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TIZIANA PONTILLO

*The subordinator yáthā plus subjunctive:
Atharvavedic practice and Pāṇinian suggestions*

ABSTRACT: The present paper aims to analyse all the *Śaunakīya-Atharvaveda* occurrences of *yáthā* plus subjunctive in order to understand their syntactic-semantic status. This work notably relies on Pāṇini's grammar (4th c. BCE), which describes such clauses as cases of co-occurrence of two verbal bases linked by a cause-effect relationship, rather than being grounded in a hierarchy of matrix and subordinate clauses.

KEYWORDS: Vedic *yáthā* + Subjunctive, Subordinate Clauses, *Śaunakīya* Atharvaveda, Pāṇini's Grammar, *upapada*-.

1. Introduction

The present paper focuses on the subjunctive combined with the adverbial subordinator *yáthā* (derived from the pronominal stem *yá-* plus a manner suffix) in the *Śaunakīya* recension of the *Atharvaveda*¹.

The analysis starts from a classic syntactical definition of subordinate clauses, such as that given by Lehmann (1988: 182): «If syntagms (clauses) X and Y are in a relation of clause linkage, then X is subordinate to Y if X and Y form an endocentric construction Z with Y as the head.» Nonetheless, in the course of my research, I often

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1. To limit the scope of the study, only the syntax and meaning of the subjunctive mode plus *yáthā* will be considered, leaving aside a large number of valuable studies of the morphology of the Vedic subjunctive.

wondered about the various occurrences in my linguistic Corpus in terms of a functional (i.e. pragmatic-semantic) definition of subordinate clauses such as that provided by Cristofaro (2003: 2), according to which a subordinate clause lacks illocutionary force, that is, the ability to function as an autonomous speech act. In particular, on the basis of the assumption that the usage of the subjunctive in a subordinate sentence secondarily stemmed from its usage as an independent mode, as maintained e.g. by Tichy (2006:44), I have considered that even the combination of *yáthā* with subjunctive should be studied without prejudicially assuming that it was part of a subordinate sentence. I tested all the occurrences of subjunctive forms introduced by *yáthā* collected in the *Śaunakīya Atharvaveda*², with this idea in mind. Since there is no hymn in this Saṃhitā that begins with a *yáthā* clause – leading one to assume that there is no obvious antecedent – it is clear that I am not questioning whether a *yáthā* clause can stand as a completely independent clause – something that could never be demonstrated. Rather, my aim is to understand what the relationship between the *yáthā* clause and its antecedent is, and in particular whether it is completely devoid of an illocutionary force or not. This issue perhaps could be of some interest if analysed within the broader and controversial question as to whether a true subordinate exists in Vedic which has been addressed several times in relation (see e.g. Viti 2007; 2013). Nonetheless, this question should be discussed by using the tools of a theoretical framework that incorporates the notion of subordination. Instead, after a short survey of the prevalent features of the linguistic corpus here studied, I have preferred to tackle the problematic relationship between the *yáthā* clause and its antecedent by using the linguistic tools supplied by Pāṇini's grammar, which are almost unrelated to the notion of subordination and yet seem to provide suitable tools for processing sentences with a subjunctive verb form introduced by *yathā*.

2. Linguistic data of the Corpus

At the core of both Delbrück's (1871: 17-30; 1888: 302-306) and Tichy's (2006: 27-29) reading of the Indo-European (especially Sanskrit and Greek) subjunctive lies the assumption that a comprehensive understanding of the use of both the subjunctive and the optative is only possible if we start from their basic concepts, as they are documented in the first-person singular in independent positive declarative sentences.

2. I am sincerely grateful to Mattia Capotosto who singled out the majority of these occurrences within the context of his work on a Master Degree thesis, entitled «I diversi significati dell'ottativo e del congiuntivo vedico: un'indagine condotta con l'aiuto della linguistica storica e pāṇiniana su tutte le occorrenze dei primi undici libri e nel quindicesimo della *Śaunaka-Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*» and discussed in November 2023. We also worked together on this specific syntactic structure, but the thesis dealt with in this article is fruit of a later stage of analysis of the material, whose only focus is the mentioned single structure among the many analysed in Capotosto's dissertation.

The priority of the first-person singular in such an analysis is justified by the fact that only in this form are speaker and agent always the same person, so that the first person is considered as the most basic and prototypical for all the three grammatical persons.

The semantic difference between volition and desire, both of which fall under the «higher concept of desire», is defined by Delbrück (1871: 19) on the basis of the characteristic of attainability. Due to the degree of intensity of the agent's subjective excitement, Delbrück (1871: 17) divides the usages of subjunctive into subjunctives of “volition” (Wollen) vs. subjunctive of “expectation” (Erwartung), the latter also being referred to as the “future” subjunctive.

Out of a total of 59 occurrences of subjunctive introduced by *yáthā* in the *Śaunakīya-Saṃhitā*, there are indeed only 4 first-person singular and 3 first-person plural forms, while there are 25 occurrences of second-person singular, 23 of third-person singular and 4 of third-person plural. So, at first glance, the prototypical independent subjunctive seems far removed from the material collected in the *Śaunakīya Atharvaveda*.

Let us preliminarily consider some occurrences of those considered non-prototypical (when speaker and agent are different). When the second and third persons are used, the subjunctive verb forms mainly convey the speaker's expectation, i.e. they denote something that the speaker firmly believes will happen, inasmuch as the result of a given action can actually be attained.

(1) ŚS 2.28.5:

*imám agna áyuṣe várcase naya
priyám réto varuṇa mitra rājan |
mātévāsmā adite śárma yacha
viśve devā jarádaṣṭir yáthāśat ||*

«O Agni, lead him to dear progeny for [a long] life, for splendour, O Varuṇa, o Mitra, O chieftain!

Like a mother, O Aditi, offer him shelter, **so that**, o All-gods, **he may be** one who attains old age!»

