

TOWARDS A NEW METHOD FOR ANALYZING SYNTAX IN POETRY:  
DISCRIMINATING GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS IN THE RIGVEDA

by

ANDREW MICHAEL PACZKOWSKI

(Under the Direction of Jared S. Klein)

ABSTRACT

The Rigveda is a large collection of hymns that represents the oldest attestation of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. The value of the corpus as a source of syntactic insight, however, is limited by its entirely poetic nature. Its syntax has been studied, but until we better understand how poetic style and grammaticality interact, we cannot know how much our syntactic observations of the corpus really tell us about the grammar of the language. The difficulty of investigating syntax in poetry has not yet been properly treated. On the one hand, poetry must be intelligible, since it is composed and understood by the speakers of a language; on the other hand, the structures found in poetry can differ significantly from those of usual speech, which is why syntacticians avoid poetry in formal studies. But for those working with limited data or languages attested only in poetry, drawing the line between syntax and style is a necessary step towards an accurate syntactic account. The goal of this work is to establish a distinction between grammaticality and intelligibility, and to formalize a system for identifying which patterns in the Rigveda are grammatical and which may have been consciously manipulated. This system allows us to draw more reliable conclusions about the syntax of the language by filtering noise out of the data.

INDEX WORDS: Syntactic reconstruction, Generative syntax, Minimalism, Poetry, Meter, Scansion, Rigveda, Corpus, Vedic, Sanskrit, Indo-European

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment  
of the  
Requirements for the Degree  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2016

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# Acknowledgments

A proper expression of thanks to all those without whom this dissertation would never have seen the light of day, could fill up a dissertation of its own. After so many of my fits, false starts, and wolf-cries, apologies may be more appropriate.

The greatest thanks must go to my committee members: Jared Klein, from whom I have learned more than I can measure, from the basics of Historical Linguistics to the foundations of Indo-European; Vera Lee-Schoenfeld, whose syntactic tutelage has been indispensable to my work; and Keith Langston, for teaching me Old Church Slavic and for preventing me from embarrassing myself on many occasions.

Since my love of Language began in the Latin classrooms of Bobby Guarnella and Keith Toda, it is only right to give thanks to them, as well as my first Greek teacher, my friend and best man Alex Hansen. I am also greatly indebted to Zoe Stamatopoulou and Benjamin Wolkow for teaching me Ancient Greek.

I would like to thank all my teachers at Berkeley, especially Line Mikkelsen, for changing my mind about syntax; and Gary Holland, both for his classes and for his work on the Rigveda which made this dissertation possible in the first place. I would also like to recognize Stephanie Jamison and Craig Melchert for their feedback on some informal ideas that would one day become this dissertation.

Special thanks to my friends and colleagues Marcus Berger for his spaghetti and syntactic insights, Mark Wenthe, Josh Hannah, Lindsey Antonini, Jessica DeLisi, Andrew Byrd, Kelly Dugan, Martin Macak, and my friend and fellow Neo-Saussurian Sam Zukoff.

Above all, thank you to my family for their infinite patience, and for supporting me and my love of Language during what have been the most wonderful and stressful years of my life. And to my wife Caroline, I am glad I can now present this work as a belated paper anniversary gift.

# List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
AP	adjective phrase
AUX	auxiliary
C	complementizer
CL	clitic
CP	complementizer phrase
DAT	dative
ERG	ergative
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GND	gerund
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect
INS	instrumental
KB	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
KS	Kaṭha Saṃhitā
LF	logical form
LOC	locative
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
OV	Object-Verb
PF	phonological form
PIC	Phase-Impenetrability Condition
PL	plural
PRF	perfect
RV	Rigveda
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The Rigveda is one of the oldest Indo-European texts, and from it have issued some of our deepest insights into the phonology and morphology of its more ancient ancestor language, Proto-Indo-European. However, the entire corpus consists of poetry, and without recourse to sufficiently contemporaneous prose (nor, it goes without saying, native speakers), any syntactic investigation of the language must either stall immediately or proceed with an uncomfortable acceptance of poetic data, which to an uncertain degree undermines the integrity of the account. The purpose of this dissertation is to lay some groundwork for a new method of investigating syntax within poetic corpora.

My original plan was only to map out the syntax of topic and focus in the Rigveda, with a particular emphasis on the phenomenon of fronting. The corpus has been treated similarly before by Mark Hale and Hans Henrich Hock in the 1996 book *Approaching Second*, but the subject has generally lain fallow since then. Due to the advancement of modern generative theories since that time, a fresh analysis seemed warranted. I immediately ran into the difficulty of trying to decide whether a word had been fronted in order to confer focus on it, or only so that its line would better reflect the metrical pattern of the hymn.

Any syntactic account citing the language’s word order was thus jeopardized. Nor was I content to accept the observed patterns as representative of the language’s grammar (as Hale and Hock had been), for the same banal reason that syntacticians working on modern languages avoid poetry: the unstated suspicion that poetic language might not really be “grammatical.”

Because the present work attempts to marry the historically independent fields of Generative Syntax and Historical Linguistics, a brief overview of each will constitute the first two parts of this introduction. The first part will introduce the language and corpus on which my work was conducted, and the second will introduce the framework of generative syntax in which we hope ultimately to model the syntax of that language. The final part of the introduction will include a chapter summary.

## 1.1 The Rigveda

Within the Indo-European language family, the Indo-Iranian branch comprises the second oldest attestations (after Anatolian), in the form of the Vedic language, which takes its name from the most ancient holy texts of India. The Vedas consist of four books: the Rigveda, the Sāmaveda, the Yajurveda, and the Atharvaveda; and there is a host of other literature, written after these texts, whose language is also called Vedic. Max Müller, in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, divided the Vedic language into four periods: the Chandas period being the most ancient, followed by the Mantra period, the Brāhmaṇa period, and the Sūtra period (1860: 63).

The writings of the Sūtra period bridge the gap between the latest Vedic works and Classical Sanskrit. The Brāhmaṇa period contains the writings not only of the Brāhmaṇas themselves, but also the Upaniṣads and Āraṇyakas. The boundaries between these classes of texts are fuzzy. All of them are theological in nature, dealing with the interpretation of

older texts, the performance of sacrifices, and other cultural instruction (1860: 307). Interestingly, Müller tentatively places the Sāmaveda, the Yajurveda, and the Atharvaveda within the Brāhmaṇa period, reserving the Mantra period only for the compilation of the Rigveda (1860: 417), and the Chandas period for its composition (1968: 481). Müller, being careful to highlight the impossibility of assigning absolute dates to these periods, estimates each as having a span of about 200 years, with the earliest beginning around 1200 BCE (1860: 525). Vedic scholars in general agree with this estimate. In any case, the comparative antiquity of the Rigveda is notable, especially relative to the first prose attestations of the language (the Brāhmaṇas and portions of the Yajurveda).

The Rigveda consists of 10 books called maṇḍalas (“cycles”), comprising a total of 1028 hymns dedicated almost entirely to the gods of the ancient Indic pantheon. The hymns are poetic in nature, being composed in a small variety of quantitative meters. And since the comparative method relies on privileging older attestations for the purpose of reconstruction, the Rigveda has traditionally been the focus of proportionally more linguistic scrutiny. Thus it is from Rigvedic evidence that we derive the greatest number of insights into the prehistory of Vedic, and by extension, the grammar of Indo-European.

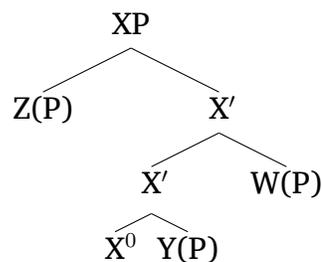
## **1.2 The generative approach to syntax**

Syntax is the study of how morphological entities combine to form larger units, for instance the way nouns combine with determiners and adjectives to form phrases, and how phrases in turn form sentences. In the past six decades, Syntax as a field has evolved from disconnected observations concerning word order into a self-contained science, the lofty goal of which is to produce a single theory of syntax that can model all human languages equally well.

In 1957, Noam Chomsky ushered in a new era in the study of syntax as a formal system with his seminal work *Syntactic Structures*. The driving idea behind this work and the theory it proposed was that any syntactic structure could be created by a finite set of rules, some of which generate structure and others of which transform one structure into another. For instance, a question like *what are you eating?* is “transformed” from a simple declarative, namely *you are eating what?*, whose elements are “base-generated.” This was the beginning of the generative tradition.

Subsequent works by Chomsky crystallized major developments in the field. His 1965 book *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* laid out what was known as the “Standard Theory” and introduced the formal concepts of “deep” versus “surface” structure, deep structure referring to what is base-generated and surface structure referring to the final grammatical utterance, after transformation. In 1970, Chomsky introduced X-bar Theory, which stipulated some universal structural relationships and offered a more visually obvious way of structurally representing semantic modification relations.

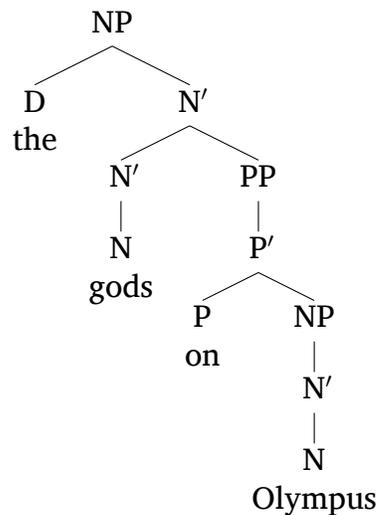
(1)



The above tree exemplifies the most important relationships according to X-bar Theory.  $X^0$  is the “head,” which branches from the “bar-level” (the prime mark is pronounced “bar”; originally it was [and sometimes still is] written as  $\bar{X}$ ), which is an intermediate projection of X. XP stands for X-Phrase; it is the “maximal projection.” Since a phrase, like *the gods on Olympus*, behaves according to the category of its head (in this case the noun *gods*), the jargon of the theory says that the phrase “projects” from the head (thus the term “maximal projection”). The phrase ZP is in the “specifier” position and YP is in

the “complement” position; WP is an optional adjunct (such as an adjective or adverb), and bar-levels can be multiplied as necessary to accommodate adjuncts. As an example, consider the noun phrase just cited.

(2)



The determiner *the* lies in the specifier position of the noun phrase (NP), which is abbreviated SpecNP; the NP *Olympus* is the complement of the preposition *on*; and the prepositional phrase (PP) *on Olympus* has been adjoined to N. In this early theory, even non-branching levels of projection were stipulated to warrant representation.

In 1981, Chomsky published *Lectures on Government and Binding*, which established the basic form of the current theory, which focuses heavily on the cross-linguistic underpinnings of the syntax of different languages. One of the theory’s potent claims is that there exists a set of syntactic principles and parameters which all languages share. The principles are the same in every language, and the parameters account for structural differences between languages, depending on whether they are “set” one way or another. Hence the name of the framework: Principles and Parameters Theory (P&P).

In 1995, Chomsky published *The Minimalist Program*. This work, and the movement of the same name, did not propose a new theory so much as it cleaned up the old one. Most of the tenets of P&P remained in force, but the approach to generation shifted focus

from the structure itself to its lexical entities. X-bar Theory stipulated the existence of a phrase structure into which lexical items were placed; Minimalism stipulates a “bare phrase structure,” where the structuring of utterances emerges from the interactions of the lexical items themselves; this does away with extraneous bar levels by positing that structure is only generated as necessary. Though “features” and “operations” had already been part of the theory, Minimalism recast various other theoretical mechanics into these molds.

### 1.2.1 Syntactic operations: Merge, Move, and Adjoin

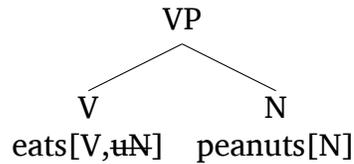
A word’s features comprise all the individual characteristics that describe its category and potential interactions with other words: “noun” and “plural” are both features, for instance, as well as more abstract characteristics like “question,” which in English triggers other words with corresponding features to rearrange themselves into the form of a question (recall the transformation mentioned above). The operations describe how the words arrange themselves, depending on what the sums of their features demand. The operation Merge combines elements into constituents, and constituents into still larger constituents. Here, A and B merge into C.



In an actual syntactic derivation, these operations are driven by the features of the elements. Features like “Noun,” “Preposition,” or “Verb” are categorical, and are abbreviated in standard ways: [N], [P], and [V], respectively. Some features are “uninterpretable,” meaning that they are incomplete until they enter into a “checking” or “Agree” relation with a certain corresponding feature. Uninterpretable features are abbreviated

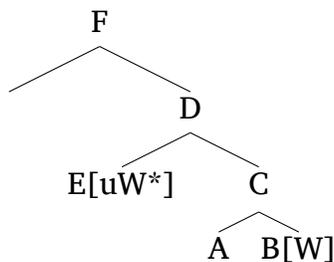
with a lower-case *u* followed by the feature required: for instance, [uN] is an uninterpretable feature that is eliminated once it is combined with a [N], as in the following example.

(4)

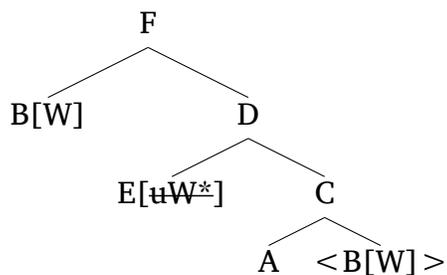


Once the two features' hosts are combined, we say that the uninterpretable feature is “checked” and deleted. Some features, marked with an asterisk, are “strong,” meaning that they trigger an operation called Move (or Internal Merge), which extracts an element from lower in the structure. This element then checks the strong feature.

(5) Before Move



(6) After Move

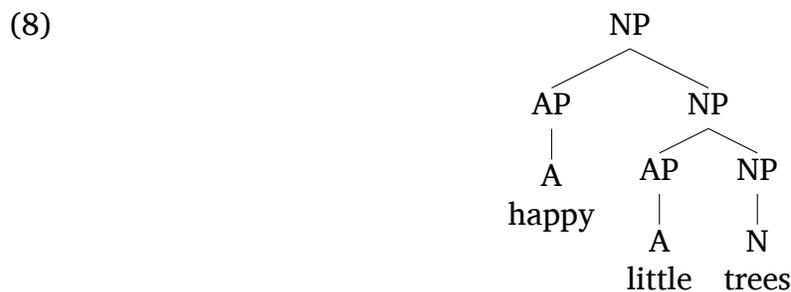


In the first of these examples, we see that the element E has a strong uninterpretable feature which triggers Move to relocate the relevant feature-bearing structure B into a local relationship. After B undergoes the movement, it leaves behind a “trace,” notated as <B> (another common way to designate traces is with a lower-case *t*).

The third major syntactic operation is called Adjoin<sup>1</sup>. It is like Merge, except that it expands structures instead of combining them. Here, YP adjoins to XP, which only results in a larger XP.



Adjoin is responsible for inserting modifiers like adjective and adverb phrases, which never affect the category of their hosting constituent. The example below shows only two adjuncts, but there is no syntactic limit to the number of adjuncts that can adjoin to a phrase.



The goal of a syntactic derivation is to achieve full interpretability for a given set of lexical items by applying any and all operations demanded by the requirements of the features.

### 1.2.2 Familiar structures

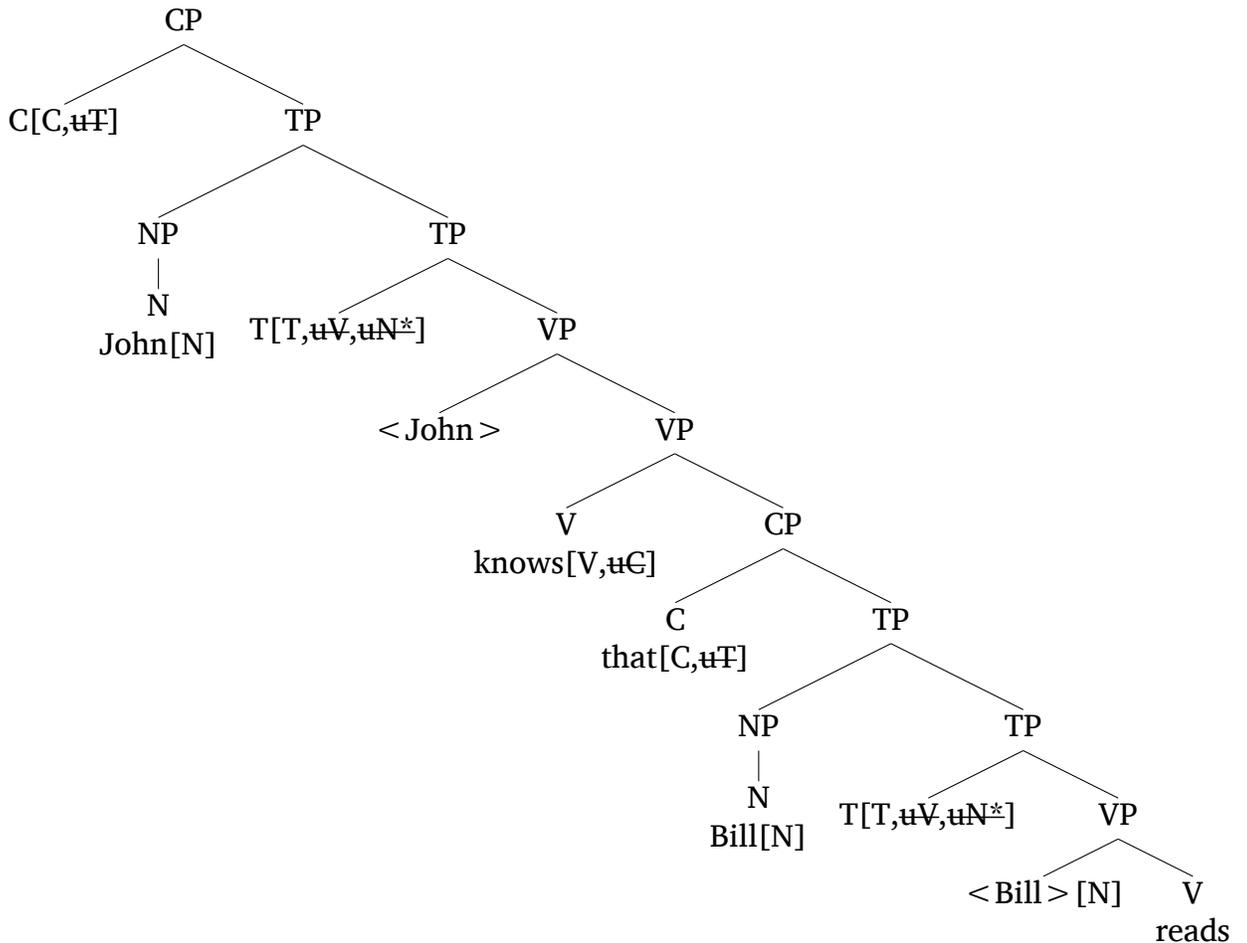
In order to consolidate the previous theoretical tenets and to more fully observe how they capture real utterances, let us apply them to an English example. In the following tree diagram, we see the familiar skeleton of a simple English sentence. The main (or matrix) clause is licensed by a head labeled C, which stands for “complementizer.” This is the

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<sup>1</sup>It is a minor concern that Adjoin does not fit well in the Minimalist framework, since its optionality seems to defy the feature-driven structure building which lies at the core of Minimalism. The brief Minimalist view of Adjoin presented here comes from David Adger’s *Core Syntax: A Minimalist Approach* (2003: 112-13).

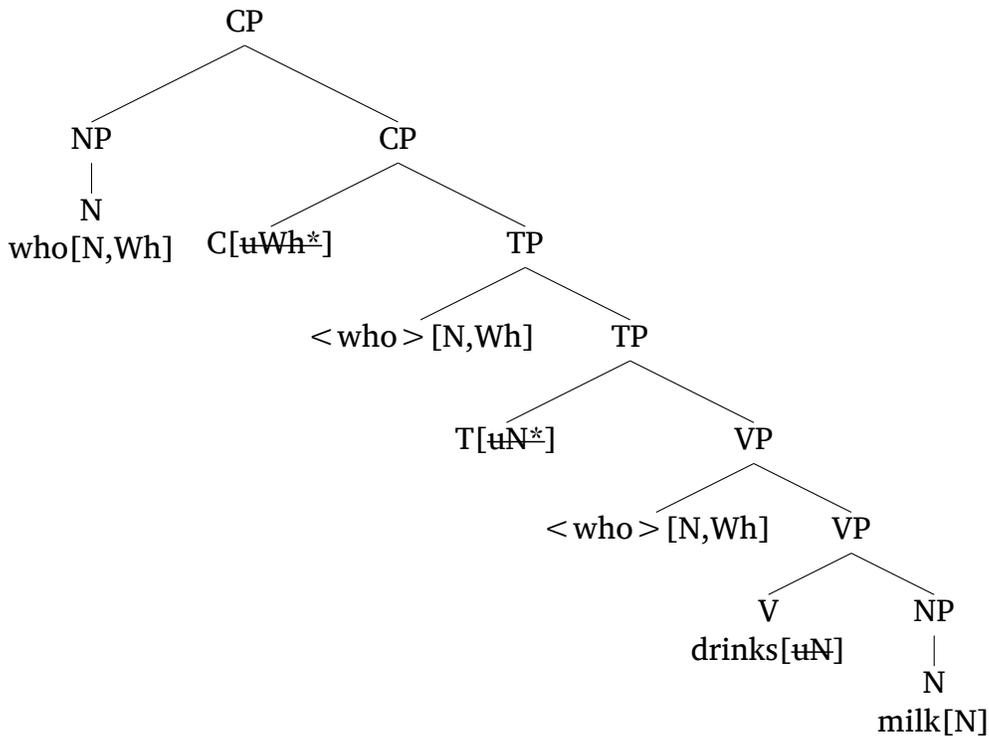
part of speech responsible for embedding clauses (e.g. *that, if*, etc.), and there is evidence for the existence of a null complementizer at the top of every sentence. The other novel category is represented by T, which stands for “tense” (some syntacticians use I here, which stands for “inflection”). The specifier of the tense phrase (SpecTP) is the location of the English subject. In the following tree diagram (as in all derivations), we proceed upward from the bottom: verbal arguments combine with the verb to form the VP, the VP combines with the T to form the TP, which in turn combines with the C to form the CP.

(9) John knows that Bill reads



This tree simplifies some theoretical points, but it presents a basic, conventional view of how Minimalism would treat the English sentence in question. Note that the subject of the verb originates, or is “base-generated,” in the VP and moves into SpecTP. This particular process is known as the Extended Projection Principle (EPP); it originated from the observation that all English sentences need a subject, but its breadth has increased with the discovery of similar phenomena in other languages. Now, an EPP feature is simply a strong feature which triggers movement of an element into the specifier position of whatever carries it. Let us take a slightly more advanced example, one which illustrates a common phenomenon that occurs in interrogatives: the movement of wh-words to the beginning of the sentence.

(10) who drinks milk?



Here we see the mechanics behind a simple question. As in the previous tree, the subject has to move from the VP into SpecTP in order to check a strong feature on T. But in this example, there is another strong feature on C which must be checked by an element bear-

ing the feature [Wh]. This is the mechanism responsible for “wh-movement,”<sup>2</sup> whereby question words raise into first position. The wh- word *who* leaves two traces, one in its site of base-generation, and one in SpecTP<sup>3</sup>.

Other notable categories include focus phrases (FocP) and topic phrases (TopP), whose heads trigger movement of elements which are to be emphasized. More detailed analyses, drawing on evidence from various languages, split the verb phrase into a so-called little-v phrase (vP) and a big-V phrase (VP), the difference being that little-v licenses an external argument (the subject) and V licenses the internal arguments. Together these form what has been termed the “v-shell” (see e.g. Larson 1988, Chomsky 1995, Kratzer 1996).

### 1.2.3 Syntax and its interfaces

When we diagram a structure, traces and all, we are demonstrating the construction of a mental object, which only later finds its expression in the form of speech. The set of elements before derivation was once called the Deep Structure, or D-structure, and the full object after derivation was called the Surface or S-Structure. The following diagram illustrates the arrangement of the system.

(11) D-structure

↓

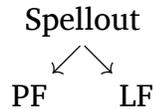
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<sup>2</sup>Scholars maintain the “wh-” terminology across languages.

<sup>3</sup>For those skeptical of how well these odd abstractions really capture human Syntax, examples in wh- provide some of the most convincing evidence that traces are in fact real. The phenomenon of “wanna-contraction,” whereby the collocation *want to* can be combined into *wanna*, is blocked in some dialects where the theory predicts the existence of a trace. See the following examples.

- (1) a. who do you want to kiss <who>?  
 b. who do you wanna kiss <who>?  
 c. who do you want <who> to <who> kiss you?  
 d. \* who do you wanna <who> kiss you?

It is important to note that *to* is a T head. In the last two examples, *who* must raise first into SpecTP, then into the main clause’s SpecCP. Wanna-contraction makes (1d) ungrammatical because it does not yield a place for the second trace of *who*.



The diagram indicates that the D-structure undergoes derivation; once the derivation is complete, the fully interpretable syntactic object undergoes a set of processes called “Spellout,” which build its Phonological Form (PF) as well as its semantic, Logical Form (LF). PF and LF are known as interfaces, because they pass the syntactic output to different systems. All of Phonology takes place between Spellout and PF. With the advent of Minimalism, the mechanics of this system were also recast. Instead of a D-structure, the Minimalist analog of this system begins with a “Numeration,” which refers to the unordered set of morphemes from which the syntactic structure is built.

It is important to note that a numeration does not necessarily contain all the elements in a sentence. Rather, the process leading from numeration to structure occurs periodically in units called “phases.” For example, in a sentence like *John knows that Bill likes peanuts*, the CP *that Bill likes peanuts* is one phase, and *John knows ...* is another. Many movements are possible within a phase, but there are further limitations on what can move from one phase to another; most importantly, only one element can move out of a phase, and only out of the so-called “edge” of the phase, which consists of the phase head and its specifier.

The field of Syntax often draws criticism for the abstractness of its representations and the methodology of its investigations. Regarding the first point, it is important to remember that these features and operations are only metaphors. When a syntactician speaks about a structure “transforming” or a word “moving,” she is not claiming that such a process actually occurs in the mind of the speaker; rather, these processes are only metaphors that aid in our representations of generation. To address the second point, it is easy to mistake syntactic research for baseless theorizing, because the syntactic experiments conducted to test hypotheses are so relatively simple. Having formed a hypothesis that explains

some syntactic phenomenon, the syntactician uses the hypothesis to generate phrases. If the phrase is judged grammatical by native speakers, the hypothesis has succeeded in modelling syntax. Syntactic hypotheses fail in two ways: either they “overgenerate” by predicting ungrammatical structures to be grammatical, or they “undergenerate” by predicting grammatical structures to be ungrammatical.

### 1.3 Syntax in the Rigveda

Vedic is a case language with a rich morphological system, much like Latin and ancient Greek (to which it is of course related), though its nouns have more cases (Instrumental and Locative, in addition to the six familiar cases of Latin) and numbers (a dual [more fully expressed than that in Greek] in addition to singular and plural), and its verbs exhibit a much wider range of inflectional possibilities. The language features clitics (particles and reduced forms of pronouns) which act as bound morphemes and can only occur to the right of a host word.

The syntax of Vedic has been studied in the western tradition ever since its importation into European academia, but until the advent of the generative movement spearheaded by Noam Chomsky in the late 1950's, these studies were entirely descriptive and usually incorporated into detailed reference grammars which encompassed phonetics, phonology, morphology, etc., often in a philological context, but with the main goal of aiding students of the language in reading texts. The precursor to what we call the field of Syntax was in these grammars represented by excursuses on word order. Bertold Delbrück devoted only ten pages to word order in his 1888 *Altindische Syntax* (pp 15-25). Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* of 1896 (primarily dedicated to Classical Sanskrit, though it offers depictions of Vedic too) is punctuated with notes on word order, each presented under the heading of a certain particle or form, only to explicate its usage. Nor did Macdonell, in his 1910

*Vedic Grammar*, treat word order separately, though he added a small section which did so in his 1916 abridgment, *A Vedic Grammar for Students* (pp 283-286). These and similar works, besides devoting little time to Vedic word order, also drew their insights not from the poetry of the Vedas, but from the prose of the Brāhmaṇas, because, as Macdonell states, “metrical considerations largely interfere with the ordinary position of words in the Saṁhitās” (1916:283).

The Brāhmaṇas offer us a view of later Vedic syntax, but to consider their investigation a replacement for investigating Rigvedic syntax would be akin to describing the syntax of Shakespeare’s English on the basis of current literary criticism concerning his works. The lack of a modern theoretical framework, however, has not much hindered attempts to understand the text nor to reconstruct proto-languages based on Rigvedic evidence. On the one hand, such reconstructions have traditionally focused on phonology and morphology. On the other hand, syntactic investigation can take many forms, not all of which require theoretical support, for example the usage of discourse particles or the composition of certain collocations. The purpose of applying modern theories to ancient languages is twofold: to reach a deeper understanding of the language’s mechanics, out of which further insights might be derived; and to bring another language into the purview of the theory.

There is an important caveat that we must observe in this application. For modern languages, the integrity of the theory depends on how well it explains the data, and we are careful to collect uncontaminated data. For ancient languages, our access to data is severely limited, and we must be skeptical of the data’s integrity. For instance, modern syntacticians tend to avoid poetry as a representative sample of a language, but for some ancient languages poetry is all we have. Therefore we must be prepared to call into question the data as readily as the theory.

## 1.4 Outline of this Work

The purpose of this work is to lay the groundwork for systematic syntactic investigations of the Rigveda. Chapter 2 will review the ideas of Hans Henrich Hock (1996) and Mark Hale (1996) concerning the syntax of the Rigvedic left periphery. I hope to show that Hock's prosodic template account is fundamentally deficient for two reasons: first because it is not, as Hock claims, anything like successful templatic accounts for other languages; second because it does not attempt to motivate the particular arrangement of the template proposed, a task which would lend itself to a generative analysis anyway. On the other hand, Hale's generative account explains the data adequately but does not conform well to the theory of syntax it employs. Searching for the best way to emend the account necessitates that we look into languages with phenomena similar to those of the Rigveda.

Chapter 3 will explore syntactic phenomena in other languages, where apparent similarity to Rigvedic could indicate a potential correspondence of their generative accounts. Without native speakers to consult or a deeper baseline of syntactic knowledge, the best identifiable similarities are those which manifest themselves well at the surface. These similarities include the verb-second phenomenon (V2), which parallels the rigid nature of the beginning of the Rigvedic clause, and the free word order phenomenon, which parallels the variety of word orders available in Rigvedic. Of the possible mechanisms behind free word order, one deserves special attention because of its pertinence to poetry; this is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 4 addresses the key issue of poetic manipulation, which resembles a language game in that special rules are consciously applied to well-formed output. After showing that well-formed output can and does change for metrical reasons in the composition of poetry, I propose a method for isolating potentially useful data within a poetic corpus by scanning each line of the work and counting the number of times each metrical pattern

occurs. Patterns which occur frequently are the most poetic lines, and therefore the least trustworthy for extracting syntactic information. Patterns which occur rarely are conversely more reliable sources of grammatical insight.

In Chapter 5 we will analyze five syntactic phenomena which manifest themselves in the ordering of words. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the integrity of the method outlined in Chapter 4 by demonstrating a confluence of evidence. If the premise of Chapter 4 is correct, then the syntactic patterns of the language should become more uniform as the frequency of the scansion pattern decreases. And, upon rearranging the words of certain verses, we should expect to discover metrical and grammatical motivations that agree with the statistical trend.

Chapter 6 mirrors Chapter 5: here we turn our attention towards a different set of phenomena, where new, metrically informed evidence of the kind tested in Chapter 5 will allow us to form a clearer picture of the language's syntax, by allowing us to disregard the phantom grammar that results from the poetic process.

Chapters 5 and 6 are alike in their layouts and goals but distinct in their approaches. Each chapter explores individual grammatical phenomena in the Rigveda in order to develop a piecemeal account of the language's syntax. Chapter 5 focuses on exploiting searchable sequences that identify certain grammatical patterns and finding correlations between the arrangements of those patterns and the relative frequency of the scansions they occur in. Establishing that correlation is necessary to demonstrate the efficacy of the method, but not all phenomena can be easily identified and tallied with a computerized search. Chapter 6 deals with grammatical patterns that cannot be easily searched, where rearrangement alone must provide evidence.

Chapter 7 offers suggestions and caveats concerning future research involving the method laid out in the previous chapters. Here we explore a phenomenon in Latin and one in ancient Greek as examples of the method's application outside of Rigvedic.

# Chapter 2

## Previous approaches to Vedic syntax

### 2.1 The traditional view of Vedic syntax

The linear order of Vedic Sanskrit is basically Subject-Object-Verb (SOV), but the specifics are more difficult to pin down. In much of the available attestation for Vedic, word order tends to be distorted by the poetic nature of the text. But there is a substantial amount of prose—albeit hundreds of years younger than the Saṁhitās—from which we can more surely determine a natural linear order. Scholars long ago noticed that the ordering of elements was most strictly patterned at the beginning of the Vedic sentence, which is traditionally referred to as the “initial string” but which modern generativists would call the “left periphery.” As regards the word order of Vedic initial strings, Macdonell in his *Vedic Grammar for Students* has this to say:

- (12) 191.a. The subject begins the sentence ... It may, however, be preceded by a particle like *utá* or occasionally by any other member of the sentence intended to be strongly emphasized ...

191.h. Enclitics cannot, of course, begin a sentence. If they belong to a particular word they follow it; otherwise they tend to occupy the second position in the sentence. ... *u, gha, ha, svid*, which refer to the statement of the whole sentence, occupy the second (or third) position in the sentence.

191.i. Even accented particles for the most part cannot begin a sentence. They either follow the word they emphasize ... or they occupy the second position in the sentence, as emphasizing the whole statement: *aṅgá, áha, íd, kīla, khálu, tú, nú, vái, hí*. The only particles that can begin the sentence are *átha, ápi, utá*; also *ná* if it negatives the whole sentence ...

191.j. Forms of the pronoun *tá* tend in B. to occupy the first position, especially *sá* when it anticipates a proper name in dialogues, or *tád* as an acc. when famous authorities are quoted ... (Macdonell 1916: 283-6)

The explanation is dense (and by modern standards convoluted), but this basically sets up a schema for the beginning of the sentence, containing a few slots which each accommodate a certain class of words. And so the grammar-book explanation gives us a template something like the following.

- (13) a. 1<sup>st</sup> Position                      2<sup>nd</sup> Position  
           subject, focus, etc.;    *u, gha, ha, svid*, etc.;    predicate
- b. 1<sup>st</sup> Position                      2<sup>nd</sup> Position                      3<sup>rd</sup> Position  
           *átha, ápi, utá, ná*;    subject, focus, etc.; *u, gha, ha, svid*, etc.;    predicate

The lists of words in these examples and in MacDonell’s text are far from comprehensive. Looking at the data, one finds that the Vedic sentence may begin with *ápi, átho, áthā, ádha, tád, táthā, téna, nú*, as well as some other less common connective words. These correspond roughly to English discourse markers like *then, indeed, therefore, and so, now, furthermore*, etc. Likewise, in addition to *u, gha, ha*, and *svid*, we also find in the second or third position enclitics and the particles *hí, evá, evám, sma, vái*, etc., which are traditionally called “asseverative particles” and usually have similarly discourse-marking values. More importantly, although they can modify verbs and certain other words, these

adverbial forms function as a class unto themselves. And so the example below, taken from the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (KB), typifies the Vedic sentence according to the grammar books (all caps indicate focus on an element).

(14) KB 15.1.20

1 <sup>st</sup> Position	2 <sup>nd</sup> Position	3 <sup>rd</sup> Position		
atho	dakṣiṇābhir	vai	yajñam	dakṣayati
so	gift.INS.PL	FOC	worship.ACC.SG	strengthen.3SG.PRS

“so indeed he strengthens the worship with GIFTS”

The placement of certain words in second position is not unfamiliar. A similar phenomenon is observed in Germanic languages: so-called verb-second or V2, which demands that the second constituent in the sentence be the finite verb. In Vedic, although the second position (as shown in [13a]) need not be filled, it is the home of sentential modifiers and reduced forms. But the initial string seems to contain an optional position (as shown in [13b]) which, if filled, kicks the first and second positions down to second and third, respectively.

Scholars have long accepted that Vedic distinguished a special second position for particles, but found it odd that first and second positions should be demoted when a particle occurred at the beginning of the sentence. For this reason, Indo-Europeanists tend rather to fix first and second position according to the words that usually occur there, leaving an optional position at the beginning of the sentence. It has been argued by Indo-Europeanists that this optional position is a special, extra-clausal “nexus” position that accommodates certain connective particles while allowing the following clause structure to remain autonomous (Dunkel 1990, Klein 1991, Hale 1993, Hock 1996), as exemplified in the following examples from the KB and Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (MS).

(15) a. KB 2.6.11

Nexus	1 <sup>st</sup> Position	2 <sup>nd</sup> Position	
	rātryā	u hi	śiṛṣant satyaṃ vadati
	night.INS.SG	also indeed	head.LOC.SG truth.ACC.SG speak.3SG

“also indeed by night he speaks truth in his head”

b. MS 1.5.5

Nexus	1 <sup>st</sup> Position	2 <sup>nd</sup> Position	
atho	devā	vai	pratnam
moreover	god.NOM.PL	indeed	ancient.NOM.SG

“moreover the gods [are] indeed the ancient [thing]”

c. MS 4.1.1

Nexus	1 <sup>st</sup> Position	2 <sup>nd</sup> Position	
(a)thaitarhi	devebhyo	eva	enā āpyāyayati
so.now	god.DAT.PL	truly	them.ACC.PL strengthen.3SG

“so at this point truly for the gods he strengthens them”

The descriptive adequacy of this schema suffices for many purposes, such as analyzing cases where habitually adjacent morphemes may combine and reduce into bound morphemes, a process known as grammaticalization. But for other purposes, such as reconstructing older syntactic patterns, there is need for a phrase-structural account.

## 2.2 Modern approaches to Vedic syntax

In more recent years, the syntax of Vedic has been investigated from a prosodic standpoint by Hans Henrich Hock (1996) and within the generative framework by Hale (1996). Both works concern themselves chiefly with explaining the placement of clitics, both consequently venturing to explain the structure of the Vedic left periphery. To avoid confusion, please note that both works appeared in the same volume and each responds to the other.

## 2.2.1 Hock's prosodic template

Hock begins his exposition by rejecting the notion that clitic placement must be a syntactic phenomenon. He cites work done on clitic strings in Pashto and Serbo-Croatian, where clitics, diverse in their functions, seem to crowd together into a single syntactic position. To show how the orders of these clitics are best accounted for with morphophonological templates, Hock provides the following for consideration.

- (16) a. Serbo-Croatian P2 clitic string template (Hock 1996: 210-11):  
*li Aux/Cop. D A/G se je*

where:

<i>li</i>	=	yes/no question particle
Aux/Cop.	=	Auxiliary or copula
D	=	dative pronoun
A/G	=	accusative/genitive pronoun clitic, except reflexive <i>se</i>
<i>se</i>	=	“reflexive” accusative/genitive clitic
<i>je</i>	=	3sg.pr. of the verb “to be”

- b. Pashto P2 clitic string template (Hock 1996: 212):  
*xo ba am am me/mo de ye no*

where:

<i>xo</i>	=	discourse particle (“indeed, really, of course”)
<i>ba</i>	=	modal (“will, might, must, should, may”)
<i>am</i>	=	first and second plural pronoun
<i>me</i>	=	first singular possessive pronoun
<i>mo</i>	=	first and second plural pronoun
<i>de</i>	=	modal (“should, had better, let”) AND second singular clitic pronoun
<i>ye</i>	=	third person singular/plural pronoun
<i>no</i>	=	discourse particle (“then”)

The takeaway here is that a fully syntactic approach could not account for the ordering of these clitic strings: some positions refer to categories, while others accommodate individual clitics, some of which properly belong to categories elsewhere accommodated.

Furthermore these strings are sensitive to phonological constraints: Serbo-Croatian, for instance, does not allow a string to contain two clitics that are homophonous, even though their functions may differ greatly.

Modeling his approach after the foregoing examples, Hock applies the idea of the morphophonological template to the Vedic initial string. His original template is as follows (though I have paraphrased the last sentence).

(17) Hock's 1989 Vedic initial strings template (Hock 1996: 215)

“NEXUS”	1	2	3	4	5
átho	Ǻ	P	Ǻ	E	Ǻ
sá	Ǻ	u	tú	naḥ	
tád		sma	vaí	enam	
Ǻ		ha	...	...	
		...	[RV: Ǻ]		

where:

- NEXUS = Quasi-conjunctive elements such as Ved. Pr. *átho*
- Ǻ = accented sentential particle
- P = unaccented sentential particle
- Ǻ = accented deictic (including demonstrative *tád, etád*, relative *yá-*, interrogative *ká-*, etc.); in the Rig-Veda this category includes preposition/adverbs (always accented)
- E = unaccented pronominal (both deictic and personal)
- Ǻ = other accented elements

All positions except Position 1 are optional, and likewise all positions except Position 1 can be doubled.

Because of the optionality of most positions and their ability to double, few examples in the data conform exactly to the template as it is presented. Consider the following examples (Hock's examples<sup>1</sup> [12a-d] [1996: 215-16]).

<sup>1</sup>The glosses of cited examples have been recast according to the Leipzig glossing rules. Original authors' translations have not been altered.

