Heinrich Hettrich: **Some remarks on the adverbal genitive in Ṛgvedic Sanskrit**[1]

1. The adverbal genitive[2] appears in the RV in two variants: as possessive and partitive genitive. The possessive function of the genitive can be observed as a second complement either with the verbum substantivum or without a copula as in

(1)   10,108,5 (G_{poss})   *utā́smā́kam ā́yudhā santi tigmā́*
"And to us belong sharp weapons"

On the other hand, the G_p[3] appears a a second complement after a verb of nourishing or consuming as in

(2)   9,51,3 (G_p)   *táva tyá indo ándhaso*
devā́ mádhor vy àśnate
"(Of) your sweet sap, o drink, these gods consume".

This paper concentrates on the G_p and asks the following questions:

1) After which verbs can the G_p appear?
2) Which nouns can be used in the G_p?
3) With which other cases does the G_p compete, and in which syntactic functions?
4) Is there a semantic difference between the G_p and the competing cases or are relations desemanticized and only governed by the verb?

2.1. Question no. 1: Gaedicke (l.c. [fn. 2]) and Delbrück (l.c. [fn. 2]) distinguish between the following semantic verbal classes:

a) verbs of nourishing or consuming (see ex. 2),
b) verbs with the meaning "to give, to supply with",
c) verbs of striving for, begging, reaching (for) something,
d) verbs meaning "to rule over, to dispose of",
e) verbs of mental activity,
f) verbs of being glad of.

Each of these classes belongs to one of two higher level typological groups: the first group consists of classes a, b, and c; d, e, and f[4] belong to the second group. The

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[3] Most relevant previous work: Gaedicke 1880: 43ff.; Delbrück 1888: 158ff.; Delbrück 1893: 308ff.; Brugmann 1911: 565ff.; Haudry 1977: 376ff.; Gotō 2002: 25ff.
[4] Gaedicke (l.c., [fn. 2]) included some instances, who are scarcely to be viewed as partitive; Delbrück (1888: 158ff.) apparently considers only the genitives in classes a - c, not in classes d - f, as partitive.

allocation of classes c and f, meanwhile, is not totally clear as there is some affinity to the respective other group.

Let us begin with a discussion of group 1. The following verbs belong to this group:

class a:
ad „to eat“; *aś^i* „to consume“; ^{2}*gar^i* „to devour“; *ghas* „to consume“; *joṣ* „to enjoy“; ^{1}*pā* „to drink“; *bhaj* (middle) „to enjoy as a share“; *bhas* „to devour, to crush; *reh* „to lick“;

class b:
ā́-kar „to construct, to get/bring here“; *ā́-cay* „to load with“; *daśasy* „to afford“; *dā* „to give“; *dhā* „to procure“; *pay^i* „to (make) swell“; ^{1}*par^i* „to fill“; ^{2}*par^i* „to give“; *parc* „to fill, to mix“; *bhar* „to bring“; ^{2}*mā* „to allot“; *yam* „to grant“; ^{1}*yav* „to connect, to arrest“; *rapś* „to exuberate“; *van* „to gain, to provide“; *vardh* „to support“; *varṣ* „to pour“; *vah* „to carry, to bring“; *śak* „to procure“; *san^i* „to gain“.

class c:
āp „to reach“; *iṣaṇy/iṣudhy* „to ask for“; *īḍ* „to beg for“; *kā/kam^i* „to desire, to strive for“; *krap^i* „to long for“; *praś* „to ask for, to request for“; *yā* „to beg for“; *vay^i* „to strive for“.

2.2. Nouns which can take the G$_p$ after these verbs are scarcely subject to any lexical constraint. But there is one condition, namely that the concept of a partitive relation must be possible. Most nouns are therefore mass nouns; abstract and concrete nouns are considerably less common. Some typical examples are:

mass nouns: *sóma-*, *mádhu-* „sweetness“; *ándhas-* „Soma plant“ (and other metonymical designations of the soma); *páyas-* „milk“; *havíṣ-* „libation“; *rayí-* „wealth“; *vásu-* „good“; *yáva-* „barley“; *vā́rya-* „desirable“; *vā́ja-* „booty“; *ū́rj-* „nourishment, strenght“

abstract nouns: *amŕ̥ta-* „immortality“; *śávas-* „power“; *sakhyá-* „friendship“

concrete nouns and persons: *uṣás-* „dawn“; *márta-* „human being“; *phála-* „fruit“; *deṣṇá-* „gift“; *gáv-* „cow“; *bheṣajá-* „medicament“.

