On "*i*-substantivizations" in Vedic nominal compounds

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background: the suffix -*i*- in Indo-European & Vedic

- Vedic suffix -*i*-: forms f. action nouns (*dhrā́ji*- f 'gust of wind', *jálpi*- f 'whisper, muttering', *rándhi*- f 'submission', *ráṁhi*- f 'hurry', etc.) and m. or adjectival agent nouns (*dhúni*- 'resounding', *bhŕmi*- 'lively', *cákri*- 'doing, performing', *babhrí*- 'carrying', etc., AiG II,2: 291ff., Macdonell 1910: 115f.)

- This dual function of the suffix is inherited from Proto-Indo-European (PIE), (Nussbaum 2014: 304):

(1)   Derivation of *i*-stems in PIE

	1. Adjective	2. (m.) 'substantivized' adjective	3. (f.) abstract
PIE	*$h_2$ékro- 'high'	*h_2ó/ékri- 'high (one)'	*h_2ó/ékri- 'height'
Ex.	Gk. *ákros* 'high'	Lat. *ocris* m. 'mountain'	Gk. *ákris* f. 'peak', Ved. °*áśri*- f. 'edge'

- Crucially, the derivational basis of both substantivized adjectives and verbal abstracts was an **o*-adjective (= Ved. *a*-adj.), Schindler 1980, Balles 2006, Nussbaum 2014:

(2)   Masc. substantivized adjectives
   a.   Av. *tiγ-ra*- 'pointed, sharp' → *tiγ-ri*- m. 'pointed thing; arrow'
   b.   PIE *mn̥tó- 'protruding' (Lat. *mentum* 'chin') → *mont-i- 'protruding (one)' (Lat. *mōns* m. 'mountain')
   c.   Ved. *jīrá*- 'quick, lively' → *jīrí*- 'stream' (< 'quick, lively one')

(3)   Fem. abstracts
   a.   Lat. *ravus* 'hoarse' → *ravis* f. 'hoarseness'
   b.   Gk. *argós* 'bright, shining; fast' → *argi*- 'brightness' (in compounds, cp. Ved. *r̥ji*- in *r̥jí-śvan*- 'having swift dogs')
   c.   OIr. *glan* 'clear' → *glain* f. 'glass; clearness' (Weiss 2013)

Semantics of (2): 'masculine endocentric substantivizations', comparable to definite adjectives in Germanic, Balto-Slavic, etc. (Nussbaum 2014)

   – tend to develop into adjectives → semantic difference between adjectival base and (substantival) derivative not always clear-cut in the individual branches

NB not clear how formally related *vr̥ddhi*-formations (patronyms, nouns of appurtenance) fit into this, e.g., *sarátha*- '(driving) the same chariot' → *sā́rathi*- m. 'co-driver', *agniveśa*- personal name → *ā́gniveśi*- 'descendant of Agniveśa', *purukútsa*- → *paúrukutsi*-. Not treated here.

1.2 -*i*- in compounds

In some IE languages, an **o*-stem (or **-ā*-stem) is replaced by an **-i*-stem in the second members of compounds (SMC), possibly by the same 'substantivizing -*i*-' process:

(4) Latin
   a. *somnus* 'sleep' → *in-somn-**i**-s* 'sleepless'
   b. *iugum* 'yoke' → *bi-iug-**i**-s* 'with two yokes'
   c. *anima* 'soul' → *ex-anim-**i**-s* 'soulless'

(5) Greek
   a. *alkḗ* 'strength' → *án-alk-**i**-s* 'without strength'

(6) Armenian (Olsen 1999: 709f.)
   a. *arat, -oy* 'blemish, stain' → *an-arat-ic'* 'unblemished, having no blemish' (gen./dat./abl.pl.)
   b. *hawat, -oy* 'faith' → *an-hawat-ic'* 'unfaithful'

(7) Avestan
   a. *miθra* 'Mitra' → *avi-miθr-i* 'against Mitra, enemy of Mitra'

→ This happens predominantly in possessive compounds (Bahuvrīhis), which are *exocentric*, so finding *-i-* here is a priori unexpected.

