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1 Neuter nouns with root accent and suffix *-ana-* constitute an extensive class in Old Indo-Aryan from the Rigveda onwards.¹ Wackernagel and Debrunner (1954:185) follow the Indian grammatical tradition (Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3, 3,115 and 117) by distinguishing three semantic subgroups: action nouns, words for tools, and places of activity. They suggest that all three types of meaning were inherited from Indo-Iranian. However, examples with certain Old Iranian cognates are not numerous:

RV *áyana-* n. 'going, way': Younger Avestan *aiiana-* n. 'way'

RV *samáraṇa-* n. 'hostile encounter, battle': Old Persian *hamarana-* n. 'battle'

RV *vásana-* n. 'clothing': Younger Avestan *vaṇhana-* n. 'clothing, garment'

RV *skambhana-* n. 'support': Younger Avestan *frascimbana-* n. 'support, prop'

Atharvaveda *saṃgámana-* n. 'assembly, meeting' (RV *saṃgámana-* /ī- m/f.

'assembler'): Younger Avestan *hanjamana-* n. 'assembly'

?Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa *pṛtana-* n. (RV *pṛt-*, *pṛtanā-* f.) 'battle': Younger Avestan

pəṣana- n.(?) 'battle' (also *pəṣanā-* f.)

?Classical Sanskrit *vicaraṇa-* n. 'movement': Younger Avestan *vīcarəna-* n.

'moving apart, divergence'.²

¹ I am delighted to be able to contribute to this volume in honour of Jared Klein, and I would like to express my grateful thanks to the editors.

² The last two comparisons are uncertain because of their relatively late date of attestation.

In addition to Younger Avestan *aiiana-*, a few Old Iranian nouns which have no Sanskrit cognate refer to the place of an activity (Younger Avestan *airiio.šaiiana-* n. 'dwelling of the Iranians', *maēθana-* n. 'stopping-place, house', Old Persian *āyadana-* 'place of worship, sanctuary'); but other semantic areas are too sparsely represented to draw any conclusions (Younger Avestan *ātrə.carana-* n. 'fire-tool', *aiβiiāṅhana-* n. 'girdle', *maoḍanō.kairī-* f. 'providing pleasure').

2 Apart from the very frequent *bhúvana-* (possibly a thematicized *n-* stem), the Old Indo-Aryan class regularly shows a full grade root under the accent. A high proportion function simply as nomina actionis or nomina rei actae and are used in the RV in exactly the same way as other types of verbal noun with this function, e.g. *káraṇāni* 'deeds' in the same hemistich as *kārāṃsi*, and with similar meaning:

(1) 4.19.10ab

prá te pūrvāṇi káraṇāni viprāvidvāṃ āha vidúṣe kārāṃsi /

"Knowing them I speak forth your ancient deeds, o inspired one, to (you) who know the deeds." (Jamison and Brereton 2014).³

These action nouns appear most often in nominative/accusative and dative forms, and the datives are often used as infinitives (Wackernagel and Debrunner 1954:187). A smaller group of *-ana-* neuters are attested mostly in locative forms, and in the case of several hapax legomena, exclusively in the

³ Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of numbered passages (full RV stanzas, hemistichs and pādas) are all quoted from the new English translation of the RV by Stephanie Jamison and Joel Brereton (2014), but this source is not acknowledged every time.

locative: *dévane* 'at the time/place of play' 10.43.5; *pátane* 6.20.5 'at the falling' (*vájrasya*); *samāná á bháraṇe* 'in the same place of bearing' 10.31.6; *saṃváśaneṣu* 'in the common dwelling places'; *véṣane* 'in activity, in service'. But, for instance, *ásana-* 'throwing' occurs once in the locative (1.112.21) and once as an infinitival dative (1.130.4); and the frequently occurring *sávana-* '(Soma) pressing', *hávana-* 'invoking' and *sádana-* 'seat' show a large number of locative forms but also a full range of other forms. At the most it is possible to discern in early Vedic (and perhaps also in Old Iranian) the beginnings of a specialisation of neuters in *-ana-* to designate the place of an action as well as the action itself.

3 It is the third subgroup of RV root accented nominal stems in *-ana-* (*várdhana-* 'strengthening, what strengthens, means of strengthening') which will be the main topic of this paper. This is an extensive class of formations which often act as qualifiers for other substantives and show formally differentiated neuter (nom. s. *várdhanam*), masculine (*várdhanas*) and feminine (*várdhani*) forms. Modern renderings vary both in lexica and published translations of the RV as they have been characterised variously as adjectives or as *nomina agentis* or as *nomina instrumenti*. In addition to the account by Wackernagel and Debrunner (1954), the type has been treated briefly by Thieme 1949:32-4 and Tichy 1995:170-84.

Thieme suggested that this subgroup originated from neuter *nomina instrumenti*, which could stand in apposition or as predicates to other nouns, and as a result could take their gender and a corresponding inflection. From the RV he cites:

upasécana- n. 'Mittel zum Zugiessen' 10.76.7

kósāsaḥ upasécanāsaḥ 'Eimer, die Mittel zum Zugiessen sind' 7.101.4

pṛśnir upasécanī 'Die Kuh, die Mittel zum Zugiessen ist' 10.105.10

In view of the form of the feminines in *-ī* (*devī́* type) and the syntax with dependent genitives (see examples below), Thieme had every reason to insist that, even though a three gender system exists already in the early RV, from a diachronic point of view this must be a class of nouns, not adjectives.

However, Tichy 1995:174 accepts Thieme's explanation of the origin of such formations, but prefers to characterise them as verbal adjectives because they can occur along with an agent noun in *-tī́ / -tī́*, in what she considers an attributive relationship, e.g.

