

ISSUES IN THE PLACEMENT OF ENCLITIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE RIGVEDA

by

MARK RAYMUND WENTHE

(Under the Direction of Jared Klein)

ABSTRACT

The placement of enclitic pronouns in the Rigveda displays great variety; however, as enclitics, they must attach to a preceding prosodic unit. Frequently, they occur in second position within a clause, and the syntactic domains to which they belong (as verbal arguments or possessors of noun phrases) become ambiguous. As sentential constituents, they are subject to the same ordinary syntactic processes that accented personal pronouns undergo, notably including frequent fronting toward the beginning of a clause. The enclitic pronouns, therefore, are projected as ordinary syntactic arguments that are prosodically prevented from following a natural pause, such as the beginning of a clause. Since they are subject to both syntactic processes and prosodic constraints, they are an ideal subject for explorations into the syntax-phonology interface in Rigvedic Sanskrit. The framework of this investigation employs an extended CP (cf. Rizzi 1997 and Hale 2009) as a position to which elements of a sentence may be fronted as well as a late phonological readjustment called Prosodic Inversion that allows a clitic that has no prosodic support to trade places with an adjacent prosodic unit (Halpern, 1995). The poetic nature of the Rigveda provides additional evidence of the prosody of Vedic Sanskrit in support of an analysis invoking Prosodic Inversion. To account for the extreme variety of sentence structures in a poetic text in a nonconfigurational language such as Vedic Sanskrit,

poetic employment of extraposition and dislocation are occasionally necessary. Such dislocation or extraposition is frequently motivated contextually and reflected prosodically in the placement of caesurae and line breaks.

INDEX WORDS: Rigveda, Clitic, Syntax, Prosody, Syntax-Phonology Interface, Extended CP, Prosodic Inversion, Personal Pronoun

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DEDICATION

To my wife Betsy
who has patiently supported this endeavor.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preface

A close examination of the relevant facts has, however, brought to light, first, that as in prose a considerable number of sentence patterns and arrangements of words are more or less common or favourite, and in the second place that on this point prose and poetry have much more in common than has often been taken for granted.

Jan Gonda, 1959:8

Not without grave misgivings can a Vedic commentary be put forth.

Charles Rockwell Lanman, A Sanskrit Reader, 1888:405

Unfortunately, Lanman's words are no less true over a century later. With regard to Rigvedic syntax, the troubles become graver still. The variety of sentence patterns the Rigveda shows is daunting because of the nonconfigurational (scrambling) character of the language. Add to this the poetic nature of the text, and the problems begin to multiply. Nevertheless, to avoid consideration of poetry in syntactic studies is, to my mind, to neglect a significant, readily comprehensible linguistic form. Some poetic forms are so divorced from normal speech as to be legitimately excluded (particularly notable are some Old Icelandic poetic forms), but the hymns of the Rigveda do not belong to this category. The deviations from the prose found in the Brāhmaṇas is not so striking as to be unrecognizable or ungrammatical for the most part. While, for example, the text of the Rigveda displays a greater propensity for splitting constituents, these patterns are also found in the prose, even if the prose authors avail themselves of this option less frequently. Thus, it is presumably not misguided to employ a poetic text in this investigation into Vedic syntax.

As the focus of this investigation is on prosodically deficient items (i.e., clitics) that cannot follow a pause, it is useful to employ a text that is arranged prosodically, as a poetic text is. For a language with

no living native speakers, a project that explores the interface between syntax and prosody must take what prosodic evidence it can obtain from poetry—the only linguistic form with clearly discernible prosodic breaks. As such, the occurrence of line breaks and caesuras offer clear clues to the prosody of Vedic Sanskrit that can otherwise not be recovered easily and should not be ignored.

This needs to be said as the generative tradition has a tendency to avoid poetry due to the poetic license taken in such texts that complicates matters of syntax. Again, there is occasionally good reason to avoid some poetic texts. The presence of archaisms in English poetry (most striking to my ear are the occasional postnominal adjectives) would require syntactic descriptions to accomodate what is otherwise ungrammatical or at best highly stilted. However, it seems to me that the generative framework ought to be able to handle such structures, and indeed I believe it can.

The descriptive power of the various generative frameworks has increased steadily in the past fifty years or so. Indeed, there is no competing framework that compares as an analytical tool for the exploration of syntactic structures. This study makes no claims regarding the innateness of the syntactic module as modeled in the framework employed here, but merely avails itself of the framework that may be most suited to the data as an analytical, descriptive tool. After all, the goal of this study is to describe the syntax as accurately as possible, given my understanding of the phenomena exhibited in the hymns of the Rigveda, with all due respect to the difficulties of interpretation it presents.

The study that follows takes advantage of developments within the generative framework which provide a great deal of flexibility with which to model syntactic structures. At the same time, few diagrams will exemplify a fully articulated syntactic model. For expository reasons, much that can be simplified will be. Even with the flexibility inherent in the model employed here, there are certain occasions in which it is necessary to have minor non-syntactic reorderings due to the needs of the clitics to attach to a preceding host as well as the use of extraposition for discourse effects or as a poetic device.

With regard to the text itself, the application of rules of euphonic combination to the Rigveda obscures the metrical character of the text in many cases. To help in the elucidation of metrical

arguments, all citations of Rigvedic passages are based on the metrically restored text available at the Linguistics Research Center of the University of Texas website and prepared by Karen Thomson and Jonathan Slocum (<http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/RV/>). This text is heavily based on the version produced by Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland and published in 1994 as part of the Harvard Oriental Series. The reinstatement of vowels in the text for metrical reasons has been made clear by the use of subscripted vowels throughout the text as in those instances when the usually monosyllabic enclitic *tvā* occurs as the disyllable *t_vā*. The text itself represents both variants identically.

It must be said that the scope of this study has excluded much of the Rigveda, and in view of this, it would be foolish to think that no problems should remain. Thus, certain analyses must be considered provisional and merely working hypotheses regarding the syntax of Vedic Sanskrit. It is not the goal of this study to fully explain verbal argument structure, subordination, or discourse effects (among other things) in the Rigveda, but provisional approaches to these phenomena must be developed in order to achieve any meaningful contribution to the understanding of the syntax of Rigvedic clitic pronouns. Needless to say, all errors in the following study are attributable solely to my own analytical decisions.

1.2 Accounting for the Placement of Clitics

The enclitic personal pronouns of Sanskrit, like all clitics, must be bound to another lexical item. They are generally considered Wackernagel items since they frequently occur in the second position within their syntactic domain (or are raised to second position within the sentence) unlike the full, accented forms of the personal pronouns which are not so limited in their distribution. However, defining the original syntactic domain of Wackernagel clitics in a scrambling (i.e., nonconfigurational) language such as Sanskrit possesses its own complications. To begin with, the enclitic personal pronouns act as accusatives, datives, or genitives without a distinction in form except in the singular, which possesses a separate accusative form (**Table 1**), and they need not always stand adjacent to or within the rest of the

constituent to which they should be associated, occasionally leading to ambiguity of meaning.¹ They can be possessors of noun phrases; in apposition with noun phrases; indirect objects of ditransitive verbs; or objects of prepositions, verbs, or participles. In addition, Sanskrit also employs these clitic personal pronouns in non-argument roles as ‘ethical datives’ with scope over the entire sentence.

Table 1 The Enclitic Personal Pronouns of Sanskrit

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	1 st	2 nd	1 st	2 nd	1 st	2 nd
Accusative	mā	tvā	nau	vām	nas	vas
Dative/Genitive	me	te	nau	vām	nas	vas

Since constituents, particularly noun phrases, are frequently split in Sanskrit, it is not always clear which potential syntactic domain is the proper source domain for these enclitic pronouns, nor is it clear that a special syntactic operation (applicable exclusively with respect to clitics) is responsible for many of the occurrences of the enclitic personal pronouns. Disambiguating these various uses of the enclitic personal pronouns requires as a prerequisite a means of determining the underlying syntactic structure to which a limited set of syntactic processes may apply. Further, it is necessary to set limits to the operation of any phonological adjustments that may apply. The goal of this investigation is to explore these syntactic processes and phonological adjustments.

¹ A similar ambiguity of usage occurs in Bulgarian which allows dative clitics to be used as possessors of noun phrases. The ambiguity arises in deverbal nouns (participles) that can take multiple arguments (i.e., not deverbal to intransitive verbs).

1) pisaneto *mu*
writing.DEF him.DAT
‘his writing’ or ‘the writing of it’ (F & K, 2000:56)

Interestingly, the clitic can only represent either agents/subjects or themes/direct objects. Although the clitic is itself a dative clitic, “true dative arguments (goals/indirect objects) can never be expressed with a clitic” (F & K, 2000:56) in such ambiguous noun phrases.

2) predstavjaneto *mu*
introducing.DEF him.DAT
‘his introducing’ or ‘the introducing of him’, but not *‘the introducing to him’ (F & K, 2000:57)

The literature on clitics is generally concerned with their final position in an utterance. As they are prosodically deficient and must “lean” on some other constituent, they show certain prosodic constraints. In addition, clitics that act as major sentential arguments (e.g., clitic pronominals) are surely subject to normal syntactic operations as well. Since clitic pronouns are subject to prosodic restrictions (such as the Wackernagel phenomenon) in addition to the usual syntactic processes that affect the constituents of a clause, they are often employed in studies which explore the interface between syntax and prosody (within PF). Such studies employ clitics which fall into the category of ‘special clitics’ as identified by Zwicky, as these clitics show ‘special syntax’ when compared to the corresponding stressed free variant of the language (Zwicky, 1977:3-4). Explaining this ‘special syntax’ is usually the goal of such studies. Logically, there are three possible means of explaining the atypical positioning of such ‘special clitics’, all of which have been explored to varying degrees by various linguists, though most settle for the third option with slightly differing emphases:

- 1: purely prosodic/morphological explanations
(Optimality Theory analyses of second position by Anderson (2000) and Bulgarian clitics by Legendre (2000), also cf. Hock’s Template (1996) for Sanskrit)
- 2: purely syntactic explanations
(Progovac (1996) for Serbian/Croatian; usually a temporary stop on the way to #3.)
- 3: some sort of mixed approach
(for clitics generally, Halpern (1995) and for Sanskrit specifically, Hale (1996) both with “Prosodic Inversion”, Franks and King (2000) for Slavic with an OT-style PF filter on the output of syntax with “Prosodic Inversion” limited to a few specific types)

Prosodic/Morphological Explanations

The impetus for purely morphological/prosodic explanations is a desire to treat groups of clitics as phrasal affixes in a manner parallel to groups of inflectional and derivational affixes of words. This view claims that “special clitics...are not actually lexically autonomous linguistic elements at all, but rather should be seen as the morphology of phrases” (Anderson, 2000:305). Further, certain situations arise that suggest that “clitics and inflectional affixes alike may form morphological or syntactic ‘clusters’ or constituents, in contrast to the common view that they are principally attached to their host or syntactic

domain and only secondarily to one another” (Halpern, 1995:233). The defining characteristic of such clusters is the fact that the clusters behave as a single unit. If they may appear in multiple positions in a clause, the internal order of clitics in such a cluster is unchanged. Such is the case for Italian pronominal clitics which “precede the finite verb in a fixed order, but follow non-finite verbs and imperatives (in the same sequence). E.g., *me-lo-dice* ‘he tells me it’, but *dicendo-me-lo* ‘saying it to me’, *dir-me-lo* ‘(to) say it to me’, *dimmelo* ‘tell me it!’ ” (Anderson, 2000:315).² For Halpern, “true clitic clusters” are “groups of clitics from a single domain” that do not appear to be “ordered according to their syntactic scope” (Halpern, 213). Halpern’s view allows for syntactic operations upon clitics that do not occur in “true clitic clusters,” but Anderson takes a stronger view that “the apparently unusual placement of clitics within their phrase...does not result from strictly syntactic mechanisms (special or otherwise), but rather from essentially *morphological* processes” (Anderson, 2000:305).

