, impf.) Darius King”: “le contraste est significatif de *adā* exprimant la création divine réalisée une fois pour toutes, et de *akunauš* signifiant qu’un roi a été institué pour un temps indéterminé” (A. Meillet-E. Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*², Paris, 1931, p. 139).

ring after a digression on the different ways in which Agni 'in the beginning' came to men, on the fact that he was chosen the hotar of the sacrifices, on some particulars of the fire's burning in general, the poet observes that Varuṇa and other gods gained in excellence,² when Agni was born (*ajāyathāḥ*). Neither this passage nor 3, 3, 11 *ubhā pitarā mahayann ajāyatāgnir dyāvāpṛthivī bhūriretasā* refer to a particular 'birth' of the god in phenomenal time. The aorist, on the other hand, contains a reference as a unit of history. In 2, 5, 1 *hotājaniṣṭa cetanaḥ* "der ansehnliche Hotar ist jetzt geboren" (Geldner); 3, 29, 3 ("Lied zur feierlichen Erzeugung und Einsetzung des Opferfeuers im Beginn der Opferhandlung") *iḷyās putro vayune 'janiṣṭa*; 5, 11, 1 *janasya gopā ajaniṣṭa jāgrviḥ*; 7, 4, 2 the god's birth is a recent fact that has occurred in the sphere of the person speaking. The words *na tā agrbhrann ajaniṣṭa hi ṣaḥ* in the 4th stanza of the difficult sūkta 5, 2³ seems to contain a thought pronounced by the poet in connection with a recent event from which he concludes the inaccuracy of the contention that Agni has been detained. The daily and ever recent birth of Dawn, Uṣas, is always referred to by means of an aorist: 1, 113, 1 *idaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ jyotiṣāṃ jyotir agāc citraḥ praketo ajaniṣṭa vibhvā*; 123, 9; 7, 76, 1. The same form is applied, 10, 17, 6, to a communication about Pūṣan's birth: *prapathe pathām ajaniṣṭa pūṣā prapathe divaḥ* "on the forward (-leading) path of paths was P., on the forward (-leading) path of Heaven",⁴ as this god maintained relations with the sun,⁵ the historical fact of his ever-new birth or appearance may have induced the poet to use the aorist. This explication does not, as far as I am able to see, apply to 3, 59, 4 *ayam mitro... rājā sukṣatro ajaniṣṭa* "this Mitra was born as a king who rules well", where the aorist seems to express the mere fact. A similar place is 5, 32, 3 stating that Indra hewed down the demon; "then another, who was stronger than he (the enemy) came into existence" (*ād asmād anyo ajaniṣṭa tavyān*): the aorist, emphasizing a transformation, seems to have a certain vividness. One might be tempted to explain the alternation of verb forms in 10, 72, 5 *aditir hy ajaniṣṭa dakṣa yā duhitā tava / tāṃ devā anv ajāyanta* "for A. was born as thy daughter, O D.; after her the gods were born" from the desire, on the part of the poet, not to dwell on the birth mentioned first which had been commented upon in st. 4 (impf.). If so, a similar explication may apply to 5, 31, 3 *ud yat*

² On *śāsadre*: Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 60.

³ Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, II, p. 3.

⁴ See S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-veda* (Princeton, 1941), p. 86.

⁵ A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II² (Breslau, 1929), p. 332.

sahaḥ sahasa ājaniṣṭha dediṣṭha indra indriyāṇi viśvā “sobald seine Kraft aus der Kraft geboren war (allegro), zeigte Indra alle seine Indrakräfte (lento)” (Geldner); “sobald”, “as soon as” being, then, indeed a suitable means of interpreting the nuance expressed by the aorist.

The unaugmented aorist occurs in connection with mythological events: 10, 73, 1 *janiṣṭhā ugraḥ sahase...* (viz. Indra)... | *avardhann indram marutaś cid atra*, an allegro-lento description; the birth of the god is ‘actualisé’ by means of the aorist and the apostrophe; is the activity of the Maruts, which is mentioned again in st. 2, emphasized? Similarly, in a compound sentence 5, 30, 5... *yat tvam parama ājaniṣṭhāh ... | ataś cid indrād abhayanta devāḥ* “when (as soon as) thou (= Indra) wert born as the highest, from that moment the gods were afraid of Indra”. Cf. also 8, 51, 8. In 10, 31, 10 this injunctive seems to be timeless.

The actual past, an event that matters to those speaking, is expressed 10, 95, 10 (Purūravas to Urvaśī) *janiṣṭho apo naryaḥ sujātaḥ*. In connection with Agni’s recent birth: 5, 1, 5; 9, 3; 7, 3, 9. A similar reference to a (repeated) historical fact: 9, 98, 9 (Soma). In 7, 28, 2 the transformation expressed by the verb is emphasized: *janiṣṭhā aṣālhaḥ* “thou becamest invincible”. Similarly 10, 40, 9.

Turning now to the same forms of the causative stems it must be conceded that in the majority of cases the general rule prevails: the impf. occurs in connection with mythical events, the aor. in connection with ‘historical’ facts which have not yet lost their actuality. Cf. e.g. 1, 134, 4 *ājanayo maruto vakṣaṇābhyo (divaḥ)* “thou (Vāyu) producedst the Maruts from the sides of the sky” as opposed to 3, 29, 13 *ajījanann amṛtam martyāsaḥ* “the mortal beings have produced the immortal one (Agni, the fire)”. Yet, some surprise may be occasioned by a number of exceptions. The aor. in 4, 36, 5 may be regarded as expressing a statement or information, as being ‘complexive’: (*rayim*)... *vājaśrutāso yam ajījanan naraḥ* “the wealth which the men, famous by Vāja, (had) produced”: it should be noticed that this form occurs in a subordinate clause, the main clause referring to a state of affairs. RV. 10, 88, 9 f. seems to furnish an instructive instance: “Agni, whom the gods created (*ajanayanta*, impf.)..., shone upon (*atapat*, impf.) earth and sky. (10) For with a ritual song of praise the gods (had) created (*ajījanan*, aor.) Agni; they made him (*akṛṇvan*, impf.) divide himself into three (manifestations)...” as opposed to the continuative, descriptive *ajanayanta* the aor. *ajījanan* is recapitulative, the essential part of the communication made in st. 10 concerning Agni’s shining, etc. In 10, 134, 1 the aor.

ajījanat refers to a fact which must have occurred before the process referred to in the preceding subordinate clause: “when thou, O Indra, extendest thyself (*āpaprātha*), then the divine mother had created (*ajījanat*) thee”; the last words are in st. 2-6 repeated as a refrain. A similar thought is expressed in the final stanza 1, 129, 11... *tvā* (Indra) *janitā jījanat*, following a request to protect those praying from failing: “protect us, O Indra, who art the slayer of the evil demoniac power, a protector of an inspired man like me, for therefore the progenitor has generated thee”: the aorist seems to refer to a mere fact preceding a state of affairs which is continuous. The use of the impf. in 10, 183, 1 is discussed elsewhere; in 2, 10, 3 it refers to the habitual past.

The aor. inj. may state a fact belonging to the mythical past which is repeated in history: 10, 46, 9 *dyāvā yam agnim prthivī janiṣṭhām*... “(Agni) whom heaven and earth brought forth...”; 1, 68, 3 “they (according to Geldner the patriarchs, according to Sāyaṇa: “all the sacrificers”) rejoiced, when the god (viz. Agni) was born (*janiṣṭhāh*). Cf. also 8, 7, 36. The pres. inj. refers – e.g. 2, 21, 4; 40, 1 – to the mythical past which continues to exist in the scheme of things. In point of fact these mythical processes are timeless: cf. 4, 40, 2; 4, 1, 1.

Another verb to demonstrate typical differences between the aor. and the pres. is *mad-* “to rejoice, exult, revel in, be drunk; to exhilarate, intoxicate, animate, inspire, etc.”. The aor. first and foremost refers to *hic et nunc* action, to the moment of speaking, to the rites which are being performed. By means of the imper. *matsva* the poet invites a god to enjoy the pressed soma (ṚV. 8, 92, 30) or the song of praise (1, 9, 3) on a definite occasion: he often adds “here” (3, 41, 8; 60, 6) – or the idea “here” is implied by the context (8, 1, 23; 13, 14) –; “our” (4, 32, 14; 8, 3, 1); “with us” (8, 54, 2); “at these sacrifices” (1, 9, 3); the name of a family, place or region (2, 41, 17; 3, 60, 5; 8, 6, 39); cf. also 8, 99, 2; 10, 122, 5 the pres. imper. *madata* is, however, clearly durative in character: 1, 182, 1 is an exhortation addressed to those assisting the ceremony to refresh and exhilarate the gods invited; 10, 63, 3 may be a “Selbstaufforderung des Dichters” (Geldner) *tāṃ ādityāṃ anu madā svastaye* “diese Ä.’s begrüßte freudig zum Heile” (Geldner); 1, 51, 1 is an appeal to those present to praise Indra: *gīrbhir madata*; in 1, 139, 6 the soma juices are intended to exhilarate the god and to incite him to display his liberality; 6, 75, 18 *jayantaṃ tvānu devā madantu*. Whereas *matsva* expresses a fact realized on a definite occasion, the pres. imper., though also denoting a process which takes place under well-defined circumstances, helps, while expressing duration, to add some emphasis and

'intensity' to the verbal idea. Curiously enough the pres. imper. is used to exhort men to entertain the gods – sometimes the object to be attained by this liberality is mentioned also –, the aor. imper. to invite the gods to enjoy food and songs.

The aor. conj. joins the imper.: 5, 40, 4 *savane matsad indrah*; 4, 31, 2; 8, 94, 6. The subject of the pres. subj. *anu-madāma* is "we", the object Indra's triumphal car. In 1, 30, 13; 3, 58, 6; 4, 42, 10; 6, 19, 13; 49, 13; 7, 1, 24; 64, 3; 10, 131, 1 the pres. opt. is used of men who wish to enjoy soma, good things, wealth, a long life, etc.; cf. also 4, 16, 19; 5, 49, 5. The sense of the verb sometimes is just "to be merry, cheerful": 7, 19, 8. The compound *anu mad-* is used of men who applaud or cheer up a divine being: 1, 91, 21; 5, 37, 2; 10, 67, 9.

The use of the impf. is remarkable: whereas *anu mad-* in 1, 52, 15; 102, 1; 103, 7 refers, in the usual way, to processes in the mythical sphere which are evoked in the mind of the auditor – cf. also 3, 31, 10 –, the same verb seems in 9, 86, 24 and probably also 10, 86, 1 to denote habitual activity in the past which is continued in the present. Cf. also 8, 54, 2; 1, 53, 6 and 80, 2 where with regard to the soma draught it is stated that it used to intoxicate Indra. In 1, 82, 6 "the drinks have delighted (aor., *amandiṣuḥ*) thee" refers to the immediate past, the following words: "accompanied by Pūṣan thou revelledst in drinking (*amadah*) together with thy wife" may refer to former occasions.⁶ The impf. *amadann anu* in 7, 18, 12 (mythical sphere) is durative. The aor. ind. on the other hand refers to processes belonging to the 'passé actuel' (1, 84, 5) or represented as such (9, 14, 3). Progress or continuance are not emphasized; places such as 2, 37, 4 refer rather to an action which has been finished or settled some moments ago: *apād dhotrād uta potrād amatta* "he has drunk from and revelled from the vessel of the potar".

As to the difference between the aor. and the pres. stems of *ruh-* "to ascend", it may be assumed that the idea of continuation or iteration is excluded in RV. 5, 36, 2 where Indra, after having been invited to the soma feast, is addressed as follows: *ā te... śipre ruhat* (aor.) *somaḥ* "the soma will ascend thine opened lips", the activity being obviously viewed without regard to continuance or prolongation. Another reference to the actuality of the sacrifice which is being performed occurs 9, 40, 2. In 8, 42, 3 the aor. in *adhi nāvam ruhema* is likewise easily explicable. The request to rise unto the god Indra is however in 1, 56, 2 appositely expressed through a pres. imp.: *patiṃ dakṣasya... giriṃ na venā* (notice the simile) *adhi roha*. That in addressing the mythical bride Sūryā who

⁶ See Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 105.

being represented by the human bride is persuaded to mount the bridal chariot, which is identified with “the world of immortality”, the present is used, is likewise quite intelligible: 10, 85, 20 *ā roha sūrye amṛtasya lokam*. (However, 1, 34, 5... *sūre duhitā ruhad ratham*). Similarly 9, 63, 22 where Soma is requested to ascend to Vāyu (the Wind). This process was probably among those which were preferably expressed by means of a present. Curiously enough the same activity is also described in Homer by means of an impf.: E 364 ff. ἡ δ' ἐς δίφρον ἔβαινε (impf.) ἀκηχεμένη φίλον ἦτορ / πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἴρις ἔβαινε (impf.) καὶ ἡνία λάζετο (impf.) χερσίν, / μάστιξεν (aor.) δ' ἔλααν. τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην “and she mounted the car, her heart distraught, and beside her mounted Iris and took the reins in her hand; she whipped (the horses) to start them, and nothing loath they sped onward”. Here Schwyzer-Debrunner's⁷ explication “die verwundete Aphrodite gelangte mühsam zum Wagensitz” can hardly be said to settle the question, because the poet uses the impf. also in connection with Iris who has not been wounded.⁸ It would appear to me that the poet simply invites his audience to dwell upon those activities which could easily catch and hold their attention, excite their curiosity, tickle their imagination, call up mental pictures, etc.

The pres. subj. of *vah-* “to carry, convey, lead, draw (a car) etc.” clearly expresses continuing, iterated or habitual action in RV. 1, 74, 6 *ā ca vahāsi tām iha devām upa praśastaye ...* / *na... upabdir aśvyaḥ śṛṇve kac cana* “when thou conveyest the gods hither to be praised..., one never hears the tramp of the horses...”; 3, 43, 4. One might imagine that the poet so to say accompanies the process of carrying or drawing with his mental eyes: 3, 35, 2 “I put the horses to the chariot, that they speedily bring (*ā vahāta*) Indra to this sacrifice”. Cf. also 10, 52, 1 “teach me... by which way I am to convey (*vahāni*) the oblation to you”; 10, 51, 7. If so, Greek examples such as B 785 μάλα δ' ὤκα (notice this adverb) διέπρησσαν πεδίῳ “they sped across the plain” may belong under the same heading. When the verb means “to take along with one” the poet is of course easily inclined to ‘eye-witness presentation’: 10, 64, 12 “you (Maruts, Indra etc.) will no doubt take the words of praise along with you (*vahātha*) on your chariot”. Cf. also 5, 37, 3; 1, 84, 18. In 10, 27, 11 the poet seems to dwell upon the processes mentioned: “which of the two will strike him with his wrath, (the man) who will marry (*vahāte*) her or the man who will court (*vareyāt*) her?” An exam-

⁷ Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 277.

⁸ According to Ruipérez, *o.c.*, p. 85, the impf. indicates that women have difficulty in mounting a chariot, a likewise unconvincing opinion.

ination of the places exhibiting the aor. subj. will show that this form is, on the other hand, used when the action is not presented as continuing. Cf. ṚV. 1, 1, 2 *sa (agnir) devāṃ eha vakṣati* “he is to conduct the gods here”; 14, 9; 4, 8, 2.

With regard to the pres. and non-pres. forms of *sad-* “to sit” the observation may be made that the use of the form *satsi* differs from the pres. imp. in that it refers to the *hic et nunc* situation: ṚV. 8, 11, 10 “als ... der Hotṛ hast du seit alters (deinen Sitz eingenommen), und nimm ihn aufs neue ein” (Geldner): *navyaś ca satsi*; it focuses the attention on the initial stage of the action: 8, 23, 26 *agne ni śatsi namasādhi barhiṣi* “O Agni, sit down on the barhis while (those present) salute thee reverentially”; 10, 3, 7 “bring... and sit down”; cf. 3, 14, 2; 5, 26, 5; 8, 44, 14 (cf. 13 “I call near, invite”), cf. also 1, 76, 4; 10, 44, 5 “come... (and sit down)”; similarly, 6, 16, 10; it expresses meanings such as: “to take possession of”: 3, 30, 18 *yan mahīr iṣa āsatsi* “wenn du... grosze Speisegenüsse in Besitz nimmst”. As *satsi* and *sīda* are from the point of view of prosody interchangeable it may be observed that the latter is not always used so as to fit in with the most usual form of the metrical scheme (cf. e.g. 1, 85, 6; 142, 7; 3, 29, 8). The ‘continuative’ character of the pres. form may sometimes be inferred from the context: 3, 53, 3 “be seated (*ā... sīda*) on the barhis, then I shall recite the song of praise (viz. while thou art sitting)”; 3, 41, 3 *ā barhiḥ sīda | vihi śūra puroḷāśam* “sit down on the b.; enjoy, O hero, the cake”; cf. also 1, 85, 6; 3, 62, 18; 8, 87; 2; 4; 6, 28, 1 “(the cows) must lie down (*sīdantu*) in the cow-shed and be at ease with us (*raṇayantv asme*)”. See also 1, 76, 2; 3, 29, 8; 10; 4, 3, 2; 10, 112, 9, etc. One might compare the impf. of ἵζω etc. in Greek: θ 469 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐς θρόνον ἵζε παρ’ Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα “he spoke and sat down on a chair beside king A.”.

Sometimes the aspectual differences between a pres. and an aor. stem may be satisfactorily translated. The non-indic. forms of the aor. of *parā vrj-* “to turn or throw away, remove, reject, abandon, fail, let down, etc.” occur, in the ṚV., 8, 75, 12 “don’t let us down in this great battle (*mā no... parā varḡ...*) like a bearer of loads (lets fall his load)”: here the simile points to non-continuing action. In a similar context without a simile: 6, 59, 7. Cf. 10, 8, 9: Indra “beseitigte” (*parā varḡ*, Geldner) the three heads of his antagonist. The pres. is however intelligible in contexts such as 8, 97, 7, where the prayer for salvation (*mā na indra parā vrṇak* “lasz uns nicht fallen, Indra” (Geldner), “don’t fail us, don’t be lacking in supporting us” alternates with nominal and semi-nominal sentences stating that the god is the helper and imploring his compan-

ionship. So the difference between the pres. forms and the aor. forms of *pari-vrj-* “to avoid, spare, pass over” may be this: the pres. refers to an activity which in the eye of the speaker is, or is to be, lasting; when the aor. is used this implication is not expressed. Cf. 8, 47, 5 “the manifestations of evil must avoid us (*pari no vrñajan*, pres.) like carriage-drivers difficult roads”; 6, 75, 12 (of something going or flying straight (like an arrow); 7, 46, 3 (of a missile that moves about on the earth: *pari kṣmayā carati pari sāvṛṇaktu naḥ*); cf. also 10, 165, 2. An instructive line is 8, 67, 8 *mā naḥ setuḥ siṣed ayam mahe vrñaktu nas pari* “nicht soll uns diese Fessel fesseln: sie soll uns zu groszem (Glück) verschonen” (Geldner). See also 1, 172, 3; 8, 1, 27. The aor. opt. is on the other hand in 2, 33, 14 accompanied by another aorist: “Rudra’s missile may spare us (*pari no... vrjyāḥ*), the bad disposition of his mind must avoid (us) (*pari... gāt*)”. Cf. also 6, 28, 7; 7, 84, 2; 8, 45, 10, where however indications of a momentary character of the action are lacking. Curiously enough the poet of 2, 27, 5 uses the aor. in connection with a simile which reminds us of 8, 47, 5 *pari śvabhreva duritāni vrjyām*. The pres. opt. – which would have given the same succession of two long syllables – does not occur in the RV.

The relevant forms of the verb *jīv-* “to live” in the AV. show the following picture. The present stem occurs, in the subjunctive and optative, almost exclusively in connection with the phrase *śataṃ śaradaḥ* “a hundred autumns (years)” or *śataṃ himāḥ* “a hundred winters (years)” e.g. 1, 10, 2 *śataṃ jīvāti śaradas tavāyam*; 2, 29, 2; 28, 4 *yathā jīvā... śataṃ himāḥ* “that you may live... a hundred winters”; 3, 12, 6 *śataṃ jīvema śaradaḥ sarvavīrāḥ*; 14, 2, 2; 63; 18, 4, 70; 19, 67, 2, the last formula forming part of a series *paśyema śaradaḥ śataṃ* “may we see a hundred autumns”, etc. Exceptions are 18, 1, 6 *eṣāṃ bhr̥tyām ṛṇadhat sa jīvāt* “whoso will succeed in supporting them, he shall live”, which clearly means “to continue in life”; and 5, 18, 2 *sa brāhmaṇasya gām adyād adya jīvāni mā śvaḥ* “he may eat the cow of the Brahman [which is not to be eaten]: “let me live today, not tomorrow”; with the same shade of meaning. Cf. also RV. 7, 66, 16; 10, 85, 39; 33, 8. The imp. occurs in connection with “a hundred years”; 2, 13, 3 *śataṃ ca jīva śaradaḥ*; and in 2, 29, 7 *jīva śaradaḥ* “live for years”; 7, 53, 2 “live increasing a hundred years”; 3, 31, 8 *jīva mā mṛthāḥ* “continue in life, do not die”; 5, 29, 13 “make him free from (the illness called) yakṣma, let him live” (*jīvatu*); 9, 3, 9 “let both of them live to attain old age”; 19, 27, 8 “live as one long-lived” etc. Cf. also RV. 10, 18, 4. The aorist occurs 5, 13, 4; 10, 5, 25 etc.; 16, 7, 13 in *mā jīvīḥ* “do not live”, i.e. “cease living,

die" etc.; 9, 2, 10 *mā te jīviṣuḥ katamac canāhaḥ* "let them not live any-day soever". It may be remembered that the only forms of ζῶω, ζῶ "to live" to occur in the Homeric poems are presents, which help to form, *inter alia*, phrases such as Σ 61 ζῶει καὶ ὁρᾷ φάος ἡελίοιο "he lives and sees the light of the sun"; π 439 ζῶοντός γ' ἐμέθεν καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο "while I live and behold the light upon the earth".

There are further instances in which a certain difference is perceptible, though not always easily translatable or even definable, between the forms of the present and the aorist. The pres. of the verb *bhaj-* "to divide, distribute, allot, share etc." is in the R̥V. sometimes used in connection with the forcible division of the possessions of an adversary, the aor. never: 7, 32, 7 "we would like to divide (*bhajemahi*) the possessions of him who is slain by thee"; 10, 27, 10 *ayuddho asya vi bhajāni vedaḥ*; 2, 26, 1; 8, 40, 6; 10, 84, 2; cf. also 10, 108, 8. The use of this form in these menaces must be due to the tendency "à voir et à évoquer", to emphasize the process expressed. The durative character of the verb of 10, 15, 3, where the Pitaras are said to partake (*bhajanta*), while sitting on the barhis, of their food to their hearts' content, is also evident, like that of *bhajemahi* in 1, 157, 2: "we should like to obtain our share of wealth in the battle", but AV. 19, 8, 5, which is to annihilate (avert) the evil consequences of sneezing: *punyaṃ bhakṣīmahi kṣavam!* Cf. AV. 11, 10, 11; 12, 3, 4. In R̥V. 4, 32, 21 Indra is implored to give those praying a share: *ā no bhājasva rādhasi*. Cf. AV. 19, 8, 2. If, however, the wish to receive a share of the god's favour is brought to the latter's notice, the aorist is used: R̥V. 1, 81, 6 *bhakṣīya tava rādhasaḥ*; 4, 21, 10; 5, 57, 7; 7, 96, 6; 98, 6; cf. also 8, 48, 7; 9, 8, 9 (wish to enjoy soma); 7, 41, 2; 9, 67, 10-12; cf. also 8, 81, 6 *mā no vāso nir bhāk*. In AV. 2, 25, 1 *abhakṣi* is 'passé actuel'.

The aor. inj. of the caus. stem of *riṣ-* "to be hurt" is always accompanied by the particle *mā*. It occurs in formulas such as R̥V. 1, 114, 7 *mā naḥ priyās tanvo rudra rīriṣaḥ* "thou must not hurt our dear bodies (persons)"; 10, 128, 8 *mā no rīriṣo mā parā dāḥ*; cf. 1, 114, 8; 7, 89, 5; 10, 18, 1 etc. The aor. opt. is used in affirmative sentences: 6, 51, 7 etc. The pres. of the caus. stem occurs 1, 148, 5 in a highly paronomastic context: *na yaṃ ripavo na riṣaṇyavo garbhe santaṃ reṣaṇā reṣayanti* "den weder die Schelme, noch die Schadenfrohen, während er im Mutterleib ist, schädigend zu Schaden bringen". As is well known, paronomasia being, generally speaking, a rather ponderous and conspicuous form of repetition⁹ may serve to give vent to a variety of emotions to impress

⁹ Gonda, *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1959), p. 232 ff.

the hearer suggestively, to excite his interest or arrest his attention. The present forms expressing the sense of “being hurt, suffering wrong, receiving harm” occur only in negative clauses and sentences: Geldner’s translation of the subj. in 10, 97, 17 *yaṃ jīvam aśnavāmahai na sa riṣyāti pūruṣaḥ* “wen wir (the medicinal herbs) am Leben antreffen werden, der Mann soll nicht zu Schaden *kommen*” does therefore not appear to be adequate. A similar remark applies to the translation of 1, 91, 8 (pres. opt.); 6, 54, 9 “Schaden erleiden” is more correct; cf. also 7, 20, 6. The aor. injunctive may on the other hand be translated by “zu Schaden kommen”, cf. e.g. 6, 54, 7 *mākir neśan mākīm riṣan mākīm sam śāri kevaṭe*; 8, 65, 10; 67, 11 etc. Geldner, however, translates now “Schaden erleiden”, then again “zu Schaden kommen”.

The relevant forms of *bhī-* “to fear” do not often occur in RV. and AV. The impf. is used of the mythic past; AV. 8, 10, 1. RV. 5, 30, 5 is an instructive example of an impf. denoting a process which while beginning at a certain moment in the past extends to the present moment: “as soon as thou wert born, from that moment also the gods were afraid of Indra (*ataś cid indrād abhayanta devāḥ*)”. In a poem to be recited in order to secure a person from fear, AV. 2, 15, it reads six times “as both heaven and earth (day and night, etc.) do not fear (*na bibhītaḥ*),... so my breath, fear not (*mā bibheḥ*)”: the verb being used absolutely and the idea expressed being the unspecified condition of being afraid, the pres. is used. Cf. also 5, 30, 8 “be not afraid, thou shalt not die”; 8, 2, 23; 24, everywhere *mā bibheḥ*, and RV. 1, 41, 9; 8, 66, 15. In AV. 10, 9, 7 “... they shall all guard thee, be not afraid of them” the aor. (*mā bhaiṣiḥ*) is used. However, the aor. occurs also 8, 4, 7 *mā bhema mā śramiṣmograsya sakhye tava*, I would suppose because the duration of the processes is left out of consideration.

The above instances seem therefore to corroborate the view that there existed, in the Vedic verbal system, an aspectual opposition which, without being pronounced, was not limited to one modal category.

XIII

CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY CONJUNCTIONS

The question might arise whether subordinate clauses or, speaking more generally, sentences introduced by conjunctions, give rise to special observations, that is to say: whether they influence the use made of the tense forms as far as concerns their 'aspectual' functions. From a perusal of the following pages it may appear that as a rule the occurrence of a conjunction is one thing and the form of the verb another. Here also it appears to be the best method to study each element of the sentence separately. The conjunctions do not 'govern' a special tense or modal form or determine the use of a definite verbal form. That on the other hand in special cases a given conjunction is preferably followed by a definite form is explainable from the meaning of the conjunction, the function of the verb and the context. The logical relations between the parts of the sentence are, as is also often the case in other constructions, to a considerable extent implied.

The 'limited' character of the aorist is often especially clear when it occurs in a clause which is connected with another clause containing another verb form. As already observed by Delbrück and others, the conjunction *yadā* is in the ṚV. mostly accompanied by the aorist.¹ "Da der Aorist das Eintreten der Handlung betont, so ist *yadā* mit "sobald" zu übersetzen" (Delbrück); "*yadā* 'dès que' avec l'aorist, qui éventuellement prend la valeur de plus-que-parfait" (Renou). This construction must have been rather common. The choice of the verb forms seems, however, to have been determined by the wish of the speaker to present an action either as unlimited or continuing or as limited or 'momentary'. The temporal and logical relations implied in the close connection of the two clauses necessitate – when translating the sentence into a language in which these relations are expressed – a resort to a past tense, a pluperfect, etc. In most cases the action of the *yadā* clause precedes that of the principal clause. Examples are: ṚV. 1, 103, 8 "all the gods applauded thee (*amadann anu tvā*, impf.), when thou hadst slain (*avadhiḥ*, aor.) Śuṣṇa, etc.". Whereas the aorist in the subordinate clause contains a colourless reference to an event as a unit of 'history', the impf. in the

¹ Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 590; Renou, *Gramm. védique*, p. 390.

principal clause invites us to dwell on the idea expressed by the verb; 4, 33, 2 “when the Ṛbhus had served (*aram akran*) their parents,² they won (*upa āyan*, impf.) fellowship with the gods”; this fellowship is no doubt presented as something which was to last; cf. also 7, 98, 5 “sobald er die... bemeistert hatte (*asahiṣṭa*, aor.), da gehört (*abhavat*, impf.) der Soma ihm ausschliesslich” (Geldner); 10, 92, 3.³ Sentences such as 8, 51, 8 are clearly different: “als er jenen Himmel breitete und stützte (*astambhīt*, aor.), da erst ward der Erdbewohner geboren (*janiṣṭa*, aor.)” (Geldner); 1, 163, 7; 4, 24, 8; 10, 68, 6. Elsewhere the principal clause contains a perfect: 1, 161, 4 “when T. had perceived (aor.) the... vessels, he kept himself concealed (perf.)...”, this nuance too may be expressed in translating.

The contrast between aor. and impf. shows clearly in 8, 12, 26 and 30: “when thou destroyedst (aor.) Vṛtra, then thy bay horses were strong (perf.)”; “when thou placedst (impf.) the sun in the sky, then all beings obeyed (perf.) thee”: the impf. intimates that in consequence of the act of placing the sun is still there.⁴ The process described in the *yadā* clause continues while the situation mentioned in the principal clause exists. Cf. also AV. 11, 8, 11; 18. RV. 10, 88, 11 is very instructive: “when the gods placed (impf.) it (the sun) in the sky, when the wandering pair appeared (aor.), then all creatures began to see (impf.)”. A pres. opt. in the principal clause indicates that the processes belong to the contingent mental reality expressed by that mood,⁵ the aorists in the subordinate clauses refer to ‘momentary’ actions which belong to the relative past, i.e. which are viewed as preceding the action of the main verb: 10, 67, 9 f. *br̥haspatiṃ... anu madema... | yadā vājam asanad... ā dyām arukṣat*. In 10, 82, 1 “sobald die... Grenzen gefestigt waren (*adadṛhanta*, pqp.), breiteten sich Himmel und Erde aus (impf.)” (Geldner) the consequences of both processes are taken into account.

The same conjunction occurs also in clauses containing an aor. and connected with a principal clause exhibiting a pres. indicative. Here the aor. refers to an event that is presented as a mere fact, the pres. ind. to a process which is known to occur, or which will set in, after the event mentioned in the subordinate clause: 1, 115, 4 “sobald er die Falbinnen ... geschirrt hat (aor.), spannt die Nacht... ihr Gewand aus (pr. ind.)” (Geldner); 164, 37; 5, 87, 4; 7, 3, 2; 10, 7, 2; AV. 3, 13, 6; 11, 4, 5; 14,

² Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 131, 132.

