

Heinrich Hettrich: Grammaticische und konkrete Kasus im Vedischen und im Indogermanischen: Ein wirklicher Gegensatz?

grammatical ↔ concrete

syntactical/ ↔ lexical/
structural inherent

In the language of the Ṛgveda:

- a) All oblique cases bear a basic meaning, which can be described according to the prototype model.
- b) Semantically, there is no real contrast between grammatical and concrete uses of a case.
- c) During the development of the modern IE languages, the semantic differences between the cases decrease.

Accusative (A) – its prototypical meaning:
designation of a goal-oriented route, determined by the word in the A.
This route is completely covered until its end, if possible.

A of object or A of goal in the following sentences?

- (1a) 8,61,8 *īndraṃ gāyantó 'vase*
„praising Indra (in order to get) aid.“
- (1b) 1,5,1 *īndram abhī prá gāyata*
„Praise Indra!“
[~ ‚Praise off, towards Indra!‘ / ~ ‚Send your praise towards Indra‘]
- (2a) 3,21,1 *imā havyā jātavedo juṣasva*
„Prefer these libations, o Jātavedas“
- (2b) 1,101,10 *uśán havyāni práti no juṣasva*
„Willingly prefer our libations!“
[~ ‚... prefer towards our ...‘]
- (3a) 3,23,3 *agnīm stuhi daivavātāṃ devaśravo*
„Praise the Agni of Devavāta, o D.“
- (3b) 1,12,7 *kavīm agnīm úpa stuhi*
„Praise the seer Agni“
[~ ‚praise towards the seer ...‘]

Two grammatical possibilities for the local particles (LPs)?

- 1) verbal compounds, with or without tmesis? (*confidere / fidere; perfrui / frui*)
- 2) adpositions, belonging to nouns?

- (4) *etw. suchen / nach etw. suchen*
etw. schießen / auf etw. schießen
etw. schreiben / an etw. schreiben

- (5a) 5,30,2 *ṛṇamcāyasya prāyatā maghāni*
prāty agrabhīṣma ṛtamasya ṛnām
 „The offered gifts of Ṛṇamcaya we grasped, of the bravest of men.“

- (5b) 3,36,2 *prayamyāmānān prāti śú grbhāya*
 „Grasp the presented [drinks]!“

- (5c) 6,49,15 *rayīm ... yéna víśa ádevīr abhy áśnāvāma*
 „wealth, by which we will surpass the ungodly clans [sc. completely].“

abhi / prāti / úpa in the RV: orientation towards a goal, no desemantization

- (6) 1,33,13 *abhi sidhmó ajigād asya sátṛūn*
 „Being successful, he attacked his enemies.“

- (7) 1,107,1 *yajñó devānām prāty eti sumnām*
 „The sacrifice goes towards the favour of the gods.“

- (8) 1,4,2 *úpa naḥ sávanā gahi*
 „Come here to our soma-offerings!“

- (1b) 1,5,1 *índram abhi prá gāyata*
 ~ „Send your praise towards Indra!“

concerning *abhi*, no semantic difference between (6) and (1b).

- (9) verb classes with *abhi*, *prāti*, *úpa*
 a) intrans. verbs of motion and b) verbs of transfer, e.g.

a) *ay*, *gā*, *gam*, *kramⁱ*, *carⁱ*, *yā*, *roh*

b) *bhar*, *aj*, *nayⁱ*, *sarj*, *vah*, *dhā*

c) Verba dicendi (LP concerning the addressee, not the content of speech)

<i>nav:</i>	4,32,9	<i>abhí tvā girānuṣata</i>
¹ <i>garⁱ:</i>	5,79,4	<i>abhí yé tvā ... stómair gṛṇānti</i>
<i>vadⁱ:</i>	1,119,9	<i>prāti vām ... vadat</i>
<i>bravⁱ:</i>	1,161,3	<i>agnim ... prāti ... ábravītana</i>
<i>havⁱ:</i>	1,21,1	<i>indrāgniⁱ úpa hvaye</i>

d) agent orientated towards the goal, does not change his place, orientation can be abstract