2.3.1. Sentences of the first type show syntactic opposition of G$_p$ an A. Compare example (2) with G$_p$ and the following example belonging to class a with A[5]:

(3)   7,67,7 (A)   *aśnántā havyám mā́nuṣīṣu vikṣú*
                            „enjoying the libation among the human clans.“

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[5] For *aś^i* „to consume“ cp. now Krisch 2006: 587f.

The following two sentences with *dā* „to give" and, respectively, G$_p$ and/or A belong to class b:

(4) 7,28,5 (G$_p$) *mahó rāyó rā́dhaso yád dádan naḥ*
„in order that he should give us of the great wealth, of (his) gift"

(5) 2,32,5 (A) *yā́bhir dádāsi dāśúṣe vásūni*
„with whom you give goods to the sacrificer"[6]

From class c, compare example (6) with G$_p$ and example (7) with A:

(6) 7,27,1 (G$_p$) *śávasaś cakānáḥ*
„striving for strength"

(7) 5,44,15 (A) *agnír jāgāra tám ŕ̥caḥ kāmayante*
„Agni is awake. Him desire the verses."

2.3.2. Furthermore, the G$_p$ can also compete with the I, namely with verbs of ‚supplying with something' which exhibit the so-called ‚ornative' construction that is to say the addressee takes the A, and the substance referred to is represented in the I, as in the following two sentences:

(8) 1,76,5 (I) *yáthā ... havírbhir devā́n ayajaḥ*
„as you worshipped the gods with libations"

(9) 2,14,10 (I) *páyasódhar yáthā góḥ sómebhir īm pr̥ṇatā́ ... índram*
„As with milk the udder of the cow, [in the same way] fill Indra with soma!"

Compare ex. (10) and ex. (8), also ex. (11) and ex. (9) which have the G$_p$ in the same syntactic slot as the I:

(10) 3,53,2 (G$_p$) *sómasya nú tvā súṣutasya yakṣi*
„Now I will worship you with [some] well-pressed soma."

(11) 6,69,7 (G$_p$) *sómasya dasrā jaṭháram pr̥ṇethām*
„With [some] soma, o masters, fill your belly!"

There are also intransitive sentences with ornative construction and G$_p$ instead of I, for example

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[6] Compare also from class b 6,44,20 with both cases: *prá túbhyam ... sutā́nām ... bharanti ... sómam.*

(12)   1,37,5 (G_p)   *jámbhe rásasya vāvŗdhe*
                            „I have strengthened myself with sap between the teeth."

As a substitute of the I, the G_p is not affected by the difference between transitive and intransitive construction[7].

2.3.3. Finally, there is a third and extremely rare construction of the partitive genitive; I could only find the following two attestations in the RV:

(13)   2,19,1 (G_p)   *ápāyy asyā́ndhaso mádāya*
                            „Of this drink has been drunk for exhilaration"

(14)   6,63,3 (G_p)   *ákāri vām ándhasaḥ*
                            „It was prepared for you of this drink"

In these sentences, the G_p occupies the position of the subject in a passive construction[8], corresponding to the direct object in active constructions and competing with the N as the by far prevailing case of the subject, as in the next example:

(15)   6,44,8   *ŗtásya pathí vedhā́ apāyi*
                            „In the path of truth, the master was drunk."

2.3.4. Thus, on the whole there are three different types of construction with the partitive genitive with verbs of classes a-c. However, these show a special semantic agreement:

In general linguistics, one has long since agreed on the complement connected most closely with the verb: with two-place verbs, it is the most patient-like complement; with three-place verbs, it is the complement which denotes the object transferred – not the addressee – regardless of the expression of this complement by the A or – in an ornative construction – by the I; and in one-place constructions in the passive, this complement surfaces as subject, as in examples (13) and (14).

Irrespective of the difference in construction, the complement connected most closely with the verb is itself designated ‚internal argument' or ‚erstzubindender Term'[9]. Accordingly, a simple rule emerges for the use of the G_p in verbal classes a-c: It is only the lexical concept underlying the internal argument (erstzubindender Term) which can surface as a G_p if it is affected only partially by the verbal process – irrespective of the three-, two- or one-place construction of the sentence. For the expression of other arguments, the G_p cannot be used[10].

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[7] See further 4,45,1 *madhúno ví rapśate*; 5,73,8 *mádhvaḥ … pipyúṣī*.

[8] The examples of other ancient IE languages with G_p as subject (adduced by Delbrück 1893: 332; Wackernagel 1953: 1120 and Chantraine 1963: 50f.) are also intransitive or passive sentences.