³ The form *carkiran* is an inj. pres. (cf. 1, 131, 5; 8, 55, 5); according to Geldner (o.c., III, p. 291) it has the value of a pluperfect:?

⁴ Ein deutlicher Unterschied gegen den Aorist tritt nicht hervor”, Delbrück, *a.a.O.*:?

⁵ *The character of the Indo-European Moods* (Wiesbaden, 1956), ch. V.

2, 20; 19, 34, 8. The aorist has been correctly translated by a present tense form in RV. 10, 27, 3 “wenn einer den drohenden Zusammenstoß gewahr wird (*avākhyat*), ja dann versprechen (*pra bruvanti*) sie mir zwei Stiere” (Geldner); 4, 38, 8; 8, 80, 9.

In 7, 42, 4, where the perfect stem is used, the process of the subordinate clause is presented (and if the subj. is used, visualized) as taking place irrespective of ‘duration’ in the sense of the pres.: aor. opposition, the present stem in the principal clause referring to a durative process coinciding with at least part of the former process: “when Agni appears (*āciketāt*) in the house of..., he gives (*dāti*) desirable things”.

If the principal clause contains a subjunctive, the process expressed by the aorist does not belong to the chronological past indicating only ‘punctuality’ and anteriority: 1, 82, 1 “wenn du uns... machen willst (*karah*), dann sollst du dich auch entschlieszen (*arthayase*)” (Geldner). It may be translated by a futurum exactum: 10, 16, 2; 8, 100, 1. Although stylistic variation is a matter of common occurrence in many languages, it may be asked if the alternation pres., aor., pres. in three parallel sentences in 10, 16, 1 f. is due to this tendency or to the merest chance. In addressing the funeral fire the poet expresses the thought “when thou hast ‘cooked’ him (then send him to the Fathers)” first by a pres. subj., then by an aorist. Is it too bold a supposition, that after having presented the process of preparing the dead body in its development and completion⁶ (*lento*) the poet regarded in repeating the same thought the mere reference to the action ‘as a whole’ (*allegro*) as sufficient? However, in AV. 18, 2, 4 and 5 both sentences change places! For the pres. subj. in the *yadā*-clause see also RV. 4, 24, 10 and AV. 6, 111, 1-3 “thenceforth shall he make (*kṛṇavat*) for thee a portion, when he shall be uncrazed (*anumadito* ‘*sati*, periphrastic construction)” (Whitney-Lanman): the ‘continuative’ aspect is obvious.

The continuative force of the pres. appears in 10, 114, 10 and other instances in which both principal and subordinate clauses are in the pres. ind.; both processes coincide.

The remarkable use of the verb forms in sentences ‘introduced’ by the conjunction *yadī* “if, in case that” can be assessed from the following examples.⁷ If both clauses contain a pres. ind. the conjunction must be translated by “when”: 3, 29, 6 *yadī manthanti bāhubhir vi rocate* “when they rub with their arms, he shines”. Here the indicatives do not refer

⁶ See chapter XVI, p. 256 ff.

⁷ Cf. also Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 584 ff.; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 245.

to any particular time in the past, present or future; they are moreover aspectually indifferent. The statement is of a general character. Similarly 1, 11, 3; 56, 4, etc. According to Grassmann⁸ "tritt im Hauptsatze eine Zeitform der Vergangenheit ein, wenn nur auf die bisher gemachte Erfahrung hingewiesen werden soll". However, the usual difference between impf. and aor. is apparent to the scrupulous observer: 10, 11, 4 *yadī viśo vṛṇate ... agniṃ hotāram adha dhīr ajāyata* "sooft die ... Stämme A. zum Hotṛ wählen, entstand auch das... Lied" (Geldner): here *ajāyata* has in itself its usual function; the pres. ind. however lends a general meaning to the whole utterance. RV. 9, 14, 2 f. "wenn (so oft) sie den kräftigen (Soma) zubereiten (*pariṣkṛṇvanti*, pres.), dann haben sich (bisher immer)... alle Götter berauscht (*amatsata*, aor.)" (Grassmann, Wtb.): the aorist, though remaining 'limited', refers, under the influence of the context, to a repeated process; 5, 48, 4. Delbrück's⁹ doubt about "das Verhältnis der Satzgedanken" does not seem to be justified.

If however the relative clause contains an aor. and the principal clause a pres. ind. the sense implied is: "when..., then each time (in each case, always)": 2, 5, 6 *yadī mātūr upa svasā... asthita... adhvaryur modate* "when the sister (coming) from the mother has approached, the priest rejoices"; 10, 167, 4. The difference between these constructions and 9, 86, 46 (*yadī* + perf.) is evident. For a situation referred to without regard to duration in the sense of the pres.: aor. opposition (perfect) which conditions (*yadī*) an event presented as a 'unit of history' (aor.) see 3, 5, 10. An event referred to by a 'punctual', (terminative,) complexive aorist conditions the beginning or setting in of a situation: 8, 12, 8. Two imperfects (9, 97, 22) give a different sense: "every time speech fashioned (*takṣat*) him..., the cows came (*āyan*)...".

I now pass on to the sentences consisting of a *yathā*- clause and a principal clause. If the sense is "(in order) that" the verb of the *yathā*- clause is in the subjunctive, which may be a present, an aorist, or a perfect. From a close examination of the relevant facts it appears that these forms occur where they may be expected. As Delbrück in his survey of these *yathā*-constructions¹⁰ does not take the aspectual differences into account, some observations are not out of place here. The continuative presentation of the processes expressed by a present form is in most cases easily intelligible. The pres. subj. of *as*- "to be" is often found, e.g.

⁸ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 1088.

⁹ Delbrück, *o.c.*, p. 585.

¹⁰ Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 326 ff.

1, 89, 1 *ā no bhadrāḥ kratavo yantu...* | *devā no yathā sadam id vṛdhe asan* “manifestations of auspicious inventiveness must come to us... in order that the gods will always be beneficial to us”; 10, 85, 26 *grhān gacha grhapatnī yathāsaḥ*; 103, 13 *ugrā vaḥ santu bāhavo anādhr̥ṣyā yathāsatha*; 1, 89, 5; 114, 1; 4, 57, 6; 10, 137, 5, etc. Not infrequently the principal clause, which precedes, has a pres. imperative: 2, 26, 2 *haviṣ kṛṇuṣva subhago yathāsasi*, not, with Geldner: “bereite das Opfer, auf dasz du glücklich werdest”, but “... seiest”; 7, 64, 3 *mitras tan no ... nayantu* | *bravad yathā na ād ariḥ sudāse*, the content of the speech being probably communicated in the next pāda; 10, 166, 3 “halte diese nieder (*ni sedhemān*), dasz sie mir im Wortstreit unterliegen (*vadān*)” (Geldner); 10, 96, 12 *ā tvā... vahantu...* | *pibā¹¹ yathā...*; 1, 111, 2 *takṣata ...* | *yathā kṣayāma*; 8, 49, 4 *piba* | *ā yathā... kirāsi*; 10, 37, 10; 76, 1 *varivasyātaḥ*. As an aor. of *i-* does not occur 7, 104, 3 ... *yathā udayat* may be regarded as aspectually neutralized. The principal clause contains a pres. indic.: 3, 35, 2 *ā yunajmi... yathā... ā vahāta indram*; 1, 138, 2 *kṛṇva ṛṇavo yathā*; 4, 54, 1 and 10, 39, 5 *dadhat*; 7, 26, 1 *ukthaṃ janaye ... śṛṇavad yathā naḥ*; 10, 51, 7 *kurmas ta āyur... yathā... na riṣyāḥ*, not, with Geldner “... auf dasz du... nicht zu Schaden kommest”, but “willst not suffer wrong, receivest no harm”. The principal clause contains an aor. imp. 6, 63, 2 *gantam... yathā pibātho andhaḥ*, an aor. ind. 10, 159, 6 *ajaiṣam... yathā... virājāni*; 9, 88, 2; 161, 3 *āhārṣam enam* | ... *yathā... nayāti*; an opt. 10, 52, 5 *jayāti*.

Examples of the aorist are: 1, 43, 1 f. *kad... vocema... yathā no aditiḥ karat... rudriyam* “what could we say... (in order) that Aditi procures us Rudra’s favour”: the process is transformative, the aorist finitive; 186, 1 *api yathā yuvāno matsathā no... manīṣā*: Geldner’s “auf dasz auch ihr Jünglinge uns in gehobene Stimmung versetzt, soll... (kommen)” is to be preferred to the alternative suggested in his note: “auf dasz auch ihr Jünglinge euch an uns erfreuen sollt”, the latter process being non-transformative, the aor. would have been initive; 2 “the gods must come (*gamantu*) to us, in order to become (*bhuvan*, not: “auf dasz sie... seien”) our promoters and make (*karan*) (anything) easily subdued”; 3, 32, 14 “I will praise (*stavai*) Indra, that he will rescue (*pīparat*) us from distress”. Bald facts are also presented in 6, 44, 16 *indrasya priyam amṛtam apāyi* | *matsad yathā... devaṃ vy asmad dveṣo yuyavad...*, the pres. subj. expressing the hope of the poet that the deliverance from distress will be lasting. See also 7, 100, 2 *tvam viṣṇo sumatiṃ... dāḥ* | *parco yathā naḥ... rāyaḥ*; 4, 55, 3; 6, 48, 15; 8, 102, 8;

¹¹ H. Oldenberg, *R̥gveda, Textkrit. u. exeg. Noten*, II (Berlin, 1912), p. 311.

10, 52, 5; 9, 76, 5 “thou (Soma) flowest off clearly for Indra..., that we conquer (*jeṣāma*)...”. Geldner’s translation of 10, 4, 1 “ich weihe (*yakṣi*) dir, ich hebe (*iyarmi*) dir das Gedicht an, so wie du in unseren Anrufungen zu loben bist (*bhuvah*)” is open to criticism, the sense of the last words being: “that thou becomest an object of praise in our invocations”. Generally speaking there is a striking semantic difference between the verbs which are, in the *yathā*-clauses, in the aorist and those which are represented by present forms.

An exhaustive inquiry into all *yad*-clauses – which are very common – would be a superfluity, the more so as Grassmann and Delbrück¹² have discussed them at considerable length. As they, however, neglected investigating into the problem of aspectual distinctions, some additional remarks may be made here. Very often an aor. in the subordinate clause combines with a pres. in the principal clause. Delbrück¹³ is not completely right in observing: “Die Handlung des *yad*-Satzes ist eingetreten, wenn die des Hauptsatzes stattfindet”: the action – which is presented as ‘limited’ – has not only begun, it has often also been completed. Cf. RV. 1, 51, 4 “als du, Indra, den Drachen... erschlagen hattest (*avadhiḥ*), da lieszest du... die Sonne... aufsteigen (*arohayaḥ*, impf.)” (Geldner); 68, 3 “then all of them were pleased (*juṣanta*) by thy resourcefulness, when thou wert (hadst been) born (*janiṣṭhāḥ*)”; 5, 29, 5 (“gebracht hattest”, not, with Geldner “brachtest”); 1, 87, 2; 3, 30, 13; 5, 57, 3, etc. the conjunction sometimes admitting of the translation “since”: e.g. 1, 72, 6 “since they found (*avidan*) the... words, they guard (*rakṣante*) with these...”, and on the other hand 1, 94, 11 “then the birds are afraid (*bibhyuḥ*)..., when thy sparks had begun to fly about (*vy asthiran*)”: as the process of flying about is likely to have continued and the verb is non-transformative the aorist may be regarded as focussing the hearer’s attention on the initial stages (not with Geldner: “wenn deine... Funken stoben”); similarly, 1, 38, 8 “like a cow the lightning lows (*mimāti*)..., when their rain has begun to shower (*asarji*)” (and not with Geldner: “sich ergossen hat”). A pres. indic. in a principal clause brings us into the presence of a process which is viewed as durative and as setting in after the process indicated by a non-transformative aor. has begun: 7, 103, 3 “when he has begun to rain upon (*avarṣīt*) them... the rainy season having come, one with a croak of joy approaches (*eti*) the other...”. If the verb expressed by the aorist in the *yad*-clause is transformative, the process referred to in the principal clause does not set in before

¹² Grassmann, *Wtb.*, 1085; Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, 572 ff.

¹³ Delbrück, *o.c.*, p. 578.

that of the subordinate clause has reached the transformation, that is to say: its culmination: 1, 94, 10 “wenn du die (Rosse) an den Wagen geschirrt hast (*ayukthāh*), so ist (no verb) dein Gebrüll wie...; dann bewegst du (*invāsi*)...” (Geldner); 3, 30, 12 “when he (the Sun) has covered (*anaṭ*) his distances (journeys), he performs the unyoking (*kr̥ṇute*); 5, 1, 3.

The difference between aor. and impf. shows clearly in cases such as 5, 31, 3 “as soon as his victorious power had been born (*ājaniṣṭa*), Indra exhibited (*dediṣṭa*, intens. impf.) all his specific faculties”, that between aor. and perf. in 4, 30, 8; 5, 32, 7 where Geldner’s translation is inadequate: “als I. gegen den groszen D. die Waffe erhob (*yamiṣṭa*, aor.), als er ihn im Schlag... überlistete (*dadābha*, perf.), da machte (*cakāra*, perf.) er ihn zum Untersten...”; the two perfects present the ideas expressed by the verbs as situations irrespective of duration in the sense of the pres.: aor. opposition, the aorist expresses a ‘limited’ action which is likely to have been considered a moment during the situation described by the perfect *dadābha*. In 1, 52, 9 mention is made of a situation, of a process without regard to duration (*vāṇṛdhe*), and of a momentary action (*avadhīt*). In 1, 87, 5 *dadhire* in the principal clause refers to a situation which is logically or chronologically conditioned by the finitive transformative action of “reaching” mentioned in the subordinate clause.

In part of the *yad*-clauses which contain an impf. “erscheint die Handlung des *yad*-Satzes als zeitliche Grundlage der Handlung des Hauptsatzes”¹⁴: cf. 3, 48, 2 *yaj jāyathās tad ahar... apibaḥ*. Both processes are viewed as durative and, as far as we understand from the context, as coincident in cases such as RV. 1, 32, 14 *kam apaśya indra... yat te bhīr agachat*. A punctual action takes place while a durative process is going on: 1, 56, 5; 63, 1 *indra yo... dyāvā... pṛthivī ame dhāḥ | yad dha te... girayaś cid... aijan* “thou strokest terror into heaven and earth..., when even the mountains trembled”. In 1, 32, 4 the subordinate clause contains a durative process (*ahan*), the principal clause refers to a situation without regard to duration. A durative progress taking place during a situation is meant in 1, 116, 5 “you displayed heroism (*avīrayethām*) at sea..., when you conducted (*ūhathuḥ*, perf.) Bh. home...”. In 3, 36, 4 the existence of a definite situation (perf. in the principal clause) is denied when a durative process (impf. in *yad*-clause) is going on.

Two *yad*-clauses with different verb forms occur 1, 63, 4 “thou, O Indra, hast animated (*codiḥ*)..., when thou hurtedst (*ubhnāḥ*) Vṛtra,

¹⁴ Delbrück, *o.c.*, p. 575.

when thou destroyedst (*vi... akṛtaḥ*) the Dasyus, conquering easily”: the difference is clear.

Some AV. texts may be quoted in addition to the above. From these it will likewise appear, first that all the elements of the construction under discussion must be studied separately; and in the second place that it would be incorrect to hold that these conjunctions govern a special tense or modal form; and finally that the logical relations which we would expect to find expressed are to a considerable extent implied.

Pres. ind. in the subordinate clause, pres. imp. in the principal clause: AV. 1, 2, 3... *yad gāvaḥ... arcanti... | śaram asmad yāvaya* “when the kine... sing the..., keep away from us the shaft”; 5, 2, 3; 6, 119, 1; 121, 2; 8, 10, 32; 9, 1, 24; 11, 4, 3; 4; without a verb in the princ. cl.: 5, 19, 5; impf. in the sub. cl. *āhuḥ* in the pr. cl.: 1, 25, 1 *yad agnir āpo adahat... | tatra ta āhur...* “as Agni... burned the waters..., there...”; 3, 13, 1 *yad... avanadatā... | tasmād nadyo nāma stha* “since... ye resounded... for that reason ye art rivers by name”; 4, 19, 4; 5, 22, 10 *yat tvam... kāsāvepayah | bhīmās te... hetayah* “in that thou causest trembling together with cough – fearful are thy missiles”; 6, 100, 2; 9, 4, 14. Perf. in the sub. cl.: 1, 10, 3 *yad uvakthāṇṛtam... muñcāmi* “if (in that) thou hast spoken (the words spoken are so to say a power which has stayed or has lodged in the person of the man who has uttered them)... I release you”; 3, 7, 6; 6, 96, 3; 118, 1; 120, 4; 7, 106, 1; 10, 1, 10. An aor. in the sub. cl.: 4, 1, 5 *ahar yac chukraṃ jyotiṣo janiṣṭha atha dyumanto vi vasantu vapraḥ* “since the bright day was born of light, then let the shining seers fade out” (Whitney-Lanman); 5, 1, 4.

Some interest attaches also to the use of the verb forms in sentences containing the so-called causal and conditional *yad*, i.e. *yad* in the sense of “with regard to, mit Beziehung worauf”.¹⁵ In RV. 7, 86, 4 *kim āga āsa... yat stotāraṃ jighāṃsasi* the poet enquires into a state of affairs characterized by sin (*āgaḥ*), in consequence of a (supposed) intention of the god addressed to kill him. A remarkable instance of alternation is 1, 68, 1 f. where Geldner translates “... steigt er (*upa sthāt*, aor.)... gen Himmel. Was geht und steht... deckt er auf (*vy ūrṇot*, pres.), da er allein... umspannt (*pari... bhuvat*, aor.)”: I would prefer to consider the continuing process of uncovering to have set in after the momentary action of ascending has been completed, the motivating “encircling” being finitive-transformative. The perf. with *yad* in 1, 52, 11 must not be translated, with Geldner, by “sobald ... sich ausdehnten”.

¹⁵ See my relevant remarks in the periodical *Lingua*, 4 (Amsterdam, 1954), p. 15 ff.

The clauses introduced by *hi* also deserve a brief comment. When followed by an impf. these clauses, referring to 'starting-points' of an exposition, and the verbal ideas 'continuing in their results', express continuative processes: R̥V. 1, 131, 1; 6, 1, 1; both places lying in the mythical sphere; elsewhere the clause is causal in nature: 1, 30, 21 the verb referring to an activity regarding those speaking is not exactly 'passé historique', but decidedly continuative. In 1, 25, 1; 29, 1; 34, 10 etc. the *hi* clause contains a continuative pres. ind.: the particle and the verb combine each in their own function. So they do when the latter is an aor.: 1, 109, 1. In the causal clause 1, 17, 4 the aor. opt. *bhūyāma* has also its usual force.

The use of the verb forms in clauses and sentences introduced by *ād* is also very instructive. Being etymologically speaking an ablative of the pronominal stem *a-* and expressing the sense of "from that, after that" it is used to denote sequence of time; "from that moment (onwards), subsequent to..., thereupon, then". It is, in the R̥V., of rather frequent occurrence and is, with the exception of a few places, followed by forms deriving from the present stem. The verbs used in the *ād*-clauses as well as the contexts are a great help in attempting to explain why the authors so decidedly preferred the present stem. The particle clearly marked the moment from which – in the author's eyes – a process took place. Examples of a pres. ind. are: R̥V. 4, 54, 2 "zuerst weisest du (Savitar) den Göttern die Unsterblichkeit zu (*suvasi*)...; dann tust du deine Gabe auf (*vy ūrṇuse*)" (Geldner); 7, 16, 11 *ud vā siñcadhvam upa vā prṇadhvam | ād id vo deva ohate* "pour upon or fill up; then the god takes notice of you"; 8, 6, 30 (*paśyanti*). The same construction is used when a process sets in after another process has begun: 8, 60, 15 "thou (Agni) carriest the oblations; then thou rulest among the gods"; 1, 141, 8; 164, 47; 9, 32, 2. A semantic nuance marked by the particle *ād* is also that of "following up another process"; after a certain point has in a series of processes been reached, the activity is continued in another way; another process joins the preceding one: R̥V. 1, 18, 8 *sa dhīnām yogam invati | | ād ṛdhnōti haviṣkṛtim* "he incites the concentration of thoughts, then (and) he causes the preparation of the sacrifice to be successful"; 1, 148, 4 "he shatters much (wood) with his jaw; then he shines brightly". When *ād* may be translated by "and; and also" the pres. indic. follows also: 1, 131, 5. Examples of an impf., exhibiting the same implications are: 1, 116, 10 "ye prolonged (*prātiratam*) the lifetime of the deserted one; then ye made (*akṛṇutam*) him the husband of virgins"; 168, 9 (*apaśyan*); 3, 9, 9 *āstrṇan... ād... ny asādayanta*; 5, 29, 4

ahann ahim... / / ād rodasī... vi śkabhāyat; 7, 33, 6 “when (*ca*¹⁶) V. became (*abhavat*) their leader, since that time (*ād*) the clans increased (*apra-thanta*)”; 9, 70, 3; cf. 10, 88, 8. In 8, 77, 1 and 2 *prchat... / / ād...abravīt* the words spoken are quoted. The preceding sentence may contain an aorist: 3, 26, 8 *ratnam akr̥ta... ād id dyāvapṛthivī pary apaśyat*; a perfect participle: 3, 31, 15 *vividvān ād it... sam airat*.

The aorist occurs, after *ād*, in 4, 1, 18 “(when the sun appeared) *ād it paścā bubudhānā vy akhyann ād id ratnam dhārayanta...* “da, als sie hernach erwacht waren, blickten sie um sich (momentary action), da hielten sie das... Kleinod fest (*dhārayanta*)”. R̥V. 10, 111, 3 is rather obscure, but *bhuvat* is “became” rather than “war” (Geldner). R̥V. 9, 62, 6 *ād im* (viz. the soma)...*aśūsubhan*: actual past, the verb of the preceding stanza being a pres. indicative. In 9, 110, 6 the aor. seems to be conditioned by the occurrence of an aor. in st. 4. There is also an instance of *ād* + aor. after a clause introduced by *yad* and containing a present which refers to a process which is going on while the action denoted by the aorist occurs: 10, 48, 9. In 1, 163, 7 *yadā* + aor. followed by *ād* + aor. in the sense of “as soon as... then (immediately)...” in a vivid, more or less parenthetical line. Cf. also 8, 51, 8. Vivid is to all appearance also 9, 110, 6 relating an event which, though mythological in character is always renewed and which is no doubt also recently repeated: the praising of the soma by gods and seers.

With regard to *adha* some remarks may suffice: the impf., which is rather frequent, occurs e.g. R̥V. 1, 38, 10, a rather curious instance, because: “(9) even by day (the Maruts) produce (pres. ind.) darkness...; then the earth trembled (impf.)...”. This must be a shift from the pres. of the general truth indicating an event which may occur at all times to the impf. of habitualness comprising occurrences which while known from experience to belong to the past may be expected to turn up in the present. R̥V. 2, 22, 2 is an instance of a pres. inj. pro impf. before and an impf. after *adha*: “he stood by him, then he was superior”. Impf. and impf. in a dialogue: 4, 5, 10. Pres. imp. and pres. subj.: 6, 31, 3. An aor. inj. follows 4, 27, 5; an aor. ind. *ibid.* 3. Other places worth mentioning will be discussed in other chapters of this volume. Here also the conclusion must be that the particle does not influence the choice of the verbal form.

One might compare also such places exhibiting *atha* as 3, 32, 10... *aviveśir athābhavaḥ...*; 4, 24, 10 *yadā... jañghanad athainam me punar dadat*; 1, 16, 7 *astu... atha piba*; 28, 6 *vi vāti... atho... sunu*; 81, 8 *kāmān sasṛjmahe atha no avitā bhava*; 93, 7... *hi bhūtam athā dhattam*; 108, 6.

¹⁶ For *ca* see my article in the periodical *Vāk*, 5 (Poona, 1957), p. 1 ff.

XIV

SOME REMARKS ON THE USE OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE

If there exists in an I.E. language a more or less obvious and consistent opposition between a present and an aorist stem, the absence in the aor. of an unaugmented category characterized by primary endings must result in a peculiar position of the pres. indicative. Nevertheless it will appear from the following notes that in most cases the indic. is like the other forms deriving from the pres. stem which are, aspectually speaking 'continuative', used in connection with processes which impress us as 'durative': that is to say that it refers to actions, etc. which in reality and in our mental eye are characterized by 'duration'. This is not only due to the verbal ideas themselves but also to the fact that the authors decidedly refer to processes which are being executed or want them to be understood as going on, to processes which may take place in any time or to what is true irrespective of time. Verbal forms which are mainly used to refer to the present time are for psychological reasons durative in character. It is strictly speaking not even possible to indicate by means of ordinary language momentary processes which belong to the phenomenal present, because the time needed to refer to them is justly and intelligibly experienced as 'linear' as compared to the point represented by a momentary process. "We can never truthfully say: 'the ball touches the ceiling', but only 'the b. touched the c.' for while we say it, the ball does not touch the ceiling any longer".¹ From the psychological point of view 'the present' is as a rule not 'a point' but 'a line', a continuance in time because the psychological subject moves with or accompanies the events themselves. Psychologically speaking "the ball touches the ceiling" lasts as long as we believe or imagine it to last, as long as we 'see' it happen or as we need to receive it into our minds. "Darauf, ob die Worte zeitlich mit dem momentanen Vorgang genau zusammenfallen, kommt es nicht so sehr an; das Entscheidende ist vielmehr, dass der Sprechende beides in dem Trieb, den Ausdruck möglichst aktuell und lebendig zu gestalten, auf einen Moment verlegen will... Dem Sinne nach ist dies bei Xen. An. 1, 8, 26 τὸν ἄνδρα

¹ K. von Fritz, in *Word*, 5 (1949), p. 194, quoting Diodorus Cronus (*Doxographi Graeci*, p. 320 b 5 Diels).

ὁρῶ der Fall...; das kursive ὁρῶ [hat] mangels einer punktuellen Gegenwartsform die Funktion einer solchen übernommen”²; cf. also Ω 352 τὸν δὲ ... ἰδὼν ἐφράσσατο κῆρυξ ... φωνησέν τε / ... ἄνδρ’ ὁρώω³ “the herald looked and was aware of him and he spoke... “I see a man ...””. How long the present time, which psychologically is a sort of ‘extended point’ or a line between the past and the future, lasts depends on the circumstances. This is why we are able to use in speaking present forms also in those cases in which the processes to which they refer have in point of fact no duration proper. Yet the objectively inadequate but psychologically fully sufficient present indicative meets a demand because it frees us from an embarrassment. If we could only say: “the ball has touched the ceiling” or “the b. will t. the c.” we would express ourselves again and again in a notably incorrect way. These considerations may also furnish an explication of the absence of an unaugmented aorist indicative to signify momentaneous (non-durative) processes taking place at the moment of speaking.⁴

What strikes us is that those verbs which express processes which are durative by nature are in the Ṛgveda not rarely represented by a considerable number of pres. indic. forms. Thus we encounter *rājati* in the sense of “reigning, governing”: 1, 144, 6 “thou, O Agni, holdst sway (*rājasi*) over the heavenly and earthly (regions) like a herdsman (over his herd)”; *rocate* “to shine, be bright, splendid, etc.”: 1, 43, 5 “(Rudra) who shines like the sun and gold...”; cf. also *bhā-* “to shine forth” 5, 2, 9 *vi jyotiṣā bhāty agniḥ*; *dāś-* “to serve, honour”: 1, 151, 7 *yo vām yajñaiḥ... dāśati* “whoever serves you with acts of worship”; *pā-* “to watch, keep, protect, preserve”: 1, 134, 5 *tvaṃ (Vāyu) viśvasmād bhuvanāt pāsi*; 5, 52, 4; *trā-* “to protect, guard, rescue,” and *nī-* “to lead, guide, conduct”: 2, 23, 4 *sunītibhir nayasī trāyase janam* (subj. Brahmanaspati); *kṣi-* “to abide, stay, dwell”: 5, 37, 4 *kṣeti kṣitīḥ* “he lives undisturbed in his abodes”; *bhr-* “to bear”: 5, 47, 5; *vah-* “to lead, conduct, carry”; *van-* “to love, gain, procure”; *vand-* “to praise, worship, adore”; *vap-* “to scatter, bestrew”; *duh-* “to milk, squeeze out” etc. These verbal ideas are to a greater or lesser extent characterized by variety and heterogeneity of action. Instances of durative processes are, in addition to the above examples: 6, 13, 2 *kṣayasi* “thou hast power over

² Rodenbusch, in *I.F.*, 22, p. 405.

³ It is not necessary to consider this use with Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 259, as secondary.

⁴ For the use of the pres. ind. in the Avesta see H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1909), p. 303 (“versetzt die Handlung in die Gegenwart des Sprechenden oder drückt zeitlich unbestimmte Handlungen aus”).

..."; 9, 80, 3 *krīḷan harir atyaḥ syandate* "the bay courser (= the soma) flows on sporting"; 5, 59, 2.

Sometimes the verb clearly refers to a process which is already going on for a long time: 5, 62, 4 *upa sindhavaḥ pradivī kṣaranti* "the streams are always flowing near ('längst schon...', Geldner). Or adverbs such as *sadā* "always" accompany the verb: 7, 22, 5; *bhūri* "often" 7, 22, 6; *śaśvat* "perpetually", Germ. "immer wieder": 6, 41, 2; *sanād* "of old" 10, 87, 19 *sanād agne mṛṇāsi yātudhānān* "from of old, O Agni, thou smashest the evil spirits": however, the act of smashing itself is, of course, not necessarily aspectually durative. These processes also are considered to take place within the 'psychological present'. Although part of them belongs to the past they have not yet reached their close. Similarly in other languages: Soph. Ai. 20 κεῖνον γὰρ, οὐδὲν ἄλλον, ἰχνεύω πάλαι "him and non other I have tracked full long" (Storr).

Not rarely the verb expresses a truth of a general, lasting and universal character; as in other languages, it helps to state what is true without regard to time: ṚV. 10, 117, 3 *sa id bhojo yo gṛhave dadāti* "he is a bountiful man who gives to the beggar"; 5, 34, 3 *yo... somam sunoti bhavati dyumān* "whosoever presses soma becomes brilliant"; 37, 4 *na sa rājā vyathate yasminn indras... somam pibati*; 44, 13 *anubruvāṇo adhy eti na svapan*. I would not follow Buddrusz in regarding the sense of verbs such as *vindati* in 10, 151, 4 *śraddhayā vindate vasu* "one gains goods by faith" as 'iterative'. Cf. also 1, 40, 4; 5, 34, 1; 48, 2, and the type 9, 67, 21 *yad... bhayaṃ vindati mām*.

Processes which happen at any time when a definite subject finds himself in a definite situation are generally signified by the pres. ind.: 1, 134, 5 *tvām tsārī dasamāno bhagam iṭṭe takvaviye* "dich (the god Vāyu) ruft der hungrige Jäger um Glück auf der Jagd an" (Geldner). Likewise in cases such as 10, 28, 3 *adriṇā te... sunvanti somān*, where the subject is indefinite. Habitual action is likewise indicated by this form: 2, 1, 6 *tvam (Agni) vātair aruṇair yāsi* "thou (O Agni) goest with the ruddy 'winds'"; 1, 31, 6; 15. With an indefinite subject: 5, 11, 6; 13, 4; 7, 27, 3. For the addition of *sadā* etc. see above (e.g. 7, 22, 5). This is the so-called habitual present – cf. in Greek Semon. 7, 65 D. αἰεὶ δὲ χαίτην ἐκτενισμένην φορεῖ –: the process is considered to take place in a psychological present in which the different stages of phenomenological time have fused.