<i>amⁱ:</i>	7,25,2	<i>abhí no mártāso amānti</i>
<i>od:</i>	5,42,3	<i>unáttainam abhí mádhvā ghṛténa</i>
<i>tan:</i>	1,160,5	<i>yénābhí kṛṣṭís tatánāma [sc. śrávasā]</i>
<i>tap:</i>	7,83,5	<i>abhy á tapanti maghāni</i>
<i>peś:</i>	10,68,11	<i>abhí ... náksatrebhiḥ pitáro dyām apimśan</i>
<i>var:</i>	10,18,11	<i>abhy ènam bhūma ūrṇuhi</i>
<i>varṣ:</i>	7,119,3	<i>yád im enām ... abhy ávarṣīt</i>
<i>śarⁱ:</i>	3,30,17	<i>práty ágram śṛṇīhi</i>
<i>sec:</i>	4,57,5	<i>ténemām úpa siñcatam</i>
<i>sparś:</i>	10,137,7	<i>tābhyām tvópa spṛśāmasi</i>
<i>khyā:</i>	4,13,1	<i>práty agnir uśásām ágram akhyad</i>
<i>bodh:</i>	4,52,4	<i>tvā ... prāti stómair abhutsmahi</i>
<i>avⁱ:</i>	9,97,39	<i>abhí no jyótiṣāvīt</i>
<i>śrav:</i>	6,40,4	<i>úpa bráhmāṇi śṛṇava imā no</i>
<i>jin^v:</i>	1,71,1	<i>úpa prá jinvan uśántam</i>
<i>marś:</i>	4,30,13	<i>śúṣṇasya ... prá mṛkṣo abhí védanam</i>
<i>rakṣ:</i>	8,47,1	<i>yám ... abhí druhó rákṣathā</i>
² <i>dhayⁱ:</i>	8,99,3	<i>vásūni ... prāti ... dīdhima</i>
<i>yaj:</i>	6,47,25	<i>bharádvājān sārñjayó abhy áyaṣṭa</i>
² <i>kṣay:</i>	2,27,13	<i>śúcir apáh úpa kṣeti</i>
<i>śayⁱ:</i>	4,17,3	<i>prāti praváta āśáyānam áhim</i>

(10) crosscheck:1) no orientation of *abhí, práti, úpa* towards the object transferred2) no orientation of *abhí, práti, úpa* to the object effected

<i>nayⁱ:</i>	1,41,5	<i>yám yajñám náyathā nara ādityā yjúnā pathā</i>
<i>takṣ:</i>	1,32,2	<i>tvāṣtāsmāi vājraṁ svaryāṁ tatakṣa</i>
<i>tan:</i>	1,115,4	<i>rātrī vāsas tanute simāsmāi</i>
<i>yam:</i>	2,35,15	<i>áyāmsam agne sukṣitīm jánāya</i>
<i>tarⁱ:</i>	1,11,7	<i>téṣām śrāvāmsi út tira (úd does not belong to śrāvāmsi)</i>
<i>janⁱ:</i>	3,31,15	<i>índro ... ajanad ... sākām sūryam uṣásam gātúm agnīm</i>
<i>kar:</i>	4,33,5	<i>kánīyān trīn kṛṇavāméty āha</i>
<i>vā:</i>	1,89,4	<i>tán no vāto mayobhú vātu bheṣajám</i>
<i>starⁱ:</i>	1,142,5	<i>strṇānāso yatásruco barhír</i>
<i>varj:</i>	6,11,5	<i>vṛñjé ha yán námasā barhír agnáu</i>
<i>varⁱ:</i>	1,12,1	<i>agnīm dūtám vṛñīmahe</i>

result: The three LPs show their local basic meaning: orientation of the agent towards an independently existing object.

(11) Beginnings of lexicalization:

2,17,2 *práti-moc*
śīrṣāṇi dyām mahinā práty amuñcata
 „By means of his size he put the heaven on his head.“

5,54,7 *úpa-das*
nāsya rāya úpa dasyanti nótayah
 „Neither his riches nor his helps vanish.“

Syntactical behaviour:

1) *ceteris paribus, abhí, práti, úpa* can be omitted.

(12) 1,123,10 *éṣi devi devám íyakṣamānam*
 „O goddess, you go to the god desiring [you].“

2) *abhí, práti, úpa* can be used without a noun:

(13) 1,80,3 *préhy abhíhi dhṛṣṇuhi*
 „Go forward, go straight for [it], be courageous!“

- (14) 5,41,18 *devī ... prāti drāvanti suvitāya gamyāḥ*
 „The goddess should – running forward – come for well-being“
- (15) 1,40,1 *úpa prá yantu marútaḥ*
 „The Marut may come here.“

result: *abhí, prāti, úpa* are adverbs;

the A depends immediately on the verb; the LP modifies it as an attribute or an apposition.

In modern european languages the relations are different;

- (16) cf. *Er kommt mit dem Buch / ohne das Buch*

the verb governs the entire PP; P governs the case

- (17) 1,47,3 *dāśvāmsam úpa gacchatam*
 „Kommt zu dem Spendenden her!“
 („come here to the sacrificer!“)

LPs: very frequent with concrete motion verbs: *ay, gam, gā* etc.

less frequent with metaphorical directional verbs: *stav, grabhⁱ, arc, joṣ* etc.

clearly not frequent or not regular with

- a) *yaj*: 1 x *abhí*, never *úpa, prāti*
- b) ‚to guard, protect‘: *pā, rakṣ*: *abhí*, possible,
trā only without *abhí, prāti, úpa*,

- but c) ‚to strike, hit‘: *han*: *abhí, prāti, úpa* attested
vadh: none of these LPs

continuous ‚deconcretization‘; continuum without clear semantical boundaries.