5.34.6c *índro víśvasya damitā́ vibhī́ṣaṇo*

"Indra ist der furchterregende Bezwinger eines jeden"

9.97.39a *sá vardhitā́ vārdhanaḥ pūyámānaḥ*

"So ist der Kräftiger, der für Kräftigung sorgt,....beim Geläutertwerden..."

Tichy makes the important observations that nominals in *-ana-* / *-anī-* only occur alongside hysterotonic agent nouns (1995:171), and that a compound such as *radhracódana-* is semantically equivalent to *radhrásya coditī́-* (1995: 183-4).

4 All the existing accounts combine RV forms with those from Vedic prose, but in what follows the focus will be exclusively on the RV evidence for forms in *-ana-* / *-anī-*, with a short excursus at one point into the Atharvaveda.

The root accented masculine and feminine forms in *-ana-* / *-anī-* are differentiated formally⁴ from masculines and feminines in *-aná-* / *-anā́-*, and also semantically as they regularly reflect a transitive value of the root whereas the latter reflect an intransitive sense.⁵ Contrast, for example, the value of *jánana-* 'begetter', *dóhana-* 'milker', *nivésana-* / *nivésanī-* 'bringing to rest', *pratáraṇa-* / *pratáraṇī-* 'furthering, bringing forward', *saṃgámana-* / *sáṃgamanī-* 'making come together, assembler' with that of *jaraṇá-* 'growing old, failing', *śvasaná-* 'snorting', *krośaná-* 'crying', *vacaná-* 'speaking, speaker', *dyotanā́-* f. 'shining'.

A high proportion of the RV masculine and feminine forms in *-ana-* / *-anī-* occur as epithets of divine figures, frequently alongside other epithets, e.g. (2) 2.21.4

anānudó vṛṣabhó dódhato vadhó
gambhīrá ṛṣvó ásamaṣṭakāvyaḥ /
radhracodáḥ śnáthano vīlītás pṛthúr
índraḥ suyajñá uśásaḥ svàr janat //

"The bull who cannot be pushed aside, the deadly blow against those raging;
the deep and lofty one, whose verbal craft is unequalled; spurring on the weak,

⁴ Apart from forms prefixed by privative *a-*, *su-* or *duṣ-* where the accent invariably falls on the thematic vowel, e.g. *suvasaná-* 'clothing finely', *duścyavaná-* 'hard to move' (some of these are doublets for simple thematic forms, e.g. *suśáṇa-* / *suśaṇaná-* 'easy to win').

⁵ Exception *karaṇá-* 'working, worker' (hapax in simile at 1.119.7, perhaps modelled on frequent *vacaná-* 'speaker?'). The neuter substantives *rocaná-* 'the light realm', *pravaṇá-* 'rapid stream, waterfall' and (hapax) *rodhaná-* 'obstruction' are probably substantives based on adjectives (cf. Atharvaveda adj. *rocaná-*: Younger Avestan *raocana-* 'light').

piercing, firmly set and wide - Indra, whose sacrifice is good, gives birth to the dawns and the sun."

Such forms also frequently appear as predicates, e.g.

(3) *śāsānī-* 1.31.11c

īlām akṛṇvan mānuṣasya śāsānīm

"Iḍā they created as instructress of mankind."

Compounds whose second element is a masculine or feminine form in *-ana-* / *-anī-* are used similarly, e.g.

(4) 7.20.5cd

prā yāḥ senānīr ādha nṛbhyo āsti

-ināḥ sātvaḥ gavéṣaṇaḥ śa dhṛṣṇúḥ //

"(The one) who is leader of the army-troop and is preeminent over heroes, that one is the powerful warrior, the bold one searching for cows." (Klein 1985:2, 130).

(5) 10.188.3

yā rúco jātávedaso devatrāḥ havyavāhanīḥ /

tābhir no yajñām invatu //

"The bright beams of Jātavedas that convey the oblation among the gods, with them let him impel our sacrifice." (Jamison and Brereton 2014)

5 It is these typical uses of the relatively frequent animate forms that are responsible for the description of the whole class as agent nouns or adjectives. However, the latter classification is unlikely since, as observed by Thieme (1949), the uncompounded forms invariably show syntax within their noun phrase of the sort that would be expected for substantives, e.g.

(6) 7.101.2ab

yó vārdhana óśadhīnām yó apām

yó vísvasya jágato devá íse /

"The one who is the increaser of plants, who of the waters, who, as god, holds sway over the whole moving world."

(7) 4.39.5d

dadhikrām u sūdanam mártiyāya dadáthur mitrāvaruṇā no áśvam //

"Dadhikrā, who makes sweetness for the mortal, have you, o Mitra and Varuṇa, given us as our horse."⁶

Similar syntax occurs in the rare cases where compounds are decomposed:

(8) 7.92.4

yé vāyāva indramādanāsa ādevāso nitóśanāso aryáḥ /

"We who are the Indra-exhilarating ones, (exhilarating) to Vāyu, who are god-directed and lavishly overflowing for the stranger ..."

Note also RV *yajñasādhana-* 'making the sacrifice successful' 1.145.3, 9.72.4 and *yajñasya prasādhana-* 10.57.2.

6 The neuter substantives in *-ana-* which were identified by Thieme as *nomina instrumenti* (and the starting point for this whole class) are much more problematic.

⁶ Compare also 1.35.1c *hváyāmi rátrīm jágato nivésanīm* "I invoke Night who makes the moving world rest"; and contrast 1.35.2b with a participle from the same prefixed root *nivésáyann amṛtam mártiyaṇca* "making what is immortal and mortal rest".