Here the agent of the subjunctive form is a third-person singular, and it is self-evident that neither the speaker nor the agent of the subjunctive *śat* has a chance to keep the **agent's** “life span” under control. Thus, the subjunctive is a mere expression of the speaker's expectation: the speaker simply prays because he is almost sure that whoever receives Aditi's help will attain old age. The intention to achieve that goal (which is beyond the agent's and speaker's control), cannot be conveyed by this subjunctive, but due to its content, this prayer sentence could be uttered as a sentence that is purely paratactic to the previous one («O All-gods, may he be one who attains old age!»).

In the following two occurrences, i.e. (2), in verse, and (3), in prose, the recipient of the first clause coincides with the agent of the clause with the subjunctive (i.e. a second- and a third-person singular respectively).

(2) ŚS 2.3.1:

*adó yád avadhāvaty
avatkām ādhi párvatāt |
tāt te kṛṇomi bheṣajām
súbheṣajam yáthāsasi ||*

«I am making that which flows down a mountain from above, that little thing that helps, a remedy for you, **so that you may be** a good remedy».

(3) ŚS 16.6.11

tád amúṣmā agne devāḥ párā vahantu vādhrir yáthāśad vithuró ná sādhuḥ ||
«O Agni, may the gods carry it away to that man, **so that he is** impotent, faltering, not good!»

In principle, following the meaning of (2) and (3), there would be nothing to prevent the subjunctive sentences from being understood as independent sentences expressing the speaker's wishes, even though their subjunctives are not first-person verbal forms. In stanza (4), it is the patient of the first clause **who** becomes the agent of the subjunctive in the second clause. **He is also** the beneficiary of the action of the previous imperative clause.

(4) ŚS 18.3.70

*púnar dehi vanaspate
yá eṣá níhitas tváyi |
yáthā yamásya śádana
āśātai vidáthā vādan ||*

«O lord of the forest, restore the one who is placed here below you, **so that he may sit** on Yama's seat giving advice!»

The attainability of the result of the action included in the prior clause, which should be reflected in the intended effect expressed by *yáthā* plus subjunctive is not ensured by any of the examples cited so far. Nonetheless, at least in the speaker's mind there is a clear cause-effect relationship, e.g. between the action requested of Vanaspati, expressed with the imperative *dehi*, and that conveyed by the subjunctive *āśātai*, i.e. the action of the dead man who will hopefully sit in the after-death world of Yama.

Indeed, not even the prototypical use of the first-person singular as agent – who in this case coincides with the speaker – always has control over the achievement of the expected desired outcome. For instance, in (5) the achievement of a long life is clearly beyond the agent's (i.e. the speaker's) control, but certainly the speaker expects it as an effect of the action conveyed by the previous clause.

(5) ŚS 8.5.19

*aindrāgnām vārma bahulām yád ugrām
viśve devā nātvídhyanti sárve |
tán me tanvām trāyatām sarvato brhád
āyusmām jarádaṣṭir yáthāsāni ||*

«May the manifold terrible armour derived from Indra and Agni – which All-Gods even taken together cannot pierce – defend my person from all directions, **so that I may be** one who has long life, one who attains old age!»

In (6) the speaker is a first-person plural and the action conveyed by the first-person plural subjunctive (*hánāma*) is merely the expected result of the indirect help hopefully given by the two mentioned demons, who the speakers hope will kill their enemies. The illocutionary force of the subjunctive clause is nevertheless not negligible and is a crucial element in expressing the speaker's attitude towards the expected result of the previous clause.

(6) ŚS 11.9.23
ārbudiś ca triṣandhiś ca-
-amitrān no ví vidhyatām |
yáthaiśām indra vṛtrahan
hánāma śacīpate
'mītrāṇāṃ sahasraśāḥ ||

«May Arbudi and Triṣandhi pierce our enemies **so that**, O Indra, slayer of Vṛtra, lord of mighty help, **we may slay** those enemies by the thousands!»

In (7), the female agent of the action conveyed by the clause preceding the *yáthā* clause is also the agent of the *yáthā* clause itself and the first person is emphasised by the use of the first-person personal pronoun (*ahám*). The fact of becoming dear to the patient of the action conveyed by the finite verbal form in the previous clause (*ní kurve*) is simply what she plans to obtain from her subduing him, but nothing more. The agent only has control over the action that precedes the *yáthā* clause, not on its effect.

(7) ŚS 7.38.2:
yénā nicakrá āsurī-
-īndram devébhyas pári |
ténā ní kurve tvām ahám
yáthā té 'sāni súpriyā ||

«By the same [means] by which the female demon has subdued Indra on account of the gods, I am subduing you, **so as to be** extremely dear to you.»

Let us now read (8), where the subjunctive first-person verbal form *virājāni* is the only verbal form appearing in the stanza. Since the one who utters the present prayer is the same person who will hopefully play the role of ruler, i.e. the agent of the action conveyed by the subjunctive *virājāni*, this verb form complies with the above-mentioned basic concept of the independent subjunctive.

ŚS 1.29.6:
sapatnakṣáyano víṣā-
-abhírāṣṭro viṣāsahīḥ |
yáthāhám eṣāṃ vīrāṇāṃ
virājāni jánasya ca ||

«A rival-destroying bull, conquering royalty, overpowering – that I may bear rule over these heroes and the people.» (tr. Whitney-Lanman 1905: 30).

The second part of the translation by Whitney and Lanman, introduced by “that”, is also not so neatly oriented as a subordinate purpose-clause. Indeed, provided that *yáthā* also means ‘namely, for example’, one could consider the subjunctive as an independent subjunctive and translate the stanza as follows:

«As a bull destroyer of enemies, conqueror of kingdoms, victorious,
may I namely rule / I namely will rule over these heroes and people!».

To sum up, on the basis of the present survey of the ŚS passages containing a subjunctive form introduced by *yáthā*, it is clear that there are some shortcomings in the classification of the usages of the subjunctive as different persons. The attainability of the outcome is not ensured even by the prototypical use of the first-person singular. Moreover, by resorting to the escamotage of reading *yáthā* not as an adverbial subordinator, but in the documented sense of “namely”, it might not be so difficult to read all the surveyed *yáthā* clauses as paratactic clauses, i.e. merely adjacent to and related to the preceding clause.