Points of reference in this continuum with gradual transitions:

- a) Accusative of direction (A_{ri}): prototypical, concrete motion and transfer verbs, LPs frequent
- b) abstract motion with abstract goal, LPs less frequent, A_{ob-w} (A of wider object)
²*gā, joṣ, stav*

c) distance between starting point and goal decreases; motion is minimized,
no LP, (*nayⁱ, yam, takṣ, janⁱ, kar*)
 A of close object (A_{ob-e})

d) motion and goal fall together (A_{inh})

(18) 1,12,14 *yád agne yási dūtyàm*
 „,when you, Agni, run the errand“
 semantic borderline case of A

e) some other borderline cases (*mardh* „to abandon“, *marṣ* „to forget“, *hā* „to leave behind“)

(19) 4,20,16 *mā́ no mardhīḥ*
 „Do not abandon us!“

(20) 3,33,18 *etád váco jaritar mā́pi mṛṣṭhāḥ*
 „This word, o singer, you should never forget“

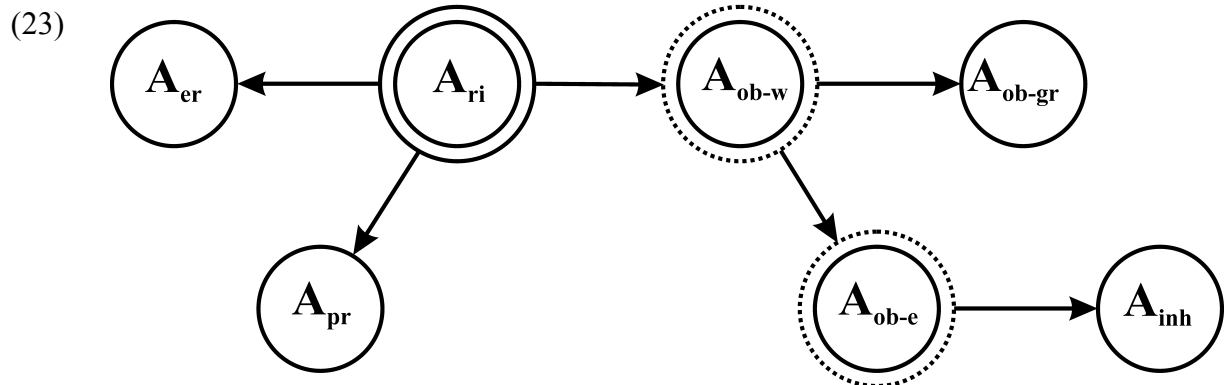
(21) 10,138,5 *ájahād uṣá́ ánaḥ*
 „Uṣas left behind his cart“

(22) 10,124,4 *índraṃ vṛṇānáḥ pitáram jahāmi*
 „Choosing Indra, I leave behind my father“

hā „to leave behind“ : 17 x human object
 13 x inanimate object

Ablative with *ay, carⁱ, ar, yā, ²eṣ, gā, sthā, drav, kṣar, sar, arṣ* :

26 x human starting point
 85 x inanimate starting point



No clear semantic contrast between grammatical and concrete accusative, a syntactic difference, however, does exist.

- (24) 3,35,2 *yáthā ... úpemám yajñám á vahāta índram*
 „in order that they can drive Indra to this sacrifice“
- (25) 6,15,22 *prá ... agnáye ... stómam ... arca*
 „Sing to Agni a song of praise.“
- (25a) 8,44,26 *agním śumbhāmi mánmabhiḥ*
 „I adorn Agni with poems.“

Three terms: (1) agent, (2) item transferred, (3) goal/recipient

cf. (24/25): (2) item transferred – A; (3) goal/rec. – A/D (also possible: L_{zi}/LP/Instr.)
 (2): A_{ob-e} – NEVER with LP; (3): A_{ri} – LP possible

cf. (25a) (ornative construction):

(2) item transferred – I; (3) goal – A_{ob-w} (no other case possible)

Double accusative

- (26) 8,3,11 *yát tvā rayiṃ yámi*
 „When I beg you for wealth“
- (27) 1,93,4 *yád ámuṣṇītam avasám paṇiṃ gāḥ*
 „that you robbed the Paṇi of his nourishment, the cows.“
- (28) 2,13,6 *ārdrád á śúṣkam mádhumad dudóhitha*
 „From the damp you milked the dry, the sweet.“
- (29a)

and

(29b)