Goals of this paper:

- Are there any traces of *i*-substantivizations in SMC in Vedic? Corresponding to (adjectival) *a*-stems?

- 'substantivized' *i*-stems should be more likely to occur in predicative than in attributive use (although the trend to 're-adjectivization' would blur this distribution). Is there a difference between attributive *a*-stems and predicative *i*-stems in Vedic?

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2 Bahuvrīhi compounds

As noted before, the number of Vedic (and IIr.) Bahuvrīhis with *i-* instead of *a*-stem SMC is small (AiG II,1 = Wackernagel, Jacob 1905: 105f.); *práty-ardhi-* and *su-gándhi-* are usually mentioned.

All translations from Jamison and Brereton 2014 except where indicated. RV passages cited after van Nooten and Holland 1994.

2.1 °ardhi- 'half-'

práty-ardhi- 'possessing half of sth.; possessing equal parts' vs. *ardhá-* a. 'other (half)', *árdha-* m. 'half'.

RV 10.1.5:	hótāraṃ citráratham adhvarásya	yajñásya-yajñasya ketúṃ rúśantam |
	prátyardhiṃ devásya-devasya mahnā́	śriyā́ tú **agníṃ** atithiṃ jánānām ||

"(They chant) to the Hotar of the rite, possessing a brilliant chariot, the luminous beacon of every sacrifice, to Agni, who is the **half-sharer** with every god in his greatness, but in his beauty the guest of the peoples."

2.2 °gandhi- 'smelling of X'

su-gándhi- 'having a pleasant fragrance; fragrant'

RV 7.59.12a-b:	**tr̥yambakaṃ** yajāmahe	**sugándhim** puṣṭivárdhanam |

"We sacrifice to Tryambaka the fragrant, increaser of prosperity"

ā́ñjana-gandhi- 'smelling of ointments' in RV 10.146.5, *dhūmá-gandhi-* 'smelling of smoke':

RV 1.162.15a:	mā́ t*u*vā**gnír** dhvanayīd **dhūmágandhir**

"Let the fire that smells of smoke not besmirch you"

Evidently a replacement of *gandhá-* m. 'smell, fragrance' in the SMC, parallel to the Latin, Gk, OIr. cases cited above.

Possible additional case: *kr̥ṣṭá-rādhi-* 'successful in agriculture' (AV 8.10.24), vs. *rādha-* 'gift, bounty'

(2x RV, but *s*-stem *rā́dhas*- is much more common).

3 Verbal governing compounds

Synchronically, most Rigvedic compounds with an *i*-stem SMC are verbal governing compounds/Tatpuruṣa, with accent on the SMC.

3.1 Oxytone

3.1.1 °*tuji*- 'pushing, driving'

ā̆-tují- 'pushing oneself towards', 1x, predicative. No *a*-stem.

> RV 7.66.18: divó dhā́mabhir varuṇa   mitráś cā́ yātam adrúhā |
> **píbataṃ sómam ā́tují** ||
> "From heaven through your domains, o Varuṇa and Mitra, you who are without
> deception – travel here. Drink the soma, thrusting yourselves toward it."

Cp. *tū́tuji*- 'driving repeatedly, hurrying' vs. *tūtijí*- (m.) 'driver, inciter, pusher' in RV 10.22.3b *mahó nr̥mṇásya tūtujíḥ* 'inciter of great manliness'[1] (Grestenberger 2013)

Accent reminiscent of *tují*- f. 'propagation' in inf. *tujáye* 'in order to propagate' in RV 5.46.7b (as opposed to the personal name *túji*- in RV 6.26.4d, 10.49.4d), but this is semantically unlikely in (7).