(18) a. KS 23.2

ádanti	ha	sma	vá	etásya	purā́nnam
Ḍ	P	P	Ḍ	Ḍ	
1	2	2	3	4	
eat.3PL	PCLE	PCLE	PCLE	he.GEN.SG	earlier.food.ACC.SG

“They eat his earlier food.” (PCLE = particle)

b. RV 1.186.7a

utá	na	īm	matáyó
Ḍ	E	E	
1	4	4	
&	we.GEN.PL	he.ACC.SG	thought.NOM.PL

’svayogāḥ ... rihanti  
horse.yoked.NOM.PL ... lick.3PL

“And our thoughts, yoked like horses, lick him ...”

c. RV 1.186.9a<sup>2</sup>

prá	nú	yád	eṣām
Ḍ	Ḍ	RP	E
1	3	3	4
forth	Pcle	when	they.GEN.PL

mahinā́ cikitré  
greatness.INS.SG be.visible.PERF.3PL

“When they have become visible in their greatness ...”

d. MS 3.3.10<sup>3</sup>

daívīm	ca	vāvā	asmā	etád
Ḍ	P	Ḍ	E	Ḍ
1	2	3	4	5
divine.ACC.SG	&[Pcle]	Pcle	he.DAT.SG	then

víśam mānuṣīm ca ánuvartamānau karoti  
tribe.ACC.SG human.ACC.SG &[Pcle] subservient.ACC.DU make.3SG

“He then makes both the divine tribe and the human one subservient to him.”

<sup>2</sup>Hock’s example refers to this line as RV 1.186.9b.

<sup>3</sup>I have added the position numbers to this example and emended a typo in *ánuvartamānau*.

Observe that in (18d), when all positions (the nexus excepted) are filled, the pattern of accented and unaccented words alternates. Hock claims that “the evidence of accent alternation supports the view that the template must be accounted for in the Phonological Form (PF), since alternating accentuation is a frequent target of phonological rules” (1996: 220).

But Hock also noticed differences between the initial strings of Vedic prose and those found in the Rigveda; in particular the placement of non-initial “*Ḍ*” elements in the Rigveda is more common in Position 3 than it is in 5. To incorporate these and the several other notes formally into the representation of his template, Hock offers the following reformulation.

(19) Reformulation of the 1989 template:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc}
 \text{“NEXUS”} & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
 & \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \acute{D} \\ \acute{X} \end{array} \right\} & (P) & \left( \begin{array}{c} \acute{P} \\ \langle \acute{D} \rangle \end{array} \right) & (E) & (\acute{D})
 \end{array}$$

Here, the curly brackets indicate that Position 1 does not permit doubling. Parentheses indicate the possibility of doubling. Angled brackets indicate that the enclosed pertains to the Rigveda only.

### 2.2.2 Problems with Hock’s account

Hock’s templatic account runs into several theoretical issues. He concedes that the alternating prosodic pattern of the template is not necessarily realized, “even in ‘well-behaved’ strings, since doubling can introduce several accented or unaccented elements in the same position and since at the same time any string-internal position may remain unfilled” (Hock 1996:227). Thus the prosodic pattern only holds for the template itself. Even so,

it is obvious that clitics, which cannot bear accent, must be incorporated into a prosodic word containing some accented element; so it is easy to see how the very existence of clitics lends itself to the alternating accent pattern which Hock describes. But the pattern itself must also be called into question. According to the literature (Chomsky and Halle 1968:77-9, Kager 1999:142-90), the tendency for accent alternation works at the level of morae, syllables, or feet. To posit, as Hock does, that words with lexical accent alternate with lexically unaccented words is an entirely different sort of claim. Since Hock imagines the template as a filter applied between Spellout and PF, we might assume that the filter passes the form along to the phonology, thus exempting the template from adherence to well-attested phonological principles. But this excuse would only indict the template as unprecedented. As Hock himself notes, Zwicky has said that “a quasi-morphological template with alternating accent would be highly unusual” (1996: 228). Given the weakness of the accent alternation argument, it is best ignored.

Another issue with Hock’s account is that, contrary to expectation, it makes no attempt to account for the ordering of clitics. For instance, it is interesting that we find (in the later language) the sequences *u ha*, *ha sma*, and even *u ha sma*, but never *\*u sma*, *\*ha u*, *\*sma ha*, etc. Although this idiosyncratic clitic behavior seems like the kind of place best suited for a templatic approach,<sup>4</sup> Hock only says that some positions in the template “permit doubling.” The omission throws into sharp relief the way Hock’s template differs from the accounts on which he bases his method. The Vedic template is not prepared to account for the order of contiguous clitics, which is the sole function of the Serbo-Croatian and

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<sup>4</sup>Note also that a templatic approach accounting for these three attested combinations could not follow quite the same combinatorial logic as the template Hock presents. In KB, for instance, *u* and *ha* (but not *sma*) occur in isolation and none is obligatory, so only a template with nesting can capture the situation. In TS, on the other hand, all three occur in isolation, but *u* never cooccurs with *ha* or *sma*, so only a template denoting exclusivity (here, with a slash) can obtain. In RV, each occurs in isolation, and none combine.

- (1) KB: ( u ) ( ha ( sma ) )
- (2) TS: ( u ) / ( ( ha ) ( sma ) )
- (3) RV: ( u ) / ( ha ) / ( sma )

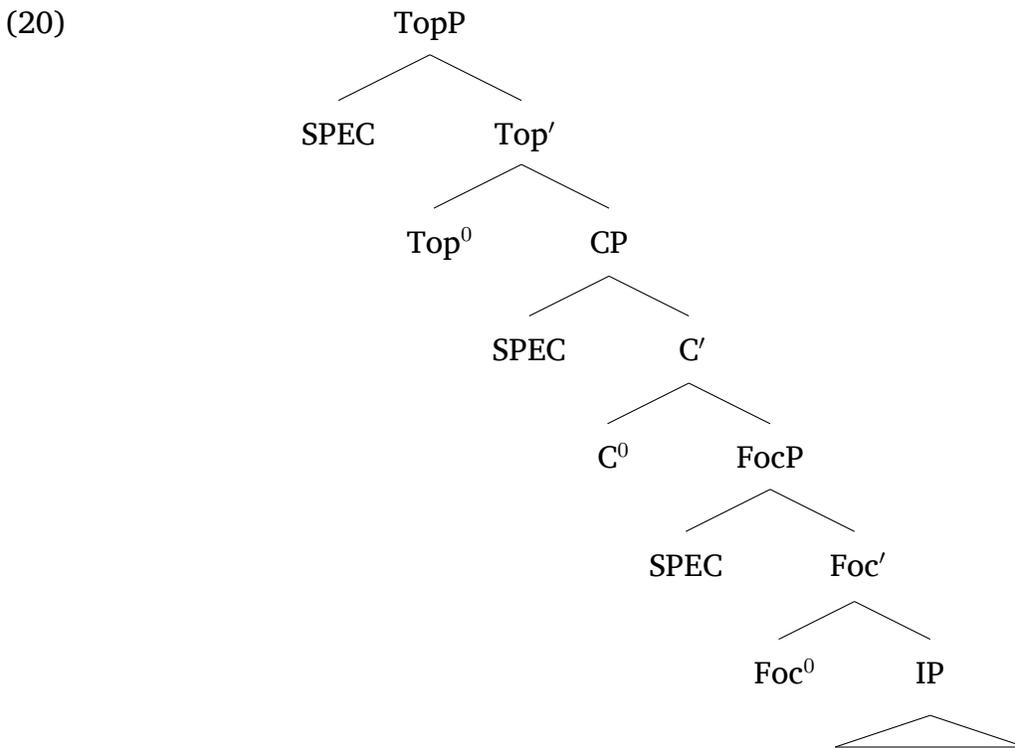
Pashto templates cited. Rather, the Vedic template attempts to account for the order of categories that are both syntactically and morphologically distinct. Hock's analysis, under scrutiny, becomes indistinguishable from a rudimentary syntactic account. Furthermore the rough nature of this effectively syntactic account offers little more than description. Without any established theoretical backing, we are hard pressed to derive predictions from the templatic account that can be evinced elsewhere in the language. That is: even if the templatic account is flawless, it simply does not explain enough to be considered a final word on the matter.

It is also worth noting that, even if this template reflects the reality of the situation and the form given by Hock is correct, it still does not explain how the language arrived at that particular form. Hock counts as an advantage to his type of approach that it "naturally accommodates some of the more idiosyncratic features of clitic strings, such as the fact that syntactically and functionally similar elements may appear in very different string positions." A template may accommodate such facts, but it cannot *explain* them. A different combination of the same templatic elements could yield the same prosodic pattern: Position 2 and Position 4 could be exchanged, as could Positions 1, 3, and 5. If the template is a synchronic reality, then there must also be a diachronic explanation for its form, which would in turn require a more comprehensive synchronic approach.

Mark Hale calls Hock's template "unabashedly stipulative" and criticizes the approach for disregarding syntactic structure altogether (1996: 169). This criticism is (only) irrelevant within the bounds of Hock's argument, since he claims that the template is applied "in a post-syntactic component of 'PF'" (1996: 213), thus allowing it to sweep away previous syntactic derivation. However, Hale's criticism obtains at the level of methodology, in answer to which he offers his own generative account.

## 2.3 Hale's generative account

Hale's work is based around refuting Hock's prosodic template approach to explaining the Vedic initial string. Hale's proposed structure, shown in (20), is basically a structural reformulation of Hock's template; both are based on straightforward observations of attested word orders in the Rigveda.



For instance, Hale justifies the position of (the provisionally labeled) TopP by observing that topicalized material occurs to the left of everything, including complementizers and wh-moved elements, as in the following examples (Hale's examples [4] and [7] [1996: 169-70]).

(21) RV 4.12.2a

idhmám            yás            te            jabhárac            chaśramāṇáh  
 kindling.ACC.SG REL.NOM.SG you.CL bore.PRF.3SG exerting.himself.NOM.SG

“who, exerting himself, bore the kindling to you” (CL = clitic)

(22) RV 10.114.7c

ápnānam      tīrthām      ká      ihá prá vocat  
attained.ACC.SG course.ACC.SG who.NOM.SG here forth speak.3SG

“who can proclaim here the attained course?”

To the right of CP, Hale notes the occurrence of accented deictics which seem to indicate the existence of some functional projection. Although not entirely comfortable with the label, he identifies this projection as FocP.

Hale goes on to show how this structure can account for data which Hock’s template cannot; he provides the following examples (Hale’s [22] and [24] [1996: 185]) to showcase its explanatory power.

(23) RV 1.110.2a

ābhogāyam      prá yád ichánta      áitana  
nourishment.ACC.SG forth when seeking.NOM.PL go.PRF.2PL

“when, seeking nourishment, you went forth ...”

(24) RV 7.103.2a

divyá      ápo      abhí yád enam      áyan  
divine.NOM.PL water.NOM.PL around when he.ACC.SG.CL come.impf.3PL

“when the divine waters encircled him”

Unless Hock’s Position 1 can be doubled (which he says cannot happen), the initial string elements in these examples are out of position.

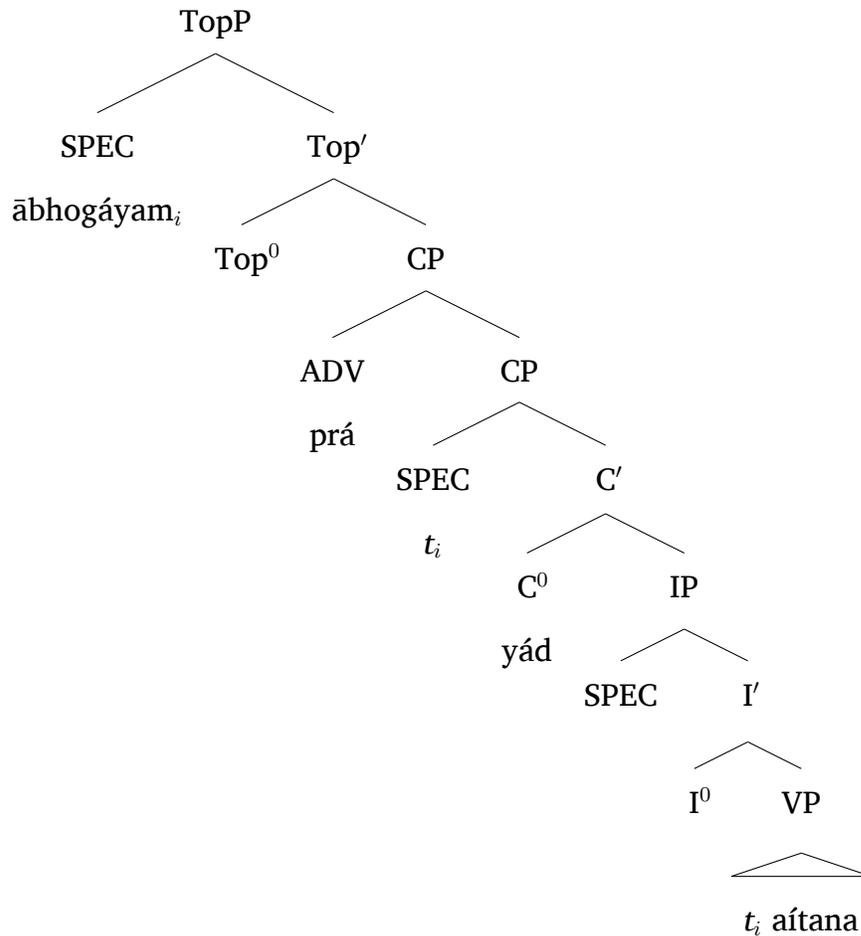
### 2.3.1 Problems with Hale’s account

Although Hale’s structure seems to attain descriptive adequacy, it runs into a number of theoretical problems.

## The Adjunct Island Constraint

Hale offers the following diagram for the line in (23) (1996: 186). I have added the traces in order to show the movements necessary for deriving the structure.

(25) <sup>5</sup>



It is clear that in order for *ābhogáyam* to occupy SpecTopP, it must have originated within the embedded CP. But the meaning of *yád* here is ‘when’; and the following lines show that the CP in this structure is an adjunct to the matrix clause.

<sup>5</sup>Hale gives the following in a footnote to this diagram: “I have simplified the tree somewhat in the following ways: I have not indicated the “traces” left by moved constituents (thus the subject NP, *ābhogáyam ichánta* has moved out of the SPEC,VP slot and in addition *ābhogáyam* has moved out of the subject-NP into the SPEC,TopP position) and I have chosen not to show verb movement to I, although it is possible that it took place in this clause (it would, of course, be string-vacuous).”

(26) RV 1.110.2

ābhogáyam prá yád ichánta aítana / ápākāḥ práñco máma ké cid āpáyaḥ  
“when, seeking nourishment, you went forward, crafty ones, as some kind of  
friends of mine,”

saúdhanvanāsaś caritása bhūmánā / ágachata savitúr dāsúšo grhám  
“sons of Sudhanvan, after long journeying, you came to the home of liberal Savi-  
tar”

But if the CP in question is functioning as an adjunct, then it ought to be impossible to move anything out of it, since this would cause a violation similar to those in the starred English examples below.

- (27) a. Johnny laughed when the dog chased the cat  
b. \* what<sub>i</sub> did Johnny laugh when the dog chased t<sub>i</sub>?  
c. \* THE CAT<sub>i</sub> Johnny laughed when the dog chased t<sub>i</sub>

Whether it be caused by wh-movement or focus-fronting, any movement out of the embedded CP of (27a) causes ungrammaticality. Cross-linguistic observations of this sort<sup>6</sup> have prompted the formulation of the Adjunct Island Constraint (restated below).

(28) Adjunct Island Constraint

Nothing can move out of an adjunct.

Hale’s account predicts structures that violate this principle, in large part because it is based on observations of structures that appear to violate it grammatically. Either the Adjunct Island Constraint does not apply in the Rigveda, or Hale’s account needs to be revised in some way.

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<sup>6</sup>Most notably by Ross [1967], who coined the term “island” to describe any phrase out of which elements cannot be moved grammatically.

## The Adjunction Prohibition

Another theoretical problem with Hale’s account stems from his treatment of the lexical category exemplified by *prá* in (23), repeated here for convenience.

(23) RV 1.110.2a

ābhogáyam            prá yád ichánta            áitana  
nourishment.ACC.SG forth when seeking.NOM.PL go.PRF.2PL

“when, seeking nourishment, you went forth ...”

Although presented parenthetically, his assumptions regarding the nature of preverbs have significant bearing on the accuracy of his entire analysis.

Hale analyzes preverbs occurring left of relatives to be adjoined to the CP, which is not a problem for the clause given in (23). But he posits the same structure for all CPs, regardless of other properties.

(29) RV 8.101.3ab

prá yó            vām            mitrāvaruṇā            / ajiró  
forth REL.NOM.SG you.VOC.DU.CL Mitra.Varuṇa.VOC.DU swift.NOM.SG  
dūtó            ádravat  
messenger.NOM.SG run.IMP.3SG

“which swift messenger ran forth to you two, O Mitra and Varuṇa”

In the example above (Hale’s example [19]), *prá* is analyzed as it is in (25), as an adjunct to a CP. However, this CP is functioning as an argument (here, the subject), which means it has been semantically selected (s-selected) by a lexical head (the verb). In English, it is impossible for anything to adjoin to an s-selected CP, as the following examples demonstrate.

(30) a.    when you go to Italy, who do you visit?

- b. \* I like [[when you go to Italy] [who you visit]]
- c. tomorrow, what will Bill eat?
- d. \* I know [[tomorrow] [what Bill will eat]]

7

In (30a), the CP *who do you visit* is not being s-selected, because it is the main clause. However in (30b), *who you visit* is being s-selected by the verb *like*. This difference in grammaticality is captured by a (supposedly universal) law known as the Adjunction Prohibition (Chomsky 1986: 6, McCloskey 2006).

### (31) Adjunction Prohibition

Adjunction to a phrase s-selected by a lexical head is ungrammatical

(30a) allows the adjunction of the CP *when you go to Italy* because the CP *who do you visit* is the main clause and is therefore not s-selected by any lexical head, as it is in (30b). This prohibition, however, also predicts that (29) should be ungrammatical, if indeed *prá* should be analyzed as an adjunct. Therefore it is likely that the equation of preverbs with adverbs cannot stand (for which I hope to give further evidence in the following section), an insight which will require extensive reworking of Hale's model.

### Preverbs

Hale makes brief mention of the category of *prá*, noting that such an element is “normally referred to in the Indo-Europeanist literature as a ‘preverb’ ...I take these elements to be adverbs (or PPs with null objects in adverbial function) and to have the distributional

---

<sup>7</sup>We expect right-adjunction to the CP to be equally ungrammatical, but it is difficult to demonstrate this through example. The sentence *I know what Bill will eat tomorrow* succeeds because *tomorrow* parses as an adjunct to the verb *eat*. The grammatical reading blocks the ungrammatical one.

- (1) I know what Bill [[will eat] [tomorrow]]
- (2) \* I know [[what Bill will eat] [tomorrow]]

range of adverbs ...” (Hale 1996: 184). But in that case it is unclear why, in example (23), *prá* should be adjoined to the CP but construed only with the finite verb. We would expect the scope of an adverb to match the level at which it adjoins. The paradox is especially acute in (23), because the intervening participle *ichánta* is also perfectly capable of collocating with *prá*. However, the fact that preverbs lose their accent and are not separable when combined with participles, infinitives, and gerunds (Whitney 1896: 1085) allows one to reliably construe *prá* with *áitana*, but at the same time challenges Hale’s assumption that preverbs “have the distributional range of adverbs.”

Furthermore, collocations of preverb + verb closely resemble those of English verb + particle in their observed semantic effects. Just as English *blow up* is not intelligible as the semantic addition of [BLOW] and [UP], neither are the meanings of Vedic preverb + verb combinations completely intelligible by combining their meanings. Consider the following selection from the definition of *vac* ‘speak’ in Grassman’s *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* (1873: 1191).

(32) **vac** [Cu. 620], 1) *reden, sprechen ...*

Mit **ácha** 1) jemand, etwas [A.] für einen andern [D.] oder für sich selbst (med.) *herbeirufen*; 2) jemand [A.] *anrufen, begrüßen ...*

**ádhi** für jemand [D.] *fürsprechen, fürsorgen ...*

**â** 1) jemand [A.] *anrufen*; 2) jemandem [D.] etwas [A.] *aussprechen, zurufen.*

**úpa** 1) jemand [A.] *ermuntern, antreiben ...*

**prá** 1) etwas [A.] *verkünden, kund machen*, auch 2) mit direkter oder indirekter Rede; 3) Loblied [A.] *aussprechen*; 4) jemand oder etwas [A.] *preisen ...*

It is clear that these elements, however they should be treated, ought not to be classified along with adverbs, which do not exhibit similar behavior.

## The Phase-Impenetrability Condition

Given the arguments put forth in the previous sections, it seems imperative that we repair Hale's analysis by not treating preverbs as adjuncts to CP. But if a preverb cannot be adjoined at CP, then it must have originated within the CP and been subsequently moved. Now we are left to determine where in the structure the preverb has been moved to. SpecCP could be the landing site, but in a line like (23), where both a preverb and a focused element occur to the left of the complementizer, the filling of SpecCP should make it ungrammatical to extract anything else. This is because the CP constitutes a phase. According to the theory, derivations occur not sentence by sentence, but phase by phase. In order for an element to move from a lower phase into a higher one, it must occupy the phase's edge, which (in the case of a CP phase) comprises SpecCP, C, and any adjuncts to CP. The Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC) formalizes this.

(33) Phase-Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001: 13):

In a phase HP with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside HP, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

Since CPs are posited universally to be phases, the PIC basically says that SpecCP acts as an "escape hatch," which is the only path by which material can leave the CP. In languages like English, this condition helps account for the long-distance movement of embedded *wh*- words.

(34) [<sub>CP</sub> what<sub>i</sub> did you say [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> that Bob thought [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> John should give t<sub>i</sub> to Mary?]]]

In the example above, the *wh*- word is able to move from its site of base-generation by hopping from one SpecCP to the next, a phenomenon known as “successive cyclicity.” Since the traces of the word fill the lower specifier positions, nothing else can occupy them, which accounts for the English bans on things like multiple-*wh* movement and the cooccurrence of *wh*-movement with focus or topicalization.

- (35) \* [<sub>TopP</sub> to Mary<sub>j</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> what<sub>i</sub> did you say [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>?</sub> that Bob thought [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>?</sub> John should give t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>?]]]]
- (36) [<sub>CP</sub> what<sub>i</sub> did you say [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> that Bob thought [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> John should give t<sub>i</sub> to whom?]]]]
- (37) [<sub>CP</sub> to whom<sub>i</sub> did you say [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> that Bob thought [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> John should give what t<sub>i</sub> ?]]]]
- (38) \* [<sub>CP</sub> to whom<sub>j</sub> what<sub>i</sub> did you say [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>?</sub> that Bob thought [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>?</sub> John should give t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> ?]]]]

It is crucial to Hale’s analysis that *ābhogāyam* in (23) move through SpecCP on its way to SpecTopP. But if the escape hatch is blocked by a preverb, then this movement should be impossible. It is tempting to assert that in Rigvedic, CP is not a phase, that TopP is, and that the escape hatch function properly belongs to SpecTopP. Such a move would be premature, though, since the integrity of our poetic data is hardly sound enough to warrant overturning universals without a good deal more evidence. There are, however, some workable repairs (such as admitting multiple specifiers) which we will address in the following chapter.

## 2.4 A most puzzling phenomenon

Up to this point, I have only focused on Hale’s difficulty in explaining (23). However, the criticisms expressed in the previous section are not unique to Hale’s approach. Indeed it is the verse itself which seems to violate theoretical principles such as the PIC. Nor is it an isolated occurrence. I have found 8 verses where an element properly belonging to

the embedded CP occurs to the left of a preverb that also belongs to that CP: 9.73.6a, 1.110.2a, 1.161.3a, 5.32.1c, 6.15.14c, 5.15.2d, 7.103.2a, 10.123.8a. Let us take each example in turn.

(39) RV 9.73.6a

pratnān mánād ádhi á yé samásvarañ  
 ancient.ABL.SG building.ABL.SG out.of to REL.NOM.PL together.sound.IMPF.3PL

“they who sounded together out of the ancient building”

In this example, the adpositional phrase *pratnān mánād ádhi* properly belongs with the embedded verb *ásvarañ* and seems to have violated the Adjunction Prohibition by moving across the relative pronoun *yé*. Furthermore the verb is combining with two preverbs: *sam* and *á*, one of which is occupying the position directly left of the relative, which should also prohibit *pratnān mánād ádhi* from moving to its observed location.

(40) RV 1.161.3a

agníṃ dūtám práti yád ábravītana  
 Agni.ACC.SG messenger.ACC.SG back REL.ACC.SG speak.IMPF.2PL

“what you replied to the messenger Agni”

This example incurs the same violations as the previous. The argument *agníṃ dūtám* has been illegally moved out of the embedded CP, even across the preverb *práti* which is blocking the escape hatch.

(41) RV 5.15.2d

jātaír ájātāṃ abhí yé nanakṣúḥ  
 born.INS.PL unborn.ACC.PL to REL.NOM.PL approached.PRF.3PL

“they who have attained the unborn through the born”

Once again, this example incurs the same violations though in greater number, since *ájātāṁ* is an argument of the verb and *jātaír* is not, thus making them separate constituents. It appears then, that this example contains three separate elements to the left of the relative.

(42) RV 5.32.1c

mahāntam indra párvataṁ ví yád váḥ  
 great.ACC.SG Indra.VOC.SG mountain.ACC.SG apart when open.2SG

“when, O Indra, you opened up the great mountain”

In this example, it is the Adjunct Island Constraint which is violated by the movement of *mahāntam párvataṁ* out of the CP, though again we see the added difficulty of having a preverb, here *ví*, blocking the escape hatch.

(43) RV 6.15.14c

ṛtā yajāsi mahinā ví yád bhúr  
 truth.ACC.PL offer.SUBJ.2SG might.INS.SG away when be.2SG

“you will offer truths when you have become manifest with your greatness?”

(44) RV 7.103.2a

divyā āpo abhí yád enam áyan  
 heavenly.NOM.PL water.NOM.PL to when he.ACC.SG come.IMP.3PL

“when the heavenly waters came to him”

(45) RV 10.123.8a

drapsáḥ samudrám abhí yáj jígāti  
 drop.NOM.SG sea.ACC.SG to when go.3SG

“when the drop goes to the sea”

As in (42), these three lines appear to violate the Adjunct Island Constraint, because in each one an element has been moved out of an adjoined CP. And each one also contains a preverb in a position which ought to block that CP’s escape hatch in any case.

Rigvedic syntax does not seem to conform to the theory, as these examples make apparent. Therefore it is with these most troublesome verses in mind that we ought to approach the task of investigating the language. Any analysis of Rigvedic syntax must account for this phenomenon.

## 2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I hope to have shown that Hock's and Hale's accounts contain several theoretical complications which stifle their explanatory power beyond the level of descriptive adequacy. Hock's prosodic template, insofar as it treats syntactic phenomena, cannot replace a generative approach, and Hale's generative treatment (i.) violates the Adjunct Island Constraint, (ii.) violates the Adjunction Prohibition, and (iii.) relies on a misrepresentation of the category of preverb in order not to (iv.) violate the Phase-Impenetrability Condition. Nor does it seem that any small amount of tweaking can remedy these conflicts, since the verses themselves appear to violate supposedly universal constraints. As I have mentioned before, Hale's proposed structures are based on straightforward observations and appear (even despite their theoretical complications) to achieve descriptive adequacy. And regardless of our ability to explain them, we cannot dismiss the phenomena attested in the text without cause. In order to arrive at a more theoretically sound account of the data, I shall now turn to some work done in other languages, which might be brought to bear on the situation in Vedic.

# Chapter 3

## Parallels in other languages

In the search to reconcile the data from the Rigveda with theoretical explanations of modern (and thus more comprehensive) data, it benefits us to look for parallels in other languages. If one of our difficult problems with the text has already been solved elsewhere, we need only match up that explanation with Rigvedic examples and see how well it fits.

These problems, to summarize Chapter 1, are all generally word order problems. We observe discontinuous constituents, apparent island violations, and a certain degree of variability in the positions of Subject, Object, and Verb. Nevertheless the initial string or left periphery of the Rigvedic CP appears to be more rigid in its formulation, which allowed earlier grammarians to assign numbered positions to its composition (see Chapter 2).

In this chapter, I will briefly examine work done on verb-second and free word order phenomena, ending each look with a comparison to examples from the Rigveda. Finally I will argue that not all these approaches are equally effective. Although several explanations appear to warrant further investigation, the final possibility explored—that of post-syntactic reordering—requires more immediate attention.

### 3.1 Germanic V2

The rigidity of the Vedic initial string vaguely resembles that of the Germanic verb-second phenomenon (V2), since both involve the strict ordering of elements near the beginning of the clause. The German sentence has traditionally been analyzed as a sequence of positions, into which different kinds of elements may fit. The first position is the *Vorfeld*, “fore-field,” which can host sentential adverbs or elements moved from lower in the clause. After the *Vorfeld*, the bulk of the sentence’s material is included in the *Satzklammer*, “sentence frame.” The *Satzklammer* begins with the finite verb, ends with the non-finite verb if there is one, and sandwiches the *Mittelfeld*, “middle-field,” in between. The initial positions of Vedic are numbered.

- |      |    |  |                          |                       |
|------|----|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|
|      |    | 1 <sup>st</sup> Position                                       | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Position |                       |
| (46) | a. | rātryā   | u hi                     | śīṛṣant satyam vadati |
|      |    | night  | also indeed              | head truth speaks     |
|      |    | “also indeed by night he speaks truth in his head” (KB 2.6.11) |                          |                       |

- |  |    |   |             |               |                 |
|--|----|---|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
|  |    | Vorfeld   | Finite Verb | Mittelfeld    | Non-finite Verb |
|  | b. | den Hans  | wird        | Maria morgen  | treffen         |
|  |    | the Hans  | will        | Mary tomorrow | meet            |
|  |    | “tomorrow Mary will meet Hans” (Frey 2006: 235) |             |               |                 |

As this example demonstrates, in Vedic, second position contains a subset of the language's particles; in German, it contains the finite verb. It is possible that the mechanisms underlying these surface phenomena are similar, so explanations of Germanic V2 may yield some insight into the workings of Vedic CPs.

### 3.1.1 V2 as CP recursion

One of the most popular (pre-Rizzi 1997) explanations for V2 is that the finite verb moves from V to T, then from T to C, with the Vorfeld corresponding to SpecCP. Obviously the verb cannot move into C if there is an overt element occupying it, which explains why in German, V2 does not occur in embedded clauses. The difference is illustrated in the following examples.

- (47) a. V2 observed in main clause

[<sub>CP</sub> den Hans [<sub>C'</sub> wird<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Maria morgen  
the.ACC.SG Hans.ACC.SG will Mary.NOM.SG tomorrow  
treffen t<sub>1</sub> ] ] ]  
meet.INF

“tomorrow Mary will meet Hans”

- b. no V2 observed in embedded clause

[<sub>CP</sub> dass [<sub>TP</sub> Maria morgen den Hans treffen  
that.C) Mary[NOM.SG] tomorrow the.ACC.SG Hans.ACC.SG meet.INF  
wird ] ]  
will

“that tomorrow Mary will meet Hans”

In the main clause, the auxiliary verb *wird* moves into C; in the embedded clause, C is already occupied by the complementizer *dass*, so that *wird* cannot move.

This approach does not work equally well for all Germanic languages. In Danish, Icelandic, Yiddish, and others, the account breaks down when applied to embedded clauses, because these languages also exhibit V2 there. Many researchers, including Vikner (1995), deHaan & Weerman (1986: 86), Holmberg (1986: 110), Platzack (1986: 225), and Authier (1992) resolve the issue of embedded V2 by positing CP-recursion.

(48) Danish

vi ved [<sub>CP</sub> at [<sub>CP</sub> denne bog har Bo ikke læst ] ]  
 we know that.C this book has Bo not read

“we know that Bo has not read this book” (Vikner 1995: 67)

But the idea of CP-recursion in general is supported by the occurrence of complementizer stacking elsewhere, like in Dutch.

(49) Dutch

welk boek of / dat / of-dat Jan gelezen heeft  
 which book if / that / if-that John read has

“which book John read”

Here we see that the sentence remains grammatical whether the complementizer be *of*, *dat*, or both of them together as *of dat*. Vedic does not exhibit any such overt stacking of complementizers, but the mere fact that they are possible in an Indo-European language should lend some credence to an account positing CP-recursion in Vedic. Therefore let us apply the idea to the troublesome example (23) from Chapter 2.

(50) [<sub>CP<sub>1</sub></sub> ābhogáyam [<sub>C<sub>1</sub>'</sub> ∅ [<sub>CP<sub>2</sub></sub> prá [<sub>C<sub>2</sub>'</sub> yád ichánta  
 nourishment.ACC.SG NULL.C<sub>1</sub> forth when.C<sub>2</sub> seeking.NOM.PL  
 aítana ] ] ]  
 go.PRF.2PL

“when, seeking nourishment, you went forth ...”

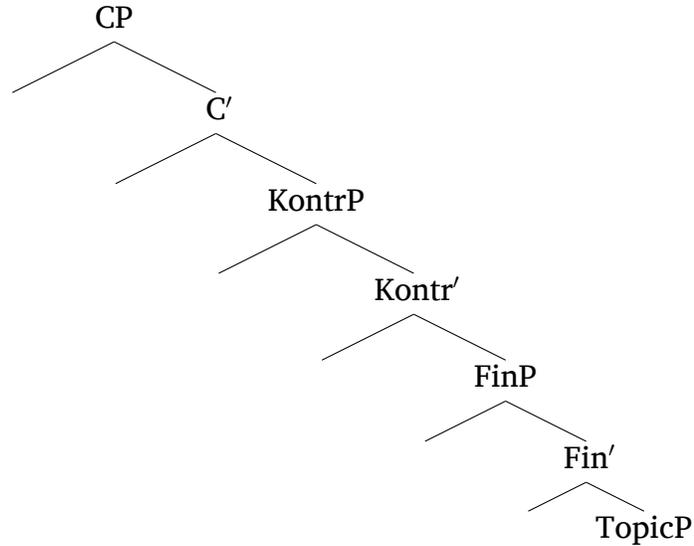
This yields us a Spec position for each element left of *yád*, but it violates the PIC because, with SpecCP<sub>2</sub> being filled by *prá*, *ābhogáyam* should not be able to be extracted. Taking *prá* as an adjunct to CP<sub>2</sub> would no longer violate the Adjunction Prohibition, since it is C<sub>1</sub> that will have been s-selected; agreement could be invoked (probably not without complication) to explain the morphological marking of C<sub>2</sub>, but the scopal incongruity of adjoining preverbs at CP would stand.

It is clear that CP-recursion alone cannot explain what is going on here. But if we could take the CP<sub>2</sub> from (50) as something less than a phase, perhaps a “weak phase” or an XP with properties different from those of a normal CP, then these issues could all be resolved. But in order to explore the nature of this hypothetical category, and to determine whether it is the right path to follow, I will now turn to some work by Werner Frey (2006).

### 3.1.2 Frey’s approach to V2

Werner Frey’s (2006) account of V2 in German borrows the ideas of structural incorporation of topic and focus, as well as the FinP projection, from Rizzi’s (1997) cartographic approach. He argues for a German left periphery (which he refers to more specifically as the “C-domain”) of the following shape.

(51) Frey’s model of the German left periphery (2006: 254)



In the above structure, SpecKontrP hosts material associated with contrastive focus and SpecFinP can host material moved out of the Mittelfeld to check a pure Extended Projection Principle (EPP) feature (Frey calls this “formal movement” (FM), and chooses Rizzi’s FinP because it is not associated with a particular pragmatic interpretation). Since German only allows one element to occur before the finite verb, Frey posits a ban on multiple EPP features, and goes on to argue that the German Vorfeld can be filled in three different ways depending on what EPP feature the C-domain contains: by base-generation of sentential adverbs, via FM, or by focus fronting, as in the following examples (Frey’s examples [18c] [2006: 243], [43], and [45] [2006: 255], respectively).

(52) a. base-generation

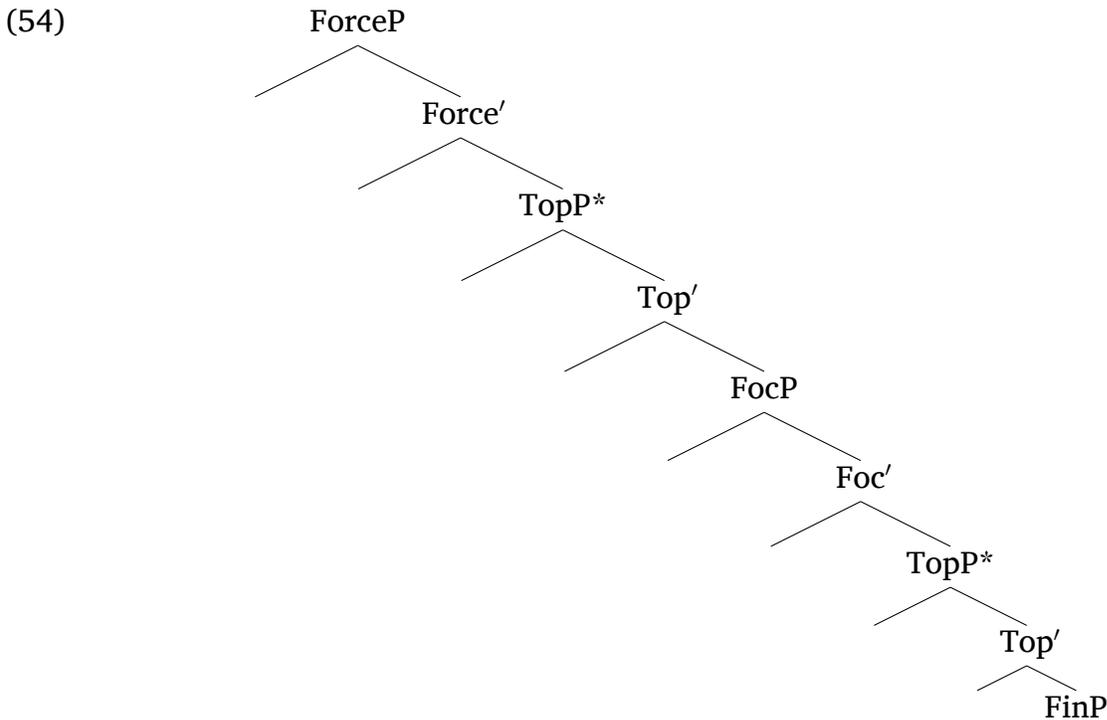
[<sub>CP</sub> Kein Wunder [<sub>C'</sub> spricht<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Peter so gut Französisch t<sub>1</sub> ] ] ] ]  
 no wonder speaks Peter so well French  
 “no wonder Peter speaks French so well”

b. formal movement

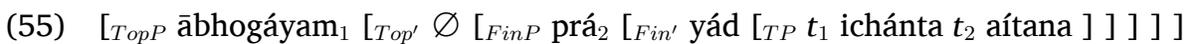
[<sub>FinP</sub> leider<sub>1</sub> [<sub>Fin'</sub> hat<sub>2</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> keiner dem alten Mann geholfen  
 unfortunately has nobody the old man helped  
 t<sub>2</sub> ] ] ] ] ]



At this point we have altered Frey’s proposal to more closely resemble Rizzi’s, and we must ask ourselves whether it is not better just to adopt Rizzi’s structure for Vedic. Besides identifying complementizers like *yád* with  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  heads, this would require the adoption of a Force Phrase (ForceP), whose head selects the clause type, two Topic Phrases (TopP), and a Focus Phrase (FocP), arranged thus, where the asterisk indicates that each TopP can undergo recursion.



As far as our previous examples go, the main difference here is the name of the labels: it is now a  $\text{Top}^\circ$  head responsible for the movement of *ābhogáyam*.



The alterations to Frey’s structure, as well as the adoption of Rizzi’s structure, may work well for the example given, where *yád* is easily classified as a complementizer or a  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  head, but neither can explain instances involving an inflected relative in *yá-*, as in the following example.

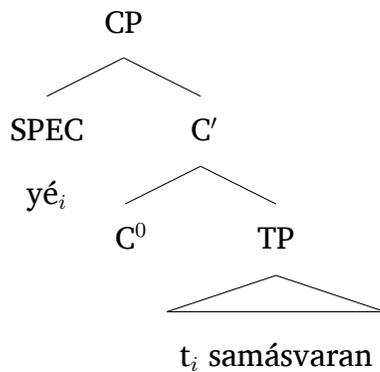
(56) 10.96.2a

*háriṃ hí yónim abhí yé samásvaran*  
yellow.ACC.SG FOC womb.ACC.SG towards REL.NOM.PL together.sound.3.PL

“those who sang together towards the golden womb”

Here we expect *yé* to have moved into a specifier position from where it is base-generated inside the *v*-shell. Under any version of Frey’s analysis, this leaves the phrase *háriṃ hí yónim abhí* without any defined place in the structure.

(57) *háriṃ hí yónim abhí yé samásvaran*



Likewise in Rizzi’s structure, relative pronouns occupy the specifier of ForceP, the highest level of the C-domain, which cannot be preceded by topics (1997: 298). Therefore, for either analysis, we would need to posit yet another phrase level to accommodate all the moved elements.

So it seems that bringing a Germanic V2 account to bear on Rigvedic would not be a straightforward translation of structural analogs. For although the languages exhibit a similar rigidity in the arrangement of their leftmost material, scrutiny reveals that the nature of those arrangements is rather fundamentally different. Let us therefore no longer entertain these treatments as possibilities for Rigvedic.