There is no doubt that the *yáthā* clause in (8) has its own illocutionary force. On the other hand, this unique verbal form is accent-pitched and a commonly accepted rule states that «The verb in an independent clause is unaccented, unless it stands at the beginning of the clause – or also, in metrical text, at the beginning of a *pāda*», while «the verb is accented, whatever its position, in a dependent clause» (Whitney 1889: 223; 225).

3. The accent of verb forms

For several scholars, such as Elizarenkova (1995: 63) or Lowe (2024: 63), the mentioned rule on the verbal accent is extremely important in terms of syntactic division. Some of them (e.g. Oldenberg 1906: 725 and Klein 1992: 67) state that accent is the marker of subordination, in the sense that a first sentence becomes the basis of a second one.

This important tool for syntactic analysis was already recorded at least in the 4th c. BCE by Pāṇini’s grammar as follows:

Aṣṭādhyāyī [A] 8.1.28: *tiññ atīnaḥ [padasya 16 padāt 17 anudāttam sarvam apādādau 18]*

«A finite inflected verbal form occurs entirely with no high-pitched vowel after an inflected form which is not a finite verb form unless it occurs at the beginning of a quarter verse»³.

3. According to Cardona (1999: 193), by means of this rule «Pāṇini accounts for utterances in which a

In other words, according to Pāṇini, a finite verb form is commonly unaccented, but there are some exceptions. First of all, a finite verb form retains its high-pitched vowel when it follows another finite verb form (i.e. a *tiŃ* form and not an *atiŃ* form), or when it occurs at the beginning of a quarter verse (*pādādaṁ*). Moreover, there are minor exceptions, when the verb form is accented, such as the following one, which lists a series of indeclinables that often introduce sentences which are commonly defined as “subordinates”, especially temporal, causal and hypothetical clauses:

A 8.1.30: *nipātair yadyadihantakuvinnececcaṅkaccidyatrayuktam* [*padasya* 16 *padāt* 17 *anudāttam sarvam* 18 *tiñ* 28 *na* 29]

An inflected verbal form that occurs with *yád* ‘that’, *yádi* ‘if’, *hánta* ‘oh’, *kuvíd* ‘perhaps’, *néd* ‘not indeed’, *céd*, *ca* ‘if’, *káccid* ‘hopefully’, *yátra* ‘where’ does not occur entirely without a high-pitched vowel.

Some scholars indeed consider these accent rules as a secondary feature. For instance, Viti (2007: 54) – who is even more generally persuaded that subordination in Vedic was underdeveloped with respect to other Indo-European languages – considers this accent rule as a pure «epiphenomenon of a semantic relation between two clauses», which does not demonstrate a genuine subordination feature of the sentence including an accented finite verb form. Although Elizarenkova (1995: 251) is convinced of the importance of this rule of verbal accent, she observes that the category of subordination could be better replaced by that of semantic dependence, because «the finite verb always bears the accent in subordinate clauses of compound sentences with explicit markers of syntactic subordination, as well as in sentences with no formally marked hypotaxis».

In fact, as we shall see, even in Pāṇini’s grammar, the crucial point is rather the presence of a second finite verb (i.e. another *tiŃ* form) and not a subordination relation between two clauses. The accented finite verbs bearing the accent are «dependent on some other sentences in a given wider context, and the utterances contained in them can be treated as conditioned by some other utterance, as opposed to it or in some way connected with it» (Elizarenkova 1995: 251). This accent is considered as the outcome of a special emphasis placed on a verbal form which needs to be completed from a semantic point of view (Delbrück 1888: 37-38).

All in all, we cannot be sure why the subjunctive form *virājāni* in (8) is accented because it occurs exactly at the beginning of the fourth quarter of stanza. Thus, whatever its syntactic nature may be, it should still be accented, i.e. we do not know whether there is any other reason for it to be accented apart from its position in the stanza. Furthermore, the absence of another finite verb form in the whole stanza does not make it easy to decide what the status of *virājāni* is. However, it is acceptable to

finite verbal form retains a high-pitched vowel by virtue of following another finite verb form». See also Cardona (1983: 129).

consider the first hemistich of (8) as a nominal clause that plays the role of a main clause in the sense of «I am a bull destroyer of enemies, conqueror of kingdoms, victorious», with respect to the sentence including *yáthā* plus subjunctive (translated as a subordinate: «so that I will be the ruler of these heroes and people»). Furthermore, even though this occurrence falls within the prototypical use of the independent subjunctive, and it is difficult to ignore the illocutionary force of this subjunctive verb compared to the rest of the stanza, this is the only case in the entire corpus that presents this ambiguity for the accent and is not accompanied by a preceding clause with an explicit verb.

4. Pāṇini's perspective

Let us now attempt to cross-reference the data collected on the basis of the praxis studied in the *Śaunakīya-Saṃhitā* with the rules of Pāṇini's grammar. First of all, let us recall that there is no specific rule explaining how *yáthā* should be used, nor do we find any rule devoted to subordination phenomena, at least not in the common linguistic sense, which is no help in drawing a clear boundary between co-ordination and subordination.

Indeed, no special rule exists to teach the meaning conveyed by the subjunctive. Pāṇini basically describes Vedic linguistic phenomena exclusively when they are not included in the contemporary spoken Sanskrit of the learned (the so-called *śiṣṭa*) speakers⁴. Since the subjunctive was productive in the *R̥gveda* and *Atharvaveda* and was then restricted to the first-person forms and used within the imperative paradigm, Pāṇini plausibly considered that his audience was able to understand the meaning of the Vedic subjunctive through the rules he taught for the optative, which was instead really productive in his age. He thus provided the following hinge rule⁵:

A 3.4.7 *liṅarthe leṭ* [*paraś ca* 3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* 3.1.91]

«The substitutes of *leṭ* (i.e. of the subjunctive mood) occur [after a verbal base 3] to denote the sense of the substitutes of *liṅ* (i.e. of the optative mood).»

In brief, the rules for the subjunctive mood are to be obtained from those taught for the optative⁶. One of the last and the most complex rules among the twenty-four Pāṇini devotes to the optative mood is the rule that could account for all the independent subjunctive forms.

