The development of the uses of *ha / ha vái / ha sma vái* with or without the narrative perfect and language layers in the old Yajurveda-Saṁhitā texts

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It is well known that the perfect with the particle *ha* is used in the narrative sense in the younger Vedic prose. In the older Vedic prose, *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (MS), *Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā* (KS) and *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (TS), there is a certain distribution of past tense categories: the imperfect for the gods myths and the perfect for the past of the period of predecessors. It is supposed that the latter use of the perfect was extended to the area of the former use of the imperfect.

In this paper, uses of the particle *ha* in the three Yajurveda-Saṁhitā texts will be examined. The results suggest that the different uses of *ha* characterize different language layers in these texts. The following points are of special interest:

1) *ha* and *ha vái* with the present verb often characterize a logical consequence derived from the context; hence, they mean "namely, in conclusion". Many examples of this use are found in MS, but fewer in KS and TS.

2) *ha sma (vā́)* with the present indicative indicates a repeated and habitual action in the past. In MS, it is almost always used with *āha* (functionally present) and indicates a ritual opinion of predecessors: "(A predecessor, i.e. Aruṇa Aupaveśi or Keśin Satyakāmi) used to say." KS and TS have examples with verbs other than *āha*.

3) *ha* with the perfect hardly appears in MS, but KS and TS have many examples.

4) *ha vai ... uvāca* in KS corresponds to *ha sma (vā́) āha* in MS in the parallel passages. This may be the origin of the narrative use of the perfect.

It may be concluded that the language of KS and that of TS are close to each other and that the language of MS has different features from them, even though it is generally supposed that MS and KS belonged to the same branch but TS to another. Moreover, linguistic innovations occurred not always gradually, but through certain innovative authors. This may provide a new perspective for clarifying the relations between the three texts and their process of composition.

Keywords: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā,* Yajurveda-Saṁhitā, *ha*, perfect, narrative

1. Introduction

It is well known that, from the younger Vedic prose onward, the perfect with the particle *ha* is used in the narrative sense. Myths of gods and stories of heroes, loved throughout the long history of Indian literature, were told in the narrative perfect in the later Vedic period (around 6th-3rd c. BC), which caused the genre of stories to be called *itihāsa* (*iti ha-āsa* "so it was"). However, in the oldest Vedic prose, the black Yajurveda-Saṃhitās, i.e. *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā* (MS), *Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā* (KS) and *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (TS), the narrative category is divided: the imperfect is used for the myths of gods (in the distant past),[1] and the perfect for episodes concerning predecessors (for actions whose results can be observed in the speaker's present).[2] It is thought that the use of the perfect was extended to the area of the imperfect, and thus to the whole narrative genre.[3]

This paper will examine the uses of the particle *ha* with and without the narrative perfect in the three Yajurveda-Saṃhitā texts. The results of this assessment suggest that the different uses of *ha* reflect different historic layers of language in these texts.

2. Historic layers of language in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā

My recent studies make clear that each chapter of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* has its own peculiarities of style and language, which may reflect the historic layer of the language to which it belongs. Here I summarize the features that indicate differences in style and language in each chapter.

1) Amano (2016b: 118-122) investigated 1.4-2.5 (Brāhmaṇa chapters from books 1-2) and their parallel chapters in KS and TS. This study examined how each text (MS, KS and TS) describes discussions about divergent ritual opinions. As a result, the following points became clear: MS 1.6 and 1.8 do not indicate a phase of exchanges with other schools; 1.10 and 2.1-4 indicate active exchanges and discussions with KS; 1.7 is verbatim parallel to KS; 2.5 uses a new phrase *átho āhur*, and contains some statements from unknown sources; 1.5 and 1.7 show considerable connection with TS.

2) Amano (2014-2015: 34-35) investigated 1.4-7 and examined uses of some words and phrases, choice of verbal category, and similarity to KS. As a result, the following became clear: 1.4 prescribes ritual acts as fixed processes (near to sūtra style), which is reflected in the consistent use of the indicative present and the frequent and comprehen-

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[1] For example the following opening sentences: *prajāpatir prajā́ asṛjata* "Prajāpati created creature" MS 1.6,6(4):96,1f., 1.8,1(1): 114,11 etc.; *devā́ś ca vā́ ásurāś cāspardhanta* "Gods and Asuras were fighting with each other" 1.4,14(2):63,15, MS 1.9,8(1):139,4 etc.

[2] See Kümmel (2000: 78-82) and Amano (2009: 14-15).