[9] See for ex. Levin-Rappaport 1995: Chapters 1. and 4.1. and Zifonun et al. 1997: 956ff., 1020ff., 1300ff.

[10] As the data collected by Delbrück 1893: 308ff. and Brugmann 1911: 565ff. show, that what is a rule in Ŗgvedic language is only a tendency in other IE languages. – Syntactically, the genitive of local or temporal determination (see Delbrück 1893: 356ff.; Brugmann 1911: 568f.) has to be classified as a satellite, but not as

2.3.5. It should further be pointed out that there are no obvious morphosyntactical factors which restrict the use of the G_p or determine the choice between G_p and competing cases. Consider the following examples of G_p with opposing syntactic categories:

active vs. middle:		3,36,10	*prá yandhi rāyáḥ*
	vs.	3,53,2	*sómasya ... tvā ... yakṣi*
present- vs. aorist- vs.			
perfect-stem:		6,44,13	*prá ... sutā́nām ... bhara*
	vs.	3,30,19	*ní te deṣṇásya dhīmahi*
	vs.	2,11,10	*papivā́n sutásya*
affected vs. effected object:		5,30,11	*púnar gávām adadāt*
	vs.	6,63,3	*ákāri ándhasaḥ* (passive with underlying effected object)
indefinite vs. definite noun:		8,71,9	*vásva úpa māsi*
	vs.	10,8,9	*viśvárūpasya góṇām ācakrāṇáḥ*
singular vs. plural noun:		10,142,3	*bápsad ... úlapasya*
	vs.	10,28,3	*átsi téṣām* [sc. *vṛṣabhā́nām*]

2.4. Besides ist restriction to the internal argument (2.3.4.), the use of G_p depends on semantic conditions only: „Der Genitiv unterscheidet sich von dem Akkusativ [und ggf. dem I., H.H.] dadurch, dass bei dem Gen. der Verbalbegriff nicht auf den vollen Umfang des Substantivbegriffs zu beziehen ist. Er ist sozusagen ein verengerter Akkusativ." (Delbrück 1893: 308)[11].This description is today as valid as always but must be qualified in a somewhat different way for the two typological groups 1 (classes a-c) and 2 (classes d-f). The following characteristics apply to most verbs of the first group:

The verbal action refers from the beginning only to a part of the patientive nominal concept but affects this part completely:
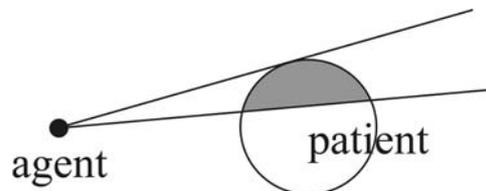
Type 1:

fig. 1

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an argument or complement. – In 3,16,3 *sá tváṃ no rāyáḥ śiśīhi*, the G_p seems exceptionally be used as a substitute of a D_{fin} as satellite; cf. 7,18,2 *śiśīhi rāyé asmā́n*.

[11] Similarly Gotō 2002: 26.

Typical examples are amongst others e.g. 2,11,10 *papivā́n sutásya;* 3,36,10 *asmé prá yandhi … rāyáḥ;* 5,62,7 *sanéma mádhvaḥ.* However, some examples of class c (as for 7,27,1 *śávasaś cakānáḥ*) are not confined to such a description but represent transitions between first and second group (see below ch. 3.3.).

2.5. It has to be noted that after verbs of group 1, there are fewer instances of the G_p than of the competing cases A or I, respectively. Compare the number of instances with the following exemplary list of selected verbs:

ad	„to eat"		28	A	:	1 G
aś^i	„to consume"		7	A	:	6 G
āp	„to reach"		18	A	:	1 G
kā/kam^i	„to desire"		19	A	:	3 G
krap^i	„to long for"		5	A	:	2 G
^{2}*gar^i*	„to devour"		6	A	:	1 G
ghas	„to consume"		12	A	:	1 G
joṣ	„to enjoy"	ca.	180	A	:	2 G
dā	„to give"	ca.	300	A	:	7 G
par^i	„to fill"	ca.	20	I	:	3 G
parc	„to fill, to mix"		17	I	:	2 G
^{1}*pā*	„to drink"		163	A	:	106 G
praś	„to ask for"		9	A	:	1 G
bhaj (middle)	„to enjoy as a share"		28	A	:	13 G
bhar	„to bring"	ca.	300	A	:	3 G
bhas	„to devour"		5	A	:	1 G
reh	„to lick"		26	A	:	1 G
vay^i	„to strive for"		74	A	:	2 G
vah	„to carry, to bring"	ca.	240	A	:	1 G