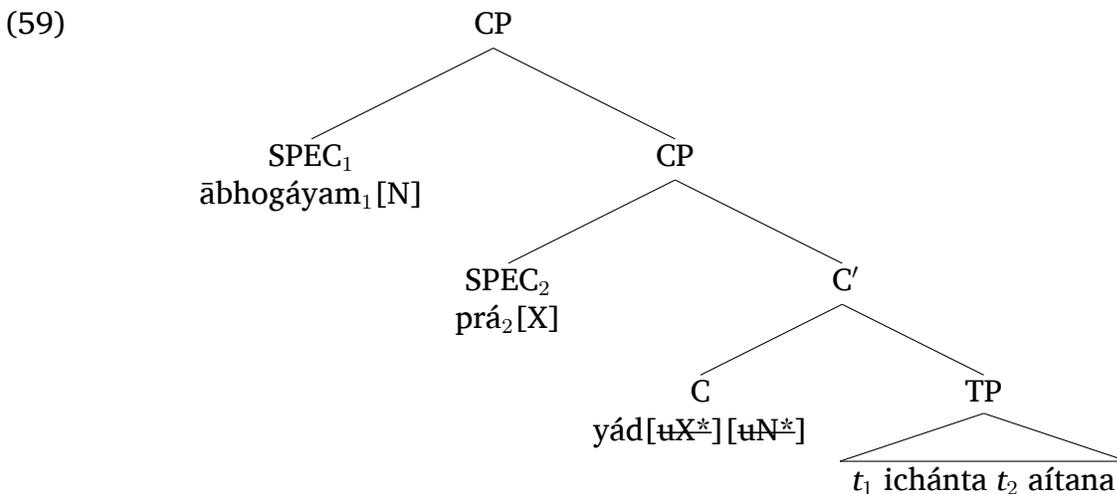
### 3.1.3 Multiple Specifiers

Multiple specifiers are prohibited in X-bar theory, but in his *Minimalist Program*, Chomsky states that “in principle, there might be a series of specifiers” (1995: 245). Chomsky applies his discussion of multiple specifiers to the phenomenon of Icelandic transitive expletive constructions (thus inviting application to Germanic V2), but a more apparent application obtains for Bulgarian, which exhibits multiple wh-movement.

- (58)  $koj_i$              $na\ kogo_k$              $kakvo_j$              $t_i\ e$              $dal$      $t_j\ t_k$   
 who.NOM.SG to who.DAT.SG what.ACC.SG be.3.SG given  
 “who gave what to whom?” (Rudin 1988: 461)

Positing multiple specifiers to CP is one straightforward way to account for this multiplicity. From there, and in accordance with the theory, it can be stipulated that the possibility for multiple specifiers exists as a parameter among languages, being allowed in Bulgarian but not in English.

The ramifications of allowing multiple specifiers are directly relevant to the mapping of the Rigvedic left periphery. If we take Rigvedic to allow multiple specifiers, we can account for example (23) thus:



The motivation for the movements of *ābhogāyam* and *prá* comes from the strong features on the complementizer *yád*. Based on examples (39-45) in Chapter 2, we can say something about these edge features without going into too detailed a discussion. Most obviously, all these examples exhibit the movement of a preverb, so the complementizer in each must bear a strong uninterpretable feature that can only be checked by the category to which preverbs belong (provisionally labeled X). The complementizer must also bear a strong uninterpretable feature that can be checked by at least two other categories: N (as in the above example) or P (as in [39]).

This account resolves the apparent island violations, because *ābhogāyam* never actually leaves the island; it is still sitting at the left edge of the embedded CP. The account could be falsified by finding matrix clause material intervening between the two moved elements, but we do not find such instances. Therefore it seems worthwhile to entertain this explanation as a viable possibility.

## 3.2 The free word order phenomenon

Some languages exhibit a great degree of variability in the acceptable arrangements of their constituents. Though much discussed in recent literature (Bayer and Kornfilt 1994, Broekhuis 2000, Fanselow 2001, Fanselow 2003, Hale 1983, Hinterhölzl 2006, Müller and Sternfeld 1994, Pullum 1982, Neeleman 1994, Saito 1992), the original forays into generative syntax left these cases almost entirely untouched, either citing stylistic contamination or leaving the problem for future researchers. Since Rigvedic appears to exhibit some degree of free word order, the phenomenon warrants discussion.

“Free word order” is actually an umbrella term. There are several different phenomena that appear responsible for a language’s word order freedom. Languages with very free word order are often described as non-configurational, implying that word order is not an

important aspect of their syntax. The phenomenon of scrambling refers to an optionality of constituent arrangement in an otherwise ordered language, and has been variously explained as syntactic movement, a post-syntactic phonological process (occurring at PF), or post-syntactic stylistic movement (occurring consciously). The boundaries between these phenomena are not always clear, nor are the phenomena themselves particularly well understood.

### 3.2.1 Non-configurationality

Non-configurational languages are characterized by extremely free word order or extreme discontinuity of constituents. The Australian language Warlpiri is one such language, as the examples below demonstrate.

(60) Warlpiri (Hale 1983: 6-7)

- a. Ngarrkangku ka wawirri pantirni  
man.ERG AUX kangaroo spear.NONPAST  
“the man is spearing the kangaroo” (ERG = ergative, AUX = auxiliary)
- b. Wawirri ka pantirni ngarrkangku.
- c. Pantirni ka ngarrkangku wawirri.

Hale notes that as long as the AUX element *ka* takes second position, any permutation of subject, object, and verb is equally acceptable. Kayardild, also spoken in Australia, similarly exemplifies non-configurationality. According to Evans, “the order of phrases in Kayardild is basically free, with all orders attested. Case marking, not word order, codes syntactic relations” (1995: 92). This last sentence should strike us as especially pertinent to Rigvedic, where discontinuous constituents and word order variety seem to depend on the comprehensiveness of the language’s inflection.

Could Rigvedic be a non-configurational language? Like Warlpiri, Rigvedic has elements rigid in their adherence to second position, while at the same time exhibiting a great variety of word orders. More generally, however, it may also be too drastic to classify languages as either configurational or non-configurational. Pullum (1982) and others suggest instead that configurationality exists on a spectrum, in which case we ought to rephrase the question to ask instead with what degree of regularity the language adheres to certain arrangements.

So, how important is word order in Rigvedic? In addition to housing several rigid initial positions, Rigvedic has been traditionally described as SOV, not as the result of direct investigation, but by analogy to the Vedic prose of the Brāhmaṇas. More recently, Gonda (1952) and Klein (1994) have looked into Rigvedic word order, specifically verb placement. In a subcorpus of Rigvedic, Klein finds about 62% of sentences to be verb-final, and about 20% to be verb-medial. Given that placing the verb first has the semantic consequence of conferring focus, and that even a more strictly ordered language like English sees non-canonical orderings in its poetry, this statistical preference for verb-finality basically confirms the previous suspicion that Rigvedic is verb-final. But with the percentage of verb finality attached to the claim, we are also prepared to place Rigvedic on a hypothetical spectrum of adherence to verb finality. Then, whether the language should be considered configurational or non-configurational is a matter of defining the terms.

In any case, it will not make sense to explore Rigvedic as a non-configurational language until we have exhausted all other possibilities. We do observe a noteworthy amount of word order freedom, but as long as there are observable patterns, we should begin by looking into these. So our next step must be to ask what syntactic mechanisms could be responsible for the observed variations.

### 3.2.2 Scrambling

A key component in discussions of so-called “free word order” is the phenomenon of scrambling. Scrambling refers to the seemingly optional reordering of certain kinds of words or phrases in otherwise configurational languages. The phenomenon manifests itself differently in different languages; the differences include 1) whether scrambling is bound within a clause or can occur across a clause-boundary (this is referred to as “long-distance scrambling”), 2) what kinds of elements can scramble, and 3) what topic/focus effects scrambling induces.

The formal study of scrambling began with Ross’s landmark dissertation of 1967, in a section about node deletion. Ross’s discussion was, in his own words, “highly conjectural,” but his insights set the stage for future research. In particular, his assertion that cases of scrambling “are so different from other syntactic rules that have been studied in generative grammar that any attempt to make them superficially resemble other transformations is misguided and misleading,” has inspired no shortage of attempts to prove him wrong. And although he wrote optimistically about the possibility of formulating rules for scrambling, he tentatively held the position that it was stylistic in nature, a process that altered well-formed syntactic output, and therefore not a concern for the syntax of a language. Currently there is little agreement concerning the nature of scrambling, the range of phenomena the term should cover, or to what extent different types of scrambling (such as clause-bound versus long-distance) deserve to be classified together.

Among those who treat scrambling within a generative framework, researchers tend to fall into two major camps. One of these positions is that scrambling, despite superficial differences, actually behaves like other well-established types of movement (Müller and Sternfeld 1994, Hinterhölzl 2006, Broekhuis 2000), though scholars differ on which specific types of movement scrambling patterns with. The other position is that scrambling

derives from variation in where elements may be base-generated in the underlying structure (Bayer and Kornfilt 1994, Neeleman 1994, Fanselow 2001, Fanselow 2003). Not all of these ideas are mutually incompatible; scrambling may resemble movement in one language but not in another. And for that reason, we must treat the definition of *scrambling* carefully; in particular, we should choose whether the term should cover the effect or the cause of the observable phenomenon. If it should cover the surface manifestation, then it is possible that some types of scrambling could be explained with movement, others with base-generation, and others as purely stylistic. But if there exists among the causes of the observed phenomenon some unique process that cannot be reduced to established theoretical terms, then it will be useful to reserve the word for that process instead. Also, since the present work deals with poetry, where style exerts a greater influence, let us reserve the term “scrambling” only for syntactic reordering. This will allow for a greater range of discussion about stylistic effects in Rigvedic.

In English, scrambling is typically considered impossible. In German, scrambling is clause-bound, limited to the arguments of the verb within the Mittelfeld. The opposite is true in Russian and Japanese, which exhibit long-distance scrambling.

(61) Clause-bound scrambling

a. Latin

videbo        quem        scio        discipulum        cras  
 see.FUT.1SG who.ACC.SG know.1SG student.ACC.SG tomorrow  
 “tomorrow I will see a student whom I know”

b. discipulum quem scio videbo cras

c. German

dass der        Lehrer        das        Buch        der  
 that.C the.NOM.SG teacher.NOM.SG the.ACC.SG book.ACC.SG the.DAT.SG  
 Studentin        gab  
 student.DAT.SG give.PRF.3SG  
 “that the teacher gave the student a book”

d. dass der Studentin das Buch der Lehrer gab

(62) Long-distance scrambling

a. Russian (Müller and Sternfeld 1994: 333)

Vy            posylku<sub>i</sub>            videli [<sub>CP</sub> kak            zapakovali t<sub>i</sub> ]  
you.NOM.PL parcel.ACC.SG sawPL how did.upPL

“you saw how they did up the parcel”

b. Japanese (Saito 1992: 69)

sono hono            Hanakoga            Tarooga            katta    to omotteiru  
that book.ACC.SG Hanako.NOM.SG Taro.NOM.SG bought C think  
(koto)  
fact

“Hanako thinks that Taro bought that book”

The Latin example illustrates the kind of permutations one observes in Latin literature. There may be focus effects in the scrambled attestations of Roman authors, but the lack of native speakers makes such an investigation difficult. The German example exhibits a topicalization effect on *der Studentin*: when the noun phrase is scrambled as in (61d), the sentence must be pronounced with a different intonation and the reading contrasts the female student against other possible entities which may have gotten the book from other sources. In the Russian example, the object of *zapakovali* appears outside of the embedded CP to which it formally belongs, though it seems to show no syntactic motivation (focus fronting, etc.) for moving.

Despite the mystery underlying the phenomenon, the usefulness of comparing Rigvedic to scrambling languages is obvious. Thus our understanding of the syntax of Rigvedic may hinge on our understanding of scrambling. So now let us consider the Rigvedic data in this context. Observe the argument orders in the following examples.

(63) Clause-internal scrambling in Rigvedic

a. RV 10.107.8d

etát            sárvaṃ            dákṣiṇaibhyo            dadāti  
this.ACC.SG all.ACC.SG Dákṣiṇā.NOM.SG + this.DAT.PL give.3.SG

“Dakṣiṇā gives them all this”

b. RV 10.116.5c

ugrāya            te            sāho            bālaṃ            dadāmi  
 mighty.DAT.SG you.DAT.SG power.ACC.SG strength.ACC.SG give.1.SG

“power, strength, I give to mighty you”

Just as in the earlier German example, the arrangement of the arguments of the *give* verb here seems to be quite flexible: the accusative may precede the dative or follow it. More intriguing, however, we also find examples of arguments appearing across clause boundaries.

(64) Long-distance scrambling in Rigvedic

a. 1.161.3a

agnīm            dūtám            práti yád            ábravītana  
 Agni.ACC.SG messenger.ACC.SG back REL.ACC.SG speak.IMP.2.PL

“what you answered to Agni the messenger”

b. 10.96.2a

hárīm            hí yónim            abhí yé  
 golden.ACC.SG FOC womb.ACC.SG towards REL.NOM.PL  
 samásvaran  
 together.sound.IMP.3.PL

“those who sang together towards the golden womb”

Just as in Russian and Japanese, Rigvedic objects seem able to exit their embedded clauses, lending credence to an account of the language that admits of long-distance scrambling. So it appears that modern approaches to Russian and Japanese scrambling will most avail us in our pursuits. However, the nature of the data in question demands special attention. If it is at all possible that some examples of apparent scrambling in Rigvedic may be the result of conscious manipulation on the part of the poet rather than part of the language’s syntax, we must address that first, since it has the potential to contaminate the data.

### 3.2.3 Post-syntactic reordering

As much as Ross's original hunch—that scrambling is stylistic—has been challenged in recent years, he was not alone in holding this opinion. In *Aspects*, Chomsky says in regard to the free word order phenomenon, “it should be emphasized that grammatical transformations do not seem to be an appropriate device for expressing the full range of possibilities for stylistic inversion,” going on to note that stylistic inversion is “tolerated up to ambiguity” (1965: 126-7). Given the breadth of scrambling phenomena discovered and scrutinized in various languages, it would be naive to suggest that all scrambling can be explained as stylistic, especially since it often aligns with topic and focus effects. However, the possibility of conscious, post-syntactic alteration is apparent, and may mimic other instances of scrambling.

Syntacticians rely on the ability to manipulate well-formed linguistic output, in order to create examples of ungrammatical utterances. More useful evidence for post-syntactic manipulation comes to us in the form of common hypercorrections.

- (65)           to quickly start running   → quickly to start running  
                  John's book           → John his book  
                  between you and me   → between you and I

In these kinds of examples, the final form of the utterance derives not from the syntactic system of the language but from consciously applying a rule to the output of that system. The common belief that it is “incorrect” to split English infinitives leads to the creation of less natural structures. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when a spurious etymology stated that the English s-genitive was an informal contraction of *his*, it became stylish to use the “uncontracted” form. The speaker, intending to say *John's*, consciously replaces the word with *John his*, the so-called “his-genitive.” And finally, the commonplace correction of *me and you* to *you and I* in schools has led to the creation,

in some English speakers' minds, of a rule that so converts every instance of the phrase (grammatical or not). Over time these kinds of novel constructions can become part of the syntactic system, but on their introduction via hypercorrection, each is an example of post-syntactic, conscious manipulation. Therefore we can establish that conscious reordering does in fact happen, so the question is whether some instances of apparent scrambling could be accounted for in this way, in particular whatever instances we seem to find in a wholly poetic corpus.

### **3.3 Conclusions**

In this chapter we have briefly explored Germanic V2, multiple specifiers, non-configurationality, scrambling, and post-syntactic reordering as possible routes towards explaining syntax in the Rigveda. However, it is the last of these which deserves the most attention, because it is fundamentally different from the others. Since post-syntactic reordering operates on well-formed syntactic structures, it does not interact with other processes at the same structural level, and so the mechanics of its operation would not be discoverable through its effects on other phenomena. In fact its mechanics would seem to be at the mercy of the individual's consciousness and style, relegating its investigation outside the scope of syntax altogether. This distinction from syntax, however, gives post-syntactic reordering the power to contaminate otherwise useful syntactic data. Therefore, although we are not prepared to explore the specifics of its mechanisms, we must be able to identify if and where post-syntactic reordering takes place.

## Chapter 4

# Getting Syntax out of Poetry

The cardinal difficulty with investigating syntax in the Rigveda is that the corpus does not readily lend itself to serious examination. It is a playful informant, as it were, and if it were composed in a modern language, it would be summarily ignored by syntacticians on the understanding that poetry is not to be trusted. For even if there were no doubt that every structure found in poetry is grammatically *possible*, it is clear that poetic examples alone cannot offer us a clear picture of a language. That is, the language of poetry is, in general, marked.

Therefore we find many questions about Rigvedic syntax that we are unprepared to answer. To illustrate, let us consider the matter of discontinuous DPs. Some languages, like German, tolerate these in certain contexts, whereas other languages, like English, do not.

- (66) a. Marco sieht **drei Bücher**  
“Marco sees three books”  
b. **Bücher** sieht Marco **drei**  
“as for books, Marco sees three”  
c. Marco sees **three books**  
d. \* **books**, Marco sees **three**

Modern theories of syntax have afforded us several possible explanations. In German, discontinuous DPs seem to precipitate out of verb-second (V2) phenomena, and so they have been variously explained by appealing to topicalization or an EPP feature. These explanations are especially relevant to Vedic, because (as mentioned previously) Vedic and German seem to show a similar kind of rigidity in their initial positions, and in addition, discontinuous DPs are attested in Rigvedic, as the following examples show.

(67) a. RV 3.11.3a

**agnír**            dhiyā́            **sá**            cetati  
 Agni.NOM.SG mind.INS.SG this.NOM.SG understand.3SG

“this Agni understands with mind”

b. RV 1.41.1c

nū́ cit **sá**            dabhyate            **jánaḥ**  
 never this.NOM.SG deceive.PASS.3SG person.NOM.SG

“this person is never deceived”

Possible explanations for these examples could, similarly to those for German, be sought in EPP features or topicalization; or by appealing to left- or right-dislocation; or perhaps, if the discontinuity appears optional and without semantic consequence, the phenomenon of scrambling. If we had only to choose from these possibilities, we might be able to decide which one fits the most data, and from there draw some tentative conclusions about Rigvedic syntax. It seems to me, however, that such exercises will afford us little actual insight until we have dealt with the elephant in the room.

Syntacticians are correct to discard poetic data, but for those who must, out of necessity, bring it to bear on syntactic questions, the first step should be to discriminate among the data and determine the boundaries of grammaticality. People do not speak in sonnets. And to reconstruct syntax entirely from poetry would not necessarily yield an accurate

picture of the language. In this chapter, I will explore what is meant by “style” or “poetic grammar,” in order to develop a rubric for extracting meaningful syntactic data out of a poetic corpus.

## 4.1 Poetic permutations

It is common knowledge that the normal patterns of a language often seem distorted in poetic data. But as Ben Fortson states: “...this problem is sometimes overstated; it is incorrect to suppose – as many have – that poetic texts leave grammar by the wayside, and that poets were able to take ‘licenses’ willy-nilly. The language of poetry is just as strictly rule-governed as ordinary speech: though certain constructions only occur in poetry (leading some scholars to speak of a poetic grammar), they are still possibilities afforded by the grammar of the language” (2010: 153). Fortson’s claim is conservative and sensible, but, as I hope to show, not entirely accurate.

Let us consider Fortson’s claim not in the context of poetry, but of television. In season 2, episode 1 of *The Norm Show*, the main character Norm finds himself attempting to annoy an English professor. Consider the following exchange.

- Norm: Oh well uh, Shelley and ME really appreciate that.  
Professor: “Shelly and me,” yes, of course, “Shelly and me.”  
(68) Norm: Yeah, ME especially appreciatES that.  
Professor: Ha! Very clever, Norm, very clever, yes.  
Norm: You sure DO AM BE a smart guy!

We are not tempted in this instance to say that Norm’s last two utterances are grammatical, because it is clear that he is consciously manipulating their syntax in a language game of his own devising. Consider also the *Star Wars* character Yoda. Yoda’s most distinguishing mannerism is his peculiarly affected English.

- (69) a. Star Wars: Episode V: The Empire Strikes Back (1980)  
Yoda: When nine hundred years old you reach, look as  
good you will not.
- b. Star Wars: Episode III: Revenge of the Sith (2005)  
Yoda: Faith in your new apprentice, misplaced, may be.

Rather than leaving out words or speaking with a foreign accent, Yoda distinctively disregards the usual, unmarked word order of English (presumably because his language faculty is different from that of humans). His transformations are not consistent from scene to scene or from film to film, but it is easy to create a system of transformations in order to produce novel Yoda-like utterances. The character's speech patterns have thus become a language game. What is interesting about the Norm and Yoda language games is that, whereas more familiar language games play with phonology, these play with syntax. Nevertheless, similar principles are at work. The game acts as a filter: well-formed linguistic output goes into the game, the game changes the output according to its rules, and in turn outputs an utterance which is not necessarily well-formed.

Poetry seems to be a sort of language game as well. Its rules require a certain metrical pattern or rhyming scheme, and poets seem to alter well-formed linguistic output in order to follow the rules of the game. Phonological alterations are obvious: for example, stressing the *to* of an English infinitive or forcing the pronunciation of *again* as either [əgeɪn] or [əgeɪn] depending on which word it needs to rhyme with. There is no reason to suppose that similar alterations of a syntactic nature do not also occur, though they would appear to be more difficult to pin down.

Consider the following English examples, each of them taken from the rhyming couplet at the end of one of Shakespeare's sonnets. I have put in boldface those portions which deviate from unmarked word order.

- (70) a. So. 14.13-14  
 Or else **of thee this I prognosticate**:  
 Thy end is truth's and beauty's doom and date.
- b. So. 27. 13-14  
 Lo, thus, by day my limbs, by night my mind,  
 For thee, and for myself, **no quiet find**.
- c. So. 98.13-14  
 Yet seemed it winter still, and, you away,  
 As with your shadow **I with these did play**.
- d. So. 138.13-14  
 Therefore I lie with her, and she with me,  
 And in our faults by lies **we flattened be**.

In (70a), the order of constituents in the verb phrase seems to have been strategically rearranged to put *prognosticate* in a position to rhyme with *date* in the following line. The same seems to have happened, *mutatis mutandis*, in the second lines of the next three examples. In (70d), the copula and the participle of the passive construction appear to have been exchanged. If I were to encounter this construction outside the poetic context, I would at least question its grammaticality, nor would I naturally produce such an arrangement. But of course, my judgments alone are not enough.

The contemporary English ear being perhaps unattuned to the grammatical nuances of Early Modern English, we can nevertheless explore Shakespeare's usage by performing corpus searches. Let us take the pattern *-ed be* from (70d).

The following list was generated by searching all of Shakespeare's works with the regular expression, "[e'd be[. ,])", which returns any instance where a word ending in *-d* or *-ed* is followed by the word *be*. That search returned 43 results, all of them instances of inversion taking the form of a participle in *-ed* followed by the auxiliary *be*. I then sorted through the results to remove any obviously grammatical examples of inversion:

interrogatives, optatives, and imperatives. What remains is a set of only 10 instances. In each of these 10 examples, Shakespeare seems to have inverted the passive construction only in order to achieve a rhyme or to maintain a metrical pattern.

- (71) Love's Labour's Lost, [IV, 3]:  
I would forget her; but a fever she  
Reigns in my blood and will **remember'd be**.
- (72) Macbeth, [IV, 1]:  
Macbeth shall never **vanquish'd be** until  
Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill  
Shall come against him.
- (73) Passionate Pilgrim:  
Therefore I'll lie with love, and love with me,  
Since that our faults in love thus **smother'd be**.
- (74) Rape of Lucrece:  
But cloudy Lucrece shames herself to see,  
And therefore still in night would **cloister'd be**.
- (75) Richard II, [V, 3]:  
Against them both my true joints **bended be**.
- (76) Sonnet 138:  
Therefore I lie with her and she with me,  
And in our faults by lies we **flatter'd be**.
- (77) Sonnet 142:  
Be it lawful I love thee, as thou lovest those  
Whom thine eyes woo as mine importune thee:  
Root pity in thy heart, that when it grows  
Thy pity may deserve to **pitied be**.
- (78) Tempest, [V, 1]:  
As you from crimes would **pardon'd be**,  
Let your indulgence set me free.

- (79) Titus Andronicus, [II, 1]  
 Chiron, thy years want wit, thy wit wants edge,  
 And manners, to intrude where I am graced;  
 And may, for aught thou know'st, **affected be**.
- (80) Two Gentlemen of Verona, [IV, 2]:  
 Who is Silvia? what is she,  
 That all our swains commend her?  
 Holy, fair and wise is she;  
 The heaven such grace did lend her,  
 That she might **admired be**.

In addition to this list, a second search was performed, this time using the regular expression, "be [^]\*[e']d[. ,]", which returns instances of *be* followed immediately by any word ending in *-d* or *-ed*, the vast majority of which are participles in passive constructions. This second search returned 1108 results, spread out across all kinds of more and less poetic environments.

It is therefore clear that Shakespeare vastly preferred the familiar passive construction of the form *be -ed*, despite having found 10 metrically convenient occasions to alter their order, outside the context of grammatical inversion. So, to what extent shall we consider these 10 examples to be "possibilities afforded by the grammar of the language"? In order to explore this gray area, consider the following two sets of English examples<sup>1</sup>.

- (81) a. I put the kettle on the stove.  
 b. ? The kettle on the stove I put.  
 c. ? On the stove put I the kettle.  
 d. ? Put I on the stove the kettle.  
 e. ?? On the stove put the kettle I.  
 f. ?? I the kettle on the stove put.
- (82) a. John put Jane in a corner.  
 b. ?? Jane in a corner John put.

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<sup>1</sup>These grammaticality judgments are my own.

- c. \* In a corner put John Jane.
- d. \* Put John in a corner Jane.
- e. \* In a corner put Jane John.
- f. \* John Jane in a corner put.

(81a) shows the unmarked order for a simple English sentence, and the examples below it offer a smattering of permutations that ought to be possible in English poetry; note that these utterances are, if not unacceptable, at least less acceptable than the first, or perhaps of variable acceptability, depending on context. But now observe the situation in (82). Here the acceptability of the alternative arrangements deteriorates much more drastically, although in fact these two sets are completely parallel. That is, every sentence in (81) has the same basic syntactic structure as its corresponding example in (82); the only differences are morphological and semantic. Therefore the discrepancy in judgments between these sets indicates that some extra-syntactic factors are affecting our calculations of grammaticality. For instance, in (81), the personal pronoun is marked for case, so there can be no ambiguity as to the subject of *put*; and the context helps coerce the correct interpretation: our real world knowledge of common kitchen scenarios seems to be seeping into our grammaticality judgments. On the other hand, the examples in (82) do not offer any such clues, so we are forced to wonder whether our judgments of the examples in (81) (and possibly even those in (82)) are really grammaticality judgments at all. Perhaps they could more accurately be called “intelligibility” judgments.

## 4.2 Intelligibility versus grammaticality

The syntactic value of grammaticality necessitates—by definition—that each element in a syntagm exist in a paradigmatic relationship with other elements of the same category. That is, NPs must be interchangeable with other NPs, CPs with other CPs, etc. regardless of their differences in meaning: the concept is illustrated by Chomsky’s (1957) famous

sentence *#colorless green ideas sleep furiously*, which is completely unintelligible, and yet grammatical. Along similar lines, I contend that the sentence *??I the kettle on the stove put* is completely intelligible, but ungrammatical. The relationship seems to parallel that of rectangles and squares: the set of utterances which are intelligible (through grammar, context, code, vel sim.) contains the subset of utterances which are intelligible through grammar. The difference between grammaticality and intelligibility seems negligible in most syntactic investigations: researchers are careful to avoid data which might have been consciously processed. Poetry, on the other hand, is almost always consciously processed, so in mining poetry for syntactic information, negotiating the difference between intelligibility and grammaticality is a necessary component of the investigation.

So how are we to go about finding the fine line between these two values? For a language like English, we could easily play with the context of the utterances, as in (81) and (82), present native speakers with poetic structures embedded in prose, or any number of methods that exploit our access to native speakers. But for an old language attested only in poetry, we need to be more clever.

### **4.3 Exploiting metrical variation**

The hymns of the Rigveda, as previously mentioned, were composed in accordance with quantitative metrical patterns, meaning that the scansion of the verse is determined not by where the lexical accents fall (as in qualitative meter), but by how long each syllable is pronounced. Syllables containing long vowels or a vowel followed by multiple consonants take more time to say and are denoted as “heavy,” their shorter counterparts being called “light.” The effect of a quantitative meter thus resembles Morse code with its various patterns of long and short sounds. The basic rules of quantitative scansion mirror the phonological reality of morae. A mora is a basic unit of phonological length. For example,

a short vowel is one mora long, while a long vowel is two morae long. Consonants can also constitute morae, but not always. To understand why, a familiarity with the structure of the syllable is necessary.

The syllable comprises three main parts: first the onset, followed by the nucleus, and finally the coda. Vowels and syllabic consonants occupy the nucleus; this is the only obligatory part of the structure. A single consonant may occupy the onset, and the coda may contain multiple consonants. The chief difference between the onset and the coda is that the onset never constitutes a mora, whereas those in the coda do. Thus the sequences  $\bar{V}$ , V.V, CV.CV, CVC, and VC are all two morae in length. In these terms, a light syllable is a one mora syllable; a heavy syllable contains two or more morae.

In traditional Indo-European poetry, and therefore in the Rigveda, it is the cadence of the verse where the metrical pattern is most rigidly adhered to, even though the quantity of the last syllable in the line (as well as the first syllable in the line) is indifferent (these are known as “anceps” syllables). The beginning of the verse tends to show a preference for long syllables, with short syllables showing up more frequently towards the end, and most Vedic meters in general tend towards an iambic rhythm. Nevertheless, in every meter employed, Vedic verses exhibit a great amount of variation (Arnold 1905: 7-9).

The three most common metrical patterns are laid out below. The first four or five syllables form the opening; the last four or five form the cadence. In the triṣṭubh and jagatī meters, the opening is followed by a caesura and a “break” that consists of three or two syllables, depending on whether the opening has four or five syllables, respectively. Since these meters comprise three parts, they are commonly referred to as trimeter verses. The chief difference between triṣṭubh and jagatī is the number of syllables. Triṣṭubh is 11 syllables, whereas jagatī is 12; the extra syllable adds a beat to the cadence, giving each verse type a distinctive rhythm. In this way, the triṣṭubh takes on a trochaic pattern,

while the jagatī is iambic. The gāyatrī meter is dimeter, meaning it contains only two parts: an opening and a cadence. In the following representations, ‘H’ denotes a heavy syllable, ‘L’ a light syllable, and ‘A’ an anceps syllable. The break and the caesura are also marked (| and ||, respectively), and it is important to note that both of these must coincide with word-boundaries.

(83) Common meters in the Rigveda

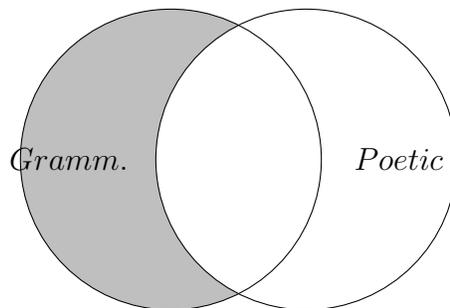
	dimeter	
gāyatrī	A H A H	L H L A
	trimeter	
triṣṭubh	A H L H H	L L   H L H A
	or	
	A H L H	L L H   H L H A
jagatī	A H L H H	L L   H L H L A
	or	
	A H L H	H L L   H L H L A

Every hymn deviates from its prescribed meter here and there, and some lines are much less well-behaved than others. Consider the following examples.

- (84) a. RV 1.1.1a  
agním **ī**le puróhitam      A L H H | L H L A
- b. RV 1.27.3c  
pāhí sádám íd viśváyuh      A L L L | H H H A

(84a) for instance, only deviates from the gāyatrī prescription once (in bold), while (84b) deviates four times. It is obvious that there must be some amount of deviation which would render a given poem defective: if, say, the meter deviates too often for a listener to determine the intended pattern or any pattern at all. Of course we cannot determine the exact value of that amount, but acknowledging that there is such a value allows us to infer that every verse lies at some point on a spectrum of metrical quality. Therefore we can state that the line given in (84a) is to some degree metrically preferable to the line in (84b).

Now, it is safe to say that the poet is working towards two main goals. One is that he must make himself understood, so he cannot stray too far from the patterns of his speech. The other goal is to fit a metrical pattern, so he cannot stray too far from the arrangement of heavy and light syllables which is prescribed for the line. And since these hymns were created and preserved by professionals, where one of these goals is not met, we should expect to see the other fulfilled. The only assumption we must make is that a professional Vedic bard would not both obfuscate his meaning and use an irregular rhythm, but that he would rather make grammatical concessions for the sake of meter, or metrical concessions for the sake of grammar. Just as Shakespeare deviates from his usual word order when strategizing rhymes and stress patterns, so it is reasonable to suppose that the Vedic poets did the same to fit their own patterns. This mentality of composition would lead to the situation illustrated by the Venn diagram below: all of the corpus is intelligible, but the circle on the right represents the portion of the corpus that conforms well to its poetic format; the circle on the left represents the portion of the corpus that conforms best to the grammatical patterns of the language.



(85)

To form a complete picture of the syntax and poetics of the corpus, we must know which parts of it fall into each of these sections. But without a complete understanding of the language's syntax, we cannot discern for just any given instance whether the poet is

sacrificing grammaticality for meter (the far right section of the diagram) or achieving both simultaneously (the middle section). On the other hand, our understanding of the corpus's metrical patterns is far greater, so by isolating lines that are metrically poor, we may find truer depictions of the syntax of the language. Therefore it is the shaded section of the diagram we should focus on, where according to my hypothesis meter has been sacrificed for the sake of grammaticality.

Edward Arnold, in his seminal work on Vedic Meter, anticipated such an investigation over a century ago: “It is difficult to think that a professional bard should without motive have left his verse with an irregular rhythm, when any European scholar, without serious practice of the art of versification, can put it into order for him with hardly a perceptible alteration in the meaning. It is also difficult to think that professional reciters and their instructors could by mere accident have left stanzas in a shape which must make them a perpetual burden to the memory. In these ‘irregularities’ there may be meanings not easily recognized, and for this reason they deserve to be carefully studied. (1905: 21)” It seems, then, that a necessary step in the investigation of Vedic syntax should be to reduce the corpus by boiling off the most metrically perfect portions. But in order to accomplish this, we must first find a way to quantify the quality of various metrical patterns.

### **4.3.1 Quantifying metrical quality**

It would be tedious work to scan each line of the Rigveda looking for metrical irregularities, but thanks to the work of Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland, who created the original *Rig Veda: a Metrically Restored Text*; and to Karen Thomson and Jonathan Slocum, who further edited and published the electronic version of this work; we have a digital version of the text which lends itself to being easily and quickly scanned by computer programs. The programs themselves are modest Linux shell scripts employing a brute-force search and replace process which appends to the right of each line its

scansion as a string of Hs and Ls bordered by As, as in examples (84a) and (84b). One of these programs generated a scanned version of the Rigveda. Another counted the number of times each pattern occurred, and appended the number to the right of the scansion, yielding a version of the text taking the following form.

- (86) 1.001.01a agnīm ṛ̥ puróhitam :ALHHLHLA: 1979  
1.001.01b yajñásya devám ṛtvíjam :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
1.001.01c hótāram ratnadhātām :AHHHLHLA: 4930 ...

The resulting version of the corpus not only tags each line with its metrical frequency; it also allows us to search for certain metrical patterns or lines containing a certain number of syllables.

### 4.3.2 Reducing the corpus

Since the optimal versions of each metrical pattern are known to us, at least in part, by the relative magnitude of their frequency, we can safely correlate infrequency with poor meter and then (per hypothesis) with more reliably grammatical arrangements. Having found the frequency of each line's metrical pattern, we now also have an easy way to isolate the worst lines for separate study. Appendix B is a subcorpus: a list of all the lines of 8, 11, and 12 syllables whose scansions represent the first percentile of metrical frequency.

Uses for this kind of metrical discrimination abound. For example, isolating the metrically infrequent lines brings to the fore lines which may require further emendation. Thus upon checking the program's accuracy, several lines appeared to have been incorrectly scanned. The problem was not with the program, however, but with the lines themselves.

(87)	1.023.24d	índro vidyāt sahá řṣibhiḥ :AHHLLLLLA: 1
	1.031.01a	tuvám agne prathamó ángirā řṣir :ALHLLHHLHLA: 161
	3.043.05c	kuvín ma řṣim papivámsam sutásya :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2
	4.042.08b	saptá řṣayo daurgahé badhyámāne :ALLHHLHHLHA: 1
	8.008.06a	yác cid dhí vām purá řṣayo :AHLHLLLLA: 1
	8.070.14a	bhúribhiḥ samaha řṣibhir :ALHLLLLLA: 1
	8.100.06d	apávṛṇoḥ řarabháya řṣibandhave :AHLHLLHLLHLA: 1
	9.068.07b	sóma řṣibhir matíbhir dhítíbhira hitám :ALLHLLHHLHLA: 2
	10.013.04c	bṛhaspátim yajñám akṛṇvatá řṣim :AHLHLLHLLLA: 12
	10.023.07b	táva ca indra vimadásya ca řṣeḥ :ALLHLLHLLLA: 3
	10.107.06a	tám evá řṣim tám u brahmānam āhur :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 2

The disyllabic  $a, \bar{a} + r$  must sometimes be read as  $ar, \bar{a}r$  (Arnold 1905:289), though it is never written this way in the manuscripts. The metrically restored text used for this project should account for this contraction, but these examples seem to have escaped notice in the editing process. Emendation from  $a, \bar{a} + r$  to  $ar, \bar{a}r$  yields significantly more frequent metrical patterns for most of these lines.

(88)	1.023.24d	índro vidyāt sahá řṣibhiḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
	1.031.01a	tuvám agne prathamó ángirā řṣir :ALHLLHHLHLA: 351
	3.043.05c	kuvín ma řṣim papivámsam sutásya :AHHLLHHLHLA: 1388
	4.042.08b	saptá řṣayo daurgahé badhyámāne :AHLHHLHHLHLA: 683
	8.008.06a	yác cid dhí vām purá řṣayo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
	8.070.14a	bhúribhiḥ samaha řṣibhir :ALHLLHLA: 691
	8.100.06d	apávṛṇoḥ řarabháya řṣibandhave :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
	9.068.07b	sóma řṣibhir matíbhir dhítíbhira hitám :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
	10.013.04c	bṛhaspátim yajñám akṛṇvatá řṣim :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 2313
	10.023.07b	táva ca indra vimadásya ca řṣeḥ :ALLHLLHHLHLA: 80
	10.107.06a	tám evá řṣim tám u brahmānam āhur :AHHHLHHLHLA: 52

Thus the exercise of tagging and sorting the corpus by metrical frequency proves immediately useful. My purpose for the process in this work is to explore syntactic variations, but I hope that in the future this method will offer various other insights into other metrical texts.

To show how this reduction may aid in syntactic investigation, let us consider again the troublesome example from Chapter 2. But this time, we can also consider the frequency of its scansion, and thus the likelihood that the poet may have tampered with its grammar.

(89)	RV 1.110.2a	meter	occurrences
	ābhogáyam prá yád ichánta aítana	AHLHLLHHLHLA	662

This line employs the third most frequent pattern for a 12-syllable line, placing it in the 74<sup>th</sup> percentile. Therefore this line ranks relatively low in the realm of grammatical trustworthiness. For comparison, consider the following stanza.

	RV 1.10.6	meter	occurrences
	tám ít sakhitvá imahe	AHLHLHLA	3316
(90)	tám rāyé tám suvíriye	AHHHLHLA	4930
	sá śakrá utá naḥ śakad	AHLLLHLA	621
	índro vásu dáyamānaḥ	AHLLLHA	10

It is clear from the frequencies of their scansions which of these lines should attract our scrutiny. Likewise, we see that the discontinuous DPs showcased in (67) both occur in lines with extremely frequent scansion and so are not to be trusted as sources of grammatical insight. To illustrate the point further, let us try shuffling the words of (67).

(91)	a.	RV 1.41.1.c	meter	occurrences
		nú cit sá dabhyate jánaḥ	AHLHLHLA	3376
		Some possible permutations	meter	occurrences
		nú cit sá jáno dabhyate	AHLLHHLA	11
	b.	nú cid dabhyate sá jánaḥ	AHHLHLLA	27
		nú cij jáno sá dabhyate	AHLHLHLA	3316
		sá jáno nú cid dabhyate	ALHHHHLA	29
		sá jáno dabhyate nú cit	ALHHLHHA	37

If we rearrange the words to keep the DP together, we cannot form a line with popular scansion, except by collocating *sá jánaḥ* in the exact reverse of its normal order. We can draw two conclusions from this exercise: first we can tentatively posit that *jáno sá* is ungrammatical as a variation of *sá jánaḥ*; more generally we can conclude that the attested

line does not constitute evidence of grammatical discontinuous DPs in Rigvedic, since the poet clearly had metrical motivation to break up the phrase.<sup>2</sup> Of course he would have had more methods at his disposal than simple rearrangement, such as finding synonyms etc., but of all the available ways by which a poet might improve a line, rearranging the order of words is both obvious and easily replicated by modern scholars, even those “without serious practice of the art of versification.”

## 4.4 A method for syntactic exploration

In this chapter, I hope to have shown that the difference between grammaticality and intelligibility is real and must be acknowledged and scrutinized if we are to navigate a corpus containing consciously manipulated material.

Therefore, in order to investigate syntax in a corpus of poetry alone, it is necessary to categorize utterances by how well they conform to the poetic format. Utterances that conform to the format well are unreliable because it is unclear whether the syntax has been distorted. Utterances that contradict the poetic format, especially where simple, obvious alterations can improve them, are likely to betray natural syntactic patterns. For the purpose of investigating syntax in the Rigveda specifically, this is the method I propose: to consider observations of syntactic phenomena within their metrical contexts, identifying possible metrical motivation for post-syntactic alteration; and having isolated the metrically worst lines in the Rigveda, to compare their apparent grammatical patterns against those of more metrically preferred lines. By following these principles, and wield-

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<sup>2</sup>N.B.: There are two rearrangements that fare better than the original:

sá nú cid dabhyate jánaḥ	AHHHLHLA	4930
jáno nú cit sá dabhyate	AHHHLHLA	4930

But these place *nú cit* in a completely abnormal position.

ing the ability to quantify any given line's relative metrical optimality, I believe we can form a clearer picture of the syntax of the language. In the next chapter, we will explore several grammatical phenomena in the Rigveda using evidence from metrical frequency.