A few neuter forms appear to be employed as epithets or qualifiers of other neuters in the same manner that the animate forms are employed with masculine and feminine substantives:

(9) 3.45.4cd

vṛkṣám pakvám phálam anīva dhūnuhi

-índra sampāraṇam vásu //

"As a man with a crook shakes a tree for ripe fruit, o Indra, shake (us) goods that will get us across."

In addition to *sampāraṇa*-⁷ the compound *amīvacātana*- qualifies *sám* (7.8.6) and there is the puzzling form *vīrávakṣaṇa*- apparently qualifying *vayúna*-(5.48.2).⁸

Compounded *-ana*- neuters which may represent nomina instrumenti are normally substantives:

karṇaśóbhana- n. 'what beautifies the ear, earring' 8.78.3

martabhójana- n. 'what nourishes mortals' 1.81.6, 7.16.5, 7.38.2, 7.45.3, 7.81.5

⁷ Many examples involving neuters are simply ambiguous, as will be discussed below. For instance, at 1.162.13 *yá pátrāṇi yūṣṇá āsécānāni* "the cups for the pouring of broth...", we clearly have a parallel case to Thieme's example of *kósāsaḥ upasécānāsaḥ* 'Eimer, die Mittel zum Zugiessen sind' (7.101.4), but as the *pátrāṇi* are neuter, the noun in apposition, *āsécānāni*, does not change gender and looks like a neuter adjectival form.

Occasionally neuter substantives have been misinterpreted as 'adjectives' because it has not been accepted that all root accented *-ana*- forms show a transitive value of the root, e.g.

10.1.6ab *sá tú vástrāṇy ádha péśanāni vásāno agnir nābhā pṛthivyáḥ* must mean that Agni is wearing clothes and ornaments (*péśanāni*) with a rare use of *ádha* conjoining at subclausal level (Klein 1985:2,127).

⁸ As the sense of *vayúna*-is debated it is impossible to tell whether *vīrávakṣaṇa*- is a Bahuvrīhi as its accent suggests 'having strengthening for heroes', or whether it represents **vīravákṣaṇa*-.

devahédana- n. 'what angers the gods' 7.60.8, 10.37.12, 10.100.7, e.g.

But the meaning of *hotṛśádana-* n. 'seat of/for the *hotṛ*' 2.9.1, *nṛśádana-* n.

'assembly of men' 5.7.2, 7.7.5, 7.20.1, 7.97.1, 8.26.24, 10.92.7 differs unless

nṛśádana- means literally 'what seats men'.⁹

The chief problem is that neuter substantives which may have a nomen instrumenti value are difficult to distinguish from the rest of the RV neuter verbal nouns in *-ana-* because they are formally identical. If we attempt to distinguish them on grounds of meaning there is a risk of subjectivity, as can be seen from the startling lack of agreement between different translations of the RV in this area. The following does not claim to be a complete list, but it indicates some of the nouns for which this type of translation has been offered:

prāṇana- jívana- 1.48.10 "littéralement 'aptitude à respirer, à vivre' (et 'moyen de vivre')" (Renou 1955-69:III.24)

upapárcana- 6.28.8 'Befruchtungsmittel' (Geldner 1951)

bhójana- 2.13.2, 6; 3.44.3; 4.36.8; 5.82.1; 7.68.5, etc. 'Erquickungsmittel, Nahrungsmittel' (Grassmann 1873)

'Nahrungsmittel' 5.82.1 (Witzel and Gotō 2013)

médana- 10.69.2 'was fett macht' (Grassmann 1873)

róhana- 1.52.9 'Ersteigung, Mittel zur Ersteigung' (Grassmann 1873), 'means of ascent' (Jamison and Brereton 2014)

vákṣana- 6.23.6 'means of increase' (Jamison and Brereton 2014)

várdhana- n. 1.10.5; 1.52.7; 1.80.1; 2.12.14; 2.13.6; 2.39.8; 3.36.1; 6.23.6; 8.92.5; 10.69.2 'Stärkungsmittel, Labungsmittel' (Grassmann 1873)

⁹ Such a meaning may be confirmed by *sádanī-* at 1.186.11 where a wish is expressed that the poem (*dṛdhiti-*) should cause the gods to take their seat at the sacrifice.

1.52.7; 1.80.1; 2.39.8 'Stärkungsmittel' (Witzel and Gotō 2007)

10.69.2 'le moyen-d'invigorer' (Renou 1955-69: XIV: 17)

āsécana- n. 1.162.13 'Mittel zum eingiessen' (Schale) (Krisch 2012: 126)

However, *upasécana-*, Thieme's example of a RV neuter nomen instrumenti, has usually been taken simply as a verbal noun in its single occurrence, since the use of the dative followed by *kám̐* points to infinitival value:

RV 10.76.7d *duhánty ūdhar upasécānāya kám̐,*

"Sie melken das Euter, um (die Milch des Soma) aufzugießen" (Geldner 1951:III, 257);

"They milk the udder, to pour it out" (Jamison and Brereton 2014);

Grassmann (1873) 'das Zugießen (des Soma)'; Krisch (2012) 'das Aufgiessen'.

7 The one area where there is a measure of agreement is the small group of neuters in *-ana-* which serve as terms for tools and utensils:

náhana- 'door-fastening' 10.67.3

nīkṣana- 'meat-spit' 1.162.13

pácana- 'cooking utensil' 1.162.6

prajānana- '(fire) begetting stick' 3.29.1

adhimánthana- 'churning tool' 3.29.1

avamā́jāna- 'horse-grooming tool?'¹⁰ 1.163.5

saṃvānana- 'horse-tack?' 10.93.12

But the chronological profile of this subclass of neuters within the RV is late, with a particular concentration in the two Book 1 *Aśvamedha* hymns,¹¹ and so they are unlikely to represent the old core of *nomina instrumenti*.