3.1.2 °*yaji*- 'sacrificing'

ā̆-yají- 'sacrificing, sacrificer', Jamison and Brereton 2014 'win (goods) by sacrifice', 2x, predicative, e.g.:

> RV 1.28.7: **ā́yají** vājasā́tamā   **tā́** h*í* uccā́ vijarbhr̥táḥ |
> hárī 'vā́ndhāṃsi bápsatā ||
> "These two [=mortar and pestle? / jaws of the soma press?] gain by sacrifice
> and are the best prizewinners, since they keep pulling apart above, chewing the
> stalks like a pair of fallow bays."

No *a*-stem, but very common superlative *yájiṣṭha*- 'who sacrifices best; most sacrificing', and root noun in, e.g., *su-yáj*- 'sacrificing well', *divi-yáj*- 'sacrificing in the light of day', etc.

3.2 Paroxytone

3.2.1 °*tani*- 'spanning, stretching'

ā̆-táni- 'pervading, stretching out', 1x, predicative. Also Ved. *tána*- n. 'offspring' (< 'that which stretches out, spans').

> RV 2.1.10d: t*u*vám **viśíkṣur** asi **yajñám ā́tániḥ** ||
> "You seek to carve up and to stretch out the sacrifice."

3.2.2 °*bhari*- 'bringing, -bringer'

saho-bhári- 'bringing victory', 1x, predicative:

> RV 5.44.3: átyaṃ havíḥ sacate sác ca dhā́tu ca   **áriṣṭagātuḥ sá hótā sahobháriḥ** |
> prasársrāṇo ánu barhír vr̥ṣā́ śíśur   mádhye yúvā ajáro visrúhā hitáḥ ||
> "The steed does the oblation follow (and) its [=oblation's] elements are
> true; the Hotar who goes without harm brings might. Always stretching
> out along the ritual grass, the bullish child, the unaging youth is placed
> in the middle with his outgrowth."

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[1] Jamison and Brereton 2014, 3a-b: "He who is the lord of great strength, not by halves, and of great manliness, the thruster, ...".

Besides compounds in °bhará-:

- antarā́-bhará- 'bringing near': RV 8.21.12b-c: attributive: dā́navaṁ antarābharáḥ índro ... "(Indra) who has gifts and brings them near"

- puṣṭim-bhará- 'bringing growth, prosperity': RV 4.3.7a, attributive: kathā́ mahé puṣṭimbharā́ya pūṣṇé "How (will you speak) to great Pūṣan who brings prosperity, ...?"

- vā́jam-bhará- 'bringing prizes', e.g., RV 10.80.1a, attributive: agnéḥ sáptiṁ vā́jambharáṁ dadāti "Agni gives a prize-bringing team"

- sutam-bhará- 'bringing pressed (soma)', RV 5.44.13a, attributive: sutambharó yájamānasya sátpatir "Bearing the pressed (soma) of the sacrificer, master of the settlements, ..."

- harim-bhará- 'carrying the golden (thing)', RV 10.96.4d (substantival or attributive): sahásraśokā abhavad dharimbharáḥ "The bearer of the golden (mace) became thousand-flamed."

- Attributive use prevails with °bhará-, vs. only instance of °bhari- = predicative (not enough for a generalization)

- but: paroxytone accent unexpected if this is a substantivization of the accented a-stem, whereas bhára- m '(act of) bearing, carrying off; gains, plunder' is an unlikely derivational basis

3.2.3   °mathi- 'robbing, stealing'

No a-stem. havir-máthi- 'oblation-stealing', 1x, appositional (RV 7.104.21a-b:), urā-máthi- 'sheep-robbing', 1x, predicative/appositional:

RV 8.66.8a-b: **vṛ́kaś** cid asya vāraṇá **urāmáthir**   ā́ vayúneṣu bhūṣati |
"Even a wolf – wild and sheep-stealing – attends to its own patterns"

vastra-máthi- 'robbing clothes', 1x, attributive:

RV 4.38.5a-b: utá smainaṁ **vastramáthiṁ ná tāyúm**   ánu krośanti kṣitáyo bháreṣu |
"And the settled peoples shriek after him at his raidings as if after a thief who steals clothes"

3.2.4   °muri- 'obstructing'

ā-múri- 'obstructing, one who obstructs', 1x, predicative.