The numerical relation alone suggests that the opposition between, respectively, A or I and G after these verbs is privative – with the G_p as the marked member. Careful examination of the data confirms this suggestion: A and I can both be used with neutral or complete inclusion as well as with only partial inclusion of the relevant concept into the state-of-affairs; the G_p is more restricted and can only be used with partial inclusion of this concept[12]. Compare the following instances:

(16)   8,77,4   (complete inclusion, A)[13]
                                ékayā pratidhā́pibat sākám sárāṁsi triṁśátam
                                „In only one go he drunk up three hundred lakes
                                together."

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[12] See also Brugmann 1911: 568: „Der Gegensatz zwischen dem Objektsgenitiv und dem Objektsakkusativ ist aber nicht etwa immer der gewesen, dass der Genitiv einen Teil, der Akkusativ das Ganze betonte, sondern der Akkusativ steht ganz gewöhnlich auch dann, wenn es nur auf die Gattung im Gegensatz zu anderen Gattungen ankommt und die Quantität dahingestellt bleibt."

[13] Cf. also 10,102,4 *udnó hradám apibaj járhṛṣāṇaḥ;* 1,84,20 *víśvā ca na upamimīhí mānuṣa / vásūni carṣaṇíbhya ā́;* 4,27,2 *ná ghā sá mā́m ápa jóṣaṁ jabhāra.*

(17) 7,74,2/3   (partial inclusion, A and G_p in parallel construction)[14]
píbataṁ sómyam mádhu   //2//

ā́ yātam úpa bhūṣatam
mádhvaḥ pibatam aśvinā
„Drink ye the somic sweetness!"
Come here, turn up to here!
Drink of the sweetness, o Aśvins!"

similarly with I vs. G_p:

(18) 2,2,1   (complete inclusion, I)
agníṃ yajadhvaṁ havíṣā tánā girā́
„worship Agni with a libation, with a continuous song!"

(19) 5,34,2   (partial inclusion, I)
ā́ yáḥ sómena jaṭháram apiprata
„who filled his belly with soma"

(20) 6,69,7   (partial inclusion, G_p)
sómasya dasrā jaṭháram pṛṇethām
„With soma, o masters, fill your belly!"[15]

2.6. As the examples above illustrate, with most relevant verbs, the G_p is rare. It can therefore not be excluded that this case could in principle also be used with other verbs, there simply happens to be no evidence for it. It is thus possible that Delbrück's classes do not define limits of use but only preferences. The following points would be in favour of this:

a) Class b in particular is semantically heterogeneous. Some verbs (e.g. *pay^i* „to (make) swell", *yaj* „to sacrifice, to worship", ^{1}*yav* „to unite, to fasten") can be subsumed only with difficulty under the cover term „to give, to supply with".

b) In addition to the verbs mentioned so far, there are others with which the G_p can be observed but which do not belong to classes a-c (or d-f)[16]:

dar^i „to tear, to drag"

(21) 7,55,4   *tváṁ sūkarásya dardṛhi*
táva dardartu sūkaráḥ
„You should drag on the boar, and the
boar should drag on you!"

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[14] See also with partial inclusion 4,18,3 *tváṣṭur gṛhé apibat sómam índraḥ / śatadhanyàṃ camvòḥ sutásya;* 2,11,13 *rayíṁ rāsi*; 2,32,5 *dádāsi … vásūni.*

[15] The same correspondence between (partial) I and G_p can be observed in 6,15,11 (I) *tám ít pṛṇakṣi śávasotá rāyā́* vs. 7,100,2 (G_p) *párcaḥ yáthā naḥ suvitásya … rāyáḥ.*

[16] See Gaedicke, l.c. (fn. 2), Gotō 2002: 26f.

jambh „to snap, snatch"

(22)   10,86,4   *śvā́ nv àsya jambhiṣad ápi kárṇe*
„The dog should snatch at him, at his ear."

han „to slay"

(23)   2,23,12   *yó … śāsā́m ugro mányamāno jíghaṁsati*
„whoever, thinking oneself powerful, wants to
break some (of the) commandment(s)"

In the end, classes a-c do not constitute precisely circumscribed verb classes but only semantically nuclear domains of the G_p, apart from which, however, in appropriate cases, the G_p is not excluded[17].