4. There are over two hundred *Aṣṭādhyāyī* rules dealing with Vedic special features; some other rules are explicitly restricted to the common language (*bhāṣā*), while the bulk of the non-restricted rules, *de facto* apply to both, as convincingly shown by Deshpande 1985. See also Deshpande 1993: 95; Kiparsky 2012: 327; Candotti-Pontillo 2022: 1.

5. The definition of A 3.4.7 as a “hinge rule” is by Dōyama (2021: 329).

6. For a complete survey of these rules, see Dōyama 2021.

A 3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhīṣṭasampraśnaprārthaneṣu liṅ* [*paraś ca* 3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* 3.1.91]

«The substitutes of IIN̄ (optative mood) occur [after a verbal base] to denote a command or rule (*vidhi*), an invitation to do something necessary (*nimantraṇa*), an authorisation (*āmantraṇa*), an obsequious invitation (*adhīṣṭha*), a deliberation to do something (*sampraśna*) and a prayer (*prārthanā*).»

Two of the most interesting of the other rules are those teaching that expectation (*sambhāvana*) is also conveyed by the optative mood, and thus plausibly by the Vedic subjunctive mood. This is important in semantic terms because of what we noticed in the surveyed occurrences about expectation.

A 3.3.154 *sambhāvane 'lam iti cet siddhāprayoge* [*liṅ* 152 *paraś ca* 3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* 3.1.91]

[The substitutes of IIN̄ (optative mood) occur after a verbal base] to denote expectation (that someone is capable of performing the action) provided that the word *alam* (and synonyms) is not actually used.

A 3.3.155 *vibhāṣā dhātau sambhāvanavacane 'yadi* [*liṅ* 152 *paraś ca* 3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* 3.1.91]

Marginally [the substitutes of IIN̄ (optative mood)] occur [after a verbal base] when co-occurring with a verbal base denoting expectation, unless used with *yad* 'that'.

The commentarial examples of the application of this rule of course make use of the optative mood: *sāmbhāvayāmi bhuñjītā/bhoksyāte bhāvān* «I expect that you will eat». The future tense also conveys expectation, but when *yad* occurs only the optative can be used.

In accordance with A 3.4.7 these teachings are assumed to be also extended to the Vedic subjunctive, but we cannot be sure that Pāṇini really extended all the teachings devoted to the optative to the subjunctive. However, what is extremely interesting is that this rule and another four rules (A 3.3.155-159) in this series make it clear how Pāṇini deals with subordination as the co-occurrence of two verbal bases – in this case the verbal bases *sambhū-* 'to expect' and *bhuj-* 'to eat'. In fact, in accordance with the metalinguistic rule A 3.1.92⁷, the locative *dhātau* means «when a[nother] verbal base co-occurs».

Other commentarial examples governed by this mechanism of co-occurrence of two verbal bases are the following:

- *icchāmi bhuñjītā /bhuñktām* «I wish you would eat» (A 3.3.157) with an optative (*bhuñjītā*) or an imperative form (*bhuñktām*) subordinated to a main verb expressing 'wish';

7. *tatropapadam saptamīṣṭham* «In this section the noun ending in the seventh ending (i.e. inflected in the locative case) is called *upapada* (i.e. the co-occurring inflected word)».

- *icchatī bhóktum* «He wishes to eat» (A 3.3.158) with an infinitive form (*bhóktum*) subordinated to a main verb expressing ‘wish’ with the same agent;
- *bhuñjīyetīcchati* «He wishes to eat», lit. «“I should eat” – he wishes» (A 3.3.159) with an optative form (*bhuñjīyá*) subordinated to a main verb expressing ‘wish’ with the same agent.

In my opinion, if this group of rules taught for the optative has actually to be transferred to the subjunctive, the following aphorism might have been the right rule which also accounted for the collocation made up of *yáthā* plus subjunctive in Pāṇini’s grammar.

A 3.3.156 *hetu hetumatōr liṅ* [paraś ca 3.1.2 dhātoḥ 3.1.91]

«Substitutes for IIN are introduced [after a verbal base] to denote **cause and effect.**»

The classic commentarial example is *dakṣiṇena ced yāyāt na śakataṃ paryābhavet* «If he had gone to the right, the cart would not have overturned.» and all the traditional examples are hypothetical clauses with an optative verb form used for both the protasis and the apodosis. Nonetheless the clauses involving the collocation made up of *yáthā* and subjunctive also actually convey the effect (*hetumat*) of what is signified by the verbal form of the adjacent clause, which instead conveys the sense of cause (*hetu*). This is not so distant from Speijer’s (1886: 364) explanation regarding the use of *yáthā*: «*yáthā* points to the result, either effected or aimed at».

All the occurrences cited above can be read in this way. Let us consider for instance (1) and (5):

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1c) <i>mātēvāsmā adīte śārma yacha</i>
HETU | «Like a mother, O Aditi, offer him shelter, |
| (1d) <i>viśve devā jarādaṣṭir yáthāśat</i>
attains old age! HETUMAT | so that , o All-gods, he may be one who |
| (5c) <i>tān me tanvāṃ trāyatām sarvāto bṛhād</i>
person from all directions, HETU | «May [the armour] defend my |
| (5d) <i>āyusmāṃ jarādaṣṭir yáthāśāni</i>
who attains old age!» HETUMAT | so that I may be one who has long life, one |

In both these examples, the effect (*hetumat*) is indeed the object of the “expectancy” of the speaker who prays that something will happen. The agent of the action conveyed by the verb marked as cause (*hetu*) is not the same as the agent of the verb marked as an effect.

In (7) where the agent of both clauses is the same, i.e. the female speaker, expressed in the first-person singular, the effect is indeed what she desires.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------|
| (7c) <i>tēnā nī kurve tvām ahām</i> | « I am subduing you, | HETU |
| (7d) <i>yáthā té ’sāni śupriyā</i> | so as to be extremely dear to you. | HETUMAT |

There are even examples of stanzas where the same clause works as *hetumat* and *hetu* at the same time with respect to another three clauses and another clause respectively, such as in (9).