[3] Witzel (1989: 139-151) investigated the spread of the narrative perfect among the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

sive mantra citation; 1.5 has a similar style to 1.4, but the use of *hí* to explain a mantra is characteristic in this chapter; 1.6 explains the ritual with a myth of Prajāpati and Agni which runs through the entire chapter; the ritual acts are not described with the indicative present in many cases and only a few mantras are cited. The following results were obtained regarding the similarity to KS: 1.4,5-10 is quite close to KS, 1.4,11-12 is partly, but 1.4,13-15 has no parallel passage at all; 1.5 has parallel sentences, but they are not very close to those in KS; 1.6 has only a few parallel passages; 1.7 is a verbatim parallel to KS; it can be said that MS 1.7 and its KS parallel (KS 9) stand in a borrowing relationship.

3) Amano (2019: Reference Materials <distribution map>) investigated 2.1-5 and made clear that 2.3-4 has a different style of description from 2.1-2, while 2.5 follows the style of 2.1-2, but has common linguistic features with 2.3-4.

4) Amano (2015: 1166-1167) investigated 1.4-4.8 (all Brāhmaṇa chapters) and examined Mantra citations and a certain lexical expression. From this study the following results were obtained: 3 and 4.1 have the tendency to cite many mantras and part by part, and also 1.4 as well as 1.5 show this tendency; 3.1-5, 4.3-4 and 5-8 use an introductory phrase *átha= eṣá-/etá-* that is often used in 1.10 and 11; books 3 and 4 hardly show any similarity to book 2 or to the chapters of book 1 except 1.4-5 and 1.10-11.

5) Amano (2016a: 61-64) examined passages referring to the sattra ritual and concluded that 1.9 and 4.2 are closely connected with sattra/vrātya culture and have rare linguistic or pseudo-MS phenomena, and that 1.8,6 and 4.5,9 show rare linguistic phenomena. These chapters are probably new and additional. This study found that linguistic differences among the chapters were possibly due to their different cultural and social backgrounds.

6) Amano (2016c: 51-52 and forthcoming: § 6) investigated 1.4-4.8 (all Brāhmaṇa chapters) and examined uses of *yá eváṁ véda / vidvā́n*. This work attempted to make clear the relationship among the chapters and find tradition "groups" in the Maitrāyaṇī school. This work concluded the following: 1.6 and 1.8 are the oldest chapters, and 3.6-10 took over their tradition; the line 1.5 – 3.1-5 – 4.1 is located at the centre of the Maitrāyaṇīya tradition, 3.1-5 and 4.1, in particular, show a period of maturity of ritual philosophy; 1.4, 1.9 and 4.2 brought a new wave with some features in common with Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad; 4.5-8 has connections with both the traditional line (1.6/1.8 – 3.6-10) and the new wave (1.4, 1.9, 4.2).

Amano 2016c: 52, Table 4:
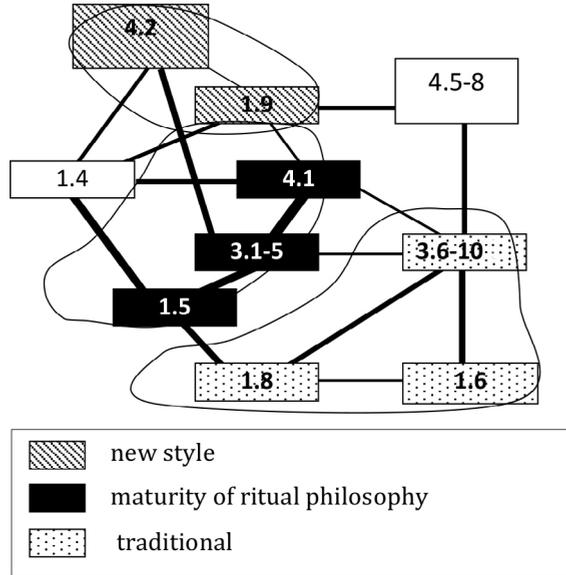
In this paper, I will extend the scope of my study to all the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās, and I aim to clarify the features of the language and style used by each author or in each chapter of the texts, the similarities and differences among them, as well as the process of development – or innovation – of their styles. Witzel (1989: 97-265) investigated linguistic innovations and their spread among the Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts, and I will attempt to give a more specific analysis by distinguishing the chapters or the authors of each text.

