

# Vedic-Prose *ta*-participles with genitive “agents” revisited

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Vedic-Prose *ta*-participle structures with genitive agents, as in (1), have been discussed in some detail by Oertel (1939), Jamison (1990), and Hock (2006). Although admitting affinity with adnominal and dative-like genitives, Oertel concludes that the parallelism of instrumental and genitive in such structures shows genitive marking is an alternative to the instrumental for passive agents. Focussing on tense-aspect, Jamison argues for present-value of structures with genitive agents. Hock combines the two earlier approaches, arguing that genitives mark affected-agents and that these constructions are non-eventive, stative-intransitive, while instrumental-marked structures are eventive.

This paper argues that Hock’s distinction between non-eventive/stative-intransitive and eventive is on the right track as far as aspectual features go, but beyond that, genitive marking does not mark agency but affectedness and structures with genitive marking are comparable to oblique-agent constructions. This proposal also accounts for the fact that genitive “agents: are animate/personal (see Andersen 1986 and Oertel 1939), while instrumental agents are not restricted in this manner.

In the conclusion I consider the issue of how to reconcile the *vartamāne* of Pāṇini 2.3.67 with the Vedic-Prose tense-aspect facts, referring to earlier accounts by Cardona 1970, Jamison 1990, and Hock 2006.

(1) *agnihotrām evā + asya* [GEN] *hutām bhavati* (ŚB 11.6.2.9)  
‘The agnihotra is offered **for his benefit.**’

Or: ‘The agnihotra is offered by him/He offered the agnihotra.’ (?)

## References

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