(9) ŚS 1.16.4		
<i>yádi no gāṃ háṃsi</i>	If you slay our cow,	HETU
<i>yády áśvaṃ</i>	if (you slay our) horse,	HETU
<i>yádi pūruṣam </i>	if (you slay our) servant,	HETU
<i>tām tvā śísena vidhyāmo</i>	we will wound you with lead,	HETUMAT
<i>yáthā nó 'so ávīrahā </i>	so that you may be not a slayer of our heroes.	HETU
		HETUMAT

The verbal base (*dhātu*) of the subjunctive form *vidhyāmaḥ* ‘we will wound’ denotes the effect (*hetumat*), namely as an apodosis of three hypothetical short sentences, i.e. a threefold protasis clause (i.e. its threefold *hetu*), but it is the cause (i.e. the *hetu*) of the following one introduced by *yáthā*. The accent marks the verb forms involved in all the clauses except for *vidhyāmaḥ*.

Even stanza (8) clearly denotes a *hetumat*, even though the accent is not unequivocal, because the subjunctive verb form introduced by *yáthā*, i.e. *virājāni*, is at the beginning of a *pāda* and thus retains its accent by default (and not necessarily in order to signal subordination). In fact, if we pay attention to the context in which the analysed collocation takes place, instead of isolating the single linguistic forms, with the risk of impairing the understanding of the text, we realise that in the previous stanza an aorist form *agāt* plays the role of *hetu* with respect to the *hetumat* *ásāni* as the copula of a series of noun predicates.

(8) ŚS 1.29.5:	
<i>úd asaú sūryo agād</i>	
<i>úd idám māmakám vácaḥ </i>	
<i>yáthāhám śatruhó 'sāny</i>	
<i>asapatnáḥ sapatnahā </i>	
The yonder sun went up, this spell of mine [went] up, so that I may be slayer of foes, without enemies, slayer of enemies!	

As a consequence, the whole stanza (8) can easily play the role of a further *hetumat* whose *hetu* is contained in stanza (12). In the following freshly proposed translation, (1) constitutes a subordinate clause with respect to *pādas* cd of (12), whose remote *hetu* consists in *pādas* ab of (12).

«**so that**, as a bull destroyer of enemies, conqueror of kingdoms, victorious, **I will rule** these heroes and people!

If the interpretation here advanced for A 3.3.156 – which is far from the traditional one – is right, the same rule should account for a wide range of clauses, i.e. at least

hypothetical, causal, purpose-, result- clauses. In other words, it does not matter if these clauses represent the cause (*hetu*) or the effect (*hetumat*) because, according to the grammarian, the speaker must merely pay attention to the cause-effect relationship between two verbal bases, i.e. to the two actions or eventualities they convey.

5. Conclusion

Even though the accent on the subjunctive accompanied by *yáthā* clearly shows a precise relationship with another verb form, it is difficult to analyse the *yáthā* clauses as being really devoid of an illocutionary force, because of their ability to function as an autonomous speech act, independently of the specific person used as their agent. What actually prevails in a sentence including a *yáthā* clause is the cause-effect relationship between the latter and another (previous) clause. The co-occurrence of two verbal bases, i.e. the combination of two actions in the same sentence, is at the core of Pāṇini's reflection, when he analyses what is commonly envisioned as hierarchy between matrix sentence and subordinate.

Here follows a table of the whole corpus of 59 occurrences studied for this research, ordered in accordance with the person used as the agent of the *yáthā* clause. At least as far as the clauses introduced by *yáthā* are concerned, the relationship with another clause results as being well developed and standardized with regular features – as data from Vedic praxis and Pāṇini's linguistic description seems to overtly show. The lexicon involved is quite restricted, with 35 occurrences of the verb *as-* and 6 of the verb *han-* and second- and third-person singular are prevalent.

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	Quotation	Text	Translation	Verbal person	1 st /2 nd /3 rd sg = singular du = dual pl = plural
	ŚS = <i>Śaunakīya-Saṃhitā</i>		(<i>yāthā</i> and the <i>hetumat</i> verb form and the relevant translation are digitised in bold)	<i>hetu</i>	<i>hetumat</i>
1.	1.29.6 = (8)	<i>sapatnakṣāyano vṛṣā- abhirāṣtro viśāśahī yāthāhām eṣāṃ vīrādāṃ virājāni</i> īanasya ca	[see main clause (<i>agāt</i>) in (12)] so that , as a bull destroyer of enemies, conqueror of kingdoms, victorious, I will rule these heroes and people!	1 st sg	1 st sg
2.	3.5.5	<i>ā māruṣat pāṇamaṣṭir māhvā arisṭātāye yāthāhām tittarō śāṇy aryamānā utā samvidah </i>	The pāṇa-amulet has come upon me for the purpose of great security, so that I may be superior to patron and ally!	3 rd sg	1 st sg
3.	7.38.2 = (7)	<i>yēnā nīcakrā āsuri- -indram devēbhvas pāri tēnā nī kurve tvām dhām yāthā tē śānī supriṣā </i>	By the same [means] by which the female demon has subdued Indra on account of the gods, I am subduing you, so as to be extremely dear to you.	1 st sg	1 st sg
4.	8.5.19 = (5)	<i>aindrāgnām vārma bahulām yād ugrām viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve tām me tanvām trāyatām sarvato bṛhād āyusmāṃ jarādaṣṭir yāthāśāni </i>	May the manifold terrible armour derived from Indra and Agni – which all gods even taken together cannot pierce– defend my person from all directions, so that I may be one who has long life, one who attains old age!	3 rd sg	1 st sg
5.	6.97.1	<i>abhibhār vajñō abhibhār agnir abhibhāt sōmo abhibhār indrah abhy ā thām viśvāḥ pṛtana yāthāśāny evā vidhemāgnihotrā idām havī </i>	Superior is sacrifice, superior is Agni, superior is Soma, superior is Indra. In order that I may be superior to all (enemy) armies, we should honour this offering with the oblation to Agni.	1 st sg	1 st pl
6.	8.8.1	<i>indro manthatu mānthiā śakrāḥ śārāḥ purandardāḥ yāthā hānāma sēnā amitrāṇāḥ sahasraśāḥ </i>	May Indra the mighty shaker, the heroic one, the destroyer of strongholds shake [them], so that we may slay the armies of our enemies by the thousands!	3 rd sg	1 st pl
7.	11.9.23	<i>śakrāḥ sārāḥ purandardāḥ -amitrāṇā no vī vidhyatām yāthāśāṃ indra vītrahan hānāma śacipate mitrāṇāṃ sahasraśāḥ </i>	May Arbudi and Triśandhi pierce our enemies so that , O Indra, slayer of Vṛtra, lord of mighty help, we may slay those enemies by the thousands.	3 rd pl	1 st pl
8.	1.16.4	<i>yādī no gām hānāsi yādī āsvaṃ yādī pāruṣam tām tvā sīsena vidhyāmo yāthā nō śo āvīrahā </i>	If you slay our cow, if (you slay our) horse, if (you slay our) man, we will wound you with lead, so that you may not be a slayer of our heroes.	1 st pl	2 nd sg