To compare the parallel chapters of the three texts, the following table of contents lists the chapters of MS and their KS/TS parallels:

Brāhmaṇa chapters in the MS		KS/TS parallels	
		KS	TS
1.4	*yajamāna* – duty of a sacrificer	32	1.6-7
1.5	*agnyupasthāna* – worship of sacred fires	7	1.5
1.6	*ādhāna* – establishment of sacred fires	8	
1.7	*punarādhāna* – re-establishment of sacred fires	9	1.5
1.8	*agnihotra* – daily offering to sacred fires	6	
1.9	*caturhotṛ* – caturhotṛ formulas	9	
1.10	*cāturmāsya* – seasonal rites	36	
1.11	*vājapeya* – soma drinking for winning a chariot race	14	
2.1-4	*kāmyā-iṣṭi* – rites for special wish (with cake and gruel)	10-12	2.2-4
2.5	*kāmya-paśu* – rites for special wish (with sacrificial animal)	13	2.1

3.1-5	*agniciti* – piling of the fire altar	19-22	5.1-7
3.6-10	*soma* – adhvara preparation for soma ritual	23-26	6.1-3
4.1	*darśapūrṇamāsa* – new and full moon sacrifice	31	
4.2	*gonāmika* – rite for naming cows		
4.3-4	*rājasūya* – royal consecration		
4.5-8	*soma* – graha soma drawing	27-30	6.4-6

3. Categories of use of *ha* in the Black Yajurveda-Saṁhitā texts

Delbrück (2009: 497-501) describes the uses of *ha* in terms of a "leicht hervorhebend und versichernd" particle. On the one hand it appears in a sentence connected with the preceding discussion ("..., so ... denn"). On the other hand it is used with the narrative perfect. On p. 502, he mentions the use of *ha* in combination with *sma* and the indicative present, which indicates a repeated action in the past ("[einer] pflegte, ... [zu tun]"). This explanation principally applies to the black Yajurveda-Saṁhitās. I will classify the uses of *ha* in four categories and illustrate them with examples.

3.1. *ha (vái)* characterizing a logical consequence of the preceding context: "consequently, namely"; cf. Kulikov (2015: § 3.1)[4] "consecutive connector" meaning "then, (if so) then, as a result".

This use is found in the case of *ha vái* or simple *ha*:[5]

> MS 1.8,4(4):120,4f.: *yádi kāmáyeta "sárve sadṛśāḥ syur" íti, sárvānt samā́ vad únnayet. sárve **ha** sadṛśā́ bhavanti.*
> "Falls er sich wünscht: 'Möchte es doch allen [Söhnen] gleich gehen,' soll er alle [Löffel] gleichmäßig ausschütten; alle [Söhne] werden gleich." (Amano 2009: 292)

> MS 1.4,7(1):54,10f.: *[pūrṇám asi. pūrṇáṃ me bhūyā] íti. pūrṇó **ha vā́** amútrā́ṅgaiḥ sáṃbhavati.*
> "'Das Volle bist du. Möchtest du doch für mich das Volle warden': voll wird er (O), indem er sich im Jenseits mit seinen Körpergliedern vereinigt." (Amano 2009: 147)

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[4] Kulikov (2015) examined *ghā/gha* in Ṛg-Veda and Atharva-Veda. *ghā/gha* corresponds to *ha* in the Brāhmaṇa prose, and the functions determined by Kulikov are relevant to a considerable extent.

[5] And also in *ha tvái* and *ha tu* when the meaning "but" is added, for example MS 1.10,12(2):152,8-10: *somapīthó vā́ eṣò 'syā́ údaiṣad, yát karī́rāṇi. saumyā́ni vái karī́rāṇi. saumī́ **ha tv** èvā́hutir amúto vṛṣṭiṃ ⁺cyāvayanti* (ed. *cyāvayati*), "Der Soma-Trank [der Yatis] erhob sich aus der [Erde] hier, das ist, was die Karīra[-Früchte] (die Früchte von wilden Kapern) sind. Die Karīra[-Früchte] gehören zu Soma. Die Darbringungen für Soma lassen **aber** vom Jenseits Regen herabfallen." (Amano 2009: 377f. and n. 1380); MS 1.4,11(3):60,3-5: *ná vái tád vidma, yádi brāhmaṇā́ vā smó 'brāhmaṇā vā, yádi tásya vā ṛ́ṣeḥ smò 'nyásya vā, yásya brūmáhe. yásya **ha tv** èvá bruvāṇó yájate, tám tád iṣṭám ā́ gachati*, "Wir wissen das nicht, ob wir Brahmanen sind oder Nicht-Brahmanen, ob wir zu dem Ṛṣi gehören, zu dem wir uns bezeichnen, oder zu einem anderen. Als zu wem gehörig er (O) sich bezeichnet und das Opfer veranstaltet, zu dem geht **jedoch** das Geopferte hin; einem anderen neigt es sich nicht zu." (Amano 2009: 164f.).