In a variety of contexts the form under consideration expresses an action which, being determined by a trait of character of the subject, is habitual or permanent: ṚV. 2, 1, 9 *tvam sakhā... pāsi* "thou (Agni)

protectst as a friend..."; 4, 11, 6; 6, 15, 11; 7, 104, 13 soma slays (*hanti*) the demoniac power, and, in the negative "s. does not incite (*hinoti*) the wicked"; 12 *yat satyaṃ... tad it somo 'vaty hanty āsat*; 6, 64, 5 *yokṣabhir... varaṃ vahasi* "(Uṣas, thou) who with bulls conveyest the boon"; 10, 140, 1 (Agni) *vājam... dadhāsi dāśuṣe*; cf. also 6, 13, 3. Such a present may therefore often be taken to mean: "to be in the habit of -ing": 7, 22, 2 "the intoxicating drink by means of which thou (O Indra) slayest (*haṃsi*) the powers of obstruction"; 10, 48, 7 *kim mā nindanti śatravo 'nindrāḥ*; 2, 19, 4; 8, 10, 4; 94, 5.

Not rarely those processes which are referred to in general statements are notionally and essentially characterized by repetition, iteration or distribution. Sometimes this repetition is explicitly indicated by other words in the sentence: 5, 17, 4 *agnir vikṣu pra śasyate* "Agni is praised among (all) clans"; sometimes they are implied in the character of the process: 4, 25, 7 *na... paṇinā sakhyam indro 'sunvata... saṃ grṇīte* "I. does not accord friendship to a niggard who does not press (soma)"; of course the text means: "any man"; 10, 48, 1 "the races of men invoke (*havante*) me like children their father; I serve out food to the devout one". Compare also statements such as 1, 166, 6 *yatrā vo didyud radati ... riṇāti* "where(ever) your (the Maruts are addressed) thunderbolt splits up (the earth) it releases (the waters)"; 10, 48, 4.

One of the most frequent functions of the pres. ind. is, in these texts, to signify processes which take place or are executed at the moment of speaking (the so-called 'présent actuel'⁵): in addressing Nausicaa Odysseus says: ζ 149 γουνοῦμαι σε ἄνασσα "I beseech thee, O princess". Here a psychological present coincides, to a greater or lesser extent, with a period of time in which a process of a certain duration performed at the moment of speaking takes place. RV. 10, 53, 9 *śiśīte nūnam paraśum* "he is now sharpening his axe"; 2, 33, 13 *yā vo bheṣajā marutaḥ ... | yāni manur avṛṇīta... rudrasya vaśmi* "your medicines, O M., which M. chose, I desire (to obtain) from R."; 5, 24, 4 *taṃ tvā... sumnāya nūnam īmahe* "thus we now implore thee for (thy) benevolence"; 8, 62, 8 *grṇe tad indra te śavaḥ* "I praise, O I., that heroic power of thine"; 9, 80, 1 *somasya dhārā pavate* "the stream of soma is (at the moment of speaking) flowing off clearly"; 10, 162, 3 *jātaṃ yas te jighāṃsati tam ito nāśayāmasi* "der dir die geborene töten will, den treiben wir von hinnen" (Geldner). Cf. e.g. also 5, 33, 1 *dīdhye*; 6, 26, 1 *hvyāmasi*, etc.; hence also in descriptions of events witnessed: 5, 1, 1.

⁵ This use is not identical with that illustrated by the example Πλάτων λέγει "Plato says" which is an 'intemporal use' of the pres. indicative.

In cases such as 9, 82, 4 the process is not, properly speaking, going on at the moment of pronouncing the verb itself, but psychologically it is doubtless 'present time': *śṛṇuhi bravīmi te:... pra carā su jīvase* "hear, I say to you: come on in order to live (that we may live)". The same form is of course used in the third person: 10, 61, 18 *tadbandhuḥ sūrir... rapati pra venan: "sa no nābhiḥ..."*.

The so-called historical present⁶ results from the inclination, on the part of the speaker, to give a vivid and graphic description or to have the hearer go through the events narrated, to make him a witness, to have him see them before his mental eye, to take part in them or dwell on them – the action intermits for a moment –, to be emotionally concerned with them, etc. Cf., in Greek, Xen. Anab. 1, 8, 26 σὺν τοῦτοις δὲ ὦν καθορᾷ (ind.) βασιλέα ...· καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο (impf.), ἀλλ' εἰπὼν "τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶ" ἔτετο (impf.) ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ παίει (ind.) κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει (ind.) διὰ τοῦ θώρακος. Here it is not the pre-verb κατὰ which expresses 'punctuality' or 'perfectivity', but the present forms are 'historical'. That this use, as might be expected, was not foreign to the poets of the R̥V. was already observed by Delbrück.⁷ The hymn R̥V. 1, 32 exhibits "bei lebhafter Schilderung" some clear instances. In st. 7 the poet describes Vṛtra fighting (impf.), handless and footless, the god Indra, who slew (perf.) him, so that he lay (impf.) down, to continue in st. 8... *śayānam... ati yanty āpaḥ* "over him who lay (there) the waters go" (similarly, in 10 *caranti*); and in 9 it reads in connection with the demon's mother *dānuḥ śaye* "the Dānu lies". Cf. also 2, 17, 3; 4, 30, 11; 10, 65, 12. Thus the present is, to cite Delbrück once more,⁸ used "um in einer begonnenen Erzählung einen neuen Zug lebhaft dem Vorangehenden anzureihen".

Not infrequently two pres. indicatives occur in the same context so as to signify simultaneous processes which are characterized by 'duration', that is to say: which are unlimited and present the processes as developing. Thus R̥V. 2, 13, 3 *anv eko vadati yad dadāti* "one accompanies with words what he gives"; 7, 66, 14 *ud u tyad darśataṃ vapur diva eti pratihvare yad īm āśur vahati deva etaśaḥ...*; in 8, 71, 4 one form is an

⁶ See also A. Musič, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 24 (Berlin, 1902), p. 508 ff. For the 'historical present' in Sanskrit see J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), p. 244; in the Prākritis: R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), § 519; in Pāli: H. Bechert, in *Münchener Studien zur Sprachw.*, III² (München, 1958), p. 56.

⁷ Delbrück, *Altindische Tempuslehre* (= *Synt. Forsch.*, II), (Halle a.S., 1876), p. 89.

⁸ Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 278. For epic instances of the pres. ind. expressing "past action in lively narrations" see W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit grammar*, § 777 b.

injunctive: *na tam agne arātayo martaṃ yuvanta rāyaḥ | yaṃ trāyase dāśvāmsam*. One of the processes refers, strictly speaking, to a habit or quality of the subject or to a process by which this is otherwise characterized.

Simultaneity is obvious in cases such as 10, 76, 6 *naro yatra duhate kāmyam madhu* “während die Männer die begehrte Süszigkeit herausmelken” (Geldner). Cf. also 5, 37, 2 (and similar cases): *grāvāṇo yasya ... vadanty ayad adhvaryuḥ* “while his... pressing stones sound the adhvaryu priest will go”.

Very often the process is viewed as taking place when or whenever an occasion presents itself, a condition is fulfilled; 2, 33, 15 “(so be it), O god, that thou doest not be wrathful or kill”; 9, 82, 3 *saṃ grāvabhir nasate vīte adhware* “mit den Steinen kommt er in Berührung, wenn das Opfer zugerichtet ist” (Geldner); 10, 48, 4 *purū sahasrā ni śīśāmi... yam mā somāsaḥ... amandiṣuḥ*; 5, 54, 4; 83, 9. These verbs may also refer to mythical processes which while belonging to the ‘mythical past’, i.e. in ‘timeless Urzeit’, are repeated in historical time: 8, 62, 8 *gr̥ṇe tad indra te śava(h)...* | *yad dhaṃsi* “I praise, O Indra, thine heroic power... that thou slayest”; 3, 31, 8. In 5, 3, 3; 32, 10 and elsewhere the injunctive is used in similar contexts. The pres. indic. is of course also used in temporal, conditional or relative clauses: 5, 4, 10; 6, 3, 1. Often also the statement is general in this sense that it refers not to a specific case, but to any occurrence of the same kind. 1, 31, 6 *tvam agne vṛjinavartaniṃ naraṃ... piparṣi* means, of course, that Agni, whenever the occasion presents itself, rescues a man who follows an evil course; 4, 32, 3 “even with a few companions, who take thy side, thou killest (an adversary who is) mightier”.

Processes signified by the pres. ind. are not infrequently ‘iterative’ or ‘iterative-distributive’ in character; that is to say, they are explicitly or implicitly meant to be liable to repetition. Cf. e.g. ṚV. 6, 15, 1 *vetīd divaḥ... kac cid* “zu jeglicher Zeit des Tages verlangt er” (Geldner); 10, 52, 3 *ahar-ahar jāyate* “he is born daily”; 5, 1, 4 *yad īm suvāte uṣasā ... śveto vājī jāyate* “so oft Uṣas (und die Nacht)... gebären, kommt der weisze Renner... zur Geburt” (Geldner); 5, 18, 1 *viśvāni yo amartyo havyā marteṣu raṇyati*; 1, 126, 6. Compare also instances such as 5, 36, 3 *cakraṃ na vṛttam... vepate mano... me* “like a wheel that has been set in motion my heart trembles”; 52, 3 *te syandrāso mokṣaṇo... atī śkandanti śarvarīḥ* “they leap over the nights like the swift bulls”.

The very nature of the process may involve laying special emphasis on its initial stage: 5, 43, 4 *daśa kṣipo yuñjate... adrim* “die zehn Finger...

setzen den Preszstein in Tätigkeit" (Geldner), the verb *yuj-* meaning "yoking, arranging, making ready, fastening, fitting out"; 54, 12 *svaranti ghoṣaṃ vitatam* "they start their far-spreading cries", *svar-* meaning "to utter sounds (a sound), resound"; 56, 4 *girim pra cyāvayanti* "bringen sie den... Berg in Bewegung".

A pres. indic. may alternate with an injunctive: ṚV. 10, 48, 1 *aham bhuvam... patir aham dhanāni saṃ jayāmi*: 49, 9. Or it alternates with a perfect: 10, 48, 10 *pra nemasmin dadṛṣe somo antar gopā nemam āvir asthā kṛṇoti*.

A curious instance of a so-called present *de conatu*⁹ combining with a desiderative occurs ṚV. 10, 162, 3 *yas te hanti... sarīṣṛpam* (sc. *garbham*) / *jātaṃ yas te jighāṃsati* "who attempts the life (of the embryo) which moves, who wishes to kill it when it is born".

Only in a minority of cases the process expressed by the verb is, from the objective point of view, decidedly short or limited in duration; or it might at least be regarded as such. Cf. e.g. 5, 37, 4 "that king is not overthrown (*vyathate*), with whom Indra drinks soma"; 10, 89, 6 *yad asya manyur... śṛṇāti vīlu rujati sthirāṇi* "when his fury breaks what is firm, shatters what is solid". The process may from a notional point of view be momentary: 1, 94, 2 "(the man) for whom thou (Agni) worshippingest attains his object" (*sādhati*, or: "prosper"); 2, 16, 3 *na te vajram anv aśnoti kaś cana* "nobody overtakes thy thunderbolt"; 3, 59, 2 "nicht trifft (*aśnoti*) ihn Ungemach von nah oder fern" (Geldner); for *aśnoti* cf. also 9, 81, 2; 10, 39, 11 (where Geldner has "heimsuchen"); 10, 62, 9 ("fertig bringen").

It is worth observing that these 'punctual presents' may refer to processes which actually belong to the future: 10, 86, 11 *na hi asyā aparaṃ cana jarasā marate patiḥ* "for her husband will not die of old age also in the future"; 1, 191, 12 "(they have eaten the flowers of poison) they will not die from it": *na marante*; 1, 162, 21 *na... mriyase na riṣyasi*.¹⁰

It would perhaps be advisable to say that in many cases this form is from the point of view of aspect neutral or indifferent. As the duration or absence of duration of the process as it goes on in reality is a matter of indifference we cannot conclude from reality to the idea about the process fostered by the speaker or author, or ascribe to these a view of its 'aspectual character'. Cf. e.g. 7, 103, 3 "when it has rained upon

⁹ See chapter I.

¹⁰ For the 'future' expressed by present forms in Old-Slavonic see e.g. Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave*, I, p. 325 f.

(the frogs), one with a croak of joy approaches (*upa eti*) the other while he speaks"; 6, 27, 8.

Whereas there is no need to dwell any longer on the above uses of the pres. indic., it will be well to recall one interesting point, viz. the character of the presents of the sixth class (type *tudāti*) which have in connection with the problems discussed in this volume drawn the attention of several scholars. With regard to this class which, being represented in the Vedic mantras by nearly a hundred roots¹¹, corresponds to the Greek aorist of the type ἔφωγον, Delbrück¹² pronounced the opinion that it is "terminativ (nicht punktuell, da die Augmentformen imperfektivischen Sinn haben), im Gr. ... punktuell". According to Renou,¹³ however, "l'aspect de ces présents est ponctuel; tantôt l'action indiquée par le verbe est momentanée par nature; *rujāti* "il brise", *girāti* "il avale", *srjāti*, zd. *harəzaiti* "il lâche"; tantôt la racine est indifférente et alors, à côté d'un présent d'une autre forme et duratif, le présent à degré zéro note le procès sous son caractère instantané ou terminatif: c'est l'opposition connue de *tārati* "il passe" et de *vī (prā) tirati* "il atteint en traversant"; le poète note à l'aide de ces formes les faits qu'il désire présenter hors de la durée, les mouvements prompts et brusques, les bruits soudains; il utilise ces présents à certaines fins artistiques ... L'Avesta présente le même emploi de ces présents: V. 3, 42 *frāmərəžaiti (daēnā) vispəm dušmatəm ča ... yaθa vātō... θwāšəm... framərəžōi* "la daēnā balaie toute mauvaise pensée comme le vent balaie l'espace". There are, the French savant continues, some exceptions, viz. those present stems which owe their origin to a reinterpretation of certain athematic forms (type *kṣēti: kṣiyānti* → *kṣiyānti: kṣiyāti*); these have "une valeur d'éventuel".¹⁴

It would be superfluous to argue once again that the French usage to regard the above nuances expressed by these verbal forms as 'aspects' is not recommendable. That processes such as "breaking" or "swallowing" are momentary in nature has nothing to do with 'aspect' in the grammatical sense of the term. The difference between *tārati* and *vī (prā) tirati* is moreover a question of semantics and lexicology. What however strikes us in perusing the 45 presents enumerated by Delbrück is that a large majority of them is decidedly transformative.¹⁵ That means

¹¹ See A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic grammar* (Strassburg, 1910), p. 327.

¹² Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 90.

¹³ Renou, "Le type védique *tudāti*", in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. J. Vendryes* (= *Coll. ling. publiée par la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, 17) (Paris, 1925), p. 309.

¹⁴ See also Renou, *Grammaire védique*, p. 270.

¹⁵ Among the Greek *aoristi secundi* which represent the same formation there are also many non-transformatives: ἔπτετο "he flew"; ἔκινον "I went, moved"; ἔλυθον "I went"; ἔφθινεν "he perished"; ἀπέστιχον "I went away".

that also in the present the final stage of the process is apt to come to the fore. It is therefore not surprising that in one of the examples adduced by Renou, RV. 10, 163, 1 *yakṣmaṃ... mastiṣkāj... vi vrhāmi te* “j’extirpe de toi la fièvre, hors du cerveau” the verb impresses us as being ‘punctual-terminative’. In Dutch we could translate: “trek ik hiermee uit”. The process is indeed presented as reaching its culmination point and its close at the moment of pronouncing the verb. This use, is, in my opinion, not adequately described as “indicative with a modal value”. It is the well-known tendency to anticipate, in emotional speech, curses, etc., the close, result or accomplishment of an action at a moment when this is only performed or has just started.¹⁶ As observed by Renou this indicative is not rarely characteristic of magical texts. That transformative presents such as *srjāti* “to throw, cast, emit, grant” are well adapted for serving as historical presents in cases such as 10, 65, 12 is obvious: “ye have brought (perf.) K. to V.; ye give Vi. (*srjathaḥ*, pres.) to V.”.

However interesting the combination of a pres. of the type *tudāti* and an aor. no doubt is, there is no occasion to hold that the former is used “en fonction d’aoriste”.¹⁷ RV. 10, 137, 4 *dakṣaṃ te bhadram ābhārṣam / parā yakṣmaṃ suvāmi te* may, it is true, be translated: “je t’ai apporté la bonne santé, j’ai repoussé la fièvre loin de toi”, the pres. is, like the above *vi vrhāmi* used in anticipation of the instantaneous effect of the incantation. As soon as the medicine-man has come with his remedies he is – the poet suggests – already engaged in curing the patient and that so as to produce an instantaneous effect. A similar place is 5, 34, 8 *yujam hy anyam akṛta pravepany / ud im gavyam srjate satvabhir dhuniḥ* “da verbündet (aor.) sich nämlich der Schreckensverbreiter mit dem einen und er treibt (pres. ind.) die Rinderherde (des anderen) mit den Kriegern lärmend (aus der Hürde) heraus” (Geldner); that is to say: as soon as the god has associated himself with one of two emulous tribes he already drives away the herds of the other. In both stanzas the verb is accompanied by a significant preverb. Places such as 10, 27, 15 should however not be put on a par with these: here the pres. *vi tiranti* follows the impf. *ud āyan* and the ppf. *sam ajagmiran*, the occurrence of the pres. being due to a tendency to vary and vivify the expression. In 10, 61, 5 the pres. *ā vrhati* which, as I take it, is an element of a vivid narrative follows an impf. In 10, 49, 9 the aor. *vidam* refers to a single occurrence which is believed to have taken place in the past: *vidam manave gātum*

¹⁶ See e.g. L. Spitzer, *Stilstudien* (München, 1928), I, p. 258 ff.; W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1931), p. 41 f.

¹⁷ Renou, in *Mél.-Vendryes*, p. 311 ff.

"I found a way for M.", the pres. ind. is timeless, signifying an habitual activity of the god: *arnāṃsi vi tirāmi* "I pass across the waves (so as to reach the other side)". Although in 5, 30, 13... *māva sṛjanty astaṃ... ruśamāsaḥ* "the Ruśamas let me go home" the fact itself may belong to the past, there is nothing to prevent the poet from experiencing it as belonging to the psychological present: the process of dismissing, though presented as 'durative-terminative' and 'determined', may from this subjective point of view not yet have completely reached its close. The poet sees the action going on before his eyes. It would appear to me that both processes in 5, 53, 6 *vi parjanyaṃ sṛjanti rodasī anu dhanvanā yanti vṛṣṭayaḥ* "... they pour forth rain over heaven and earth; the rain-showers go over the dry soil" are 'presentic' in nature, that is to say they are 'unlimited', continuative, heterogeneous, implying variety and plurality. The transformative *vi sṛjanti* focuses, on the other hand, special attention on the culmination point of the process: the pouring out is really and effectively brought about. Similarly, 3, 29, 14 (*ni miṣati* habitual action); 6, 36, 3 (*ā viśanti*). I would therefore hesitate to agree with Renou who speaks of presents "en fonction d'aoriste".

As is well known the type *atudam*, ἔφυγον is in those other I.E. languages in which it occurs mainly limited to past tenses characterized by secondary endings.¹⁸ In Slavonic, it is true, a normal present category has developed, but this must be regarded as an innovation.¹⁹ As to Sanskrit, the sixth present class has clearly gone through a period of development which has not yet reached its close in the Vedic Mantra period: in the RV. 670 non-indicative forms occur beside only 91 forms with primary endings, most of them belonging to the comparatively recent hymns²⁰ (in the other pres. classes these numbers are 8107: 6180!); whereas the Avesta exhibits similar figures, the Atharvaveda contains a considerably larger number of indicatives (235: 120). The conclusion must therefore be that these indicatives are as a fixed category the result of a rather recent innovation. We should however not describe them as 'punctual presents'. Like their far less frequent Greek counterparts γράφω "I scratch, draw signs; paint, draw, write" and γλύφω "I carve, cut out with a knife, engrave" they are for all practical purposes and in systematic opposition to imperfects and aorists normal presents, that is to say, the process which they express is not 'fixed', 'limited' and de-

¹⁸ Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gramm. d. indogerm. Spr.*², II, 3 (Strassburg, 1913), p. 129 ff.; Renou, *o.c.*, p. 312.

¹⁹ Meillet, *Le slave commun*, p. 181.

²⁰ Cf. also E. V. Arnold, *Hist. Vedic Grammar* (New Haven, 1897), § 383.

void of any 'duration'. It is for instance improbable that the verb in AV. 18, 3, 9 *yatra bhūmer juṣase tatra gacha* "wherever in the world thou enjoyest, thither go" is aspectually 'punctual'. Thus AV. 9, 4, 17 *śṛṅgābhyām rakṣa ṛṣaty avartim hanti cakṣuṣā | śṛṇoti bhadraṁ karṇābhyām* "with his horns he pushes the demon; with his eye he slays ruin, with his ears he hears what is excellent" doubtless speaks of lasting qualities of the bull which is the subject of these sentences, of the animal's faculty of hearing, seeing and its capability of pushing away. The development of these pres. indic. may, on the contrary, be mainly due to the tendency to create indicatives expressing the psychological present beside forms with secondary endings which in accordance with the meanings of the root concerned were more – in 'aoristic' use – or less – in 'presentic' use – exclusively indicative of the culmination points of the processes.²¹ Unmistakable aorists do not indeed fail to make their appearance: *avidam*, *avidat* "I have, he has found" is in the ṚV. an aorist: 1, 53, 1; 72, 6; 92, 9; 5, 83, 10; 6, 44, 7; 63, 1; 7, 89, 4; 8, 48, 3; 91, 1; 10, 94, 3 (but 10, 138, 3 *amucat*, *vidat*, *vy āsyat* it may serve as an impf.) and so are *aruhat* "has mounted, ascended": 6, 71, 2, etc.; *ā asican* "they have poured in": 10, 29, 7. Sometimes the character of the form is dubious: 8, 1, 11 *tudat*; 7, 7, 6 *ātiranta*. That "la forme à augment qui répond à ces présents oscille entre les valeurs d'aoriste et d'imparfait" is therefore true: the impf. *aspr̥ṣat* – beside which we find *spr̥ṣāmi*, etc. – occurs 6, 8, 2 beside *arakṣata* and *amimīta*; *avidam*²² 10, 161, 5 beside *āhārṣam* and *āgāḥ* to express the 'passé actuel'. This feature probably belonged to these forms already at an early period.

Occurrences of another present stem where one would expect to find a form of the sixth class which are explained, in connection with ṚV. 3, 31, 21, by Renou²³ from the inclination on the part of the speaker to avoid these 'punctual presents' may therefore rather be due to the often weakly marked presentic character of these forms. The words *adediṣṭa vṛtrahā gopatir gāḥ* do not leave the hearer in doubt as to the 'imperfectic' character of the verb: "the god, the possessor of kine, has (not recently or incidentally, but, in the mythical past, once and for all) allotted the cows". Thus the intensive is often used where "un présent normal, pour une raison quelconque, est évité".

²¹ For the genesis of these indicatives see E. Leumann, "Die Herkunft der 6. Praesensklasse", *Actes du 10^e Congr. Intern. d. Orient.*, II, 1, 39 ff., and *K.Z.*, 34, p. 587 ff.; Renou, *o.c.*, p. 314 ff.

²² An impf. according to Grassmann, *Wtb.*, 1272.

²³ Renou, *o.c.*, p. 314.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PREVERBS

A. VEDIC *SAM*

Let us now proceed to discuss the Sanskrit examples adduced by Delbrück in corroboration of his thesis that all ancient I.E. languages knew, by means of a preverb corresponding to the Latin *com* etc. which combined with a pres. ind. "eine Perfektivierung in dem Sinne, dasz... der Vorstellung einer Handlung die Nebenvorstellung der Vollendung hinzugefügt wird".¹ "Zur Perfektivierung in dem hiermit umgrenzten Sinne gehören, wie sich sofort ergibt, zunächst zweierlei Vorgänge: erstens muss eine Präposition mit einer Verbalform verbunden werden ... und zweitens muss in der Zusammensetzung die Vorstellung der Vollendung, der Kulminierung der Handlung... hervorspringen, wobei die ursprüngliche räumliche Bedeutung der Präpositionen entweder erhalten, oder (und dies geschieht sehr häufig) ganz oder teilweise verloren gehen kann."² However, Delbrück's statement that in Lat. *conscendo* "to mount, to go on board a ship" "zunächst die Vereinigung mit anderen in denselbem Raum..., dann die Erreichung dieses Punktes und somit ein Kulminationspunkt der Handlung des Steigens bezeichnet (ist)",³ which lacks clearness, does not carry conviction. It is preferable to distinguish two main functions of *cum-* which, if I am not mistaken, are not "zwei Entwicklungsstufen",⁴ but two 'realizations' of one and the same basic meaning: it designates 1) a being or bringing together of several persons or things, etc., and 2) the completeness, thoroughness or perfection of any act⁵; the latter function easily shifts into that of giving intensity to the signification of the simple verb. The Skt. *sam*,

¹ Delbrück, *Verg. Syntax*, II, p. 170, and in general, p. 146 ff.

² Delbrück, *ibidem*, p. 146 f.

³ Delbrück, *ibidem*, p. 148.

⁴ Delbrück, *ibidem*, p. 148.

⁵ It would be incorrect to quote e.g. Lat. *conservare* "to retain, maintain, preserve" as an example of 'Perfektivierung' (cf. Vondrák, *Vgl. Slavische Grammatik*, II, p. 315). For a more specified survey of the nuances expressed by *com-* see Ahlman, *Das lat. präfix com-*, p. 6 f.: there are, semantically speaking, several types: *convivere*; *convenire*; *complicare* (*rudentem*), *construere* (*nidum*); *coniurare*; *computare*; *confugere* (*Romam*); *contremuit*; *confulgere* (*intens.*).

like the Gr. σύν, agrees in substance. It expresses conjunction, union, thoroughness, intensity, completeness, e.g. *saṃ-dhā-* “to place together”; *saṃ-tap-* “to consume utterly by burning”; *saṃ-chid-* “to cut to pieces, cut through, pierce, destroy”. In this case also the so-called comitative and intensive functions are usually kept apart, and the latter is considered a younger modification or ‘obscurisation’ of the former.⁶ However, here also it would be better not to imagine that as long as the prefix had its fundamental sense there was no intensive or perfective function, or to suppose that the latter had developed when the ‘original function’ had faded. These elements really expressed the idea of “being together (with a person or object which from some point of view or other might be regarded as a complement) and, hence, forming a completeness”.⁷

Both functions – or, if one would prefer another term, ‘aspects’ – of Lat. *cum* may be noticed in Lat. *consto*, which is Delbrück’s next example: 1) “to stand with, to agree with”; 2) with the accessory idea of firmness, “to stand firm, to remain immovable, unchanging, steadfast, to abide, last, endure, persevere; to be established, settled, certain, evident, etc.” Cf. also Gr. συνίσταμαι “to stand together, to be joined, form a league, come together” and “to be compact, solid, firm”. The Skt. *saṃ-sthā-*, which is quoted as a parallel, means indeed: 1) “to stand together, to hold together” (e.g. R.V. 9, 96, 12); 2) “to come to a standstill, to stand still, to reach its close, to be firmly established”, which in certain contexts may develop into “to prosper, succeed”, but also into “to come to an end, to perish”. It is difficult to see why this so-called ‘Perfektivierung’ should be due to a weakening of the proper sense of the preverb and a fortiori why it should be a question of aspect. The second function is from prehistorical times proper to the preverbs *cum-* and *saṃ-* and certain combinations of preverb and verb have undergone semantic developments. This ‘Perfektivierung’ is a question of semantics and lexicology; these semantic distinctions cover different processes or modifications of the performance of the processes, not different views of the speaker with regard to their being momentary or continuing.

The next example examined by Delbrück is Lat. *consurgo* which he hesitatingly explains as “den ganzen Körper zusammennehmend sich aufrichten” comparing Skt. *saṃ-hā-* “sich aufrichten, aufraffen, auf-

⁶ See e.g. W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit grammar*⁶ (Leipzig, 1924), p. 396 f.; A. Thumb, *Handbuch des Sanskrit* (Heidelberg, 1905), p. 444; L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite* (Paris, 1930), p. 145.

⁷ See *Reflections on the numerals “one” and “two” in ancient I.E. languages* (Utrecht, 1953), esp. p. 68 f.

stehen": *hā- jihīte* "aufspringen". It would appear to me that e.g. in ṚV. 2, 38, 4 *ut saṃhāyāsthāt* "er rührt sich und hat sich erhoben" (Geldner) or, rather, "having pulled himself (thoroughly) together he got up", *saṃ hā-* indicates that the movement of starting and springing to one's feet was executed completely. Cf. also 3, 51, 4 *saṃ sahase... jihīte* "he leaps up in order to gain the victory"; ŚatBr. 1, 6, 3, 36 *visrastaiḥ parvabhir na śaśāka saṃhātum* "he was unable to rise to his feet with his relaxed joints". The simple verb, however, does not necessarily express the completion of the process: in ṚV. 3, 38, 1 "... I have considered my poetical ideas like a... courser which goes well under the yoke and bounds off (*jihānaḥ*)"; 8, 20, 6 *amāya vo maruto yātave dyaus jihīta* "um eurem Ungestüm, ihr Marut, den Lauf zu lassen fährt der Himmel höher nach oben" (Geldner); 5, 32, 9 *indrasyaaujaso bhiyasā jihāte* "they shrink back for fear of Indra's might"; 10, 59, 1 *parātaram su nirṛtir jihītām* "N. (the goddess of perdition) must shrink rather far away". These examples are of course from the aspectual point of view continuative, but that is not to say that the combinations of *saṃ* and *hā-* are momentary and terminative. It is the movements themselves, not the speaker's view of them which are indicated and specified by *saṃ + hā-*.

Another pair of verbs quoted by Delbrück is Lat. *consido* "to sit down (esp. of a multitude: *cum* "together"), to take a seat, be seated, settle, be in session; settle down permanently; sink down, give way, etc.": "so liegt also... in *consido* ein *com-* vor, durch welches das Zusammenfallen der Kräfte angedeutet wird". This detail, which is a question of semantic development connected with the meaning of the simple verb, is however irrelevant. The Skt. *saṃ-sad-* means 1) "to sit down or be seated together with": ṚV. 1, 36, 9; 10, 169, 4; 2) "to sink down, to collapse, be distressed": *saṃ-sad- kṣudhā* means "to perish with hunger". Notwithstanding the fact that the latter sense is foreign to the oldest texts it should not be regarded as secondary. That the meaning of the simple verb is essential is implicitly admitted by Delbrück himself who further on observes: "die Bedeutung des zu Ende Bringens... tritt besonders deutlich bei der Gruppe von Verben hervor, welche 'fallen, schneiden' u. ähnl. bedeuten": Skt. *saṃ-takṣ-* "to fashion by cutting, to compose, construct" (ṚV. 2, 31, 7) and "to cut to pieces" (Mbh. 7, 147, 62 *anyo 'nyam saṃtataḥsāte rane*). Cf. also, in Greek, συντέμνω "to cut out, shape, cut short (terminate), cut down, cut off, hew out"; συμπίπτω "to fall together, fall in, collapse, etc.". With regard to Lat. *compleo* "to fill up, fill full: to make complete or perfect" and Skt. *saṃ-pṛ-* Delbrück observes that "der Vollendungspunkt der Handlung des Füllens

ins Auge gefasst ist". This is true, although I would prefer to replace "ins Auge gefasst" by "expressed, indicated" or another more 'objective' term. Cf. also BĀU. 6, 2, 2 *asau loka evaṃ bahubhiḥ punaḥ punaḥ prayadbhir na sampūryate* "yonder world is not filled up with the many who again and again go there".