THE SUBORDINATOR *YÁTHĀ* PLUS SUBJUNCTIVE

9.	1.34.5	<i>pāri tvā paritānānā- -kṣiṇāgām āvidiṣe yāthā mān kāmīny āso yāthā mān nāpaga āsah </i>	Around you I have come with an enveloping reed to drive out all hatred, so that you may be one (f. = a woman) who loves me, that you may not be one (f.) who turns away from me!	1 st sg	2 nd sg
10.					2 nd sg
11.	2.3.1 = (2)	<i>adō yād avadhāvaty avatkām ādhi pārvatāt tāt te kṛṇomi bhesajām sibheshajām yāthāśasi </i>	I am making that which flows down a mountain from above, that little thing that helps, a remedy for you, so that you may be a good remedy.	1 st sg	2 nd sg
12.	2.28.4	<i>dyāvā yā pītā prthivī mātā jātarṇiṇyūṃ kṛnūtām samvidānē yāthā jīvā āditer upāsthe prāṇāpūnābhvām guptiāḥ śatām himāḥ </i>	May Father Heaven and Mother Earth, in agreement, grant you a death of old age, so that you may live in the embrace of Aditi protected by <i>prāṇa</i> and <i>apāna</i> for a hundred winters!	3 rd du	2 nd sg
13.	2.30.1	<i>yāthēdām bhīmnyā ādhi trīṇam vāto mathāvāt evā mathānāmi te māno yāthā mān kāmīny āso yāthā mān nāpaga āsah </i>	As the wind shakes this grass on the earth, so I am shaking your mind, so that you may be one (f. = a woman) who loves me, that you may not be one (f.) who turns away from me!	1 st sg	2 nd sg
14.					2 nd sg
15.	3.17.8	<i>sīte vāndāmahe tvārvācī subhage bhava yāthā naḥ sumanā āso yāthā naḥ suphalā bhīvaḥ </i>	O furrow, we pay you homage, o fortunate one (f.), be you turned downward, so that you may be benevolent to us, so that you will be fruitful to us!	2 nd sg	2 nd sg
16.	4.1.7	<i>yó 'tharvānam pītāram devābandhum brhaspatīn nāmasāva ca gāchāt tvām visvexām janiitā yāthāśah kavir devō nā dābhāya svadhāvān </i>	Whoever shall approach with homage [you (Vena) as] father Atharvan, who has a connection with the gods, Brhaspati – you (Vena) will be the progenitor of all [these], so that you may be poet as a god, undecivable, master of your intrinsic law.	3 rd sg	2 nd sg
17.	4.8.6	<i>abhi tvā vāreśāsicann āpo divyāḥ pāvasvatīḥ yāthāśo miravārdhanas tāhā tvā savitā karat </i>	The divine waters rich in milk have flowed over you with splendour. Let the god Savitr make you thus, so that you may be one who increases friends.	3 rd sg	2 nd sg
18.	5.8.7	<i>yān asāv atisarāṇs cakāra kṛvāvac ca yān tvām tān indra vītrahan pratīcath pūnar ā kṛdhi yāthānām īrādhūn jānam </i>	What efforts that one has made and what, if any, he will make, you, O Indra slayer of Vritra, turn them back again, so that they may smash that person.	2 nd sg	2 nd sg
19.	6.8.1	<i>yāthā vīkṣām libujā sanantām pariśasvajē evā pāri svajasva mām yāthā mān kāmīny āso yāthā mān nāpaga āsah </i>	As the creeper embraced the tree on all sides, so you embrace me, so that you may not be one (f.) who turns away from me!	2 nd sg	2 nd sg
20.					2 nd sg
21.	6.42.3	<i>abhi tiṣṭhāmi te manyūṃ pārsnyā prāpadena ca yāthāśo nā vādīṣo māma citām upāyasi </i>	I tread on your fury with my heel and toe, so that you cannot speak uncontrolledly and you may come close to my mind.	1 st sg	2 nd sg
22.					2 nd sg
23.	6.111.2	<i>agnis te nī samayatu yāti te māna idūtam kṛṇōmi vidvān bhesajām</i>	May Agni make you calm, if your mind is confused. I prepare, knowing it, a remedy, so that you may be unexcited.	1 st sg	2 nd sg