This function often appears with the relative sentence *yá eváṁ véda / vidvā́n*:

> MS 1.8,6(3b):124,7-9: *gṛhṇīyā́n náktam agním. asuryā̀ vái rā́trir. jyótiṣaivá támas tarati. dívā* **ha** *vā́ asmā asmíṃl loké* ×*bhávati, prā́smā asáu lokó bhāti,* **yá evā́ṁ véda**.
> "Er soll in der Nacht das Feuer nehmen. Die Nacht gehört zu den Asuras; mit dem Licht kommt er durch die Finsternis hindurch. Tag wird es für ihn in der Welt hier, für ihn leuchtet die jenseitige Welt voraus, **wenn er dieses Wissen hat**." (Amano 2009: 306)

This type probably belongs to the category for *ha (vái)* because it connects the statements to the conclusive clause, but it may also have been possible to understand that *ha (vái)* characterizes the connection with the main clause and *yá eváṁ véda*. This use with *yá eváṁ véda* could have been a transition to the next category.

3.2. *ha (vái)* characterizing a logical consequence of a presupposition that is indicated in a relative sentence; cf. Kulikov (2015: § 3.3): "'consecutive-correlative' clause (with *sá*) with the meaning of **result** followed by a relative clause with the meaning of **cause**."

> MS 4.2,1:22,13f.: **yó vái** *cákṣuṣo víbhaktiṁ véda, cákṣuṣmān* <u>ha</u> *bhávati, náinaṃ cákṣur jahāti*.
> "**Who** knows the variation of sight gets, **therefore**, a sight, [and] the sight does not leave him."

> MS 3.7,2:77,1f.: **yátra vái** *yajñásyārdhé 'gre sámṛddhaṃ kriyáte, kriyámāṇaṃ kriyamānaṁ* **ha** *vā́ asya sámṛdhyate*.
> "**In the case where** a successful [ritual action] is done at first in the process of a ritual, every [action] which is done in it (the ritual) succeeds **consequently**."

In these examples, a relative clause begins the sentence and provides a presupposition, and the following main clause with *ha* states its logical consequence. This type of sentence often appears at the beginning of a paragraph, therefore this use of *ha* must have been a transition to the next type of use to open a paragraph (3.3 below).

KS has a similar sentence construction, but in KS the preceding relative clause contains *ha vai*. This indicates that *ha (vai)* in this construction does not characterize a logical consequence, but introduces a new piece of information.

> KS 24.10:102,7: **yo ha vai** *devān sādhyān veda, sidhyaty asmai*.
> (beginning of a paragraph) "**When** one knows, namely, the right gods, [the ritual] is accomplished for him."

Thus, this construction (attested eight times in KS) belongs to the next category.

3.3. *ha (vái)* at the beginning of a paragraph:

> TS 5.4.9.4: *agnicítaṁ* **ha vā́**_*amúṣmiṃ loké vā́ to 'bhí pavate. vātanāmā́ ni juhoty. abhy èváinam amúṣmiṃ loké vā́ taḥ pavate*.
> (beginning of a paragraph) "In yonder world the wind blows over the piler of the fire; he offers the names of the winds; verily over him in yonder world the wind blows." (Keith 1967: 436 f.).

In this example, *ha (vái)* does not indicate a logical consequence, but it stands independently from the preceding context, or opens a paragraph. We can see here a distinct function from the use described in 2.1.[6]

The uses mentioned in 3.1-3.3 can be classified as logical markers (or as the non-narrative use, which contrasts with the use in 3.4-3.5).

3.4. *ha sma (vái)* occurs together with the indicative present, indicating a repeated action in the past. This category of use states a repeated and habitual action of the predecessor. In most cases, the name of a predecessor (*ṛṣi*) is indicated, but when the subject is indefinite, *purā́* is used. Most of the examples are used with the verb *āha* (in the present function) and indicate teachings of the predecessors.

> MS 1.4,5(9):53,14f.: **etád dha sma vā́ āha** <u>kapivanó bhauvā́yanáḥ</u> *"kím u sá yajñéna yajeta yó gā́m iva yajñáṃ ná duhītá. ..." íti.*

"**Folgendes pflegte** <u>Kapivana Bhauvāyana</u> **zu sagen**: 'Wie sollte auch der ein Opfer veranstalten, der das Opfer nicht für sich melken (d. h. ausnutzen) könnte wie eine Kuh?...'." (Amano 2009: 144)

> KS 8.13:97,1f.: *dakṣiṇāvadbhyāṃ* **ha sma vai** <u>purā</u> *darśapūrṇamāsābhyāṃ yajante.*
> "**People used to** *hold new and full moon sacrifices with fee <u>before</u>.*"

There are also examples referring to an action of the gods:

> KS 21.9:49,14 ≈ 21.4:42,3f.: *etāṃ* **ha sma vai devā** *asurebhyo vajraṃ śataghnīm ...* **abhyavasṛjanti.**
> "**The gods used to throw** the vajra, a weapon killing hundreds, into the Asuras."