At the very least, the contribution of a scanned version of the Rigveda with scansion frequency annotations should help ease the development of certain future Rigvedic investigations, since it allows a researcher to search for lines based on their metrical patterns or to quickly compile metrical statistics.

## Chapter 5

# A statistical method for discriminating grammatical patterns

Though it is possible that Rigvedic was unique among the languages of the world in a way that would cause us to reevaluate certain claims to linguistic universality, it is much more likely that Rigvedic was not extraordinarily different from other languages. Having called into question the integrity of the data, and furthermore having pared the data down according to the likelihood of post-syntactic conscious manipulation, we can now begin a fresh syntactic inquiry of the language.

Note, however, that many of the most well-established facts about Rigvedic are not at all challenged by this new method. For instance, Rigvedic is particularly morphologically rich and, like Latin and some Romance languages, does not require the expression of subject pronouns. The extent of this phenomenon in the corpus makes it effectively self-evident. Nor could the method of investigation outlined in Chapter 4 approach this particular point, since to do so would require far more extensive reworkings of lines than simple rearrangements of existing elements. Nor can the method contribute more to

the analysis of finer-grained processes like compounding, and it should be applied much more carefully to investigations of clitic behavior, because these phenomena interface more closely with the morphology and phonology of the language. Comparing the frequency of patterns between the corpus and subcorpus may yet aid in these investigations, but not necessarily evidence from potential rearrangement, since in these cases it would mean altering word choice and morpheme boundaries.

It will first be necessary to support the principles explored in the previous chapter with a statistical foundation, before we can reliably correlate poor meter with good grammar. This task—the purpose of this chapter—will involve searching for variations in grammatical patterns (such as word order) and mapping those variations onto their distribution among lines of differing metrical optimality. To accomplish this mapping, we will need to catalog the occurrences of two competing grammatical patterns in a table like the following.

scansion		frequency	rank	Type A tokens	Type B tokens
(92)	ALHHHHHA	1000	1	5	3
	AHLHHHHA	600	2	3	2
	AHHLHHHA	50	3	2	2
	AHHHLHHA	20	4	1	2
	AHHHHLHA	10	5	0	3

This example table, if it described actual data from the corpus, would show that as meter becomes worse, the probability of finding a token of type A decreases, while that of finding a type B token increases. That kind of correlation would indicate that the pattern expressed by type A may be merely a product of metrical convenience, and that type B expresses the grammatical pattern, since it arises with the relaxation of conscious, poetic manipulation. It is unlikely that we will find such distributions in the actual corpus, and there may be several kinds of correlations among different pairs of types. For example, we should expect to find similar frequencies for each token in the highest ranked lines, if the metrical shape of both types is similar. If they are dissimilar, we should expect the metrical pattern of each line to determine which type is favored. In both these instances,

we should expect the grammatical pattern to be favored more as the lines descend in rank. If the types exhibit free variation, we should expect to find whichever type the meter favors, and no instances where rearrangement can improve it.

The task of defining the relationship between meter and syntax is greatly accelerated by the automated tagging of the corpus, which was accomplished via the computer script described in the previous chapter. Nevertheless we are at the mercy of several complicating factors: bluntly, some pattern searches are easier to automate than others. Consider for instance the polysemy of an ending like *-i*: by itself this could indicate a neuter plural a-stem noun, a third person singular present active indicative verb, a neuter singular i-stem noun, a locative singular noun, and many other things. Furthermore, a search for words ending in *-i* will also return any words that only *happen to end* with *-i*, among them words with longer endings like *-nti* or *-mahi*. Therefore, the clearest and most easily obtained results will come from searches that target longer, more distinctive pieces of morphology; these are the focus of the present chapter. Though we are forced to limit this phase of the investigation along these lines, it will be sufficient so long as we can establish a link between metrical and grammatical patterns.

After drawing parametric conclusions from the data collected with this method, we may be able to extrapolate some generalizations on the nature of phrase structure in Rigvedic, according to the principles of Universal Grammar. By employing the implications that some parameter settings exhibit with respect to each other crosslinguistically, we may be able to bridge some of the gaps introduced by the limitations of the corpus.

## 5.1 The position of the genitive with regard to its head noun

Lacking a tagged corpus, it is nevertheless possible to search for distributions of various word orders using regular expressions, by targeting subsets of grammatical phenomena which feature more distinctive morphology. It would be tedious, for example, to compile every genitive noun in the corpus in order to canvass their positions with regard to their head nouns, because genitives from different declensions end in various ways, and these often resemble unrelated morphemes. In general, the polysemy of shorter endings is greater. However, many plural genitives end distinctively in the sequence,  $\bar{V} + n\bar{a}m$ . Regular expressions allow us to search for this basic pattern while allowing a certain degree of freedom at any specified point.

(93) “(ā|á|ū|ú|i|í|ī|î|ï)[ṅn](á|ā)[mmṅññ] ”

This expression searches for a sequence of four characters: first, any of the long vowel options specified in the parentheses, followed by either of the nasal consonants in the square brackets, followed by either the accented or unaccented long a, followed by any of the nasals in the final set of square brackets, followed by a space. It will return any words ending in  $-ānām$ ,  $-únāñ$ ,  $-īnām$ , etc. So although it is not possible to automate the discovery of all genitive nouns, we can do so for all genitive nouns matching this particular pattern, with little interference due to homophonous morphology. The cross-section of genitives yielded thus can be analyzed “by hand” to determine whether it fits the “genitive X” or “X genitive” pattern.

Since the frequency of a particular metrical pattern is only relevant with regard to other lines where the possibility of that pattern exists, we must only exploit meter in comparing like against like: octosyllabic lines against octosyllabic lines, hendecasyllabic against hendecasyllabic, and dodecasyllabic against dodecasyllabic.

In the following tables, all uses of the genitive were considered which depend upon another noun: the possessive, partitive, objective, subjective, etc. and none of those uses in which the genitive is an argument of a verb or preposition. Instances where the genitive depends on an interrogative noun were also excluded. When the genitive was an adjective adjoined to a genitive noun, the constituent noun phrase was considered. The leftmost column denotes the ranking of each set of lines according to the frequency of their metrical configurations. The two adjacent columns count the number of tokens from each grammatical pattern. So in the first row of the first table, the data tells us that lines exhibiting the most frequently occurring metrical rhythm account for 33 instances of genitive plurals in  $\bar{V} + n\bar{a}m$  preceding their head nouns, and 2 instances of the same following their head nouns.

(94) Genitive distribution in 8-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	genitive X	X genitive
AHHHLHLA	4930	1	33	2
ALHHLHLA	1979	2	4	0
AHLLHLA	1362	3	11	0
AHHHHHLA	108	4	0	2
AHHHLHHA	92	5	3	0
AHHHHLHA	85	6	1	3
AHHHLLA	75	7	1	0
AHLHHLHA	68	8	1	1
AHHHHHHA	64	9	0	3
AHLHHHHA	54	10	2	1
ALHHLHHA	37	11	0	1
ALHHHLHA	33	12	1	2
AHHLHLHA	32	13	0	1
AHLLHHA	30	14	1	0
AHLLHLA	27	15	1	0

The multiple subdivisions of the corpus reduce the sample size in data like this, but we should always expect to find far fewer tokens in the sets of lines ranked lower than the first handful. In the table above, the top three rows represent 90 percent of all 8-syllable lines, while rows 4 through 15 represent the other 10 percent. Tallying the results of the 90 percent together, the tokens of the most metrically preferred lines, we see an overwhelming preference for the preceding genitive. However in the bottom 10 percent, following genitives are about equally as common.

Further analysis of the top ranked sets of lines reveals a metrical motivation for their overwhelming preference towards the genitive-X pattern. The metrical shape of a genitive plural noun must be at least three syllables, the last two both being heavy. By homing in on the tell-tale -HH ending, we can break down each of the top three metrical patterns according to the number of positions they contain which might be able to host a word matching these quantities. The following breakdowns show where it is possible to find genitive plurals in the top 3 ranked lines: the position of the -HH ending is in boldface; the underline indicates the minimum size of the genitive.

- (95) Rank 1 metrical pattern  
contains two possible places for a genitive plural:

AHHHLHLA

AHHHLHLA

- (96) Rank 2 metrical pattern  
contains one possible place for a genitive plural:

ALHHLHLA

- (97) Rank 3 metrical pattern  
contains one possible place for a genitive plural:

AHLLHLA

Since the top ranked pattern affords more places to host words of this particular shape, it is not surprising to find more genitive-X tokens in those lines: if its noun phrase is contained within the pāda, the genitive plural can only occur at the beginning, providing a metrical motivation to postpone its head noun.

A similar situation is found in applying the same search and breakdown to lines of 12-syllables.

(98) Genitive distribution in 12-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	genitive X	X genitive
AHLHLLHLHLA	1190	1	3	8
AHHHLLHLHLA	650	2	22	11
AHHLLHLHLA	523	3	6	1
AHHLLLHLHLA	468	4	8	1
AHLHLLHLHLA	211	5	2	0
AHHHLHLHLA	209	6	3	0
AHHLLHLHLA	183	7	2	0
ALHHLLHLHLA	139	8	1	0
ALHHLLHLHLA	69	9	0	1
AHLLHLHLHLA	38	10	0	1
ALLHLLHLHLA	35	11	0	1
AHHLLHHLHLA	21	12	0	1
AHHHLLLHLA	9	13	1	0
ALHLLHHLHLA	6	14	1	0
ALHHHHLHLA	5	15	1	0
AHHHHLHLA	1	16	0	1

Here again it is clear that the distribution in the top ranked sets correlates with the number of locations in the metrical pattern which could host a genitive plural token.

(99) Rank 1 metrical pattern  
one place for genitive plural:  
AHLHLLHLHLA

(100) Rank 2 metrical pattern  
three places for genitive plural:  
AHHHLLHLHLA  
AHHHLLHLHLA  
AHHHLLHLHLA

(101) Rank 3 metrical pattern  
two places for genitive plural:  
AHHLLLHLHLA  
AHHLLLHLHLA

(102) Rank 4 metrical pattern  
three places for genitive plural:  
AHHLLHHLHLA  
AHHLLHHLHLA  
AHHLLHHLHLA

We can conclude that in metrically preferred lines, word orders are indeed subject to poetic necessity. It follows then, that the metrically less preferred lines are also less subject to poetic influence. Nor is this due to the virtues of their particular metrical patterns, but rather to the sheer variety of patterns they exhibit: there are only a few ways to be a good line, but many ways to be a bad one. The metrical cost of rearrangements is simply lower in the bad range and higher in the good range.

As for the integrity of the method in question: if it has succeeded in uncovering a spectrum of grammatical trustworthiness, we expect to find that the worse ranked lines contain the most grammatical language. And as a corollary to that expectation, we would also expect those lines to show clearer patterns.

Just such a pattern emerges when we scrutinize the lower-ranked occurrences of the x-genitive ordering. In almost all of these instances, the genitive seems to be the object of a verbal element in the x, as the following examples illustrate.

(103) Objective genitives following verbal nouns

- a. RV 1.27.1c  
 samrājantam      adhvarāṇām      AHHLHLHA 32  
 rule.PTCP.ACC.SG ceremony.GEN.PL  
 ‘the one ruling over the ceremonies’
- b. RV 1.3.11a  
 codayitrī      sūṅtānām      ALHHHLHA 33  
 inciter.NOM.SG liberal.gift.GEN.PL  
 ‘inciter of liberal gifts’
- c. RV 8.46.2c  
 vidmá      dātāram      rayīṇām      ALHHHLHA 33  
 know.PRF.1PL giver.ACC.SG wealth.GEN.PL  
 ‘we know [you as the] the giver of wealth’
- d. RV 1.188.11a  
 purogā      agnir      devānām      AHHHHHHA 54  
 fore.goer.NOM.SG agni.NOM.SG god.GEN.PL  
 ‘Agni, going at the fore of the gods’
- e. RV 1.4.8b

ghanó vṛtrāṇām abhavaḥ AHHHLLA 68  
 slayer.NOM.SG obstacle.GEN.PL be.IMPF.2.SG

‘you became the slayer of obstacles’

f. RV 10.166.1c

hantāraṃ śātrūṇām kṛdhi AHHHHHLA 108  
 slayer.ACC.SG enemy.GEN.PL make.IMP

‘make [me] the slayer of [my] enemies’

In all of these examples, the noun on which the genitive depends is patently verbal in nature: it is a participle in 1.27.1c, and an agentive noun in every other case<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, we can rearrange these lines to see whether alternative word orderings would perform better or worse within the parameters of the scansion.

	RV 1.27.01	scansion	scansion frequency
	observed:		
(104)	samrājantam adhvarāṇām	AHHLHLHA	32
	rearranged:		
	adhvarāṇām samrājantam	ALHHHHHA	13

<sup>1</sup>There are other similar cases involving nouns with a questionable degree of verbal influence. In the following examples, we observe the x-genitive order, but the noun is not morphologically derived from a verb.

(1) Objective genitives following other nouns

a. RV 1.44.2b = 8.11.2c

agne rathír adhvarāṇām AHLHLHA 64  
 agni.VOC.SG charioteer.NOM.SG ceremony.GEN.PL

‘O Agni, [you are] charioteer of the ceremonies’

b. RV 8.16.1a

prá samrājam carṣaṇinām AHHHLHA 85  
 forth great.king.ACC.SG folk.GEN.PL

‘[promise] forth the supreme king of the folk’

Even though they are not morphologically deverbative, the nouns *rathís*, ‘charioteer’ and *samrāj* ‘great king’ are agent nouns, so it is not surprising that they would seem to pattern with verbal nouns in the syntax.

	RV 1.4.8b	scansion	scansion frequency
	observed:		
	ghanó vṛtráṇām abhavaḥ	AHHHLLA	66
(105)	rearranged:		
	vṛtráṇām ghanó abhavaḥ	AHHLLLLA	14
	ábhavo vṛtráṇām ghanáḥ	ALHHHLLA	28
	vṛtráṇām abhavo ghanáḥ	AHLLHLA	1375

In the first of these rearrangements, we see that the poet would not have greatly improved or worsened the line by choosing the alternative arrangement. The same is true for the last of these examples, though here we also observe that the poet passed up the opportunity to arrange the line with a very good scansion. Perhaps he was trying to preserve the x-genitive order for his verbal noun, perhaps he preferred not to place the main verb between the noun and its genitive, or maybe he was affected by a combination of factors. In any case, the results of this investigation seem to suggest that the natural ordering for this construction was genitive-x, except where the genitive was semantically the object of the noun, in which case the natural order was x-genitive.

## 5.2 The position of the gerund with regard to its subject

The Vedic gerund is a perfect active verbal adjective which would translate into English as “having X-ed.” According to Tikkanen, “Although the sentence-initial (or pre-gerundial) position of the (shared or main clause) subject is the rule in later Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit, post-gerundial position of the subject is nearly as frequent in the Ṛg- and Atharvaveda. (1987)” A situation like this stands out as a prime candidate for a metrically informed analysis. Given the evidence from later Vedic sources, it seems likely that post-gerundial subjects result from metrical convenience rather than from grammatical license. To test that hypothesis, let us first consider the distribution of both types in the context of metrical frequency. In the following table, gerunds functioning substantively were excluded. Only gerunds modifying an expressed subject were considered.

## (106) Gerund vs. subject distribution in 8-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	subject gerund	gerund subject
AHHHLHLA	4930	1	3	0
ALHHLHLA	1979	2	0	3
AHHHLHHA	92	3	3	0
AHHHHHHA	54	4	1	0
AHLHLHHA	53	5	1	0
AHLHHHHA	43	6	2	0
AHLLHHA	30	7	2	0

Among 8-syllable lines, the trend is clear with a slight deviation in the second ranking. Of those three gerund-subject instances, two postpose the subject to the beginning of the following line, forming what may be an introductory clause with the same grammatical status as its English translation. Both of these examples, along with their translations, are presented below.

## (107) a. RV 8.92.6ab

asyá pītvá mādānāṃ ALHHLHLA 1979  
 this.GEN.SG drink.GND intoxicant.GEN.PL

“having drunk of the intoxicants of this one

devó devásya ójasā AHHLHLA 4930  
 god.NOM.SG god.GEN.SG power.INS.SG

god, the god with power...”

## b. RV 9.23.7ab

asyá pītvá mādānāṃ ALHHLHLA 1979  
 this.GEN.SG drank.GND intoxicant.GEN.PL

“having drunk of the intoxicants of this [one],

índro vṛtrāṇi apratí AHHLHLA 4930  
 Indra.NOM.SG obstacle.ACC.PL irresistible.ACC.PL

Indra [smote] irresistible obstacles...”

The third gerund-subject example, presented below, offers a chance for us to analyze alternative arrangements of the line in which it occurs.

## (108) a. RV 1.4.8a

asyá pītvá śatakṛato ALHHLHLA 1979 (rank 2)  
 this.GEN.SG drank.GND Śatakratu.NOM.SG

“Śatakratu, having drunk of this”

- b. RV 1.4.8a rearranged  
asyá śatakrato pītvá ALLHLHHA 3  
śatakrato asyá pītvá AHLHHLHA 64  
śatakrato pītvá asyá AHLHHHHA 43

As the rearrangements demonstrate, the poet had a metrical motivation to choose the gerund-subject order for this line, so we cannot accept the example as good, grammatical evidence. Let us therefore look further down the list. There is a large gulf between the second and third-ranked line patterns. Occurring only 92 times, the third-ranked line pattern here contains only subject-gerund tokens; the following example is one of these.

- (109) a. RV 10.85.29c  
kṛtyaiṣá padvāti bhūtvī  
witchcraft.NOM.SG + this.NOM.SG foot.having.NOM.SG become.GND  
AHHHLHHA 92 (rank 3)

“this witchcraft, having gotten feet”

- b. RV 10.85.29c rearranged  
bhūtvī kṛtyaiṣá padvāti AHHHHHLA 108

Here we have a situation where exchanging the gerund with its subject affects the scansion very little, so it is reasonable to suppose that the attested arrangement is the grammatical one. Further down the list, in the-sixth ranked line pattern, we find the following example.

- (110) a. RV 8.100.8c  
dívaṃ suparṇó gatváya AHLHHHHA 43 (rank 6)  
heaven.ACC.SG fine.winged.NOM.SG go.GND  
“the fine-winged one having gone to heaven”
- b. RV 8.100.8c rearranged  
dívaṃ gatváya suparṇó AHHLLHHA 55  
suparṇó dívaṃ gatváya AHHLHHHA 12  
suparṇó gatváya dívaṃ AHHHHLLA 68  
gatváya dívaṃ suparṇó AHLLHLHA 20  
gatváya suparṇó dívaṃ AHLLHHLA 11

None of these possible arrangements fares very differently from the attested verse, which would seem to indicate that the subject-gerund order is the preferred pattern.

Among 11-syllable lines, the situation is likewise very clear: though there are instances of gerund-subject order, they are restricted to the highest ranked scansion.

(111) Gerund vs. subject distribution in 11-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	subject gerund	gerund subject
AHLHLLHLHA	2313	1	3	4
AHHLLHHLHA	1388	2	1	0
AHHLLLHLHA	1231	3	1	0
AHLLLLHHLHA	379	4	1	0
AHLLHHLHLHA	16	5	1	0
AHLHLLHHHA	12	6	1	0
AHHLHLLHHLA	3	7	1	0

The distribution of tokens in the top ranked line pattern shows us how, overall, both the subject-gerund and the gerund-subject types find a decent degree of representation in the text. We also see that the lower ranked lines show a clear preference for the subject-gerund order. The following example, taken from the top ranked line, shows how rearrangement affects a gerund-subject occurrence.

(112) a. RV 10.157.4a

hatvāya devā́ ásurān yád áyan AHLHLLHLHA  
 kill.GND god.NOM.PL Asura.ACC.PL when come.IMPF.3PL  
 2313 (rank 1)

“when the gods came, having killed the Asuras”

b. RV 10.157.4a rearranged

devā́ hatvāya ásurān yád áyan AHHLLLHLHA 1231

The effect of rearrangement on the scansion of this line is negative though not detrimental.

There are not many examples among 12-syllable lines, and all of these show the subject-gerund arrangement.

(113) Gerund vs. subject distribution in 12-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	subject gerund	gerund subject
AHLHLLHLHLA	1190	1	1	0
AHHLLHHLHLA	523	2	1	0
AHHLLHLHLHA	3	3	1	0
AHLLLHHHLA	1	4	1	0

The consensus here as well as the patterns outlined above all point towards the conclusion that the gerund naturally follows its subject, and only poetically precedes it.

### 5.3 Enclisis to vocatives

In one chapter of his dissertation, “Issues in the Placement of Enclitic Personal Pronouns in the Rigveda,” Wenthe endeavors to explain the syntax underlying a peculiar phenomenon: enclisis to a vocative noun. It is typically observed that syntax is blind to vocatives, i.e. that their occurrences are in some sense extra-syntactic and unlicensed. One implication of this situation is that we should not expect them to host enclitics. However, “out of 737 lines which contain unaccented vocatives adjacent to enclitic personal pronouns, only 73 vocatives precede the enclitic (roughly one in ten) (Wenthe 2013: 62).”

Let us analyze a cross-section of these instances within the context of scansion frequency. The 373 occurrences of the enclitic pronoun *te* in eight syllable lines breaks down thus.

(114) enclisis of *te* to vocatives in 8-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	Voc.- <i>te</i>	X- <i>te</i>
AHHHLHLA	4930	1	2	134
AHLHLHLA	3316	2	16	84
ALHHLHLA	1979	3	2	45
AHLLHLA	1362	4	1	28
ALHLLHLA	691	5	0	11
AHLLLHLA	621	6	0	2
ALLHLHLA	238	7	0	4
AHLHLLA	168	8	0	1
AHHHLLA	152	9	0	3
AHHHHHLA	108	10	0	5
AHHHLHHA	92	11	0	7
AHHHHLHA	85	12	0	3
ALHHLLA	81	13	0	2
AHLHHHLA	75	14	0	1
AHLHHLLA	71	15	0	3
AHHHLLA	68	16	0	1
AHHHHHHA	54	17	0	2
AHLHLLHA	53	18	0	5
AHLHHHHA	43	19	0	3
AHHLHLLA	27	20	0	2
ALLLHLA	25	21	0	1
ALLHLLA	24	22	0	1
ALHLLHHA	21	23	0	1
AHLLHLLA	15	24	0	1
AHLLHHLA	11	25	0	1
ALLLLHHA	2	26	0	1

Here we see that *te* is only hosted by vocatives in the most metrically optimal lines. The number of occurrences of the token (in either configuration) drops off sharply after the handful of highest ranked lines, as expected, but it is fairly well represented in the long tail of metrically inferior lines. We see a similar distribution among 11-syllable lines, where *te* occurs 464 times, as the following tables<sup>2</sup> demonstrate.

<sup>2</sup>Since there are only a few tokens to contextualize in each table, they have been abbreviated to save space. A full list of lines containing tokens can be found in Appendix C.

(115) enclisis of <i>te</i> to vocatives in 11-syllable lines, abbreviated					
scansion	frequency	rank	Voc.-te	X-te	
AHLHLLHLHA	2313	1	1	55	
various	1670 to 351	2 to 13	0	340	
AHHLHLLHLHA	307	14	1	6	
ALHHLLLHLHA	287	15	0	4	
AHLLHLLHLHA	241	16	1	6	
various	223 to 1	17 to 30	0	50	
(116) enclisis of <i>te</i> to vocatives in 12-syllable lines, abbreviated					
scansion	frequency	rank	Voc.-te	X-te	
AHLHLLHLHLA	1190	1	0	21	
AHLHLLHHLHLA	662	2	3	20	
AHHHLLHLHLA	650	3	2	14	
AHLHLLLHLHLA	624	4	2	8	
AHHHLLHHLHLA	523	5	2	19	
AHHHLLLHLHLA	468	6	1	19	
AHLHLHLHLHLA	224	7	1	7	
various	211 to 1	8 to 28	0	59	

We see the same distribution for *te* among twelve syllable lines. Out of 178 occurrences therein, *te* is hosted by a Vocative three times in the second-ranked pattern, twice in the third through fifth, and once in the sixth and seventh<sup>3</sup>.

Enclisis to vocatives is almost entirely restricted to metrically preferred lines. In fact there are only six lines with frequency values below 100 which also exhibit enclisis to a vocative. Of these, three are hypometric lines (1.120.6b, 5.035.2a, 10.160.5d). The remaining three lines (1.120.1a, 8.2.3c, 9.106.7c) do not seem to betray any other common characteristic. They might constitute evidence in favor of grammatical enclisis to vocatives, except that the overwhelming majority of enclitics hosted by vocatives occur in lines with very high frequencies; nor can these three lines be rearranged into better scansions while keeping the enclitic from being hosted by the vocative.

<sup>3</sup>1.52.10b áyoyavid bhíyāsā vājra indra te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662  
 9.72.4d śúcir dhiyā pavate sóma indra te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662  
 9.72.5b anuṣvadhām pavate sóma indra te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662  
 1.55.7c yāmiṣṭhāsaḥ sārathayo yā indra te :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
 9.86.28c áthedām vísvam pavamāna te váše :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
 9.107.20a utāhām náktam utá soma te dívā :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 6.43.1c ayām sá sóma indra te sutāḥ píba :AHLHLHLHLHLA: 224

There seems to be no good evidence in favor of grammatical enclisis to vocatives. Therefore the phenomenon is more plausibly a result of poetic influence.

## 5.4 The position of *áchā* with regard to its object

Macdonell, in his *Vedic Grammar for Students*, says that “when used with substantives the genuine prepositions as a rule follow their case, while the prepositional adverbs precede it (1916: 285).” Let us explore this claim by applying the metrical method to one of these elements.

The adposition *áchā*, which Macdonell classifies as a prepositional adverb, tends to be attracted to the beginning or end of its pāda, obscuring our judgment of what its natural position may be. However, analyzing its distribution in the context of metrical quality, we observe that *áchā* actually behaves as a postposition more frequently as the probability of poetic manipulation decreases. There are not many occurrences of *áchā* among 8-syllable lines, but the tokens we do find establish the aforementioned pattern.

(117) Placement of *áchā* with regard to its object in 8-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	<i>áchā</i> X	X <i>áchā</i>
AHHHLHLA	4930	1	6	6
AHLHLHLA	3316	2	4	0
AHLHLLA	168	3	2	0
AHHHHLHA	85	4	0	1
AHHHLLHA	55	5	0	1
ALHHLLHA	21	6	0	1

Although the majority of instances here show *áchā* preceding its object, these carry less weight because of the metrical environments where they occur. 11-syllable lines furnish more tokens to plot, and with one exception<sup>4</sup> corroborate the trend found in the 8-syllable lines.

<sup>4</sup>The counterexample in the twelfth-ranked line deserves a brief excursus. The adposition *áchā* takes *samudrám* for its object 5 times in the Rigveda: 1.130.5b, 3.33.2b, 6.30.4d, 9.64.16b, and 9.66.12a. In all five instances, *áchā* precedes *samudrám*. In RV 9.64.16b and 9.66.12a, this could easily be attributed to the lines' highly ranked scansion, both of which suffer greatly when *áchā* and *samudrám* are exchanged.

- (1) a. RV 9.64.16b  
*áchā samudrám āśávaḥ*      AHLHLHLA 3316  
to sea.ACC.SG swift.NOM.PL  
“swift to the sea”
- b. RV 9.64.16b rearranged  
*samudrám áchā āśávaḥ* AHLHHHLA 75
- c. RV 9.66.12a  
*áchā samudrám índavo*      AHLHLHLA 3316  
to sea.ACC.SG drop.NOM.PL  
“the drops, to the sea...”
- d. RV 9.66.12a rearranged  
*samudrám áchā índavo* AHLHHHLA 75

But 3.33.2b suffers not at all when the phrase is reversed, and 1.130.5b and 6.30.4d are actually improved by the change.

- (2) a. RV 1.130.5b  
*áchā samudrám asṛjo ráthāṃ iva* AHLHLLLHLHLA 624  
to sea.ACC.SG set.loose.2SG chariot.ACC.PL like  
“you set them loose to the sea, like chariots”
- b. RV 1.130.5b rearranged  
*samudrám áchā asṛjo ráthāṃ iva* AHLHLLLHLHLA 1190
- c. RV 6.30.4d  
*ávāsṛjo apó áchā samudrám* AHLLLLHLHLHA 223  
set.loose.2SG water.ACC.PL to sea.NOM.SG  
“you set loose the waters to the sea”
- d. RV 6.30.4d rearranged  
*ávāsṛjo apó samudrám áchā* AHLHLHLHLHA 512

So it would seem that, rather than being a counterexample to the evidence, this handful of examples may indicate that *áchā samudrám* is a formula.

(118) Placement of *áchā* with regard to its object in 11-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	<i>áchā</i> X	X <i>áchā</i>
AHLHLLHLHA	2313	1	1	5
AHLHLLHHLHA	1670	2	3	1
AHHHLLHLHA	1472	3	2	1
AHHLLHHLHA	1388	4	2	3
AHHLLLHLHA	1231	5	1	1
AHLHHLHHLHA	683	6	1	1
AHHHLHHLHA	483	7	4	1
AHHHLHLHLHA	470	8	1	1
AHHLLLHHLHA	379	9	0	2
ALHHLLHLHA	360	10	0	1
ALHLLLHLHA	287	11	0	1
AHLLLHHLHA	223	12	1	0
ALHHHLHHLHA	161	13	0	1
ALHHLHLHLHA	84	14	0	1
AHLHLLHHHA	12	15	0	1

(119) Placement of *áchā* with regard to its object in 12-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	<i>áchā</i> X	X <i>áchā</i>
AHLHLLHLHLA	1190	1	1	1
AHHHLLHLHLA	650	2	2	0
AHLHLLHLHLA	624	3	1	0
AHHLLHHLHLA	523	4	2	1
ALHLLHHLHLA	161	5	0	1
ALHLLHLLHLA	6	6	0	1
AHHLLHLLLA	5	7	0	1

Once again, by analyzing individual examples in detail, we can see that the prevalence of one of the types that we see emerging in the lowest ranked lines is indeed the result of a dwindling poetic influence. Where the scansion is good and we suspect the arrangement to be ungrammatical, we find that rearrangement results in poorer scansion.

(120) a. RV 9.107.12d

*áchā kósam madhuścútam* AHHHLHLA 4930  
 to cup.ACC.SG honey.dripping.ACC.SG  
 “to the cup dripping with honey”

b. RV 9.107.12d rearranged

*kósam áchā madhuścútam* ALHHLHLA 1979  
*kósam madhuścútam áchā* AHLHLLHA 53

c. RV 1.6.6b

áchā vidádvasuṃ                      gíraḥ                      AHLHLHLA 3376  
to    finding.wealth.ACC.SG song.NOM.PL

“songs to the one finding wealth”

- d. RV 1.6.6b rearranged  
vidádvasuṃ áchā gíraḥ AHLLHHLA 11

Conversely, where the scansion is poor, we only observe the arrangement we suspect to be grammatical. Rearrangements of these lines do not significantly improve them, which we expect since the poet appears to have taken the opportunity to rearrange his words where doing so would improve their scansion.

- (121) a. RV 1.2.2b

tuvám              áchā jaritáraḥ                      AHHLLHA 55  
you.ACC.SG to    praiser.NOM.PL

“the praisers to you”

- b. RV 1.2.2b rearranged  
áchā tuvám jaritáraḥ AHLHLLHA 53

- c. RV 4.1.2b

devám              áchā sumatí              yajñávanasaṃ                      AHHLLHLLLA 5  
god.ACC.PL to    favor.INS.SG loving.sacrifice.ACC.SG

“[bring] with favor to the gods the one who loves the sacrifice”

- d. RV 4.1.2b rearranged  
áchā devám sumatí yajñávanasaṃ AHHLLHLLLA 5

So the Rigvedic *áchā* seems to be a postposition, despite Macdonell’s observation. Looking at the tables above, however, it is easy to see how such misapprehensions can develop. Without noticing the tell-tale shift towards one type in the lowest-ranked lines, we are at the mercy of raw numbers, which, rather than an accurate picture of the grammar, more closely reflect the simple ratio of metrical slots into which certain arrangements can be fit.

## 5.5 The position of the copula in predicate nominative constructions

The verb in Rigvedic tends to occur finally, as in Latin, a similarity which invites us to consider another possible parallel. In Latin, the copula or “be” verb, unlike other verbs, occurs between its subject and the nominative noun or adjective in constructions of the type *X is Y*, i.e. predicate nominative constructions. So it is reasonable to suppose that Rigvedic, since it is genetically related to Latin, might share this feature. And indeed, a cursory glance at the distribution of the ‘be’ verb *as-* seems to confirm that hypothesis. But without investigating the metrical environments of those occurrences, we cannot know how great a role the poetic filter may have played in altering the natural distribution.

In order to explore the distribution of the copula in the context of metrical frequency, it benefits us to limit our scope to examples with expressed subjects. This of course means that first and second person examples will be the easiest to isolate, since the subject cannot be anything other than the personal pronoun. There are only 28 examples of *asmi* ‘I am’ in the Rigveda. The overwhelming majority of these examples show the expected predicate nominative pattern: (*ahám*) *asmi* X. However, most occur in metrically preferred lines and not many of them express the first person subject. The tables below demonstrate the paucity of the data (there are no occurrences in 12-syllable lines), though the little information they contain does point toward one particular type.

(122) Final vs. medial copula *asmi* in 8-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank		ahám X asmi		ahám asmi X
AHHHLHLA	4930	1		1		0
ALHLLHLA	691	2		0		2
ALHLLLHA	7	3		0		1

(123) Final vs. medial copula *asmi* in 11-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	ahám X asmi	ahám asmi X
AHHHLLHLHA	1472	1	1	0
AHHLLHHLHA	1388	2	0	1
AHLHLLLHLHA	1374	3	0	2

A trend emerges, but the sample size is minuscule. The second person singular is more fruitful, though again we face the problem that only a handful of the tokens occur in lines with infrequent scansions. The following tables catalog the positions of *asi* in lines with an expressed subject.

## (124) Final vs. medial copula in 8-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	t(u)vám X asi	t(u)vám asi X
AHHHLHLA	4930	1	1	1
AHLHLHLA	3316	2	7	0
ALHHLHLA	1979	3	3	0
AHHLLHLA	1362	4	2	1
ALHLLHLA	621	5	3	3
ALLHLLA	24	6	0	1
ALLHLHLA	3	7	0	1

With so few examples, it is important to note the size of the difference between rankings five and six: the fifth ranked scansion here occurs 621 times, the sixth occurs 24 times, and the seventh occurs 3 times. There are only 4 examples in 11-syllable lines.

## (125) Final vs. medial copula in 11-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	t(u)vám X asi	t(u)vám asi X
AHHHLLHLHA	1472	1	0	2
AHHLLLHLHA	1231	2	1	0
ALLHLLHHLHA	133	3	0	1

In 12-syllable lines, the distribution breaks down thus.

## (126) Final vs. medial copula in 12-syllable lines

scansion	frequency	rank	t(u)vám X asi	t(u)vám asi X
AHLHLLHLHLA	1190	1	4	1
AHLHLLLHLHLA	624	2	1	0
AHHLLHHLHLA	523	3	2	0
AHHLLLHLHLA	468	4	1	1
AHHLLLHLHLA	161	5	2	0
AHLHLLLLHLA	13	6	0	1

Here again, the difference in scansion frequency in the lower ranks is great: the fifth ranked scansion occurs 161 times; the sixth occurs 13 times. With so few data points in the area where we need them, we cannot draw any conclusions at all without looking for evidence from rearrangement. There we consistently find that exchanging the copula and the predicate nominative yields the result we predict based on the metrical environment. In those few instances where the scansion is poor, the observed arrangement is always the one we predict to be grammatical: *t(u)vám asi X*.

## (127) a. RV 8.71.2c

tuvám íd asi kṣápāvān ALLHLHA 3  
 you.NOM.SG FOC be.2SG earth.protector.NOM.SG  
 “YOU are the Earth-protector”

## b. RV 8.71.2c rearranged

tuvám íd kṣápāvān asi ALHLHHLA 13

## c. RV 8.11.2a

tuvám asi praśásiyo ALLHLLLA 24  
 you.NOM.SG be.2SG praiseworthy.NOM.SG  
 “you are praiseworthy”

## d. RV 8.11.2a rearranged

tuvám praśásiyo asi AHLLLHLA 621

Where the scansion is good and we suspect the arrangement to be ungrammatical, we find that rearrangement mars the line’s scansion.

## (128) a. RV 5.13.6b

devāms tvám paribhūr asi AHLLHLA 1362  
 god.ACC.PL you.NOM.SG surrounding.NOM.SG be.2SG

“you surround the gods”

- b. RV 5.13.6b rearranged  
deváṃs tvám asi paribhúr AHLLLLLA 5

- c. RV 8.11.1a

tvám agne vratapá asi AHLLHLA 1362  
you.NOM.SG Agni.VOC.SG law.protector.NOM.SG be.2SG

“O Agni, you are the law-protector”

- d. RV 8.11.1a rearranged  
tvám agne asi vratapá AHHLHLA 27

- e. RV 8.23.30a

ágne tuvám yaśá asi AHLHLHLA 3316  
Agni.VOC.SG you.NOM.SG glorious.NOM.SG be.2SG

“words”

- f. RV 8.23.30a rearranged  
ágne tuvám asi yaśáḥ AHLLLLLA 5

Although the copula’s tendency towards medial position was only hinted at in the catalogs of distribution by metrical frequency, the evidence from rearrangement seems to corroborate the hypothesis that Rigvedic predicate nominative constructions naturally place the copula between the subject and the nominative noun.

## 5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I hope to have shown that meter and grammar often compete for accurate expression, and that verses with less frequently occurring metrical patterns show more consistency in their syntactic arrangements. None of the tables or rearrangements used in this chapter establishes the correlation by itself, especially since their sample sizes are too small to be significant individually. But the confluence of all these tables, the fact that their tokens tend towards one type as metrical frequency declines, supports the overarching correlation between poor scansion and more natural grammar.

Having established the efficacy of this method of investigation, we can now apply it to grammatical phenomena which do not so easily lend themselves to computerized searches. Chapter 6 will provide further remarks on syntactic structures in the Rigveda.

## Chapter 6

# Further remarks on grammatical patterns in the Rigveda

In this chapter I will highlight the merits of the method of Chapter 4 by remarking on a few observed phenomena in Rigvedic, namely its SOV word order, wh- movement, discontinuous constituents, and apparent scrambling, any of which could potentially be attributed to poetic manipulation. Therefore it will be necessary to inform future investigations of these phenomena with a preliminary conclusion, based on metrical analysis, as to whether the observation represents a grammatical process or a common post-syntactic alteration. I then turn to a less well established area of syntax: the left periphery.

The left periphery represents a cohesive complex of syntactic phenomena. Here the density of overlapping data more easily allows one solution to provide evidence for the next. Coupling generative assumptions with metrically informed observations, we will see that, contrary to the preliminary conclusions of Chapter 2, the Rigvedic left periphery does indeed behave in accordance with theory, exhibiting a structure similar to that responsible for V2 in German.

## 6.1 SOV

Rigvedic had long been described as SOV, but Gonda (1952) and Klein (1994) have demonstrated this statistically. In a subcorpus of Rigvedic, Klein finds about 62% of sentences to be verb-final, and about 20% to be verb-medial. He further categorizes the types of verb-medial sentences according to what material has been extraposed to the right of the verb. The following passages, for instance, exemplify the extraposition of single verbal arguments.

(129) RV 1.8.4c AHLLHLA 1362

**sā**hyāma      pṛtanyatāḥ  
conquer.OPT.1PL foe.ACC.PL

“let us conquer [our] foes” (OPT = optative)

(130) RV 1.5.8c AHHHLHLA 4930

tuvāṃ      **vardhantu**      no gírah  
you.ACC.SG strengthen.IMP.3PL our song.NOM.PL

“let our songs strengthen you”

(131) RV 1.8.9 AHLHLHLA 3316

sadyás      cit      **sānti**      dāsúṣe      AHHHLHLA 4930  
immediate INDF be.3PL worshipper.DAT.SG

“they are immediate for the worshipper”

As can be seen, none of these lines lends itself to grammatical trustworthiness, because they exhibit popular scansion patterns. Therefore, let us consider examples with less frequent scansion.

(132) RV 1.38.9c ALLHLHHA 3

yát pṛthivím viundánti  
 when earth.ACC.SG drench.3.PL

“when they drench the earth”

(133) RV 9.86.12b AHHHLLHHLHLA 209

ágre vācó agriyó góṣu gachati  
 in.front.of hymn.GEN.SG foremost.NOM.SG cow.LOC.PL go.3SG

“at the forefront of the speech he goes, at the head of the cows”

The lower frequency counts of their scansion indicate that these lines might provide some grammatical insight. We can assume that the poet would have chosen the best metrical arrangement that maintains interpretability. But if no arrangement fits the prescribed meter well, giving the poet the freedom to place the verb medial or final, it is reasonable to assume that he would choose the placement that most aligns with the syntax of his language. The above lines, when rearranged to be verb-medial, exhibit more preferred scansion.

		scansion	scansion frequency
(134)	yát viundánti pṛthivím	ALHHLLLA	81
	ágre vācó gachati góṣu agriyó	AHHHLLHHLHLA	650

It is impossible to inhabit the mind of the poet, who must often have had to negotiate the trade-off between meter and grammar, but these examples seem to constitute further evidence that Rigvedic was an SOV language, since that is the arrangement attested despite the fact that it resulted in inferior scansion. The lines above stood to be improved by placing the verb medially, but apparently not enough to license a distortion of the natural arrangement.