Anderson, who makes reference to common “syntactically incoherent ordering” in clitic clusters (2000:313), is a strong proponent of a morphological explanation of second position phenomena that includes a prosodic element within an Optimality Theory framework in apparent agreement with Halpern’s claim that “a purely syntactic account of the internal structure of such a cluster [*i.e.*, *clitic clusters MW*] is inadequate and that the ordering of morphemes within a cluster must be governed by more arbitrary, morphological means” (Halpern, 1995:222), although Anderson’s explanation is intended to be applicable to other cases aside from clitics alone. His explanation of the positioning of second position (*i.e.*, Wackernagel) clitics posits that such clitics highly rank versions of EDGEMOST and NON-INITIAL constraints with NON-INITIAL outranking EDGEMOST (317). A Wackernagel clitic would be subject to EDGEMOST (cl, L, D) which states that a clitic (cl) should appear on the leftmost edge (L) of a particular domain (D), but to prevent it from actually occurring in the initial position of its domain, the

² By this reasoning, enclitic pronouns in Sanskrit do not form clitic clusters with other clitics (or accented second position particles) in second position as can be shown by comparing *nú na íd dhí vāriyam* (RV 5.17.5a) with (*ājipate nṛpate*) *tuvám íd dhí no* (RV 8.54.6a) which seems to show both that *íd dhí* forms a constituent that can appear before or after the enclitic pronoun and that the enclitic pronoun is an independent constituent.

constraint NON-INITIAL (cl, D), requiring that the clitic does not appear in initial position in the domain (D), outranks the EDGEST constraint. The result would be a clitic that appears following the first word of its domain. Although this approach does give the required result in that the clitic appears in second position, it provides no assistance in disambiguating the original domain of a clitic that appears in second position in a clause as it is incapable of providing a motivation for a clitic to appear second within its phrase in one instance and second within its clause in another—a situation that must be addressed with respect to Rigvedic enclitic pronouns. Indeed, any limitation upon such positioning could potentially be a great aid in distinguishing the roles of the enclitic pronouns.

When looking at groups of clitics from a single domain, these clusters tend to be described in terms of a template since “clitics generally appear in a fixed, at least partially arbitrary, order with respect to one another” (Halpern, 1992) in what Halpern refers to as “true clitic clusters”. Halpern notes that “clitics may be ordered according to: their syntactic function; their number, in the case of pronominal clitics; phonological attributes such as syllable count; or some combination of all of these” (Halpern, 1995:213).³ Due to the form of these templates, Halpern concedes that “it is thus necessary to recognize nonsyntactic (morphological) ordering mechanisms” (1995:214). Referring to templates that reference such nonsyntactic information as “irregular”, he further claims that “irregular templates must be governed by the morphology, and thus be subject to lexical integrity, while regular templates at least could be the result of the operation of syntax” (Halpern, 1995:237) without denying that regular templates could also be governed by morphology. Thus, the syntax would be unable to act upon individual clitics within an irregular cluster, but rather it would have to affect the entire cluster together as a single unit. Such idiosyncratic ordering depends on the clitics being from the same domain in Halpern’s view, limiting the situations in which he considers templatic approaches to be justified.

³ For examples from Serbian/Croatian, Bulgarian, Ngiyambaa, Spanish, French, and Tagalog, see Halpern, 1995:213.

Nonetheless, templates are common in describing the apparently idiosyncratic nature of clitic positioning. Indeed, Franks and King (2000) initially provide templates for the clitic chains of the various Slavic languages before attempting to motivate these templates through primarily syntactic means. For the Rigveda, Hans Hock is responsible for most of the template schemes involving clitics in the initial string of a clause. Unlike most such templates, however, Hock's templates involve accented material in dealing with the sequence of items in a 'clitic' chain. Further, the items in these templates are from distinct syntactic domains (e.g., the domain of particles like *íd* and *cíd* is the word they follow, the domain of particles like *hí* and *nú* is the sentence, and the source domain of enclitic pronominals is usually the verb phrase), and "however the templatic ordering of clitics within clusters is achieved, clitics from different domains are not subject to a single template" (Halpern, 1995:230). In Halpern's view, clitics from different domains are syntactically ordered. Hock's most recent template for the initial string in Vedic Sanskrit is given in **Table 2** (1996:219):

Table 2 Hock's Template for the Vedic Initial String (1996)

"NEXUS"	1	2	3	4	5
	$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \acute{D} \\ \acute{X} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$	(P)	$\left(\begin{smallmatrix} \acute{P} \\ \acute{D} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$	(E)	(\acute{D})

"NEXUS" = various nexal elements (primarily conjunctive elements); \acute{D} = accented deictic element (including demonstrative and relative pronouns); \acute{X} = other accented items; P = unaccented particle; \acute{P} = accented particle; E = enclitic pronoun. ⁴

⁴This template follows Klein's revision of an earlier Hock Template most notably through the introduction of the "Nexus" position as shown below:

(\acute{N})	$\left(\begin{smallmatrix} \acute{D} \\ \text{Nég} \\ \text{Voc} \\ \acute{X} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$	(Pcl)	$\left(\begin{smallmatrix} \acute{D} \\ \text{Pcl} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$	(u)	$\left(\begin{smallmatrix} \acute{D} \\ \text{Pcl} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$	(Voc)
-----------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

Here, "N = nexal element, D = deictic, including preverb and adverbial (the latter elements patterning like deictic pronouns), Neg = negative particle, Voc = vocative, Pcl = particle, u = particle *u*, \acute{X} = any other accented word." (Klein, 1991:141)

Unfortunately, various templatic approaches (such as Klein (1991) and Hock (1996), both for Vedic Sanskrit) also fail to provide any useful means of determining the original domain of a pronominal clitic despite their ability to model the final position of clitic elements with some success.⁵ If templatic accounts should be the only appropriate means of modeling clitic placement, disambiguation of the case usage of the enclitic pronouns of Sanskrit could only be based on context since these templates provide no motivation for an enclitic pronoun that acts as the possessor of a noun phrase to occur in second position of a clause rather than in second position of its noun phrase as in the following example.

- 1) ádhā ma indra śṇavo hávemā
 then my.GEN.SG Indra.VOC.SG hear.PRES.SUB.2SG invocation.ACC.PL~these.ACC.PL
 ‘Then, O Indra, you will hear these invocations of mine.’ RV 7.29.3d

Of course, context would be expected to play a significant part in the disambiguation of these pronouns, but there ought to be some syntactic clues as well.

Although a templatic approach that relies on morphological or prosodic information may accurately model the final position of clitics in a clitic chain, the fixed order of elements found in these templates is taken as evidence that a syntactic approach may better motivate the positioning of clitics. As such, templates are often seen as a necessary first step identifying a pattern to be motivated through a syntactic explanation.

For example, Halpern, though conceding that clitics from the same domain may require a templatic account, considers clitics from different domains to be syntactically ordered when they happen to appear together in a sequence (see Halpern’s discussion 227-231). Halpern, however, would not consider such a grouping of clitics from different syntactic domains a “true clitic cluster”. As he puts it, “clitics with distinct domains are never combined into a single cluster, even if they are coincidentally

⁵ However, neither template successfully account for the unusual sequence *soma no hí kam* in RV 6.51.14ab in which accented and unaccented particles follow the enclitic pronoun.

<i>grāvāṇaḥ</i>	<i>soma</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>hí</i>	<i>kaṃ</i> / <i>sakhitvanāya</i>	<i>vāvaśúḥ</i>
pressing-stone.NOM.PL	Soma.VOC.SG	our	for	PCL friendship.DAT.SG	desire.PERF.IND.3PL

‘For, indeed, O Soma, our pressing stones desire (your) friendship.’

adjacent” (Halpern, 1995:214). In cases where clitics from different syntactic domains happen to be adjacent, Halpern notes that “the clitic with the smaller domain appears closer to the host” (Halpern, 1995:39). As an example, Halpern cites the following example from the Rigveda in which the emphatic enclitic *cit* is attached to the smaller domain of the noun phrase to which it belongs and is immediately followed by the enclitic pronoun *te* which Halpern associates with the domain of the IP.

- 2) devāś cit te asuriya prācetaso /
 god.NOM.PL even you.GEN.SG asurian.VOC.SG wise.NOM.PL
 bṛhaspate yajñīyam bhāgām ānaśuḥ
 Bṛhaspati.VOC.SG sacrificial.ACC.SG portion.ACC.SG receive.PERF.IND.3PL
 ‘The wise gods themselves have received their sacrificial portion from you, O asurian Bṛhaspati.’
 RV 2.23.2ab

However, he also notes, in contradiction to his general rule, that “when IP clitics and CP clitics have the same host, it is the latter which are closer to the host” (Halpern, 1995:39). In this case, he considers enclitic pronouns to be IP clitics (since they are usually arguments of the verb or associated with arguments of the verb) and conjunctive clitics to be CP clitics (such as *vā* in the following).