In the following example in TS, a predecessor and gods appear together:

> TS 6.6.1.2: **tuthó ha sma vái** *viśvávedā* **devā́nāṃ** *dákṣiṇā* **ví bhajati.**
> "**Tutha**, all knowing, **was wont to allot** the gifts of **the gods**." (Keith 1967: 547)

As is explained in 4 <table 3> and 5.4 below, the use of *ha sma (vái)* with the present indicative for gods is a new development.

3.5. *ha (vái)* with the narrative perfect:
ha (vái) with the perfect is used to state an action of a predecessor. The Yajurveda-Saṃhitās differentiate the actions of predecessors and of gods: they express the actions of predecessors with the perfect, and the actions of gods with the imperfect.[7] We understand

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[6] This function was probably derived from the use of "consecutive-correlative" in 3.3 on the one hand, and on the other hand from a kind of "performative consecutive" function (see Kulikov 2015: § 3.2). I interpret the latter use as "[We know the (following) fact,] namely ..." This function is based also on the use of *ha sma vái* with the present indicative and the use of *ha (vái)* with the narrative perfect, which appear at the beginning of the stories.

[7] See nn. 1 and 2 above.

that the authors saw ritual actions of predecessors as having effects on their present rituals.[8]

> MS 2.5,1(3):47,13f.: *eténa vắ úpakerū rarādha. .... dvādaśadhắ* **ha tvái** *sá pratiśitrám párijahāra. tátra dvắdaśa-dvādaśa várān dadau.*
> "Mit dem besagten [Ziegenbock] hat Upakeru Erfolg gehabt; .... Zwölffach hat er (Upakeru) dabei **jedoch** die Opferspeise [bei den Priestern] **herumgehen lassen**; dabei hat er jedem zwölf Gaben nach Wahl gegeben." (Amano 2009: 554)

> KS 7.8:70,3-6: ***etad dha vai** divodāso bhaimasenir āruṇim* **uvāc**ā*gnim ādadhivāṁsam: "udgātaḥ, kena gārhapatya upastheya" iti. tasmai haitā uvāca. sa hovāca: "ābhir upastheyo ... " iti.*
> "Divodāsa Bhaimaseni **said** to Āruṇi, as he had established his fire, as follows: 'O udgātṛ! What should one worship his gārhapatya fire with?' He (Ā.) **told** to him (D. Bh.) about these (verses). He (Ā.) **said**: 'One should worship it with these ...'"

> KS 21.4:41,3f.: *etấṁ* **ha vai** *yajñasenaś caitraś citiṁ* **vidāṁcakāra**. *tayā* **ha vai** *sa* **ānardha**.
> "Yajñasena Caitra **knew** this piling. With it he **got success**."

> TS 1.7.2.1: *sáṁśravā* **ha** *sauvarcanasás túmiṁjam áupoditim* **uvāca** *"yát sattríṇāṁ hótābhūḥ, kắm íḍām úpāhvathā" íti. "tắm úpāhva" íti* **hovāca** *"yắ prāṇéna devắn dadhắra…" íti. "chinátti sắ, ná chinattī₃" íti. "chinátti=" íti* **hovāca**.
> "Saṁśravas Sauvarcanasa **said** to Tumiñja Aupositi: 'When thou hast been a Hotṛ of Sattrins, what Iḍā hast thou invoked?' 'Her I have invoked', **he said**, 'who supports the gods by her expiration, ...' 'Does she divide, or does she not divide?' (he asked). 'She divides', **he replied**."

4. Number of examples of each form of use in the three texts

Here I show the statistical data in tables according to the following criteria:
<table 1> uses of ha *(±vái/tvái/tu)*:
non-narrative (logical) : narrative
<table 2> non-narrative uses:
logical consequence (3.1) : connecting relative clause and main sentence (3.2) : opening a paragraph (3.3)
<table 3> narrative uses:
ha sma (vái) āha : ha (vái) uvāca;
ha sma (vái) + present indicative : *ha (vái)* + narrative perfect;[9] predecessor: gods (± predecessor).

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[8] Another function of the perfect that is found in MS is the resultative (see Kümmel 2001: 75-77). In MS, I found only two examples in 1.10,12(1):152,1 (*jagṛhúr, prắpur*; see Amano 2009: 376 n. 1372) and 4.2,2:24,5 (*prắpa*); both are without *ha*. Chapters 1.10 and 4.2 did not build the main stream of the MS tradition. This use of the perfect is probably not the basis of the narrative perfect.

[9] There are two exceptional examples of *ha vái* with imperfect: KS 20.5:23,15: *etasmād dha vai purāgnicitim adidṛkṣanta* (impf. of desiderative); TS: *sáráḍ ḍha vắ áśvasya sákthy ắvṛhat* (impf.), *tád devắś catuṣṭoménaivá práty adadhur* (impf.).