This is not to insinuate that sentence-medial verbs do not tend to occur in lines with inferior scansion; there are many such examples. Usually, however, the medial position of the verb can also be explained by the adverbial nature of the following element (e.g.

RV 9.86.1b), a marginal improvement in scansion (e.g. RV 5.2.1d, 2.25.4a, 6.65.2b, 9.97.34c), gapping (e.g. RV 10.89.8d), or wordplay (e.g. RV 9.113.5b). Those which are not so easily explained (e.g. RV 1.191.2b), I will take up later in this chapter.

## 6.2 Wh-movement

Without troubling ourselves to compare corpus with subcorpus, it is apparent that a wh-form in *ká-* almost always begins the sentence it occurs in. And whereas we observe preverbs raising into a position directly left of relatives in *yá-*, we never see this with *ká-*, even in the most metrically perfect lines. In the subcorpus, wh- forms in *ká-* are not very frequent, but those that do occur adhere strictly to a pattern consistent with wh-movement. In the following table, it is easily observed that the wh- forms (shown in boldface) are fronted.

### (135) Wh- words in first position

line		scansion	scansion frequency
1.120.1b	<b>kó</b> vāṃ jóṣa ubháyoḥ	AHLLLLA	4
1.121.1a	<b>kád</b> itthá nṛṃḥ páṭaraṃ + devayatāṃ	AHHHHLHLLA	4
4.25.1a	<b>kó</b> adyá · náriyo devákāma	AHL·LLHHLHA	9
5.53.1b	<b>kó</b> vā purá sumnéṣu āsa marútāṃ	AHLHHHLLLA	2
8.66.10a	<b>kád</b> ū mahír ádhṛṣṭā asya táviṣiḥ	AHLHLHHLLLA	2
10.40.2a	<b>kúha</b> svid doṣá <b>kúha</b> vāstor aśvínā	AHHHLLHHHLA	2
10.50.3a	<b>ké</b> té nára indara + yé ta iṣé	AHLLHLLHLLA	5
10.99.1a	<b>kám</b> naś citráṃ iṣanyasi cikivān	AHLLHLLHLLA	2

### (136) Wh- words out of first position

line		scansion	scansion frequency
1.88.3c	yuṣmábhyaṃ · <b>kám</b> marutaḥ sujātās	AHL·HLLHLHA	3
1.169.5b	praṇetāraḥ · <b>kásya</b> cid ṛṭāyóḥ	AHHL·HLLLHA	2
1.184.1c	nāsatiyā <b>kúha</b> cit sántāv aryó	ALLHLLHHHHA	1
2.42.1d	má tvā <b>ká</b> cid abhibhá vísvyā vidat	AHLLLHHHLA	1
3.45.1c	má tvā <b>ké</b> cin ní yaman víṃ ná pāsino	AHHHLLHHHHLA	4
5.83.9d	yát <b>kím</b> ca prthivyām ádhi	AHLLHHLA	11

The apparent exceptions in the second table are of two types. Most of these exhibit the indefinite use of *ká* when it is collocated with *ca* or *cit*, which are analogous to the English collocations *whatever*, *whoever*, etc.; *kám* in 1.88.3c is an adverbial derivative (Macdonell 1916: 225).

It is not unreasonable to assume, given these observations, that Rigvedic exhibits movement of *wh*- elements into SpecCP, as English does.

### 6.3 Discontinuity

Some languages, to a greater or lesser extent, tolerate the discontinuity of certain phrases. German, for example, allows topicalization to break up a determiner phrase (DP), which is impossible in English, though English allows certain kinds of DPs to be split by CPs.

(137) Discontinuous DP in German

**Bücher**    habe    ich            **drei** gelesen  
book.PL.ACC have.1SG me.NOM.SG three read

“I have read three books”

(138) Discontinuous DP in English

here is the **picture** that I framed **of the two of us**

The Rigveda is riddled with discontinuous DPs, such as *ebhír arkáir* ‘with these songs’ in the following line. Note the metrical infrequency of those arrangements which keep the DP together; most instances of discontinuity, such as the following, do not constitute good evidence for the phenomenon in the syntax of Rigvedic, because they betray metrical motivation.

(139) RV 4.3.15a

ebhír bhava sumánā agne arkaír  
 this.INS.PL be.IMP graciousNOM.SG Agni.VOC.SG song.INS.PL

“be gracious, O Agni, with these songs”

RV 4.3.15a	scansion	scansion frequency
<b>ebhír</b> bhava sumánā agne <b>arkaír</b>	AHLLLLHHLHA	223
other possible permutations		
ebhír arkaír bhava sumánā agne	ALHHLLLLHHA	0
ebhír arkaír sumánā bhava agne	ALHLLHLLHA	5
sumánā bhava ebhír arkaír agne	ALHLLHLHHHA	0
sumánā bhava ebhír arkaír agne	ALHLLHLHHHA	0
sumánā bhava agne ebhír arkaír	ALHLLHHHLHA	5

Paring down the corpus and using metrical data as evidence will allow us to make either a case against the grammaticality of discontinuous phrases in Rigvedic or a more reliable case in their favor. As it turns out, the latter possibility seems to hold, for even among lines with very infrequent scansions, we still observe discontinuity.

(140) RV 1.52.4d ALHLLHLHLHLA 3

**śúsmā** índram **avātá**  
 snortings.NOM.PL Indra.ACC.SG unextinguishable.NOM.PL  
**áhrutapsavaḥ**  
 whose.breaths.are.undivertable.NOM.PL

(141) RV 10.26.9a AHLHHLA 7

**asmākam** ūrjā **rátham**  
 our might.INS.SG chariot.ACC.SG

And although neither line can be improved by rearrangement, these are not the only possible arrangements the poet could have chosen.

(142) RV 1.52.4d rearranged  
 índram śúsmā avātá áhrutapsavaḥ AHLLHLHLHLA 16

(143) RV 10.26.9a rearranged  
 asmākam rátham ūrjā AHLLHA 15

As demonstrated above, it would have been entirely possible for the poet to maintain the contiguity of the DPs without further damaging the meter of the line. These situations are pervasive in the subcorpus, and so it seems that discontinuous DPs are indeed grammatical in Rigvedic. However, having yet to find an instance where rearrangement significantly improves the lines, we can say that discontinuity in DPs must have been optional. For, if the poet were ever obligated to split a DP at the expense of the meter, then rearrangement might be able to improve the line. But if the poet always had the option to split a DP or keep it intact, we should expect him always to have chosen whichever had the better scansion (except where semantic consequences like topicalization etc. must be considered).

## 6.4 Scrambling

Scrambling was explored in Chapter 3 as a possible explanation for the instability of word order in Rigvedic. If it is defined to encompass post-syntactic processes, operating on well-formed syntactic output, scrambling is obviously ubiquitous in the Rigveda. This is why, in this work, I limit the definition of scrambling to encompass only syntactic processes, like those which operate in Modern German and Russian. Such processes may have been as common a phenomenon in spoken Rigvedic as in those modern languages. An investigation into the existence of a *grammatical* scrambling phenomenon in Rigvedic is therefore warranted.

It may, however, be very difficult to determine whether optional, grammatical scrambling exists in Rigvedic. For it is obvious that the rich case system of the language allows the poet a great degree of freedom for consciously rearranging syntactic objects within the constraint of intelligibility, and that this freedom mirrors the effects of any would-be grammatical scrambling. If grammatical scrambling exists, we may observe different

kinds of arrangements in the metrically inferior lines, but only in situations where our own rearrangement cannot improve the meter of the line. This is because grammatical scrambling would be just another tool to the poet: if two arrangements (one scrambled, one unscrambled) are equally grammatical, then he should always choose the one that makes the best verse. We might sometimes expect to find interactions with information structure (topic and focus effects) in those cases, but these would be difficult to discern given the poetic nature of the corpus and the lack of native speakers. If grammatical scrambling does not exist, we may observe among the metrically inferior lines a preference for one particular kind of arrangement. In fact the subcorpus of metrically dispreferred lines shows a strong tendency towards placing the dative before the accusative, as in the following examples.

(144) a. RV 1.103.4d ALHLLHLLA 2

yád dha sūnúḥ śrávase nāma dadhé  
 when FOC “son” glory.DAT.SG name.ACC.SG give.PRF-3.SG

“when he gave [himself] the name ‘son’ for glory!”

b. RV 6.67.11d AHLLHLLHLLA 5

dhr̥ṣṇúm yád ráṇe v̥ṣṇam̐ yunájan  
 bold.ACC.SG when battle.DAT.SG bull.ACC.SG yoke.3.PL.SUBJ

“when they will yoke the bold bull for battle”

c. RV 10.175.3c AHLHLLA 11

v̥ṣṇe dádhatō v̥ṣṇiyam  
 bull.DAT.SG putting.NOM.PL virility.ACC.SG

“granting virility to the bull”

This tendency toward dative-accusative arrangement indicates that this is the unmarked word order. So we may tentatively posit that grammatical clause-bound scrambling like the kind found in German does not occur in Rigvedic, though this says nothing against a type of scrambling that could account for discontinuous constituents.

In Chapter 3, we also noted that long-distance scrambling appeared to be grammatical in Rigvedic. The relevant examples are repeated here.

(145) Long-distance scrambling in Rigvedic

a. 1.161.3a

agnīm          dūtám                  práti yád                  ábravītana  
 Agni.ACC.SG messenger.ACC.SG back REL.ACC.SG speak.IMP.2.PL

“what you answered to Agni the messenger”

b. 10.96.2a

hárīm                  hí yónim                  abhí yé  
 golden.ACC.SG FOC womb.ACC.SG towards REL.NOM.PL  
 samásvaran  
 together.sound.IMP.3.PL

“those who sang together towards the golden womb”

In these examples, we see nouns and preverbs crossing a clause-boundary to escape an embedded CP. This could be considered long-distance scrambling, though I will avoid that term when dealing with the phenomenon; instead I will only discuss the arrangement in terms of the movements which bring it about. Since these effects occur at the edges of embedded CPs, we can enfold them in the discussion of the left periphery, which is the purpose of the following section.

## 6.5 The Rigvedic left periphery

In Chapter 2, I showed that Hale’s model of the left periphery, though it achieved descriptive adequacy, did not conform to theoretical principles. Now that we are freed from the burden of modeling consciously manipulated (i.e. contaminated) data, it may be possible to account for the structures found in the subcorpus of metrically inferior lines in a way that accords with the theory.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, Hale’s account deviated from the theory in order to explain a construction in which a complementizer was preceded by two elements originating within the embedded CP.

(146) RV 1.110.2a AHLH||LL|HHLHLA 662

ābhogáyam<sub>i</sub>      prá<sub>j</sub> [ yád t<sub>i</sub> ichánt-a      t<sub>j</sub> áitana      ]  
nourishment.ACC.SG forth    when    seeking.NOM.PL    go.IMP.F.2SG

“when, seeking nourishment, you went forth ...”

The implications of assuming these constructions to be grammatical are far-reaching, so we ought to be fairly certain of their grammaticality. But after paring down the corpus to isolate metrically inferior lines, one notices the absence of *any* such patterns resembling that in (146). Indeed this particular construction exists only in more metrically preferred, less trustworthy lines, all of which are presented below (brackets have been added).

	line		scansion	scansion frequency
	9.73.6a	pratnān mánād ádhi á [ yé samásvarañ]	AHHLLHHLHLA	523
	1.110.2a	ābhogáyam prá [ yád ichánta aítana]	AHLHLLHHLHLA	662
(147)	1.161.3a	agnim dūtám práti [ yád ábravítana]	AHHLLLHLHLA	468
	5.32.1c	mahántam indra párvataṃ ví [ yád váḥ]	AHLHLHLHLHA	512
	6.15.14c	ṛtá yajāsi mahiná ví [ yád bhúr]	AHLHLLHLHLA	1374
	5.15.2d	jātaír ájātāñ abhí [ yé nanakṣúḥ]	AHLHLLHLHLA	2313
	7.103.2a	divyá ápo abhí [ yád enam áyan]	AHHLLLHLHLA	1231
	10.123.8a	drapsáḥ samudrám abhí [ yáj jígāti]	AHLHLLHLHLA	1374

Furthermore, the attested occurrences of those patterns betray metrical motivation. If we rearrange these lines to look like what we see in the metrically inferior subcorpus, the quality of their scansions invariably fails, just as these rearrangements of (146) fail.

	RV 1.110.2a	scansion	scansion frequency
	ābhogáyam prá yád ichánta aítana	AHLHLLHHLHLA	662
	other possible permutations		
(148)	a.	prá yád ābhogáyam ichánta aítana	ALHLLHHLHLA 161 <sup>1</sup>
		prá yád ichánta ābhogáyam aítana	ALHHLHLLHLA 4
		prá yád ichánta aítana ābhogáyam	ALHHLHLLHHLA 0
		prá yád aítana ābhogáyam ichánta	ALHLLHLLHHA 0
		prá yád aítana ichánta ābhogáyam	ALHLLHHLHLA 0
	RV 6.15.14c	scansion	scansion frequency
	ṛtá yajāsi mahiná ví yád bhúr	AHLHLLHLHLA	1374
	b. other possible permutations		
		ṛtá yajāsi ví yád mahiná bhúr	AHLHLLHLHLA 19
		ṛtá yajāsi ví yád bhúr mahiná	AHLHLLHLLA 14

<sup>1</sup>This metrical pattern seems to work well enough, but the positioning of *ābhogáyam* prevents the line from achieving a good caesura. The caesura, which requires a word boundary, occurs after the fourth or fifth syllable in the line, but the nearest word boundaries in this example are after the second syllable and after the sixth.

	scansion	scansion frequency
5.15.2d jātaír ájātāṁ abhí yé nanakṣúḥ	AHLHLLHLHA	2313
other possible permutations		
abhí yé jātaír ájātāṁ nanakṣúḥ	ALHHHLHLHA	161 <sup>2</sup>
c. abhí yé jātaír nanakṣúḥ ájātāṁ	ALHHHLHLHA	3
abhí yé ájātāṁ jātaír nanakṣúḥ	ALHLHHHLHA	2
abhí yé ájātāṁ nanakṣúḥ jātaír	ALHLHHLHHA	0
abhí yé nanakṣúḥ ájātāṁ jātaír	ALHLHLLHHA	2
abhí yé nanakṣúḥ jātaír ájātāṁ	ALHLHHHLHA	2

Therefore we can be justified in disregarding these examples as intelligible but ungrammatical, which alleviates much of the complication faced in Chapter 3. The impetus for positing multiple specifiers is gone, and the left periphery's resemblance to that of German becomes closer.

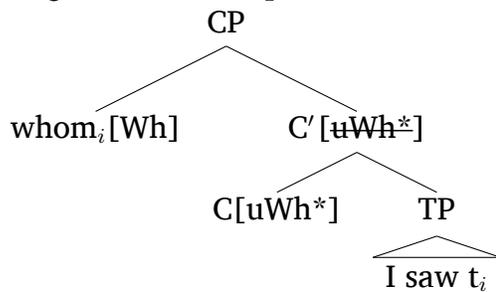
The evidence of the metrically inferior lines does not require an account of multiple extraction. However, it does strongly suggest that movement of *a single element* out of the embedded CP to a position immediately left of the relative pronoun must be grammatical in Rigvedic. Not only do we observe such patterns in the more trustworthy subcorpus, but we also find instances where the poet's choice of whether to move such an element would not have affected the frequency of the line's scansion.

	scansion	scansion frequency
RV 4.55.2b observed:		
(149) a. ví yád uchán viyotáro ámūrāḥ	ALHHLHLLHA	13
rearranged:		
yád ví uchán viyotáro ámūrāḥ	ALHHLHLLHA	13
RV 6.67.11c observed:		
b. ánu yád gáva sphurán ṛjipyám	ALHHHLHLHA	5
rearranged:		
yád gáva ánu sphurán ṛjipyám	AHLLHLHLHA	8

<sup>2</sup>This metrical pattern seems to work well enough and achieves a good caesura, however the scansion of the attested arrangement is far better preferred.

And so we must account for this movement in the syntax. SpecCP is the most obvious candidate for the landing site, but it can only host the moved element if it is not occupied by the relative pronoun itself, as it is in English. The following tree diagram demonstrates the situation in English.

(150) English: *this is the person whom I saw*

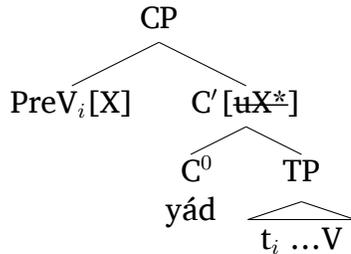


Here we see that the strong, uninterpretable wh- feature on C triggers the phrase containing the answering wh- feature to move. Since an entire phrase is moving, it has to be housed in SpecCP. With the wh- feature on C now checked, no other such movements can occur. There are many possible solutions to this raising problem, but the following explanation should account not only for the raising of preverbs but also for several other key observations of the relative's behavior.

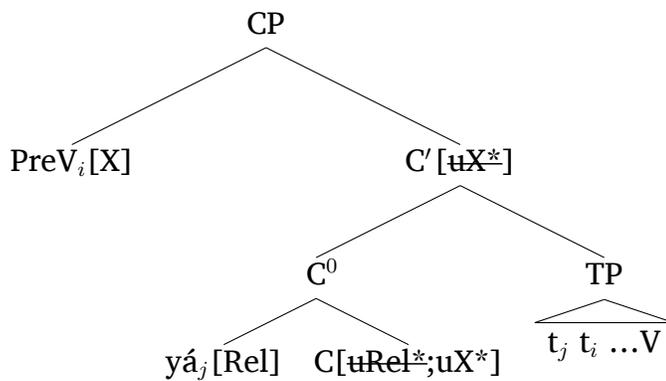
I will now argue that *yá-* does not occupy SpecCP at all, but rather C itself. We expect this to be the case for complementizers derived from the pronoun, but observations of both kinds of clauses indicate that the complementizers and the inflected relative pronouns appear to share the same distribution. The mechanisms by which they find themselves in C, however, must be different, the complementizers being base-generated there and the inflected relatives undergoing head-movement into C (like the finite verb in German V2). There must be a strong uninterpretable feature on the C of embedded clauses that triggers head-movement of the relative into C; let us provisionally label this [uRel\*]. In addition

there must be a strong feature on the C of embedded clauses that triggers the movement of an element into SpecCP; let us provisionally label this [uX\*]. Thus the skeleton of Rigvedic's clause structure seems to be as follows.

(151) Complementizer base-generated in C



(152) Relative moved into C



As we discussed earlier, it is easily established that Rigvedic exhibits wh-movement, and we can ascribe to it the usual landing site of SpecCP without controversy. But whereas *ká-* is never preceded by a raised preverb, preverb raising seems to be obligatory with *yá-*.<sup>3</sup> Once again, this is not so surprising where we expect *yá-* to have been base-generated in C, leaving SpecCP open as a landing site, but we see the same compulsory raising to be triggered by the inflected relative. Thus it would seem that although interrogatives in Rigvedic are true wh- words (like in English), relatives are not (unlike in English).

<sup>3</sup>Exceptions to this rule can be found, but insofar as the exceptions follow patterns of their own, they warrant more careful investigation into their specific mechanisms rather than an overhaul of the general rule. For example, the verb *ud* is unusually closely collocated with its usual preverb *ví*; they do not separate for any reason, including the attraction of the relative.

This *yá*-in-C analysis predicts a ban on pied-piping, the phenomenon which in English is responsible for the optionality of preposition stranding with *wh*- relatives.

- (153) a. that is the book [in [which]]<sub>i</sub> I found the note t<sub>i</sub>  
 b. that is the book [which]<sub>i</sub> I found the note [in [t<sub>i</sub>]]

The preposition in these English examples has the option of following its *wh*- object into SpecCP, which is only possible because the specifier position can accommodate phrases. If the relative head alone had been moved into C (as I am proposing for Rigvedic), only the second (surface) structure would be possible. If this is the case for Rigvedic, then we should not expect to find any such material raising along with the inflected relative. Finding evidence to bear on this prediction is difficult: only a handful of inflected relatives act as objects of adpositions, and those that do occur in metrically favorable lines. All of these, however, do show stranded prepositions.<sup>4</sup>

(154) Relative adposition stranding

- a. RV 1.23.17b AHHHLHLA 4930

yābhir vā sūriyaḥ sahá  
 REL.INS.PL or sun.NOM.SG with  
 “or [those] with which the sun [is]”

- b. RV 8.92.20a AHLLHLA 4930

yásmin vísvā ádhi śríyo  
 REL.LOC.SG all.NOM.PL over glory.NOM.PL  
 “over whom all glories [are]”

The *yá*-in-C analysis also makes predictions about how the phenomenon of “successive cyclicity” might appear in Rigvedic. In English, successive cyclicity is what allows structures like the following.

<sup>4</sup>There are also a few apparent counterexamples in 1.141.5a, 2.16.2a, for which see Grassmann’s ninth definition for *yá*- (1873:1065). The possible counterexample in 1.18.7a, *yásmād ṛté ná sídhyati*, ‘without whom [it] does not succeed,’ is ambiguous: the adposition *ṛté* may or may not have moved.

(155) this is the book [<sub>CP</sub> which<sub>i</sub> you said [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> he wanted t<sub>i</sub> ] ]

Here we see that the relative pronoun in the lowest SpecCP, since it has been moved to the edge of that phase, is accessible to the next higher phase and can move again, thus the two traces. However in Rigvedic, if *yá*-in-C is true, we would expect the next higher phase to target just the relative pronoun *yá*- in C (the phase-head, which is part of the edge of the phase) for movement, possibly leaving the raised preverb in SpecCP stranded because it does not bear the [uWh] feature the probe in the higher phase is looking for. We might speculate that successive cyclicity in Rigvedic could lead to a chain of stranded preverbs.

No discussion of the left periphery would be complete without an exposition of topic and focus. Unfortunately, the explanation of this particular area of the left periphery is inordinately affected by a lack of native speakers. The semantic/pragmatic effects of topic and focus can be subtle, and the context of the hymns is not always helpful in determining whether a particular fronting was intended to convey contrast or presentation. Poetic manipulation also interferes with our understanding of Rigvedic topic and focus because we cannot always know whether an element was moved in the syntactic derivation or afterwards. Topicalization and focus fronting could also be seen as grammatical (not just intelligible) metrical conveniences, like word choice.

That said, paring down the corpus and the ability to search for metrically indifferent arrangements, will aid us in the investigation of focus phenomena, but it is especially fortunate that Rigvedic contains a number of overt particles whose functions and distributions can help us to map topic and focus in the left periphery. One of the most common exemplars is the focus particle *íd*. This particle usually cooccurs with fronting, and directly follows the element on which it confers its sense. The following examples typify its usage.

(156) Usage of *íd*

a. RV 1.27.3c

pāhí                    sádám      íd    viśváyuḥ  
protect.2.SG.IMP constantly FOC all.life.ACC.SG  
“protect [us] CONSTANTLY, for [our] entire life”

b. RV 8.071.02c

tuvám            íd    asi      kṣápāvān  
you.NOM.SG FOC be.2.SG guardian.NOM.SG  
“YOU ALONE are the guardian”

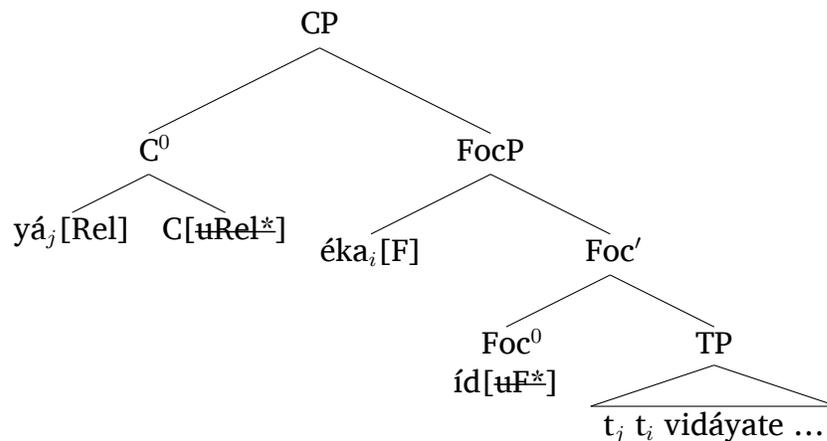
The crucial observation for this particle is that it can also occur within an embedded clause, yielding the surface order *yá- X íd ...*. And we do not observe fronted elements with *íd* occurring left of the relative, focusing extracted material, as in \**X íd yá-* .... These facts point to the existence of a focus phrase (FocP) directly below CP, of which *íd* is one possible head.

(157) RV 1.84.7a

yá                    éka    íd    vidáyate      ...  
REL.NOM.SG alone FOC distribute.3SG

“he who ALONE distributes ...”

(158)



The above analysis accounts for the behavior of *íd* within relative clauses. Interestingly, we nowhere find focus fronting with *íd* cooccurring with the raising of elements into the embedded SpecCP, as in: *X yá- Y íd ...*. If no examples can be found, or if more evidence comes to light, then there may be a blocking effect to investigate. Until then, however, we may predict that such structures could be grammatical but are unattested.

At this point a clear picture of the Rigvedic left periphery comes into view. The wh-forms in *ká-* must be categorically distinct from relatives in *yá-*. There must be a strong uninterpretable feature on the C of embedded clauses that triggers head-movement of the relative into C, and there must be a strong feature on the C of embedded clauses that triggers the movement of an element into SpecCP. We are left to speculate on the specific nature of that feature (which we labeled [uX\*]). It must be formulated so as to account for the attraction of preverbs or nouns from within the TP downstairs, in which regard the structure greatly resembles V-to-T-to-C and XP-to-SpecCP analyses proposed to explain German V2.

## 6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I hope to have provided further evidence in favor of the grammaticality of SOV, wh-movement, and discontinuous constituency in Rigvedic, and to have cast doubt on the grammaticality of Germanesque argument scrambling. While establishing the grammaticality of an observed phenomenon is a necessary first step towards formulating it in a syntactic account, this support only scratches the surface of these phenomena. However, in the account of the Rigvedic left periphery presented here, I hope to have not only demonstrated the power of this method of investigation for discriminating grammatical from ungrammatical patterns in poetry, but also to have formulated a theoretically consistent account.

The accuracy of these claims and the efficacy of the method by which I arrived at them represent a potentially important development for the syntactic reconstruction of Indo-Iranian. It remains to expand this method both longitudinally, by continuing to apply it and through application to refine the method itself; and laterally, by applying the method to other languages.

# Chapter 7

## Conclusion

### 7.1 Future research

A great advantage of the investigation method laid out in this work is that it can apply *mutatis mutandis* to a poetic corpus in any language; of course the specifics of those investigations would depend on the poetic tradition of the language. But insofar as poetry resembles a language game, altering well-formed syntactic output to conform to an artificial pattern, applying the premise of this method—that metrical optimality correlates inversely with grammatical accuracy—will allow us to sort through verses and separate the grammatical wheat from the poetic chaff.

#### 7.1.1 Getting syntax out of Latin poetry

The quantitative meters of Latin poetry work somewhat differently from those of Vedic. For one thing, they do not fix the number of syllables but rather the number of feet. This allows for a different—and in some ways greater—degree of metrical freedom, such

that the parameters of a “good” line are looser and more easily attained. Rather than striving towards one or two canonical verse patterns, Latin poets worked within a flexible framework. For example, dactylic hexameter (the meter of Latin epic poetry) prescribes a verse of 6 feet, the first 5 of which may be either dactyls or spondees<sup>1</sup>, the last being a spondee. The examples below showcase the two extremes of these possibilities.

(159) Latin dactylic hexameter

spondaic    H H | H H | H || H | H H | H H | H A  
dactylic    H L L | H L L | H L || L | H L L | H L L | H A  
etc.

Poets like Vergil and Ovid were able to follow these guidelines fairly precisely, so that their poetry consists almost entirely of well-behaved lines. That is not to say that some patterns will not be more frequent than others, but it does change the dynamic of the analysis: there are only 5 feet which can vary between dactyl and spondee, allowing for only 32 different scansion patterns for well-behaved lines<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, less well-behaved lines may be too rare to count on for grammatical insights, at least within the work of a single author.

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<sup>1</sup>The overwhelming majority of dactylic hexameter lines show a dactyl in the fifth foot. Spondees in this position are rare but do occur.

<sup>2</sup>In treatments of Latin verse, commentators typically note that certain syllables must be read with the opposite natural length of the vowel, rather than that the meter might be defective. In Aeneid 8.98, for example, the *u* of *prōcūl*, which is short by nature and by position, occupies a place in the scansion which ought to be long. The opposite can also be true, as in Aeneid 7.359, where the first *a* of *Lāvīniā* is long by nature, but the meter requires it to be short.

Aeneid 8.98  
cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum        HH HH HLL LH HLL HA  
Aeneid 7.359  
exsulibusne datur ducenda Lavinia Teucris        HLL HLL HH HLH HLL HA

Even so, we can draw conclusions by observing the distribution of tokens, and comparing alternative arrangements of the lines in which they occur, in order to discover metrical motivations for word-order variation. Let us take the use of the Latin copula with predicate adjectives as an example. We should expect to find the order Noun-Adjective-Copula (Adams 1994: 14), as in the following examples.

(160) Cato

a. De Agricultura 4.1

frons occipitio prior est  
face.NOM.SG back.of.the.head.ABL.SG prior be.3SG

“the face is preferable to the back of the head”<sup>3</sup>

b. De Agricultura 41.1

ea optuma est  
it.NOM.SG best.NOM.SG be.3SG

“it is best”

(161) Cicero

a. Pro Rosc. 57

hoc populo gratissimum est  
this.NOM.SG people.DAT.SG most.gracious.NOM.SG be.3SG

“this is most gracious for the people”

b. Pro Sul. 39

hoc perspicuum est  
this.NOM.SG evident.NOM.SG be.3SG

“this is evident”

However, the epic poets use multiple arrangements for predicate adjectives, such as those presented below.

(162) Noun-Adjective-Copula: Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 1.612

bos quoque formosa est  
cow.NOM.SG also beautiful.NOM.SG be.3SG

“the cow is also beautiful”

---

<sup>3</sup>This phrase is a proverb, with the sense that more work is done when the master is present (see Oxford Latin Dictionary s.v. *occipitium*).

- (163) Adjective-Noun-Copula: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.214  
 longa mora est  
 long.NOM.SG delay.NOM.SG be.3SG  
 "long is the delay"
- (164) Adjective-Copula-Noun: Vergil's *Aeneid* 1.341  
 longa est iniuria  
 long.NOM.SG be.3SG injury.NOM.SG  
 "long is the injury"
- (165) Noun-Copula-Adjective: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 2.663  
 pater est mihi nempe biformis  
 father.NOM.SG be.3.SG meDAT.SG truly of.two.forms.NOM.SG  
 "my father is truly of two forms"

Based on the prose comparanda, we can suppose that these poets' natural arrangement for this construction would have been the same as Cicero's, Caesar's, and Pliny's. But, having established the inverse link between poetic optimality and grammatical accuracy, we can demonstrate the metrical motivation exerted on these examples by rearranging them. In the tables below, the altered feet are shown in boldface.<sup>4</sup>

- (166) *Metamorphoses* 1.214  
 original verse scansion  
 longa mora est. quantum noxae sit ubique repertum HLL HH HH HLL HLL HA  
 rearrangement  
 mora longa est. quantum noxae sit ubique repertum **LL** HH HH HH **LL** HLL HH
- (167) *Aeneid* 1.341  
 original verse scansion  
 germanum fugiens. longa est iniuria, longae HH HLL HH HH HLL HH  
 rearrangement  
 germanum fugiens. iniuria longa est, longae HH HLL HH HLL **HH** HH
- (168) *Metamorphoses* 2.663  
 original verse scansion  
 tota tamen quare? pater est mihi nempe biformis HLL HH HLL HLL HLL HA  
 rearrangements  
 tota tamen quare? pater biformis est mihi nempe HLL HH **HLH** **LHL** HLL HA  
 tota tamen quare? mihi nempe pater biformis est HLL HH HLL HLL **HLH** **LA**  
 tota tamen quare? mihi nempe biformis est pater HLL HH HLL HLL **HLH** **LA**

<sup>4</sup>In these examples, the entire line has been provided in order to show the full metrical context.

In the first of these examples, the rearrangement leads to two entirely defective feet; in the second, it places a spondee in the fifth foot. While spondees in the fifth foot do occur, poets greatly preferred to have a dactyl in that position. Since the last example uses more words, it has many more possibilities for rearrangement. However it is not necessary to analyze all of these possibilities, because multiple will fail for the same reasons. For instance, in any arrangement beginning with *pater*, *est* must come second, because any other word in the sentence would cause the second syllable of *pater* to be long, thus yielding a bad foot. Nor can *est* end this line, because none of the other words in the sentence end with a syllable that is long by nature, so none of those possibilities could achieve the final spondee. So it is clear that in these instances, the poets, ever striving to conform to their medium, had no obvious path towards what we suspect to be the natural, grammatical expression of predicate adjective constructions, and therefore consciously altered their utterances.

### 7.1.2 Getting syntax out of Greek poetry

As is the case with Vedic, some of the oldest attestations of Greek come to us in the form of poetry, namely the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The language of these epics, commonly referred to as Homeric, is an amalgam of dialects and periods, but its archaic nature makes it one of the cornerstones of Indo-European linguistics (Fortson 2010: 249).

As with Latin, we can see how metrical considerations seem to affect word order in Homeric Greek, even without a full treatment of the corpus's scansion. For example, let us observe the distribution of the infinitive  $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ , 'to be.' In the prose of Thucydides (writing in the fifth century BCE),  $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$  occurs both within clauses and at the ends of clauses, though he uses it within the clause about twice as often. The same is true for Herodotus (also writing in the fifth century BCE), except that he uses  $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$  within the clause three times as often. The following examples give both arrangements.

(169) Herodotus, Histories 1.8

ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων  
consider.IMPF.3SG he.DAT.SG be.INF woman.ACC.SG by.far all.GEN.PL  
καλλίστην.  
most.beautiful.ACC.SG

“he considered [her] to be by far the most beautiful woman of all” (AOR = aorist)

(170) Herodotus, Histories 2.9

... ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην ... τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν  
as me.NOM.SG learn.AOR.1SG theACC.PL but towards the.ACC.SG  
ἠῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα  
east.ACC.SG bearing.frankincense.ACC.PL there theACC.PL boundary.ACC.PL  
εἶναι.  
be.INF

“...as I learned...the eastern boundaries there to be rich in frankincense.”

To explain this distribution there may be some stylistic influence, grammatical free variation, or a syntactic difference between medial and final instances of εἶναι. In any case, a survey of these authors' prose might answer these questions to our satisfaction. However, we could not without reservation apply those findings to the language of the epics, since they were composed hundreds of years earlier and in particular because their syntax appears to differ from the later prose. When we investigate the distribution of εἶναι in Homeric Greek, we find two patterns. In the overwhelmingly more frequent pattern (45 out of 61 non-repeated occurrences in the Iliad), εἶναι occurs at the end of a verse, which typically coincides with the end of a clause, as in the following examples.

(171) Iliad 1.91

ὃς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν εὔχεται εἶναι  
REL.NOM.SG now by.far best.NOM.SG Achaean.GEN.PL boast.3SG be.INF

“...who now boasts to be the best by far of the Achaeans”

(172) Iliad 11.20

τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήιον  
REL.ACC.SG once he.DAT.SG Kinyras.NOM.SG give.AOR.3SG guest.gift.ACC.SG  
εἶναι  
be.INF

“...which Kinyras once gave him to be a guest-gift”

Here, as in Latin, the meter is dactylic hexameter. When εἶναι occurs at the end of the line, it makes up the final spondee in the scansion. But since the poet is free to place spondees anywhere, it may seem too great a coincidence that this particular spondee tends to show up clause-finally. Furthermore, in a significant minority of cases, (11 non-repeated lines out of 61), εἶναι does not occur finally but rather before a line-final trisyllabic sequence, where it forms the metrical structure HLLHA. These instances, presented below, appear to be formulaic in nature.

(173) Non-final εἶναι in the Iliad:

- a. 5.173: οὐδέ τις ἐν Λυκίῃ σέο γ' εὐχεται εἶναι ἀμείνων.
- b. 6.350: ἀνδρὸς ἔπειτ' ὄφελλον ἀμείνονος εἶναι ἄκοιτις,
- c. 6.388: τείρεσθαι Τρῶας, μέγα δὲ κράτος εἶναι Ἀχαιῶν.
- d. 8.229: πῆ ἔβαν εὐχωλαί, ὅτε δὴ φάμεν εἶναι ἄριστοι,
- e. 9.103: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὡς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.
- f. 12.103: οἱ γάρ οἱ εἴσαντο διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστοι
- g. 12.215: νῦν αὖτ' ἐξερέω ὡς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.
- h. 13.735: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὡς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα:
- i. 15.108: κάρτεϊ τε σθένεϊ τε διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστος.
- j. 23.595: ἐκ θυμοῦ πεσέειν καὶ δαίμοσιν εἶναι ἀλιτρός.
- k. 23.669: πυγμῆ νικήσαντ', ἐπεὶ εὐχομαι εἶναι ἄριστος.

In each of these cases, εἶναι forms part of a dactyl in the fifth foot (the diphthong *αι* here is treated as a short vowel plus a glide consonant). So it appears that the position of the infinitive in all these examples is subject not exclusively to the grammar of the language, but also to the meter of the line. It appears that the poet's syntax compels him to place the infinitive at the end, but for the sake of the meter he may exchange it with the preceding word, so long as that word has the metrical shape LHL or LHH.

## 7.2 Contributions and problems

For those interested in the syntax underlying poetry, there has always been an unstated assumption that we must choose between two extremes: either we may discard evidence from word order in poetry, or we may take all of it at face value. But these options hardly satisfy our common sense, let alone our curiosity. The general goal of this work has been to explore a third option: that by analyzing the poetry in depth, we may be able to grade the evidence and limit ourselves to studying the best of it.

The method I have laid out for Rigvedic will continue to uncover syntactic truths about the language the more it is applied to the corpus. And although the specifics of that method will need to be modified when it is applied to a different language or poetic format, there is nothing in principle that limits its power to the Rigveda.

The main problem in pursuing this mode of inquiry is that it is a single tool which works best in concert with others. The lack of a tagged Rigvedic corpus stifles the depth and breadth of our searches, forcing us to select for analysis only a small number of salient constructions. With additional searching, or with the creation of a tagged corpus, the method proposed in this work should allow us to attain deeper insights into the syntax of this difficult text.

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# Appendices

# Appendix A

## A shell script for scanning Vedic text

```
#!/bin/bash
# Vedic scanner
#This is one of the programs used to scan the Rigveda. Although they all
#follow the same basic method, it was necessary to produce several versions
#in order to best deal with final -e and -o before a following vowel. The
#corpus was first separated: all lines containing -e_V or -o_V were sequestered,
#the remaining lines were then scanned according to the search and replace
#method below, with every -e- and -o- scanning as H. The version of the program
#presented here was made to scan the sequestered data in two ways, once with
#all -e/o_V scanning as H, and once with them all scanning as L. Each version's
#resulting metrical pattern was then counted against the previously scanned
#corpus, and the higher number chosen. The two sets were then recombined and
#recounted to form the single scanned, counted corpus.
#This extra complication allows -e/o_V the freedom to scan as either light
#or heavy depending on what the better meter demands.
```

while read stringZ #This takes each line from the file one at a time  
#and takes it through the following process.

do

stringY=\$stringZ #Copying the string will allow us to append the  
#scansion to the Vedic verse.

stringZ=\${stringZ:10} #Delete the first 10 characters of the line,  
#which indicate the mandala, hymn, and verse.

stringZ=\${stringZ//.} #Delete characters which don't affect scansion.

stringZ=\${stringZ// -}

stringZ=\${stringZ// +}

stringZ=\${stringZ// °}

stringZ=\${stringZ// †}

stringZ=\${stringZ// \}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 0}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 1}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 2}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 3}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 4}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 5}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 6}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 7}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 8}

stringZ=\${stringZ// 9}

stringZ=\${stringZ//H} #Delete previous scansion if there is any.

stringZ=\${stringZ//L} #(this makes rescanning easier)

stringZ=\${stringZ//\:}

stringZ=":"\$stringZ":" #Add borders for easy reference.

stringZ=\${stringZ//ph/c} #We must first replace the consonants

stringZ=\${stringZ//bh/c} #transcribed with multiple letters,

stringZ=\${stringZ//dh/c} #since each component of these must also

stringZ=\${stringZ//th/c} #be treated as a single consonant.

stringZ=\${stringZ//kh/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//gh/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//\th/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ch/\cc} #Digraphs which represent two morae

stringZ=\${stringZ//\dh/\cc}

stringZ=\${stringZ//\lh/\cc}

stringZ=\${stringZ//\h/c} #Replace visarga and anusvara with 'c'

stringZ=\${stringZ//\m/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//m/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//\r/H} #Since 'r' is used for both a vowel and

stringZ=\${stringZ//\r/H} #a consonant, we must treat all such with

stringZ=\${stringZ//\r/H} #vocalic diacritics first.

stringZ=\${stringZ//r/a}

stringZ=\${stringZ//í/a}

stringZ=\${stringZ//l/a}

stringZ=\${stringZ//k/c} #Replace every remaining consonant with 'c.'

stringZ=\${stringZ//g/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ñ/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//c/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//j/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ñ/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//t/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//d/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//n/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//t/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//d/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ñ/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//p/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//b/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//m/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//v/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//y/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//r/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//!c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//l/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//s/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//s/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//s/c}

stringZ=\${stringZ//h/c}

```

stringZ=${stringZ//ã/vv} #Replace disyllabic long vowels with 'vv'.
stringZ=${stringZ//ã/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//ĩ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//ĩ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//ũ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//ũ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//õ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//õ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//õ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//õ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//ẽ/vv}
stringZ=${stringZ//ẽ/vv}

```

```

stringZ=${stringZ//ai/H} #Replace long vowels except e and o
stringZ=${stringZ//aí/H} #with 'H' since these will scan heavy.
stringZ=${stringZ//au/H}
stringZ=${stringZ//aú/H}
stringZ=${stringZ//ã /H}
stringZ=${stringZ//ã/H}
stringZ=${stringZ//ũ/H}
stringZ=${stringZ//ĩ/H}

```

```

stringZ=${stringZ//a/v} #Replace short vowels with 'v'.
stringZ=${stringZ//à/v} #<-- precombined accent
stringZ=${stringZ//à/v} #<-- combining accent
stringZ=${stringZ//á/v}

```

stringZ=\${stringZ//i/v}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ì/v}

stringZ=\${stringZ//í/v}

stringZ=\${stringZ//î/v}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ï/v}

stringZ=\${stringZ//u/v}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ü/v}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ú/v}

stringZ=\${stringZ// } #Delete spaces.

stringZ=\${stringZ// } #(there appear to be 2 kinds of space used)

#The string is now a series of 'c's and 'v's with some 'H's that

#have already been "scanned."