- 3) kēna vā te mānasā dāśema
 wh-.INST.SG or you.DAT.SG intent.INST.SG worship.PRES.OPT.1PL
 ‘Or by what intent would we worship you?’ RV 1.76.1d

Presumably, enclitic pronouns that act as ethical datives and thus have sentential scope would likewise be considered CP clitics in Halpern’s analysis, in which case he would likely allow them to be subject to a templatic account with other CP clitics. Nonetheless, this essentially syntactic note (smaller domain closer than larger domain) is the first to point towards a means of disambiguating the usage of the enclitic pronouns of the Rigveda.

Syntactic Approaches

Purely syntactic approaches for second position clitics usually require some sort of awareness of the prosody within the syntactic module (i.e., ‘look ahead’) so that the syntax can correct for what would otherwise be a prosodically ill-formed sentence. As described in Franks and King, such purely syntactic approaches “posit one or more privileged syntactic positions for the clitics in order to capture the basic distribution of special clitics” (2000:293). Exemplifying such an approach, Progovac’s analysis of second position clitics in Serbian/Croatian leads her to posit three claims for Serbian/Croatian that lead to second position clitics without recourse to prosodic information:

- “1: Clitics in SC are right-adjoined to Comp, i.e., the second position *is* Comp;
- 2: Clitics in SC move to Comp in syntax;
- 3: Only elements that can move to Spec of CP or Comp, or are base-generated in Comp can support clitics: First position is either Specifier of CP or C(omp)” (1996:412).

In essence, these claims leave an open position before the clitics which must be filled by the movement specified in her third claim. Progovac herself points out that, even for this syntactic account, “the motivation for this movement is phonological” (1996:420). At the same time, she notes that only phrases “which are independently established to be capable of such movement” (i.e., movement to Spec of CP or Comp) can support clitics (Progovac, 1996:419). The primary criticism levelled at such an account is the need for the syntax to ‘look ahead’ to the phonology—a practice generally frowned upon by syntactic theoreticians.

Mixed Approaches

Taking for granted the general assumption that the syntax module generates a syntactic derivation with no phonological input (i.e., no ‘look ahead’ to phonology), a number of researchers (e.g., Halpern, 1995; Hale, 1996; Franks & King, 2000; Embick & Noyer, 2001; et al) have taken a mixed approach in which the syntax operates normally with a limited set of ordering modifications occurring in the phonology. The simplest mixed approach is that of Halpern (followed by Hale) which posits a special process he calls ‘Prosodic Inversion’ that allows a prosodically unsupported clitic to switch places with an

adjacent word. Franks and King take an interesting approach in which the syntax provides several potential positions for the occurrence of the clitic, but a set of constraints of an optimality theory form determine in which position the clitic is actually realized. Embick and Noyer run through the various types of positional readjustments that may occur following the normal operation of syntax. All three are in implicit agreement in assuming one syntax module with a limited set of ordering modifications at PF (Phonological Form) (cf. Embick and Noyer, 2001:557). That is, all syntactically motivated movements occur in syntax. The PF merely finds ways to fix morphophonological problems.

Halpern's approach begins by distinguishing two varieties of second position clitics, "those with [sic] follow the first word of some domain and those which follow the first syntactic daughter of the domain" (Halpern, 1995:233). The first he refers to as 2W; the second as 2D. In Halpern's model (**figure 1**) of 2P clitics in early IE languages (citing Hale 1987, Garrett 1990, Taylor 1990, 1992), there is a class of clitics (2W) attached to spec CP, and there is another class (apparently 2D, e.g. pronominal clitics) attached to spec IP that follows the constituent at the head of C. Note that Halpern's view differs from that of Progovac in the position of clitic attachment (specifier position as opposed to head position) in addition to the potential for the operation of Prosodic Inversion.

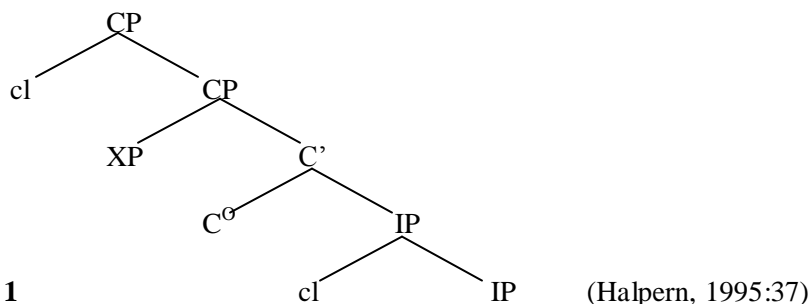


Figure 1

A complication of this analysis is that CP clitics occur in clauses lacking an occupied CP (i.e., those sentences that neither are wh-questions nor have relative clauses). Halpern's solution is to "relativize the association of a clitic with a domain" such that "it must attach to whatever projection is

‘highest’, up to its domain” (Halpern, 1995:39). For those situations in which the output of syntax has an enclitic in initial position, Halpern proposes a rescue strategy that operates within the phonological module. The rescue strategy, known as Prosodic Inversion, involves a “reordering as a consequence of the mapping between syntactic and prosodic structure” (Halpern, 1995:17) to allow 2P clitics to fall in second position. In essence, a clitic that the syntax would leave in initial position is licensed to “ ‘trade places’ with a prosodic unit which is adjacent to it.... Usually this unit is the prosodic word” (Halpern, 1995:17).

Hale’s syntactic representation of the initial portion of the phrase structure attempts to account for some of the tendencies represented in Hock’s analysis and borrows the prosodic adjustment of clitics from Halpern. In contrast to Halpern, he adjoins clitics to heads rather than specifier position in agreement with Progovac (**figure 2**). A further difference from Halpern is that this account does not appear to distinguish between IP and CP clitics.

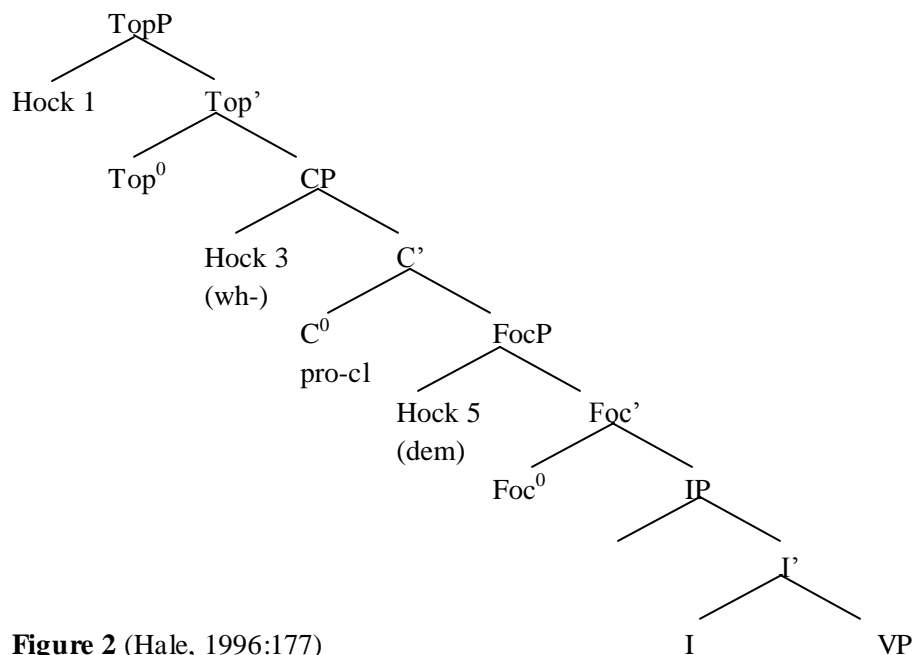


Figure 2 (Hale, 1996:177)

Hale later proposes another landing spot for movement to create a structure:

[XP [CP [TopP [FocP [IP]]]]] (Hale, 2009:5)

For this, the XP⁶ represents an emphasized phrase conveying, in his words, “the kind of strong emphasis characteristic of the enthusiasm which might be frequently found in someone overly caffeinated”

(2009:5). TopP represents old information (associated with the *sá/tá* determiner), and FocP represents new information (associated with the *eşá/etá* determiner) (Hale, 2009:5). This structure highly resembles the structure of the left periphery as described by Rizzi (1997: 288) except for the occurrence of the XP phrase preceding the rest of the extended projection of the complementizer phrase. Rizzi’s account of the left periphery begins by noting that complementizer phrases operate in two directions: inwardly towards the inflected clause of the complement and outwardly towards the larger discourse (or matrix clause). He divides these two roles between two functional heads: Finite Phrase (FinP) for the inflected clause below the complement and a Force Phrase (ForceP) for the connection to the larger discourse. Between these two functional heads, he posits the existence of a Topic Phrase and a Focus Phrase (identical in nature to that of Hale) giving the basic structure:

[ForceP [TopP [FocP [FinP [IP]]]]]

The main difference between these two accounts is that Hale does not divide CP into ForceP and FinP which are intended to act as boundaries of the extended complement projection. Further, Hale posits an additional slot (the XP) before the extended complement projection for the occurrence of specially emphasized fronted elements.

Solving the disagreement as to whether clitics attach to specifier positions (as in Halpern) or head positions (as in Hale and Progovac), Franks and King propose that clitics have “Bare Phrase Structure” and as such are “ambiguous between heads and phrases” (2000:311), neutralizing the distinction between specifier and head positions. Among the approaches considered here, Franks and King are the only ones to consider the position in which the clitic is generated. In dealing exclusively with Slavic languages,

⁶ The X was represented in Hale’s paper by an image of a coffee cup.

they developed a single verbal phrase structure that applies to all of the Slavic languages. It happens that clitic clusters occur in the same order throughout the Slavic family: dative pronominal clitics precede accusative pronominal clitics (F&K, 2000:9, 207, 215), and genitive clitics follow accusative clitics when these positions are distinguished (F&K, 2000:208, 215). This provides evidence for the verbal phrase structure exemplified in **figure 3** in which the clitic order reflects the internal structure of the expanded verb phrase. Unfortunately, the Sanskrit of the Rigveda shows no such uniformity in the small sample of situations in which enclitic pronouns happen to be adjacent in the second position.