¹⁰ But Krisch (2006) '(horse) watering place'

8 If formal criteria based on Thieme's hypothesis are applied it turns out that there are only a limited number of examples where masculine or feminine forms in *-ana-* / *-anī-* are built on the same stem as an attested neuter:

saṃcārana- n., *saṃcārānī-* f.

prajānana- n., *jānana-* m.

pācana- n., *māṃspācānī-* f.

bāndhana- n., *pūtabāndhanī-* f.

bhōjana- n., ? *bhōjana-* m. (vocative, 1.44.5)

vimōcana- n., ? *vimōcana-* m. (vocative, 8.4.15-16)

vākṣaṇa- n., *vivākṣaṇa-* m., *vākṣaṇī-* f.

vārdhana- n., *vārdhana-* m., *vārdhanī-* f.

upasēcana- n., *upasēcana-* m., *upasēcānī-* f.

śāsana- n., *śāsānī-* f.

sādana- n., *sādānī-* f.

9 In connection with his characterisation as original nomina instrumenti, Thieme (1949:33, note 5) postulated a different diachronic origin for this type of *-ana-* neuter and compared the Greek type ὄργανον and Germanic infinitives in *-an*. However, this comparison would lead us to expect OIA reflexes of IE **o*-grade root vocalism, but it is hard to find much evidence for this. To include the neuters *sādāna-* 'seat, abode' and *pravācāna-*

¹¹ Other nouns in these two hymns perhaps belong to this class, e.g. *bāndhana-* 1.163.3-4 is given a cosmological significance but may it not also refer to the horse's girths?

'announcement' in the class would involve circular argumentation.¹² Two of the words for tools, *náhana-*, *pácana-*, have diachronic open root syllables¹³ but they do not show the expected Brugmann's Law lengthening. However, as indicated above, the distribution of the terms for tools may point to recent creations and their vocalism may have been levelled so as to correspond with the present stem of the verb (this appears the only possible explanation for *avamárjana-*).¹⁴ In the list of stems which show corresponding animate forms, *saṃcárana-*, *sádana-* have an open root syllable but show no lengthening,¹⁵ and the four nouns which have been interpreted as nomina instrumenti by some translators, *bhójana-*, *vákṣaṇa-*, *várdhana-*, *upasécana-*, all show ambiguous full grade vocalism.

¹² In both these cases there are also neuters with a short vowel in their root syllable (*sádana-*, *niśádana-*, *nṛśádana-*, etc.; *nivácana-*), and it is *sádana-* on which the corresponding feminine *sádanī-* is based. For RV *sádana-* n., which invariably designates the seat of a god or *ṛtá-*, there is the possibility that it is a remodelling of the barely attested simple thematic verbal noun from the root 'to sit' (*sādé* 1.162.17, used as a technical term for riding a horse). This explanation is not incompatible with Wackernagel and Debrunner's observation (1954:195) that *sádana-* must be an old form which is replaced by *sádana-* post RV. The vocalism of the root noun *vác-*, and derivatives from this, could have been extended to *pravácana-* (and *vivácana-* m. 'debater'). But it must be admitted that these two isolated examples of lengthened vocalism are puzzling.

¹³ Possibly also *saṃvánana-*, but, if it is from *van-* 'to win', it could be based on the *seṭ* form.

¹⁴ The discrepancy between RV *níkṣana-* and AV *nékṣana-* may likewise be attributed to partial remodelling of the RV form's vocalism on the analogy of the present *níkṣati*.

¹⁵ The root *sás-* regularly shows long *-ā-* in all forms where full-grade would be expected and so it is unlikely to be the result of Brugmann's Law.

10 Thus a diachronic origin from an IE **o*-grade class cannot be confirmed but on the other hand it cannot be completely ruled out. However, it will be argued that it is not necessary to reconstruct a distinct class of nomina instrumenti with a separate IE diachronic origin in order to accept Thieme's theory of 'Motion' from neuter substantives. It will be suggested instead that there was a development within prehistoric Old Indo-Aryan, and this is why there are no comparanda from Old Iranian for a three gender system. There is RV evidence which suggests that some neuter verbal nouns of the action noun type could have come to be understood as nomina instrumenti/'neuter agent nouns', or even adjectives, as a result of their frequent employment as predicates. For instance:

(10) 8.92.5ab

tám v abhí prārcaténdraṃ sómasya pītáye /

tád id dhy àsya vārdhanam //

"Chant forth to him, to Indra, to drink the Soma, for that is his strengthening."

(11) 6.23.6a

brāhmāṇi hí cakṛṣé vārdhanāni

"You have made the sacred formulations strengthening for yourself." (Jamison and Brereton 2014)

In such sentences it can be seen that *vārdhanam* nom sg neuter or *vārdhanāni* acc pl neuter could be interpreted as 'means of strengthening' (nomen instrumenti) or 'what strengthens, strengthener' (nomen agentis). In 6.23.6, etc., *vārdhanāni* could also be taken as an adjective (with transitive value) in agreement with *brāhmāṇi*.

The same sort of ambiguity exists in most passages where neuters in -*ana*- are predicates of another neuter substantive:

(12) 2.12.14cd

*yásya bráhma várdhanaṃ yásya sómo
yásyedáṃ rádhah sá janāsa índrah /*

Geldner (1951) translated "für den die feierliche Rede eine Stärkung ist, für den der Soma, für den diese Gabe - der, usw."

But Jamison and Brereton (2014) "whose is the strengthening formulation, is the soma, is this gift - he, o peoples, is Indra."