#At this point the script will copy the string in order to try it out

#with eo\_V scanned as L\_V and as H\_V

stringA=\$stringZ

stringA=\${stringA//ev/Hv} #To be sure that e and o scan heavy

stringA=\${stringA//ov/Hv} #before other vowels

stringA=\${stringA//év/Hv}

stringA=\${stringA//èv/Hv}

stringA=\${stringA//èv/Hv}

stringA=\${stringA//óv/Hv}

stringA=\${stringA//òv/Hv}

stringA=\${stringA//òv/Hv}

stringA=\${stringA//oe/HH} #only affects 2 lines  
 stringA=\${stringA//eó/HH} #only affects 1 line  
 stringA=\${stringA//óe/HH} #only affects 1 line  
 stringA=\${stringA//eH/HH}  
 stringA=\${stringA//oH/HH} #update to reflect praghrya e/o  
 stringA=\${stringA//éH/HH}  
 stringA=\${stringA//èH/HH}  
 stringA=\${stringA//èH/HH}  
 stringA=\${stringA//óH/HH}  
 stringA=\${stringA//òH/HH}  
 stringA=\${stringA//òH/HH}

stringZ=\${stringZ//ev/vv} #To be sure that e and o scan light  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//ov/vv} #before other vowels  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//év/vv}  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//èv/vv}  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//èv/vv}  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//óv/vv}  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//òv/vv}  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//òv/vv}  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//oe/vH} #only affects 2 lines  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//eó/vH} #only affects 1 line  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//óe/vH} #only affects 1 line  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//eH/vH}  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//oH/vH} #update to reflect praghrya e/o  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//éH/vH}  
 stringZ=\${stringZ//èH/vH}

stringZ=\${stringZ//èH/vH}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//óH/vH}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//òH/vH}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//òH/vH}

stringA=\${stringA//e/H} #Scan e's and o's as heavy  
stringA=\${stringA//o/H}  
stringA=\${stringA//é/H}  
stringA=\${stringA//è/H}  
stringA=\${stringA//è/H}  
stringA=\${stringA//ó/H}  
stringA=\${stringA//ò/H}  
stringA=\${stringA//ò/H}

stringZ=\${stringZ//e/H} #Scan e's and o's as heavy  
stringZ=\${stringZ//o/H}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//é/H}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//è/H}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//è/H}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//ó/H}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//ò/H}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//ò/H}

#We are now ready to replace syllables heavy by position with 'H'.

stringZ=\${stringZ//vcccc/H}  
stringZ=\${stringZ//vcccc/H}

stringZ=\${stringZ//vccc/H}

stringZ=\${stringZ//vcc/H}

stringZ=\${stringZ//H/H} #Some combining diacritics may have migrated

stringZ=\${stringZ//H/H} #onto some 'H's; this will clean up the string.

stringZ=\${stringZ//v/L} #Any leftover 'v's become 'L's and the

stringZ=\${stringZ//c} #leftover 'c's are deleted.

stringZ=\${stringZ//\:H\:A} #Replace first and last scans with 'A'

stringZ=\${stringZ//\:L\:A} #for "anceps."

stringZ=\${stringZ//H\:/A\:}

stringZ=\${stringZ//L\:/A\:}

stringZ=\${stringZ//\:f\:A} #I have no idea why this is necessary

stringA=\${stringA//vccccc/H}

stringA=\${stringA//vcccc/H}

stringA=\${stringA//vccc/H}

stringA=\${stringA//vcc/H}

stringA=\${stringA//H/H} #Some combining diacritics may have migrated

stringA=\${stringA//H/H} #onto some 'H's; this will clean up the string.

stringA=\${stringA//v/L} #Any leftover 'v's become 'L's and the

stringA=\${stringA//c} #leftover 'c's are deleted.

```

stringA=${stringA//\:H\:A} #Replace first and last scans with 'A'
stringA=${stringA//\:L\:A} #for "anceps."
stringA=${stringA//H\:/A\;}
stringA=${stringA//L\:/A\;}

stringA=${stringA//\:f\:A} #I have no idea why this is necessary

#Now we generate the frequency count for each version of each line

stringX=$stringZ
num1='grep -c "$stringX" ./rv_scansion'

stringX=$stringA
num2='grep -c "$stringX" ./rv_scansion'

#if the heavier version scans better, we echo that, otherwise the lighter

if [ $num1 -lt $num2 ]; then
echo "$stringY $stringA $num2"
else
echo "$stringY $stringZ $num1"
fi

done

exit 0

```

# Appendix B

## Rigvedic lines with scansion in the first percentile of frequency

These are the 8, 11, and 12 syllable lines of the RigVeda whose metrical patterns constitute the first percentile when ranked in order of frequency.

### B.1 First percentile of 8 Syllable lines according to the frequency of each line's scansion pattern.

1.027.03c	pāhí sádám íd viśvāyuh̄	:ALLLHHHA:	1
8.094.01a	gaúr dhayati marútāṃ	:ALLLLLLA:	1
10.085.40a	sómaḥ prathamó vivide	:AHLHLLA:	2
1.090.05a	utá no dhíyo góagrāḥ	:ALHLHHHA:	2
5.075.05a	bodhínmanasā rathíyā	:AHLHLLA:	2
8.002.09a	súcir asi puruniṣṭhāḥ	:ALLLLLHA:	2
8.079.04b	divá ā prthivyā rjīṣin	:ALHLHHHA:	2

8.081.08a	índra yá u nú te ásti	:ALLLLLHA:	2
1.038.09c	yát prthivīm viundánti	:ALLHLHHA:	3
5.074.06a	ásti hí vām ihá stotā	:ALLHLHHA:	3
8.002.13c	préd u harivaḥ śrutásya	:ALLLHLHA:	3
8.046.22e	dása gávām sahásrā	:ALLLHLHA:	3
8.071.02c	tuvám íd asi kṣápāvān	:ALLLHLHA:	3
8.079.01b	viśvajíd udbhíd ít sómaḥ	:ALLHLHHA:	3
8.091.03b	ádhi caná tvā némasi	:ALLHHHLA:	3
9.015.01a	eṣá dhiyā yāty aṅviyā	:ALLHHHLA:	3
9.113.06b	chandasíyām vācam vādan	:ALLHHHLA:	3
10.020.08c	agnīm havīṣā vārdhantaḥ	:AHLHHHHA:	5
1.038.14b	parjanya iva tatanaḥ	:AHLLLLLA:	5
2.006.04b	vásupate vásudāvan	:ALLHLLHA:	5
3.041.08b	háripriya arvān yāhi	:AHLHHHHA:	5
5.017.04b	dasmásya vásu rátha ā	:AHLLLLLA:	5
5.050.02d	sácemahi sacathíyaiḥ	:AHLLLLLA:	5
5.068.04a	rtám rténa sá pantā	:ALLHLLHA:	5
5.082.07c	satyásavaṃ savitāram	:ALLHLLHA:	5
5.082.09b	āsrāváyati ślókena	:AHLHHHHA:	5
8.002.04b	índraḥ sutapā viśvāyuḥ	:AHLHHHHA:	5
8.002.26c	ní yamate sátámūtiḥ	:ALLHLLHA:	5
8.061.14b	kṣáyasya ási vidhatāḥ	:AHLLLLLA:	5
8.098.09b	uraú rátha urúyuge	:AHLLLLLA:	5
9.066.16a	mahām asi soma jyēṣṭha	:AHLHHHHA:	5
9.066.20a	agnír íṣiḥ pávamānaḥ	:ALLHLLHA:	5
10.072.05a	áditir hí ájaniṣṭa	:ALHLLLHA:	7
10.090.12a	brāhmaṇò 'sya múkham āsīd	:ALHLLLHA:	7

10.145.05a	ahám asmi sáhamānā	:ALHLLLHA:	7
1.142.02a	ghrtávantam úpa māsi	:ALHLLLHA:	7
5.019.02a	juhuré ví citáyanto	:ALHLLLHA:	7
8.065.04a	ã ta indra mahimānaṃ	:ALHLLLHA:	7
8.076.11b	krákṣamāṇam akrpetām	:ALHLLLHA:	7
10.097.22a	óṣadhayaḥ sám vadante	:ALLHHLHA:	8
1.158.06a	dīrghátamā māmatelyó	:ALLHHLHA:	8
6.016.25b	iṣayaté mártiyāya	:ALLHHLHA:	8
6.061.11b	urú rájo antárikṣam	:ALLHHLHA:	8
8.007.33a	ō śú vr̥ṣṇaḥ práyajyūn	:ALLHHLHA:	8
8.007.33c	vavrtiyāṃ citrávājān	:ALLHHLHA:	8
8.016.04a	yásya ánūnā gabhīrā	:ALLHHLHA:	8
8.071.08b	rātīm ádevo yuyota	:ALLHHLHA:	8
10.009.08c	yád vāhám abhidudróha	:AHLHHHA:	9
10.025.08c	kṣetравítтаро mánuṣo	:ALHLHLLA:	9
10.085.28a	nīlahitám bhavati	:ALHLHLLA:	9
10.090.13a	candrámā mánaso jātás	:ALHLLHHA:	9
10.097.03a	óṣadhīḥ práti modadhvam	:ALHLLHHA:	9
10.097.15a	yāḥ phalínīr yā aphaḷā	:ALLHHLLA:	9
10.097.17a	avapátantīr avadan	:ALLHHLLA:	9
10.097.21a	yás cedám upaśr̥ṇvánti	:AHLHHHA:	9
10.134.07d	pakṣébhīr apikakṣébhīr	:AHLHHHA:	9
10.146.03a	utá gāva ivādanti	:ALHLLHHA:	9
10.146.06a	āñjanagandhiṃ surabhīm	:ALLHHLLA:	9
10.163.05a	méhanād vanamkáraṇāl	:ALHLHLLA:	9
1.023.22c	yád vāhám abhidudróha	:AHLHHHA:	9
1.043.04a	gāthápatim medhápatim	:ALLHHLLA:	9

1.050.13a	úd agād ayám ādityó	:ALHLLHHA:	9
1.084.02a	índram íd dhārī vahato	:ALHLHLLA:	9
1.176.03c	spāsāyasva yó asmadhrúg	:ALHLLHHA:	9
1.191.09a	úd apaptad asaú sūryaḥ	:ALHLLHHA:	9
2.041.07a	gómad ū śú nāsatiyā	:ALHLHLLA:	9
3.041.03c	vīhī śūra purolāśam	:ALHLLHHA:	9
5.070.01c	míttra vāṃsi vāṃ sumatím	:ALHLHLLA:	9
5.082.08a	yá imé ubhé áhanī	:ALHLHLLA:	9
5.086.06b	áhāvi haviyāṃ śūsyāṃ	:AHLLLHHA:	9
6.044.04a	tiyám u vo ápahaṇaṃ	:ALLHHLLA:	9
6.047.24a	dása ráthān práṣṭimataḥ	:ALLHHLLA:	9
6.047.24b	śatám gā átharvabhyaḥ	:AHLLLHHA:	9
7.032.18b	etāvad ahám īśīya	:AHLLLHHA:	9
8.002.20c	asrīrá iva jāmātā	:AHLLLHHA:	9
8.002.21b	bhūridāvarīm sumatím	:ALHLHLLA:	9
8.002.27a	éhá hārī brahmayújā	:ALLHHLLA:	9
8.005.35c	dhījavanā nāsatiyā	:ALLHHLLA:	9
8.046.21d	prthuśrávasi kānīté	:AHLLLHHA:	9
8.079.08b	mā ví bībhiṣathā rājan	:ALHLLHHA:	9
8.081.05c	abhí rādhasā jugurat	:ALHLHLLA:	9
8.089.05c	tát prthivīm aprathayas	:ALLHHLLA:	9
9.005.08a	bhāratī pávamānasya	:ALHLLHHA:	9
10.086.20a	dhánva ca yát krntátraṃ ca	:ALLHHHHA:	10
10.090.02a	púruṣa evédám sárvaṃ	:ALLHHHHA:	10
1.010.06d	índro vásu dáyamānaḥ	:AHLLLLHA:	10
10.135.05a	kāḥ kumārám ajanayad	:ALHLLLLA:	10
10.135.06a	yáthābhavad anudéyī	:AHLLLLHA:	10

10.136.03a	únmaditā maúneyena	:ALLHHHHA:	10
10.136.06a	apsarásāṃ gandharvāṇām	:ALLHHHHA:	10
10.143.01a	tyāṃ cid átrim rtajúram	:ALHLLLLA:	10
10.155.05b	pári agním ahrṣata	:ALHLLLLA:	10
10.174.02c	abhí prtanyántaṃ tiṣṭha	:ALLHHHHA:	10
10.185.02c	īse ripúr aghásāṃsaḥ	:AHLLLLHA:	10
1.027.03b	ní mártiyād aghāyóḥ	:AHLLLLHA:	10
1.027.05a	ã no bhaja paraméṣu	:AHLLLLHA:	10
1.038.03b	márutaḥ kúva suvitā	:ALHLLLLA:	10
1.187.07a	yád adó pito ájagan	:ALHLLLLA:	10
1.191.12b	viśásya púṣiyam akṣan	:AHLLLLHA:	10
5.019.02b	ánimiṣaṃ nrmṇám pānti	:ALLHHHHA:	10
5.050.04a	yátra váhnir abhíhito	:ALHLLLLA:	10
5.051.14c	svastí na índras cāgnís ca	:ALLHHHHA:	10
5.066.05a	tád rtám prthivi brhác	:ALHLLLLA:	10
8.002.03b	svādúm akarma śrīṇántaḥ	:ALLHHHHA:	10
8.002.19c	mahām iva yúvajāniḥ	:AHLLLLHA:	10
8.002.25b	ã dhāvata mádiyāya	:AHLLLLHA:	10
8.002.35c	inó vásu sá hí vólhā	:AHLLLLHA:	10
8.024.24b	vájrahasta parivíjam	:ALHLLLLA:	10
8.046.10b	aśvayā utá rathayā	:ALHLLLLA:	10
8.046.29a	ádha priyám iṣirāya	:AHLLLLHA:	10
8.091.07a	khé ráthasya khé ánasaḥ	:ALHLLLLA:	10
8.092.07a	tiyám u vaḥ satrāsāhaṃ	:ALLHHHHA:	10
9.114.03a	saptá díso nānāsūryāḥ	:ALLHHHHA:	10
10.062.05a	vírūpāsa íd řsayas	:AHLLLLLA:	11
10.062.05c	té ángirasaḥ sūnávas	:AHLHHLA:	11

10.093.11a	etám sám̐sam indrásmayúṣ	:AHLHHLA:	11
10.095.03a	īṣur ná śriyá īṣudhér	:AHLHHLA:	11
10.126.03c	náyīṣṭhā u no neṣāṇi	:AHLHHLA:	11
10.158.02a	jósā savitar yásya te	:AHLHHLA:	11
10.166.04c	ã vaś cittám ã vo vratám	:AHLHHLA:	11
10.166.05e	maṇḍūkā iva udakān	:AHLHHLA:	11
10.175.03c	vīṣṇe dádhato vīṣṇiyam	:AHLHHLA:	11
1.022.15a	siyonā prthivi bhava	:AHLHHLA:	11
1.024.04a	yás cid dhí ta itthā bhágaḥ	:AHLHHLA:	11
1.028.02a	yátra dvāv iva jaghánā	:AHLHHLA:	11
1.045.10d	tám pāta tiróahniyam	:AHLHHLA:	11
1.046.05b	nāsatyā matavacasā	:AHLHHLA:	11
1.150.02b	prahoṣé cid áraruṣaḥ	:AHLHHLA:	11
3.028.06c	juṣásva tiróahniyam	:AHLHHLA:	11
5.051.15c	púnar dádatā ághnatā	:AHLHHLA:	11
5.061.15b	praṇetāra itthā dhiyā	:AHLHHLA:	11
5.083.09d	yát kíṃ ca prthivyām ádhi	:AHLHHLA:	11
7.059.01a	yám trāyadhva idám-idaṃ	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.002.38a	gāthásravasaṃ sátpatiṃ	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.004.13a	ratheṣṭhāya adhvaryavaḥ	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.027.05a	ã no adyá sám̐manaso	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.047.16a	tádannāya tádapase	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.052.05b	mahām ugrá īsānakṛt	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.055.04a	sudevā stha kāṇvāyanā	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.060.19a	ágne járitar viśpátis	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.060.20d	ágne sédha rakṣasvínaḥ	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.065.05b	mahām ugrá īsānakṛt	:AHLHHLA:	11

8.069.12a	sudevó asi varuṇa	:AHLLLLLA:	11
8.076.12c	índrāt pári tanvám mame	:AHLHHLA:	11
8.079.08a	mā naḥ soma sám vīvijo	:AHLHHLA:	11
9.061.02a	púraḥ sadyá itthādhiye	:AHLHHLA:	11
1.003.04c	áṅvībhis tánā pūtāsaḥ	:AHLHHHA:	12
10.085.47a	sám añjantu vísve devāḥ	:AHLHHHA:	12
10.173.02a	ihaívaídhi māpa cyoṣṭhāḥ	:AHLHHHA:	12
1.038.09a	dívā cit támaḥ krṇvanti	:AHLHHHA:	12
1.088.01b	suarkaí ráthebhir yāta	:AHLHHHA:	12
5.070.02a	tā vām samyág adruhvāṇā	:AHLHHHA:	12
8.002.10c	śukrá āsíraṃ yācante	:AHLHHHA:	12
8.002.25a	pányam-panyam ít sotāra	:AHLHHHA:	12
8.002.29b	mahé rādhase nrmṇāya	:AHLHHHA:	12
8.002.35a	prābhartā ráthaṃ gavyántam	:AHLHHHA:	12
8.003.21c	vísveṣāṃ tmánā sóbhiṣṭham	:AHLHHHA:	12
8.071.06b	ágne dāsúṣe mártāya	:AHLHHHA:	12

## **B.2 First percentile of 11 Syllable lines according to the frequency of each line's scansion pattern.**

10.015.04a	bárhiṣadaḥ pitara ūtī arvāg	:ALLHLLHHHA:	1
10.016.06b	pipiláḥ sarpá utá vā śvāpadaḥ	:AHHLLLHHLA:	1
10.023.02d	áva kṣṇaumi dāsasya nāma cit	:AHHLLHLHLA:	1
10.032.04c	mātā yán mántur yūthásya pūrviyā	:AHHHHHLHLA:	1
10.048.11d	áparājitam ástrtam áṣālham	:ALHLLHLLHA:	1
10.050.04c	bhúvo nṛṃś cyautanó vísvasmin bhāre	:AHHHLHHHHLA:	1

10.074.04c	sakrtsúvaṃ yé puruputrām mahīm	:AHLHLLHHLA:	1
10.077.01d	gaṇám astoṣi eṣām ná śobháse	:ALHHLHHLHLA:	1
10.077.04b	vithuryāti ná mahī śratharyāti	:AHLHLLHHLA:	1
10.078.01a	víprāso ná mánmabhiḥ suādhíyo	:AHLHHLHHLA:	1
10.078.03c	vármaṇvanto ná yodhāḥ símīvantaḥ	:AHHHLHHLHHA:	1
10.087.19c	ánu daha sahámūrān kravyādo	:ALLLHLLHHLA:	1
10.105.07c	árutahanur ádbhutaṃ ná rájaḥ	:ALLLHLLHHLA:	1
10.110.05d	devébhiyo bhavata supráyaṇāḥ	:AHLHLLHHLA:	1
10.133.07a	asmábhyaṃ sū tuvám indra tám śikṣa	:AHLHLLHHLA:	1
10.148.01a	suṣvāṇāsa indara+ stumási tvā	:AHLHLLHHLA:	1
10.164.03a	yád āśásā niḥśásā abhiśásā	:AHLHLLHLLA:	1
1.059.04a	brhatī iva sūnāve ródasī	:ALHLLHHLA:	1
1.113.14b	ápa kṛṣṇām nirṇíjaṃ devī āvaḥ	:ALHHLHHLHHLA:	1
1.117.22b	ásviyaṃ śíraḥ práti airayatam	:ALHLLHLLHHLA:	1
1.121.08c	háriṃ yát te mandínaṃ dukṣán vrdhé	:AHHHLHHLHHLA:	1
1.121.08d	górabhasam ádribhir vātāpyam	:ALLHLLHHLA:	1
1.122.09d	ápa yád īṃ hótarābhir rtāvā	:ALLHLLHHLA:	1
1.140.13c	gávyam yáviyaṃ yánto dīrghā áhā	:AHLHHLHHLA:	1
1.149.03c	sāro ná rurukvāñ chatāātmā	:ALHLLHHLHHLA:	1
1.162.22a	sugáviyaṃ no vājī suásviyam	:ALLHHLHHLA:	1
1.173.07c	sajóśasa indaram+ máde kṣoṇīḥ	:AHLHLLHHLA:	1
1.173.12b	ásti hí śmā te śuśmin avayāḥ	:ALHHLHLLHHLA:	1
1.184.01c	nāsatiyā kúha cit sántāv aryó	:ALLHLLHHLHHLA:	1
2.019.01b	mánīṣiṇaḥ suvānāsya práyasaḥ	:AHLHLLHHLHHLA:	1
2.019.01d	óko dadhé brahmaṇyántas ca náraḥ	:AHLHHLHHLHHLA:	1
2.019.05b	ā devó riṇaṃ mártiyāya stavān	:AHLHHLHHLHHLA:	1
2.019.06b	súṣṇam asúṣam kúyavaṃ kútsāya	:ALLHLLHHLHHLA:	1

2.020.01a	vayāṃ te váya indra viddhí śú ṇaḥ	:AHLLHLHLLA:	1
2.020.04d	brahmaṇiyató nūtanasya āyóḥ	:ALLHHLHLHA:	1
2.020.05c	muṣṇānn uśasaḥ sūriyeṇa stavān	:AHLHHLHHLA:	1
2.040.06c	ávatu devī áditir anarvā	:ALLHLLLLHA:	1
2.042.01d	mā tvā kā cid abhibhā vísvyā vidat	:AHLLLLHHHLA:	1
3.014.07a	túbhyaṃ dakṣa kavikrato yānīmā	:AHLLHLHHHA:	1
3.020.05d	vāsūn rudrām ādityām ihá huve	:AHHHHHLLLA:	1
4.021.10a	evā vásva índaraḥ+ satyāḥ samrāḍ	:AHLHLHHHHA:	1
4.028.05d	riricáthuḥ kṣás cit tatrdānā	:ALLHHLHLHA:	1
4.029.04c	úpa tmāni dádhāno dhurí āsūn	:AHLHLHLLHA:	1
5.041.17a	íti cin nú prajāyai paśumátyai	:ALHHLHLLHA:	1
6.003.08b	vidyún ná davidyot suvébhiḥ súśmaiḥ	:AHLHLHHHHA:	1
6.004.04c	sá tuvāṃ na ūrjasana ūrjaṃ dhā	:ALHLHLLHHA:	1
6.011.03a	dhāniyā cid dhí tvé dhiṣāṇā váṣṭi	:ALHHHLLHHA:	1
6.017.12b	pāriṣṭhitam asrja ūrmím apām	:AHLHLLHLLA:	1
6.020.05c	urú śá sarátham sārathaye kar	:ALLLHHLHLA:	1
6.020.13c	dīdáyad ít túbhya° sómebhiḥ sunván	:ALLHHLHHHHA:	1
6.024.10c	amā cainam áraṇye pāhi riṣó	:AHLLHHHLLA:	1
6.025.01a	yā ta ūtír avamā yā paramā	:ALHLLHHLA:	1
6.025.03a	índra jāmayā utá yé 'jāmayo	:ALHLLHHLA:	1
6.026.08c	prātardaniḥ kṣatraśrīr astu śréṣṭho	:AHLHHHHHHA:	1
6.029.02c	ā raśmáyo gábhastiyo sthūráyor	:AHLHLHLHLA:	1
6.040.05a	yád indra diví pāriye yád rdhag	:AHLHLHLHLA:	1
6.048.17c	mā utá sūro áha evā caná	:ALLHLLHHLA:	1
6.066.11d	giráyo ná āpa ugrā asprdhran	:ALHLHLHHHHA:	1
6.068.02a	tā hí śráyiṣṭhā+ devátātā tujā	:AHLHHHLHLA:	1
6.068.02c	maghónām māmhiṣṭhā tuviśúśma	:AHLHHHLLHA:	1

6.068.03a	tā gr̥ṇiḥi namasīyebhiḥ sūṣaiḥ	:ALHLLLLHHHA:	1
7.002.01c	úpa spr̥sa diviyam̐ sānu stūpaiḥ	:AHHLLLHHHHA:	1
7.008.06d	dyumád amīvacātanam̐ rakṣohā	:ALLHLHLHHHA:	1
7.038.02a	úd u tiṣṭha savitaḥ śrudhī asyá	:ALHLLLHLLHA:	1
7.061.02b	vipro mánmāni dīrghaśrúd iyarti	:AHHHLHLLHA:	1
7.095.06a	ayám u te sarasvati vāsīṣṭho	:ALLHLHLLHA:	1
7.104.24a	índra jahí púmāṃsam̐ yātudhānam	:ALLLHHHLHA:	1
8.026.24c	grāvāṇam̐ ná ásvapr̥ṣṭham̐ maṃhánā	:AHHLHLHHHLA:	1
9.089.03b	hárim aruṣám̐ divó asyá pátim	:ALLLHLLHLLA:	1
9.091.05b	suuktāya patháḥ kr̥ṇuhi pr̥caḥ	:AHHLLHLLHHA:	1
9.093.05b	punānó vātāpyam̐ vísvāscandram	:AHHLLHHHHA:	1
9.094.01a	ádhi yád asmin vājínīva súbha	:ALLHHHLHLLA:	1
9.094.01b	spárdhante dhíyaḥ sūriye ná vísaḥ	:AHHLHHLHLLA:	1
10.003.05b	rócamānasya brhatáḥ sudívaḥ	:ALHHLLLHLLA:	2
10.030.02b	ácha apá itośatīr usantaḥ	:ALLLHLHLHA:	2
10.049.01d	áyajvanaḥ sākṣi vísvasmin bhāre	:AHLHHLHHHLA:	2
10.050.01b	árcā vísvānarāya vísvābhúve	:AHHHLHLHHLA:	2
10.050.05a	ávā nú kaṃ jyāyān yajñávanaso	:AHLHHHLLLA:	2
10.061.01a	idám itthā raúdaram̐ gūrtávacā	:ALHHHLHHLLA:	2
10.061.05d	duhitúr ā ánubhrtam̐ anarvā	:ALLHLLLLHA:	2
10.068.03a	sādhuaryā atithínīr iṣirā	:ALHHLLLHLLA:	2
10.077.05a	yūyam̐ dhūrṣú prayújo ná raśmībhir	:AHHLLHLHLA:	2
10.079.03a	prá mātúḥ pratarám̐ gúhiyam̐ ichán	:AHHLLHLLHA:	2
10.083.05c	tám̐ tvā manyo akratúr jihīlāhám̐	:AHHLHLHLHHA:	2
10.099.01a	kám̐ náś citráṃ iṣanyasi cikivān	:AHHLLHLLHA:	2
10.103.08a	índra āsām̐ nayitā+ br̥haspátir	:ALHHLLHLHLA:	2
10.106.05a	vāṃsageva pūṣaríyā śimbātā	:ALHLHLLHHHA:	2

10.115.05c	agnīḥ pātu grṇató agnīḥ sūrīn	:AHHLLLHHHHA: 2
10.132.01b	ījānám bhūmir abhí prabhūṣāṇi	:AHHLLLHLHLA: 2
10.148.04b	dā nrbhyo nṛṇām+ sūra sávah	:ALHHHLHLLA: 2
10.160.01b	sarvarathā ví hārī ihá muñca	:ALLHLLHLLHA: 2
1.062.03d	sám usríyābhir vāvaśanta nárah	:AHLHHHLHLLA: 2
1.100.08c	só andhé cit tāmasi jyótir vidan	:AHHLLLHHHHA: 2
1.103.04d	yád dha sūnūḥ śrāvase nāma dadhé	:ALHHLLHLLA: 2
1.122.11d	prásastaye mahinā ráthavate	:AHLHLLHLLA: 2
1.162.10c	sukrtā tác chamitārah krṇvantu	:ALHHLLHHHHA: 2
1.165.08c	ahám etā mánave viśváscandrāḥ	:ALHHLLHHHHA: 2
1.165.13d	eṣām bhūta návedā ma rtānām	:AHHLLHLLHA: 2
1.173.01c	gāvo dhenávo barhīṣi ádabdhā	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
1.174.08a	sánā tā ta indara+ návyā āguḥ	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
1.178.03c	prābhartā rátham dāsúṣa upāká	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
1.180.07a	vayām cid dhí vām jaritārah satyā	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
1.181.01b	adhvaryántā yád unninīthó apām	:AHHLLLHLHLA: 2
1.189.04a	pāhí no agne pāyúbhir ájasrair	:ALHHHLLHLLHA: 2
2.004.03d	dakṣāyiyó yó dāsvate dáma ā	:AHLHHHLHLLA: 2
2.018.02d	só anyébhiḥ sacate jényo víṣā	:AHHLLLHHHHA: 2
2.018.04b	ā catúrbbhir ā ṣaḍbhír hūyámānaḥ	:ALHLHHHHLHA: 2
2.027.04a	dhāráyanta ādityāso jágat sthā	:ALHLHHHHLHA: 2
2.042.02c	pítryām ánu pradísam kánikradat	:AHLHLLHLHLA: 2
3.005.02a	prá íd u agnír vāvrde stómebhir	:ALLHHHLHHHA: 2
3.020.01a	agním uśásam aśvínā dadhikrām	:ALLLHLLHLLHA: 2
4.007.08c	dūtá iyase pradíva urāṇó	:ALHLHLLHLLHA: 2
4.016.01b	drávantu asya háraya úpa naḥ	:AHLHLLHLLLA: 2
4.021.01a	ā yātu índro ávasa úpa na	:AHLHLLHLLLA: 2

4.037.01a	úpa no vājā adhvarám rbhukṣā	:ALHHHLLLHA: 2
4.038.02a	utá vājínam puruniṣṣídhvānaṃ	:ALHLHLLHHHA: 2
4.042.04b	dhārāyaṃ dívamṃ sádana rtásya	:ALHLHLLLHA: 2
5.033.07a	evā na indara+ ūtíbhira ava	:AHLHLLHLLA: 2
5.041.05b	rāyá eṣe ávase dadhīta dhīḥ	:ALHLLHLLHA: 2
5.041.07a	úpa va eṣe vāndiyebhiḥ sūṣaīḥ	:ALLHHLLHHHA: 2
6.020.01d	daddhī sūno sahaso vrtratúram	:ALHLLHLLHA: 2
6.020.04a	śataír apadran paṇāya indrātra	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
6.023.07d	urūṃ krdhi tuvāyatá ulokám†	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
6.024.08b	ná śárdhate dásyujūtāya stavān	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
6.024.09b	prá iṣo yandhi sutapāvan vājān	:ALHLLHLLHHHA: 2
6.026.06a	tuvāṃ śraddhābhira mandasānāḥ sómair	:AHHHHLLHHHA: 2
6.026.07a	ahám caná tát sūrībhira ānaśyāṃ	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
6.044.21c	vīṣṇe ta índura vrṣabha pīpāya	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
6.047.09c	iṣam ā vakṣi iṣāṃ vārṣiṣṭhām	:ALHLLHLLHHHA: 2
6.051.01c	rtásya sūci darśatám ánīkaṃ	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
6.060.03a	ā vrtrahaṇā vrtrahābhiḥ sūṣmair	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
6.063.03b	ástāri barhīḥ suprāyaṇátamam	:AHLHHHLLLA: 2
6.066.04b	antāḥ sánto avadyāni punānāḥ	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
7.001.18c	prāti na īṃ surabhīni viyantu	:ALLHLLHLLHA: 2
7.003.07a	yáthā vaḥ svāhā agnáye dāsēma	:AHHHHLLHHHA: 2
7.004.03a	asyá devásya saṃsádi ánīke	:ALHLLHLLHA: 2
7.021.09a	sákhāyas ta indra viśváha syāma	:AHLHLLHLLHA: 2
7.038.06a	ánu tán no jāspátira maṃsīṣṭa	:ALHLLHLLHHHA: 2
7.038.07c	jambháyanto áhiṃ víkaṃ rákṣāṃsi	:ALHLLHLLHHHA: 2
7.042.04d	sá viśe dāti vāriyam íyatyai	:ALHLLHLLHA: 2
7.045.03c	viśráyamāṇo amátim urūcīm	:ALLHLLHLLHA: 2

7.060.10a	sasváś cid dhí sámrtis tveṣī eṣām	:AHHLLLHHHHA:	2
8.059.05b	tveṣābhiyām mahimānam indriyām	:AHLHLLHLHLA:	2
10.022.11a	makṣū tā ta indara+ dānāpnasa	:AHLHLLHLHLA:	3
10.030.13a	prāti yád āpo ádrśram āyatīr	:ALLHLLHLHLA:	3
10.074.03d	té no dhāntu vasavíyam ásāmi	:AHHLLLLLLHA:	3
10.074.04b	abhí yá ūrvām gómantaṃ títrtsān	:ALLHHHHHLHA:	3
10.093.14c	yé yuktvāya páñca śatā asmayú	:AHLHLLHHHLA:	3
10.095.04b	vāya úṣo yádi vāṣṭy ántigrhāt	:ALLHLLHHLLA:	3
10.099.07b	ā sāviṣad arśasānāya śárum	:AHLHLLHHLLA:	3
10.108.08a	éhá gamann íṣayaḥ sómaśitā	:ALLHLLHHLLA:	3
10.129.04c	sató bāndhum ásati nír avindan	:AHHLLLLLLHA:	3
1.033.09a	pári yád indara+ ródasī ubhé	:ALLHLLHLHLA:	3
1.063.04a	tuvām ha tyád indara+ codīḥ sákhā	:AHLHLLHHHLA:	3
1.077.01a	kathā dāśema agnáye kā asmai	:AHHHLHLHHHA:	3
1.077.05a	evá agnír gótamebhir rtāvā	:ALHHHLHLLHA:	3
1.117.08b	maháḥ kṣoṇásya aśvinā káṇvāya	:AHHHLHLHHHA:	3
1.118.07d	práty adhattaṃ suṣṭutīm jujuṣāṇā	:ALHHHLHLLHA:	3
1.149.01b	iná inásya vásunaḥ padá ā	:ALLHLLHLLA:	3
1.167.05b	vīṣitastukā rodasī nrmāṇāḥ	:ALHLHHLHLLA:	3
1.174.09a	tuvām dhúnir indara+ dhúnimatīr	:AHLHLLLLLLA:	3
1.186.06a	utá na īṃ tvāṣṭā ā gantu áchā	:ALLHHHHHLHA:	3
2.020.01b	prá bharāmahe vājayúr ná rátham	:ALHLHHLHLLA:	3
2.028.06a	ápo sú myakṣa varuṇa bhiyásam	:AHHLLLLLLLA:	3
3.029.07c	yām devāsa īdiyaṃ viśvavídaṃ	:AHLHLLHHLLA:	3
4.004.12d	ágne táva naḥ pāntu amūra	:AHLHLLHLLHA:	3
4.016.20b	bráhma akarma bhrgavo ná rátham	:ALLHLLHLLA:	3
5.002.01d	purāḥ paśyanti níhitam arataú	:AHHLLLLLLLA:	3

6.003.06b	śociṣā rārapīti mitrámahāḥ	:ALHHLHLHLLA: 3
6.007.03a	tuvád vípro jāyate vājī agne	:AHHHHLHHHHA: 3
6.013.01d	divó vrṣṭír īḍiyo rītír apām	:AHHLHLHLLA: 3
6.017.10d	návantam áhiṃ sám piṇag rjṣin	:AHLHLLLHA: 3
6.020.02b	asuríyaṃ devébhír dhāyi vísvam	:ALLHHHHLHA: 3
6.020.10b	prá pūráva stavanta enā yajñāiḥ	:AHLHLHLHHHA: 3
6.020.12a	tuvāṃ dhúnir indara+ dhúnimatīr	:AHLHLLLLLA: 3
6.033.05d	diví ṣyāma pāriye goṣátamāḥ	:AHLHLHLLA: 3
6.035.01a	kadā bhuvan ráthakṣayāṇi bráhma	:AHLHLHLHHHA: 3
6.035.04a	sá gómaghā jaritré ásvāscandrā	:AHLHLHLHHHA: 3
6.044.16b	índrasya priyám amrtam apāyi	:AHLHLLLLHA: 3
6.062.06d	patatríbhír árṇaso nír upásthāt	:AHLHLHLLHA: 3
6.063.08b	dhenúṃ na íṣam pinvatam ásakrām	:AHLHLLLHA: 3
6.064.05a	sā ā vaha yā ukṣábhír ávātā	:AHLHLLLHA: 3
6.066.07b	anaśvās cid yám ájati árathīḥ	:AHHLLLLLLA: 3
7.003.05b	agním átyaṃ ná marjayanta náraḥ	:ALHHLHLHLLA: 3
7.019.11c	úpa no vājān mimīhi úpa stīn	:ALHHHLHLLHA: 3
7.027.04c	ánūnā yásya dáksīṇā pīpāya	:AHHHLHLHHHA: 3
7.069.07c	patatríbhír ásramaír avyathíbhír	:AHLHLHLLA: 3
7.071.02d	dívā náktam mādhuvi trāsīthām naḥ	:AHHHHLHHHHA: 3
7.076.01d	āvír akar bhúvanam vísvam uṣāḥ	:ALLHLLHLLA: 3
7.090.02d	játó-jāto jāyate vājī asya	:AHHHHLHHHHA: 3
7.093.06a	imām u ṣú sómasutim úpa na	:AHLHLLLLLA: 3
7.101.02a	yó várdhana óṣadhīnām yó apām	:AHLHLHLLA: 3
8.040.12b	mandhātrvād aṅgirasvād avāci	:AHLHLHLLHA: 3
8.046.28a	ucathíye vápuṣi yāḥ suvarāḷ	:ALLHLLHLLA: 3
9.079.01c	ví ca náśan na iṣó árātayo	:ALLHLLHLLA: 3

- 9.094.03a pári yát kavíḥ kāvīyā bhárate :ALHLHHLHLLA: 3  
 9.096.04b svastáye sarvátātaye brhaté :ALHHLHLHLLA: 3

### B.3 First percentile of 12 Syllable lines according to the frequency of each line's scansion pattern.

- 10.010.13b naívá te máno h́dayaṃ cāvidāma :ALHLHLLHHLHA: 1  
 10.036.14b savitóttarāttāt savitādharaťtāt :ALHLHLLHHLHA: 1  
 10.059.10a sám indra īraya gāṃ anaḍvāhaṃ :AHLHLLLLLHHA: 1  
 10.078.08a subhāgān no devāḥ kr̥ṇutā surátnān :AHHHHLLHHLHA: 1  
 10.082.04b řsayah púrve jaritāro ná bhūnā :ALHHHLLHHLHA: 1  
 10.087.16a yāḥ paúruṣeṇa kravíṣā samañkte :AHLHHHLLHHLHA: 1  
 10.088.09b yásminn ājuhavur bhúvanāni víśvā :AHHLLHLLHHLHA: 1  
 10.093.05b sūryāmāsā sádanāya sadhaníyā :AHHHLLHLLLLA: 1  
 10.093.07a utá no rudrā cin m̥ṛḷatām+ asvínā :ALHHHHHLLHHLA: 1  
 10.093.08a rbhúr rbhuḡṣā rbhúr vidható máda :ALLHHLHLLHHLA: 1  
 10.093.14b prá rāmé vocam ásure maghāvatsu :AHHHLLHLLHHLA: 1  
 10.115.05a sá íd agníḥ káṇvatamaḥ káṇvasakhā :ALHHHLLHHLHA: 1  
 10.122.03b dāśad dāśúṣe sukíte māmahasva :AHHLHLLHHLHA: 1  
 10.126.02d pāthá nethā ca mártiyam áti dvíṣah :ALHHLHLLHHLA: 1  
 10.126.03d pársiṣṭhā u nah parṣāṇi áti dvíṣah :AHHLHLLHHLA: 1  
 10.129.06b kúta ājātā kúta iyāṃ vísrṣṭiḥ :ALHHHLLHHLHA: 1  
 1.036.08c bhúvat káṇve víṣā diyumnī āhutaḥ :AHHHLHLHHHLA: 1  
 1.039.03c ví yāthana vanínaḥ prthiviyā :ALLLLLLHLLLLA: 1  
 1.048.04c átrāha tát káṇva eṣāṃ káṇvatamo :AHLHHLHHHLLA: 1  
 1.048.09c āvāhantī bhūri asmábhyaṃ saúbhagaṃ :ALHHHLHHHHHLA: 1