In some cases of class c, the function of the G seems to be ambiguous. Partially, the scheme of ch. 2.4. seems to apply (e.g. 7,24,5 *ī́ṭṭe vásūnām*; 9,108,4 *ā́pire … amŕ̥tasya*). However, there are some cases which can belong to a second type of partitivity, to be described in detail in ch. 3.3.; e.g. 7,27,1 *śávasaś cakānáḥ* „striving for strength"; 1,93,7 *havíṣaḥ … vītám* „strive for the libation!". In such cases, it is not impossible to view the state-of-affairs as referring to the patientive concept in its totality but affecting it only partially; cf. fig. 2 in ch. 3.3. Apparently, class c contains some cases bordering on group 2.

2.7.   Let us now sum up the most important results on the first variant of the G_p:

a) With the first variant of the G_p, the agent refers only to a part of the patientive concept but affects this part completely (2.4.).

b) Among the nouns which take the G_p, mass nouns and abstract nouns are by far prevailing. However, nouns belonging to other semantic classes are not excluded (2.2.).

c) Verbal predicates predominantly consist of verbs of nourishing/consuming, verbs of transfer and verbs of striving, begging, reaching for something (2.1., 2.6.).

d) The G_p can exhibit a syntactic competition with A, I and N. It always designates the ‚internal argument' (2.3.1.-4.).

e) The G_p is the marked member of a privative opposition with A or I, respectively. It is much rarer than the unmarked members A and I. The positive feature of the opposition is the only partial implication of the patientive concept, as described in ch. 2.4.

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[17] Some examples of G_p with other verbs from AV and Vedic prose, which also belong to group 1, are to be found in Delbrück 1888: 159ff. and Gotō 2002: 26.

3.1. Now we shall consider the second group of G_p constructions with the following verb classes

    d) „to rule over, to dispose of",

    e) verbs of mental activity,

    f) „to be glad of, to enjoy".

In these classes, too, the G_p is restricted to the designation of the ‚internal argument' and competes with the A, in some cases also with L and I. Here are some examples from class e with *man* „to remember, to think up, to imagine"[18]:

(24)   5,22,3 (G_p)   *váreṇyasya té 'vasa*
                              iyānā́so amanmahi
                              „Imploring we have remembered your desirable aid."

(25)   5,13,2 (A)   *agné stómam manāmahe*
                              sidhyám adyá divispŕ́śaḥ
                              „Let´s think out a hymn for/of Agni, a successful [song] for/of [him, who] touches the heaven."

For further consideration of cases used with *man*, see ch. 3.4.6. below.

3.2. The considerably varying distribution of both cases in classes d-f already indicates that the semantic relationship between G and A in these classes is different from that of group 1.

Compare the most important verbs of d-f[19]:

(d) „to rule over, to dispose of"

īś	„to dispose of, to rule over"	4 A : 95 G	
kṣā	„to rule over, to dispose of"	1 A : 17 G	
irajyá-	„to rule over, to dispose of, to straighten, to guide"	2 A : 7 G	
rāj	„to extend, to rule over"	10 A : 28 G	
^{2}*pat*	„to possess, to rule over"	17 A : <u>no</u> G (besides 2 I, 3 L)	

(e) verbs of mental activity

ádhi – ay/ gam/gā	„to regard, to consider, to mind	5 A : 7 G	
^{1}*kar^i*	„to mention, to celebrate[20]"	no A : 8 G	

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[18] See Hettrich 2004: 75ff.

[19] Apart from the verbs arranged in the following survey, there are some others with very few attestations of the G_p: *pári-khyā* „to forget, to ignore" (5,65,6 *maghónaḥ, asmā́kam*); *dhay^i* „to consider" (7,7,6 *asyá … ṛtásya*); *śās* „to rule over" (8,34,1 *divó amúṣya*).

cet	„to perceive, to take care of, to comprehend"	ca. 50 A : 16 G
bodh	„to be regardful of"	8 A : 16 G
man	„to remember, to imagine[21]"	31 A : 5 G
ved[22]	„to realize, to know"	ca. 130 A : ca. 60 G
śrav, ā́-ghoṣ	„to hear"	content of noise: A
		source of noise: G

(f)   „to be glad of, to enjoy"

kan^i/can^i	„to be glad of"	3 A : 5 G (besides 2 I : 11 L)
tarp	„to enjoy"	1 A : 8 G
mad/mand	„to be intoxicated, to enjoy"	8 A : ca. 30 G (besides, ca. 15 L, ca. 35 I)

3.3.   These numbers suffice to show that the opposition between the two cases after these verbs ist not privative. In order to explain the great fluctuation between A and G_p with these verbs, we must first take into account the low degree of transitivity in terms of Hopper-Thompson[23]. Predominantly, in Vedic as in the other IE languages, the second complement of a verb takes the A. This holds, as a rule, when the degree of transitivity is high with a clear-cut difference between agent and patient. With decreasing levels of transitivity, vacillation occurs and other cases, such as the G, begin to compete with the A.