As to those compounds with *com-* "(welche) den Eintritt oder Ausbruch der Handlung vor die Augen führen", it may be observed that in Latin *conqueror* means: "to complain, bewail much or passionately", *congemō* "to sigh or groan loudly or deeply"; being however non-transformative these verbs may in the course of the narrative require a translation: "to burst into complaints, etc.", the attention being focused on the transition to the state of complaining, i.e. on its initial stage. One might compare, in Sanskrit, *saṃ-krudh-* "to become enraged"; *saṃ-kup-* "to become agitated". Since however the simple verbs can express the same nuance, this is not proper to *saṃ-* but to the verb itself. Delbrück himself had to admit that the Lat. *com-* more often was felt to be the 'Verstärkung': *comploro* "laut wehklagen, laut beklagen". Delbrück's closing remark that "man in den Zusammensetzungen mit *com-* und *saṃ-* von verschiedenen Seiten aus zu dem Begriff der Perfektivierung (kommt)" should therefore be restated: these verbs owe their 'perfective' – this term to be taken in a non-aspectual sense – or, rather, 'completive' nuance exclusively to the above-mentioned inherent force of the preverb. His observation that "man oft nicht sagen kann, ob eine Präposition... noch etwas von ihrer ursprünglichen räumlichen Bedeutung bewahrt, oder ob sie bereits völlig zu einem Zeichen der Perfektivierung der Handlung geworden ist" should, as far as *com-* and *saṃ-* are concerned, be more cautiously formulated as follows: "it is not always beyond doubt whether in translating "together" or "completely" should be preferred, or whether these words and especially the latter should be omitted".

The preverb often denotes some varieties of the idea of union or conjunction. In R̥V. 1, 30, 4 *sam atasi kapota iva garbhadhim* "thou (Indra) goest to, approachest (the soma), like a pigeon to his female" the preverb does not, in my opinion, indicate that attention is focused mainly or exclusively on the end of the process; it rather expresses union, that is to say it points out that the subject by means of a process which is viewed as continuing really reaches the object and is, so to say, united with it. Similarly, e.g. 8, 18, 14 *sam it tam agham āśnavat*, a malediction in which *sam* is emphasized by the particle *it*: "evil may reach him completely". Cf. also 3, 54, 5 *devāṃ achā pathyā kā sam eti*; 1, 160, 5 *ojo asme sam invatam* "impart creative power to us", the simplex *invati* meaning "to

advance upon, etc.”; cf. 3, 54, 22 *sam iṣo didīhy asmadryak sam mimīhi śravāmsi*. Whereas the simple verb *rdh-* means “to succeed, prosper”, *sam rdh-* is 10, 85, 27 used to express the sense of “to participate fully in, to be amply furnished with”: *iha priyam prajayā te sam rdhyatām*. The combination *saṃ kṣar-* means “to flow together (of a plurality of drops or jets, of a quantity of liquid)” 9, 85, 5 *indrasya soma jaḥhare sam akṣarah*. Thus *saṃ kṣi-* means 9, 72, 3 “to abide with”; *sam jan-* 9, 68, 5 “to be born together with” (“von Geburt an ausgestattet werden mit”, Grassmann). Joining a considerable number of verbs *sam* expresses the idea of “together”, e.g. *sam ac-* “to press together”; *sam-aj-* “to bring together, to collect (e.g. ṚV. 5, 34, 7); to bring (two parties) into conflict”. *Sam jṛ-*: 4, 3, 15: “moge dein Lobpreis bei den Göttern gut aufgenommen Anklang finden” (*sam... jareta*), the simple *jṛ-* meaning “to sound one’s praises”; *sam jñā-* 10, 191, 2 “to agree, to be of the same opinion”; *jñā-* “to know, regard, recognize”. The combination *sam gam-* means “to go or come together, to join or unite with, to come into contact or collision, to unite sexually, to go or to strive after... conjointly, to obtain (be united with) (e.g. 5, 42, 18)”; the function of the preverb is in the ṚV. always ‘lexical’, it is never an auxiliary element marking aspectual nuances. The simple *takṣ-* means “to form by cutting, to fashion, make”, *sam takṣ-* 2. 31, 7 “to compose (a hymn)”. In 1, 110, 1 *saṃ tṛp-* means “to satiate oneself together with others”. Definite semantic developments find their explanation in this function of the preverb, e.g. *saṃ-nī-* in the sense of “to bring back, restore, repay (a debt)”, i.e. “bring something together with the person to whom it belongs”: 8, 47, 17.

Of greater interest in this connection are those occurrences of *sam* in which it does not alter the sense of the verb considerably (to follow Grassmann⁸). It often expresses completeness or thoroughness of the process indicated by the verb. The object may for instance be affected by the process on all sides: ṚV. 9, 5, 10 *vanaspatim... madhvā sam aṅgdhi* “anoint the tree with ‘honey’” cf. Gr. συναλείφω which does not only mean “to clog up” but also “anoint or rub in thoroughly”. ṚV. 1, 105, 8 *sam mā tapanty... parśavaḥ* “my ribs hurt me on all sides”; or the action is performed completely: 7, 4, 2 *bhūri cid annā sam id atti sadyaḥ* “gar viele Speisen iszt er auf in kurzer Frist”; 10, 145, 1 *yayā saṃvindate patim* “with which one wins the husband completely”. It is certainly not the author’s intention to present the action as momentary, focusing attention on its end but to give his audience the impres-

⁸ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 1478.

sion of a rapid (*sadyah*) and effective (*sam*) development. Thus *sam r̥ṇvati ratham* refers (3, 2, 1) to the complete construction of the chariot. Instances such as 2, 1, 15 *tvaṃ tān saṃ ca prati cāsi* “du bist diese alle zusammen und wiegst... auf” have indeed nothing to do with a terminative aspect. Describing an habitual action the verb in 1, 36, 7 *agnim manuṣāḥ sam indhate* is a normal present, the preverb intimating the thoroughness of the process.

Whereas the verb *ukṣ-* generally speaking means “to sprinkle, moisten” *samuṣṣita-* stands, in connection with the soma, for “poured over (out)” (e.g. ṚV. 3, 60, 5). The combination *sam dah-* means “to destroy completely by fire”: 1, 36, 14; 20; *sam yu-* “to devour”: 7, 4, 2, *yu-* meaning “to unite, yoke, draw towards oneself”; *sam rabh-* “to get possession of”: 1, 53, 4 *sam iṣā rabhemahi*, whereas the simple verb means, *inter alia*, “to enter into communication with”. In ṚV. 10, 17, 13 *sam taṃ siñcatu rādhase* the verb means “strömen lassen (zu einem Zwecke)” (Grassmann). Not rarely the preverb is a reinforcing element in a rather general sense of the term, cf. e.g. 6, 48, 9 *tvaṃ naś... rādhāṃsi codaya*; 7, 27, 3 *codad rādha upastutaś cid arvāk*; 1, 9, 5 *sam codaya citram arvāg rādhaḥ*. Plurality of object and thoroughness or completeness of action seem to combine in cases such as ṚV. 7, 60, 3 *sam yo yūtheva janimāni caṣṭe* “who (the sun) observes (looks attentively at) the races (of men) like (a herdsman his) herds”.

The lexical meaning of the preverb may even predominate so as to weaken, absorb or modify the sense of the simple verb: 7, 2, 1 where Agni is requested to combine (*sam... tatanah*) his flames with the rays of the sun, *tan-* by itself meaning “to extend, be diffused over”; cf. 10, 97, 19 *asyai saṃ datta vīryam*; 10, 85, 22 *sam srj-*. This sometimes leads to semantic developments: 10, 101, 5 *sam varatrā dadhātana* “befestiget die Seile” (Geldner); 6, 38, 3 *brahmā ca giro dadhire sam asmin* “wieder auf ihn vereinigt” (Geldner): these nuances are likewise not aspectual in character.

Places such as 1, 12, 6 *agnināgniḥ sam idhyate* do not contradict the above statements. It is true that in “fire is inflamed by (with) fire” the end and the success of the process are emphasized, but it is, if I am not mistaken, the present form by itself which can express this nuance, the preverb indicating that the inflammation affects the fuel in its entirety, that the process takes place thoroughly or completely, etc. Similarly, 4, 50, 9, etc. “without meeting with opposition he gains (completely: *jayati sam*) the objects of value”; 1, 42, 1 *sam pūṣann adhvanas tira* the god P. is requested “die Wege zurückzulegen” (Grassmann); 1, 10, 8

saṃ gā asmabhyam dhūnuhi, cf. 3, 45, 4 *pakvam phalam aṅkīva dhūnuhīndra sampāraṇaṃ vasu*, the simple verb meaning “to shake (down)”, the compound “to shake down so as to reach somebody completely, to bestow on (by shaking)”; 1, 48, 16 *saṃ no rāyā... mimikṣvā* “present us lavishly with”; 2, 15, 6 *vajreṇāna uṣasaḥ saṃ pipeṣa* “with his vajra he destroyed the cart of Uṣas completely”, the addition of a pres. part. adding to the improbability of an aspectual sense: “he completed the destruction of ...”; 10, 82, 2.

If there is a plurality of subjects the preverb may point to community of action: 1, 6, 9.

This preverb is also used, in a passage exhibiting the preverb *vi* “apart, asunder, in different directions”, to express the opposite sense: ṚV. 5, 78, 6 *vrkṣaṃ saṃ ca vi cācathaḥ*.

The conclusion may therefore be that *saṃ* throws syntactic connections into relief and helps to denote varieties and modifications of the process itself; it does however not express the views of the speaker on the ‘duration’ or ‘punctuality’ of the process.

The same function must be ascribed to *saṃ* when it combines with a form of the perfect stem: ṚV. 8, 12, 24 *amād id asya titviṣe saṃ ojaśaḥ* “vor seiner Wucht geriet (die Welt) in Aufregung, vor seiner Stärke”.

Combining with an aorist stem *saṃ* does not appear to reinforce the aspectual or temporal function of that form. In ṚV. 5, 21, 1, etc. *saṃ idhimahi* no doubt means “we will kindle or inflame (thee) completely”. The poet of 6, 41, 3 states that the long and complicated process of preparing the soma had been brought to its close: *indrāya... saṃ akāri somaḥ*, the same expression occurring in 3, 35, 8; cf. also 10, 82, 4. Other examples are: 10, 159, 6 *saṃ ajaiṣam imā ahaṃ sapatniḥ* translated by Geldner: “ich habe alle (*saṃ*!) diese Nebenbuhlerinnen besiegt”, the aor. referring to the immediate past; 6, 54, 7 *mākīm saṃ śāri kevaṇe*.

B. VEDIC *PRA*

With regard to the preverb *pra-* Delbrück at the time remarked that “wenn man eine neu vorzunehmende Handlung im Sinne hat, das Verbum mit *pra-* einen ingressiven Sinn bekommt, der an den des Aorists erinnert”.⁹ This statement which agrees with that made by Indian lexicographers according to whom *pra-* may also be used in the sense of, *inter alia*, *ārambha-* “beginning”, was recently endorsed by

⁹ Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 460.

Renou: “*pra*... nuance ingressive”.¹⁰ The question however arises as to how to judge the character of this ingressive nuance.

From a great variety of examples it appears that even if an initial stage of a process is indicated, the other i.e. the ‘lexical’ sense of the preverb is also in the same combination not absent. This lexical sense is, as is well known, “before, forward, on, forth, away”; cf., e.g. in Greek πρό- in verbal compounds: “before, forwards, forth, away, publicly, in preference, beforehand”. It is, again, the task of this element to specify how the process is performed. The verbs with which it combines are often non-transformative, expressing movement. The following survey may serve to illustrate the combinations of which, in the Ṛgveda, this *pra-* is a component. RV. 10, 32, 8 the ‘ingressive’ meaning is clear: *adyed u prāṇīt* “only today he began to breath”, the subject being fire which comes back to life; in 10, 125, 4 however there is no occasion for this interpretation: “whoever sees, whoever breathes (*prāṇiti*), whoever hears...”. In Latin, the compound *proflare* stands for “blowing forth, breathing out, puffing and blowing”.¹¹ So the question arises whether our translations do not exaggerate the difference between the ‘ingressive’ and ‘non ingressive’ function of this preverb.

In connection with verbs of movement *pra* may indeed throw the initial phase of the movement into relief although it is not always easy to distinguish between this nuance and those of “going, streaming, etc. on” and “to appear while going, etc.”, and although it is certainly not the most outstanding connotation of the phrases which are to follow: *ṛṣ-* “to flow quickly, to move with a quick motion”: with *pra*: cf. 20, 1; 34, 1; 66, 13; 86, 1; *i-* “to go”: *pra-i-* may mean “to come forth (Gr. πρόειμι “to go forward, advance”), appear (Gr. “to appear in public, spring from”)” and even “to begin, to start”: RV. 3, 29, 16 *prayati yajñe asmin* “bei diesem beginnenden Opfer” (Geldner); 1, 40, 3 *praitu brahmaṇas patiḥ* “B. soll sich aufmachen” (Geldner); 1, 80, 3 *prehy abhīhi*; this nuance occurs beside that which admits of the translation “herangehen” (Geldner): 1, 144, 1 *eti pra hotā vratam asya*, and that of “appearing, come out”: BĀU. 3, 9, 28, 2 “blood flows (*praitu*) as sap from a tree that is struck”. Cf. also *pra + ṛñj-* RV. 3, 43, 6; *pra kṣar-* “to stream forth”: 9, 29, 1; 30, 1, rather than “begin to stream”. Cf. the Greek προρέω “to flow forward or forth, to flow amain”; in Latin, *profluere* means “to flow forth; to issue, proceed”. In VS. 10, 30 ... *devatayā prasūtaḥ pra-*

¹⁰ Renou, *Gramm. védique*, p. 320.

¹¹ The succinct notes on *pro-* in (M. Leumann)-J. B. Hofmann, *Lat. Grammatik*, p. 534, are unsatisfactory.

sarpāmi however means “I creep forth urged onward by the... deity”. Some nuances expressed by *pra* may be studied in connection with the verb *gam-* “to go”: 5, 41, 4 *pra... divaḥ... prabhṛthe... ājīm na jagmur...* “from the sky they have set out to the offering like (those possessing swiftest horses) to a race”; the starting-point of the movement from which onward this while being qualified by the idea of the preverb takes place is indicated in the sentence, similarly, 10, 57, 1 *mā pra gāma pathaḥ*; 10, 1, 2 “brüllend bist du aus deinen Müttern hervorgegangen (*pra... gāḥ*)” (Geldner); in 10, 85, 13 *vahataḥ prāgāt* means “die Hochzeitszug hat sich aufgemacht” (Geldner); 7, 104, 17 the sense is “to appear”; cf. the Greek *προβαίνω* “to step forward, advance, make progress”. R.V. 6, 37, 2 *pro droṇe harayaḥ karmāgman* “in the bucket the yellow (juices) have set out to work”; 8, 8, 10 “when the young woman mounted the chariot, you set out to all products of poetical inspiration”, the moment of starting being indicated in the text. *Pra-dravati* does not properly mean “to begin to run”, but “to run forwards, run away, to start and continue running in a certain direction”: 8, 13, 14; 10, 112, 2; cf. the Greek *προθέω* “to run forth”. In using *pra-yā-* “to set out, to go forth”, also (7, 95, 1) “to flow on” the authors often threw the beginning of the action into relief; as the verb is non-transformative the simple may be employed in the same way: 4, 4, 1 *yāhi rājeva* “march out like a king”; the compound may, on the other hand, mean “to go on” (2, 16, 7), or “to lead the way” (10, 8, 1). Beside *pat-* “to fly, soar, rush on; to fall or throw oneself (down upon)” *pra pat-* stands for “to fly away or along, to hasten towards, to fly or fall down upon etc.”: R.V. 10, 165, 5 = A.V. 6, 28, 1 “it shall fly forth”; R.V. 10, 27, 22 *tato vayaḥ pra patān* “from there the birds shall...”; 96, 14, etc.; the sense is not that of “beginning to fly”; cf., in Greek, *προπίπτω* “to fall or throw oneself forward, to rush headlong, to move forwards”; *pra pad-* is translated by “to fall upon, attack”: 6, 75, 16, this meaning is however determined by object and context, the sense of verb and preverb being actually “to make one’s way forward”; *pra-vah-* means “to carry forwards, draw onwards, to carry off in flowing, to lead or bring to etc.” cf., in Latin, *proveho* “to carry or conduct forwards, along, to transport, to carry on, promote etc.”; *pra-vā-* “to rush or blow (as wind)”; R.V. 5, 83, 4 *pra vātā vānti* may be, with Geldner, “die Winde wehen los”. Whereas *vij-* may express the sense of “starting back” *pra vij-* means “to rush forth”; *pra vī-* “to go forth, make for, strive after”; *pra-vṛt-* “to roll or go onwards, be set in motion”: *vṛt-* “to turn, roll, move”: in Latin *provertere* means: “to turn forwards”.

The preverb *pra-* "forth" often enters into a combination with verbs which by themselves express initial phases of movements or of other processes: *r-* "to set in movement, to set going, to begin to move, to move off": *pra r-*; cf. 8, 12, 31 *imāṃ ta indra suṣṭutīm vipra iyarti* and 10, 188, 2 *asya pra... mahīm iyarmi suṣṭutīm*, both expressions admitting of the translation "I start a song of praise"; cf. 10, 116, 9 etc.; 1, 39, 5 *pro ārata maruto durmadā iva* "ihr Marut zoget wie Betrunkene los" (Geldner) and in another shade of meaning 1, 49, 3 *vayaś... prāran divo antebhyas pari* "the birds have appeared from the ends of the sky". Cf. such Latin verbs as *prosilio* "to leap or spring forth", not "to start springing"; *profugio* "to flee, fly from, run away, escape". Whereas the simple *as-* means "to throw, to cast" *pra-as-* expresses the modification "to throw or hurl forth, to discharge (a missile)": R.V. 1, 39, 1 *pra yad itthā parāvataḥ śocir na mānam asyatha*; it is however the idea of "forth, onward" which should appear in the English equivalent rather than that of 'beginning, starting': cf. e.g. ŚatBr. 3, 1, 2, 8 "he throws (*prāsyati*) them into the vessel of water". Similarly, the Greek προβάλλω means "to throw to, lay before, put forward", and hence "propound, send forth, emit", not "to start throwing", the Latin *proicio* "to throw forth, fling away, drive, throw away, etc". Beside the simple *idh-* "to kindle, light, set on fire" the combination *pra idh-* occurs to stress the moment of "beginning to burn": 7, 1, 3; 10, 69, 12. Thus *pra iṣ-* "to drive on, urge, send forth" may be considered a reinforced *iṣ-* "to send off, impel, set in motion": cf. e.g. 9, 64, 9; 9, 12, 6, and *pra hi-* "to urge on, incite". Another pair is *īr-* "to move, rise, raise" and *pra īr-* "to move, arise, come forth", the causatives meaning "to set in motion": in textplaces such as R.V. 10, 37, 9 "all beings arise (come forth, in the morning: *pra cerate*) and come to rest (in the evening *ni ca viśante*)" this shade of meaning is again a question of semantics and lexicology, not an aspectual modification. Cf. also 9, 85, 7. Thus *pra-cud-* means "to set in motion, drive on, urge, impel" (*cud-* "to impel, incite, animate"): there is however nothing to make us believe that this process is e.g. 5, 56, 7 viewed as momentary: *pra taṃ ratheṣu codata*. The caus. *pra cyāvayati* is e.g. 7, 19, 1 obviously continuative ("vor sich hertreiben", Geldner). Beside *nud-* "to push, impel, move" *pra nud-* is used to denote such ideas as "pushing on, setting in motion, propelling, driving away": AV. 2, 25, 5 *parāca enān pra nuda* "thrust them forth to a distance"; 12, 1, 41 "let that earth drive away (*pra nūdatām*) our rivals"; PB. 20, 6, 1 "having compelled (*p.*) his rival from these worlds". The special nuance which is emphasized by this compound is not that of an 'ingressive-momentary

aspect', it is not aspectual at all. Cf. Gr. *προωθέω* "to push forward, propel, push", not "to start pushing". The difference between *muc-* "to loose, release, set free, etc." and *pra-muc-* was, in the Petr. Dict., made clear by the translation "auflösen, aufbinden, ablösen, etc." of the latter term; not rarely the usual sense of *pra-* is evident: "shake off; discharge, fling, utter, etc.", there is no question of an aorist-like meaning. Cf. e.g. also *pra-yuj-* "to yoke, set in motion, etc."; *pra-dhan-* means "hervorlaufen, -strömen, quellen", though Geldner's "sich im Lauf setzen" (4, 3, 12) is admissible; for *pra* in the sense of "hervor" (cf. Latin *producere* "to lead forward or out, bring forth"; Gr. *προφέρω* in the meaning of "to bring forward, utter, bring out, produce") see also *pra-stanayati* "to thunder forth", "donnernd hervorbrechen aus" (Grassmann): 10, 75, 3 ("rain from the clouds"); *pra pinv-*, e.g. 5, 83, 6, but 3, 33, 12 the sense rather is "anschwellen", cf. 4, 19, 7; 10, 31, 11; 8, 100, 7 *pra nūnaṃ dhāvatā prthak* "run forwards (from a certain starting-point) one by one"; cf. also 1, 166, 4 *pra dhraj-*; *pra-ñī-* is "to lead forwards, advance, promote"; *pra dhū-* is not "to start shaking" but "to shake out": 10, 26, 7.

When accompanied by an accusative object verbs of reaching, attaining, etc. may, also in combination with *pra*, express the sense of "to reach a person or object": ṚV. 2, 23, 12 *mā praṇak tasya no vadhaḥ*, the idea of momentary action is conveyed by the aorist, not by *pra* which vaguely points to the idea of "forwards". This "forwards" may in certain combinations assume a somewhat 'intensive' force: *pra-sādhayati* (ṚV. 6, 49, 8) "to execute successfully, to accomplish".

The initial moment seems also to be thrown into relief in cases such as *pra-kupyate* "to become agitated, angry or enraged, to fly into a passion": *kupyate* "to be or become moved, excited, agitated, angry"; the simple verb may however express the same nuance; cf. also *pra-modate* "be or become joyful"; cf. in OChSl. *progněvati* "to make angry"; *krand-* "to cry out": ṚV. 5, 59, 1 "nach euch ausspähend hat er aufgebrüllt" (*pra... akran*, aor., Geldner). This nuance does however not belong to the corresponding Greek compounds, *προχαίρω* meaning "to rejoice beforehand", *προβοάω* "to shout before, to shout aloud"; the OChSl. *proglagolati* means "to emit speech", and also "recover one's voice". *Kram-* "to step, walk, go": 10, 138, 5 *prakrāmat* "she set out, ran away"; 9, 31, 1 *pra somāsaḥ... pavamānāso akramuḥ* "the soma juices which are flowing off clearly have set out", that is, 'literally', they have moved on from a certain point, the starting-point, onward; *krīḍ-* "to sport, play, frolic": *pra-krīḍ-* "sich an's Spielen machen" (Petr. Dict.), a translation

which is no doubt in part of the cases admissible, but R̥V. 4, 41, 11 *yad didyavaḥ pṛtanāsu prakṛiḥ* may also, with Grassmann, be considered to mean “(wenn die Geschosse in den Kampfen) sich vorwärts schwingen oder hervorhüpfen”; 8, 79, 2 *prem andhaḥ khyat* “the blind one became seeing”; cf. also 7, 81, 4 of Dawn who enables men to see: *kṛṇoṣi... prakhyai*: “to see from the disappearance of blindness or darkness onward”; cf. 9, 108, 12 *pratapañ jyotiṣā tamaḥ*; 10, 106, 1 “he (the singer praying or his hymn) has awakened (them: the Aśvins, *prem ajīgaḥ*)”; in *pra dṛśyate* the idea of “becoming visible” is decidedly emphasized: 7, 76, 2 *pra me panthā devayānā adṛśran*.

In combination with certain verbs *pra-* modifies the signification of the simple so as to stress the moment of putting out or forth, uttering or emitting. Thus *ah-* meaning “to speak”, *pra āh-* stands for “to proclaim” (R̥V. 4, 19, 10); *pra brū-* “to proclaim, announce, declare, betray”, e.g. 1, 55, 4; 2, 42, 1; *pra vac-* “to proclaim, praise, etc.” 7, 34, 1 *pra... etu devī manīṣā* “die... göttliche Dichtung soll von uns hinausgehen”; “to speak out” or “to speak ‘forth’” may however in definite contexts assume the sense of “starting (a hymn, etc.)”: *pra vad-* R̥V. 1, 40, 5; 7, 103, 1; although “to pronounce, utter, speak (out), etc.” may suffice. This nuance is very much like that expressed by *προ-* in Gr. *προειπεῖν* “to declare or proclaim (publicly)”; *προγράφω* “to set forth as a public notice, to give notice of”. With *dā-* *pra-* indicates the idea of “away”: *pra-dā-* “to give away, deliver up, give in marriage, etc.”; in Greek *προδίδωμι* means “to give up; to give up to the enemy (to betray), to forsake, to surrender”; *pra yas-* means R̥V. 3, 53, 22 “to boil over”, not “to begin to bubble”.

That *pra bādh-* may mean “to press forward” as well as “to drive away” finds its explication in the fact that *pra* stands for “forward, away, from a certain starting-point”; the rest depends on the context. Cf. also *pra vr-* “to keep away, ward off” beside *vr-* “to conceal, cover”. The particular nuance of *pra-budh-* “to awake” probably appears in contexts such as ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 22 *yathetaḥ suptvā svasti prabudhyāmahai* “that, having rested here, we will awake safely”; 4, 1, 2, 25, as against R̥V. 1, 92, 11; 123, 2 where the previous sleep is not mentioned.

The frequent compound *pra-sad-* is usually, and rightly, translated by “to settle down, become tranquil, placid, bright (of sea, sky, mind, etc.); to be gracious, favourable, etc.”. Like German translations “klar, hell, heiter werden, sich von aller Aufregung frei machen: gnädig sein” these equivalents are such as to suggest an ‘ingressive’ character of the Sanskrit verb. However, the simplex *sīdati* may – as only is to be expected,

because the verb is non-transformative – not only denote the idea of “sitting” but also that of “sitting down”, the latter sense occurring e.g. ṚV. 1, 85, 7; 186, 3, the former e.g. 6, 16, 23; 8, 21, 5. The expression “to settle down” or “to sit” is also applied to the powers of nature and the human passions and *pra* is, again, “from a certain starting-point onwards”. In the course of time this compound practically speaking specialized in this meaning.

There exists in the epics and later literature an interesting opposition between *cakāśe* (perf.) “to be visible, shine, be brilliant” and *pra-kāś-* “to become visible or manifest, to appear”: from the texts, e.g. KaUp. 3, 12 “the Self, though hidden in all beings, does not appear (*na pra-kāśate*)”; ŚvUp. 6, 23 “these subjects which have been declared... shine forth (*p.*)”; Mbh. 3, 110, 22 *viśvāmitrāśramo ramya eṣa cātra prakāśate*; Comm. on Pāṇ. 4, 3, 83 *tataḥ (himavataḥ) prathamam prakāśate (gaṅgā)*; Suśr. 2, 344, 7 *nirabhra iva gharmāṃśur yadā dṛṣṭiḥ prakāśate*; Rām. 3, 16, 13 *saniḥśvāsa ivādarśaś candramā na prakāśate*, it however appears that the ‘original sense’ of the compound has in all probability been “to shine forth, to appear from a definite place or moment onwards”. The adj. *prabhāta-* is explained as “begun to become clear or light”, but “shone forth” seems to render the sense somewhat more exactly; *prabhāta-* is the “daybreak”; for *pra-bhā-* “hervorleuchten” see ṚV. 1, 121, 7; cf. also AiB. 4, 9 *uṣasy āgatāyām aruṇam ivaiva prabhāty uṣaso rūpam*. The Greek verb προφαίνω means “to show forth, bring to light, make illustrious; to show beforehand; give light (e.g. of the moon)”, not “to begin to shine”; the eventive-intransitive προφανείς is “coming forward and appearing”. For *pra ruc-* in the sense of “hervorleuchten” (lat. *pro-lucere* “to shine forth”) see ṚV. 1, 121, 6 “like the sun shines forth from dawn”; 3, 29, 14 of the inflaming fire; 61, 5 of Uṣas “aufleuchten” (Geldner).

The beginning of a process is according to Grassmann and others also expressed by *pra gai-* “to begin to sing, celebrate, extol”: 5, 68, 1 *pra vo mitrāya gāyata*; 6, 40, 1; elsewhere in the first stanza of a hymn; 6, 45, 4. It would however appear to me that here also “to ‘sing forth’, to sing from now on” would be a somewhat more exact rendering than “to begin to sing”. It would be wrong to consider these and similar combinations equivalent to an aorist: the process of singing is certainly not viewed as ‘momentary’, as exempt of duration or as a moment in a series of events. The sense of *pra stu-* is similar. I fail to see any difference between ṚV. 8, 16, 1 “praise (*pra... stotā*) Indra with hymns”, 8, 35, 11 *jayataṃ ca pra stutaṃ ca* where Grassmann believes the sense to be “lobliches,

ruhmreiches Unternehmen" and Geldner translates "stimmet das Lob an" (cf. 6, 21, 10), and 1, 154, 2 or 8, 81, 5. In stanzas such as 5, 54, 4 which begin with the preverb the latter impresses us as a stimulating element ("up!, at once") *pra... imāṃ vācam anajā parvatacyute*. The sense "zu opfern anheben" assumed by Grassmann for *pra yaj-* cannot as far as the ṚV. is concerned be substantiated. Even if Grassmann's "sich in Streit einlassen" is an admissible translation of 6, 67, 9 *pra yad vām... spūrdhan*, this phrase is not 'ingressive' in character ("wettstreiten" Geldner).

The frequent construction of *pra-mad-* "to be careless or indifferent, negligent or heedless about" with the abl. may also be explained from the same force of the preverb: AV. 8, 1, 7 *mā jīvebhyaḥ pra madaḥ* lit. "do not be intoxicated, stupefied, careless 'forth' from the living" i.e. "do not turn away neglectfully from the living"; ṚV. 7, 18, 21 *pra ye gṛhād amamaduḥ* (where Geldner translates "fortgepilgert waren").

The idea of "forward, to the front" is also apparent in *pra-han-* "losschlagen auf": TB. 3, 8, 4, 1 *śunaḥ*.

That such verbs as *muṣ-* "to steal, rob", *mṛj-* "to cleanse, wipe (off)", *yam-* "to extend, hold, etc." entered into a combination with *pra* is not astonishing.

The special connotation added by *pra* to *bhañj-* "to break, shatter, etc." may be learned from *prabhañjana-* "the storm, tempest, hurricane"; in the ṚV. *pra bhañj-* occurs 10, 103, 4 *prabhañjan senāḥ* "defeating the armies", which though explained by Sāyaṇa as *prakarṣeṇa nāsayan*, may be compared to Mbh. 5, 48, 53 *sainyaṃ... prabhajyantaṃ gokulavat* "an army scattering like a herd of kine"; this sense is no more ingressive than ṚV. 6, 68, 6 *p. yo bh. vanuṣām aśastīḥ*. In cases such as *pra vṛdh-* "to increase, grow (up), become longer or stronger" the preverb serves to 'intensify' the meaning of the simple verb which implies onward movement.