RV 8.97.10:   víávāḥ pṛ́tanā abhibhū́taram náraṁ   sajū́s tatakṣur **índraṁ** jajanúś ca rājáse |
krátvā váriṣṭham vára **āmúrim** utá   ugrám ójiṣṭham tavásaṁ tarasvínam ||
"The superior man who is even more dominant over all battles – Indra have they jointly fashioned and begotten for ruling – most excellent in resolve and a hindrance in obstructing, strong, strongest, powerful, surpassing."

No a-stem, but root noun múr- (also āmúr-) 'obstruction, hindrance'[2]

3.2.5   °rakṣi- 'protecting'

pathi-rákṣi- 'path-protector', 1x, predicative:

RV 10.14.11a-b: **yáu** te śuvā́nau yama rakṣitā́rau   caturakṣáu **pathirákṣī** nṛcákṣasau |
"Your two dogs, Yama, who are guardians, four-eyed guards of the path with their eyes on men ..."

paśu-rákṣi- 'shepherd; cattle-protector', 1x, substantive. No a-stem.

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[2]NB °muri- cannot have come from the root noun paradigm by regular sound change, cp. Grestenberger 2014 and more generally Klingenschmitt 1980, Jamison 1988 for arguments against such an analysis.

RV 6.49.12a-b: prá vīrā́ya prá taváse turā́ya   ájā yūthéva **paśurákṣir** ástam |
"Forth to the hero, forth to the powerful, precipitous one will I drive (praise?),
as a guardian of livestock drives his flocks home."

3.2.6   °*vani*- 'winning, gaining'

upamāti-váni- 'winning the distributions', 1x, predicative (RV 5.41.16); *r̥ju-váni*- 'obtaining the right things; rightfully', 1x, appositional (predicative?):

RV 5.41.15c-d: síṣaktu mātā́ mahí̄ rasā́ naḥ   smát sūríbhir r̥juhásta **rjuvániḥ** ||
"Let the mother, the great Rasā, accompany us along with our patrons,
she with hands outstretched, with winnings outstretched."

SMC = vaní- f. 'wish, desire' (AV)? Unlikely because of accent & semantics (accent should not change; root $\sqrt{van}^{i}$ 'wish' rather than $\sqrt{van}$ 'win', LIV[2]: 680); 'winning rightfully' for RV 5.41.15 just as good and more in line with:

vr̥ṣṭi-váni- 'winning rain', 1x, attributive.

RV 10.98.7c-d: devaśrútam **vr̥ṣṭivánim** rárāṇo   br̥haspátir **vā́cam** asmā́ ayachat ||
"Br̥haspati, bestowing, gave him speech audible to the gods, winning rain."

vasuváni- 'winning goods', 1x, predicative.

RV 7.1.23c-d: sá devátā **vasuvánim** dadhāti   yám sūrír arthī́ pr̥chámāna éti ||
"He [=Agni or the mortal] establishes him [=the mortal or Agni] as one who gains goods among the gods, the one to whom the inquiring patron goes, seeking his ends."

3.2.7   °*sáni*- 'winning'

pitu-ṣáni- 'winning sustenance', 1x, predicative; *vāja-sáni*- 'winning prizes', 3x, predicative & attributive, e.g.:

RV 3.51.2:   śatákratum arṇavám śākínam náram   gíro ma **índram** úpa yanti viśvátaḥ |
vājasánim pūrbhídam tū́rṇim aptúram   dhāmasā́cam abhiṣácam suvarvídam ||
"The superior man with a hundred resolves, a flood of powers – my songs approach Indra from all sides – winning spoils, splitting strongholds, swift at crossing the waters, attending to the ordinances, attending closely, finding the sun."