In this transitional sphere, the following principle holds: The more the referent of the second complement, that is to say the patient, is affected by or incorporated in the domain of the agent, the more the A prevails; the weaker this incorporation, the more the G_p prevails. This holds as a general rule; however, we have to accept some vacillation. The decisive factors for the degree of incorporation are, on the one hand, the degree of patient-orientated dynamicity of the verb caused by its lexical meaning or grammatical category (e.g. diathesis, aspect), on the other hand, as an opposing factor, the degree of conceptual autonomy of the patient or patient-like concept, its individuality and ability to react. These factors operate against each ather – the first in favour of the A, the second of the G_p – in a manner which differs from one verb to the next, and the scales turn the balance partly in favour of the A, partly of the G_p. In this way, the different distributions of A and G_p after various verbs of group 2 can be explained globally but it remains difficult or in some cases even impossible to find out why in one given sentence the G_p is used and in another the A.

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[20] In the examples with passive construction 10,22,1; 10,105,4 (*cárkr̥ṣe*); 10,50,2 (*carkŕ̥tyaḥ*) the subject nominative, however, can in principle be explained as a transformation of an accusative of the active source construction.

[21] The instances with the present stem *mánya-* and the meaning „to consider, think" are not to be taken into account here.

[22] The distribution of G_p and A with this verb ist not yet fully understood; cf. Gaedicke 1880: 45f.; Seebold 1973: 25ff.; Kümmel 2000: 493ff.; Hill 2004: 37ff.

[23] See Hopper-Thompson 1980 and also Lakoff 1987: 54.

As a consequence this result shows that the function of the G_p in sentences of group 2 ist not the same as in those of type 1 (see 2.4. above): In type 2, the verbal action refers to the patientive nominal concept in its totality but affects it only partially:
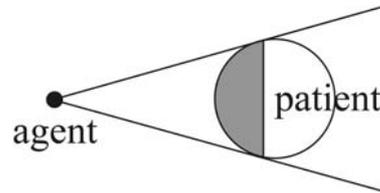
Type 2:

fig. 2

3.4. The opposing factors just mentioned can be realized with different verbs in a different and not predictable manner. This can be illustrated with some select verbs from classes d-f:

3.4.1. *īś* „to dispose of, to rule over“:

> (26) 3,16,5 (G) *rāyá īśe svapatyásya gómata*
> *īśe vr̥tr[háthānām]̥*
> „He [sc. Agni] disposes of wealth, consisting of good offspring, he disposes of the killings of Vr̥tra.“

> (27) 8,25,20 (G) *váco dīrgháprasadmaní-*
> *-śe vā́jasya gómataḥ*
> *īśe hí pitvò 'viṣásya dāváne*
> „A word of/with Dīrghaprasadman disposes of wealth in form of cows, disposes of non-toxic nourishment, for giving [it].“

As can be seen from the table in 3.2., with *īś* we find 95 instances with G_p and only 4 with A. This distribution matches the observation that the precise lexical meaning of this verb, in Delbrück's words, is „nicht bewältigen, sondern Gewalt haben an“ (Delbrück 1893: 308; Brugmann 1911: 595). In other words only the subject's ability to dispose of the object or to have some control over it is expressed, but not yet an action already performed and affecting the object as a kind of patient. In the last example (27), such an action would only be realized through fulfilment of the dative action noun *dāváne*. In this respect, the use of G_p with *īś* corresponds to the general use of G_p with verbs of classes d-f.

The few instances with A do not contradict this rule. The next example shows an overlap of the two cases:

> (28) 7,32,18 (G + A) *yád indra yā́vatas tvám*
> *etā́vad ahám īśīya*
> „If, o Indra, I myself disposed of so many [things] as you“

Here, it is understandable that the A takes part as well: because the second complement is constituted by a semantically empty neuter form of a pronoun, we have the weakest possible degree of conceptual autonomy.