With verbs expressing processes which may be destructive *pra* may be considered to have an 'intensive' sense: thus *pra dah-* ṚV. 1, 76, 3 *pra su viśvān rakṣaso dhakṣy agne* may be translated "destroy by fire...". Here also the general function of the preverb may be recognized: "burn henceforth". Compare, in Latin, *profligare* "to dash to the ground, to cast down utterly, to overthrow, to bring almost to an end, despatch": *fligēre* "to strike (down)"; *proruere* "to pull down, hurl to the ground, demolish"; *profundere* in the sense of "dissipating". In OChSlav. we find *probiti* "to break", etc. Joining a durative verb form "to burn henceforth" is at the same time "to continue burning so as to burn

away”: AV. 1, 36, 1 *tān... pradahatv agniḥ*; TB. 2, 3, 7, 1 *sarvaṃ vai māyaṃ pradhakṣyati*. Cf. also *pra mṛṇ-* “to ‘crush away’ (‘fortschmettern’ Grassmann); *pra ruj-* “to break down”; *pra śṛ-* “to break in pieces, break off, crush”: cf. Lat. *profringere* (*frango*) “to break up (of ploughing)”. The combination *pra vap-* “to shave forth” seems to be used for “to shave off”: RV. 10, 142, 4. Cf. also *pra-kṣi-* “to destroy” (RV. 10, 27, 4), where *pra-* “den Begriff nicht wesentlich ändert” (Grassmann). Here it is worth noticing that the cognate Germ. (Goth.) *fra-*, i.e. Mod. Germ. *ver-*, Dutch *ver-* etc., which originally must have expressed the same sense “forth, forward away” (Goth. *fragiban* “to give away”; Germ. *vermachen* “to will away, bequeath”) specialized in the signification “away”, emphasizing a moment of disappearance and destruction: cf. Goth. *fra-itan*, Dutch *vreten* “fressen, aufzehren; to feed”; Germ. *verschwinden*, *verdauen*, *verkommen*, *vergeuden*, *verdampfen*, *versaufen*, *verbrennen*, *verbringen*, etc. Cf. also instances such as *verrenken* “den Knochen aus der Gelenkkapsel zerren”. In some cases the signification of the simplex has already reference to destruction, damage, wrong result, “das Einschlagen falscher Richtung”, etc.: Germ. *verfaulen*, *vertilgen*, *verfehlen*. In these compounds the idea of the verb is so to say reinforced. “Da die Vorstellung aber nur einfach empfunden wird, so ergibt sich daraus die Folge, dass der Sinn von *ver-* verblaszt, dass er nur noch als Ausdruck dafür erscheint, dass der Vorgang zum Abschluss gebracht ist”¹²: cf. Germ. *verfaulen*, *vertilgen*; *versinken* and, in Skt., e.g. *prakhād-* “to eat up, devour”: *khād-* “to chew, eat, feed, devour”. Sometimes the simplex has fallen into disuse at an early moment: Goth. *fraliusan*, Dutch *verliezen*, Mod. Germ. *verlieren*, OEngl. *forlēosan*. The prefix was also added to loanwords: Germ. *verdammten* < *ver* + Lat. *damnare*.

A similar ‘semantic development’ – if there is any ‘development’ at all – may be assumed in cases such as *pra ṇu-* “to roar”, “aufschreien” (Geldner); “laut tönen” (Grassmann), “dröhnen, schallen” (Petr. Dict.). Cf. Gr. *προβοῶω* “to cry aloud”. In certain contexts however the same general sense of *pra* leads to combinations expressing a process which is characterized by a gradual progress: RV. 1, 92, 11 *praminatī manuṣyā yugāni* “amenuisant (faisant disparaître peu à peu) les générations humaines” (Renou)¹³; cf. 5, 79, 10.

¹² H. Paul, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*² (Halle a.S., 1908), p. 591. Cf. also M. Leopold, *Die Vorsilbe ver- und ihre Geschichte* (Breslau, 1907).

¹³ Renou, *Étud. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 32; 40; see also p. 81; P. Thieme, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 95, p. 98.

In some of the above instances the force lent by the preverb to the compound reminds us of the signification of *pro-* in Slavonic languages: “die Bewegung durch einen Gegenstand in einer Richtung, die Dauer einer Handlung während einer bestimmten Zeit”¹⁴ and in addition to these, those of “bursting out” and “penetrating”. The ‘intensive’ sense recurs in Celtic: OIr. *ro*, *ru* may be used as a mere intensive prefix; before an adj. it usually means “too, excessively”.

In addition to the meanings expressed by the simple verb *jan-* “to generate; to be born” *pra jan-* has also the sense of “to propagate offspring”, Germ. “sich fortpflanzen”, and especially, Lat. *progigno* “to beget, bring forth, produce”. A significant compound is also *pravayati* which is used of the continued activity of “weaving, weaving on, stringing, etc.”: RV. 10, 130, 1; ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 15 “he weaves gold (threads) into them (strainers)”; BhagG. 7, 7 *protam sūtre maṇigaṇā iva* “strung as rows of gems on a string”. Cf. also *pra śri-* RV. 10, 76, 4 “to add to”: *śri-* “fix on, fasten to etc.”, and *pra hu-* which may assume the sense of “to sacrifice continually”: RV. 1, 162, 19; 2, 9, 3. The related Gr. *προχέω* expresses the idea of “pouring forth or forward”, the likewise cognate Lat. *profundo* may, however, also imply the idea of “(shedding) copiously; (stretching) at full length, etc.”

According to Grassmann *pra pā-* means “zu trinken beginnen mit”, according to Roth in the Petr. Dict. “sich an’s T. machen, trinken”; in RV. 10, 85, 5 *yat tvā deva prapibanti tata ā pyāyase punaḥ* the expression rather refers to continued drinking. Both *gāh-* and *pragāh-* mean “to dive, penetrate into” but the compound exhibits a shade of meaning which is missing in the simple verb: RV. 1, 127, 4; *pra cakṣaya* “start lighting up” is 1, 134, 3 used in connection with verbs of “putting to the chariot”, “awaking”, “to become light”, the simple *cakṣ-* meaning “to see, look at”. The simple *dṛ-* means “to break, tear, split open”, *pra dṛ-* RV. 6, 26, 5 “herausschlagen”.

Beside *vas-* “to stay overnight, abide, live at a place” *pra vas-* means “to stay away”, i.e. “to sojourn abroad, to leave home, to set out on a journey”.

The Petr. Dict. attempts to distinguish between *ukṣ-* and *pra-ukṣ-* by translating the former by “träufeln lassen, besprengen”, the latter by “vor sich hinsprengen”: VS. 2, 1 *agnaye tvā juṣṭam prokṣāmi* “I sprinkle thee agreeable to Agni”.

Sometimes the force of the preverb is more pronounced or it verges on the sense of “open”. Then also it is not ‘ingressive’ in the proper

¹⁴ Vondrák, *Slavische Grammatik*, II, p. 313.

sense of this term, but rather that of “forward” or the German “hervor”: RV. 5, 86, 1 *ḍṛlḥā cit sa pra bhedati dyumnā*; or the connotation of “opening” is added to the meaning of the simple verb: 1, 32, 1 *pra vakṣaṇā abhinat parvatānām* “he tore the flanks of the mountains open”; TS. 6, 6, 7, 4 “wie man mit dem Pfluge den Acker aufreist (*prabhindanti*)” (Roth, in Petr. Dict.); cf. the above Lat. *profringo*. Beside *vrj-* “to bend, turn, twist off” *pra vrj-* means “hinwerfen, to place in or on the fire”. Beside *snā-* “to bathe” *pra-snā-* means “to enter the water”: RV. 8, 75, 8 *prasnātīr ivosrāḥ* “like cows entering water for bathing”; PB. 14, 5, 17 *samudraṃ p.*; ŚB. 12, 2, 1, 1.

At first sight *pra-bhū-* has a great variety of meanings; however, “to come forth, originate from, arise” (e.g. ŚB. 1, 3, 2, 2 *ātmano evemāni sarvāṇy 'ṅgāni prabhavanti*; Comm on Pāṇ. 1, 4, 31 *himavataḥ prabhavati gaṅgā*) clearly comes to “to ‘grow, thrive forward’, come into being”; “to become greater, larger, to become more, to prevail, have power” to “to ‘grow forth’ (come forward, stand out, to be ahead of...)” (TB. 1, 5, 2, 5 *paśavo revatyām prābhavan*); in definite contexts this sense may be interpreted as “to be equal to, avail, be of use to”. The compound *pra bhūṣ-* which occurs RV. 1, 159, 1 may be translated by “to augment, increase” (cf. the caus. of *pra-bhū-* in later literature).¹⁵ The various ‘meanings’ of *pra bhṛ-* “to bring forward, place before, offer, present, extend, hurl, etc.” are likewise contextual specializations of one general sense, which is decidedly not ‘ingressive’. Cf. Lat. *profero* “to bring forth, offer, produce, etc.”; Gr. *προφέρω* “bring forward, present, etc.”. With regard to *pra-sthā-* the remark may suffice that the sense exhibited RV. 1, 135, 1 “für dich sind die süßen Presztränke aufgestellt (*pra... asthiran*)” represents “to stand before”, the meaning “to advance (towards), proceed, set out, depart”, etc. has developed from “to place oneself further on or ‘onwards’”, not from the sense of “standing” or “place oneself” viewed ingressively.

As already appears from part of the above examples the preverb *pra* may also combine with an aorist. See also 10, 95, 2 “I have gone away (*prākramiṣam*) like the first of the dawns”; 9, 109, 16 *pra suvāno akṣāḥ*; 8, 1, 7; 2, 23, 12; 10, 120, 6.

So the conclusion may be that *pra* does not help to constitute phrases or compounds which are for all practical purposes identifiable with ingressive aorists. When exhibiting a present form the *pra* compound has all the characteristics of an ordinary present, when an aorist form it is a normal aorist. The preverb does not fulfill an aspectual function.

¹⁵ Cf. *Four studies*, p. 83.

What it does is to express, in general terms, the idea of “from a certain point forward or onward”, which is in harmony with the general meaning of this word in its adverbial and prepositional functions: “before, forward, in front, on, forth”. The senses in which it according to the Indian lexicographers may be used are really one and the same: *gati*- “going (away), progress, movement”; *ārambha*- “undertaking, beginning”; *utkarṣa*- “increase, rising to something better, eminence, abundance, excess”; *sarvatobhāva* “being all around”; *prāthamya*- “priority”; *khyāti*- “renown, celebrity”; *utpatti*- “arising, production”; *vyavahāra*- “activity”.

There may be room for the observation that there are other preverbs in the Veda which – while expressing similar nuances or modifications such as those which led some scholars to apply ‘aspectual’ terminology to the above preverbs – were nevertheless not considered elements of aspectual expression. Cf. e.g. *tī-* in the sense of “to overcome”: *ava-tī-* “to overpower”; *bhid-* “to split, cut asunder, pierce, destroy”: *ava-bhid-* “to split, pierce thoroughly” (“couper complètement” Renou); *svap-* “to sleep, fall asleep”: *ni-svap-* “to fall asleep”.

C. GREEK 'EK

The above conclusions with regard to the functions of the Vedic preverbs may be supplemented by a few remarks on the role played by preverbs in Greek, because – as has already been argued in the introduction – it would appear to me that many scholars have, contrary to all textual evidence, been too much inclined to ascribe aspectual functions to the Greek preverbs.

According to one of the most recent books, Humbert's *Syntaxe grecque*,¹⁶ the Greek preverb ἐκ – to select this element for a closer examination – “exprime en tant que préverbe ‘plein’ l'idée de sortir ou de faire sortir, à la fois au propre et au figuré.... Comme préverbe ‘vide’, ἐκ peut exprimer à la fois le point de départ de l'action – par exemple une action subite ou la brusque entrée dans un état nouveau, et son achèvement; de plus, quand le sens du verbe s'y prête, ἐκ peut faire office d'élément de détermination, en attirant l'attention moins sur l'accomplissement de l'action que sur son objet ou son résultat”. It is not my intention to deny the essential correctness of these statements, but I would object to the definition given to the term préverbe vide¹⁷: “quand

¹⁶ J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*² (Paris, 1954), p. 336 f.

¹⁷ Humbert, *ibidem*, p. 331.

les préverbes se vident de leur contenu, c'est pour exprimer un aspect de l'action, comme la permanence, le commencement, la direction, l'aboutissement, l'achèvement". 'Permanence' and 'direction' being heterogeneous this enumeration is apt to create a confusion of ideas; moreover, the term *aspect* should – to repeat what has already been argued at greater length – not be used in this general and inaccurate way.

Compounds such as ἐκθάλλω "to put forth blossoms", ἐξαγορεύω "to tell forth, make known"; ἐκφαίνω "to bring to light, reveal, disclose", ἐκγελάω "to laugh loud" do not essentially differ from ἐκφεύγω "to flee out or away, to escape, emerge, become visible": these words express a combination of the ideas of the simple verbs and the force of the preverb which roughly speaking is "out of, forth from (of place), since (of time or of particular points of time".) The metaphorical use of ἐκγελάω in Eur. Tr. 1176 ἐνθεν ἐκγελά / ὁστέων ῥαγέντων φόνος shows clearly that the subject, *in casu* the blood, is at the same time described as making a laughing, i.e. gurgling sound and as rushing out from a certain place. The form which is a present does not point to ingressive action; however swift and sudden the appearance of the blood, the process of streaming is viewed as continuing. That the compound in π 354 ἡδὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐκγελάσας μετεφώνεεν οἷς ἐτάροισιν must in English be translated by the phrase "he burst out laughing (and...)" does not contradict the above explanation, because it is the aorist which limits the process of "laughing out" to punctuality. It is, to my mind, not an aspectual force but the very lexical sense of ἐκ which makes these compounds suited to the expression of "une action subite ou la brusque entrée dans un état nouveau". In a similar way both aor. and pres. of other compounds are used in their characteristic way, ἐκ adding a connotation of its own; ἐκγίγνεται impers. pres. means, for instance, "it is allowed" but E 637 ἀνδρῶν / οἳ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο means "of the men who were born of Zeus". That under favourable circumstances a great variety of connotations might develop is apparent in cases such as ἐκφέρω: "to carry out, carry away, publish, produce, exhibit, pronounce, disclose, etc.", but whatever the nuance expressed by the preverb, the presents and aorists fulfill their own functions: Ω 786 ἐξέφερον θρασὺν Ἑκτορα δάκρυ χέοντες; Eur. Hec. 701 πόντου νιν ἐξήνεγκε... κλύδων. It is not necessary that the motion away implied by ἐκ starts with the subject: ἐκκόπτειν τοὺς γομφίους (Phryn. Com. 68) means "to knock out another man's molars"; cf. Eng. *to knock out*, Dutch *uitslaan*, Germ. *einem einen Zahn auswerfen*, etc. Here belongs also Humbert's example ἐξαλείφω in the sense of "wiping out, cancelling, destroying", and

Ψ 421 ὕδωρ / ἐξέρρηξεν ὁδοῖο “the water broke off a piece of the road”.

The preverb also occurs in ἐκτείνω “to stretch out, spread out”, that is to say “to stretch, or spread from a point which may be regarded as interior to the exterior, and hence: to prolong, etc.”; ἐκφέρειν, of women, = φέρειν μέχρι τέλους “bring to birth”; ἐκθεάομαι “to see to the end” (Soph. O.R. 1253); it would appear to me that it is the preverb’s lexical sense which adds the idea described, by Humbert, as ‘achèvement’, to the meaning of the simple verb. Other examples are: ἐκτελέω “to bring to an end, to accomplish”, the durative present of which occurs e.g. λ 294 ὅτε δὴ μῆνες τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελεῦντο / ... ἔτεος, the aorist γ 99 εἴ ποτέ τοί τι πατήρ ... / ἡ ἔπος ἡέ τι ἔργον ὑποστάς ἐξ ἐτέλεσεν; ἐξοπλίζω “to arm completely, prepare fully”; ἐκπέρθω “to destroy utterly, sack” (A 19 ἐκπέρσαι ... πόλιν, ... ἰκέσθαι; Aesch. Pr. 357 τυραννίδ’ ἐκπέρσων); ἐκθερμαίνω “to warm thoroughly”; ἐκθερίζω “to reap or mow completely”; ἐκλανθάνομαι “to forget utterly”; ἐκκαίω “to burn out (the eyes)”. I am afraid that I cannot subscribe to Humbert’s view that ἐκ- in ἐξαλείφω as used by Herodot. 7, 69 is a ‘mot vide’: τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ must mean “they plastered half of their bodies over”, the preverb inviting our attention not so much to the ‘résultat obtenu’ as to the whole of the surface being to the end plastered with gypsum.¹⁸ It seems warranted to regard those compounds which denoted processes which by being performed in the way indicated by the prefix were performed completely or utterly, as the ‘starting-point’ of this ‘semantic development’. “To perform an action to the end” may be understood as “to perform it thoroughly or completely”, “to burn out a person’s eyes” is “to destroy them completely by burning”. Among these compounds are also the following.

Some compounds with ἐκ- may, as has already been observed, indicate that the object of the process has, as a result of the same, to leave the place or position where it was before. Thus P 57 ἐλθὼν δ’ ἐξαπίνης ἄνεμος ... / βόθρου τ’ ἐξέστρεψε refers to a tree rooted up by the wind from the trench in which it stood; the idea of “up from” is expressed by ἐκ- which has nothing to do with the expression of aspect. Or the object is freed from a substance which was in it before the process took place; something is removed from it, etc.: ἐκκαθαίρω “to clear out”: B 153 οὐρούς τ’ ἐξεκάθαιρον “they cleared out the trenches (for hauling up and launching ships)”; this process is doubtless viewed as con-

¹⁸ The Dutch verbs *uitsmeren* (over), *uitstrijken* over would take the gypsum or plaster as an object, not the body.

tinuing, although the result, the clean condition of the trenches is, by means of ἐκ-, clearly stated. Such verbs as ἐκπίνω may take the substance which is removed as their object: ι 353 ἔκπιεν (οἶνον) "he drunk out the wine", as well as the object containing that substance: ἐκπίνω κύλικα "to drain a cup dry". One might compare such Dutch compounds as *uitpeuteren*, *uitpersen*, *uitpompen*; cf. also *uitproberen* (= "alle mogelijkheden die in iets zitten ten einde toe beproeven"), where *uit-* assumes the sense of "in all respects, to the end", the English equivalents *to pick out*, *press out*, *pump out*, *try out*, etc.; and the double construction of e.g. Germ. *austrinken* (*den Wein, das Glas*); *auszehren* (*das Mark, den Leib*), *ausbraten* (*Fett, Fleisch*), etc.¹⁹ It seems to be an asset to the explication proposed on these pages that both 'functions' of the so-called 'ἐκ vide', viz. that of expressing "un commencement brusque" and that of signifying "achèvement" are both of them intelligible from the central meaning which is always proper to the preverb.

It would not be out of place here to add some words on the Sanskrit equivalent of ἐκ-, viz. *ut-* which, for all I know, has never been considered a 'mot vide' of aspectual function,²⁰ although it was given an 'inchoative force' by Renou.²¹ Since this preverb implies the idea of superiority in place, station, rank or power as well as separation and disjunction it may be translated by the Dutch *op en uit*, and the Engl. "up, upwards, on, over, above" as well as by "out, out of, from, off, apart, away, away from". Thus we find *ut-plu-* "to swim, spring, jump upwards"; *ut-ksip-* "to throw up"; *ud-gal-* "to trickle out, ooze out"; *uc-cal-* "to go or move away from"; *ut-sr-* "to haste away"; *ut-srj-* "to let loose, emit, quit". Hence also *ut-* in the sense of "passing a limit": *ut-kram-*, *inter alia* "to transgress, neglect"; *ut-takṣ-* in the sense of "to form out of..." (RV. 7, 104, 4); *ut-sic-* "to pour upon, to make full" and the 'reinforcing' sense in cases such as *uc-chrath-* "to untie"; *śrath-* "to be loosened, become loose". In all these compounds the prefix again specifies the way in which the process is performed.

The nuance expressed by ἐκπίνω returns in *un-mrj-* "to wipe off": Kauś. 38, 124 *keśā unmrṣtāḥ* "hinausgestrichene Haare" (Petr. Dict.); for *ut-pū-* "to purify, to cleanse" see e.g. ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 22 u. *ājyam* "to purify the butter".

¹⁹ Superfluous to remark that neither ἐκπεράω "to go out over, pass beyond" (cf. Eng. *out* in *outgrow* etc. where *out* expresses the passing of a limit), nor ἐξάδειν "to sing one's last song" throw the object, the result or completions of the process into relief.

²⁰ Cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 453; A. Thumb-R. Hauschild, *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, II⁹ (Heidelberg, 1959), p. 390.

²¹ Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, p. 142.

From this polyvalence of *ut-* the polysemy of some verbs is easily explainable: *ut-kṛṣ-* “to draw up, out, off, asunder”; *uc-car-* “to go upwards, rise; to emit, leave, to trespass against”. The so-called incohesive nuance appears according to the Petr. Dict. and others in *uc-chuc-* (*śuc-*) “to inflame”: *śuc-* “to flame, shine, glow, burn”; AV. 5, 22, 2 may however mean “thou (fever) makest all (men) yellow, heating (them) up (*ucchocayan*) like fire”, consuming (them) by heat”; *ud-bhās-* Mbh. 1, 23, 7 *agnirāśir ivodbhāsan samiddhaḥ*, where Nīlakaṇṭha explains *utkarṣeṇa bhāsamānaḥ*; the ‘literal’ sense no doubt is “to rise up in brightness” (cf. the Engl. *to flame up*, etc.); similarly, *uj-jval-* “in Flammen herausschlagen, aufflammen” (Petr. Dict.) ŚB. 1, 4, 1, 13 “A. flashed forth (*ujjajvāla*) from the (king’s) mouth”; *utkliś-* “in einen unbehaglichen Zustand geraten” (Petr. Dict.) seems to represent: “to be put out and hence to suffer”. Cf. also *uj-jīv-* “to return to life” (in German: “wieder aufleben”; cf., in Dutch, *opleven* “to revive”); *ut-kamp-* “aufzittern”. Some verbs are apt to assume, in definite contexts, an ‘incohesive’ sense: *ut-kruś-* “aufschreien”: Mbh. 3, 287, 7 *tad dr̥ṣṭvā... / udakrōśan paritrastāḥ*.

Sometimes *ut-* helps to emphasize a prolonged activity: *uj-jāgr-* “to pass (time) waking”.

The connotation expressed by Gr. ἐκ- in ἐκκώπτω, etc. is represented by Skt. *ut-khan-* “to dig up or out” (e.g. a post or tree: AiB. 2, 1); “to uproot, extirpate, destroy entirely”²²: Kāl. Ragh. 14, 73 *utkhātalo-katrayakaṇṭake* “when the thorn of the three worlds (the demon Rāvaṇa) has been extirpated”; *ut-tap-* “to heat (thoroughly)” but also “to anneal (gold)”. The ‘nuances de perte’ signaled by Renou in *uc-chid-* “to cut off, extirpate, destroy, interrupt, etc.”; *ut-kram-* “to go out or away” and euphemistically “to pass away, to die”; *ut-sad-* “to withdraw, leave off, disappear; sink into ruin or decay etc.” result naturally from the combination of *ut-* and the meanings of the simple verbs; cf. also *ud-vrt-* “to go asunder, burst” ŚB. 4, 4, 3, 4 *tasya mūrdhodvartata*, and Mbh. 3, 204, 27 *lokān udvartayan* “to make the worlds explode, to destroy or disintegrate...”; *ud-dhr-* (*hr-*) “to take out, eradicate, ruin, destroy”, the semantic shift being clearly perceptible in cases such as Mbh. 3, 4, 3 *asmān noddhareyuh samūlān* “not destroy us together with the root”, i.e. root and branch”; *uddhṛta-*: *unmūlita-* etc. *ut-kṛt-* “to cut out or

²² The sense of *udavantau vr̥kāṇ iva* in AV. 7, 95, 2 is not clear (cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.*, p. 453); the commentary explains it by *goyūthamadhya vatsān udgrhya gacchantau*, which is improbable, because *av-* does not mean “to go”, the Petr. Dict. by “lauern”, Whitney-Lanman by “lurking (?)”; it may be “doing oneself thoroughly well” (cf. RV. 7, 41, 3).

off, to cut in pieces, destroy". The compound *ud-vah-* "to take or lead a bride from the parents' house, lead home, marry" denotes, in a sense, a "départ définitif" (Renou) which however is a specialization of a normal use of *ud-* and a simple verb of this meaning.

The conclusion cannot be avoided that this preverb has nothing to do with verbal aspect.

Having surveyed the above preverbs at some length we may now add a few general remarks on similar elements the use of which is sometimes commented upon in such a way as to suggest that they may under certain circumstances help to express 'aspects'.

The use of 'prepositions' while adding a more special meaning to the phrase or compound in which they occur often was a necessity to make explicit what a case form, and especially the accusative, by itself does not even imply or hint at. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the ancient Indo-European languages most 'prepositions' were construed with the accusative²³: in Latin there are over 30 which take this case exclusively, and only 8 which accompany the ablative, a case which represents also the ancient locative (*pro* + abl.) and instrumental (*cum* + abl.). In Sanskrit, the 'prepositions' which occur together with the locative or instrumental constitute a small group, and those which are accompanied by the genitive are mostly case-forms of nouns. The accusative, which also in Sanskrit attracts the great majority of these elements, is not only found before or after those 'prepositions' which express a motion or an action towards a goal, but also beside those which in a general way denote a relation: RV. 5, 1, 1 *abhody agniḥ... prāty... āyatīm uṣāsam* "Agni has awoken to meet the advancing dawn"; Mbh. 3, 64, 41 *imaṃ... prakṣyāmi nṛpatiṃ prati* "him I will ask with reference to the king". The frequent occurrence of 'prepositions' in connection with this case-form cannot be dissociated from the vagueness of the accusative which in opposition to the other *casus obliqui* expresses an unspecified or unqualified relation of a noun or pronoun to a verb or to another noun. It only indicates that the process expressed by the verb is brought into relation to, or into connection with, another idea contained in the utterance. Whereas the other *casus obliqui* as a rule suffice clearly to express a variety of relations, the accusative often needs the help of a 'preposition': Manu 8, 245 *sīmāṃ prati samutpanne vivāde* "if a contest have arisen about some boundary". As is well known the association

²³ See "The character of the Sanskrit accusative", in *Miscelánea homenaje a A. Martinet*, I, *La Laguna*, p. 47 ff., esp. p. 63 ff.

between verbs and 'prepositions' which often followed a noun but preceded the verb became in the course of time more intimate. When forming a whole with verbal forms they, generally speaking, retained their specializing function and the accompaniment of nouns or pronouns. That is why so many compound verbs have a 'transitive' function or may, at least, be accompanied by a nominal or pronominal form. The character of these verbs is irrespective of the stem form used in a frequency of cases unmistakably determinative, that is to say: they help to mark out the extent or scope, the close or any other remarkable point or moment of the process, they indicate that the action affects, or reaches its close in, a definite nominal or pronominal concept. Whereas for instance *kram-* is, by itself, used for "stepping, walking or going" in an 'absolute' way, without any determination – e.g. *ṚV. 1, 121, 1 uru kramṣate adhvare yajatraḥ* "the (god who is) worthy or worship may step widely during the liturgy", many compounds are as a rule accompanied by an object towards which the process is directed and in which it so to say reaches its close: *9, 108, 2 sa... abhy akramīd iṣaḥ* "he approached (went to) the refreshing draughts". Beside *sthā-* "to stand" which, in the *Ṛgveda*, seldom takes the acc., *abhi-sthā-* is always accompanied by that case: e.g. *1, 42, 4 padābhi tiṣṭha tapuṣim* "tread upon the burning weapon", the weapon being affected by the process. Whereas the simple *śī-* stands for "to lie, lie down, rest", *abhi-śī-* occurs to express the sense of "lying upon" (with the accus.): *ŚB. 1, 2, 5, 4 yāvad evaiṣa viṣṇur abhiśete tāvad vo dadmaḥ* "as much as Viṣṇu lies upon, and no more, we give you": the durative action is brought into relation to the idea "as much". These syntactic phenomena are meant when it is taught that "*abhi* fournit des formes terminatives-transitives à des quantités de verbes"²⁴: it is the so-called terminative use of a verb form. I do not object to this term, provided that first we do not consider this use to constitute a kind of aspect, and that, in the second place, we are willing to admit that these occurrences of, for instance, *abhi-* do not essentially differ from those of, for instance, *pari-* or *adhi-* which are not called 'terminative': cf. e.g. *ṚV. 3, 32, 11 ahim pariśayānam arṇaḥ* "the snake who was lying round the flood"; *8, 10, 6 yad vā... adhitiṣṭhatho ratham* "or whether ye mount the chariot". That the special force of *pari-* or *adhi-* is sometimes more conspicuous or is more easily translatable into other languages would be no conclusive argument in favour of the thesis that some prepositions are 'lexical', others are 'grammatical' in character, the latter helping to express what is often rather vaguely called 'aspect'.

²⁴ Renou, *Gramm. sanscrite*, p. 141.

Similar remarks may be made with regard to *ā-* which, especially in ancient texts, occasionally serves the expression of 'result'.²⁵ Thus *ā-yaj-* may occur in the sense of "receiving or procuring through worship, gaining": R̥V. 1, 40, 4 *tasmā iḷāṃ suvīrām ā yajāmahe* "for him we try to acquire, through worship, the comfort of good (many) sons"; 10, 2, 6; 70, 7; VS. 7, 4 *eṣo (= ā iṣo) yajasva* "win strengthening food by worship"; *ā-ruh-* may mean "to attain, gain", but R̥V. 1, 51, 12 *ślokaṃ ā rohase divi* the original sense is still evident: "thou gainest, whilst ascending to heaven, renown" ("erreichst du im Himmel ... Ruhm", Geldner), cf. 1, 10, 2 *yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat* "when he had ascended from summit to summit"; and in 'metaphorical' use showing the original force of those phrases: 9, 83, 5; 86, 40; cf. also 10, 18, 6 where *āyuh*, which Grassmann considered the object of *ā rohate*, may stand ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. That is to say: the resultative functions of these verbs may be explained as normal semantic developments starting from *ā* "near, near to, towards" and the meanings of the simple verbs. Cf. also *ā-sthā-* "to stand or remain on or by, to resort to, to attain"; *ā-lamb-* "to lay hold of, seize, get, appropriate".

The 'inchoative' force of *upa-kram-* has likewise nothing to do with aspect: *kram-* meaning "to step", *upa-kram-* is "to go near, come to" and hence "to have recourse to, undertake, begin": cf. in German *an etwas gehen, antreten*; in Latin, *initium* "beginning" belongs to *inire* "go into, enter upon, begin"; notice also Lat. *ingredi* "to enter upon" and "to begin (a speech, etc.)" and other words for beginning based upon ideas like "entering upon". The 'ingressive force' of *ni-drā-*²⁶ "to fall asleep, sleep" may be explained, on the one hand, from the non-transformative character of the verb, and on the second hand, from the combination of *ni-* "down" and *drā-*: cf. *ni-śamayati* "to extinguish down" i.e. "to make quiet". As to the 'terminative' function of *nis-* combinations such as *nir r-* owe their special meaning likewise to the modificatory force of the preverb joining the simple verb: *nir r-* "to go out or off, fall away from, be deprived of", it is in R̥V. 1, 4, 5 *nir anyataś cid ārata* "ihr habt euch um alles andere gebracht", the aor., not the preverb, which indicates that the process has, in the near past, attained its close.