RV 10.91.15c-d: **vājasánim rayím** asmé suvī́ram   praśastā́m dhehi yaśásam br̥hántam ||
"Place in us prize-gaining wealth, rich in heroes, celebrated, glorious, lofty."

hr̥dam̐-sáni- 'winning someone's heart', 1x, predicative:

RV 9.61.14c: yá índrasya hr̥daṃsániḥ
"who gains the heart of Indra"

go-ṣáni- 'winning cows', 1x, predicative.

RV 6.53.10:   utá no **goṣáṇim dhíyam**   aśvasā́m vājasā́m utá |
nr̥vát **kr̥ṇuhi** vītáye ||
"And make our poetic vision cow-winning for us, horse-winning, and prizewinning, make it manfully to be pursued."

Also *sána*-: *su-ṣána*- 'easy to win' in RV 1.42.6c *dhánāni suṣáṇā kr̥dhi* 'make the stakes easy for us to win.' Accent and meaning make identification of the SMC with *sáni*- m. 'prize, thing won, plunder' unlikely.

3.2.8   °*svani-* 'roaring, sounding'

tuvi-ṣváṇi- 'resounding mightily', 7x, usually predicative/appositional, e.g.:

> RV 1.127.6a   **sá** hí śárdho ná mā́rutam **tuviṣváṇir**
> "For he is very noisy like the Marut troop, ..."

mahiṣváṇi- 'roaring greatly', 1x substantival, RV 8.46.18. Also *a*-stem *svaná-* m. 'roaring, thundering, thunder' (14x), cp. *vā́ta-svana-* 'roaring like the wind' (RV 8.102.5, attributive)

3.3   Unclear

3.3.1   °*dari-* 'splitting, splitter'

go-dari- 'cow-splitter' (epithet of Indra), 1x in RV 8.92.11, besides °*dará-* 'splitting, splitter': *puraṁ-dará-* 'fortress-splitter' (epithet of Indra; Agni), 11x, always with inflected noun as first member of compound (FMC), substantival/predicative, e.g.:

> RV 8.1.8a-b: prā́smai gāyatrám arcata   vāvátur **yáḥ puraṃdaráḥ** |
> "Chant forth a song to him who cleaves strongholds for his favorite"

3.3.2   °*duri-* 'splitting'

ā-duri-, personal name in voc. ('one who splits open, makes accessible', RV 4.30.24), EWA I: 703: < *°*dr̥H-i-* (vs. *aniṭ*-version *dari-*?). Also RV *durá-* m. 'breaker, splitter' (+gen., EWA I: 732):

3.4   Other

3.4.1   °*dhi-* 'place, placement'

°*dhi-* is found in SMC of Tatpuruṣa compounds and belongs to *dhā* 'put, place', e.g. *ādhí-* m 'deposit', *paridhí-* m 'enclosure', *apidhí-* m 'cover', *udadhí-* m 'water container; cloud', etc.

- More likely an original *i*-stem *d^hh_1-í-* than taken from the paradigm of the root noun *dhá-* (cp. Jamison 1988)

- Derivational basis *d^hh_1-ó-* may be attested in, e.g., AV *nāma-dhá-* 'name-giving' (but RV *nāma-dhā́-*), *ratna-dhá-* 'allocating goods' (besides more common *ratna-dhā́-*) and maybe Gk. *agathós* 'good' (< *$m̥ĝh_2$-d^hh_1-ó-*, NIL: 100)

- Derivation: X-d^hh_1ó- 'placing, setting down X' → X-d^hh_1í- 'X-place, X-placement'

3.4.2   °*gri-*

tuvi-grí-, epithet of Indra, besides *tuvi-grá-* (both hapax in the RV) < *tuvi*° 'strong, much' + *°*$g^u r̥h_3$-o/i-* 'much-devouring'? (EWA I: I, 659, *$g^u erh_3$* 'devour')

Geldner 1951 'laut schreiend, lautrufend' ('yelling loudly'), Jamison and Brereton 2014 'powerfully spirited' (°*vigrá-* 'lively, strong'?) for both instances.