The following example is very different:

(29)   7,37,7   *abhí yáṃ devī́ nírṛtiś cid ī́śe*
                       „Even if the divine Nirṛti has power over him [sc. Indra]"

Here, the conceptual independence of Indra is out of question and should require the G_p. However the goal-oriented LP *abhí* indicates that this independence is (over)compensated by Nirṛti. In such a special case, this leads to an accusative object.

3.4.2.   *rāj* „to extend, to rule over"

The following are typical examples with G_p and A, respectively:

(30)   5,63,2 (G_p)   *saṃrā́jāv asyá bhúvanasya rājatho*
                       mítrāvaruṇā vidáthe svardṛ́śā
                       „As overall rulers, you rule over this world, Mitra
                       and Varuṇa, sun-like, at the distribution"

(31)   5,8,5   (A)   *purū́ṇy ánnā sáhasā ví rājasi*
                       „You rule over much nourishment with power"

The meaning of *rāj* has been much disputed[24]. To my opinion, Roesler ist right in her interpretation that the feature „to shine" is not yet present in the RV as an autonomous component but at best as an implication. Rather, the meaning consists of the components „to extend over" and „to rule over" which are always present, even if according to the context one of the two dominates. Because of the component „to extend over", the meaning of *rāj* exhibits a stronger patient-oriented dynamicity than *ī́ś*; therefore the A is more frequent than with *ī́ś*. Nevertheless, as the coexistence of A and G_p shows, that dynamicity exists in different gradations. It also complies with the general result for the verbs of ruling, that all 10 instances of the A after *rāj* have a direction- or goal-oriented local particle (*áti, ánu, prá, ví*), whereas the G_p exhibits such a particle (always *ví*) only in 4 of 28 instances.

3.4.3.   Let us now have a look at the verb ^{2}*pat* „to rule, possess" which in spite of its semantic similarity to *ī́ś* and *rāj* presents a sharp syntactic contrast to these verbs because its object takes only the A.

A typical example is

(32)   6,2,1   *tváṃ hí kṣáitavad yáśó*
                      'gne mitró ná pátyase

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[24] See the overview in Roesler 1997: 173ff.

> „You, o Agni, as (well as) Mitra surely possess magnificent splendour.“

As the meaning of the complement nouns – here as well as in other sentences – shows, the relation of ^2pat with these nouns is not the same as in the case of *īś* or *rāj*. The notions connected to *īś* and *rāj* possess in most cases an autonomous existence, as *rayí-* „wealth“, *bhúvana-* „creature“, *vásu-* „good“, *vā́ja-* „prize, booty“, whereas the notions combined with *pat* predominantly denote personal attributes or qualities of the agent, as for example *śávas-* „strength“, *ójas-* „power“, *yáśas-* „splendour“, *táviṣī-* „force“, *śrī́-* „splendour, excellence“. Concepts like these are scarcely autonomous; they rather pertain to the agent as a person and refer to his disposition. Thus, the use of the A conforms to the general rule.

3.4.4. Now, we have to comment on some verbs of mental activity, firstly on *cet* „to perceive, to take care of, to comprehend“:

(33) 4,45,6 (A)   *víśvāṁ ánu svadháyā cetathas patháḥ*
                 „Through your own power you perceive all ways.“

(34) 1,128,4 (G_p)   *agnír yajñásyādhvarásya cetati*
                 „Agni takes care of worshipping and of the sacrifice.“

A comparison of the attestations of *cet* with other verbs of seeing or optical perception shows that with *cet* the receptive component has a considerable strenght, compared with those of other verbs such as *darś, khyā, (s)paś*. With *cet*, the agent does not only concentrate on the perceived object but also reflects its perception. However, on the other hand, the use of local particles (*ánu, abhí, ā́, ví*) in combination with *cet* shows that there is also a relevant degree of agentivity. Thus with *cet* we have a coexistence of receptive and agentive features, and this concurrence of two semantic features corresponds to the concurrence of G_p and A as cases of the second argument. A sign of sligthly differing degrees of agentivity vs. receptivity in the text's concrete instances is that with goal-oriented local particles only the A is used (see ex. 33).

3.4.5. *bodh* „to be regardful of“ (act.)