This is not to deny that many details of preverbal syntax are complicated and hard to describe. Often the motives of the authors' choice are to be guessed rather than being completely obvious. Of the relevant

²⁵ Renou, *o.c.*, p. 142.

²⁶ Renou, *l.c.*

questions, we shall mention only one: what is in ṚV. 1, 85, 12 *yā vaḥ śarma... santi... dāśuṣe yachatādhi | asmabhyaṃ tāni maruto vi yanta* “stretch all protection you have out over the man who worships the gods, O Maruts, extend these to us” the difference between the pres. imp. followed by *adhi* and the aor. accompanied by *vi*?: *adhi* having the force of “above, over, from above, towards”, the first verb may express the general idea of bestowing protections on the devout man; since *vi* marks, *inter alia*, difference of direction, division, and distinction, the second verb may denote the idea of extending the protection also in this particular case.

THE PERTINENT ṚGVEDIC FACTS VIEWED IN THEIR HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Now that we have surveyed the uses of the aorist and the imperfect in the Ṛgveda, it remains to make an attempt to place them in their historical perspective, to see them as a special stage of development of two categories which, while being inherited from a common source, existed also in a number of more or less closely related languages in which they underwent more or less divergent modifications in value, function and frequency. It hardly needs arguing that – like the study of the aspectual phenomena in general and that of those exhibited by ancient languages in particular – such an undertaking confronts the investigator with many difficulties. Since a large number of books and articles have not yet succeeded in giving a completely clear idea of the functions of the aspectual verb forms in living languages such as Russian, since many points relative to the non-modal and non-temporal functions of the verbal forms in Greek, Latin and other languages continue to be matters of dispute, it cannot reasonably be expected that our methods will enable us satisfactorily to account for all major or minor points of difference between the functions of the aorists and imperfects of Greek, Slavonic and Indo-Iranian languages and to ‘reconstruct’ the ‘aspectual system’ – if there has been any – of their common source. It is therefore intelligible that many authors in this particular field of comparative linguistics have limited themselves to some vague and non-committal remarks with regard to the prehistoric situation. Those who could not resist the temptation to ascribe to older or prehistoric stages of a language the function of, and distinctions between, the tense categories have indeed exposed their conclusions to critical comments.¹

The idea which the interested student may form of the aspectual phenomena in Old- and Pre-Slavonic is made unclear by the tendency which is common to many works on this subject to take for granted that in Old-Slavonic the aspects had already reached their heyday, showing all the characteristics of the modern aspectual distinctions. Not rarely this conviction is explicitly expressed: “Das System der

¹ A detailed survey of the uses of the impf. and the aor. in the I.E. languages was at the time also given by Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, 3, p. 746 ff.

Actionsarten lässt sich bereits in den altbulgarischen Sprachdenkmälern in seinen Grundzügen als ausgebildet erkennen"²; "toute forme verbale d'une phrase en vieux slave est ou perfective ou imperfective ...".³ These distinctions and categories were even unhesitatingly applied to Original Slavonic.⁴ "In der konsequenten Synchronie seiner Darstellung", Ruzicka⁵ remarks with regard to Vaillant's *Manuel*,⁶ "werden Abstufungen der Entwicklung des Aspekts von vornherein ausgeglichen. Es wird als fertige einheitliche grammatische Grösze aufgefasst, als handele es sich um den Aspekt in den modernen slavischen Sprachen".

It may, on the contrary, be regarded as certain that also in ancient Slavonic the aspectual differences were not so distinct and consistently systematized as some books and articles would have us believe. In Old-Russian for instance "war der Aspekt noch nicht stark genug, alles in sich aufzunehmen und sich unterzuordnen".⁷ Van Wijk – arguing in favour of the theory⁸ that the Slav. aspects arose from the ancient distinction between 'action déterminé' (pft.) and 'action indéterminé' (impft.)⁹ – was strongly inclined to regard the OChSlav. aspect as "eine noch in Werden befindliche Kategorie"¹⁰; "es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dasz vor der endgültigen Durchführung dieser zwei Bildungsprinzipie (viz. Prefixation and development of the iterative class) viele Zeitwörter aspektlos oder jedenfalls der Unterscheidung perfektiv-imper-

² E. Boehme, *Die Actiones der Verba simplicia in den altbulgarischen Sprachdenkmälern* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 2.

³ Meillet, *Études sur l' étymologie et le vocabulaire du vieux slave* (Paris, 1902), p. 58.

⁴ Meillet, *Le slave commun*, p. 253.

⁵ R. Ruzicka, *Der Verbalaspekt in der altrussischen Nestorchronik* (Berlin, 1957), p. 5.

⁶ Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave*, I, p. 325 ff.

⁷ Ruzicka, *o.c.*, p. 3.

⁸ Which was already briefly suggested by Meillet (*B.S.L.*, 19, C.R. p. 118 ff.) and developed by C. Regnéll, *Über den Ursprung des slav. Verbalaspektes* (Lund, 1944). Other views on the prehistory of the Slavonic aspects, which need not detain us here, were however pronounced by A. Belić ("Postanak praslovenske glagolske sisteme", in *Glas Srp. Kralj. Akad.*, 164 (1935), p. 4 f.), J. Kuryłowicz (*Sprawozd. Tow. Nauk we Lwowie, Roczn.*, 9, p. 70 ff.) and others; see Regnéll and Chr. S. Stang, *Das slavische und baltische Verbum* (*Norsk. Vid. Ak. i Oslo*, II, Hist.-Filos. Kl., 1942, 1), p. 14 ff.

⁹ In *Rev. ét. sl.*, 9, 251, Van Wijk himself emphasizes that the difference between 'déterminé' and 'indéterminé' is rather vague: "En général, on peut dire que les verbes déterminés désignent des actions peu compliquées, menant directement à un but, tandis que les verbes indéterminés sont employés pour des actions se composant de plusieurs actes ou pour des actions prolongées ou répétées".

¹⁰ See N. van Wijk's articles in *I.F.*, 45, esp. p. 97 and 53, and in "Sur l'origine des aspects du verbe slave", in *Revue des études slaves*, 9 (Paris, 1929), p. 237 ff.

fektiv gegenüber indifferent gewesen sind". "Immer wieder und verschieden abgewandelt taucht in Kuznecov's¹¹ Darstellung der Vorbehalt auf, dasz der Aspekt im Altrussischen nicht als scharf umrissene und ausgebildete Kategorie aufzufassen ist, und dasz diese ihrer modernen Ausprägung fern ist".¹² This difference between older and younger stages of the same Slavonic language is in harmony with the remarkable evolution of the aspectual phenomena in Greek, the history of which, known since the days of Homer, is nearly three times as long as that of Slavonic.¹³

However, it also agrees with the no less interesting fact that those verbal categories which are subject to the phenomena under discussion are, generally speaking, far from steady, immutable and invariable. Limiting our observations to the two categories which constitute the subject proper of this volume viz. the aorist and the imperfect, it is worth realizing that in historical times the coexistence of both categories, aor. and impf., – which have perhaps never been completely distinct categories – has come to an end in a large part of the Slavonic world. Old-Slavonic had lost the ancient (prehistoric) impf. which may have corresponded to the Greek or Sanskrit impf.; it was replaced by a category of purely Slavonic formation, fulfilling the same function. The ancient asigmatic aorist had survived, but since Slavonic did not maintain the I.E. vowel mutation unimpaired it could not discriminate precisely between this type of aor. and the impf.; so there are original imperfects – or at least forms which would serve as imperfects in cognate languages – among the so-called aorists. The forms of the impf. were fluctuating and were easily confused with those of the aorist. Moreover, the other old type of aor., the sigmatic, expressed a formal distinction between the aor. and the present stem. The notion of time came to be more prominent than aspect. The distinction of aspect in past time could not be consistently maintained. It was to be replaced by another method of attaining this end, viz. the younger Slavonic distinction between impft. and pft. verbs through prefixes and suffixes. These pairs allowed both time and aspect to be adequately represented, the functions of an aor. being fulfilled by the past of a pft. verb, those of an impf. by the past of an impft. verb. In Russian the impf. "was not colloquial at any time

¹¹ P. S. Kuznecov, *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka* (Moskva, 1951), p. 196, 224, 267.

¹² Ruzicka, *o.c.*, p. 7.

¹³ For a brief survey of the relevant facts see W. J. Entwistle and W. A. Morison, *Russian and the Slavonic languages* (London, 1949), p. 120 ff., 203 f., 220; 322 f., 379 f.

within the embrace of our documents", in old manuscripts the forms of aor. and impf. are confused, the former being rare and losing its special virtue. "Even educated folk using Russo-Slavonic were unable to maintain control over a tense for which they had lost all instinctive capacity". Soon after the 14th century the aor. passed into disuse. In Polish the two categories were already at the beginning of the historical period so far decayed that no complete paradigms can be formed. Besides, a precise notion of aspect is wanting, both categories serving as equivalents of the Latin imperfect. Although in Czechoslovak both tenses were retained for a longer time, they were, here also, gradually eliminated; after 1600 they had probably disappeared from normal usage. In this respect these languages are markedly contrasted with Serbocroatian and Bulgarian in which both categories have always been retained, developing even innovations and acquiring new meanings. Here the aor. is always precise and suited to categorical assertions referring to 'limited' or 'fixed' processes in the past; the impf. is less defined and acquires a certain distinction of mood. In both languages the aor. can be formed from verbs of either aspect, but is decidedly more usual in the perfective. In Serbocroatian the aor. – which here also is, in ordinary language, becoming rarer – serves to signify the close or completion of a process in the past. The impf., which in Serbocroatian only derives from impf. verbs and is now falling into disuse, helps to express past processes of a certain duration.¹⁴

These functions are no doubt mainly traditional. The Old Slav. aorist signified "un fait réalisé dans le passé",¹⁵ the speaker or writer being often given the option between this category and the perfect. In subordinate clauses it could quite naturally also refer to the anterior past¹⁶: to ἐνέπαιξαν in N.T. Marc 15, 20 καὶ ὅτε ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτῶ, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὴν πορφύραν corresponds an OSlav. aorist. In contradistinction to Delbrück¹⁷ who described the 'Aktion' of the Slav. aor. – which is mainly formed from perfective verbs – as 'punctuell': "es kann auch (wie im Arischen und Griechischen) eine Reihe von Handlungen im Rückblick in einem Punkt zusammengefasst werden" and Vondrák¹⁸ who spoke of a "punktuelle (konzentrierte) Handlung", most scholars agreed on the essentially temporal function of the aor. in Old- and

¹⁴ See also B. Havránek, "Aspect et temps du verbe en vieux slave", *Mélanges-Ch. Bally* (Genève, 1939), p. 223 ff.

¹⁵ Vaillant, *o.c.*, I, p. 330.

¹⁶ Vaillant, *o.c.*, I, p. 241.

¹⁷ Delbrück, *Verg. Syntax*, II, p. 341.

¹⁸ W. Vondrák, *Vgl. Slav. Gramm.*, II (Göttingen, 1928), p. 389.

Common-Slavonic.¹⁹ This category was however used in relating or narrating successive events, irrespective of their real duration, occurring also in connection with iterated processes and of course also with initial stages. Of special interest is the possibility of referring, by means of a Slav. aor., to a process which from the standpoint of the speaker is rather recent: Nestor 31 "it was related to O. that the D. had come, and she sent for them (and said): good priests have come (*pridoša*, aor.). In translating this aor. may (in ORuss. and Serboc.) even correspond to a present form, "oder wie ἐγέλασα "ich muss lachen" durch einen Ausdruck für die unmittelbar bevorstehende Handlung"²⁰; in a Serb. popular song: "then I take a horse and go all over the world" the verbs are aorists.²¹ The aorist may also refer to a more remote past and serve as a narrative form, relating to processes which have taken place in the past without inviting the hearer to dwell on them or to figure to himself their development. Cf. e.g. Nestor 12 "and they gave (*vŭdaša*, aor.) O., as they used to give K.". The so-called gnomic aorist – "in abstrakten Sätzen, die Lebenswahrheiten und Sentenzen enthalten"²² is rarely found. "Für den angenommenen Fall, dasz dies oder jenes geschehe oder geschehen sei, hat die durch den Aor. ausgedrückte Handlung ihre Geltung in der Vergangenheit, vom Zeitpunkte der ersten Handlung aus betrachtet",²³ e.g. Serboc. *čudo pasa ujedoša vuka* "imagine many dogs and a wolf, then the wolf has already died (aor.)".

According to Miklosich the Slavonian imperfect "bezeichnet die in der vergangenheit dauernde, wiederholte oder eine solche handlung, die man auszuführen im begriffe war oder versuchte",²⁴ including habitual action: to the Latin *non solum regnum designabat, verum etiam homicidium iudaeorum manifestabat* corresponds an OChSlav. sentence (Sup. 370. 10) with two imperfects; Nestor 6 *Drěvljane živjachu zvěriniskomŭ obrazomŭ...*, *ubivachu drugŭ druga...* "the D. lived like wild beasts... they slew each other...". Another definition which was too much modelled upon the traditional ideas of an imperfect is the following: "Es wird (durch das Impf.) mehr der Verlauf der Handlung veranschaulicht (bei

¹⁹ I refer to Havránek, *o.c.*, p. 224. "L'aoriste slave est le temps historique exprimant un procès passé, mais il n'exprime pas par lui-même l'aspect perfectif qui caractérise l'aoriste grec" (Meillet, *Le slave commun*, p. 241).

²⁰ Delbrück, *o.c.*, II, p. 342.

²¹ For other examples: Miklosich, *Vergl. Gramm. der Slav. Sprachen*, IV, p. 787 f.; Vondrák, *o.c.*, II, p. 390.

²² Vondrák, *o.c.*, II, p. 391; Musič, in *Arch. f. slav. Phil.*, 24, p. 482.

²³ Vondrák, *o.c.*, II, p. 391; 'hypothetic aorist'; cf. also Miklosich, *o.c.*, IV, p. 788.

²⁴ Miklosich, *o.c.*, IV, p. 784.

der Schilderung).”²⁵ In Old Slavonic “l’imparfait est ordinairement imperfectif, exprimant l’action qui dure dans le passé; mais on rencontre aussi des imparfaits perfectifs...; ils marquent l’éventualité, l’habitude, la répétition”²⁶: N.T. Matt. 9, 35 *proiděše Isus grady vse* “Jesus went about all the cities” (“drückt dann häufig eine in der Vergangenheit wiederholte oder verallgemeinernde Handlung aus”,²⁷ not only in OSlav.). It is also used *de conatu*. The Slav. impf. may occur in cases where we would use the pppf.: in the sentence (Nestor) “he built a church on the hill, where the idol... had stood (*stojaše*)” the process is obviously not viewed as ‘fixed’ or ‘limited’. In narratives it is specially suited to relate the secondary or subordinate processes, to describe customs, habits, etc., and in addition to this, to narrate events performed or witnessed by the speaker himself. Although it is also used to denote a process without regard to any other process, the expression of “une action accompagnant un autre fait ou une autre action”²⁸ may be considered a central characteristic of this category.

Turning now to Greek it may, in addition to the stray observations made in the preceding chapters and by way of concise review of the main facts, be recalled to memory that generally speaking the subj., opt., imper., inf., part. of the pres. stem are only aspectually distinguished from the same forms deriving from the aor. stem; the indicatives are also expressive of tense.²⁹ The pres. system is in principle ‘unlimited’ or ‘continuative’, expressing incomplete action and giving evidence of the speaker’s interest in the development of the process, the aor. leaves ‘duration’ out of account, expressing completed, ‘fixed’, ‘limited’, momentary or instantaneous action, suited to refer to ‘Ereignisse’.³⁰ All augmented tense forms place the process in the past; both impf. and aor. may be narrative, the former is descriptive, “teilnehmend und verweilend”, the latter concise, strictly adhering to the fact, and especially suited to denote the ‘Einzelakt’. “Das Impf. sagt aus, dass in der Vergangenheit ein Verbalinhalt bestand oder in der Entwicklung begriffen war, wobei ein möglicher Abschluss ausser Betracht bleibt. Ebenso-

²⁵ Vondrák, *o.c.*, II, p. 387; see also Meillet, *o.c.*, p. 232.

²⁶ Vaillant, *o.c.*, p. 328.

²⁷ Vondrák, *o.c.*, II, p. 388.

²⁸ Havránek, *o.c.*, p. 227.

²⁹ Cf. also Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, I², p. 175 f.; B. F. C. Atkinson, *The Greek language* (London, 1952), p. 143 f.

³⁰ For aorists where imperfects might be expected see also H. Jacobsthal, “Der Gebrauch der Tempora und Modi in den kret. Dialektinschr.”, *I.F.*, Beih. 21 (Strassburg, 1907), p. 9 ff.

nig bezeichnet das Impf. an sich eine längere Zeitdauer.”³¹ More or less traditionally authors distinguish a so-called stative impf. – e.g. Xen. An. 5, 3, 7 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν “... lived in banishment” –; the descriptive (“schildernde”) impf. – H 472 ff. ἐνθεν οἰνίζοντο ... Ἀχαιοί ... τίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα θάλειαν / παννύχιοι ... / δαίνυντο ... “from there the A. brought wine,... and they made a rich feast... the whole night through they feasted”³²; an impf. “nachhaltiger Wirkung”,³³ when the verb “sein Ziel und seine Vollendung in dem Tun eines anderen hat”³⁴ – Ψ 539 ὥς ἔφαθ’, οἱ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον, ὥς ἐκέλευεν “so he spoke, and they all assented even as he entreated”; in definite contexts an ‘iterative’ or habitual use – “dabei tritt gerne die Bedeutung der Nichtvollendung hinter die Bedeutung der Wiederholung zurück, so dasz das iter. Impf. auch steht, wo die aus verschiedenen Akten bestehende oder als Ganzes wiederholte Handlung sachlich zu einem Abschluss kommt”³⁵ –; the impf. of the situation in the past; the impf. of natural, geographic, ethnologic and other facts which exist irrespective of time; the impf. of processes which being intended did not take place³⁶; the negated impf. expressing an emphatic negation translatable by “could not, was not able to...”.³⁷

Whereas “the impf. appeals more to the eye, the aor. appeals more to the intellect”³⁸; “gegenüber dem persönlicheren und eindrücklicheren Impf. wirkt der Ind. Aor. sachlich und trocken, aber auch scharf und rasch gegenüber dem unentschiedenen und verweilenden Zug des Impfs., besonders in der Häufung”³⁹; “im Aor. wird etwas Einmaliges gegeben, im Präs. dagegen etwas Dauerndes oder etwas Gewohnheitsmäßiges”.⁴⁰ The aor. may be used in connection with the special and the

³¹ Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 275.

³² “In der Schilderung von Xenophons Tempelgut (An. 5, 3, 7-12) steht das Geographische im Präsens, die Beschreibung des Tempels im Perfekt, die Schilderung der Festgebräuche, die schon der Vergangenheit angehörten, im Impf.; nur zwei einmalige Tatsachen stehen im Aorist” (Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 277).

³³ Cf. also Stahl, *Krit.-hist. Syntax*, p. 97.

³⁴ A. Svensson, *Zum Gebrauch der erzählenden Tempora im Griechischen* (Lund, 1930), e.g. p. 10: “das Subjekt wird als auf das Objekt einwirkend gedacht, bis die durch jenes angeregte Handlung zu Ende geführt worden ist”; p. 12: “was der Redner gesagt hat, besteht fort und behält seine Geltung”; p. 11: “τίκτουςα heißt “die, welche einstmals gebar und daher die Mutter ist”.”

³⁵ Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 278.

³⁶ See e.g. J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*² (Paris, 1954), p. 139.

³⁷ E. Hermann, in *Glotta*, 10, p. 129-136; Svensson, *o.c.*, p. 103 ff.

³⁸ See B. L. Gildersleeve, in *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, 23, p. 250.

³⁹ Schwyzer-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, p. 280.

⁴⁰ Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, I², p. 173.

determined, the impf. in connection with the general and undetermined. Apart from the merely 'factive' and narrative use authors distinguish the aor. of the type χ 15 ἔβλαψάς με "you have foiled me"; ἐγέλασα "ich lache, muss (wirklich) lachen" which has already been commented upon; the aor. indicating "ein einmalig gedachtes Ereignis als unmittelbare, sozusagen gleichzeitige Folge eines anderen, als künftig vorausgesetzten, durch das es bedingt ist" (translatable by a fut. exactum): I 412 f. εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφι μάχωμαι, / ὄλετο μὲν μοι νόστος "if I should abide here and fight about the city of the T., then lost is (would be) my return home"; the aor. of the typical situation – Hes. Th. 81 ff. "whomsoever... the daughters of Zeus honour..., they pour sweet dew upon his tongue, and from his lips flow gracious words; all the people look (pres.) at him while he settles causes, and he would soon make wise end (ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυσεν, aor.) even of a great quarrel" –; (in some dialects) the aor. of typical occurrences which always take place under the same conditions – T 93 f. "(Ate) walks (βαίνει) over the heads of men, bringing them harm, and this one or that she ensnares" (κατὰ δ' οὖν ἕτερόν γε πέδησε) –; the aor. occurring in similes of the type Π 352 ff. ὥς δὲ λύκοι ἄρνεσσιν ἐπέχραον ... / ὥς Δαναοὶ Τρώεσσιν ἐπέχραον "as wolves fall upon lambs... even so the D. fell upon the T."; the gnomic aorist which has already been discussed; the aor. may also be used if the context and often an adverbial expression characterize the process as iterated. As the past referred to by the Greek aor. is as a rule more or less remote, temporal indications may be added. However, this form could, especially in the idiom of the tragedy, also be adopted in the case of the recent past, the 'passé actuel', which is not unconnected with the speaker's present time (or future)⁴¹: B 274 νῦν δὲ τόδε μέγ' ἄριστον ἔρεξεν "jetzt aber, in diesem Augenblick, hat er dies allerbeste getan" (Wackernagel); Γ 439; Athen. 8, 360 C; ἦλθ' ἦλθε χελιδών "now the swallow has come".

It may finally be remembered that Greek is the only I.E. language in which the aorist has, through the ages and until the present day, been preserved in a flourishing condition, a fact which may not be disconnected from its fulfilling, already in early times, a very important function as a quite distinct category.

With regard to Tocharian the following remarks may suffice.⁴² Form-

⁴¹ "Der Aor. hat vielfach die Aufgabe, eine eben erst effektuierte Handlung, einen eben erst eingetretenen Vorgang zu bezeichnen" (Wackernagel, *o.c.*, I, p. 176). See also Jacobsthal, *o.c.*, p. 17.

⁴² Cf. W. Krause, *Westtocharische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1952), p. 27 ff.;

ally the ancient aor. and perf. have fused to constitute the so-called preterit which mostly serves as a counterpart of the I.E. aorist, and in a minority of cases corresponds to the I.E. perfect. The impf., which is far less frequent, is typically imperfective: it appears when a process is viewed as incomplete, as not having reached its close; deriving from verbs which express a state or situation it places that state in the past. The process may be iterated. It mainly occurs in descriptive passages – “in Schilderungen, mit denen die Voraussetzung zum Verständnis der eigentlichen Handlung geschaffen werden sollte...” (references to the situation, the place of the action, to the persons playing a rôle, etc. –, and, in addition to these, in expatiations). “Mit derartigen Einschüben wurde versucht, den nüchternen, durch Prät. wiedergegebenen Handlungsablauf zu unterbrechen und, gleichsam auf der Stelle verweilend, einzelne Situationen anschaulicher zu gestalten”.⁴³ The pret. is on the other hand the past tense par excellence. It is narrative; refers, in a matter-of-fact way, to series of ‘limited’ processes; it is also used to state without regard to chronologic order. It may also occur in connection with repeated, but ‘limited’ (abgeschlossene) processes and – as so-called complexive preterit – with reference to processes of a certain duration (“der Sprecher überschaut gleichsam mit einem einzigen Blick das Ganze”⁴⁴). It may finally also be used as a ‘passé actuel’ in connection with processes which from the point of view of the person speaking have occurred or set in recently. From these facts we may conclude that there is a remarkable degree of correspondence, in ‘aspect’, between Tocharian and Greek.

It may finally be remembered that the opposition between a presentic and an aoristic aspect turns up again in Armenian.⁴⁵

Let us now turn to Vedic and make an attempt to summarize the main conclusions to which the above investigation into the use of the aorist and the imperfect have led, although it must be confessed, first that they are some respects of a doubtful character and in the second place, that not all instances quoted are conclusive. To begin with it must be affirmed that there is in the language of the *Ṛg*- and Atharvaveda an unmistakable tendency to distinguish between an ‘aoristic’ and an ‘imperfectic’

W. Thomas, *Der Gebrauch der Vergangenheitstempora im Tocharischen* (Wiesbaden, 1957). For morphological questions see E. Sieg, W. Siegling, W. Schulze, *Tocharische Grammatik* (Göttingen, 1931), p. 363 ff.; A. J. van Windekens, *Morphologie comparée du Tokharien* (Louvain, 1944), p. 253 f., 281.

⁴³ Thomas, *o.c.*, p. 307.

⁴⁴ Thomas, *o.c.*, p. 203.

⁴⁵ A. Meillet, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 107.

aspect, although in many cases these 'aspectual' functions are less distinct or even – as far as the present author is able to see – completely absent. A functional 'neutrality' in this respect is especially proper to the aorist. There seems to be room for the observation that the character of the texts under consideration is not such as to show with regard to 'aspectual distinction' an extremely varied picture of pronounced features. If Greek and Slavonic had not rendered heuristic services, some details might have been overlooked or, perhaps rightly, not been recognized at all.

The aor. often refers to special cases, single objects or details, isolated occurrences. It is not rarely used in connection with processes which, though durative in nature, are viewed without regard to duration. As in Greek the aor. stating a bald fact at its psychologically most relevant moment may denote a process which in reality is in progress. These are counterparts of the Greek type ἐγέλασα, of the 'complexive' and 'recapitulative' aorists, and some examples of the aor. gnomicus. This category is also suited to suggest that a process has reached its close.

The imperfect often emphasizes the idea of continuance, the chief interest in a past process being in its development or unlimited continuity. As opposed to the aor. the impf. expresses 'variety', 'vision', frequency, heterogeneity, 'perspective', simultaneity; it helps to suggest that a process which took place in the past persists in its results and consequences. In negative sentences it may express the idea of "being able to...". Although the impf. is generally speaking the usual form to refer to the mythical past the aorist may, as in Greek, in narratives or descriptions of mythical, legendary or historical events (more or less 'dramatically') alternate with it.

Both categories may each in their own way occur in contexts implying frequency, repetition or iteration. The aorist may even be used in connection with processes which while occurring regularly in the past continue to do so in the present (similarly in Greek). As in Greek, the Vedic aor. may denote isolated or momentary occurrences taking place while a process signified by an impf. is going on. As in other languages both categories may in connection with intransformative verbal meanings be 'initive', with transformative meanings 'finitive'; in case of the aor. this detail is more pronounced. Both forms may, each in their own way, be used where other languages would have a pluperfect. Whereas the impf. often stresses the idea of continuing action in the past without any clear reference to the moment of speaking the process denoted by

the aor. often, but far from always, refers to the immediate past, or rather the 'passé actuel'. When the impf. signifies processes in a more remote past, these are often at the same time viewed 'imperfectively' (here also there exist Greek parallels). The same form may also occur to denote processes concerning the speaker.

In special cases the difference between a pres. and an aor. stem practically is a question of semantics and lexicography (chapter X), English and other languages resorting to different roots where the Vedic idiom had the choice of two stems deriving from the same root. This does not exclude the possibility of expressing aspectual distinctions. Verbal composition is a matter of semantics and Aktionsart.

In some respects the language of the Avesta seems, in point of aspect, to exhibit traces of a state of affairs not dissimilar to that prevailing in the Veda.⁴⁶ It is however worth observing that the impf. is not only strictly continuative, but also 'complexively narrative': Y. 51, 7 *yā gqm tašō apasčā urvarāšcā* "who hast fashioned (created) the cow, the waters and the plants" and the other instances mentioned by Reichelt⁴⁷ concerns processes in the mythical sphere. The aor. which in the Younger Avesta occurs but rarely, being practically supplanted by the impf., "denotes, in the Gāthās, an action or event occurring at some undetermined past time".⁴⁸ It is also found in sentences which may be regarded as explicative or 'circumstantial'; Reichelt's ⁴⁹ comment: "wurde auch in die schildernde Erzählung eingeführt" does not always seem to be applicable to the passages quoted. Other particulars have already been mentioned. Generally speaking the distinctions between the two categories are more obvious in the Gāthās than in the Younger Avesta.⁵⁰ Although Iranian generally speaking tends to distinguish between "l'action envisagée dans sa continuité" and "l'action absolue et indépendante de

⁴⁶ "Le système le plus ancien étant à la portée du comparatiste (qui découle des données du R.V. de l'Avesta et de la langue d'Homère)" was described by J. Kuryłowicz, "Aspect et temps dans l'histoire du persan", *Rocznik Orient.*, 16 (1950), p. 536, as follows: the present represents a 'présent général' and a 'présent duratif'; the aorist a 'parfait (passé indéfini)' and a 'plusqueparfait'; there is a perfect, denoting "l'état (présent)"; the imperfect (narrative tense) stands for a 'passé défini' and an 'imparfait'; there is a pluperfect expressing "l'état (passé)". The author's views of the pluperfect are however not completely correct; see also P. Thieme, *Das Plusquamperfektum im Veda* (Göttingen, 1929).

⁴⁷ Reichelt, *Awest. Elementarbuch*, p. 304, who speaks of 'perfektive Aktion'.

⁴⁸ L. H. Gray, "Contributions to Avestan Syntax", *J.A.O.S.*, 21, p. 112 ff., esp. p. 144.

⁴⁹ Reichelt, *o.c.*, p. 306.

⁵⁰ Gray, *l.c.*

toute idée de durée”,⁵¹ the opposition between aor. and impf. has in the idiom represented by the Old-Persian inscriptions largely been effaced, the impf. encroaching here also; an interesting contrast, in the ancient way, being furnished by the aor. *adā* “exprimant la création divine réalisée une fois pour toutes” and the impf. *akunauš* “signifiant qu’un roi a été institué pour un temps indéterminé”.⁵²

Proceeding now to discuss the other ancient I.E. languages it may be mentioned in passing that the Baltic tongues lost the traditional aor. and impf.⁵³; the preterit or impft., which is an innovation, expresses the habitual past (“gewöhnheitsmäßiges Tun”⁵⁴). Formal distinctions in the sphere of the Aktionsarten are, it is true, not unknown, but they are especially in Lettic far from being so prominent as in Slavonic. The verbal system is dominated by tense, but the aspectual distinctions “greifen nicht, wie im Slav., im Tempussystem über”.⁵⁵

The Germanic and Italic languages run in some important respects parallel. They developed the tense factor to such an extent that the expression of aspect was in the former group largely obscured and in Latin far from being developed in the Greek way. Although details differed – Latin even went so far as to create a system of ‘relative tenses’ –, the procedure in the two groups was fundamentally almost identical. Like the ancient imperfect, the functional distinction between aorist and perfect disappeared; they were fused into a preterit – in Latin called perfect – which, by contrast to the present – the main foundation of which were ancient ‘duratives’ – was basically a past tense.⁵⁶ Although the new impf. (the Latin *-bam* category) generally speaking fulfils the same function as its ancient namesake (“die vergangene Handlung wird als im Verlauf begriffen vorgestellt”) its use is no doubt more limited than e.g. that of the Greek imperfect: it is as the tense of the

⁵¹ E. Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, II (Paris, 1929), p. 37.