I add information about the chapters that have especially frequent uses.

Table 1: Non-narrative and narrative use[10]

MS[10]		Total number of examples	Non-narrative (logical)	Narrative
	ha vái	46	**45**	1
	ha tvái	3	2	1
	ha	42	**40**	2
	ha tu	10	10	0
	total	111	**97**	4

* 3.1-5 has 20 out of 97 examples of non-narrative use, and 4.2 has 25 out of 97.

KS		Total number of examples	Non-narrative (logical)	Narrative
	ha vai	44	24	**19**
	ha tvai	10	9	1
	ha khalu vai	3	3	0
	ha	12	3	**9**
	total	69	39	**29**

TS		Total number of examples	Non-narrative (logical)	Narrative
	ha vái	14	8	6
	ha tvái	3	3	0
	ha	17	0	**17**
	total	34	11	**23**

Table 2: Non-narrative use

	Total number of examples	2.1 connection with the preceding sentence(s)	2.2 connection with the relative clause	2.3 opening a paragraph / independent
MS	97	88	9	0
KS	39	27	0	12
TS	11	11	0	2

[10] Only one example from a Mantra (2.4,7:44,3) is used with the aorist (it is not included in this table). In 1.11,6(2):167,18 = 3.2,9:29,3f. the editions give *kó ha tád veda*, which should be corrected to *kó'ha* (*kó=áha*). Cf. *kásya vā́ha …* in 1.4,5(1):52,9 (Amano 2009: 139 n. 3).

Table 3: Narrative use

	Speech of predecessor		Act of predecessor		Act of predecessor and gods		Act of gods	
	ha sma vái + present (*āha*)	*ha (vái)* + perfect (*uvāca*)	*ha sma vái* + present	*ha (vái)* + perfect	*ha sma vái* + present	*ha (vái)* + perfect	*ha sma vái* + present	*ha (vái)* + perfect
MS	**19**	1	2	2	1	0	1	1
KS	7	**16**	**8**	**10**	0	1	3	1
TS	2	**18**	1	3	0	0	**7**	1

total	
ha sma vái + present	*ha (vái)* + perfect
23	4
18	**28**
10	**22**

* KS 7 has 8 out of 16 examples of *uvāca*;
TS 1.7 has 11 out of 18 examples of *uvāca*.

5. Development of the categories of use in the three texts

From the data provided in the tables, I attempt to describe the development of the use of *ha* through the three texts.

5.1. In MS, *ha* (± *vái*) is mostly used to characterize a logical consequence, but it is used less in KS and TS, where the narrative use appears more frequently. There are many examples for simple *ha* as a logical marker in MS, but very few in KS and none at all in TS. The use of *ha vái* opening a paragraph (3.3) is not found in MS, but KS and TS have some examples.

5.2. In MS, *ha sma vái* is almost always used with *āha*. This formula is employed to refer to predecessors' ritual opinions. In KS, *ha sma ... āha* as well as *ha vai ... uvāca* are employed to refer to predecessors' speech and discussions. In KS, *ha ... uvāca* always follows *ha vai ... uvāca*. The use of *ha ... uvāca / hovāca* without *vái* seems to have been fixed in TS.

In the development from the use of *ha sma vái ... āha* (present) to the use of *ha vai ... uvāca* (perfect), the agnyupasthāna chapter of KS (KS 7) plays an important role. KS

7 and its parallel chapter in MS (MS 1.5) include common references to the predecessors' speeches, and KS uses *ha vai ... uvāca* to describe them, while MS uses *ha sma vái ... āha.* The author of KS 7 probably replaced *ha sma vái ... āha* with *ha vai ... uvāca.* This could be the origin of the use of *ha vái* with the narrative perfect.[11]

> MS 1.5,9(2):77,7-9: **etád dha sma vā́ āhā**ruṇá áupaveśir *"yā́n vásīyasaḥ śréyasa ātmáno bhrā́tṛvyān abhiprájānīma=, ābhíṣ ṭā́n agnés tanū́bhir jyótiṣmatībhiḥ párābhāvayāma="* *íti.*
> "**Folgendes pflegte** Aruṇa Aupaveśi **zu sagen**: 'Die Nebenbuhler, die reicher und angesehener sind als wir selbst und die wir als feindlich erkannten, die ließen wir mit den mit Licht versehenen Gestalten Agnis hier untergehen.'"
> KS 7.6:68,11: **etad dha vā** āruṇir **uvāca**= *"etenāṁ sarvān sapatnān sarvān bhrātṛvyān abhyabhavam"* iti.
> "Āruṇi **said as follows**: 'I conquered my all enemies and all rivals with this.'"