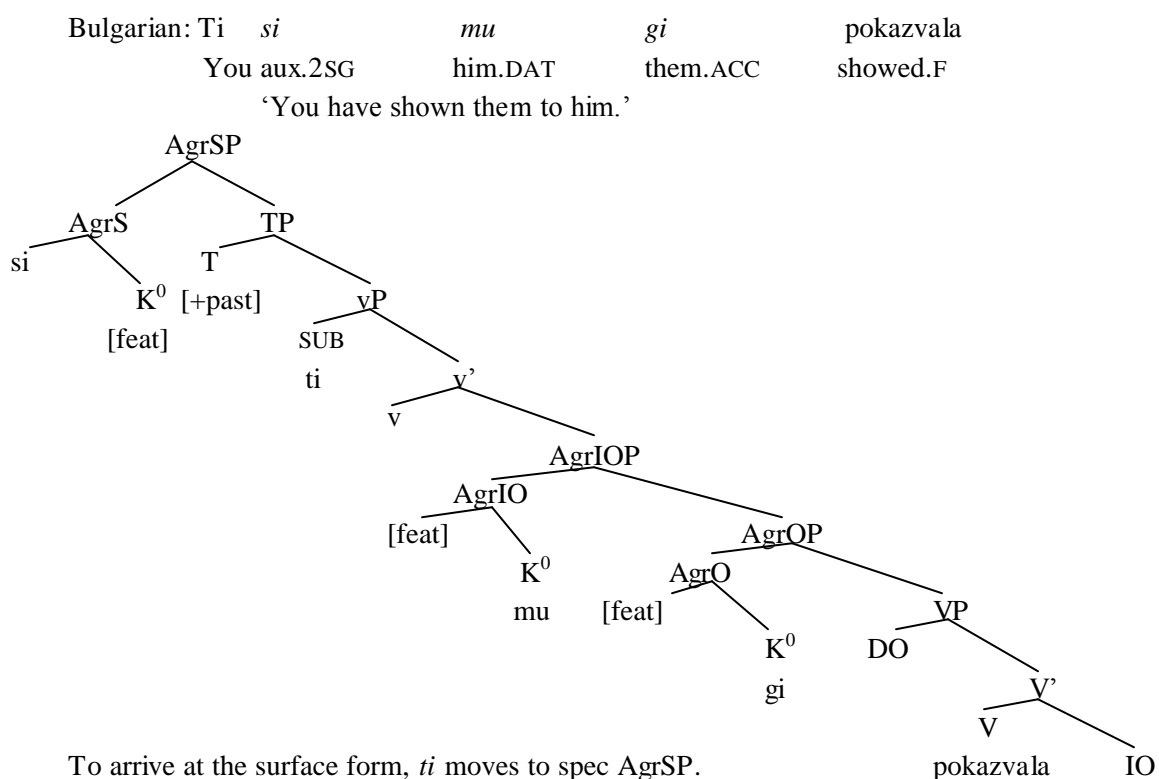


Figure 3 Franks and King's Slavic verbal phrase structure (2000:317)

This verbal phrase structure is exemplified in **figure 3** by Bulgarian, a language in which the clitics cluster adjacent to the verb. Franks and King distinguish verb adjacent clitic languages from 2P (i.e., Wackernagel) clitic languages by claiming that pronominal clitics are generated in argument position

if 2P and then move (via head movement) to Agr whereas verb adjacent clitics are generated in Agr and the verb moves to them (F&K, 2000:311). Since Bulgarian is a verb-adjacent language, pronominal clitics originate in Agr nodes as pure agreement morphemes (hence the possibility of clitic doubling of overt arguments in such languages). Sanskrit, as a 2P language, would not be expected to have overt arguments doubled by clitics since “pronominal clitics which seek Wackernagel position are arguments, so that when they move to Agr there is nothing for them to ‘double’ ” (F&K, 2000:316).

Among Slavic languages, Polish clitics may best reflect the syntax of Sanskrit clitics. Polish clitics are permitted to split phrases (in so far as such phrases may be split independently); pronominal clitics do not appear in a rigid order; and pronominal clitics may “appear immediately after the verb or in any position a scrambled noun phrase can otherwise appear (other than initial)” (F&K, 2000:162). Indeed, Franks and King take this freedom in clitic placement as evidence that Polish pronominal clitics move as phrases rather than as heads (F&K, 2000:339). Since they claim that “because special clitics differ from simple clitics in having special *syntactic* properties, their defining characteristics must also be syntactic” (F&K, 2000:325), Franks and King propose that pronominal clitics are effectively simple clitics in Polish (F&K, 2000:338) since they do not display any special syntactic characteristics.⁷

Franks and King take a primarily syntactic approach, but the striking characteristic of their proposal is the “OT-like character” they attribute to the spell-out at PF (2000:340). In essence, they posit that linearization (i.e., insertion of vocabulary) occurs with a constraint they call “Left Equals Highest” equating higher syntactic projections with earlier phonetic realization (2000:341), one called “Prosodic Support” specifying that clitics require such support (2000:341), and one called “NonFinal” prohibiting occurrence “immediately preceding an intonational phrase boundary” (2000:345). Most interestingly, they propose a mechanism by which a clitic may have its pronunciation through the interaction of these with a fourth constraint called “Pronounce Highest Copy” utilizing the “copy and delete” theory of

⁷ The constraint against clitics occurring in initial position is not a syntactic constraint, but a phonological/prosodic constraint. For this reason, they would posit that this constraint occurs during linearization during spell-out at PF.

movement (2000:343) in which movement occurs through the creation of a copy of the item to be moved at the landing spot and then deleting the original copy. For example, consider the following Serbo-Croatian example from Franks and King (2000:343):

- 4) [Ja *sam* *ti* [kupila [~~SAM~~ ~~ti~~ [~~KUPILA~~ knjigu]]]] [SC]
 I aux.1SG you.DAT bought book
 ‘I bought you a book.’

Here, the verb and the clitics were both copied at (i.e., moved to) higher syntactic projections, and these leftmost (i.e., hierarchically higher) items are pronounced. If, however, a clitic were to appear first in the syntax, it would violate the Prosodic Support constraint. Thus in the following examples with unexpressed subjects, Prosodic Support must be ranked higher than Pronounce Highest Copy and a later copy of the clitics is expressed.

- 5) a) [pro ~~SAM~~ ~~ti~~ [kupila [*sam ti* [~~KUPILA~~ knjigu]]]] [SC]
 b) [pro ~~SAM~~ ~~ti~~ [knjigu [*sam ti* [kupila]]]]

In the end, they settle on the following constraint ranking for SC (2000:345):

PROSODIC SUPPORT >> LEH >> PHC, NONFINAL

Franks and King do accept Halpern’s proposal of Prosodic Inversion; however, the only situation in which they permit Prosodic Inversion is in the case of a single stranded clitic (i.e., clitic clusters cannot be repositioned through Prosodic Inversion) (F&K, 2000:361). The vast majority of split constituents is due to syntactic processes in their view (F&K, 2000:361).

Halpern (1995:81) resorts to discontinuous phrases in an attempt to explain cliticization to wh-phrases which leave the rest of the NP *in situ*. His account is exclusively syntactic (in agreement with Franks and King, these split constituents are merely the result of normal syntactic processes). Indeed, it is highly reminiscent of the account of Progovac with the exception that Halpern attaches clitics to specifier position and Progovac places them under the head of the phrase. Such an analysis accounts for the

distinction found in Serbo-Croatian data like **6** in which the clitic auxiliary *je* can appear in two potential locations: 1) after the first constituent (2D as in **6a**) or 2) after the first word (2W as in **6b**).

- 6) a.** Koji čovek je voleo Mariju? [SC]
 which man AUX see.PPL Maria
 ‘Which man saw Maria?’
- b.** Koji je čovek voleo Mariju? (Halpern, 1995:78)

Halpern assumes *je* is adjoined to IP and that wh-phrases are raised to CP, which easily creates the 2D positioning of **6a** with no Prosodic Inversion. His tree for **6a** is reproduced in **figure 4**.

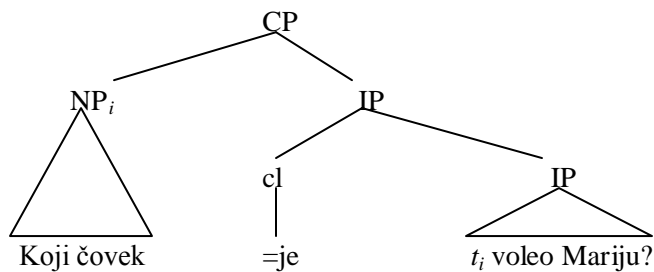


Figure 4 (Halpern, 1995:79)

For **6b**, he leaves a portion of the noun phrase under IP but raises the wh-word as in the tree in **figure 5** (Halpern, 1995:81). Instances of 2W in Serbo-Croatian (e.g., *moja je sestra stigala*. ‘My sister arrived.’) that do not involve wh-phrases are the result of Prosodic Inversion.

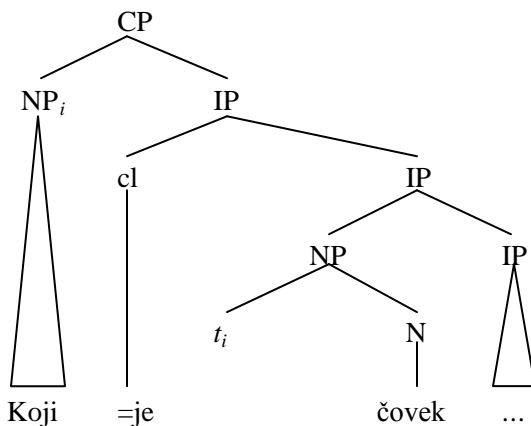


Figure 5

Such an analysis may be necessary in dealing with Sanskrit enclitic pronouns with a genitive usage following a determiner (or relative pronoun or interrogative pronoun) that is discontinuous with its noun phrase as in 7:

- 7) imám me śṇutam hávam
 this.ACC.SG my hear.PRES.IMV.2DL call.ACC.SG
 ‘Hear this my call!’ RV 8.85.2b

Following Halpern’s analysis, there could be two movements in the Rigvedic case: one in which the determiner raises to the initial position, and a second in which the clitic raises to a position following the determiner. However, this case may potentially involve the movement of the clitic with the determiner. If that is the case, such Rigvedic examples are not quite parallel to the Serbo-Croatian situation above.