24.	6.111.4	<i>yāthānumadiō śasi </i> <i>pīnas tvādur apsarāsah </i> <i>pīnar indrah pīnar bhāgah </i> <i>pīnas tvādur vīśve devā</i> <i>yāthānumadiō śasi </i>	May the Apsaras return you (healthy), may Indra again, may Bhaga again, may all the gods return you (healthy), so that you may be unexcited.	3 rd pl	2 nd sg
25.	7.37.1	<i>abhi tvā mānujātēna</i> <i>dādāmi māmā vāsasā </i> <i>yāthāso māmā kēvala</i> <i>nānyāsam kīrtavāsā camā </i>	I bridle you with this Manu-born garment of mine, so that you may be exclusively mine, and not mention others (i.e. other women)!	1 st sg	2 nd sg
26.	7.113.1	<i>tṛṣṭike tṛṣṭavandana</i> <i>tā amīṇā chindhī tṛṣṭike </i> <i>yāthā kṛtadvīśāso</i> <i>mīśmai śēpyāvate </i>	O rugged woman, O you who are marked by a rugged eruption, eradicate that, O rugged woman, so that you may be one who has shown anger to the one with a tail.	2 nd sg	2 nd sg
27.	8.2.13	<i>agnēs te prāṇam amṛtād</i> <i>āyusmato vame jātavedasah </i> <i>yāthā nā rīṣyā amṛtaḥ sajūr āsas</i> <i>tāt te kṛṇomi tād u te sām rēhyatām </i>	I am winning your breath from Agni the immortal, from the long-lived Jātavedas, so that you may have no harm and may be immortal united [with him]: I am doing this for you, let it be successful for you!	1 st sg	2 nd sg
28.				2 nd sg	2 nd sg
29.	14.1.20	<i>bhāgas tvetō nayatu</i> <i>hastagṛhyāśvina tvā prā vahatām rāthēna </i> <i>grhāṇ gac-ha grhāpatni yāthāso</i> <i>vasinī tvam vidāham ā vadāsi </i>	Let Bhaga lead you from here, grasping your hand; let the Aśvins carry you forth by means of a chariot; go to the houses, so that you may be the householder's wife, living [there], you shall speak to the assembly.	2 nd sg	2 nd sg
30.	14.1.50	<i>grhāmi te saubhagatvāya hāstaṁ</i> <i>māvā pāvā jarādāstir yāthāśah </i> <i>bhāgo aryanā savitā pūraṇdhir</i> <i>mānyam tvādur gārhapatīvāya devāt </i>	I am grasping your hand for your good-fortune, so that you may be with me as my husband, as one who attains old age! Bhaga, Aryanam, Savitr, Purandhi, the gods have given you to me for the government of the family.	1 st sg	2 nd sg
31.	14.2.75	<i>prā budhyasva subhāhā budyamānā</i> <i>dṛghāyurvāya satāsārādāya </i> <i>grhāṇ gac-ha grhāpatni yāthāso</i> <i>dīrghām ta āvuh savitā kṛnotu</i>	Go on waking, waking vigilant, until the duration of a hundred autumns; go into the houses, so that you may be the householder's wife; may Savitr make a long life for you!	2 nd sg	2 nd sg
32.	16.6.11 = (3)	<i>tād amīśnā agne devāt pāra vahantu</i> <i>vāghrit-yāthāśad viturō nā sādūh</i>	O Agni, may the gods carry away it to that man, so that he is impotent, faltering, not good!	3 rd pl	2 nd sg
33.	1.22.2	<i>pāri tvā rōhitair vānair</i> <i>dṛghāyurvāya dadhimasi </i> <i>yāthāyam arapā āsad</i> <i>ātho āharito bhūvat </i>	We are covering you with red colours for the whole span of your life, so that he may be unharmed: thus he should not turn yellow (due to jaundice).	1 st pl	3 rd sg
34.	2.28.4 = (1)	<i>imān agna āyuse vārcase naya</i> <i>prīyam rēo varuna mitra rājan </i> <i>mātēvāsmā adite śārma yacha</i> <i>vīśve devā jarādāstir yāthāśat </i>	O Agni, lead him to dear progeny for [a long] life, for splendour, O Varuṇa, o Mitra, O chieftain! Like a mother, O Aditi, offer him shelter, so that , o All-gods, he may be one who attains old age!	2 nd sg	3 rd sg
35.	2.31.3	<i>algāpātān hanti mahatā vadhēna</i> <i>dātā adinā arasā abhūvan </i> <i>śiśān āśištān nī tirāmi vācā</i> <i>yāthā brimīṇām nākir uchīṣṭai </i>	I am smiting the Algaṇḍus to death with a great deadly weapon: burnt or unburnt, they have become harmless. I subdue those who are left and those who are not left with my spell, so that therefore not one of the worms may survive (lit. remain as leftover).	1 st sg	3 rd sg