(13) 10.69.2ab

*ghṛtám agnér vadhryaśvásya várdhanaṃ
ghṛtám ánnaṃ ghṛtám v asya médanam /*

"The strengthener of the fire of Vadhryaśvá is ghee; ghee is his food, ghee his fattener." (Jamison and Brereton 2014).

cf. Geldner (1953) "Schmalz ist Stärkung für Vadhryaśvá's Feuer, Schmalz seine Speise, Schmalz seine Mastung."

Thieme regarded predicative use as well as appositive use as an important factor in the creation of masculine and feminine forms via a process of 'Motion'.¹⁶ In other words, this part of Thieme's hypothesis is supported by the explanation advanced here. Compare:

(14) 3.32.12a

yajñó hí ta índra várdhano bhūd

¹⁶ It seems possible from the use of *bhojana* and *vimocana* as vocatives addressing respectively Agni at 1.44.5 and Pūṣan at 8.4.15-16 that this was another way in which masculine substantives were created on the basis of original -*ana*- neuters.

"Since the sacrifice has become your strengthener, Indra..." (literally "has become strengthening for you, Indra")

(16) 10.4.7b

-iyám ca gīḥ sádám íd várdhanī bhūt /

"This song here shall always be strengthening for you"

(17) 9.31.2ab

divás pṛthivyā ádhi

bhávendo dyumnavárdhanaḥ

"Become the increaser of brilliance from heaven and from earth, O drop."

11 Yet if it is correct that the masculine and feminine *-ana-* / *-anī-* forms with root accent were originally created on the basis of neuter substantives as a result of predicative and appositive employment, it becomes necessary to explain how these categories came to be so extensively used in the language of the RV, and how new forms were created. For, as indicated by the list given above, only a small proportion can be linked with a synchronically attested neuter. The full list of RV masculine and feminine forms, with an indication of their referent, is given below:

masculine

feminine

udañcana- 5.44.13 (poet)

saṃgámana- 1.96.6=10.139.3 (Agni)

10.14.1 (Yama)

jánana- 2.40.1 (Soma and Pūṣan)

sámgamānī- 10.125.3 (Speech)

saṃcáranī- 6.24.4 (Streams)

jávanī- 1.51.2 (*Sunṛtā*)

tápana- 2.23.4 (Bṛhaspati); 10.34.7 (dice)
pratáraṇa- 1.91.19 (Soma); 2.1.12 (Agni); *pratáraṇī-* 5.46.1 (chariot pole)
 6.47.26 (Lord of the forest); 7.54.2
 (Lord of the dwelling); 8.49.4 (Indra)
tárhaṇa- 7.104.4 (weapon)
nitósana- 6.1.8 (Agni); 7.92.4 (we poets);
 8.25.23 (patrons); 10.60.2 (Asamāti)
vitvákṣaṇa- 5.34.6 (Indra)
dóhana- 1.144.2 (Agni); 8.12.32 (Indra);
 9.75.3 (Soma)
dyótana- 8.29.2 (Agni)¹⁷
vidvéṣaṇa- 8.1.2 (Indra)
apipráṇī- 1.186.11 (*ḍīdhiti-*)¹⁸
vibódhana- 8.3.22 (horse)
vibhíṣana- 5.34.6 (Indra)
mádana- 7.31.1 (ellipsis of e.g. *stóma-* m.?¹⁹)
méhana- m. 10.163.5
vivákṣaṇa- 8.1.25=8.35.23, 8.21.5, *vákṣaṇī-* 10.64.9 (Streams)
 8.45.11, 8.49.4 (Soma)
várdhana- 1.140.3, 8.103.1, 10.91.12 (Agni);
 3.32.12 (Sacrifice); 7.101.2 (Parjanya);

¹⁷ The god here in this *Viśve Devās* hymn must be 'lighting up' in a transitive sense. Cf. e.g. RV 1.1.7 where Agni is addressed as *dóṣāvastar*.

¹⁸ Beside *sádanī-*, and probably belonging to the same class of forms: from root *prā-* 'to fill'.

¹⁹ Ellipsis of a neuter noun such as *ukthá-* is also possible, but agreement with neuters is rare.

8.8.5 (Aśvins); 9.97.39 (Soma) *várdhanī*- 10.4.7 (*gír*-)
nivésana- 4.53.6 (Savitar) *nivésanī*- 1.22.15 (the Earth),
1.35.1 (Night)
śásanī- 1.31.11 (Iṣā)
śnáthana- 2.21.4 (Indra)
sádanī- 1.186.11 (*dīdhiti*-)
sádhana- 3.27.8 (poet); 9.105.3 (Soma)
prasádhana- 10.57.2, 10.91.8 (Agni)
súdana- 4.39.5 (Dadhikrā)
svádana- 5.7.6 (Agni)

12 Compounds

gavéṣaṇa- (Indra) 1.132.3, 7.20.5, 7.23.3, 8.17.15, (Pūṣan) 6.56.5
goájana- (*daṇḍá*- pl.) 7.33.6
avadyagohana- (voc. addressed to Aśvins) 1.34.3
abhiśasticātana- (Agni) 3.3.6; *amīvacātana*- (Agni) 1.12.7, (*bhiśáj*-) 10.97.6
f. *amīvacātanī*- (*ápas*) 10.137.6
ṛṣi-, *kīri*-, *radhra-códana*- (Indra) 8.51.3, 6.45.9, 6.44.10, 8.80.3, 10.38.5
f. *brahmacódanī*- (*āra*- of Pūṣan) 6.53.8
dhījávana- 8.5.35 (Nāsatyas), 9.88.3 (Soma), 9.97.49 (Indra)
dasyutárhaṇa- (Soma) 9.47.2
amitrádambhana- (*rátha*- of Bṛhaspati) 2.23.3, (Agni) 4.15.4
svapnanámśana- (Vṛṣākapi) 10.86.21
muñjanéjana- (*udakám*) 1.161.8
māṃspácanī- (*ukhā*-) 1.162.13