Another phenomenon that complicates the issue of Wackernagel clitic placement is the appearance of these items in the third position in a clause, as in (8) below:

- 8) 1 2 3
 vīráṇ mǎ *no* rud_ara bhāmitó vadhīḥ
 hero.ACC.PL NEG our Rudra.VOC.SG being fierce.NOM.SG slay.AOR.INJ.2SG
 ‘O Rudra, may you, being fierce, not slay our heroes.’ RV 1.114.4c

The general syntactic approach to appearances of apparent 2P clitics in third position is that one of these preceding constituents is somehow “outside or adjoined to the CP” (F&K, 2000:303). Such phrases tend to show “special discourse function effects and have special intonational contours” (F&K, 2000:303). In discussing skipped constituents (i.e., those that do not seem to ‘count’ in describing second position—as a rule set off by a detectable pause and requiring a ‘heavy’ initial constituent [Halpern, 1995:70]), Halpern observes that two assumptions are required:

- “1) A constituent which is stylistically fronted is separated from the rest of the clause by a (large) prosodic boundary—the fronted constituent is in a separate intonational phrase.
- 2) A clitic must be contained in the same intonational phrase as its host” (Halpern, 1995:71).

Franks and King explain “delayed” clitic placement (e.g., clitics appearing in third position) using their constraints within the PF. In such instances, it is the presence of intonational phrase boundaries (represented by # in example 9 below) that prevents Prosodic Support necessitating expression of a later copy (F&K, 2000:344). Such is in evidence in F&K’s example from Serbo-Croatian which follows:

- 9) a. *#Ja#, #tvoja mama#, # sam ti obećala igračku#.
 I your mother aux.1SG you.DAT promised toy
 ‘I, your mother, promised you a toy.’
- b. #Ja#, #tvoja mama#, # obećala sam ti igračku#. [SC]

Each of the previous mixed approaches are consistent with the division of labor between the syntax module and the phonology module as described in Embick and Noyer (2001). The OT-based phonological filter of Franks and King agrees completely with Embick and Noyer’s “Late Linearization Hypothesis” that states that “the elements of a phrase marker are linearized at Vocabulary Insertion” (E&N 2001:562). The primary point of disagreement between the other views and that of Embick and Noyer is that the others take an essentially lexicalist approach. Take, for example, Halpern’s “Morphosyntactic Congruence Hypothesis (MCH)”.

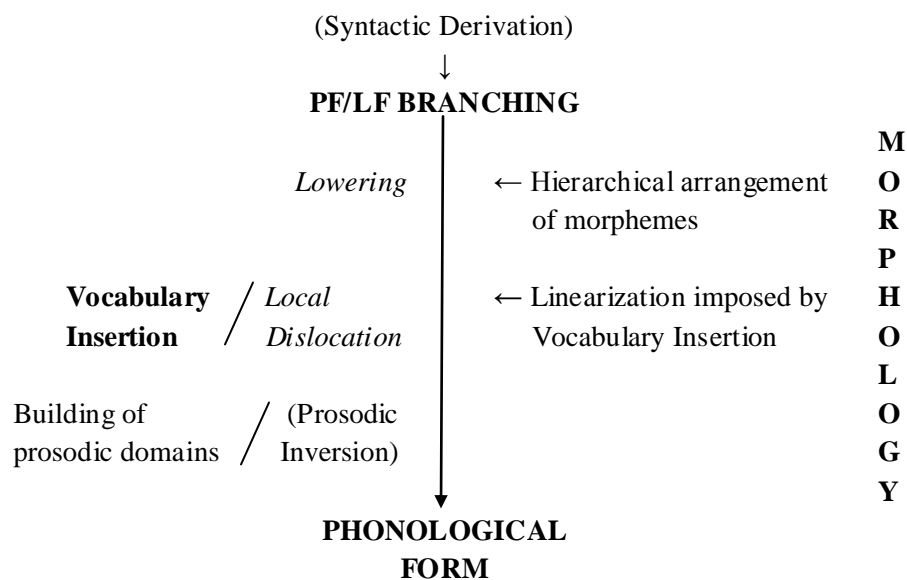
“The Morphosyntactic Congruence Hypothesis: the morphological word (or lexical item) must correspond to a single syntactic constituent” (Halpern, 1995:188).

The impact of this hypothesis is that lexical clitics (such as pronominal clitics) should be associated with a syntactic node. Lexalist approaches distinguish between syntactically placed clitics and affixes placed by lexical rules. However, this prevents a unified account for attachment of clitic clusters to a host and the attachment of inflectional or derivational affixes to a root (the desire that motivates purely prosodic or morphological accounts). Indeed, Halpern resorts to two different approaches to clitics in sanctioning templatic approaches to clitic clusters that appear to behave in a manner reminiscent of affixes (his “true clitic clusters”) but employing syntactic processes elsewhere to determine clitic position. In contrast, Embick and Noyer employ a distributed morphology framework in which there is no separate

morphological module. In this framework, barring phonological adjustments, “morphological structure is...simply syntactic structure” (E&N, 2001:560), so there can be no distinction in this framework between morphological and syntactic placement. Morphology is merely the effect of Spell Out at PF/LF on the syntactic structure (E&N, 2001:560).

Setting a limit on phonological readjustment, Embick and Noyer propose “The Local Dislocation Hypothesis” that states that “if a movement operation is Vocabulary sensitive, it involves only string-adjacent items” (E&N, 2001:566). Of the three post-syntactic processes permitted in Embick and Noyer’s conception of the PF branch (see **table 3**), only Local Dislocation sensitive to morphological constraints and Halpern’s Prosodic Inversion sensitive to prosodic constraints can reorder items based on the phonological or morphological properties of a particular vocabulary item.

Table 3
Embick and Noyer’s Schematic representation of The PF branch of the grammar (2001:566)



Local Dislocation is a form of Morphological Merger that occurs “after or concomitant with Vocabulary Insertion” and “operates in terms of linear adjacency” (E&N, 2001:561). In effect, it operates similarly to Prosodic Inversion in that it allows two items to trade positions—both may only reorder

immediately adjacent items. However, local dislocation by definition must occur within a constituent (E&N, 2001:563).

Embick and Noyer also claim that Prosodic Inversion, as a phenomenon “operating in terms of prosodic subcategorization, would only apply to sentence-peripheral elements” (E&N, 2001:565). As it happens, it is in initial position that the clitic pronouns sometimes appear within another constituent in the Rigveda (e.g., within an appositive as in example **10** below) which cannot be the result of local dislocation.

10) ---_x [havíṣ tvā_x sántam] havíṣā yajāma
 oblation.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG being.ACC.SG oblation.INST.SG worship.PRES.SUB.1PL

‘We shall worship you, being the oblation, with the oblation.’ RV 10.124.6d

Elsewhere in a clause, the clitic would appear within its constituent, so Local Dislocation and Prosodic Inversion cannot be clearly distinguished. In order to emphasize the presumed prosodic motivation, the term Prosodic Inversion is favored for this phenomenon in this investigation. Nonetheless, the general tendency in clitic studies is to minimize the occurrence of Prosodic Inversion as much as possible.

1.3 The Framework of the Investigation

The framework assumed in this study employs a combination of the extended CP proposed by Mark Hale for Vedic Sanskrit (2009) and the model of the verb phrase proposed by Franks and King (2000) as valid for the Slavic language family. The extended CP (**figure 6**) of Hale includes two positions for raised constituents (or for a portion of a constituent stranding the rest *in situ*) that follow the standard complementizer position. The first (the TopP) is for what he refers to as “established elements in the discourse” (Hale, 2009:3). The second post-CP projection within the extended CP (the FocP) he uses as a position for “the introduction of new elements” (Hale, 2009:3). In addition, noting a “fronting

position higher than...CP”, he posits an additional projection for a “kind of strong emphasis” here labeled as XP⁸ (Hale, 2009:5).

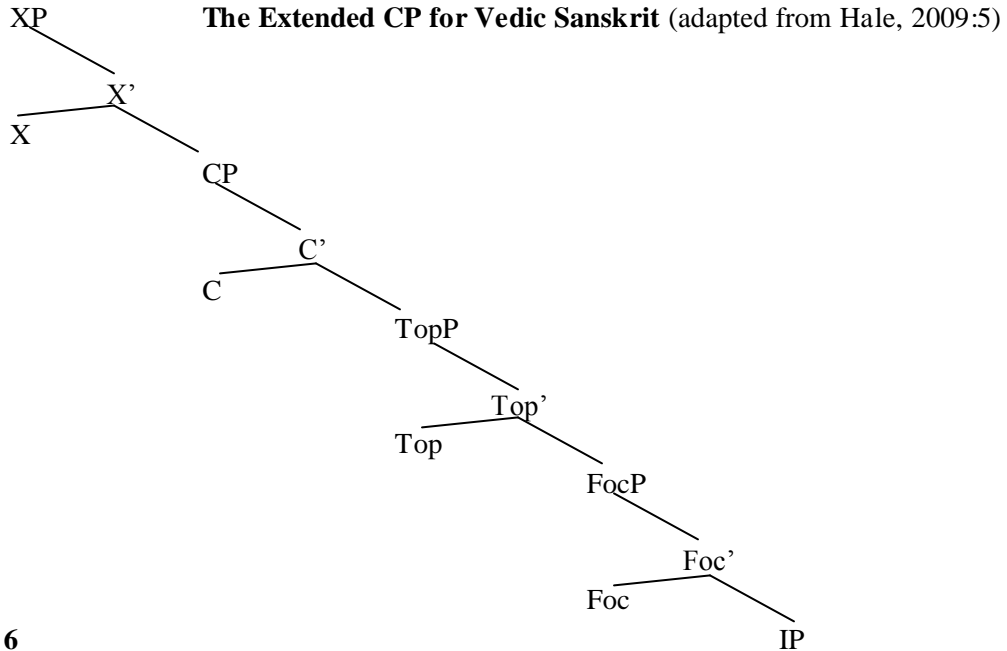


Figure 6

The major difference in our approaches is that Hale posits that the enclitic pronouns move to the head of C (Hale, 2009:6), whereas here the enclitic pronouns are analyzed as moving to spec of TopP due to similar second position occurrences of tonic personal pronouns (see section 1.5 below). Nevertheless, I concur with Franks and King in considering the distinction between specifier and head to be neutralized with respect to clitics (i.e., clitics are both heads and phrases at the same time).

⁸ In Hale’s paper, he labeled this with an image of a coffee cup.

