

Grammatical irregularities in the Rigveda, Book IV

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At the 7th Conference held in Leiden 1987 I spoke on this theme, but it remains unpublished till today. As I have recently worked for a new translation of Book IV (in: *Rig-Veda. Das heilige Wissen, Dritter, vierter und fünfter Liederkreis*, übersetzt und herausgegeben von M. WITZEL, T. GOTŌ und S. SCARLATA, Verlag der Weltreligionen, Frankfurt a.M.), I would like to take up once more the same problem and examine more exhaustively. The book of *Vāmadeva* or *Vāmadevas* shows not only peculiarities in its contents, but more strikingly many irregular forms and usages of words. Such irregularities are:

In the verbal morphology *avasran* 2,19, *randhi* 22,9, *ávavrtranta* 24,4, *ví... ceti* 55,4, *ūhiyáthe* 56,6, *bhurájanta* 43,5, aorist-stem *iṣaṇa-* 16,9; 17,14; 19,4; 22,10, 23,9, *niśiṣat* 2,7; — isolated participle formations *uṣṇā-* 16,14 and *uṣámāṇa-* 22,2 for *vásāna-*, *uśámāna-* 19,4, *śucánt-* and *vavṛdhánt-* 2,17, *prastubhānā-* 3,12, *saṣmāṇā-* 17,14, *niryuvāṇā-* 48,2; — perfect optative used for the presumption of the past fact *mamṛdyur* 18,8, supposedly colloquial; — infinitives otherwise not attested *pramíye* 54,4 and *pramíyaṃ* 55,7 (cf. also *vātapramī-* 58,7), *jánitor* 6,7; — an isolated fientive-intransitive use in *sám ... jareta* 3,15, ... *jaratām* 4,8; — verbs in singular with plural subject of neuter, which is regular but not frequent in other books: 4,6, 16,20, 21,8.

Nominal forms: *jábāru* 5,7, *sātu-* 6,7, *duvasanā-* 6,10, *víyutā* 7,7, *muhuká-* 16,17; 17,12, *tavāgá-* 18,12, *káras-* 19,10, *sṛṇīya-(?)* 20,5, *ḥghāvan-* (otherwise *-vant-*) 24,8, *ādure* 30,24, *citrīṇ-* 32,2, *vidradhé* 32,23, *nitośé* 38,1, *sánutaras* 38,4, *bhariṣá-*, *dravará-* and *patamgará-* 40,2, *aṅkasá-* 40,3, *áṅkas-* 40,4, *kṣipañí-* 40,4, *kṣipañú-* 58,6, *vṛkāti* und *dabhūti-* 41,4, *joṣtár-* (*joṣtārah*) 41,9, *uhúv-as* 45,4, *prādhvané* and *sūghana-* 58,7, *prátijanyāni* 50,7,9; *sūnṛtāvarī-* 52,4, *gharmásvaras-* 55,6; *dhánutarau* 35,5, *dyāvī* 56,5 ; — many *-tár-/tar-* formations in hymn 20; — remarkable also *drapsá-* ‘banner’ 13,2, *javásā* 27,1, and *vibālī-* 30,12.

Nominal compounds: *nareṣṭhā-* 33,8, *gnāspátnī-* 34,7, *mandinispṛś-* 45,4, *índrābḥhaspátī* 49,1–6, *ardhadevá-* 42,8,9; — ten root-compounds otherwise not attested 40,2,5.

Pronouns are set often at the end of a pāda. — *utá* introduces a strophe or verse: hymn 30, 38, and strophe 40,3,4; 52,3; farther *utá* with *sma* 38,5,6,8,9; 40,3, with *syá* 38,7; 40,4, with *tyá* 30,17,18.