f. *aritraráṇī-* (*nau-*) 10.101.2

f. *pūtabāndhanī-* (*matī-*) 5.44.9

indramādana- (we priests) 7.92.4; *devamādana-* (Soma) 9.84.1, 9.107.3, (*ūrmī-*) 10.30.7; *nṛmādana-* (Soma) 1.4.7, 9.24.4, 9.67.2

janayópana- (*mṛgá-*, with reference to Vṛṣākapi) 10.86.22

ukthavárdhana-, *stomavárdhana-* (Indra) 8.14.11, *dyumnavárdhana-* (Soma) 9.31.2, *nṛmavárdhana-* (Soma) 2.36.5, *paśuvárdhana-* (Soma) 9.94.1,

puṣṭivárdhana- (Agni) 1.18.2, 1.31.5; (Tryambaka) 7.59.12

kravyaváhana- (Agni) 10.16.11; *devaváhana-* 3.27.14 (*ásva-*); *nṛvāhana-* (*rátha-*) 2.37.5; *madhuváhana-* (*rátha-* of the Aśvins) 1.34.2, 1.157.3, 10.41.2; *vasuváhana-* (*vṛṣan-* with ref. to Indra) 5.75.1; *rathaváhana-* (*haviṣ-*) 6.75.8, *havyaváhana-* (Agni, often also *dūtá-*), 16 attestations, 8 in RV Family Books.

f. *havyaváhanī-* (*rúc-* pl. of Jātavedas) 10.188.3

pitṛśravaṇa- (*vīrá-*) 1.91.20

gayasádhana- (Soma) 9.104.2); *dakṣasádhana-* (Soma) 9.25.1, 9.27.2, 9.101.15; *manmasádhana-* (Agni characterised as bird), 1.96.6, (*kaví-* *hóṭṛ-*) 1.151.7; *yajñasádhana-* (Agni) 1.145.3, (Soma) 9.72.4

f. *paśusádhani-* (*áṣṭrā-*) 6.53.9

13 It appears that new second elements in *-ana-* / *-anī-* are replacing, or providing a metrical alternative for, older root nouns as second elements of compounds. This pattern of duplication was observed by Wackernagel and Debrunner 1954:180-1; Scarlata 1999:171, and there are some exact doublets in the RV:

gavéṣaṇa- *gaviṣ-* 4.41, 8.24.20, 10.76.7

<i>dhījávana-</i>	<i>dhījū-</i> 9.86.4
<i>havyavāhana-</i>	<i>havyavāh-</i> attested 31 times
<i>yajñasādhana-</i>	<i>yajñasādh-</i> 1.96.3, 1.114.4, 1.128.2
<i>puṣṭivārdhana-</i> , etc	cf. <i>rayivīdh-</i> 7.91.3, etc.

14 The explanation that will be proposed here relies on an observation which is not new, namely that there appears to be a connection of some sort between the nominal suffix *-ana-* / *-anī-* and present stems built with the suffix *-āya-* (Wackernagel and Debrunner 1954:182-3). An attempt will be made below to clarify the nature and chronology of this connection, and then to show the role it may have played in the development of this class.

A proportion of the RV animate forms, including some which appear in composition, show a root vocalism which matches that of an RV present stem in *-āya-* from the same root:

<i>saṃgāmana-</i> , <i>saṃgāmanī-</i>	<i>gamāya-</i>
<i>vivākṣaṇa-</i> , <i>vākṣaṇī-</i> , <i>vīrávakṣaṇa-</i>	<i>vakṣāya-</i>
<i>vārdhana-</i> , <i>vārdhanī-</i>	<i>vardháya-</i>
<i>jánana-</i>	<i>janāya-</i>
<i>dyótana-</i>	<i>dyotaya-</i>
<i>vibódhana-</i>	<i>bodháya-</i>
<i>nivésana-</i> , <i>nivésanī-</i>	<i>niveśāya-</i>
<i>śnáthana-</i>	<i>śnathāya-</i>
<i>sādhana-</i> , <i>prasādhana-</i> , <i>yajñasādhana-</i>	<i>sādhāya-</i>

Only Compounds

<i>radhracódana-</i> , etc.	<i>codáya-</i>
<i>janayópana-</i>	<i>yopáya-</i>
<i>pitṛśravaṇa-</i>	<i>śraváya-</i> (also <i>śrāváya-</i>)

15 However, it is clear from another large group of RV forms that the correspondence with *-áya-* presents is not regular for the class as a whole and the above agreements in vocalism may be coincidental. In the following cases the vocalism of the present in *-áya-* differs, or the root in question does not possess a present in *-áya-* at an early Vedic date:

<i>saṃcáranī-</i>	<i>cāráya-</i> Brāhmaṇas +
<i>javanī-</i> , <i>dhījávana-</i>	<i>jāváya-</i> Classical Sanskrit
<i>tāpana-</i>	<i>tāpáya-</i> AV+, RV 10 <i>tāpayiṣṇú-</i> ²⁰
<i>pratáraṇa-</i>	<i>pra-tāráya-</i> AV ⁺²¹
<i>tárhaṇa-</i> , <i>dasyutárhaṇa-</i>	transitive present <i>tṛṇédhi</i> in RV
<i>vitvákṣaṇa-</i>	no <i>-áya-</i> present
<i>dóhana-</i>	<i>doháya-</i> Brāhmaṇas +
<i>vidvéṣaṇa-</i>	<i>dveṣáya-</i> Classical Sanskrit
<i>vibhīṣana-</i>	<i>bhīṣáya-</i> Brāhmaṇas + (secondary root <i>bhīṣ-</i>)
<i>śásanī-</i>	no <i>-áya-</i> present
<i>sádanī-</i>	<i>sādáya-</i> RV
<i>upasécana-</i> , <i>upasécānī-</i>	<i>secáya-</i> Sūtras +
<i>svádana-</i>	<i>svādáya-</i> Epic +, <i>svadáya-</i> , <i>sūdáya-</i> in RV

Only Compounds

²⁰ See Jamison 1983:147-8 for a discussion of the chronology.