1.084.07c	ísāno ápratiṣkuta índro aṅgá	:AHLHLHLLHLHA:	1
1.101.05b	yó brahmāṇe prathamó gā ávindat	:AHLHLLHLLLHA:	1
1.106.04b	kṣayádvīram pūṣāṇam sumnaír īmahe	:AHHHHLHHHHLA:	1
1.120.03b	tā no vidvāṃsā mánma vocetam adyá	:AHHHHHLHHLHA:	1
1.127.05f	bhaktám ábhaktam ávo vyánto ajárā	:ALLHLLHHLLA:	1
1.133.06a	avár mahá indra dādrhí śrudhí naḥ	:AHLHLLHHLHLHA:	1
1.134.03a	vāyúr yunkte róhitā vāyúr aruṇā	:AHHHHLHHLLA:	1
1.135.04f	vāyav ā candréṇa rādhāsā ā gatam	:ALHHHLHLLHLA:	1
1.161.03d	tāni bhrātar ánu vaḥ krtví émasi	:AHHLLLHHHHLA:	1
1.167.01b	sahásram iṣo harivo gūrtátamāḥ	:AHLHLLHHLLA:	1
1.168.01c	ā vo arvācaḥ suvitāya ródasyor	:ALHHHLLHHLHA:	1
1.168.02a	vavrāso ná yé suajāḥ svátavasa	:AHLHLLHLLLA:	1
1.169.06c	ádha yád eṣām prthubudhnāsa étās	:ALLHLLHHLHA:	1
1.177.04a	ayám yajñó devayā ayám miyédha	:AHHHHLHHLHLA:	1
2.001.10a	tuvám agna rbhúr āké namasíyas	:ALHLLLHHLLA:	1
2.002.09d	tmánā sátínam pururúpam iṣāṇi	:AHLHLLHLLLA:	1
2.020.08a	tásmai tavasíyam ánu dāyi satrá	:AHLHLLHHLHA:	1
3.002.05d	rudrám yajñānām sādhadīṣṭim apásām	:AHHHHLHLLLA:	1
3.023.03c	agním stuhi daivavātám devaśravo	:AHLHLLHHHHLA:	1
3.059.02d	naínam áṃho ásnoty ántito ná dūrāt	:ALHLHHHLHLHA:	1
4.042.08b	saptá řayo daurgahé badhyámāne	:ALLHHLHHLHA:	1
5.056.05c	marútām purutámam ápūrviyam	:ALLHLLLHLA:	1
6.026.07c	tváyā yát stávante sadhavīra vīrās	:AHLHLLHHLHA:	1
6.046.12c	ádha smā yacha tanvè táne ca chardír	:AHHHLHHLHHHA:	1
6.048.14c	aryamáṇam ná mandráṃ srprábhojasam	:ALLHLHHHLHLA:	1
6.051.02b	devānām jánma sanutár ā ca vípraḥ	:AHHLLLHLHA:	1
7.039.03b	urāv antárikṣe marjayanta śubhrāḥ	:AHLHHLHHLHA:	1

7.046.01b	kṣipraīṣave devāya svadhāvane	:ALLLHHHHLHLA:	1
7.081.03c	yā váhasi purú spārham vananvati	:ALLLHHHHLHLA:	1
7.082.02a	samrāl anyāḥ svarāl anyá ucyate vām	:AHHHLHHLHLHA:	1
7.099.03d	dādhārtha prthivīm abhíto mayúkhaiḥ	:AHLHLHLLHLHA:	1
8.001.16c	úpastutir maghónām prá tvā avatu	:AHLHLHHHLLA:	1
8.001.30c	ninditāśvaḥ prapathī paramajiyā	:ALHLLHLLLLA:	1
8.009.01c	prāsmāi yachatam avrkām prthú chardír	:AHHLLLHLHHA:	1
8.018.21c	trivárūtham maruto yanta naś chardīḥ	:ALHLLHHLHHA:	1
8.019.07b	siyāma sūno sahāsa ūrjām pate	:AHLHLLHLLHLA:	1
8.019.14a	samídhā yó nísitī dāśad áditim	:ALHLLHLLLLA:	1
8.020.04a	ví dvīpāni pāpatan tīṣṭhad duchúnā	:AHLHLHHHLLA:	1
8.020.09b	vṛṣṇe sárdhāya mārutāya bharadhvam	:AHHHLHLLHLA:	1
8.020.24a	yābhiḥ síndhum ávatha yābhis túrvatha	:AHHLLLHHHLLA:	1
8.022.15b	prātā ráthena ásvínā vā sakṣāṇī	:AHLHLHLLHLLA:	1
8.023.08c	mitráṃ ná jáne súdhitam rtāvani	:AHLHLLHLLHLA:	1
8.024.24c	áhar-ahaḥ súndhyūḥ paripádām iva	:ALLHHHLLHLLA:	1
8.027.07c	sutásomāso varuṇa havāmahe	:ALHHHLLHLLA:	1
8.029.02a	yónim éka ā sasāda diyótano	:ALHLHLHLLHLA:	1
8.046.26c	ebhīḥ sómebhiḥ somasúdbhiḥ somapā	:AHHHHHLHHHLLA:	1
8.059.07a	índrāvaruṇā saumanasām ádrptaṃ	:AHLHLLHLLHHA:	1
8.059.07d	dīrghāyutvāya prá tirataṃ na āyuh	:AHHHHLLHLLHLA:	1
8.060.07c	evā daha mitramaho yó asmadhrúg	:AHLHLLHLLHHA:	1
8.062.09c	vidé tát índraś cétanam ádha śrutó	:AHLHHHLLHLLA:	1
8.070.08c	yó gādhēṣu yá āraṇēṣu háviyo	:AHLHLLHLLLLA:	1
8.097.15a	tán ma rtám indra sūra citra pātu	:ALLHLHLHLHA:	1
9.071.01a	ā dākṣiṇā srjyate śuṣmī āśadaṃ	:AHLHLLHHHLLA:	1
9.079.03d	sóma jahí pavamāna durādhíyaḥ	:ALLLHLLHLLA:	1

9.097.26d hótāro ná diviyájo mandrátamāḥ :AHLLLLHLLA: 1

9.108.14a yásya na índraḥ píbād yásya marúto :ALLHLLHLLA: 1

# Appendix C

## Lines containing tokens

### C.1 The position of the genitive with regard to its head noun

#### C.1.1 X genitive

##### 8 syllable lines

- 1.027.01c samrājantam adhvarāṇām :AHHLHLHA: 32  
1.003.11a codayitrī sūnṛtānām :ALHHHLHA: 33  
8.046.02c vidmā dātāraṃ rayīṇām :ALHHHLHA: 33  
10.166.01a ṛṣabhām mā samānānām :ALHHLHHA: 37  
1.188.11a purogá agnír devānām :AHHHHHHA: 54  
1.044.02b ágne rathír adhvarāṇām :AHLHHLHA: 64  
8.011.02c ágne rathír adhvarāṇām :AHLHHLHA: 64  
9.066.18b tokásya sātá tanúnām :AHLHHLHA: 64

- 1.004.08b ghanó vṛtrāṇām abhavaḥ :AHHHLLA: 68  
 3.011.05b viśám agnír mánuṣīṇām :AHHHLHA: 85  
 3.011.06b krátur devánām ámrktaḥ :AHHHLHA: 85  
 8.016.01a prá samrājamaḥ carṣaṇínām :AHHHLHA: 85  
 10.166.01c hantáram śátrūṇām kṛdhi :AHHHLLA: 108  
 4.030.21c dāsánām índro māyáyā :AHHHLLA: 108  
 4.032.14b asmé sú matsuvándhasaḥ  
     4.032.14c sómānām indra somapāḥ :AHHLLA: 4930  
 4.032.17a sahásram viyátinām  
     4.032.17b yuktánām índram īmahe :AHHLLA: 4930

## 12 syllable lines

- 6.046.07c yád vā páñca kṣitínām dyumnám á bhara :AHHLLHHLLA: 21  
 6.061.02b sánu giriṇām taviṣébhīr ūrmíbhīḥ :ALLHLLHLA: 35  
 1.155.01c yá sánuni párvatānām ádābhiyā :AHLHLHLA: 38  
 3.003.08c adhvarāṇām cétaṇām jātávedasam :ALHHLLHLA: 69  
 10.035.08a pípartu mā tát ṛtásya pravácanaḥ  
     10.035.08b devánām yán manuṣíyā ámanmahi :AHHLLLHLA: 468  
 10.092.14a viśám āsám ábhayānām adhikṣítam :AHHLLHLA: 523  
 10.036.11b ávo devánām bṛhatám anarváṇām :AHHHLLHLA: 650  
 10.128.07a dhātá dhātṛṇām bhúvanasya yás pátir :AHHHLLHLA: 650  
 3.003.03a ketúm yajñánām vidáthasya sádhanam :AHHHLLHLA: 650  
 3.003.04a pitá yajñánām ásuropaścítam :AHHHLLHLA: 650  
 3.003.08b yantáram dhínām usíjam ca vāghátam :AHHHLLHLA: 650  
 3.060.06d vratá devánām mánuṣás ca dhármabhiḥ :AHHHLLHLA: 650

- 6.015.09b dūtó devánāṃ rájasī sám īyase :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
 9.076.01b dákṣo devánāṃ anumádiyo nṛbhiḥ :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
 9.085.02b dákṣo devánāṃ ási hí priyó mádaḥ :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
 9.086.12a ágre síndhūnām pávamāno arṣati :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
 9.086.33a rájā síndhūnām pavate pátir divá :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
 10.084.04a éko bahúnām asi manyav īlitó :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 1.094.13b vásur vásūnām asi cārur adhvaré :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 2.023.01b kavīm kavínām upamásravastamam :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 2.024.06b nidhīm pañínām paramám gúhā hitám :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 3.002.04c rātīm bhṛgūṇām usíjaṃ kavíkratum :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 9.076.04d pitá matínām ásamaṣṭakāvīyaḥ :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 9.086.19a vṛṣā matínām pavate vicakṣaṇáḥ :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 9.086.32d pátir jánīnām úpa yāti niṣkṛtám :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190

## C.1.2 genitive X

### 8 syllable lines

- 10.136.06b mṛgāṇām cáraṇe cáran  
 10.072.03a devánāṃ yugé prathamé :AHHLHLLA: 27  
 10.072.01a devánāṃ nú vayám jánā :AHLLHHA: 30  
 8.081.07b dhṛṣatá dhṛṣṇo jánānām :ALHHHLHA: 33  
 8.081.07c ádāsūṣṭarasya védāḥ  
 10.085.02c átho náksatrāṇām eṣám :AHHHHHA: 54  
 5.005.10b devánāṃ gúhyā námāni :AHHHHHA: 54  
 10.024.03c índra stotṛṇām avitá :AHHHLLA: 68

- 10.146.06c práhám mrgāṇām mātáram :AHLHHHLA: 75
- 8.027.02d dhīnām bhūta prāvitāraḥ :AHHHHLHA: 85
- 10.185.01a máhi trīṇām ávo astu :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 8.079.09b devánām durmatír íkṣe :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 9.066.16b ugrāṇām inda ójiṣṭhaḥ :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 10.136.06b mrgāṇām cáraṇe cáran :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 1.022.09a ágne pátnīr ihá vaha
- 1.022.09b devánām usatír úpa :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 1.191.13a navánām navatīnām :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 6.053.07b paṇīnām hṛdayā kave :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.008.03d kánvānām sávane sutám :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.013.02b devánām sádane vṛdháh :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.032.19b kṛṣṭīnām ánu āhúvaḥ :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.038.08b átrīṇām śṛṇutaṃ hávam :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.044.27a yajñánām rathíye vayám :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.046.18b girīnām snúbhir eṣām :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.083.01a devánām íd ávo mahát :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 3.023.03d yó jánānām ásad vaśí :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.044.07c adhvarāṇām abhiśríyam :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.055.03d áruṣīnām cátuṣsatam :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.102.07b adhvarāṇām purūtámam :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 10.033.09a ná devánām áti vratám :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.072.02c devánām pūrviyé yugé :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.011.01d vājānām sátpatim pátim :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.137.03d devánām dūtá íyase :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.166.01b sapátnānām viśāsahím :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.171.04c devánām cit tiró vásam :AHHHLHLA: 4930

- 1.018.07c sá dhīnām yógam invati :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.044.03d yajñānām adhvaraśrīyam :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.084.02c ṛṣīnām ca stutír úpa :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.126.06d yásūnām bhojīyā śatá :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.126.07d gandhāriṇām ivāvīkā :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.134.06c sutānām pītīm arhasi :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 2.008.06b devānām ūtībhir vayám :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 2.032.06b yá devānām ási svásā :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 3.027.09b bhūtānām gárbham á dadhe :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 3.062.13b devānām eti niṣkṛtám :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 4.047.02b sómānām pītīm arhathaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 5.026.06c devānām dūtá ukthíyaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 5.051.06b sutānām pītīm arhathaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.013.09b kṛṣṭīnām éka íd vaśí :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.028.05a saptānām saptá ṛṣṭáyāḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.031.07a ná devānām ápi hnutāḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.031.07b sumatīm ná jugukṣataḥ
- 8.041.02d yáḥ síndhūnām úpodayé :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.041.05b yá usrāṇām apícíyā :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.041.05c véda námāni gúhiyā
- 8.044.10c yajñānām ketúm īmahe :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.046.22b úṣṭrānām viṃśatīm śatá :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.047.05d ādityānām utāvasi :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.056.04c ásvānām ín ná yūthíyām :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 8.067.03c ādityānām aramkṛte :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 9.001.04b devānām vītīm ándhasā :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 9.012.07b dhīnām antāḥ sabardúghaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930

- 9.062.17c řṣiṇāṃ saptá dhítíbhīḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
 9.099.04d devānāṃ nāma bíbhratīḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930

## 12 syllable lines

- 10.093.09d carṣaṇīnāṃ cakráṃ raśmīm ná yoyuve :ALHHHHHLHLA: 5  
 9.103.03c abhí vāṇīr řṣiṇāṃ saptá nūṣata :ALHHLHHHLHLA: 6  
 1.089.02a devānāṃ bhadrá sumatír řjūyatāṃ :AHHHLLLLHLA: 9  
 9.083.04b páti devānāṃ jánimāni ádbhutaḥ :ALHHLLHLHLA: 139  
 8.018.01c ādityānāṃ ápūrvīyaṃ sāvīmani :AHHHLHLHLA: 183  
 8.036.06a átriṇāṃ stómam adrivo mahás kṛdhi :AHHHLHLHLA: 183  
 1.101.04a yó ásvānāṃ yó gāvāṃ gópatir vaśí :AHHHLHLHLA: 209  
 2.023.16c á devānāṃ óhate ví vráyo hṛdí :AHHHLHLHLA: 209  
 8.101.12c mahná devānāṃ asuryāḥ puróhito :AHHHLHLHLA: 209  
 10.044.04d áso yáthā kenipānāṃ inó vṛdhé :AHLHLHLHLA: 211  
 10.066.08b bṛhaddivá adhvarāṇāṃ abhiśríyaḥ :AHLHLHLHLA: 211  
 1.089.02b devānāṃ rātír abhí no ní vartatām :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 1.089.02c devānāṃ sakhyám úpa sedimā vayāṃ :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 1.102.05b dhánānāṃ dhartar ávasā vipanyávaḥ :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 1.141.11d devānāṃ sám̐sam ṛtá á ca sukrātuḥ :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 2.023.01a gaṇānāṃ tvā gaṇápatiṃ havāmahe :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 2.026.03c devānāṃ yáḥ pitáram āvívāsati :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 9.084.03b devānāṃ sumná iṣáyann úpāvasuḥ :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 9.107.22c devānāṃ soma pavamāna niṣkṛtāṃ :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 10.036.02d tát devānāṃ ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHLHLA: 523  
 10.036.03d tát devānāṃ ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHLHLA: 523

- 10.036.04d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.036.05d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.036.06d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.036.07d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.036.08d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.036.09d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.036.10d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.036.11d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.036.12d tād devānām ávo adyá vṛṇīmahe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- (10.036.02d through 10.036.12d counted as one)
- 10.177.01d márīcīnām padám ichanti vedhásaḥ :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 1.102.04d prá śátrūnām maghavan vṛṣṇīyā ruja :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 2.013.05b yó dhautīnām ahihann áriṇak patháḥ :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 6.075.06c abhísūnām mahimānam panāyata :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 9.085.07b prá víprānām matáyo vāca irate :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.035.01d adyá devānām áva á vṛṇīmahe :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 10.064.11b bhadrá rudrānām marútām úpastutiḥ :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 10.142.01d āre hímsānām ápa didyúm á kṛdhi :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 1.031.01b devó devānām abhavaḥ śívāḥ sákhā :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 1.031.02b kavír devānām pári bhūṣasi vratám :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 1.044.12a yád devānām mitramahaḥ puróhito :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 1.047.10c śásvat káṇvānām sádasi priyé hí kaṃ :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 1.094.13a devó devānām asi mitró ádbhuto :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 1.101.07a rudrānām eti pradísā vicakṣaṇó :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 1.164.15a sākamjānām saptátham āhur ekajám :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 2.024.03a tād devānām devátamāya kártuvam :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
- 2.025.05c devānām sumné subhágaḥ sá edhate :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650

3.002.08d	agnír devánām abhavat puróhitaḥ :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
5.046.07a	devánām pátnīr uśatír avantu naḥ :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
7.083.04d	satyá tṛtsūnām abhavat puróhitiḥ :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
7.104.21a	índro yātūnām abhavat parāśaró :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
8.060.06c	devánām śárman máma santu sūrāyaḥ :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
9.078.01d	śuddhó devánām úpa yāti niṣkṛtám :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
9.081.02c	áthā devánām ubháyasya jánmano :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
9.086.07b	sómo devánām úpa yāti niṣkṛtám :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
9.086.19c	krāṇá síndhūnām kalásāṃ avivaśad :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
9.108.04c	devánām sumné amṛtasya cáruṇo :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650
7.083.03c	ásthur jánānām úpa mām árātayo :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190
8.019.31c	tuvám mahīnām uśásām asi priyáḥ :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190
8.061.02c	utópamānām prathamó ní śīdasi :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190

## C.2 The position of the gerund with regard to its subject

### C.2.1 subject gerund

#### 8 syllable lines

10.159.04a	yénéndro haviśā kṛtví :AHHLLHHA: 30
10.174.04a	yénéndro haviśā kṛtví :AHHLLHHA: 30
10.109.07c	úrjam pṛthivyá bhaktváya :AHLHHHHA: 43
8.100.08c	dívaṃ suparṇó gatváya :AHLHHHHA: 43
10.145.05c	ubhé sáhasvatī bhūtví :AHLHLHHA: 53
8.091.07c	apālām indra trīṣ pūtví :AHHHHHHA: 54

- 10.085.29c kṛtyaíṣá padvátī bhūtví :AHHHLHHA: 92  
 10.090.01c sá bhúmim viśváto vṛtvá :AHHHLHHA: 92  
 10.162.05a yás tvā bhrátā pátir bhūtvá :AHHHLHHA: 92  
 10.162.05b jāró bhūtvá nipádyate :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
 3.040.07c pītví sómasya vāvṛdhe :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
 8.076.10b pītví śípre avepayah :AHHHLHLA: 4930

### 11 syllable lines

- 10.093.14c yé yuktváya páñca satá asmayú :AHLHLLHHLA: 3  
 2.038.06c śásvāñ ápo víkṛtaṃ hitví ágād :AHLHLLHHHA: 12  
 10.099.05b hitví gáyam āréavadya ágāt :AHLHLLHHLA: 16  
 2.012.03a yó hatváhim áriṇāt saptá síndhūn :AHLHLLHHLA: 379  
 10.015.12b ávād dhavyáni surabhíṇi kṛtví :AHHHLLHHLA: 1231  
 9.069.09d hitví vavriṃ haríto vṛṣṭim ácha :AHHHLLHHLA: 1388  
 10.068.07c āṇḍéva bhittvá śakunásya gárbham :AHLHLLHHLA: 2313  
 1.103.02b vājreṇa hatvá nír apāḥ sasarja :AHLHLLHHLA: 2313  
 5.040.04c yuktvá háribhyām úpa yásad arvān :AHLHLLHHLA: 2313

### 12 syllable lines

- 1.161.03d táni bhrātar ánu vaḥ kṛtví émasi :AHLHLLHHHLA: 1  
 2.020.08d hatví dásyūn púra áyasir ní tārīt :AHHLLHHLA: 3  
 10.044.08d vṛṣṇaḥ pītvá máda uktháni śaṃsati :AHHHLLHHLA: 482  
 7.104.18c váyo yé bhūtví patáyanti naktábhīr :AHHHLLHHLA: 600

## C.2.2 gerund subject

### 8 syllable lines

- 1.004.08a asyá pītvá śatakrato :ALHHLHLA: 1979  
8.092.06a asyá pītvá mādānāṃ :ALHHLHLA: 1979  
9.023.07a asyá pītvá mādānām :ALHHLHLA: 1979

### 11 syllable lines

- 10.101.09c śá no duhīyad yāvaseva gatví :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
10.157.04a hatváya devá ásurān yád áyan :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
10.165.05d hitvá na úrjam prá patāt pátiṣṭhaḥ :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
4.041.05c śá no duhīyad yāvaseva gatví :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313

### 12 syllable lines

- 9.108.02a yásya te pītvá vṛṣabhó vṛṣāyáte :ALHHLLHLHLA: 128

## C.3 Enclisis to vocatives

### C.3.1 Voc.-te

#### 8 syllable lines

- 5.010.04a yé agne candra te gírah̥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
8.061.09b vípro vā indra te vácaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
10.025.03a utá vratāni soma te :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
1.009.04a áṣṣgram indra te gírah̥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
1.014.02b gr̥ṇānti vipra te dhíyah̥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
1.082.01e yójā nú indra te hárī :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
1.084.01a ásāvi sóma indra te :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
6.044.01c sómah̥ sutáh̥ sá indra te :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.004.09b gómāñ̄ íd indra te sákhā :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.006.31a káṇvāsa indra te matīm̄ :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.013.31a vṛṣāyám indra te rátha :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.021.07a nūtnā íd indra te vayám̄ :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.062.08a gr̥ṇé tād indra te sáva :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.062.10a új jātám̄ indra te sáva :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.070.05a yád dyáva indra te sátám̄ :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.078.04a nākīm̄ vṛdhiká indra te :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
8.093.04c sárvaṃ tād indra te váśe :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
9.067.15a pári prá soma te ráso :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
10.186.03a yád adó vāta te gr̥hé :ALHHLHLA: 1979

- 8.065.04b hárayo deva te máhaḥ :ALHHLHLA: 1979  
6.044.02a yáḥ śagmās tuviśagma te :AHHLLHLA: 1362

### 11 syllable lines

- 7.027.02a yá indra súṣmo maghavan te ásti :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
2.019.08c brahmaṇyánta indara + te náviya :AHLHLLHLHA: 307  
7.022.08c ná vīriyam indara + te ná rádhaḥ :AHLHLLHLHA: 241

### 12 syllable lines

- 1.052.10b áyoyavīd bhiyāsā vājra indra te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662  
9.072.04d súcir dhiyá pavate sóma indra te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662  
9.072.05b anuṣvadhám pavate sóma indra te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662  
1.055.07c yámiṣṭhāsaḥ sámathayo yá indra te :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
9.086.28c áthedám vísvam pavamāna te váśe :AHHHLLHLHLA: 650  
9.107.20a utáhám náktam utá soma te dívā :AHHHLLHLHLA: 468  
6.043.01c ayám sá sóma indra te sutáh píba :AHLHLHLHLHLA: 224

### C.3.2 X-te

#### 8 syllable lines

- 8.081.08a índra yá u nú te ásti :ALLLLLHA: 2  
10.158.02a jóṣā savitar yásya te :AHLHHLA: 11  
10.162.03a yás te hánti patáyantaṃ :AHHLLLHA: 15  
10.145.06a úpa te 'dhāṃ sáhamānām :ALHLLLHA: 21  
1.030.04a ayám u te sám atasi :ALLHLLA: 24  
6.016.17a yátra kúva ca te máno :ALLLHLA: 25  
10.058.09a yát te párvatān bṛható :AHLHLLA: 27  
5.022.03c váreṇyasya te ávasa :AHLHLLA: 27  
10.161.05c sárvaṅga sárvaṃ te cákṣuḥ :AHLHHHHA: 43  
8.001.30a stuhí stuhíd eté ghā te :AHLHHHHA: 43  
8.002.30a gíraś ca yás te girvāha :AHLHHHHA: 43  
1.043.09a yás te prajā amṛtasya :AHLHLLHA: 53  
8.002.01c ánābhayin rarimá te :AHLHLLHA: 53  
8.002.03a táṃ te yávaṃ yáthā góbhiḥ :AHLHLHHA: 53  
8.046.03a á yásya te mahimānaṃ :AHLHLLHA: 53  
8.068.08a ná yásya te śavasāna :AHLHLLHA: 53  
10.163.04a ūrúbhyaṃ te aṣṭhívadbhyaṃ :AHHHHHHA: 54  
6.016.25a vásvī te agne sámḍṛṣṭir :AHHHHHHA: 54  
10.173.05a dhruvám te rájā váruṇo :AHHHLLA: 68  
10.058.02a yát te dívam yát pṛthivím :AHLHLLA: 71  
10.058.04a yát te cátrasaḥ pradíśo :AHLHLLA: 71  
10.058.06a yát te márīciḥ praváto :AHLHLLA: 71  
10.058.01a yát te yamám vaivasvatám :AHLHHHLA: 75

- 5.050.05a eṣá te deva nayitā + :ALHHLLLA: 81
- 8.068.11a yásya te svādú sakhiyám :ALHHLLLA: 81
- 10.105.09a ūrdhvá yát te tretínī bhúd :AHHHHLHA: 85
- 10.163.01a akṣíbhyām te nāsikābhyām :AHHHHLHA: 85
- 2.006.02a ayá te agne vidhema :AHHHHLHA: 85
- 10.058.03a yát te bhúmim cāturbhr̥ṣtim :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 10.058.12a yát te bhūtám ca bhávyaṃ ca :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 10.137.02c dákṣaṃ te anyá á vātu :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 10.137.04c dákṣaṃ te bhadráṃ ábhārṣam :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 10.184.02c gárbhaṃ te ásvínau deváv :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 6.016.27a té te agne tuváūtā :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 8.103.04b máрто yás te vaso dáśat :AHHHLHHA: 92
- 10.085.12a súcī te cakré yātiyá :AHHHHHLA: 108
- 10.085.16a duvé te cakré sūriye :AHHHHHLA: 108
- 1.097.04a prá yát te agne sūrāyo :AHHHHHLA: 108
- 3.062.07a iyám te pūṣann āghr̥ṇe :AHHHHHLA: 108
- 6.053.09a yá te áṣṭrā góopaśā :AHHHHHLA: 108
- 10.058.08a yát te sūryaṃ yád uśásam :AHHHLLLA: 152
- 5.035.01a yás te sádhiṣṭho ávasa :AHHHLLLA: 152
- 8.053.07a yás te sádhiṣṭho ávase :AHHHLLLA: 152
- 6.002.09c dhámā ha yát te ajara :AHLHLLLA: 168
- 10.145.06c mām ánu prá te máno :ALLHLHLA: 238
- 1.175.01a mátsi ápāyi te máhaḥ :ALLHLHLA: 238
- 8.024.09a índra yáthā hí ásti te :ALLHLHLA: 238
- 8.063.08a iyám u te ánuṣṭutiś :ALLHLHLA: 238
- 10.060.11d níag bhavatu te rápaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 621
- 8.092.23c yá indra jaṭháreṣu te :AHLHLHLA: 621

- 10.163.04d bhāmsaso ví vṛhāmi te :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 10.163.05d tám idám ví vṛhāmi te :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 10.163.06d tám idám ví vṛhāmi te :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 4.032.19a dáśa te kalásānām :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 8.044.24c syāma te sumatāv ápi :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 8.053.07b té siyāma bhāreṣu te :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 8.068.03a yāśya te mahinā mahāḥ :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 9.011.02a abhí te mádhunā páyo :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 9.061.29a áśya te sakhiyé vayám :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 9.065.15a yāśya te mádiyám rásam :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 9.066.14a áśya te sakhiyé vayám :ALHLLHLA: 691
- 10.058.10a yát te víśvam idám jágan :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 10.163.01d jihváyā ví vṛhāmi te :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 10.163.02d bāhúbhyām ví vṛhāmi te :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 10.163.03d plāśíbhyo ví vṛhāmi te :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 1.091.16a á pyāyasva sám etu te :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 1.134.01d ūrdhvā te ánu sūnftā :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 1.138.04g ná te sakhyám apahnuvé :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 1.170.04d yajñám te tanavāvahai :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 1.187.09a yát te soma gāvāśiro :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 4.030.02a satrá te ánu kṛṣṭáyo :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 5.006.04a á te agna idhīmahī :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 5.006.05a á te agna ṛcā havīḥ :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 6.016.47a á te agna ṛcā havír :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.001.09a yé te sánti daśagvīnaḥ :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.013.31b utó te vṛṣaṇā hārī :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.017.13a yás te śṛṅgavṛṣo napāt :AHHLLHLA: 1362

- 8.026.10b kuvít te śrāvato hávam :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.036.01c yám te bhāgám ádhārayan :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.036.02c yám te bhāgám ádhārayan :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.036.03c yám te bhāgám ádhārayan :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.036.04c yám te bhāgám ádhārayan :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.036.05c yám te bhāgám ádhārayan :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.036.06c yám te bhāgám ádhārayan :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.043.02a ásmāi te pratiháryate :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.045.06b yás te vāṣṭi vavákṣi tát :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 8.046.32c té te vāyav imé jánā :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 9.031.04a á pyāyasva sám etu te :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 9.063.22b índraṃ gachatu te mádaḥ :AHHLLHLA: 1362
- 10.059.08e mó śú te kíṃ canámamat :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 10.059.09f mó śú te kíṃ canámamat :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 10.059.10e mó śú te kíṃ canámamat :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.009.05c ásad ít te vibhú prabhú :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 10.127.08a úpa te gá ivákaraṃ :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 10.142.08a áyane te paráyane :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 10.161.05d sárvam áyuś ca te 'vidam :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.024.05a bhágabhaktasya te vayám :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.080.03c índra nṛmṇám hí te śávo :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.080.08d bāhuvós te bālaṃ hitám :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.080.13d diví te badbadhe śávo :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.081.02e sunvaté bhúri te vásu :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.081.06d ví bhajā bhúri te vásu :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.091.09a sóma yás te mayobhúva :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 3.021.02a ghṛtāvantaḥ pavāka + te :ALHHLHLA: 1979

- 3.042.08c eṣá rārantu te hṛdí :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 4.009.08a pári te dūlábho rátho :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 4.048.05c utá vā te sahasríṇo :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 5.035.04b jajñisé vṛṣṇi te śávaḥ :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 6.016.16a éhi ū śú brávāṇi te :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 6.016.18a nahí te pūrtám akṣipád :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.013.23a utá te súṣtutā hārī :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.014.06a vāvṛdhānāsya te vayám :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.021.16b índra má te gṛhāmahi :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.032.08c mághavan bhūri te vásu :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.033.11a vṛṣaṇas te abhíśavo :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.045.42a yásya te viśvámānuṣo :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.046.11a nahí te sūra rádhaso :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.056.01a práti te dasyave vṛka :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.061.02d sómakāmaṃ hí te mánaḥ :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.069.12b yásya te saptá síndhavaḥ :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.080.06b sukáraṃ te kím ít pári :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.090.03d índra yá te ámanmahi :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.093.11a yásya te nú cid ādísaṃ :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.095.02d índra vísvāsu te hitám :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 8.095.05a índra yás te návīyasīm :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 9.029.03a suśáhā soma táni te :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 9.031.03c sóma vārdhanti te máhaḥ :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 9.061.04a pávamānasya te vayám :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 9.061.17a pávamānasya te rāso :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 9.065.09a tásya te vājíno vayám :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 9.066.03a pári dhāmāni yáni te :ALHHLHLA: 1979

- 9.066.10a pávamānasya te kave :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 9.066.30a yásya te dyumnávat páyaḥ :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 9.100.04a pári te jigyúṣo yathā :ALHHLHLA: 1979
- 1.004.04c yás te sákhibhya á váram :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 10.058.05a yát te samudrám arṇavám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 10.058.07a yát te apó yád óṣadhīr :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 10.058.11a yát te párāḥ parāváto :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.008.09a evá hí te víbhūtaya :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 10.086.15d yám te sunóti bhāvayúr :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 10.102.01a prá te rátham mithūkṛtam :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.014.08b té te pibantu jihváyā :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 10.144.01a ayám hí te ámartiya :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.025.01a yác cid dhí te víso yathā :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.028.06a utá sma te vanaspate :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.030.21a vayám hí te ámanmahi :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.036.04d yás te dadáśa mártiyaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.080.14a abhiṣṭané te adrivo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.084.19d índra brávīmi te vácaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.097.04b jáyemahi prá te vayám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.127.09d śuṣmíntamo hí te mádo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.130.02d mādāya haryatāya te :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.133.04d takát sú te manāyati :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.170.03c vidmá hí te yáthā máno :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.175.05a śuṣmíntamo hí te mádo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.191.11b saká jaghāsa te viśám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 1.191.14c tás te viśám ví jabhrira :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 3.021.05b prá te vayám dadāmahe :AHLHLHLA: 3316

- 3.027.03a ágne śakéma te vayám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 3.037.03a nāmāni te śatakrato :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 3.037.09b yá te jáneṣu pañcásu :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 3.051.11a yás te ánu svadhám ásat :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 3.052.04c índra krátur hí te bṛhán :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 4.031.10a asmám avantu te śatám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 4.032.11a tá te grṇanti vedháso :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 5.035.03a á te ávo váreṇiyam :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 5.039.02c vidyáma tásya te vayám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 5.079.05a yác cid dhí te gaṇá imé :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 6.016.38b áganma śárma te vayám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 6.016.47c té te bhavantu ukṣāṇa :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 6.045.30a asmákam indra bhūtu te :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 6.056.06a á te suastím imaha :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 7.031.07a mahám utási yásya te :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 7.031.09c sám te namanta kṛṣṭáyaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 7.096.05a yé te sarasva ūrmáyo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.003.01d asmám avantu te dhíyaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.003.10b tád indra vṛṣṇi te śávaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.011.05a mártā ámartiyasya te :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.014.10c ví te mādā arājiṣuḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.015.04a tám te mādam grṇīmasi :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.017.06c sómaḥ sám astu te hṛdé :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.017.12b ayám ráṇāya te sutáḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.021.14b píyanti te surāśúvaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.021.15a má te amājúro yathā :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.033.19c má te kaśaplakaú dṛśan :AHLHLHLA: 3316

- 8.034.05a dádhāmi te sutānām :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.043.33a tát te sahasva īmahe :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.044.04a út te bṛhānto arcáyaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.044.25a ágne dhṛtāvratāya te :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.045.10a vṛjyāma te pári dvīṣo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.045.12a ūrdhvá hí te divé-dive :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.045.19a yác cid dhí te ápi vyáthir :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.045.32c jígātu indra te mánaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.046.08a yás te mádo váreṇiyo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.054.05a yád indra rádho ásti te :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.063.05a ád ū nú te ánu krátuṃ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.068.08c nákiḥ śávāṃsi te naśat :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.075.16a vidmá hí te purá vayám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.082.07b sómaś camúṣu te sutáh :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.084.04a káyā te agne aṅgira :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.088.03d nákiṣ ṭád á mināti te :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.092.18a vidmá hí yás te adrivas :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.092.27c áraṃ gamāma te vayám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.093.27a á te dadhāmi indriyám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 8.102.21c sárvaṃ tád astu te ghṛtám :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 9.001.06a punāti te parisrútaṃ :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 9.031.06a suāyudhásya te sató :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 9.061.05a yé te pavítram ūrmáyo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 9.061.19a yás te mádo váreṇiyas :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 9.062.28a prá te divó ná vṛṣṭáyo :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 9.067.23a yát te pavítram arcīṣi :AHLHLHLA: 3316
- 9.067.24a yát te pavítram arcivád :AHLHLHLA: 3316

- 10.022.09c purutrā te ví pūrtáyo :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.025.01c ádhā te sakhyé ándhaso :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.033.03b stotāraṃ te śatakrato :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.004.03a áthā te ántamānāṃ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.005.07c śám te santu prácetase :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.060.08c evā dādhāra te máno :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.060.09c evā dādhāra te máno :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.085.04d ná te aśnāti párthivaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.085.11b gāvau te sāmanāv itaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.085.40d turíyas te manuṣyajāḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.127.04b ní te yāmann ávikṣmahi :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.133.03e yā te rātír dadír vásu :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.137.04d párā yákṣmaṃ suvāmi te :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.137.06d tās te kṛṇvantu bheṣajám :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.016.07a ayám te stómo agriyó :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.162.03c jātám yás te jíghāṃsati :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.162.05c prajám yás te jíghāṃsati :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.162.06c prajám yás te jíghāṃsati :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.163.03a āntrébhyas te gúdābhiyo :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.163.05b lómabhyas te nakhébhiyaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.184.01d dhātá gárbhaṃ dadhātu te :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 10.184.03c táṃ te gárbhaṃ havāmahe :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.025.03a ví mṛḷikāya + te máno :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.030.05b gírvāho víra yásya te :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.030.09c yám te púrvam pitá huvé :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.036.02b havíṣmanto vidhema te :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.042.05a á tát te dasra mantumaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930

- 1.049.03a váyaś cit te patatrīṇo :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.075.02a áthā te aṅgirastama :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.075.03a kás te jā́mír jā́nā́nām :AHHHLHLA: 4930
- 1.080.03b ná te vājro ní yaṃsate :AHHHLHLA: 4930
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- 6.075.18a mármāṇi te vārmaṇā chādayāmi :AHLHHLHHLHA: 683
- 7.022.08a nú cin nú te mányamānasya dasma :AHLHHLHHLHA: 683
- 7.037.04c vayám nú te dāsuvāṃsaḥ siyāma :AHLHHLHHLHA: 683
- 7.054.03a vāstoṣ pate śagmāyā saṃsádā te :AHLHHLHHLHA: 683
- 10.004.01a prá te yakṣi prá ta iyarmi mánma :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.007.06b kím te pákaḥ kṛṇavad ápracetāḥ :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.016.04b tám te śocís tapatu tám te arcíḥ :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.016.06a yát te kṛṣṇāḥ śakuná ātutóda :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.023.07d asmé te santu sakhiyá śivāni :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.027.24a śá te jīvátur utá tásya viddhi :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.045.02b vidmá te dhāma víbhṛtā purutrá :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.045.02c vidmá te náma paramám gúhā yád :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.055.04c yát te jāmitvám ávaram párasya :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.069.04d dātrám rakṣasva yád idám te asmé :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.105.10a śriyé te pṛśnir upasécani bhūc :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.180.01b jyéṣṭhas te súṣma ihá rātír astu :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 1.053.11b sákhāyas te śivátamā ásāma :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 1.091.04a yá te dhāmāni diví yá pṛthivyám :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 1.091.19a yá te dhāmāni havíṣā yájanti :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 1.114.10a āré te goghnám utá pūruṣaghnám :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 1.163.03d āhús te tríṇi diví bāndhanāni :AHHHLLLHLHA: 1231

- 2.004.08a nū te pūrvasya ávaso ádhītau :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 2.011.21a nūnám sá te práti váraṃ jaritré :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 2.015.10a nūnám sá te práti váraṃ jaritré :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 2.016.09a nūnám sá te práti váraṃ jaritré :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 2.017.09a nūnám sá te práti váraṃ jaritré :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 2.018.09a nūnám sá te práti váraṃ jaritré :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 2.019.09a nūnám sá te práti váraṃ jaritré :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 2.020.09a nūnám sá te práti váraṃ jaritré :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 3.030.03d kúva tyá te vṛṣabha vīrīyāṇi :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 3.032.12d yajñás te vájram ahihátya āvat :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 3.043.07b á yám te śyená usaté jabhára :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 3.046.05c tám te hinvanti tám u te mṛjanti :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 3.057.05a yá te jihvá mádhumatī sumedhá :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 4.004.06a sá te jānāti sumatīm yaviṣṭha :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 4.016.14b ví yát te cēti amṛtasya várapaḥ :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 4.019.10a prá te pūrvāṇi káraṇāni vipra :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 5.031.06a prá te pūrvāṇi káraṇāni vocam :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 5.085.08d ádhā te syāma varuṇa priyásaḥ :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 6.005.05a yás te yajñéna samídhā yá ukthaír :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 6.005.07d aśyāma dyumnám ajarājāraṃ te :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 6.019.09a á te súṣmo vṛṣabhá etu paścád :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 6.025.08b satrá te víśvam ánu vṛtrahátye :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 6.047.26d āsthātá te jayatu jétuvāni :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 7.001.08a á yás te agna idhaté ánikaṃ :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 7.018.21c ná te bhojásya sakhiyám mṛṣanta :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 7.021.07a devás cit te asuríyāya pūrve :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231
- 7.022.09c asmé te santu sakhiyá śívāni :AHHLLLLHLHA: 1231