⁵² A. Meillet-E. Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*² (Paris, 1931), p. 138 f.; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*² (New Haven, 1953), p. 90 f.

⁵³ See also Stang, *o.c.*, p. 272.

⁵⁴ J. Endzelin, *Lettische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1923), p. 737 ff.; A. Leskien, *Litauisches Lesebuch* (Heidelberg, 1919), p. 189, cf. also A. Senn, “Zum Gebrauch der Aktionsarten im Lit.”, *Studi Baltici*, III (1933), p. 80 ff.; the same, “Verbal Aspects in Germanic, Slavic, and Baltic”, *Language*, 25 (1949), p. 402 ff.

⁵⁵ Stang, *o.c.*, p. 98. With regard to details specialists disagree.

⁵⁶ See e.g. M. Leumann-J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Grammatik* (München, 1928), p. 302, 549, 558 ff.; J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I² (Basel, 1926), p. 189 ff.; W. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1900), p. 323 ff.; W. Krause, *Handbuch des Gotischen* (München, 1953), p. 210 ff.; E. Prokosch, *A comparative Germanic grammar* (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 144 ff.; Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, II, p. 93 ff.

unlimited, continuing or habitual processes especially used in descriptive style. Ter. Phorm. 363 is a characteristic example: *ruri fere se continebat; ibi agrum... colendum habebat: saepe mihi... narrabat* "he mostly stayed in the country; he rented land there; from time to time he used to tell me". In certain contexts – and in accordance with the semantic class of the verb – this category may express an 'initive' – Plaut. Men. 1116 *tunc dentes mihi cadebant primulum* –, iterative, or 'conative' sense,⁵⁷ simultaneity with another past process and "l'arrière-fond, sur lequel une autre action se dessine".⁵⁸ As opposed to events and actions in the past which are signified by the 'perfect' the impf. refers to "das Zuständliche oder das Vorbereitende, Inchoative, etwa auch das sich Wiederholende". Interestingly enough there are, in ancient Latin, some imperfects which remind us of the narrative Greek category of the same name: *aiēbam, negābam*.⁵⁹

As in Latin, the aor. and perf. have also fused in the Celtic languages, where the preterit fulfils a 'perfective' as well as an 'imperfective' function.⁶⁰ The impf. denotes, in Irish, repeated or customary processes in past time, in Brit. – in a more original way – also continuing processes in the past.

For our purpose Hittite is at first sight of little interest. The Hittite verb has two moods (ind. and imp.) and two tenses, a pres.-fut. and a preterit. There are two conjugations which do not imply difference in meaning; one of them corresponds, historically speaking, in the main to the I.E. pres. and aor. sub-systems, the other to the ancient perfect, with considerable influence from forms which correspond to presents or aorists in the cognate languages. The identity in function of both sub-systems must be a Hittite innovation.⁶¹ Considered as a whole the Hittite system may however have preserved important traces of a state of affairs which was more original than that evidenced by Vedic or Greek.⁶²

⁵⁷ This does not of course mean that we should set up such sub-categories as ingressive or conative imperfects. See also L. R. Palmer, *The Latin language* (London, 1954), p. 307.

⁵⁸ F. Blatt, *Précis de syntaxe latine* (Lyon, 1952), p. 172.

⁵⁹ Ch. E. Bennett, *Syntax of early Latin*, II (Boston, 1914), p. 32 ff.

⁶⁰ H. Pedersen, *Vergl. Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, II (Göttingen, 1913), p. 282, 306; R. Thurneysen, *A grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946), p. 331 f.

⁶¹ E. H. Sturtevant, *A comparative grammar of the Hittite language* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 216 f., 251 f.; H. Kronasser, *Vergl. Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen* (Heidelberg, 1955), p. 162 f.

⁶² In this I find myself in substantial agreement with T. Elizarenkova, "On the problem of the development of tenses in Old Indo-Aryan", *Paper ... 25th Int. Congr. of Orient. Moscow*, August 1960, p. 2, which came to my knowledge after this chapter had been written.

Delbrück,⁶³ arriving, 80 years ago, at the conclusion that the uses of the Vedic aor., by means of which the speaker "etwas als eben geschehen bezeichnet", like the Greek aor., "auf ein Tempus der eintretenden Handlung zurückgeht", added the following remark: "Hiernach musz man zu der Meinung kommen, dasz der griechische Aor. der Hauptsache nach dem idg. entspricht, wenn auch der eine oder andere Typus dort noch nicht so ausgebildet gewesen sein wird, wie im Griechischen. Das Indische dagegen hat den Gebrauch des Aor. wesentlich eingeschränkt". "Der Präsensstamm bedeutet im Griech. die sich entwickelnde Handlung, und der Gebrauch des Impf. im Skt. und Iran. als Tempus der Schilderung beweist zusammengenommen mit dem ital. Gebrauche, dasz dieser Sinn des Präs. proethnisch ist". Twenty years later the same savant summarized his views about the same points as follows⁶⁴: "(The impf.) versetzt die Handlung in die hinter dem Sprechenden liegende Vergangenheit... (Es) fordert den Hörer auf, sich vorzustellen, wie die Handlung vor sich ging. Es ist die Form der Erzählung, insbesondere ... (die der) Erinnerung". "Der Ind. Aor. versetzt die punktuelle Handlung in die Vergangenheit, er fordert also nur auf, sich vorzustellen, dasz etwas geschah, nicht wie es geschah. Es erzählt nicht, sondern konstatiert. Die Vergangenheit kann entweder dem Sprechenden so nahe liegen, dasz sie noch so zu sagen in seine Gegenwart hineinfällt, oder sie kann weiter zurückliegen". However, after another twenty years Brugmann,⁶⁵ whilst admitting the difficulty of the problem as to how far "solche Aktionsbedeutung schon in uridg. Zeit den morphologisch verschiedenen 'präsentischen' und 'aoristischen' Formen in der Art angehaftet hat, dasz die Form im Rahmen des ganzen Verbal-systems zu der betreffenden Aktionsart in (eine) notwendige und feste Beziehung gesetzt war...", was of the opinion that it is "nicht nachweisbar, dasz irgend ein einzelsprachliches System, etwa das der vedischen Sprache oder das des Slavischen oder Litauischen, von dem für die gemeinsame Urzeit der idg. Sprachen vorauszusetzenden System nur erst unbeträchtlich abgewichen ist". "Man hat", the same savant justly observed, "kaum mehr die Möglichkeit, ein klares Bild von den Aktionsverhältnissen der einfachen Verbalformen... in uridg. Zeit zu gewinnen". "Ce serait une erreur", was also the opinion of

⁶³ Delbrück, *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Syntax* (= *Synt. Forsch.*, IV) (Halle a.S., 1879), p. 109, 111.

⁶⁴ Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 309.

⁶⁵ Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der idg. Spr.*, II, 3 (Strassburg, 1916), p. 718, 85, 84.

Meillet,⁶⁶ “d’attribuer à l’opposition ‘présent: aorist’ en indo-européen l’importance qu’elle a en grec”.

What was the state of affairs with regard to the expression of aspects in the Indo-European ‘Ursprache’ we shall indeed never exactly know. It would not be difficult to collect from the preceding pages those ‘uses’ which two or more of the most important branches of this family of languages have in common and to ascribe them more or less reservedly to their hypothetic ‘parent language’. But it would be a gratuitous assumption that methods which with a tolerable chance of success may be applied to comparative phonetics and morphology may be mechanically applied to comparative syntax and to the theory of the functions of the morphological categories. If we had no historical knowledge of the Slavonic tongues being acquainted only with the modern phases of Russian, Polish, Bulgarian, etc., it would not be possible to ‘reconstruct’ the ‘aspects’, Aktionsarten, possibilities of determining verbs, etc. in Original Slavonic. We may go further: notwithstanding our knowledge of Old-Slavonic, Old-Russian, etc. the attempts at explaining the origin of the aspectual correlation in this sub-family are almost as numerous as the scholars who have ventured to write about these vexed problems.⁶⁷ What must strike every unbiassed investigator is the comparatively inconstant character of the verbal categories and functions under discussion. In most Slavonic languages the aorist has been lost, elsewhere it is losing ground; in Latin aorist and perfect have fused, in Sanskrit they have changed their functions. Other categories have arisen to convey, for instance in the Slavonic idioms, a rather consistent aspectual opposition which, whatever its origin, has developed in historical times and was definitely no feature of Original Indo-European.⁶⁸ It is not even warranted to ascribe⁶⁹ those traits and particulars which the Slavonic languages have in common, to Original Slavonic. It is already on the strength of these considerations impossible to decide how far functional nuances proper to Vedic, Greek, Slavonic or Tocharian belonged already to their common ‘parent’ and how far they are the result of parallel developments.⁷⁰ We are certainly not justified in ascribing to the parent language a developed complicated system that kept the mean between the systems of Greek and Sanskrit.

⁶⁶ Meillet, *Introduction à l’étude compar. des langues indo-européennes*⁸ (Paris, 1937), p. 250.

⁶⁷ See Regnéll, *o.c.*, p. 34 ff.

⁶⁸ Or Proto-I.E.

⁶⁹ Cf. e.g. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, p. 298.

⁷⁰ Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* (Paris, 1921), p. 36, 61.

It is hardly necessary to point out that in exploring the difficult field of comparative I.E. syntax full account must be taken of the morphological probabilities, or to express ourselves otherwise: it would be useless to discuss functions and constructions if – within the scope of our theories – we are not reasonably sure of the existence of the morphological categories which are supposed to have been the formal basis of these syntactic values. In this connection a side of no mean interest is the well-founded criticism passed in the last decenniads on the system of the I.E. verb laid down, at the end of the preceding century, by Brugmann and Delbrück. Their theory of the ‘original’ (Proto-) I.E. verb was based on those many points in which Greek and Sanskrit are in harmony with each other.⁷¹ In the course of time it however appeared that the remarkable resemblance between the Hellenic and Indo-Iranian verbal system cannot on every point be explained from a wonderful state of preservation, in both branches of I.E., of one clear full-fledged and knowable system in their common ‘parent’, but must to a certain extent be due to parallelism in development.

The opposition between the primary and secondary endings cannot, for instance, have been, in I.E., as constant as it is in Greek and Sanskrit.⁷² A hard-and-fast line between aor. and pres. stem seems to have been wanting in the case of the injunctive,⁷³ a conclusion of special interest because this category – which in any case may be considered to have been indifferent with respect to time and modality – probably was a relic surviving from an earlier period than that represented by the Vedic and Homeric verb system in general⁷⁴: only the sigmatic injunctives – which like all sigmatic aorists are now regarded as a younger group⁷⁵ – are unmistakably aoristic in function. In contradistinction to the traditional view that the stems of subj. and opt. were secondary with regard to that of the indicative from which they derived, arguments were adduced⁷⁶ to corroborate the opposite theory with regard to the Vedic subj. in *-a-*: “en regard des types... *kṛnóti* (ultérieurement *karóti*), *ákah*, le système prés.-aor. comporte un thème indistinct *kara-*... en majorité subj. indéterminé, éventuel, plutôt que modal... Il faut reconnaître dans *kara-* un pré-subj. autonome, caractérisé par la voyelle

⁷¹ See e.g. Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, II, p. 308 ff.

⁷² Meillet, in *B.S.L.*, 23, p. 64 ff., and *M.S.L.*, 23, p. 215 ff.

⁷³ Renou, “Les formes dites d’injonctif dans le R̥gveda” in the *Étrennes de linguistique offertes à E. Benveniste* (Paris, 1928), p. 63 ff.

⁷⁴ See *The character of the I.E. moods* (Wiesbaden, 1956), ch. IV.

⁷⁵ Meillet, in *Mélanges offerts à F. de Saussure* (Paris, 1908), p. 79 ff.

⁷⁶ By Renou, in *B.S.L.*, 33, p. 5 ff.

-a-, et qui n'a point part aux subdivisions du verbe védique". We may go further and emphasize the resemblances between this 'subjunctive' and the injunctive⁷⁷; like the latter this 'subjunctive' "ne participe nulle part nettement aux différenciations aspectives du prés., de l'aor., du parfait...".⁷⁸ Definite roots, e.g. **dō-* "to give"; **dhē-* "to place, set"; **g^uem-* "to go" form aorists in eastern, presents in western languages. There are in the Veda aorists which sometimes assume primary endings (e.g. 2 p. du. *kṛthas*) in spite of the fact that, in principle, an aorist is characterized by the fact that it has only secondary endings. We are, on the strength of these discoveries, justified in concluding that the verb system assumed, for Orig. I.E., by Brugmann c.s. was to a considerable extent a fiction; that on the contrary the categories and their functions were developing and differentiating – and that probably to a certain extent in a parallel way – in pre-historic Greek and Indo-Iranian after the disintegration of the 'I.E. unity'. This signifies, however, also that those cognate languages in which no distinct oppositions in the Vedic or Greek way exist, may to a greater or lesser extent be regarded as continuing a traditional state of affairs rather than showing the results of a process of decay.

Moreover, the secondary character of the I.E. aorist has, after Brugmann, been demonstrated with forceful arguments⁷⁹: the aor. sense is conveyed by a plurality of heterogeneous formal systems, which, each of them, may be explained as the preterit of a present or 'pre-present' system. That the functional difference between pres. and aor. is for the greater part the result of a secondary development⁸⁰ was, in the course of time, implicitly or explicitly assumed or suggested by many scholars. Brugmann⁸¹ already attempted to explain the association of the 'perfective' aspect with the aorist from analogous processes originating in the stem forms like **uidó-* "to find" which expressed a momentary idea by nature. The same scholar also observed that "einzelsprachliche" forms which belonged, or might belong, to a pres. stem passed over to the aorist, usually because of the occurrence of another imperfect. The importance of 'morphological opposition' as a factor in the expansion of the aorist was also recognized by others.⁸²

⁷⁷ See especially *The character of the I.E. moods*, p. 109 ff.

⁷⁸ Renou, in *B.S.L.*, 33, p. 28.

⁷⁹ For a brief survey see F. B. J. Kuiper, *Die indogerm. Nasalpräsentia* (Amsterdam, 1937), p. 73.

⁸⁰ Taking place after the 'period of unity'.

⁸¹ Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, 3, p. 80, 759.

⁸² See e.g. K. Brugmann-A. Thumb, *Griech. Gramm.* (München, 1913), p. 543; Renou, in *Mélanges-Vendryes*, p. 311 f.; Kuiper, *o.c.*, p. 72.

It should moreover not be forgotten that our knowledge of the verbal system of Indo-European as resulting from our comparative studies – I purposely avoid the term ‘reconstructions’ – is far from being complete. It does not show a considerable degree of agreement from language to language. Following Brugmann scholars have more or less tacitly been prone to accept the system arrived at by a comparison of Greek and Indo-Iranian as that of the parent speech, explaining the system of Germanic, Latin, etc. as resulting from a break-down from that system with a variety of innovations and analogical reformations.⁸³ But would it not be worth attempting to produce more evidence in support of the hypothesis that in those languages which lost the aorist as a separate category it had already before the dawn of history failed in reaching a comparatively high point of progress; that on the other hand the prosperous condition of this category in Greek and Vedic is the result of a prehistoric process of growth and expansion? That is to say: is it not possible that the Proto-Indo-European verbal system comprised only to a certain extent those aoristic categories, aorist forms and aorist functions which we know from the early I.E. literatures, and that the ‘break-down’ suffered by Italic, Germanic, etc. was not so complete as has sometimes been suggested?

The above considerations are however not to assert the complete untenability of Brugmann’s system. The common parent language must have produced at least vigorous seed and shoots from which the later growth – even if it was in part parallel developments – can be explained. The very fact that Italic, Celtic and Albanian possess, like Greek, Slavonic and Indo-Iranian, *s*-aorists (preterital *s*-categories) shows that these languages passed through a period in which this comparatively recent aorist was grammaticized; a striking resemblance in details (Ablaut) makes it difficult not to ascribe the category, at least in its initial stage, to the I.E. unity.

All we can reasonably take for granted is, indeed, that Original Indo-European possessed verb forms which correspond to Vedic or Greek present forms (injunctives, preterits, indicatives, etc.), to an aoristus II, etc. But to what extent tense or aspect functions should be ascribed to these forms and what were the characteristics of their ‘aspectual’ functions is completely uncertain. It seems for instance also impossible to verify the surmise that the function of the pres. stem to express continuation is more ‘original’ than that to denote imperfectivity – which

⁸³ See also G. S. Lane, “On the present state of I.E. linguistics”, in *Language*, 25 (1949), p. 333 ff., esp. p. 339.

in Vedic is less pronounced –: in Greek for instance there is a double opposition between impf. and aor.: ἐώρων and εἶδον are not only opposed as denoting duration and non-duration but also as signifying imperfectivity and perfectivity.⁸⁴

The oft-repeated thesis⁸⁵ that the aorist and the other ‘tempora’ had, in Orig. I.E., nothing to do with the expression of tense but were exclusively to express aspect should not induce us to assume as admitted that Orig. I.E. was characterized by a full-fledged aspect system of the modern Slavonic type. Nor should we on the other hand be tempted to accept the thesis that any reference to time was – notwithstanding the more or less evident secondary character of systematical tense categories – in Original I.E. impossible.⁸⁶ As soon as the present indicatives had developed so as to constitute a system in the grammatical sense of the term – and, although the primary endings were in all probability younger than the secondary,⁸⁷ this must have been settled before the splitting up of I.E. – they must – assuming that there existed a certain aspectual pres.: aor. opposition – have been apt to refer to what is going on at the time of speaking. If it really was, perhaps in the I.E. parent language or at least at an early date, the task of the aor. – when it had come into being as a distinct category – to express ‘limited’ or ‘momentary’ processes, it was by its very nature in daily practice mainly applied to processes, in the past, because a strictly ‘punctual’ presentation of the verbal idea and an expression of processes which take place at the moment of speaking are by nature incompatible.

If there is something to be said for the supposition that there ‘originally’ was no grammatical distinction between present and aorist forms of like formation (ἐγγραφον: ἔδρακον; Skt. *atudam*: ἔφρυγον), the

⁸⁴ See E. Hermann, in *Nachr. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1933, p. 479 f. – “L’expression de la durée paraît être un fait très ancien en sémitique antérieur sans doute à la distinction même de l’accompli et de l’inaccompli” (Cohen, *o.c.*, p. 296).

⁸⁵ See e.g. (Leumann-)Hofmann, *Lat. Grammatik*, p. 549: “der idg. Aorist ... diene von Haus aus lediglich der Bezeichnung der Aktionsart und auch die übrigen ‘Tempora’ hatten ursprünglich keine Beziehung zur Zeitstufe, sondern drückte die Art des Handlungsverlaufes aus”; Thomas, *o.c.*, p. 1; W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogerm. Sprachgebiets* (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 86 ff. The use of the term ‘Aktionsart’ gives ample scope for including non-aspectual functions; on this point Kronasser, *Vergl. Laut- u. Formenlehre des Hethitischen*, p. 163, is quite explicit.

⁸⁶ In Kurylowicz’ remark (*o.c.*, p. 530) that the opposition assumed by the Neogrammarians c.s. between aspect languages (Greek, Slavonic) and languages in which the expression of time came to the fore (Latin and other Western I.E. tongues) “ne corresponde plus aux exigences méthodiques de la linguistique structurale” I would strike out the last word because one can arrive at that conclusion without adhering to some ‘structuralist’ school or other.

⁸⁷ See *The Character of the I.E. moods*, p. 47 f.

development of the typical aspect values may have gone hand in hand with the break-up of their 'original' unity and the growing independence of the two categories. The increasing tendency to express aspectual and temporal distinctions may perhaps have been the main determining cause in these processes.

There do not appear to exist reasonable grounds for considering the aorist aspect to be, historically speaking, secondary. The argument adduced⁸⁸ fails, at least, to carry conviction: since the categories characterized by secondary endings were probably older than those exhibiting primary endings, it cannot be maintained that the aorists began their individual existence by losing their parallel present forms. There is rather room for the supposition that it was the development of the present indicative which conditioned the break-up of the 'original' unity, and that it was the establishment of that category – which by nature so often refers to 'unlimited' processes – which whilst affecting the other categories deriving from the same stem predisposed them to form an increasing contrast with those categories which belonged to another stem.

It may on the other hand be assumed that if an aspectual correlation between two formal categories has even to a low degree of perfection evolved, definite implications are apt to become manifest, that is to say, that certain aspectual nuances are so to say automatically realized. It is not surprising that in spite of the considerable diversity in particulars some prominent features should recur in several languages or groups of languages: the aorist “des als einmalig gedachten Ereignisses”, the case represented by ἐγέλασα, the 'gnomicus', the impf. of the unfinished or attempted process, its aptness to describe or to refer to 'back-grounds', situations or attendant circumstances. It is warranted to suppose that these uses, like the differences between transformative and intransformative verbs,⁸⁹ were also features of the Orig. I.E. syntax.

Modifying the theory propounded by Burrow⁹⁰ it may perhaps be supposed that 'originally' – and by this term I never mean anything else than: in the earliest stage of development into which we can penetrate by means of our hypotheses – no thorough and systematic distinction between a present stem and an aorist stem existed, a state of affairs which may be considered to continue in Hittite, which shows no sign of

⁸⁸ By Lane, in *Language*, 25, p. 339.

⁸⁹ There is, as far as I am able to see, no reason for Wackernagel's (*Vorlesungen*, I², p. 173) supposition that “die strikt ingressive Bedeutung vielleicht griechische Neuerung (ist)”.

⁹⁰ Burrow, *The Sanskrit language*, p. 296.

ever having possessed a category corresponding to the aorist occurring in part of the cognate languages. Traces of this state are, if appearances are not deceptive, still visible in Vedic; for instance – in addition to the details mentioned already ⁹¹ – the forms of the type *śramat*, which for the greater part derive from stems which are not formally characterized: they may be interpreted as aorists or as presents. It may further be assumed that those forms which had or acquired not only an aspectual function but also expressed a temporal sense – which in all probability came, gradually, more to the fore –, i.e. the indicatives, especially after the significance of the augmented forms began to increase, ⁹² led the way in developing two distinct grammatical categories.⁹³ The stage of development represented in Indo-Iranian shows the evolution of a complete double set of preterite forms characterized by more or less distinct and definable aspectual and temporal functions. In Greek the distinction between the present and the aorist system was carried further. But we should never forget that there always remains, in all these languages, a considerable residue of rarer, intractable and unaccountable uses which to the present day no ingenuity has succeeded in explaining.⁹⁴

It is not my intention to include in this volume also a discussion of the functions of the past tenses in Vedic prose, which, though in the main points well-known,⁹⁵ might furnish a theme for another book, because on the one hand the authorities do not in all respects agree and on the other there often is much diversity in usage in the *Brāhmaṇas* and even in different chapters of the same *Brāhmaṇa*; moreover, the verses and the prose sections may considerably diverge.⁹⁶ Whereas, broadly speaking, the aorist signifies, in the *Brāhmaṇas*, something past which is viewed as

⁹¹ See p. 266 f.

⁹² Cf. also Meillet, *Le slave commun*, p. 230.

⁹³ As is well known special categories to indicate the future were slow in developing. See e.g. *The character of the I.E. moods*, p. 23 ff. etc., and Porzig, *Gliederung*, p. 86 ff.

⁹⁴ See also Wackernagel, *o.c.*, I, p. 182 f. to whose interpretation I cannot always completely subscribe; Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*, p. 143: “Ce serait une erreur grave que d’attribuer, dans la pratique, une valeur absolue à cette distinction de principe. Des considérations de style, de tempérament même de l’écrivain peuvent entraîner l’emploi de l’un de préférence à l’autre ...”.

⁹⁵ See Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 279 ff.; Speyer, *Ved. und Skt.-Syntax*, p. 51 ff.; the same, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 246 ff.; Whitney, “On the narrative use of imperfect and perfect in the *Brāhmaṇas*”, in *Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Ass.*, 23 (1892), p. 5 ff.; D. Andersen, *Om Brugen og Betydningen af Verbets genera ... i Chāndogya-Upan.*, Thesis Copenhagen 1892, p. 5; Nilmadhav Sen, “Syntax of tenses in the *Rāmāyaṇa*”, *Journal of the Or. Inst. M. S. Univ. of Baroda*, 1 (1952), p. 301 ff.

⁹⁶ See especially F. Weller, “Die Legende von Śunahśepa im Aitareyabrāhmaṇa und Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra”, *Ber. Verh. sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. Leipzig*, Ph.-h. Kl. 102, 2 (Berlin, 1956), p. 54 ff.

completed with reference to the present, the impf. tends to become the ordinary tense of narration.⁹⁷ In some texts the narrative function of the perfect comes to the fore. In post-Vedic times all three categories are, though not always equally preferred, as a rule treated as virtually equivalent, being – with occasional restrictions – freely co-ordinated in narration.

It would appear to me that the ancient possibility of expressing a unit of history as belonging to the ‘passé actuel’, of presenting it as a recent fact that has occurred within the sphere of those speaking (and listening) and so as to interest them, has in the case of the aorist, been generalized. The aorist which in the ancient metrical texts often impresses us as being vivid and more or less emphatic, as an ‘allegro’-form serving the relation of completed processes, was so to say predisposed to signify processes which were to be brought nearer to the hearer, who must have felt himself to be concerned or involved in the process related or in its results or at least to be interested in it. Speaking in temporal terms this comparatively close contact between the process and the partners in a conversation has the character of the bridging of a brief space of time: the aorist expresses what is considered to be near in time, the recent past or ‘passé actuel’; it “rückt in die Gegenwart”. Thus the aorist may answer to the question “was war soeben eingetreten, was war soeben der Fall geworden?”, it may denote an event “das, abgeschlossen, einer fortschreitenden Handlung unmittelbar vorausliegt”.⁹⁸ Hence also the frequent use of the aorist in dialogues⁹⁹ where it may occur as “temps du passé personnel”.¹⁰⁰ According to Pāṇini the aorist denotes the past in general (*bhūtasāmānye*). In opposition to the imperfect (cf. Pāṇ. 3, 2, 111) it is *adyatana-* “referring to to-day”, in opposition to the perfect (cf. Pāṇ. 3, 2, 115) it may be *aparokṣe* “used to express what has been perceptible”, i.e. “used to refer to events witnessed by the speaker”, the perfect being, by the great grammarian, restricted to such facts as have not been witnessed by the speaker (*parokṣe liṭ*).¹⁰¹ This use of the aorist includes also the case indicated by the term *sāmīpya-* “proximity in time” (Pāṇ. 3, 3, 135): *anantarāyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ gurur dharmam avocat* “the Master has preached the Law the last day of full moon”.

⁹⁷ Whitney, *Grammar*, § 928.

⁹⁸ Weller, *o.c.*, p. 59, 58.

⁹⁹ See also Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, p. 438.

¹⁰⁰ For the ‘Aorist der aktuellen Vergangenheit’ in classical Sanskrit see e.g. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 252 f.; *Ved. u. Skt. Synt.*, p. 53.

¹⁰¹ See e.g. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 247 ff.; Whitney, in *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, 23, p. 33 f.

The expression of the 'advancing action' is, in Pāli, the main task of the aorist: Jāt. I, 207, *so tassā varaṃ adāsi. sā... sāmikaṃ vāresi... sabba-sakuṇe sannipātāpesi* "he granted her a boon...; she choose a husband ...; he assembled all the birds". That however other applications of the same category were not unknown to the great grammarian appears from the same sūtra: the aorist is also idiomatic in case of "uninterrupted continuity of action" (*kriyāprabandha*): *yāvajjīvaṃ bhṛśam annam adād* "he has, all his life long, abundantly given food", which is an instance of the so-called 'complexive' use of this verb form¹⁰²; compare also in Pāli: Jāt. V, 70 *sesiṃ... dasa rattiyo* "I had to stay ten nights". The aorist may also "eine allgemeine Vergangenheit bezeichnen, die sich von einem unbestimmten Zeitpunkte an bis zur augenblicklichen Gegenwart erstreckt"¹⁰³: AiB. 7, 17, 3 *adarśus tvā sāsahastam na yac chūdreṣv alapsata* "they have seen you knife in hand, a thing they have not found even among Śūdras".

According to Pāṇini (3, 2, 111) the use of the imperfect is restricted to "such facts as have not happened to-day" (*anadyatane lan*); that is to say: it is the form which, in contradistinction to the aorist, refers to a more remote past, a function which, as we have seen, was, though far from being general, known to the authors of the Ṛgveda also. The increasing importance of this function may be connected with the inclination of the ancient Indians to use, in a more or less distinct opposition to other past forms, the imperfect in an unexpressive way in lento descriptions of facts and their consequences. According to a supplementary rule this form was also apt to refer to events which while being universally known (*lokavijñāta*-) and being "beyond the speaker's range of sight" could have been witnessed by him, for instance: *aruṇad yavanaḥ sāketam* "the Greeks have besieged S.": "fait bien connu, dont le sujet n'a pas été témoin, mais assez proche dans le temps pour qu'il eût pu en être témoin".¹⁰⁴ That is to say that the imperfect applies not only to a remote past but also to a past which may be said to belong to more or less 'contemporaneous history'. A verb form used to signify events that are not recent and 'actuel' may indeed be especially apt to indicate the *lokavijñāta*-. It is on the other hand evident that the element of *lokavijñāta*- was also inherent in the many imperfects occurring in the Ṛgveda to describe the great heroic and creative deeds of the gods. These also took

¹⁰² See also Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 250. For a 'punctual' aorist in the classical period see Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, p. 438.

¹⁰³ Weller, *o.c.*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁴ Renou, *La grammaire de Pāṇini* (Paris, 1948), p. 130.

place beyond the speaker's "range of sight", but it cannot, generally speaking, be said that the latter could have witnessed them. Another definition of the use of this category is furnished by those grammarians who regard it as *anadyatana-* and as referring to the *aparokṣa-*, i.e. to events witnessed by the speaker, a twofold restriction which is however disregarded by many authors, among whom some of the best classics.¹⁰⁵ The imperfect is indeed not restricted to the relation of past facts witnessed by the speaker. The preference for the imperfect in referring to events which are *aparokṣa-* cannot of course be disconnected from the use, prescribed by the same authorities (cf. Pāṇ. 3, 2, 115), of the perfect in case of *parokṣa-*, i.e. to refer to facts of personal experience.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, p. 413 f.; Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Syntax*, p. 53; *Skt. Syntax*, p. 248.

¹⁰⁶ See Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, p. 458.