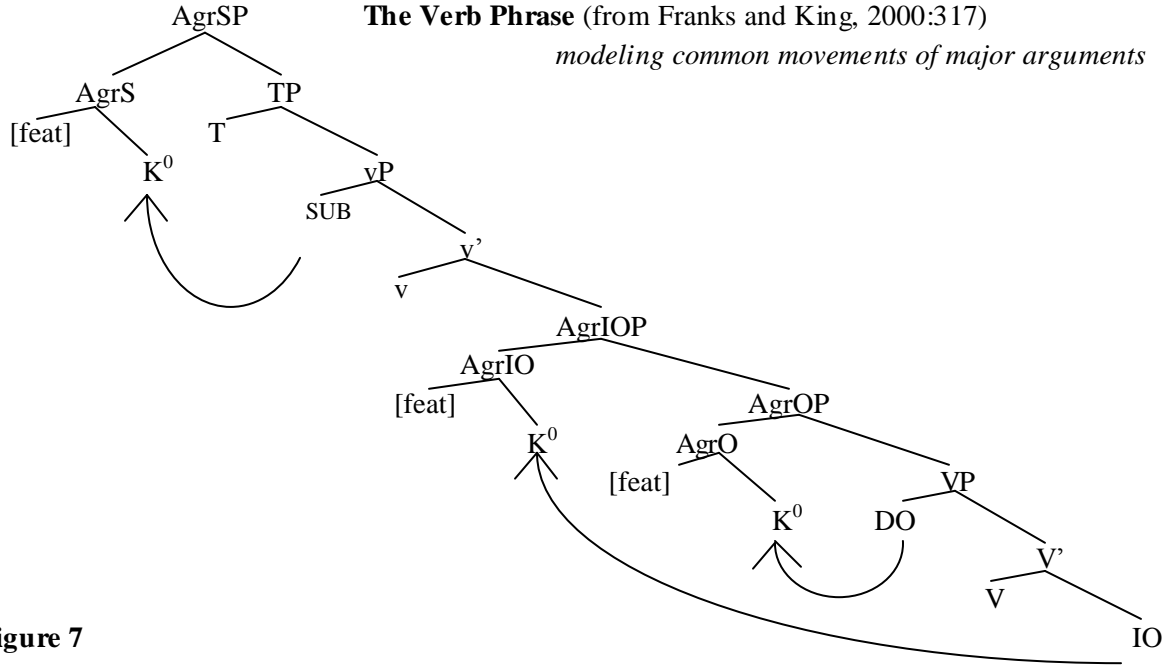


Figure 7

Regarding the verb phrase, the model of Franks and King (**figure 7**) includes three functional projections, labeled as Agr nodes for the purposes of exposition,⁹ to which major sentential arguments may be raised. Utilizing the VP internal hypothesis, the base position for the subject (labeled as SUB in the tree) is in the specifier position of a vP node which raises to the specifier of AgrSP.¹⁰ Direct objects are initially generated immediately preverbally (DO under spec of VP) and indirect objects are generated immediately postverbally (IO attached to V') in this framework. Vedic Sanskrit supports such an analysis as these are frequent positions for these items in the surface structure. As an alternative, however, there are also positions within the extended VP to which these major arguments may be raised (labeled as Agr nodes). In Vedic Sanskrit, these appear to be used freely for greater variety of sentence structure.¹¹

Further, the IO position appears to be a general position for all datives in Sanskrit (including datives of purpose and infinitives which are frequently dative in origin).

⁹ Note that AgrSP is roughly equivalent to TP and both AgrOP and AgrIOP are roughly equivalent to additional vP projections within the Minimalist Program.

¹⁰ Perhaps via the AgrSP node, but this position is primarily intended as a source for subject agreement morphology which Franks and King treat as the usual position in Slavic for auxiliary verbs.

¹¹ Presumably there is some discourse or pragmatic motivation for this option, but it is unclear at present what these may be.

Noun Phrases

Major complications interfere with the attempt to develop a framework for noun phrases in Vedic Sanskrit. To begin with, discontinuous noun phrases are exceedingly common. Of particular interest in a study of pronominals is the extreme frequency with which a genitive pronoun occurs at the beginning of a clause separated from the head noun. Given the frequency with which determiners are also found in a fronted position divorced from the rest of the noun phrase, it is difficult to find examples in which a determiner and a genitive are both present with their head noun. Even when such a situation occurs, it is usually at the beginning of the clause, and it is difficult to rule out the possibility of the movement of the determiner to the initial position. Further complicating matters is the ability for both genitives and determiners to both precede and follow the head noun.

Nevertheless, there are certain conclusions that can be stated. Up to two determiners are possible. If two determiners are used, the genitive clitic follows them both. Most non-appositional adjectives (likewise most genitives) precede the noun. Adjectives describing the color of certain animals are found after the noun. Genitives follow the noun only when the noun is emphatic. The position of quantifiers is unclear. Occasionally, a determiner follows its noun. This seems to be [D [D[Gen[(Adj[N])]]]]. To explain ‘emphatic’ noun position relative to genitives, perhaps the noun is permitted to raise to a D position for emphasis. A post-nominal determiner, however, cannot be explained with this structure.

The Vedic Sanskrit DP—*a working hypothesis*

Beyond the tendency for genitives to precede the possessed noun, the precise relationship between the constituents of a noun phrase is not wholly clear due to the tendency for genitives and determiners to be moved to the beginning of a clause. However, as an initial hypothesis, I assume that determiners precede possessive clitics while adjectives would usually be expected to follow. The need for determiners to precede possessive clitics is due to the presence of noun phrases having two determiners (the second of which is frequently a form of *syá/tyá-*) in which the genitive enclitic follows both pronouns.

SOV language, the verb would be expected to be syntactically generated in final position, although neither sentence displays a final verb.

- 13) a. āhús te trīṇi diví bāndhanāni
 say.PERF.3PL you.GEN.SG 3.ACC.PL heaven.LOC.SG band.ACC.PL
 ‘They say your three bands (to be) in heaven.’ (i.e., ‘They say you have three bands in heaven’) RV 1.163.3d

- b. trīṇi ta āhur diví bāndhanāni RV 1.163.4a

This is especially true as the clitic pronoun following *syá/tyá-* is frequently not to be construed with the noun phrase, but rather it often acts as a dative argument of the verb suggesting that there is a position to which the clitic pronoun can be raised following these initial instances with *syá/tyá-*. Instances of noun phrases including both determiners and genitives which could not potentially be construed as involving some sort of movement are rare; however, from the following examples it appears that determiners precede numerals which precede head nouns, and determiners precede genitives which precede head nouns:

- 14) *imāni* *trīṇi* *viṣṭápā* /
 these.ACC.PL 3.ACC.PL surfaces.ACC.PL
 tāni indra ví rohaya
 these.ACC.PL Indra.VOC.SG apart grow.PRES.CAUS.IMV.2SG

‘These three surfaces, O Indra, grow them!’ RV 8.91.5ab

- 15) *tád* *asyāñīkam* *utá* *cāru* *nāma* /
 that.NOM.SG his.GEN.SG~face.NOM.SG and dear.NOM.SG name.NOM.SG
 apīciyaṃ vardhate náptur apām
 secret increase.PRES.IND.3SG grandson.GEN.SG water.GEN.PL

‘This his face and the dear secret name of Apām Napāt increases.’ RV 2.35.11ab

16)	kím	mā	karann	<i>abalā</i>	<i>asya</i>	<i>sénāḥ</i>
	wh-?.ACC.SG	me.ACC	do.AOR.SUBJ.3PL	feeble.NOM.PL	his.SG	army.NOM.PL

‘What can his feeble hosts do to me?’ (Macdonell, 1916:305) RV 5.30.9b

17)	antár	hí	ákhyad	<i>ubhé</i>	<i>asya</i>	<i>dhéne</i>
	within	indeed	see.AOR.IND.3SG	both.ACC.DL	his.SG	breast.ACC.DL ¹³

‘Indeed, he hid both his breasts.’ RV 5.30.9c

18)	<i>tád</i>	<i>asya</i>	<i>rūpām</i>	<i>praticākṣaṇāya</i>
	that.NOM.SG	his.SG	form.NOM.SG	view.DAT.SG

‘This his form (is intended) for view.’ (i.e., ‘This his form can be seen.’) RV 6.47.18b

Unfortunately, due to the frequent raising of genitives and determiners to the front of the clause, their relative positions remain uncertain; however, as an initial hypothesis, I assume a Determiner Phrase constituency as in the following:

[DP₁ [DP₂ [GenP [AP [NP]]]]]

With this, we may explain clitics occurring between adjectives and nouns (e.g., ...*priyó no átithiḥ* ‘our dear guest’ in RV 6.2.7a) as the product of Prosodic Inversion, but those occurring between determiners and nouns would not involve any prosodic reordering.¹⁴ Noun phrases with final determiners cannot be explained with this framework. There are two potential options to explain final determiners. They could either be an archaic feature from a time when determiners regularly followed nouns, or they could be a

¹³ Some (Grassmann) translate this as cow, but the image of Indra with female breasts is more entertaining (à la Geldner).

¹⁴ Alternatively, adjectives modifying a noun that precede a genitive may also be said to be emphatic and therefore raised to a determiner position.

1) *tā īm vardhanti máhi asya paúṃsiyam*
‘These increase his great manliness.’ RV 1.155.3a

As for emphatic nouns preceding their genitives, we could similarly assume that a noun raised to a determiner position carries an emphatic reading.

2) *yádi stómam máma śrávat*
‘If he shall hear my praise,...’ RV 8.1.15a

poetic variant permitted under as yet unknown circumstances. Note that these two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, but that poets may preserve this structure in certain fixed collocations.¹⁵

1.4 Clitics in the Rigveda

The majority of research into Rigvedic clitics has focused on the proper explanation of their placement (see Hock 1996, Hale 1996, and Klein 1991). To my knowledge, there has been no investigation focusing exclusively on enclitic pronouns. The study of the placement of enclitic pronouns ought to help define the domain in which they are found, and as such it should assist in disambiguating some of their different uses. For example, we would expect possessive usages of enclitic pronouns to be found in the domain of the noun phrase. Verbal arguments should show the greatest variety of placement among the enclitic pronouns, but such clitics should generally not be found in the midst of post-verbal noun phrases. As Rigvedic poets employ enclitic pronouns as major constituents (with the occasional ethical dative usages), they should be represented in the syntax in a relatively straightforward manner, and for the most part they should behave similarly to fully accented forms of the personal pronouns. When trying to define the domain of these enclitic pronouns, the question becomes: Where are these pronouns generated, and what sort of processes affect their final position in the clause? Accented forms provide some insight into the base-generated position, but discontinuous phrases create difficulties in arriving at certain conclusions. In addition to the scrambling that produces discontinuous constituents, the poetic nature of the Rigveda imposes prosodic restrictions (absent in Vedic Prose) which also affect the occurrence of these enclitic pronouns.