> RV 2.21.2:   abhibhúve *a*bhibhaṅgā́ya vanvate   áṣāḷhāya sáhamānāya vedháse |
> **tuvigráye váhnaye** duṣṭárītave   satrāsā́he náma índrāya vocata ||
> "To him dominating, breaking, conquering, to the never overpowered, overpowering adept; to him, the powerfully spirited draught horse, impossible to surpass; to him overpowering in every way–to Indra speak homage."

> RV 1.140.9a-b: adhīvāsám pári mātú rihánn áha   **tuvigrébhiḥ sátvabhir** yāti ví jráyaḥ |
> "Licking all around his mother's [=earth's] over-garment, he drives across the expanse with his powerfully spirited warriors, ..."

No metrical reason for the variation, both instances occur at the beginning of a Jagatī line (*a*-stem

dat.sg. in RV 2.21.2c would fit nicely with *áṣāḷhāya* in the preceding line). Both attributive.

3.4.3 °*rabhi-* 'grasping, seizing'?

su-rabhí- 'fragrant' (< *'seizing' ?!), usually taken to belong to *rabh* 'seize' (cp. *rábhi-* f 'grasping, holding; pillar'). If so (semantics?) this would belong to the oxytone class in section 2.1.

4   Conclusion

- Only a small group of compounds with *i*-stem SMC are synchronically Bahuvrīhis

- Neither these nor the VGC usually have a corresponding simplex *i*-stem. Exceptions:
  - *tují-* f. 'propagation' : *ā-tují-*, but the latter is not a Bahuvrīhi (so the analysis of the SMC as reflecting the f. simplex *i*-stem is improbable)
  - *vaní-* f. vs. °*váni-*, *rábhi-* f. vs. °*rabhí-*, *saní-* m. vs. °*sáni-*

- A few are matched by a synchronic simplex (or SMC) *a*-stem:
  - Both Bahuvrīhis, as expected: °*ardhi-* : *árdha-*, °*gandhi-* : *gandhá-*
  - 6/12 VGC: °*táni-* : *tána-*, °*bhári-* : °*bhará-* (or rather *bhára-* m. ?), °*sáni-* : °*sána-*, °*sváni-* : (°)*svaná-*, °*dari* : °*dará-*, °*duri-* : °*durá-*, maybe also °*dhí-* : °*dhá-*, °*grí-* : °*grá-*.

- predicative (or "non-attributive") use prevails for the VGC. In those cases in which a comparable *a*-stem exists, it seems to be used attributively — but there are not many examples; given metrical considerations, etc., this should not be overstated.

- Structure of 1) Bahuvrīhis[3]:

  [[[X]$_N$ [Y]]$_N$ -*i*-]

  [[[*dhūmá-*]$_N$ [*gandh-*]$_N$] -*i*-]$_{N/A}$

  (cp. [[*dví-*]$_{Num}$ [*pad-*]$_N$] -Ø]$_A$ for the same type without a derivational suffix)

- Structure of 2) VGC:

  [[[X]$_N$ [Y]$_V$]$_V$ -*i*-]$_N$ → [[X]$_N$ [Y]$_V$ -*i*-]$_{N/A}$

  [[[*vasu*]$_N$ [*van-*]$_V$]$_V$ -*i*-]$_N$

- Difference between the two groups = derivational basis, internal structure

- ... but 2) may have developed from 1) through an inner-Indic reanalysis of the SMC

- Correlation with *a*-stems and predicative use provides a (tentative) confirmation for the inherited pattern.

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[3]Cp. Fellner 2011.

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