²¹ Jamison 1983:101.

<i>goájana-</i>	no <i>-áya-</i> present
<i>avadyagohana-</i>	<i>gūháya-</i> and <i>gūhana-</i> Sūtras +
<i>muñjanéjana-</i>	<i>nejáya-</i> Brāhmaṇas +
<i>aritrápāraṇī-</i>	<i>pāráya-</i> RV
<i>pūtabándhanī-</i>	<i>bandháya-</i> Brāhmaṇas +

17 Yet the present in *-áya-* is the only possible source for the root shape of a few RV *-ana-* / *-anī-* stems:

<i>sūdāna-</i>	<i>sūdáyā-</i>
<i>abhiśasticātana-, amīvacātana-</i>	<i>cātáyā-</i>
<i>amitrádāmbhana-</i>	<i>dāmbháya-</i>
<i>mādāna-, indramādāna-, etc.</i>	<i>mādáyā-</i>
<i>havyavāhāna-, etc.</i>	<i>vāháya-</i>
<i>sampāraṇa-</i> (qualifies <i>vásu</i> n.)	<i>pāráyā-</i> ²²

18 Moreover, the AV has a whole series of new *-ana-* / *-anī-* forms (i.e. *-ana-* / *-anī-* forms that do not occur in the RV). The vocalism or shape of the root in almost every case²³ exactly corresponds to that of an *-áya-* present

²² If the second element of the difficult *svapnanāṃśana-* (10.86.21) is from root *naś-* 'reach', it could be based on an unattested denominative verb from RV *nāṃśa-* (1.122,5,12) 'attaining', where original **naṃśayāti* underwent accent retraction and so was assimilated to the *-áya-* stem class (Jamison 1983:70-77 discusses other examples of this development).

²³ The exceptions are *pumśuvāna-* 'giving birth to a male' from root *sū-* 'to give birth'; and compounds with *-kṣáyana-* 'destroying' (*asurakṣáyana-*, *sapatnakṣáyana-*,... 'destroying Asuras, destroying rivals,...'); this may represent an old form, but more likely it is modelled on other

which is attested in the AV or RV. The following are found in the

Śaunakasaṃhitā :

<i>sapatnakáršana-</i> 'diminishing rivals'	<i>karśáya-</i>
<i>yātu-, vyāghra-jámbhana-</i> 'snapping at sorcerers, tigers,...'	<i>jambháya-</i>
<i>puruṣajīvana-</i> 'making a person live'	<i>jīváya-</i>
<i>viṣadūšana-</i> 'nullifying poison'	<i>dūśáya-</i>
<i>keśadṛṃhana-</i> 'making hair firm'	<i>dṛṃháya-</i>
<i>takma-, yakṣma-nāšana-...</i> 'destroying fever, illness,...'	<i>nāśáya-</i>
<i>mūlabārhaṇa-</i> 'making roots swell'	<i>barháya-</i>
<i>śapathayāvana-</i> 'keeping away curses'	<i>yāváya-</i>
<i>puruṣarēšana-</i> 'harming a person'	<i>reśáya-</i>
<i>śepaháršana-</i> 'exciting the penis'	<i>harśáya-</i>

19 It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that these AV second elements of compounds and a few of the RV forms have in fact been created on the basis of the corresponding *-áya-* presents. It appears that animate forms in *-ana-* / *-anī-* must have taken on a life of their own and the class was extended in a way that was no longer dependent on neuters in *-ana-* and their predicative or appositive employment. The transitive value of the *-ana-* / *-anī-* forms matched that of many early *-áya-* presents. An exactly parallel innovation to the one suggested here took place in the class of inherited agent nouns in *-(i)ṭī-* where a new form of the suffix *-ayitī-* gained ground for forms

second elements of this type in the absence of an *-áya-* present, because the root *kṣi-* 'destroy', like other roots in *-i/-ī-*, did not form an *-áya-* stem in early Vedic (Jamison 1983:111).

associated with transitive verbs from the RV onwards, until this type of agent noun became moribund in the late Vedic period. In the case of the replacement of *-(i)tṛ-* by *-ayitr-* the source of the morphological innovation is obvious. Even if *-ana-* / *-anī-* stems were not agent nouns in origin by the early RV they had come to function in a way that was very similar to nouns in *-(i)tṛ-* (cf. RV *radhracódana-*, *radhracodá-*, *radhrásya coditr-*).²⁴ Moreover, they could fulfill some agent noun roles that were not possible for the inherited type of agent noun in *-(i)tṛ-*, namely they could be employed as the second elements of compounds and they could be used in three genders, not merely two.