Further examples of *ha vā uvāca / hovāca* in KS 7:

> KS 7.6:68,1-3: **etad dha vai** dāśarma āruṇim **uvāc**āgnim ādadhivā́ṁsam *"udgātaḥ, kenāgnir upastheya"* iti. tasmai **ha**itad agnyupasthānam **uvāca**. sa **hovāca**= *"anayopastheya ..."* iti.
> "Dāśarma **said** to Āruṇi, as he had established his fire, as follows: 'O Udgātṛ! What should one worship his fire with?' He (Ā.) **told** to him (D.) about this agnyupasthāna [formula]. He (Ā.) **said**: 'One should worship it with this ...'".

(further KS 7.8:70,3-6 in 3.5 above).

The style of the narrative *ha ... uvāca / hovāca* without *vái* is first found in TS. The author of TS 1.7 (yajamāna chapter) probably followed the style of KS 7, but without *vái*. See TS 1.7,2,1 in 2.5 above.

5.3. In MS, there are only a few examples for the narrative perfect with *ha.*[12] KS has many examples for *ha vai ... uvāca* used to refer to talk of predecessors, and also many examples for the perfect of other verbs referring to the actions of predecessors. Therefore, we can see that the use of *ha vai* with the narrative perfect was developed in KS. TS has many examples for *ha (vái) ... uvāca,* but fewer examples with other verbs than KS.

It is worthwhile to note that MS has some examples of the narrative perfect that are not combined with *ha.*[13] In the agniciti chapter of MS and KS, the use of the narrative perfect without *ha* in MS corresponds to the use of the narrative perfect with *ha* in KS:

[11] In another chapter, MS 1.4 ~ KS 32 (yajamāna chapter), *etád dha sma vā́ āha* in MS corresponds to *atha ha smāha* in KS: MS 1.4,5(9):53,14f. (see 2.4 above): **etád dha sma vā́ āha** *kapivano bhauvāyanáḥ "kím u sá yajñéna yajeta, yó gā́m iva yajñáṃ ná duhītá. sudóhataro hí gór"* *íti* ~ KS 32.2:20,19f.: **atha ha smāha** *kapivano bhauvāyanaḥ "kim u sa yajeta, yo gām iva yajñaṃ na duhe. sudohataro vā eṣa gor"* iti.

[12] *ha* with the perfect has only a few examples in new chapters, 2.5 and 4.6 (see 1 above).

[13] *vidā́ṃ cakāra* 1.4,12(5):62,4 (Vasiṣṭha), 3.2,7:27,7 (Somadakṣa Kauśreya), 3.3,9:42,11 (Kaṇva Śrāvayasa), 4.2,2:23,6 (Iṣvāśanis Āmitraśocani), 4.2,10:33,14 (Basta Rāmakāyana), 4.5,4:68,18f. (Viśvāmitra); *prā́pa* 3.2,7:27,7 (Somadakṣa Kauśreya), 4.2,10:33,15 (Basta Rāmakāyana); *rarādha, dadau* 2.5,1(3):47,13f. (Upakeru); *úpadadhau* 3.2,7:27,7 (Somadakṣa Kauśreya); *cakāra* 4.6,2:79,18 (Vipājana Saurāki).

MS 3.3,9:42,11: ⁺*etáṁ*[14] ***vái káṇvaḥ śrāvayasò 'gnér dóhaṁ vidā́ṃ cakāra.***
~ KS 21.9:49,8: *kaṇvo **ha** vā etasya śrāyaso dohaṃ **vidā́ṁ cakāra**.*
cf. TS 5.4.7.5: *tam asya kaṇva eva śrāyaso '**vet*** (impf.). *tena **ha sma**inaṁ sa* <u>*duhe*</u>
(*ha sma* + pres.).

5.4. All three texts include mixed references to gods and predecessors.[15]

This is probably because, after several generations,[16] predecessors began to be thought of as ancient, like gods. TS has the most examples that refer to gods' rituals with *ha sma (vái)* with the present indicative and *ha vai* with the narrative perfect.[17]

The following are examples of mixed references to gods and predecessors:

KS 21.9:49,14 ≈ 21.4:42,3f.: *etā́ṁ **ha sma vai devā** asurebhyo vajraṁ śataghnīm ...* ***abhyavasṛjanti.*** (see 2.4 above)
KS 21.10:50,1f.: *etena **ha sma vai bharadvājaḥ** pratardanaṁ saṃnahyann **eti**.*
"**Bharadvāja used to keep banding** this at Pratardana."