- 7.087.02d víśvā te dhāma varuṇa priyāṇi :AHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 7.088.06b tuvām āgāṃsi kṛṇāvat sākḥā te :AHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 7.099.01c ubhé te vidma rájasī pṛthivyā :AHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 9.091.05d tām̐s te aśyāma purukṛt purukṣo :AHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 9.097.31a prá te dhārā mádhumatīr asṛgran :AHHLLLHLHA: 1231
- 10.010.03c ní te máno mánasi dhāyi asmé :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 10.054.04a catvāri te asuríyāṇi nāma :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 10.083.06a ayām̐ te asmi úpa méhi arvān̐ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 10.112.05d sá te mādāya sutá indra sómaḥ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 1.073.10a etá te agna ucáthāni vedho :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 1.091.18a sám̐ te páyāṃsi sám̐ u yantu vājāḥ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 2.013.13b sám̐ arthayasva bahú te vasavyām̐ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 2.014.12b sám̐ arthayasva bahú te vasavyām̐ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 2.028.05b ṛdhyāma te varuṇa khām̐ ṛtāsya :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 2.033.07a kúva syá te rudara + mṛḷayákur + :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 3.014.05a vayām̐ te adyá rarimá hí kāmam̐ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 3.032.11c ná te mahitvām̐ ánu bhūd ádha dyaúr̐ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 4.002.19a ákarma te suápaso abhūma :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 4.002.20a etá te agna ucáthāni vedho :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 4.003.04d kadá bhavanti sakhiyā ḡṛhé te :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 5.029.13a kathó nú te pári carāṇi vidvān̐ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 5.029.15b yá te śaviṣṭha náviyā ákarma :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 5.031.10c víśve te átra marútaḥ sākḥāya :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 6.001.10a asmá u te máhi mahé vidhema :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 6.041.03d yásyésiṣe pradívi yás te ánnam̐ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 6.048.18a dṛter̐ 'va° te avṛkám̐ astu sakhyám̐ :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374
- 7.001.20c rātaú siyāma ubháyāsa á te :AHLLLLHLHA: 1374

- 7.001.25c rātaú siyāma ubháyāsa á te :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374
- 7.022.01b yām te suśáva hariaśva ádriḥ :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374
- 7.099.01b ná te mahitvám ánu ásnuvanti :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374
- 7.100.05a prá tát te adyá śipiviṣṭa náma :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374
- 8.096.07c marúdbhir indra sakhiyām te astu :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374
- 9.087.08d sómasya te pavata indra dhārā :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374
- 9.097.46a eṣá syá te pavata indra sómaś :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374
- 10.010.12d ná te bhrátā subhage vaṣṭi etát :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.012.03c víśve devá ánu tát te yájur gur :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.028.05d yám árdham te maghavan kṣemiyá dhúḥ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.029.02a prá te asyá uśasaḥ práparasyā :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.069.09a devás cit te amṛtā jātavedo :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.085.21d sá te bhāgó janúśā tásya viddhi :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.112.04a yásya tyát te mahimānam mádeṣu :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.121.10c yátkāmās te juhumāś tán no astu :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.142.03d má te hetīm táviṣim cukrudhāma :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.142.06a út te śúṣmā jihatām út te arcír :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.142.06b út te agne śaśamānásya vājāḥ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.035.11a yé te pánthāḥ savitaḥ pūrviyáso :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.059.05a divás cit te bṛható jātavedo :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.063.02b á te vājraḥ jaritá bāhuvór dhāt :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.091.19b tá te víśvā paribhūr astu yajñám :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.121.15d máṃhiṣṭhās te sadhamádaḥ siyāma :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.147.02d vandárus te tanúvaḥ vande agne :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.162.08d sárvā tá te ápi devéṣu astu :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.162.09d sárvā tá te ápi devéṣu astu :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.162.14d sárvā tá te ápi devéṣu astu :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388

- 1.162.17a yát te sādé máhasā śúkr̥tasya :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.163.01d upastútyam máhi jātām te arvan :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.163.06a ātmānam te mānasārād ajānām :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.165.03d vocés tán no harivo yát te asmé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 1.189.01d bhūyiṣṭhām te námaüktiṃ vidhema :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 2.019.08a evá te gr̥tsamadāḥ śūra mánma :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.001.23d ágne sá te sumatír bhūtu asmé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.005.11d ágne sá te sumatír bhūtu asmé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.006.11d ágne sá te sumatír bhūtu asmé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.007.11d ágne sá te sumatír bhūtu asmé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.015.07d ágne sá te sumatír bhūtu asmé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.018.04d marmṛjmá te tanúvam bhūri kṛtvaḥ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.022.02a ágne yát te diví várcaḥ pṛthivyām :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.022.05d ágne sá te sumatír bhūtu asmé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.023.05d ágne sá te sumatír bhūtu asmé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.030.02a ná te dūré paramá cid rájāmsi :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.030.05d yát samḡrbhṇá maghavan kāśír ít te :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.030.06b prá te vájraḥ pramṛṇānn etu śátrūn :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.032.02b píbā sómam rarimá te mādāya :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.033.10a á te kāro śṛṇavāmā vácāmsi :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.035.01d índra sváhā rarimá te mādāya :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 3.048.02c tám te mātá pári yóṣā jānitṛi :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 4.003.02a ayám yónis cakṛmá yám vayám te :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 4.006.10a yé ha tyé te sáhamānā ayásas :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 4.012.02a idhmám yás te jabhárac chaśramāṇó :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 4.017.04a suvíras te janitá manyata dyaúr :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 4.018.12c kás te devó ádhi mārḍiká āsīd :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388

- 5.003.09b putró yás te sahasaḥ sūna ūhé :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 5.012.04a ké te agne ripáve bándhanāsaḥ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 5.012.05a sákhāyas te víṣuṇā agna eté :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 5.012.06a yás te agne námasā yajñám ítta :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 5.031.05a víṣṇe yát te víṣaṇo arkám árcān :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 5.042.06c ná te púrve maghavan náparāso :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 6.013.04a yás te sūno sahaso gīrbhír ukthaír :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 6.021.04c kás te yajñó mánase sám vārāya :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 6.024.03b prá te mahná ririce ródasiyoḥ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 6.029.05a ná te ántaḥ sávaso dhāyi asyá :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 6.031.02d vísvaṃ dṛḷhám + bhayate ájman á te :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 6.041.02a yá te kākút súkr̥tā yá váriṣṭhā :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 6.041.02c táyā pāhi prá te adhvaryúr asthāt :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.003.06a susaṃdṛk te suanika prátikaṃ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.018.03c arvāci te pathiyā rāyá etu :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.019.07a má te asyāṃ sahasāvan páriṣṭāv :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.021.06b ná te vivyañ mahimānaṃ rájāmsi :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.024.02a gr̥bhītāṃ te mána indra dvibárhāḥ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.028.01b arvāncas te hárayaḥ santu yuktāḥ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.046.04b má te bhūma prásitau hīlitásya :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.079.02c sám te gāvas táma á vartayanti :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 7.092.01b sahasraṃ te niyúto vísvavāra :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388
- 10.006.07c táṃ te deváso ánu kétam āyann :AHHLLHHLHA: 1472
- 10.007.02c yadā te márto ánu bhógam ānaḍ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1472
- 10.017.12a yás te drapsá skándati yás te aṃsúr :AHHLLHHLHA: 1472
- 10.027.02c amá te túmraṃ vṛṣabhám pacāni :AHHLLHHLHA: 1472
- 10.047.01a jagṛbhmá te dáksīnam indra hástaṃ :AHHLLHHLHA: 1472

- 10.049.11c víśvā ít tã te harivaḥ śacīvo :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.061.18a tádbandhuḥ sūrír diví te dhiyaṃdhá :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.084.03c ugráṃ te pájo nanú á rurudhre :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.087.19d má te hetyá mukṣata daíviyāyāḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.095.18c prajā te deván havíśā yajāti :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.112.06a idám te pátraṃ sánavittam indra :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.142.04c yadá te vāto anuvāti śocír :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.148.05c á yás te yóniṃ ghṛtávantam ásvār :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.160.05c ābhúṣantas te sumataú návāyāṃ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 1.024.09a śatám te rājan bhiśájaḥ sahásram :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 1.031.18b śákti vā yát te cakṛmá vidá vā :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 1.162.19c yá te gátrāṇām ṛtuthá kṛṇómi :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 1.162.21c hárí te yúnjā pṛṣati abhūtām :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 1.163.05a imá te vājinn avamárjanāni :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 1.163.05c átrā te bhadrá raśaná apaśyam :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 1.163.07c yadá te márto ánu bhógam ánaḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 3.018.02d ví te tiṣṭhantām ajārā ayáśaḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 3.020.02b tistrás te jihvá ṛtajāta pūrvīḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 3.032.03a yé te súṣmaṃ yé táviṣim ávardhann :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 3.035.07a stīrṇám te barhīḥ sutá indra sómaḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 3.053.06b kalyāṇír jāyá surāṇaṃ grḥé te :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 4.004.08b sám te vāvātā jaratām iyám gīḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 4.006.06c ná yát te śocís támasā vāranta :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 4.016.07b právat te vājram pṛthiví śacetāḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 4.016.10b bhúvat te kútsaḥ sakhiyé níkāmaḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 4.021.09a bhadrá te hástā súkṛtotá pāṇí :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 4.022.06a tá tú te satyá tuvinṛmṇa víśvā :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472

- 4.042.07a vidúṣ te víśvā bhúvanāni tásya :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 5.002.11a etám te stómaṃ tuvijāta vípro :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 5.032.12c kím te brahmāṇo gr̥hate sákhāyo :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.001.10d á te bhadráyāṃ sumataú yatema :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.006.04a yé te śukrásaḥ śúcayaḥ śuciṣmaḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.017.09a ádha dyaús cit te ápa sá nú vájrad :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.017.10a ádha tváṣṭā te mahá ugra vájraṃ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.021.03c kadá te mártā amṛtasya dhāma :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.025.07a ádha smā te carṣaṇāyo yád éjān :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.029.03a śriyé te pádā dúva á mimikṣur :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.040.04d áthā te yajñás tanúve váyo dhāt :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.041.05b áraṃ te sómas tanúve bhavāti :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 6.058.01d bhadrá te pūṣann ihá rātír astu :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 7.001.22c má te asmán durmatáyo bhṛmác cid :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 7.021.09c vanvántu smā te ávasā samiké :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 7.022.05c sádā te náma svayaśo vivakmi :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 7.037.03c ubhá te pūrñá vásunā gábhastī :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 7.087.02a ātmá te vāto rája á navīnot :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 7.088.05d sahasradvāraṃ jagamā gr̥hám te :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 7.100.06a kím ít te viṣṇo paricákṣiyam bhūt :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 8.100.02b hitás te bhāgāḥ sutó astu sómaḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472
- 10.010.02a ná te sákhā sakhiyám vaṣṭi etát :AHLHLLHLHA: 1670
- 10.016.04c yás te śívás tanúvo jātavedas :AHLHLLHLHA: 1670
- 10.028.03c pácanti te vṛṣabhám átsi téśām :AHLHLLHLHA: 1670
- 10.029.06a māt্রে nú te súmīte indra pūrvī :AHLHLLHLHA: 1670
- 10.029.06c várāya te ghṛtāvantaḥ sutásāḥ :AHLHLLHLHA: 1670
- 10.044.02d vārdhāma te papúšo vṛṣṇiyāni :AHLHLLHLHA: 1670

- 10.069.03a yát te mánur yád ánikam sumitráḥ :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 10.083.07c juhómi te dharúṇam mádhvo ágram :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 10.095.05c púrūravo ánu te kétam āyaṃ :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 10.096.13b átho idám sávanam kévalam te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 10.098.02d dádhāmi te dyumátim vácam āsán :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 1.091.03a rájño nú te váruṇasya vratáni :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 1.164.49a yás te stánaḥ śásayó yó mayobhúr :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 1.189.04c má te bhayám jaritāram yaviṣṭha :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 2.009.03a vidhéma te paramé jánman agne :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 2.018.06c ayám hí te śunáhotreṣu sóma :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 2.033.01a á te pitar marutām sumnám etu :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.014.02a áyāmi te námaüktim juṣasva :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.032.01b mádhyamdinam sávanam cáru yát te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.033.08d má no ní kaḥ puruṣatrā námas te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.034.02a makhásya te taviṣásya prá jútím :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.035.05a má te hári vṛṣañā vitáprṣṭhā :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.038.02c imá u te praṇíyo várdhamānā :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.046.01a yudhmásya te vṛṣabhásya svarāja :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.048.01c sādhoḥ piba pratikāmam yáthā te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 3.057.04c imá u te mánave bhúrivārā :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.003.02d imá u te suapāka praticíḥ :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.004.08a árcāmi te sumatím ghóṣi arvák :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.012.04a yác cid dhí te puruṣatrā yaviṣṭha :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.016.08b āvír bhuvat sarámā pūrviyám te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.016.21c ákāri te harivo bráhma návyam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.017.21c ákāri te harivo bráhma návyam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.019.11c ákāri te harivo bráhma návyam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670

- 4.020.11c ákāri te harivo bráhma návyam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.021.10d bhakṣīyá te ávaso daívīyasya :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.021.11c ákāri te harivo bráhma návyam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.022.07a átráha te harivas tá u devír :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.022.11c ákāri te harivo bráhma návyam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.023.11c ákāri te harivo bráhma návyam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.024.11c ákāri te harivo bráhma návyam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 4.035.07b mádhyamdinam sávanam kévalam te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 5.015.05a vájo nú te sávasas pātu ántam :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 5.031.07a tát ín nú te káraṇam dasma vipra :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 5.036.02a á te hánū harivaḥ sūra sípre :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 5.043.05a ásāvi te jujuṣāñāya sómaḥ :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 6.018.04a sád íd dhí te tuvijātasya mánye :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 6.019.07a yás te mádaḥ pṛtanāṣāl̥ amṛdhra :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 6.020.10a sanéma te ávasā návyā indra :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 6.044.20a á te vṛṣan vṛṣaṇo dróṇam asthur :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 6.064.04a sugótá te supáthā párvateṣu :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 7.003.02d ádha sma te vrájanam kṛṣṇám asti :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 7.003.03a úd yásya te návajātasya vṛṣṇo :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 7.018.03d siyāma te sumatāv indra sárman :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 7.022.02a yás te mádo yújiyaś cārur ásti :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 7.022.05a ná te gíro ápi mṛṣye turásya :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 7.024.06b prá te mahím sumatím vevidāma :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 7.025.06b prá te mahím sumatím vevidāma :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 8.048.06c áthā hí te máda á soma mánye :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 8.048.09c yát te vayám pramināma vratāni :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 8.100.02a dádhāmi te mádhuno bhakṣám ágre :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670

- 9.087.04a eṣá syá te mádhumāṃ indra sómo :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 9.088.08a rájño nú te váruṇasya vratáni :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 9.096.24a á te rúcaḥ pávamānasya soma :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670
- 10.014.11a yaú te súvānau yama rakṣitārau :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 10.020.10a evá te agne vimadó manīṣám :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 10.029.05c gíraś ca yé te tuvijāta pūrvír :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 10.045.02a vidmá te agne trēdhá trayāṇi :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 10.051.01c víśvā apaśyad bahudhá te agne :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 10.061.22d anehásas te harivo abhīṣtau :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 10.091.15a áhāvi agne havír āsiye te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 10.112.05c sá te púramdhiṃ táviṣim iyarti :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 10.120.02d sám te navanta prābhṛtā mádeṣu :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.073.10c śakéma rāyāḥ sudhúro yámaṃ te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.079.02a á te suparṇá aminantaṃ évaiḥ :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.123.11d ná tát te anyá uśáso naśanta :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.124.12a út te váyaś cid vasatér apaptan :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.147.01a kathá te agne śucáyanta āyór :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.150.03c prá-prét te agne vanúṣaḥ siyāma :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.165.09a ánuttam á te maghavan nákir nú :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.169.04c stútaś ca yás te cakánanta vāyó :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.173.08a evá hí te sám sávanā samudrá :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 1.178.01d víśvā te aśyām pári ápa āyóḥ :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 2.028.08a námaḥ purá te varuṇotá nūnám :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 2.033.11d anyám te asmán ní vapantu sénāḥ :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 3.001.20a etá te agne jánimā sánāni :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 3.006.05a vratá te agne maható maháni :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313
- 3.006.07a divás cid á te rucayanta roká :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313

- 3.019.03d bhūyāma te suṣṭutāyaś ca vāsvaḥ :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 3.035.09b yé tvám ávardhann ábhavan gaṇás te :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 3.050.02a á te saparyú javáse yunajmi :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 3.052.07a pūṣaṇváte te cakṛmā karambhám :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 4.002.07a yás te bhárād ánniyate cid ánnaṃ :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 4.004.15a ayá te agne samídḥā vidhema :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 4.006.06a bhadrá te agne suanika saṃdḥg :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 4.010.04d prá te divó ná stanayanti súṣmāḥ :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 4.011.01a bhadráṃ te agne sahasinn ánīkam :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 4.012.05c má te sákhāyaḥ sádāma íd riṣāma :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 4.017.18c vayám hí á te cakṛmā sabádha :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 4.021.09c ká te níṣattiḥ kím u nó mamatsi :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 5.001.10d bṛhát te agne máhi śárma bhadráṃ :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 5.027.03a evá te agne sumatím cakānó :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 6.001.13b vāsūni rājan vasútā te aśyām :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 6.018.13a prá tát te adyá káraṇaṃ kṛtām bhūt :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 6.021.05a idá hí te véṣataḥ purājāḥ :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 6.022.04a tán no ví voco yádi te purá cij :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 6.024.04a śácīvatas te puruśāka śákā :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 6.027.04c vājrasya yát te níhatasya súṣmāt :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 6.058.01a śukráṃ te anyád yajatám te anyád :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 6.064.06a út te váyaś cid vasatér apaptan :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 7.003.06c divó ná te tanyatúr eti súṣmaś :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 7.005.06b krátuṃ hí te mitramaho juśánta :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 7.014.02a vayám te agne samídḥā vidhema :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 7.019.08a priyása ít te maghavann abhíṣtau :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313
- 7.019.09c yé te hávebhir ví pañím̐r ádáśann :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313

- 7.020.08c vayám te asyám sumataú cániṣṭhāḥ :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
 7.021.06d ná śátrur ántaṃ vividat yudhá te :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
 7.042.02a sugás te agne sánavitto ádhvā :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
 9.097.06b índram mádo gachatu te bhárāya :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313

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- 10.010.13b naívá te máno hṛdayaṃ cāvidāma :ALHLHLLHHLHA: 1  
 2.001.07d tuvám pāyúr dáme yás te ávidhat :AHLHLLHLLLA: 2  
 8.060.14a nahí te agne vṛṣabha pratidhṛṣe :ALLHLLHLLLA: 2  
 6.075.18c urór váriyo váruṇas te kṛṇotu :AHLHLLHHLHA: 3  
 10.115.04a ví yásya te jrayasánásya ajara :AHLHLLHLLLA: 4  
 1.055.07a dānāya mánaḥ somapāvan astu te :AHLHLLHHLHA: 8  
 4.058.11a dhāman te vísvam bhúvanam ádhi śritám :AHHHLLHLLHA: 9  
 1.127.09f ádha smā te pári caranti ajara :AHHLLHLLLA: 11  
 2.001.09c tuvám putró bhavasi yás te ávidhat :AHHLLHLLLA: 11  
 1.083.03c ásaṃyatto vraté te kṣeti púṣyati :AHHLLHHLHLA: 21  
 1.135.09a imé yé te sú vāyo bāhúojaso :AHHLLHHLHLA: 21  
 3.021.05c ścótanti te vaso stoká ádhi tvací :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 22  
 2.002.12a ubháyāso jātavedaḥ siyāma te :ALHHLLHHLHLA: 69  
 2.016.03b ná samudraíḥ párvatair indra te ráthaḥ :ALHHLLHHLHLA: 69  
 6.048.16b sámśiṣaṃ nú te apikarṇá āghṛṇe :ALHLHLLHLHLA: 79  
 1.114.09d áthā vayám áva ít te vṛṇīmahe :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 85  
 1.036.03c mahás te sató ví caranti arcáyo :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 104  
 1.102.01a imám te dhíyam prá bhare mahó mahím :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 104  
 2.041.18c yá te mánma grtsamadá ṛtāvāri :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 104

- 8.099.06c víśvās te spṛdhaḥ śnathayantaḥ manyāve :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 104
- 8.101.11c mahás te sató mahimā panasyate :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 104
- 9.086.05b prabhós te satáḥ pári yanti ketávaḥ :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 104
- 1.057.02a ádha te víśvam ánu hāsad iṣṭáya :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 113
- 1.135.08e ná te vāya úpa dasyanti dhenávo :AHHLLLHLHLHLA: 118
- 2.016.03c ná te vājram ánu ásnoti kás caná :AHHLLLHLHLHLA: 118
- 7.046.03a yá te didyúd ávasṛṣṭā divás pári :AHHLLLHLHLHLA: 118
- 8.051.07c úpopén nú maghavan bhúya ín nú te :AHHLLLHLHLHLA: 118
- 9.074.09a adbhíḥ soma papṛcānáśya te ráso :AHHLLLHLHLHLA: 118
- 10.037.09a yásya te víśvā bhúvanāni ketúnā :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 139
- 1.054.01b nahí te ántaḥ śávasaḥ parīṇáśe :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 139
- 1.114.09a úpa te stómān paśupá ivákaramḥ :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 139
- 1.138.03a yásya te pūṣan sakhiyé vipanyávaḥ :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 139
- 8.099.06a ánu te súśmaṃ turáyantam iyatuḥ :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 139
- 9.079.04a diví te nābhā paramó yá ādadé :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 139
- 9.108.02a yásya te pítvá vṛṣabhó vṛṣāyáte :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 139
- 1.057.05c ánu te dyaúr bṛhatí vīríyam mama :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 161
- 1.094.10b vátajūtā vṛṣabhásyeva te rávaḥ :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 161
- 8.050.08a rathirāso hárayo yé te asrídha :ALHHLLLHLHLA: 161
- 1.084.20a má te rádhāmsi má ta útáyo vaso :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 183
- 1.106.05b sám yór yát te mánurhitam tát imahe :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 183
- 7.081.04c táśyās te ratnabhāja imahe vayám :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 183
- 8.012.25c ád ít te haryatá hárī vavakṣatuḥ :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 183
- 8.012.26c ád ít te haryatá hárī vavakṣatuḥ :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 183
- 8.012.27c ád ít te haryatá hárī vavakṣatuḥ :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 183
- 1.094.11c sugám tát te tāvakébhyo ráthebhiyo :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 209
- 1.094.14a tát te bhadram yát sámiddhaḥ suvé dáme :AHHLLHLHLHLA: 209

- 1.130.06a imám te vácam vasūyanta āyávo :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 209
- 1.132.02f asmatrá te sadhríak santu rātáyo :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 209
- 1.132.04a nú itthá te pūrváthā ca praváciyam :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 209
- 1.134.06f víśvā ít te dhenávo duhra āśíram :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 209
- 3.021.05a ójiṣṭham te madhyató méda údbhṛtam :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 209
- 5.008.05d tvíṣiḥ sá te titviṣāṇásya nádhṛṣe :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 209
- 10.050.06c várāya te pátaram + dhármaṇe tánā :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 211
- 10.093.08b á te hárī jūjuvānásya vājínā :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 211
- 1.082.06a yunájmi te bráhmaṇā keśínā hárī :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 211
- 1.132.03a tát tú práyaḥ pratnáthā te śúśukvanám :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 211
- 1.140.11b priyád u cin mánmanaḥ préyo astu te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 211
- 2.037.03a médyantu te váhnayo yébhír íyase :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 211
- 8.003.18a imé hí te kárávo vāvaśúr dhiyá :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 211
- 1.131.05a ád ít te asyá vírýasya carkiran :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 224
- 8.013.11c á yāhi yajñám āśúbhiḥ sám íd dhí te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 224
- 8.013.26c ṛtád iyarmi te dhíyam manoyújam :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 224
- 9.085.01c má te rásasya matsata dvayāvino :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 224
- 10.016.03c apó vā gacha yádi tátra te hitám :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 10.018.13a út te stabhnāmi pṛthivím tuvát pári :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 10.081.05a yá te dhámāni paramāṇi yāvamá :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 10.084.05c priyám te náma sahure gṛṇimasi :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 1.102.03b jaíttram yám te anumádāma saṃgamé :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 1.114.02b kṣayádvīrāya námasā vidhema te :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 2.016.06a vṛṣā te vājra utá te vṛṣā rátho :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 2.016.07a prá te nāvam ná sámāne vacasyúvam :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 2.023.02a devás cit te asuriya prácetaso :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 2.032.05a yás te ráke sumatáyāḥ supésaso :AHHHLLLHLHLA: 468

- 5.011.03d dhūmās te ketúr abhavad diví śrítāḥ :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 5.044.02d paró māyābhir ṛtā āsa nāma te :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 6.015.09c yát te dhítim sumatím āvṛṇīmáhe :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 6.061.01d tá te dātrāṇi taviṣā sarasvati :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 7.046.03c saháśraṃ te suapivāta bheṣajá :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 8.001.03c asmákam bráhma idám indra bhūtu te :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 8.021.16a má te godatra nír arāma rádhasa :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 9.082.04b pájṛāyā garbha śṛṇuhí brávīmi te :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 9.105.04c súcim te várṇam ádhi góṣu dīdharam :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468
- 10.018.13c etám sthūṇām pitáro dhārayantu te :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.050.03c ké te vājāya asuryāya hinvire :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.083.01a yás te manyo ávidhad vajra sāyaka :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.096.01b prá te vanve vanúṣo haryatám mádam :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 1.051.08d víśvét tá te sadhamádeṣu cākana :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 1.051.13d víśvét tá te sávaneṣu pravāciyā :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 1.052.07c tvāṣṭā cit te yújiyaṃ vāvṛdhe sávas :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 1.094.04a bhārāmedhmám kṛṇāvāmā havīmṣi te :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 1.094.11b drapsā yát te yavasādo ví ásthiran :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 1.140.11c yát te śukráṃ tanúvo rócate súci :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 5.081.05d śyāvāśvas te savita stómam ānaśe :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 6.047.29b purutrā te manutām víṣṭhitam jágat :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 7.032.14c śraddhá ít te maghavan páriye diví :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 7.096.02a ubhé yát te mahiná śubhre ándhasī :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 8.019.16c vayám tát te sávasā gātuvíttamā :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 8.033.15c asmákam te sávanā santu sámamā :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 8.077.11a tuvikṣám te súkṛtam sūmáyaṃ dhánuḥ :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 8.100.06a víśvét tá te sávaneṣu pravāciyā :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523

- 9.079.04b pṛthivyās te ruruhuḥ sánavi kṣípaḥ :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 9.083.01a pavítmaṁ te vítatam brahmaṇas pate :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 9.086.47a prá te dhārā áti áṅvāni meṣíyaḥ :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 523
- 10.017.12d tám te juhomi mánasā váṣaṭkṛtam :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 10.044.09a imám bibharmi súkṛtam te añkuśám :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 10.091.04c á te cikitra uśásām ivétayo :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 10.113.03c víśve te átra marútaḥ sahá tmánā :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 1.055.08d tanúṣu te krátava indra bhúrayaḥ :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 2.001.15c pṛkṣó yád átra mahinā ví te bhúvad :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 2.016.08c sakṛt sú te sumatíbhiḥ śatakrato :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 5.044.08b ṛṣisvarám carati yásu náma te :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 8.021.07b ūtí abhūma nahí nú te adrivaḥ :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 9.086.37c tās te kṣarantu mádhumad ghṛtám páyas :AHLHLLLHLHLA: 624
- 10.043.05c ná tát te anyó ánu víríyaṁ śakan :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 10.050.07a yé te vipra brahmakṛtaḥ suté sácā :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 10.113.08a víśve devāso ádha vṛṣṇiyāni te :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 1.156.01c ádhā te viṣṇo vidúṣā cid árdhiya :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 1.156.03d mahás te viṣṇo sumatím bhajāmahe :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 5.056.02c yé te nédiṣṭham hávanāni āgāman :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 8.001.09c áśvāso yé te vṛṣaṇo raghudrúvas :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 8.004.07c mahát te vṛṣṇo abhicákṣiyaṁ kṛtám :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 8.012.28c ád ít te víśvā bhúvanāni yemire :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 8.012.29c ád ít te víśvā bhúvanāni yemire :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 8.012.30c ád ít te víśvā bhúvanāni yemire :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 8.061.18c ubhá te bāhú vṛṣaṇā śatakrato :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 8.077.11c ubhá te bāhú ráṇiyā súsaṁskṛta :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650
- 9.079.05d āvís te súṣmo bhavatu priyó mádaḥ :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650

- 10.023.07c vidmá hí te prámatiṃ deva jānivád :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 10.038.02c siyáma te jáyataḥ śakra medíno :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 10.044.09c asmín sú te sávane astu okíyaṃ :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 10.075.02a prá te 'radad váruṇo yátave patháḥ :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 10.085.27a ihá priyám prajáyā te sám ṛdhyatām :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 10.096.01a prá te mahé vidáthe śaṃsiṣaṃ hári :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 1.052.11c átráha te maghavan vísrutaṃ sáho :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 1.057.05d iyám ca te pṛthiví nema ójase :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 1.102.07a út te śatán maghavann úc ca bhúyasa :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 1.114.03a aśyáma te sumatíṃ devayajyáyā :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 1.114.09c bhadrá hí te sumatír mṛḷayáttamā + :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 2.023.04d bṛhaspate máhi tát te mahitvanám :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 2.036.05a eśá syá te tanúvo nṛṃṇavárdhanaḥ :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 7.081.05c yát te divo duhitar martabhójanaṃ :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 8.001.14c sakṛt sú te mahatá śūra rádhasā :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 8.003.02a bhūyáma te sumataú vājino vayám :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 8.046.25c vayám hí te cakṛmá bhúri dāváne :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 8.053.08a ahám hí te harivo bráhma vājayúr :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 9.078.02c pūrvír hí te srutáyaḥ sánti yátave :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 9.086.13d súcir dhiyá pavate sóma indra te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 662
- 10.037.03a ná te ádevaḥ pradívo ní vāsate :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 1190
- 10.043.02d asmín sú sóme avapánam astu te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 1190
- 10.091.07c á te yatante rathíyo yáthā pṛthak :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 1190
- 10.091.09c yád devayánto dádhati práyāṃsi te :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 1190
- 10.138.06a etá tiyá te śrútiyāni kévalā :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 1190
- 10.142.02a pravát te agne jánimā pitūyatáḥ :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 1190
- 10.147.01a śrát te dadhāmi prathamāya manyáve :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 1190

- 1.114.03d áriṣṭavīrā juhavāma te havīḥ :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 1.135.01f prá te sutáso mádhumanto asthīran :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 1.135.09b antár nadī te patáyanti ukṣāṇo :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 3.009.02c ná tát te agne pramṛṣe nivártanaṃ :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 4.054.05d evaívá tasthuḥ savitaḥ saváya te :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 7.032.02a imé hí te brahmakṛtaḥ suté sácā :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 7.032.06c yás te gabhīrá sávanāni vṛtrahan :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 8.004.12c idám te ánnaṃ yújiyaṃ sámukṣitaṃ :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 8.049.05c yám te svadhāvan svadáyanti dhenáva :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 8.050.05c yám te svadāvan suádanti gūrtáyaḥ :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 8.053.04c śíṣṭeṣu cit te madirāso aṃśávo :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 8.088.06a nákiḥ páriṣṭir maghavan maghásya te :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 9.075.05c yé te mādā āhanáso víhāyasas :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 9.086.02a prá te mādāso madirāsa āśávo :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190

## C.4 The position of *áchā* with regard to its object

### C.4.1 *áchā* X

#### 8 syllable lines

- 1.006.06b *áchā* vidádvasuṃ gíraḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 8.005.33c *áchā* suadhvarám jánam :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 9.064.16b *áchā* samudrám āśávaḥ :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 9.066.12a *áchā* samudrám índavo :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 8.023.10a *áchā* no ángirastamaṃ :AHHHLHLA: 4930

- 8.071.10a áchā naḥ śīrásociṣaṃ :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
 9.057.01c áchā vājaṃ sahasrīṇaṃ :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
 9.066.11a áchā kósam madhuścútam :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
 9.107.12d áchā kósam madhuścútam :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
 9.108.02d áchā vājaṃ ná étaśaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930

### 11 syllable lines

- 6.030.04d ávāsṛjo apó áchā samudrám :AHLHLLHHLHA: 223  
 7.036.09b áchā víṣṇuṃ niṣiktapāṃ ávobhiḥ :AHHHLHLHLHA: 470  
 3.022.03b áchā devāñ ūciṣe dhīṣṇiyā yé :AHHHLLHHLHA: 483  
 3.057.03c áchā putrám dhenávo vāvaśāná :AHHHLLHHLHA: 483  
 4.001.10b áchā rátnaṃ devábhaktaṃ yád asya :AHHHLLHHLHA: 483  
 7.057.07b áchā sūrín sarvátātā jigāta :AHHHLLHHLHA: 483  
 3.039.01b áchā pátiṃ stómataṣṭā jigāti :AHLHLLHHLHA: 683  
 7.067.01d áchā sūnúr ná pitārā vivakmi :AHHHLLHHLHA: 1231  
 1.163.13b árvāñ áchā pitáram mātáram ca :AHHHLLHHLHA: 1388  
 4.044.05a á no yātaṃ divó áchā pṛthivyá :AHHHLLHHLHA: 1388  
 9.087.01d áchā barhí raśanábhīr nayanti :AHHHLLHHLHA: 1388  
 3.033.03a áchā síndhum mātṛtamām ayāsaṃ :AHHHLLHHLHA: 1472  
 3.061.05a áchā vo devím uśasaṃ vibhātím :AHHHLLHHLHA: 1472  
 3.031.06d áchā rávam prathamá jānatí gāt :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670  
 4.016.09a áchā kavíṃ nṛmaṇo gā abhīṣtau :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670  
 7.003.03c áchā diyám aruśó dhūmá eti :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670  
 3.033.02b áchā samudrám rathíyeva yāthaḥ :AHLHLLHHLHA: 2313

## 12 syllable lines

- 1.040.03c áchā vīrāṃ náriyam pañktírādhasaṃ :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523  
8.060.02a áchā hí tvā sahasaḥ sūno aṅgiraḥ :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523  
1.130.05b áchā samudrām asrjo ráthāñ iva :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 624  
2.036.06c áchā rájánā náma eti āvṛtam :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650  
8.071.10c áchā yajñāso námasā purūvásum :AHHHLLHHLHLA: 650  
9.081.02a áchā hí sómaḥ kalásāñ ásiṣyadad :AHLHLLHHLHLA: 1190

## C.4.2 X áchā

### 8 syllable lines

- 8.002.28d náyám áchā sadhamādam :ALHLLHA: 21  
1.002.02b tuvām áchā jaritāraḥ :AHHLLHA: 55  
8.016.10a praṇetāraṃ vāsyo áchā :AHHHLLHA: 85  
1.105.14b devāñ áchā vidúṣṭaraḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
1.132.05g devāñ áchā ná dhītāyaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
1.139.01g devāñ áchā ná dhītāyaḥ :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
5.052.15b devāñ áchā ná vakṣāṇā :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
8.103.02b devāñ áchā ná majmánā :AHHHLHLA: 4930  
9.001.05a tuvām áchā carāmasi :AHHHLHLA: 4930

## 11 syllable lines

- 4.024.08c ácikradad vṛṣaṇam pátnī áchā :AHLHLLHHHHA: 12  
1.101.08c áta á yāhi adhvarāṃ no áchā :ALHHLHLHLHA: 84  
3.055.03b śámi áchā dīdiye pūrviyāṇi :ALHHHLHHLHA: 161  
7.023.04c yāhī vāyúr ná niyúto no áchā :ALHLLLHLHA: 287  
5.001.04a agnīm áchā devayatām mánāṃsi :ALHHLLHLHA: 360  
10.030.05c tá adhvaryo apó áchā párehi :AHHLLLHLHA: 379  
9.097.06c devaír yāhi saráthaṃ rádho áchā :AHHLLLHLHA: 379  
7.092.03a prá yābhir yāsi dāśuvāṃsam áchā :AHHHLHLHLHA: 470  
5.042.15a eṣá stómo mārutaṃ sárdho áchā :AHHHLHLHLHA: 483  
3.022.03a ágne divó árṇam áchā jigāsi :AHLHHLHHLHA: 683  
5.045.09c raghúḥ śyenāḥ patayad ándho áchā :AHHLLLHLHA: 1231  
10.006.04b devāṃ áchā raghupátvā jigāti :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388  
10.030.01b apó áchā mánaso ná práyukti :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388  
3.054.05b devāṃ áchā pathiyā ká sám eti :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388  
7.009.05b devāṃ áchā brahmakṛtā gaṇéna :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472  
6.006.01a prá návyasā sáhasaḥ sūnúm áchā :AHLHLLHHLHA: 1670  
2.019.02c prá yád váyo ná svásarāṇi áchā :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
4.038.05d śrávaś ca áchā paśumác ca yūthám :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
5.041.14b apás ca áchā sūmakhāya vocam :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
6.032.04a sá nīvíyābhir jaritāram áchā :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313  
7.024.03d āngūṣám áchā tavásam mādāya :AHLHLLHLHA: 2313

## 12 syllable lines

- 4.001.02b devám̐ áchā sumatí yajñávanasaṃ :AHHLLHLLLA: 5  
8.033.13c náyám̐ áchā maghāvā śṛṇávad gíro :ALHLLHLLHLA: 6  
1.130.01b náyám̐ áchā vidáthānīva sátpatir :ALHLLHLLHLA: 161  
8.022.04c asmám̐ áchā sumatír vāṃ śubhas patī :AHHLLHLLHLA: 523  
9.068.01a prá devám̐ áchā mádhumanta índavo :AHLHLLHLLHLA: 1190

## C.5 The position of the copula in predicate nominative constructions

### C.5.1 ahám X asmi

#### 8 syllable lines

- 1.105.07a ahám só asmi yáḥ purá :AHHHLHLA: 4930

#### 11 syllable lines

- 4.026.01b ahám̐ kakṣívāṃ ṛṣir asmi vípraḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472

## C.5.2 ahám asmi X

### 8 syllable lines

- 10.145.05a ahám asmi sáhamānā :ALHLLLHA: 7  
10.119.12a ahám asmi mahāmahó :ALHLLHLA: 691  
10.166.02a ahám asmi sapatnahā :ALHLLHLA: 691

### 11 syllable lines

- 5.044.14d távāhám asmi sakhiyé níokāḥ :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374  
5.044.15d távāhám asmi sakhiyé níokāḥ :AHLHLLLHLHA: 1374  
10.027.01c ánāsīrdām ahám asmi prahantā :AHHLLHHLHA: 1388

## C.5.3 t(u)vám X asi

### 8 syllable lines

- 8.013.26a índra tvám avitéd asi :AHLHLHLA: 621  
3.053.18d tuvám hí baladá ási :AHLHLHLA: 621  
8.090.05a tuvám indra yaśá asi :ALHLLHLA: 691  
5.013.06b devāṃs tvám paribhūr asi :AHLHLHLA: 1362  
8.011.01a tvám agne vratapá asi :AHLHLHLA: 1362  
10.153.05a tuvám indrābhibhūr asi :ALHHLHLA: 1979  
8.060.05a tuvám ít sapráthā asi :ALHHLHLA: 1979  
8.098.02a tuvám indrābhibhūr asi :ALHHLHLA: 1979

- 10.153.02c    tuvám vṛṣan vṛṣéd asi :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 8.023.30a    ágne tuvám yaśá asi :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 1.015.03c    tuvám hí ratnadhá ási :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 4.046.01c    tuvám hí pūrvapá ási :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 5.028.05c    tuvám hí havyvāḷ ási :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 7.016.06b    tuvám hí ratnadhá ási :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 8.023.29a    tuvám hí supratúr ási :AHLHLHLA: 3316  
 5.013.04a    tvám agne sapráthā asi :AHHHLHLA: 4930

### 11 syllable lines

- 10.110.01d    tuvám dūtāḥ kavír asi prácetāḥ :AHHLLLHLHA: 1231

### 12 syllable lines

- 6.048.09c    asyá rāyás tuvám agne rathír asi :ALHLLHHLHLA: 161  
 9.086.28d    tuvám indo prathamó dhāmadhá asi :ALHLLHHLHLA: 161  
 2.001.12c    tuvám vājaḥ pratáraṇo bṛhānn asi :AHHLLLHLHLA: 468  
 2.001.07b    tuvám devāḥ savitá ratnadhá asi :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523  
 8.090.02a    tuvám dātá prathamó rádhasām asi :AHHLLHHLHLA: 523  
 2.001.10d    tuvám viśíkṣur asi yajñám ātāniḥ :AHLLLLHLHLA: 624  
 2.001.03a    tvám agna índro vṛṣabhāḥ satām asi :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 9.086.29a    tuvám samudró asi viśvavít kave :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 9.086.38a    tuvám nṛcákṣā asi soma viśvataḥ :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190  
 9.086.39c    tuvám suvíro asi soma viśvavít :AHLHLLHLHLA: 1190

## C.5.4 t(u)vám asi X

### 8 syllable lines

- 8.071.02c tuvám íd asi kṣápāvān :ALLHLHA: 3  
8.011.02a tuvám asi praśásiyo :ALLHLLA: 24  
10.097.18c tāsāṃ tvám asi uttamā :AHLHLA: 621  
10.145.05b átha tvám asi sāsahīḥ :AHLHLA: 621  
8.039.03d tuvám hí ási pūrviyáḥ :AHLHLA: 621  
2.007.05a tuvám no asi bhārata :AHLHLA: 1362  
1.091.05c tuvám bhadró asi krátuḥ :AHLHLA: 4930

### 11 syllable lines

- 6.044.12c tuvám asi pradívaḥ kārúdhāyā :ALLHLLHLHA: 133  
10.002.01d tuvám hótṛṇām asi áyajiṣṭhaḥ :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472  
10.110.03c tuvám devānām asi yahva hótā :AHHHLLHLHA: 1472

### 12 syllable lines

- 2.001.05d tuvám narām śárdho asi purūvasuḥ :AHLHLLHLHA: 13  
7.032.17a tuvám víśvasya dhanadā asi śrutó :AHHLLHLHLHA: 468  
8.019.31c tuvám mahīnām uśāsām asi priyáḥ :AHLHLLHLHLHA: 1190