The starting point for the process of derivation may have been the formal parallelism that happened to occur between the full-grade root of *-ana-* / *-anī-* stems and the synchronic root shape of some *-áya-* presents (representing the outcome of an original **o-* grade in closed root syllables).²⁵

A proportional analogy can account for new *-ana-* / *-anī-* stems:

verb stem *vakṣáya-*: nominal stem *vakṣaṇa-* / *vakṣaṇī-*

verb stem *vardháya-*: nominal stem *várdhana-* / *várdhanī-*, also in composition

verb stem *sūdáyā-* : nominal stem X

X = *súdana-*

verb stem *vāháya-*: nominal stem in composition X

X = *-vāhana-* / *-vāhanī-*

²⁴ Tichy (1995:180, cf. 176) uses collocations such as *vardhitā várdhanas* (RV 9.97.39) to argue for a difference in meaning 'der Kräftiger, der für Kräftigung sorgt', but surely this is a case of paronomasia involving two nominal stems (cf. Klein 2000:141 and Klein 2002:240)?

²⁵ By the AV there are more *-áya-* presents that could have served as pivots for the formal analogy, for instance, *bhojáya-*: nominal stem (in composition) *-bhójana-*.

Such formal analogies appear to have resulted in a derivational process where new *-ana-* / *-anī-* forms could be created beside any verb stem in *-áya-* simply through the substitution of the nominal suffix for that of the verb. Once this stage was reached it resulted in the creation of *-ana-* / *-anī-* stems, some of which appear to have root vocalism that reflects an IE **o* grade (*-váhana-*, *-náśana-*, etc.). However, according to our argument this is a mirage which arises from the fact that forms were created beside transitive *-áya-* presents whose own vocalism reflected that of the IE **o* grade *-éye/yo-* present class.

20 Yet in the RV the animate *-ana-* / *-anī-* class is apparently made up of formations from two different origins. On the one hand, the older ones which arose through 'Motion' from neuters or were created on their model or on the basis of neuters that are by chance unattested (*tápana-*, *dóhana-*, *tárhaṇa-*, *-ájana-*, *-góhana-*, *-páraṇī-*, etc.). On the other, recent formations based on presents in *-áya-* (*súdana-*, *mádana-*, *-váhana-*, *-cátana-*, etc.). Then there is a group where both origins are possible and the source and age of individual stems cannot be known (*dyótana-*, *jánana-*, *sádhana-*, *nivésana-*, *-śravaṇa-*, *-yópana-*, etc.).

Evidence that there must indeed be two derivational processes at work in the RV comes from two sets of doublet forms: *svádana-* / *súdana-* and *(aritra)-páraṇī-* / *(sam)-páraṇa-*. *svádanam pitúnām* 'sweetener of foods, means of sweetening foods' (acc. sg. of Agni at 5.7.6) must show either a masculine form created via 'Motion' from an old full-grade neuter stem* *suéH₂d-eno-* or

the neuter form itself.²⁶ There is no causative stem *svādāya-* at this stage of the language. But the RV possesses two *-āya-* presents from this root, *svadāya-* and *sūdāya-* (Jamison 1983:99, 159), and the latter is clearly the source of the 'newer' form *sūdana-* (of Dadhikrā at RV 4.39.5: passage no. (7) above). *aritrāpāraṇī-* (10.101.2) refers to a boat (*nau-*) which crosses water by means of oars, and must reflect an original neuter verbal noun **pāraṇa-*. On the other hand, *sampārāṇa-* (3.45.4: passage (9) above) describes *vāsu* 'goods' that cause people to cross over (obstacles). It is doubly transitive and agrees both in meaning and form with the RV present *pārāya-*.

21 Whereas there is likely to have been derivation from neuter action nouns from the earliest Rigvedic date, and probably slightly before, the derivation from *-āya-* presents is only gradually establishing itself during the periods of RV and AV composition. In at least one semantic area - the relatively recent words for tools and utensils - the neuter class itself was still being extended.²⁷ It is possible that the innovation which connected *-ana-* / *-anī-* nominal stems with *-āya-* presents belonged to a more popular register of Old Indo-Aryan. Some of the RV forms that appear to have been created in this way belong to Atharvavedic spheres of vocabulary or occur in hymns that are repeated in both Vedas (e.g. *amīvacātana-* in RV 10.97). It is notable how

²⁶ *svādanam* has normally been taken as acc.sg. masc. in agreement with other masculine forms in the stanza, but it is an ambiguous case.

²⁷ Obviously the creation of the neuter words for tools presupposes the earlier reinterpretation of a subgroup of the larger verbal noun class with suffix *-ana-* as nomina instrumenti. A few feminines in *-ī* are substantives belonging to this semantic type (*asvājānī-* 'horse-whip' 5.62.7, 6.75.13 *upabārhaṇī-* 'cushion' 1.174.7, *upasécānī-* 'pouring ladle' 10.21.2).

the different early Saṃhitās diverge in the formations they use for transitive agent nouns: in the AV feminines in *-trī́* are virtually confined to RV repetitions, and *-anī́*-feminines fulfil their role (cf. RV *nā́sayitrī́* 'destrucress', but AV *nā́sanī́*, both clearly built beside the transitive *-áya*-present stem *nā́śáya-*); while in the Yajurveda Saṃhitās (and the later YV), for instance, a series of forms in *-uka-* serve as both transitive and intransitive agent nouns (e.g. Taittirīyasaṃhitā *véduka-* 'finder', *kāmuka-* 'lover', *mā́ruka-* 'one who is dying', Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā *āgāmuka-* 'one who arrives').

22 Jared Klein's publications have highlighted the importance of thorough synchronic analysis of RV material. This paper in his honour has attempted to provide a detailed synchronic account, and draw conclusions from it about diachronic developments during a limited chronological period of early Old Indo-Aryan. As a result, the traditional view of an inherited tripartite class of Indo-Iranian neuters in *-ana-* has been challenged, and evidence has been presented to show that the distinct semantic types could have evolved out of a single category of neuter verbal nouns. In particular, it has suggested that the ways in which animate stems in *-ana-* / *-anī́-* grew into an extensive class can be traced in the earliest Vedic texts.

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