(35) 6,23,7 (A)   *sá no bodhi puroḷā́śaṁ rárāṇaḥ*
                 „Generously pay attention to our offering cake!“

(36) 2,16,7 (G)   *kuvín no asyá vácaso nibódhiṣat*
                 „If he will attend to this word of us?“

The active instances of this verb, with the meaning „to be regardful of“ are more relevant than the middle which means „to wake up“. As Gotō (1987: 220) and Kümmel (2000: 332) noticed, both of these meanings can be explained as exponents of a primary meaning „to become attentive, observant“. This meaning illustrates that – in contrast to other verbs of perception – the receptive component is more prevailing than the agentive-dynamic component. Therefore, the use of the G_p cannot surprise – in

contrast to e.g. *khyā* „to see, to catch sight of" or (*s*)*paś* „to see, to look, to spy", which can only be construed with the accusative. Moreover, it is worth noting that with *bodh* the second complement, if it is animate, only appears in the G_p (3,14,7 *suráthasya*; 6,21,5 *avamásya*; 8,9,3 *kāṇvásya*), whereas inanimate second complements can be expressed in both the G_p and the A (see exx. 35 and 36 above). This distribution, again, shows the relevance of conceptual autonomy resp. the second complement's capability of reaction. This capability is greater with animate than with inanimate concepts; therefore, only the former can be expressed in the G_p.

3.4.6. *man* „to remember, to think up, to imagine"

The distribution of A (31 instances) vs. G_p (5 instances; see examples (24) and (25) in ch. 3.1. above) allows to conclude that with this verb the agentive-dynamic component is stronger than with *bodh* because the two cases are inversely distributed.

However, the fact that both cases are documented after all, shows that we, nevertheless, have to distinguish between stronger and weaker dynamicity of the verb or – inversely – stronger and weaker conceptual autonomy of the second complement. Explicitly, this difference can be observed in the following distribution: With *man*, the A can designate affected as well as effected objects[25], whereas only affected objects are encoded in the G. The concept of „effected object" already entails that this type of object is more strongly incorporated in the dynamicity of the verb than an „affected" object. However, in this case we must remain cautious: Because there are only 5 attestations of G_p with *man*, it cannot be excluded that an effected object in the G_p is only lacking by chance, particularly since effected objects are generally rarer than affected ones.

3.4.7. This overview will be concluded with two verbs of class f „to be glad of, to enjoy". First, we will look at *kan^i/can^i* „to be glad of"

(37)   8,31,1 (G_p)   *brahméd índrasya cākanat*
                                „The brahmin well be glad of Indra."

(38)   3,28,5 (A)   *ágne tr̥tī́ye sávane hí kā́niṣaḥ*
                                puroḷā́śaṁ sahasaḥ sūnav ā́hutam
                                „At the third pressing, o Agni, you should be
                                glad of the offered cake, o son of strength!"

This verb is admittedly an unequivocal example of class f but because of the small number of examples for each case of the second complement (A, G, I, L; see the survey in ch. 3.2.) it is not possible to work out reliable factors determining the second argument's choice of case.

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[25] See the effected object in ex. (25) and also in 5,35,8 *stómam*; 5,66,3 *sustutím*; 8,29,10 *sā́ma*.

3.4.8. *tarp* „to enjoy"

    (39)   4,46,2 (G_p)   *vā́yo sutásya tr̥mpatam*
                                       „Vāyu [and Indra], enjoy [of] the pressed out!"

    (40)   8,70,10 (A)   *tvānído ní tr̥mpasi*
                                         „You devour completely the mockers of yours."

As can be seen from the basic meaning of this verb as well as its use in these sentences, it represents a borderline case between classes a and f, but the numeric relation of A and G (see the table in 3.2.) better fits class f than class a. Even if – similarly to kan^i/can^i – the few attestations of this verb in the RV cannot suffice to gain reliable results[26], it is congruent with our general observation that the only attested example 40 with A because of the metaphorical use of the verb represents a very high degree of patient-oriented dynamicity, whereas this degree in the instances with G_p, as in (39), is relatively low; here the subject shows more features of an experiencer than of an agent.

3.5.   Here, we shall stop discussing single verbs and try to summarize the most important results on the G_p in group 2-sentences:

    a)   In this group, the agent refers to the nominal concept in its totality but affects it only partially (3.3.).

    b)   Like in group 1, in group 2 also, the G_p designates only the ‚internal argument'.

    c)   In contradistinction to group 1, the opposition between A and G_p with the verbs of group 2 is not privative. Rather, the use of the A or the G_p respectively depends on the balance between the patient-oriented dynamicity of the verb or the agent, resp., on the one hand and the patient-like concepts ability to react on the other (3.3.). This balance changes heavily from one verb to the next and causes very different relations between both cases and the verbs in the classes d-f (3.2.).

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[26] In post-R̥gvedic Sanskrit also the stem *tŕ̥pya-* is attested, which takes the I, G_p, and A (see Kulikov 2001: 407ff.).

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