INDEX OF TECHNICAL TERMS USED

- Abgeschlossenheit, 11, 17, 133, 259
 Ablative, 212, 238, 247
 Ablaut, 268
 Accusative, 235, 247 f.
 adyatana-, 272
 Aktionsart (aspect), 12 ff., 22 ff., 26, 29,
 31, 35, 40, 41, 46, 48, 51 f., 180, 185 (n.),
 261 f., 264 f., 269
 anadyatana-, 274
 anadyatane lañ, 273
 anaphora, 143
 aorist (impf.), 19, 20, 32, 34, 41 f., 51, 55,
 58, 60, 180
 —, Indian, 48 ff., 54 ff., 65, 73 ff., 80 ff.,
 98 f., 101 f., 107 f., 112 ff., 119, 120,
 124 ff., 129, 159 ff., 165 ff., 194 ff.,
 204 ff., 251 ff., 259, 264, 267, 271 ff.
 aorist (pres.), 62, 96 f., 99, 100, 101,
 103 ff., 164 f., 170 ff., 192
 aparokṣe, 272, 274
 apostrophe, 83, 89, 115, 196
 apposition, 150, 156, 158
 aspect (imperfective: perfective), 7, 10,
 23 f., 29, 35, 53, 59, 77, 81, 102, 104,
 125, 130 (n.), 133 ff., 142, 147 f., 221,
 269
 —, (un)bedingt perfektiv, 11
 —, IE., 51 f., 264 ff., 270
 —, Greek, 16 ff., passim
 —, Russ., 8 ff., 35 ff.
 —, Semit., 25 f., 33 (n.), 269 (n.)
 —, Slav., 26 f., 66 f., 108, 223, 251 ff.,
 265
 (a)sigmatic, 253, 266, 268
 (a)thematic, 152, 221
 attributive, 158

 bhūtasāmānye, 272

 casus obliqui, 247
 causal, 211, 212
 causative, 196, 202, 234
 comitative, 226
 completive, 17, 25, 228

 complexive, 19, 27, 31, 67, 69, 80, 81, 85,
 87, 106, 181 f., 196, 207, 259 ff., 273
 conative, 26, 263
 conclusive, 22
 conditional, 186 (n.), 211, 219
 confective, 19, 22 (n.), 26, 55, 78, 108 f.,
 127
 continuative, 33, 63, 70, 81 f., 85, 87, 89,
 91, 95, 100, 102 ff., 106, 110, 112, 120,
 128, 134, 138, 143 f., 147 f., 151, 155,
 157, 160, 161, 171 f., 175 ff., 179, 183,
 196, 200, 206 f., 212, 214, 223, 227, 234,
 256, 260, 261, 268
 cumulation, 28, 41, 140

 dative (final), 142
 defectivity, 132
 descriptive, 57 f., 81 ff., 106, 113 f., 120,
 136 f., 139, 141, 145, 147 ff., 160, 163,
 165, 181, 196, 256 f., 259, 260, 263
 desiderative, 220
 determination (déterminé: indét.), 22 (n.),
 37 f., 43, 52, 71, 136, 223, 242, 248, 252
 direct speech, 159
 dlitel'nost', 9
 duration (durative), 14, 15, 17, 20, 23, 27,
 34 f., 37, 43, 55, 60, 68 f., 73, 103, 106,
 109, 115 f., 119, 120 ff., 126 f., 131, 133,
 135 ff., 142 f., 146 f., 149, 160 ff., 172,
 175, 177 f., 180, 182 f., 186, 188 ff.,
 197 f., 202 f., 206 f., 209, 210, 214 ff.,
 220, 221, 223 f., 231, 238, 244, 248,
 254 ff., 259 ff., 269

 ellipsis, 141
 endings (primary: secondary), 266 f., 269,
 270
 eventive (-intransitive), 237

 factive, 258
 fait-accompli, 69
 finitive, 70, 72, 208, 210, 211, 260
 frequentative, 59
 future, 271 (n.)

- futurum exactum, 169, 206, 258
- genitive, 247
 —, -partitive, 146
- gnomic (aor.), 31, 63 ff., 175, 255, 258, 260, 270
- grammaticalization, 35, 36
- hic et nunc (situation), 73, 136, 141, 149, 173 f., 197, 200
- imperfect, see aorist
 —, de conatu, 256
 —, historique, 121
 —, Latin, 45, 254, 262 f.
 —, pro aoristo, 111 (n.)
- imperfective, see aspect
- inchoative, 14, 36, 98, 126, 245, 246, 249, 263
- inflective, 22 (n.), 26 f., 108 f., 127
- ingressive, 22 (n.), 39, 70, 71, 103, 109, 127, 172, 231 f., 234, 236, 238, 240, 241, 243, 249, 270 (n.)
- initive, 208, 260, 263
- instrumental, 247
- intensive, 26, 107, 129, 139, 144, 189, 192 f., 198, 210, 224, 226, 235, 238, 240
- inversion, 147 (n.), 157
- iterative, 13, 14, 18, 27 f., 52, 59 ff., 90, 108, 118, 120, 125, 136, 138, 143, 145 f., 162, 176, 198 f., 217, 219, 252, 257, 260, 263
- konstatierender (Aor.), 141, 142, 264
- kratnost', 9, 35
- kursiv, 13, 52, 215
- langue: parole, 29 ff., 33, 34
- linear, 57, 81, 150, 167, 214
- locative, 247
- lokavijñāta-, 273
- marked (: unmarked) term, 31, 32
- merkmallos, 28
- metaphorical (use), 175, 243, 249
- metaptosis, see transformative
- modi (non-indicative forms)
 imper., 54, 72, 105, 107, 130 ff., 141, 144, 173, 177, 188 f., 190, 192 f., 197 f., 208, 211, 250
 injunctive, 49, 54, 56, 65 f., 72, 97, 99, 100, 118, 136, 174, 181, 185 f., 189, 191 ff., 196 f., 202 f., 205 (n.), 213, 219, 220, 266 ff.
 subj., optat., 18, 32, 48, 151, 169, 171 f., 174 ff., 178 f., 181 ff., 185, 193 f., 198 ff., 205 ff., 223, 256, 266 ff.
- momentary (momentaneous), 16, 18, 21 (n.), 31, 38 (n.), 56 f., 60, 62, 66, 68, 71, 73, 89, 91, 97 f., 100, 102, 107, 118, 131 f., 146, 153, 157, 160, 164 f., 167, 178, 186, 190 ff., 201, 204 f., 210, 211, 213 ff., 220, 221, 226 f., 229, 234 f., 237, 256, 260, 267, 269
- neutral (aspectually), 208, 220, 260
- parenthesis, 125, 213
- parokṣa-, 274
- parokṣe liṭ, 272
- paronomasia, 202
- participles, 70, 104, 106, 110, 121 f., 125, 135, 143, 147, 152 ff., 169, 175, 177, 179, 189, 231
- passé actuel, 57, 60, 62 f., 73 f., 76, 78, 84 f., 87 f., 98, 100, 121 f., 162, 164, 167, 171, 182 f., 198, 202, 213, 224, 258 f., 261, 272
- passé (in)défini, 261 (n.)
- passé historique, 212
- past: mythical, 194, 197, 203, 219, 260
- perfect, Indian, 53, 57, 76, 78 f., 98, 105, 115 f., 118 f., 124, 162 f., 167 ff., 175, 184, 193, 205 f., 210, 211, 220, 231, 261 (n.), 272, 274
 —, Latin, 45, 262 f., 265
- perfective, see aspect
- perfektisch, 14, 44
- Perfektivierung, 14, 23, 37 ff., 225 f., 228
- phonology, 30
- pluperfect, 93 f., 123, 204, 260, 261
- polysemy, 246
- precative, 190
- préfixe (vide, -plein), 16, 36 (n.), 37 ff., 242 ff.
- present, see aorist
- présent, actuel 217
- présent, temps présent, 45, 62, 214 ff.
- present, linguistic, 39
 —, de conatu, 22 (n.), 220
 —, habitual, 216
 —, historical, 84, 98, 126, 218, 222
- present categories, 52, 178, 221, 223
 —, nasal, 267 (n.)
- preverbs (verbal prefixes), 10, 11, 14 ff.,

- 35 ff., 40 ff., 222, 225 ff.
 progressive, 29 (n.), 116, 194
 prohibitive, 185 f., 190, 192 f.
 prolepsis, 158 (n.)
 protjaženije (: neprotjažennyj), 12
 punctual (punktuell), 12, 13, 19, 20, 23,
 31, 34, 43, 49, 54, 77, 81, 85, 87, 90, 98,
 100, 133, 136, 151, 162, 172, 174, 176,
 178 f., 180, 194, 206 f., 210, 215, 218,
 220 ff., 231, 243, 254, 264, 269

 realization, 29, 30, 225
 recapitulative (aor.), 260
 resultative, 23, 25, 27, 38, 162 f., 168, 249

 sāmīpya-, 272
 semantics (semantic development), 21, 32,
 37 f., 47, 183, 185, 209, 212, 221, 226 f.,
 229, 230, 234, 239, 244, 246, 249, 261
 soveršennost' (: nesoveršennost'), 9
 stativ (impf.), 257
 stepeni, 9, 10
 structuralism, 30, 269 (n.)
 successive, 65, 113, 120, 255
 suppletive, 136, 180 (n.)
 synchronic (: diachronic), 31 (n.), 47, 80,
 252
 συντέλεια, 17
 τὸ συντελικόν, 17

 tempo-distinction (allegro: lento), 22,
 131, 136 f., 165, 179, 196, 206, 272 f.

 tense, 8, 9, 18, 22, 28, 34, 50, 101, 102,
 183, 251
 —, Celtic, 263
 —, Hittite, 263, 270, 271
 —, relative, 262
 —, Slavonic, 253 ff.
 —, Tocharian, 259
 terminative, 13, 19, 22 (n.), 43, 52, 60,
 71 ff., 78, 98, 108 f., 115, 128, 146, 207,
 221 ff., 227, 230, 248 f.
 tmesis, 41
 transformative (: intransformative), 22
 (n.), 32, 43, 63, 70 ff., 87, 94, 96, 98, 110,
 126 ff., 132, 153, 170, 183, 189, 195 f.,
 208 ff., 221 ff., 228, 232, 233, 237, 249,
 260, 270
 transitive, 248

 Urakt, 114, 116

 vid, 9, 26
 Vollendung, 11, 12, 20, 27, 40, 225, 227,
 257

 Zeitbezug, 19 (n.), 130 (n.)
 Zeitgebung (absol.: bezogenes Tempus),
 93
 Zeitstufen, 15, 49 ff., 269 (n.)

 (χρόνος) ἀόριστος, 17
 χρόνος παρατατικός, 17
 χρόνοι ὠρισμένοι, 17
 χρόνος: ἔργον, 17

INDEX OF THE MAIN TEXT-PLACES STUDIED

<i>AiB.</i>		<i>AV.</i>	
4, 9	237	11, 2, 29	185
7, 17, 3	273	12, 1, 33	189
		12, 1, 46	192
<i>AV.</i>		13, 2, 36	108, 177
1, 2, 3	211	16, 7, 13	193, 201
1, 10, 2	106	17, 1, 6	150, 193
1, 10, 3	211	18, 1, 6	201
2, 15	203	18, 2, 36	193
2, 25, 5	234	18, 3, 9	224
2, 28, 5	107	19, 8, 5	202
2, 29, 4	188	19, 27, 8	104
3, 23, 4	145		
3, 24, 3	107	<i>BĀU.</i>	
3, 31, 8	188	3, 9, 28, 2	232
4, 1, 5	211	6, 2, 2	228
5, 7, 5	145		
5, 13, 4	188	<i>BhagG.</i>	
5, 14, 10	107	7, 7	240
5, 18, 2	201		
5, 22, 2	246	<i>Kāl. Ragh.</i>	
6, 28, 1 (= RV. 10, 165, 5)	233	14, 73	246
6, 54, 1	107		
6, 62, 3	177	<i>KaUp.</i>	
6, 98, 1 + 2	174	3, 12	237
6, 105, 3	107		
6, 111, 1-3	206	<i>Kaus.</i>	
7, 5, 3	177	38, 124	245
7, 95, 2	246 (n.)		
8, 1, 7	238	<i>Manu</i>	
8, 1, 7-9	193	8, 245	247
8, 1, 10	188		
8, 1, 11	188	<i>Mbh.</i>	
8, 1, 15 + 19	191	1, 23, 7	246
8, 4, 7	203	3, 4, 3	246
8, 47, 5	107	3, 64, 41	247
8, 81, 6	192	3, 204, 27	246
9, 2, 18	107	5, 48, 53	238
9, 3, 9	103	7, 147, 62	227
9, 4, 17	224		
10, 1, 26	192	<i>PB.</i>	
10, 1, 31	193	20, 6, 1	234
10, 8, 32	177		
10, 11, 4	207		

Index of the main text-places studied

279

<i>Rām.</i>		<i>RV.</i>	
3, 16, 13	237	1, 67, 4	126
		1, 68, 1	211
		1, 71, 6	68
<i>RV.</i>	249	1, 73, 10	170
1, 4, 5	135	1, 74, 6	199
1, 7, 4	146	1, 76, 3	238
1, 7, 6	146	1, 80	84
1, 10, 7	141	1, 80, 3	176
1, 10, 9	80	1, 80, 12	65
1, 11	122	1, 81, 3	176
1, 11, 6	230	1, 82, 1	206
1, 12, 6	130, 150	1, 82, 6	198
1, 14, 12	172	1, 84, 20	149
1, 17, 4	212	1, 85, 12	250
1, 18, 8	191	1, 89, 1	208
1, 23, 9	66	1, 89, 8	176
1, 24, 7	228	1, 92, 2	152
1, 30, 4	78	1, 92, 11	239
1, 30, 16	126	1, 94, 2	220
1, 31, 3	241	1, 94, 10	210
1, 32, 1	127, 218	1, 94, 11	72, 98, 209
1, 32, 7-10	81, 82, 88	1, 96, 8	69
1, 33	189	1, 100, 19	106
1, 33, 3	125	1, 103, 1	118
1, 33, 10	110	1, 103, 8	204
1, 34, 1	78	1, 104, 8	185
1, 35, 5	59	1, 110	85
1, 35, 10	209	1, 113, 2	74
1, 38, 8	213	1, 113, 11	108
1, 38, 9-10	249	1, 113, 11 d	176
1, 40, 4	248	1, 113, 13	78, 183
1, 42, 4	208	1, 114, 9	149
1, 43, 1	104	1, 116, 10	212
1, 44, 7	74	1, 116, 15	72
1, 46, 10	78	1, 116, 17	114
1, 47, 9	131	1, 116, 18	119
1, 48, 11	234	1, 116, 25	77
1, 49, 3	94	1, 119, 2	88
1, 51, 4	189	1, 121, 1	248
1, 51, 8	249	1, 121, 4 cd	99
1, 51, 12	70	1, 121, 6	237
1, 52, 2	128	1, 121, 11	101
1, 52, 6	107	1, 121, 12	167
1, 53, 1	198	1, 123, 4	79
1, 56, 2	78	1, 124, 1	172
1, 59, 6	83	1, 125, 3	159
1, 61, 11	56	1, 125, 4	169
1, 62, 5	90	1, 129, 1	99
1, 63, 1	86	1, 129, 11	197
1, 63, 1-7	210	1, 131, 4	113
1, 63, 1 + 4	91	1, 132, 3	178
1, 63, 4	96	1, 133, 1	110, 121
1, 65, 8			

<i>RV.</i>		<i>RV.</i>	
1, 134, 3	240	2, 30, 3	87
1, 134, 4	196	2, 30, 4	119
1, 134, 5	216	2, 30, 7	183
1, 135, 1	241	2, 32, 4	143
1, 136, 2	177	2, 33, 1	189
1, 136, 6	171	2, 33, 13	217
1, 139, 7	143, 178	2, 33, 14	174, 201
1, 141, 9	194	2, 35, 13	112
1, 142, 1	150	2, 35, 15	77
1, 144, 6	215	2, 37, 4	198
1, 148, 5	202	2, 38, 1	79
1, 157, 1	75, 102	2, 38, 4	129, 227
1, 158, 1	169	2, 39, 3	148
1, 160, 5	228	2, 41, 13 (= 6, 52, 7)	131
1, 161, 1	167	2, 105, 10 + 12	167
1, 161, 2	160		
1, 161, 6 f.	115	3, 2, 23	174
1, 161, 11	124	3, 5, 3	63
1, 162, 20	189	3, 5, 3 c	76
1, 164, 40	172	3, 5, 10	89
1, 164, 43	120	3, 7, 7	175
1, 165, 1-2 + 5	168	3, 8, 11	182
1, 165, 6	161	3, 15, 6	153, 187
1, 165, 7	169	3, 29, 13	196
1, 165, 8	166	3, 29, 14	121
1, 165, 10	193	3, 29, 16	60, 125, 232
1, 165, 11	162	3, 31, 21	129, 224
1, 169, 1	149	3, 32, 3	137
1, 173, 11	106	3, 32, 11	248
1, 174, 2	56, 115	3, 33, 5 + 9	166
1, 174, 2 + 4 cd	85	3, 33, 7	163
1, 174, 5	89	3, 35, 6	137
1, 177, 4	137	3, 36, 3	116, 141
1, 179, 1	169	3, 38, 1	227
1, 179, 6	168	3, 41, 8	192
1, 186, 1 + 2	208	3, 43, 2	157
1, 187, 6	83	3, 51, 6	173
1, 188, 4	122	3, 53, 2 + 19	190
		3, 53, 3	200
2, 1, 15	230	3, 53, 22	236
2, 5, 6	207	3, 54, 11	59
2, 11, 7-20	89		
2, 11, 15	137	4, 1, 11-13	182
2, 11, 19	116	4, 1, 18	57, 213
2, 11, 20	86	4, 2, 3	155
2, 14, 3	102	4, 2, 8	108
2, 15, 6	231	4, 2, 11	131
2, 15, 7	127	4, 2, 18 ab	102
2, 17, 2	128	4, 3, 12	235
2, 23, 12	235	4, 3, 15	229
2, 24, 1	181	4, 4, 1	223
2, 28, 8	105	4, 5, 10	152

<i>RV.</i>		<i>RV.</i>	
4, 6, 2	100	5, 33, 3	72
4, 6, 8	158	5, 34, 2	55
4, 6, 11	100	5, 34, 8	98, 222
4, 7, 7	56	5, 36, 1	155
4, 12, 1	156	5, 36, 2	198
4, 12, 2	153	5, 40, 5	99, 124
4, 13, 4	101	5, 40, 9	128, 161
4, 17, 3	179	5, 41, 4	233
4, 18, 1	194	5, 42, 6	118
4, 18, 8 d	163	5, 43, 4	219
4, 18, 13	163	5, 43, 8	148
4, 20, 10	192	5, 45, 2	120
4, 22, 6	157	5, 45, 7 + 8	182
4, 22, 9	150	5, 45, 10	57
4, 24, 8	69, 83, 106	5, 53, 6	223
4, 26, 1-2	161	5, 54, 4	238
4, 27, 1	161	5, 54, 5	116
4, 27, 2	163	5, 54, 12	220
4, 30, 8	55	5, 55, 5-6	96
4, 30, 8-15	87	5, 56, 7	234
4, 33, 2	205	5, 61	88
4, 36, 5	196	5, 62, 4	216
4, 38, 8	97	5, 75, 3	158
4, 41, 11	236	5, 78, 5	142
4, 42	162		
4, 46, 5	136	6, 9, 7	152
4, 51, 1	75	6, 11, 5	56, 63, 99
4, 51, 8	154	6, 15, 4	153
4, 54, 1	63	6, 20, 2	155
4, 54, 2	212	6, 24, 9	71
4, 58, 10	110	6, 26	84
		6, 26, 3	91
5, 1, 1	247	6, 26, 5	97
5, 2, 4	195	6, 26, 6	181
5, 2, 10	173	6, 27	57
5, 17, 4	217	6, 27, 4	98
5, 23, 1	110	6, 34, 1	105
5, 29, 9	119	6, 38, 1	74
5, 29, 10	182	6, 39, 2	91
5, 29, 11	115	6, 41, 2	79
5, 29, 15	182	6, 41, 3	231
5, 30, 4	87	6, 44, 16	208
5, 30, 5	95, 127, 203	6, 47, 7	106
5, 30, 9	102	6, 47, 26	172
5, 30, 10	116	6, 48, 4	132
5, 30, 11	120	6, 49, 8 b	67
5, 30, 13	223	6, 50, 9	172
5, 31, 3	94, 195	6, 52, 5	103
5, 32, 1	94	6, 54, 5	103
5, 32, 3	195	6, 60, 2	73
5, 32, 5	97	6, 64, 3	154
5, 32, 7	98, 210	6, 65, 6	149

<i>RV.</i>		<i>RV.</i>	
6, 67, 9	238	7, 94, 2	143
6, 71, 6	60	7, 95, 5	72
6, 75, 12	135	7, 98, 4	101
6, 75, 16	233	7, 103, 3-4	96, 209
		7, 104, 4	245
7, 2, 1	230		
7, 3, 4	96	8, 1, 14	73
7, 8, 4	152	8, 1, 33	57
7, 13, 3	144	8, 3, 1	132
7, 14, 4	156	8, 4, 8 + 12	140
7, 18	58	8, 4, 10	139
7, 18, 3	63	8, 4, 16	131
7, 18, 8	121	8, 5, 28	71
7, 18, 11	86	8, 6, 40	129
7, 18, 12	162	8, 7, 1	119
7, 18, 13	102	8, 7, 2	97
7, 18, 18	145	8, 8, 10	233
7, 20, 2	74	8, 8, 13	130
7, 22, 6	187	8, 11, 10	200
7, 22, 9	118	8, 12, 24	231
7, 24, 4	155	8, 12, 26	98, 205
7, 25, 1	55	8, 12, 30	205
7, 32, 1	141	8, 13, 7	144
7, 32, 7	202	8, 13, 16	63
7, 32, 10	65, 92	8, 18, 14	228
7, 33, 5	87, 88	8, 20, 6	227
7, 33, 6	213	8, 22, 12	136
7, 34, 17	54	8, 27, 20	71
7, 38, 1	76	8, 31, 17	190
7, 38, 2	142	8, 32, 2	70, 85
7, 42, 4	206	8, 32, 19	140
7, 54, 3	171	8, 32, 21	140
7, 60, 3	230	8, 32, 22	147
7, 61, 4	175	8, 33, 7	155
7, 64, 5	77	8, 35, 11	237
7, 67, 3	147	8, 35, 22-23	139
7, 68, 8	54	8, 37, 7	108
7, 68, 9	154	8, 40, 1	68
7, 69, 1	153	8, 40, 8	156
7, 69, 4	174	8, 42, 3	182
7, 70, 1	66	8, 45, 6	142
7, 70, 2	155	8, 46, 27	119
7, 70, 3	157	8, 47, 5	201
7, 72, 4 c	184	8, 47, 17	229
7, 73, 4	193	8, 51, 8	70, 73, 97, 205
7, 79, 1	70	8, 52, 2	116
7, 81, 4	236	8, 60, 6	132
7, 81, 5	131	8, 62, 8	217, 219
7, 83, 3	148, 165	8, 64, 9	62
7, 86, 4	211	8, 66, 14	54
7, 90, 1	138	8, 67, 8	201
7, 93, 3	175	8, 71, 4	218

Index of the main text-placed studied

283

<i>RV.</i>		<i>RV.</i>	
8, 71, 8	189	10, 27, 18	184
8, 72, 2	155	10, 27, 20	193
8, 73, 1	174	10, 28, 4	164
8, 73, 9	110	10, 28, 8	161
8, 75, 8	241	10, 32, 8	232
8, 75, 12	200	10, 33, 1	184
8, 79, 8	187	10, 34, 1 d	164
8, 84, 3	144	10, 34, 2	168
8, 89, 3	176	10, 34, 4	165
8, 96, 9	167	10, 37, 9	234
8, 97, 7	200	10, 40, 6	160
8, 100, 7	235	10, 40, 7-8	165
8, 103, 5	61	10, 45, 6	113
		10, 45, 8	153
9, 14, 2	99, 207	10, 46, 9	73, 197
9, 14, 3	65	10, 48, 9	101
9, 31, 1	235	10, 49, 1-2	166
9, 34, 1	154	10, 49, 9	222
9, 79, 1	97	10, 51, 1-3	162
9, 82, 3	219	10, 51, 2	163
9, 82, 4	218	10, 51, 3-6	160
9, 82, 5	119	10, 51, 7	208
9, 86, 16	100	10, 52, 2	161
9, 91, 4	146	10, 53, 1	160
9, 96, 11	118	10, 57, 1	72
9, 97, 18	156	10, 61, 8	179
9, 98, 9	59	10, 61, 9-12	113
9, 100, 9	124	10, 61, 13	85, 86
9, 107, 7	126	10, 61, 23	179
9, 108, 2	248	10, 63, 3	197
9, 110, 3-6	90	10, 64, 2	101
9, 110, 4	60	10, 64, 12	199
9, 111, 8	91	10, 65, 12	222
		10, 67, 4	102
10, 3, 3	101	10, 67, 4-7	86
10, 4, 1	209	10, 67, 6	113
10, 7, 6	114	10, 67, 9	205
10, 8	84	10, 67, 9-10	97
10, 10, 5	164	10, 68, 6	91
10, 15, 3	202	10, 70, 4	174
10, 15, 11	131	10, 72, 5	195
10, 16, 1	109, 206	10, 73, 1	196
10, 16, 13	103	10, 75, 9	183
10, 17, 6	195	10, 76, 3	95, 119
10, 17, 13	230	10, 76, 6	219
10, 18, 12	171	10, 85, 5	240
10, 19, 1	171	10, 85, 14	116
10, 22, 6	152	10, 85, 20	199
10, 23, 6	168	10, 85, 27	229
10, 27, 4	239	10, 85, 32	192
10, 27, 8	56	10, 85, 37	171
10, 27, 13-14	169	10, 85, 40	115

Index of the main text-places studied

<i>RV.</i>		<i>RV.</i>	
10, 86, 11	220	10, 179, 1	104
10, 87, 19	216	10, 180, 3	194
10, 88, 5	123	10, 183, 3	112
10, 88, 9-10	196		
10, 88, 10	67	<i>ŚB.</i>	
10, 88, 11	205	1, 1, 4, 12	147
10, 88, 15	122	1, 2, 5, 4	248
10, 89, 12	157	1, 3, 1, 22	245
10, 92, 7 + 8	181	1, 3, 2, 2	241
10, 94, 6	96	1, 4, 1, 13	246
10, 95, 2	241	1, 6, 3, 36	227
10, 95, 3	166	2, 3, 3, 7	66
10, 95, 6	161	3, 1, 2, 8	234
10, 95, 8	127	3, 2, 2, 22	236
10, 95, 11	123, 168	11, 5, 1, 2	67
10, 95, 15	186		
10, 97, 5	183	<i>ŚvUp.</i>	
10, 97, 17	203	6, 23	237
10, 98, 4	110		
10, 98, 7	121, 122, 124	<i>TB.</i>	
10, 100, 3	95	1, 5, 2, 5	241
10, 100, 8	132	2, 3, 7, 1	239
10, 101, 5-6	179		
10, 103, 4	238	<i>TS.</i>	
10, 106, 2	187	6, 6, 7, 4	241
10, 106, 2 d	72		
10, 106, 11	100	<i>VS.</i>	
10, 107, 1	75	2, 1	240
10, 108, 1	166	7, 4	249
10, 111, 2	121	10, 28	150
10, 113, 3	93, 94	10, 30	232
10, 118, 4	153		
10, 121, 6	112	<i>Pāli</i>	
10, 122, 7	117	Dhp. 3	68
10, 124, 1 d	165	DN. I, 71, 35	91
10, 124, 3	164	I, 85, 18	67
10, 125, 4	142, 232	Jāt. I, 207	273
10, 128, 2	173	V, 70	273
10, 128, 5	72		
10, 130, 6	117	<i>Avesta</i>	
10, 134, 1	86, 98, 196	V. 2, 5	125
10, 135, 2-3	160	V. 3, 42	221
10, 137, 4	222	Y. 9, 24	68
10, 146, 4	62	Y. 29, 9	71
10, 151, 4	216	Y. 49, 1	145
10, 156, 5	170	Y. 49, 5	65
10, 160, 1	136	Y. 51, 7	261
10, 162, 3	220		
10, 163, 1	222	<i>Gr.</i>	
10, 165, 5	233	Andoc. 1, 18	134
10, 167, 4	162	Arist. Ach. 204	132
10, 176, 3-4	165	Ach. 826	157

Index of the main text-places studied

285

Av. 1152	42	Φ 263	60, 90
Eq. 696	62	X 15	61
Nub. 88	132	Ψ 421	244
<i>Eur. Hipp.</i> 473	135	Ψ 539	257
Tr. 1176	243	Ω 337	135
<i>Hdt.</i> 1, 95	82	Ω 352	215
1, 194	64	Ω 786	243
6, 34	125	α 102 ff.	58
7, 69	244	α 125	180
8, 102	67	α 141 ff.	180
<i>Hes. Op.</i> 20	121	α 334	68
508	169	β 8	105
Theog. 81 ff.	258	β 55	108
150	113	γ 292	55, 117
157 ff.	112	ε 414	42
189 f.	121	ζ 149	217
207	116	η 258	123
<i>Hom. A</i> 1 ff.	80	θ 469	200
A 2 ff.	68	ι 40 ff.	84
A 9	80	ι 353	245
A 92	70	λ 322	22 (n.)
A 201	70	ξ 162	127
A 437 ff.	165	π 50	55, 123
B 1	123	π 354	243
B 139	109, 128	π 431	201
B 153	244	ψ 230	109
B 172	111		
B 274	258	<i>Isaeus</i>	
B 311	94	7, 21 ff.	134
B 785	199		
Γ 13	127	<i>Lys.</i>	
Γ 33 ff.	164	1, 19	133
E 364 ff.	199	12, 4	165
E 366	146		
E 390	84	<i>N.T.</i>	
E 395 ff.	83	Luc. 8, 27	16
E 637	243	8, 44	16
H 471 ff.	113	Marc 1, 31	33
H 472 ff.	257	4, 15	59
I 412 f.	258	14, 55	125
K 30	152	15, 20	254
K 77	162		
K 173	110	<i>Phryn.</i>	
Λ 313	157	Com. 68	243
N 450 ff.	194		
N 732	59	<i>Pind.</i>	
Π 352 ff.	258	Ol. 7, 1	64
P 57	244		
P 173	61	<i>Plato</i>	
Σ 61	201	Apol. 30 A	22 (n.)
Σ 309	59	32 D	27
T 93 f.	258	39 B	37 (n.)
Φ 240	127	Phaedo 113	71

<i>Ps. Isocr.</i>		Cyr. 3, 1, 37	152
1, 16	135	5, 1, 2	42 (n.)
		5, 5, 22	109, 128
<i>Semon.</i>		Mem. 1, 2, 61	162
7, 65 D	216	2, 4, 7	60
<i>Soph.</i>		<i>Lat.</i>	
Ai. 20	216		
693	69	<i>Cato</i>	
El. 1276	186 (n.)	Agr. 5, 7	42 (n.)
O.R. 1253	244	<i>Liv.</i>	
Phil. 1289	69	2, 19, 4	93
<i>Thuc.</i>		<i>Plaut.</i>	
1, 1, 1	68	Capt. 673	43 (n.)
1, 24, 7	126	Epid. 135	45
1, 101, 3	154	Men. 1116	263
1, 102	95	Merc. 265	45
2, 19, 2	113	Trin. 807	43 (n.)
2, 23, 2	115		
2, 94, 1	180	<i>Ter.</i>	
3, 33, 3	133	Phorm. 363	263
4, 8, 2	181		
4, 57	83	<i>Slav.</i>	
8, 8, 2	180		
8, 20, 2	125	<i>Euch.</i>	
		69 a 18	68
<i>Xen.</i>		<i>Nestor</i>	
An. 1, 8, 26	214, 218	6; 12; 31	255
1, 10, 19	93		
3, 3, 5	181	<i>NT.</i>	
5, 3, 7	257	Marc 15, 20	95
Hell. 1, 6, 16-17	42	Matt. 9, 35	256
2, 1, 21	117		

DISPUTATIONES RHENO-TRAJECTINAE

- I. J. GONDA: Some Observations on the Relations between “Gods” and “Powers” in the Veda, a propos of the phrase *sunuḥ sahasaḥ*. 1957. 111 pp. Gld. 9.—
- II. J. C. HEESTERMAN: The ancient Indian Royal Consecration. The Rājasūya described according to the Yajus Texts and annotated. 1957. 243 pp. Gld. 20.—
- III. J. GONDA: Four Studies in the Language of the Veda. 1959. 194 pp. Gld. 20.—
- IV. J. GONDA: Epithets in the Ṛgveda. 1959. 270 pp. Gld. 28.—



Library IAS, Shimla



00002011