36.	3.11.3	<i>sahasraśikṣā śatāvṛyena śatāvṛśā haviṣṭarṣam enam indro yáthānam śarādo náyāy āti</i> <i>visvasya durtāśya pāram </i>	I have taken him with an oblation provided with a hundred eyes, a hundred heroes and a hundred lives, so that Indra may lead him through the years (lit. autumns) beyond the extreme bank of all evil.	1 st sg	3 rd sg
37.	3.20.6	<i>indraviyā ubhāv itā sukāvelā havāmahe yáthā nah sárva ij jānah sāṃgaṇyān sumānā āśad dānakāmaś ca no bhūvat </i>	We are invoking both Indra and Vāyū here with a good invocation, so that every man may be benevolent towards us in meetings (s.) and will become eager to give to us	1 st pl	3 rd sg
38.	3.25.5	<i>ājāni tvājanyā pāri mātūr āho pītūh yáthā māma krātāv āso māma citām upāyasi </i>	I am urging you with a good away from your mother as well as from your father, so that you may be in my power, that you may come close to my mind!	1 st sg	3 rd sg
39.					3 rd sg
40.	4.13.4	<i>trāyantiām imām devās trāyantiām marutiām gaṇāh trāyantiām visvā bhūtāni yáthāyām arapā āsat </i>	Let the gods rescue this [man]. Let the arrays of Maruts rescue [him]. Let all living beings rescue [him], in order that he may be free from disease.	3 rd pl	3 rd sg
41.	5.14.4	<i>pīnah krīyām krīyākrīte hastagrīhya parā naya samakśām asmā ā dhehi yáthā krīyākrītam hānat </i>	Lead away, again, witchcraft back to the one who makes witchcraft, having seized his hands. Place him in full view before him, so that he may slay the one who makes witchcraft.	2 nd sg	3 rd sg
42.	5.29.2	<i>tāthā tād agne krīṇu jātavedo visvebhīr devāih sahā samvidānāh yó no didēva yatamō jaghāsa yáthā sō asyā paridhīs pātāti </i>	O Agni, O Jātavedas, therefore do this in agreement with all the gods, so that this enclosure of his may fall [on] the one who played against us and who devoured us at the highest level!	2 nd sg	3 rd sg
43.	5.29.3	<i>yáthā sō asyā paridhīs pātāti tāthā tād agne krīṇu jātavedah visvebhīr devāih sahā samvidānāh </i>	In order that his enclosure may fall [on him], O Agni, O Jātavedas, therefore do this in agreement with all the gods	2 nd sg	3 rd sg
44.	6.64.3	<i>saṃanī va āktāih saṃanā bṛdayāni vah saṃanām astu vo māno yáthā vah sisahāsati </i>	Let your intention be the same, let your hearts be the same. Let your mind be the same, so that for you it may be good to be together!	3 rd sg	3 rd sg
45.	6.81.3	<i>yām parihasiām ābhibhar āditiḥ putrakarmā tvāṣṭā tām asyā ā badhnād yáthā putrān jānād iti </i>	Let Tvastṛ tie the amulet placed around the hand that Aditi wore, when she desired children, for her, [saying:] “[this is,] so that she may beget a son!”	3 rd sg	3 rd sg
46.	6.130.3	<i>yáthā māma smānād asū nāmāyāhām kadā canā devāh prā hinuta smarām asū mām ānu śocatu </i>	In order that that man may think of me, not me of him at all times, O gods send me love and burn that man for me!	2 nd sg 3 rd sg	3 rd sg
47.	7.90.3	<i>yáthā śépo apāyātai sṛṣṭu cāśad ānāvayāh avasthaya kladivatah sāṅkurāśya nitodinaḥ yād ātām āva tāt tanu</i>	In order that the male organ may go away , and may be impotent among women, tense downwards that which is tense of the membrum virile – which is moist, peg-like, penetrating, tense down that which is tense up!	2 nd sg	3 rd sg
48.					3 rd sg

49.	8.5.21		<i>yád ūtatam ní tát tamu </i> <i>asminā indro ní dadhātu nrmāṇān</i> <i>itām devāso abhisānvīśadhvam </i> <i>ḍṅghāyurvāyā śatāsāradāya-</i> <i>āyusmān jarādāstir yāthāsat </i>	In this (amulet) may Indra place this courage, O gods, enter into it together, for his long life, so that he may be one whose life lasts for a hundred autumns and one who attains old age!	3 rd sg	
50.	8.7.22		<i>tasyāmānṛasyemām bālam</i> <i>pūṣaṇ pāyāmasi </i> <i>ātho kṛṇomi bhṛṣjām</i> <i>yāthāśac chatāhavanah </i>	We are making this man drink the strength of this <i>ambrosia</i> . Then I prepare a remedy, so that he may be one whose life lasts a hundred years.	3 rd sg	
51.	8.8.6		<i>bṛhād dhi jālam bṛhatāh</i> <i>sakrasya vājinvatah </i> <i>tēna sātrān abhi sārvaṇ ny ūbja</i> <i>yāthā ná mūcyātai katamās caṇḍisām </i>	For great is the net of the mighty one, the vigorous one, with which you crush all enemies, so that none of them can absolutely be set free .	3 rd sg	
52.	10.1.5		<i>aghām asiv aghakṛte</i> <i>sapāthah śapathāvatē </i> <i>pratyāk pratiprāhimo</i> <i>yāthā kṛyākrtaṁ hānat </i>	Let evil be to the evil-doer, a curse to the curser! We push back [witchcraft], so that it may slay the one who makes witchcraft.	3 rd sg	
53.	12.5.63-64		<i>brahmayān devy aghnya</i> <i>ā mūlād anusandaha </i> <i>yāhāvād yamasādanāt</i> <i>pāpalokān parāvatah </i>	Burn from the root him who troubles the Brahmins, O inviolable divine, so that he may pass from the seat of Yama to the evil worlds, to the distances!	2 nd sg	
54.	14.1.18		<i>prēto muñcāmi nāmūtah</i> <i>subaddhām amūtas karam </i> <i>yātheyām indra mūdhvoh</i> <i>suputrā subhāṣasāt </i>	I release [her] from here, not from there; I make her firmly bound from there, so that she , O gracious Indra, may be rich in sons, wealthy!	3 rd sg	
55.	18.3.70 = (4)		<i>pīnar delhi vanaspate</i> <i>yā eśā nihitas tvāyi </i> <i>yāthā yamasya śādāna</i> <i>āsātai vidātā vādan</i>	O lord of the forest, restore the one who is placed here below you, so that he may sit on Yama's seat giving advice!	3 rd sg	
56.	6.29.3		<i>avairahatyāvedām ā papatyāt</i> <i>suvirātāyā idām ā sasadyāt </i> <i>pārān evā pārā vada</i> <i>pārācām ānu samvātam </i> <i>yāthā yamasya tvā grhē</i> <i>rasām praticākaśān</i> <i>ābhīkaṁ praticākaśān </i>	May it fly here so that there may be no killing of heroes, may it settle here so that there may be an abundance of heroes. Recite, facing backwards, towards a distant region, so that in Yama's house they may look at you as harmless and may look at you as empty.	3 rd pl	
57.					3 rd pl	
58.	8.8.14		<i>vānaspatān vānaspatyān</i> <i>ōsadhāt utā vīrūdah </i> <i>dvipāc cātuspād īṣāmi</i> <i>yāthā sēnām amūṇ hānan </i>	I send forth the trees, those that come from the trees, the grasses and the plants, the biped, the quadruped, so that they may slay that army.	3 rd pl	
59.	8.8.15		<i>gandharvāpsarāsah sarpān</i> <i>devān punyajanān pītṛn </i> <i>dr̥ṣṭān adṛṣṭān īṣāmi</i> <i>yāthā sēnām amūṇ hānan </i>	I send forth the Gandharvas, the Apsaras, the serpents, the gods, the pure people, the Ancestors, the ones visible and the ones invisible, so that they may slay that army.	3 rd pl	

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