In these sentences, both in the agniciti chapter, *ha sma vai* with the present indicative is used once for gods and once for a predecessor, Bharadvāja.

In the next example, a typical Deva-Asura story, an ṛṣi appears. The whole story is told in the imperfect except for the sentence relating to the ṛṣi, which uses the perfect:

KS 28.4:158,12ff.: <u>*asurā*</u> *vai* <u>*devebhyo*</u> *dakṣiṇām* <u>*anayaṃs*</u>. *tāṃ* <u>*pratyanudanta*</u>. *...* *etā* ***ha vai*** *tad ṛṣir abhyanūvāca ||...|| iti. sā sālāvṛkī saṃbhūyāsurān* <u>*prāviṣat*</u>.
"<u>The Asuras lead</u> the fee to the gods (impf.). Then <u>they (the gods) thrusted</u> it back (impf.). ... Then **an ṛṣi recited** (perf.) the following [ṛc]... Then it became a hyena and <u>went into</u> the Asuras" (impf.).

In the following example from MS, a ritual in the past (*ha sma vái purā́* + present indicative) and actions of gods (imperfect) are told in the same context:[18]

MS 3.9,4:119,13f. *āvṛhya **ha sma vái purā́** sáṁsthite yajñè 'gnáu yū́paṃ **prāsyáti** .... té* <u>*devā́ amanyanta*</u> *...*
"**Before, people used to throw** the ritual post into the fire (*ha sma vái* + present indicative) after the ritual had been finished ... Then <u>the gods thought</u> (impf.) ..."

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[14] So corrected; both editions *ètáṁ* (*citā́m ísty etáṁ*).

[15] MS 3.9 (Soma Adhvara chapter) and KS 21 (Agnicayana chapter) seem to have begun this phenomenon. A further example is found in MS 1.4,12(1), a story about Keśin Dārbhya and Gandharvas, told in the imperfect.

[16] See Kasamatsu (2001: 975-973).

[17] For example, TS 6.2.10,4; 6.3.9.6; 6.6.1.2 (see 3.4 above).

[18] A similar example is MS 2.1,3(2):4,3ff., a story about Rathapurota Dārbhya, told in the imperfect and also with *ha sma vái* + present.
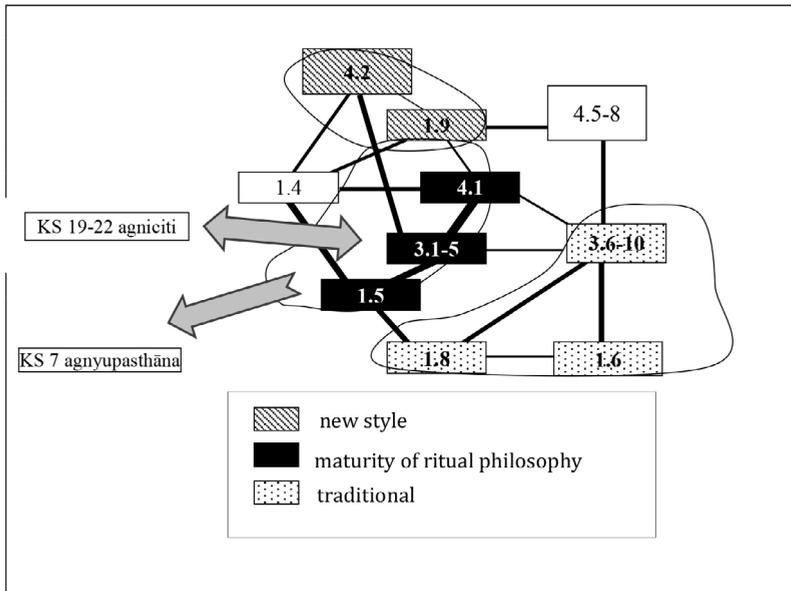
6. Innovative chapters and authors: new perspectives
on the composition of the texts

In the above examinations, we saw the stages of development of the use of *ha* in the three Yajurveda-Saṃhitā texts.

In MS, the author of 3.1-5 (Agniciti chapter) innovated with the particularly frequent use of *ha* as a logical marker. It seems that the author intended to use his own style by excluding the use of *ha vái* with the narrative perfect that was usual in KS.[19] Additionally, the author of 4.2 (Gonāmika chapter) seems to have followed the style of 3.1-5, but with an even stronger tendency. In KS, the agnyupasthāna chapter (KS 7) adopted the use of *ha vai ... uvāca* that was later developed into the popular narrative style *ha ... uvāca*. The author of TS I.7 (yajamāna chapter) fixed this style.

These innovations made by certain authors were probably the result of significant complications or dynamic changes that were encountered when introducing a (new) ritual into the traditions.

Table 5: Dynamics of the process of composition of MS

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