It is necessary, however, to describe in brief the more general clitic situation in Vedic Sanskrit. Clitics in Sanskrit fall into three primary categories: 1) conjunctive, 2) pronominal, and 3) adverbial (e.g., emphatic particles). All of these items have a strong tendency to occur in ‘second position’, often creating a string of such particles. Furthermore, there are accented particles (e.g., *hí*, *íd*, *sú*, etc.) that also

¹⁵ The hypothesis that final determiners are an archaism would suggest that the oldest hymns would show the greatest variety of such structures, while poetic survivals of the archaic structure would be limited in form.

tend to occur in this particle string in ‘second position’. Since accented particles are not clitics, their occurrence within a ‘second position’ string with clitics is itself a problem. Hock speculates that these accented particles have undergone “a fair amount of contextual accent reduction,” making them “prosodically ‘weaker’ than fully accented words” (1996:265). It is this “weakness” that accounts for the clitic-like behavior of such accented particles. In all but a handful of cases, no particles follow the enclitic pronoun. However, consider the following particle strings (including the vocatives *soma*, *vāyo*, and *narā* in **19a**, **d**, and **e**):

- 19)** a) *soma no hí kam* (RV 6.51.14a)
 b) *na íd dhí* (RV 5.17.5a)¹⁶
 c) *vo hí* (RV 9.98.8a)
 d) *vām narā sú* (RV 1.118.10a)
 e) *te sú vāyo* (RV 1.135.9a)
 f) *vo nú* (RV 10.34.14c)

19a and **b** involve emphatic collocations (*hí kam* and *íd dhí*) which unexpectedly appear to be emphasizing a reduced clitic form. Of these two, *hí kam* is less troubling, as this collocation is not limited to ‘second position’, but is simply conjoined to the emphasized constituent wherever it appears. However, the collocation *íd dhí* is only found in ‘second position’ despite the fact that both particles display wider distribution when not adjacent to each other. In other words, though both particles frequently fall in ‘second position’, *íd* is permitted to mark a focused constituent that is not initial,¹⁷ and *hí* too occasionally occurs elsewhere.¹⁸ Regardless, the freedom of these items to mark emphatic elements wherever they may fall strongly suggests that these two situations reflect a syntactic connection to the enclitics which are themselves emphasized despite their reduced form. The ability of *hí* to occur

¹⁶ Compare the more frequent occurrence of *íd dhí* preceding an enclitic pronoun as in RV 8.54.6a (with *nas*), 6.18.41 and 8.13.11c (both with *te*).

¹⁷ For a particularly clear example, consider RV 1.28.6ab: *utá sma te vanaspate / vāto ví vāti ágram ít* ‘And at your summit, O tree, the wind blows.’ Here, the emphasized constituent is final.

¹⁸ For example in RV 1.2.4c: *índavo vām uśánti hí* ‘...for the drops desire you two.’ Here the conjunctive particle *hí* is strikingly final reflecting its presumed origin as an emphatic particle meaning ‘indeed’.

outside of ‘second position’ suggests that *hí* in **19c** is not truly a part of the second position string, but that it just happens to stand adjacent to the enclitic *vah*.

19d – f all involve particles (*sú* ‘well’ and *nú* ‘now’) which also may occur outside of ‘second position’.¹⁹ This freedom of position, characteristic of adverbs crosslinguistically, suggests that these particles too are not truly a part of the ‘second position’ particle string, but just happen to be adjacent to it in these instances. Nevertheless, such a situation is striking in its rarity and cannot be considered a normal occurrence.

In this investigation, I assume conjunctive clitics are projected underlyingly in absolute initial position (i.e., between the conjoined clauses), emphatic clitics follow the item they emphasize (if it is the clause itself, I presume they are generated in the head of CP), and pronominal clitics are fronted out of their base position into the TopP projection when they occur in the ‘second position’ string. Since conjunctive clitics cannot stand initially, they would then undergo Prosodic Inversion around the first valid host in order to be prosodically supported. Should multiple second position particles²⁰ happen to stand in initial position adjacent to each other after all syntactic operations, I assume they form a single prosodic unit that then undergoes Prosodic Inversion in order to be properly hosted, in opposition to Franks and King, who limit Prosodic Inversion to single stranded clitics. Consider example **20**.

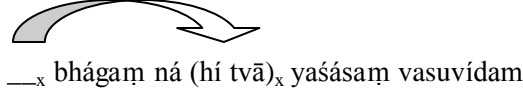
- 20)** bhágam ná hí_x tvā_x | yaśásam vasuvídam /
 auspicious.ACC.SG like for you.ACC.SG honored.ACC.SG wealth-finding.ACC.SG
 ánu śūra cárāmasi
 after hero.VOC.SG move.PRES.IND.1PL

‘...for we run after you, O hero, as (after) an honored auspicious one who acquires wealth.’ RV
 8.61.5cd

¹⁹ As in RV 1.111.2d *tán nah śárdhāya dhāsathā sú indriyám* ‘Then you will surely give Indra-power to our army’ and RV 1.110.10b *vidé víśvābhiḥ kṛṣṭibhir nú adyá* ‘He is known now by all folks today.’

²⁰ Including accented particles that cannot stand initially. Note that this extends the domain of Prosodic Inversion to accented items that appear to display distributional peculiarities similar to those of clitics.

In this clause, the simile *bhāgaṃ ná yaśásaṃ vasuvīdam* would be expected to follow the enclitic pronoun *tvā* which it describes. As a conjunction, the particle *hí* might be expected to occur between clauses, or in initial position before the underlying position of *tvā*. However, Prosodic Inversion causes the unit *hí tvā* to trade places with the prosodic unit *bhāgaṃ ná*.



The particle *ná* binds directly to the first word of the simile to form a prosodic unit before the operation of Prosodic Inversion as discussed in section 3.6.

Example 21 shows both the clitic *ca* in ‘second position’ and a delayed occurrence of the clitic *naḥ*.

21)	pitā́	ca	tán	no	mahā́n	yájatro
	father.NOM.SG	and	that.ACC.SG	our.PL	great.NOM.SG	worthy of worship.NOM.SG
	vísve		devā́ḥ	sámanaso		juṣanta
	all.NOM.PL		god.NOM.PL	having like mind.NOM.PL		enjoy.PRES.INJ.3PL
	‘In that may our great father, worthy of worship, and all the gods, being of like mind, find pleasure.’ RV 7.52.3cd					

Here, the conjunction *ca* joins *pitā́* to *devā́ḥ* occurring in an X ca Y formation. In addition, the possessive enclitic *naḥ* does not fall in second position, but follows the anaphoric pronoun *tát*. Note, however, that each element of the initial string fits nicely within Hale’s extended CP framework as shown in **figure 8**. The conjunction *ca* and its noun move into spec of XP, reflecting strong emphasis. The pronoun *tát* moves to the specifier of CP as its distribution parallels that of the relative pronoun. The enclitic pronoun follows in the specifier of TopP.

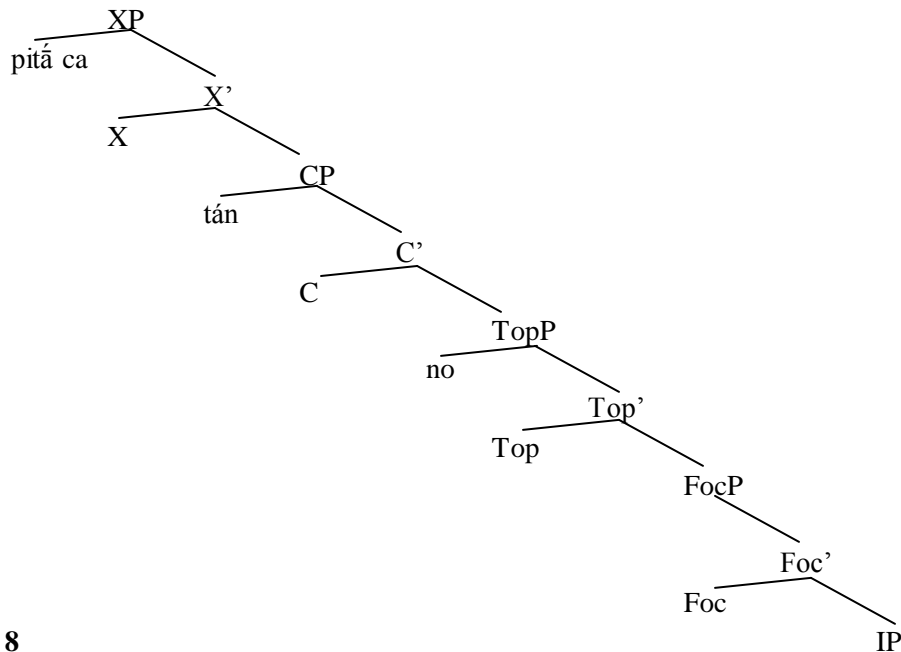


Figure 8

The precise nature of XP is unclear. It appears to be a position for emphasis, but it also seems in some instances to resemble a location for postsyntactic processes such as dislocation and extraposition. Dislocation is the displacement of a lexical item or constituent to a position outside the intonational unit of the clause to which it belongs, meaning it is set off from the main clause by a prosodic break (i.e., a pause). It cooccurs with some element within the clause that is coreferential with the dislocated item. In English, the resumptive element is usually a pronoun (e.g., Her brother_x, I know him_x well.). Extraposition is similar, but it is not associated with a coreferential element within the clause. Both processes may displace elements to a position before a clause or to a position after a clause. In both instances, there should be some contextual motivation for the displacement of a constituent. If XP reflects left dislocation or extraposition to the beginning of a clause, it should not be considered a syntactic projection. If *pită ca* has been dislocated outside of the intonational phrase of the main clause in **21**, note that the enclitic pronoun *naḥ* occurs in second position within this intonational phrase.

For the purposes of this study, the most important claim is that enclitic pronominals are fronted into the TopP projection. Various complications involving the interaction with the other classes of clitics

are beyond the scope of this investigation. As an example of a complication that shall not be considered in detail, note that the two conjunctive clitics *u* and *ca* are found combined into *co* in example **22**, but they also occur in the sequence *u ca* in example **23** below (with *u* coalescing with the vowel of the negator *mā*).

22) yā co nú návyā kṛṇávaḥ śaviṣṭha /
 which.ACC.PL and~and now new.ACC.PL make.PRES.SUB.2SG most mighty.VOC.SG

‘And which new (deeds) you will now do, O most mighty...’ RV 5.29.13c

23) arātīvā mā nas tārīn /
 hostile NEG us.ACC cross.AOR.INJ.3SG
 mó ca naḥ kīm canāmamad
 NEG~and and us.ACC what.ACC.SG -soever~harm.AOR.INJ.3SG

‘Let no hostile one overcome us, and let nothing whatsoever harm us.’ RV 9.114.4cd

Such a variation in clitic order speaks against a strictly morphological or strictly phonological explanation of the order of these two clitics, but an attempt at explaining how such options in clitic sequencing arise shall not be discussed here.

1.5 Enclitic Pronominals Versus Tonic Pronominals

In considering the distribution of enclitic pronouns, it is necessary to survey the corresponding accented forms in order to determine the manner in which their distributions differ. As a means of determining what items may occur before fronted tonic pronouns, **tables 4** and **5** were created from the data found in Lubotsky’s Rigvedic Concordance. In **table 5**, the heading ‘total’ includes repeated passages, while the heading ‘distinct’ omits them. Since repeated passages are omitted in the remaining values of **table 5**, the subscripted numbers represent additional repeated passages. In **table 4**, the negative numbers represent subtractions of repeated passages included in the values. Although the information in these charts is far from fully accurate (for example, enjambment was ignored, and I fear that occasional internal clause divisions have been categorized inconsistently), it is suggestive of the

situations in which an enclitic pronoun occurring in second position may be the result of normal syntactic processes. That is to say, if the tonic variant of the personal pronoun can occur in second position as the result of some fronting movement, then it is reasonable to presume that when the enclitic variant occurs in second position under the same conditions, it is the result of the same fronting movement.

Particularly noteworthy in **table 4** is the high degree of fronting that tonic personal pronouns exhibit. Of 1033 distinct occurrences of tonic personal pronouns in accusative, genitive, or dative cases (i.e., the cases that also have enclitic forms), 599 (or 58.0%) occur in the initial position of the line (ignoring vocatives). Since the line is frequently equivalent to a clause, this is suggestive of a high degree of topicalization or focusing of these items. This is almost certainly due to the prominence of the addresser and the addressee in speech acts. As such, we may expect that at least this high a percentage of the enclitic pronouns occur early in the line; however, since their prosodic nature as clitics prevents their occurrence in initial position, the second position takes the place of initial position. Further, if second position is included with initial position (18.4 % of occurrences or 190/1033), the frequency rises to 76.4% (789/1033) of tonic personal pronouns which is not far from the frequency of 70.5% (1514/2147) of singular enclitic personal pronouns in second position of a line. Therefore, enclitic personal pronouns surprisingly appear to be fronted slightly less frequently than their tonic counterparts. The lower frequency of fronting of clitics may reflect the inability to focus a clitic. Whereas tonic personal pronouns may be both topicalized and focused, their enclitic forms may only be topicalized since focus would require full forms of the pronoun. Tonic and enclitic personal pronouns show a similar frequency of occurrence in line-final position, with tonic pronouns occurring finally 9.1 % (94/1033) of the time and enclitic pronouns occurring finally in 8.2% (175/2147) of their occurrences.

Table 4 **Distribution of Accusative, Genitive, and Dative**
Tonic Personal Pronouns within the Line

	Second position following:									other	
	total	initial	final	Noun	Neg	Rel	Verb	Conj	Preverb	Det	Neg +Rel
mām(42)	50	9	0	5	7 ₋₂	1(yád)	2	6 ₋₃	3	1 ²¹	1+0 ²²
tvām(171)	179	129 ₋₆	3(+2 tvām it) ²³	8	3 ₋₁	6	5	7 ₋₁	8	4	0+2(yád) ²⁴
yuvām(23)	24	22 ₋₁	(one post vocative)-	-	-	-	-	1(áthā)	-	-	-
asmān(88)	93	38 ₋₁	22 ₋₁	8	0	5 ₋₂	3	2	1	6	2+0 ²⁵
asmān-asmān	1	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
yušmān	5	5	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
túbhya	13	13	(followed by íd, ayám, idám, or imā)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
túbhyam(89)	93	42 ₋₁ (+3)	11 ₋₁ ²⁶	6	0	4(yás)	3	1(utá)	1(prá)	3	0+3
táva(232)	257	138 ₋₉ (+2)	34 ₋₁₃ ²⁷	19 ₋₁ ²⁸	0	1(yáthā)	6 ₋₁	0	3	3	16 ₋₁₃ ²⁹ +11 ³⁰
yuvábhyām(6)	7	0	7 ₋₁	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
yuvábhyām(5)	7	7 ₋₂	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
yuvóḥ	36	34	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
yuváku	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
yušmábhyam	2	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
yušmāka	2	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
yušmākam(10)	11	10 ₋₁	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
máhyam(34)	35	5	5 ₋₁ ³¹	6 ³²	0	1(yadá)	2	0	0	1 ³³	1+3
máma(62)	74	20	28 ₋₃	12 ₋₈ ³⁴	0	0	0	0	0	0 ³⁵	1+4 ³⁶
asmábhyam(104)	119	66 ₋₁₂	0	17	0	2	1	6 ₋₂	2	9 ₋₁ ³⁷	1+1
asmākam(104)	106	88 ₋₂	3	5	2	1(yé)	0	1(+1 ihá)	0	1	0+1(yá) ³⁸
asmāka	1	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total(1033)	1118	634 ₋₃₅ (+5)	114 ₋₂₀ (+2)	87 ₋₉	12 ₋₃	21 ₋₂	22 ₋₁	24 ₋₆	18	28 ₋₁ ³⁹	22+25 ⁴⁰

²¹ plus two quantifiers

²² 1 interrogative

²³ 1 is a participle, 5 followed by particles (*cid dhí, kīla, hí, caná*)

²⁴ 2 interrogatives

²⁵ plus 2₋₁ interrogatives, one of these negative clauses has *mā te asmān*

²⁶ +2 *túbhyam* voc, +1 *túbhyam kām*

²⁷ 14 in one hymn RV 1.94; +5₋₁ instances followed by a vocative

²⁸ 7 Noun vocative *táva*

²⁹ 14 in one hymn RV 1.94

³⁰ 3 final *yé/yás táva*, 1 *ácittī yát táva...*(7.89.5c)

³¹ +2 *máhyam ca*

³² 1 noun vocative *máhyam*

³³ 1 quantifier

³⁴ nine in the refrain of one hymn RV 5.75

³⁵ plus 2₋₁ quantifiers

³⁶ 2 interrogative

³⁷ plus one quantifier

³⁸ *asmākam* precedes relative in absolute initial position

Table 5 **Distribution of Singular Enclitic Personal Pronouns within the Line**

	total distinct		Second position following:							other	
			final	Noun	Neg	Rel	Verb	Conj	Preverb	Det	Neg +Rel
<i>mā</i>	110	107	7 ⁴¹	13	6 ⁴²	14	15	1	16 ₊₂	14 ₊₁ ⁴³	3+3 ⁴⁴
<i>tvā</i> (6 initial ⁴⁵)	590	565	33 ₊₄ ⁴⁶	114 ₊₈ ⁴⁷	42 ₊₁	56	52 ₊₂	14 ⁴⁸	110 ₊₅	84 ₊₄ ⁴⁹	17+21 ⁵⁰
<i>me</i>	303	276	36 ₊₃ ⁵¹	52 ₊₁	10	23	22 ₊₁₉	17 ₊₂ ⁵²	21 ₊₁	41 ⁵³	6+4 ⁵⁴
<i>te</i>	1280	1200	99 ₊₆	239 ₊₈ ⁵⁵	52 ₊₃	164 ₊₆ ⁵⁶	73 ₊₈ ⁵⁷	40 ₊₆ ⁵⁸	108 ₊₃ ⁵⁹	101 ₊₁₉ ⁶⁰	26+103 ₊₃
total	2283	2147	175 ₊₁₃	418 ₊₁₇	110 ₊₄	257 ₊₆	162 ₊₂₉	72 ₊₈	255 ₊₁₁	240 ₊₂₄	52+131 ₊₃

Strikingly, it is the singular accusative accented personal pronouns *mām* and *tvām* that show the greatest frequency of second position occurrence. The metrical equivalence between these two accented forms and their enclitic counterparts *mā* and *tvā* suggest that the brevity of these forms may be linked to their increased propensity towards second position occurrence. Nevertheless, *mām* and *tvām* still only occur in strict second position 27.7% (59/213) of the time. If we include initial occurrences of *mām* and *tvām* (62.0% or 132/213), the percent of early occurrences rises to 89.7%. For comparison, *mā* and *tvā*

³⁹ +5₋₁ quantifiers

⁴⁰ +5₋₁ interrogatives

⁴¹ 4 following clause-initial verb, 1 second in clause following *nākir*

⁴² 1 Neg Voc *mā*

⁴³ +5 Interrogatives and 4 quantifiers

⁴⁴ +1 Interrogative

⁴⁵ following line-initial vocative

⁴⁶ 3 second in line following a noun, 4 second in clause following accented initial verb, 2 second in relative clause, + 21 preceding line final vocative

⁴⁷ +8 initial similes (Nominal *nā*)

⁴⁸ +3 following *iti*, +8 following other adverbials (temporal or locative)

⁴⁹ +2₊₁ quantifier, + 4 interrogative

⁵⁰ +1 interrogative

⁵¹ Geldner notes that for 3.38.8a, *me* should be the infinitive of *mā*; + 3 preceding line final vocative

⁵² + 1 *ātha enam me*

⁵³ +3 Interrogatives; + 4 quantifiers

⁵⁴ +2 Interrogatives

⁵⁵ +1 initial simile (Nominal *nā*)

⁵⁶ +1 Rel Voc *te*

⁵⁷ +1₊₄ V *nú* Voc *te*; + 3 V Voc *te*

⁵⁸ +3 following *aram*; +2 following *āviṣ*; +16 following other adverbials (temporal or locative)

⁵⁹ +1 *ā nas te*

⁶⁰ +35₊₁ Interrogatives and 14 quantifiers; + 6 double determiners (second determiner a form of *syā/tyā-*)

occur in second position 82.0% (551/672) (however, *tvā* occurs clause-initially⁶¹ in six additional instances raising the fronted occurrences to 82.9%). Again, the enclitic personal pronouns are fronted roughly six percent less frequently than the tonic personal pronouns.

A further factor to consider with regard to the accusative singular personal pronouns is the possibility that the tonic form is employed to avoid vowel coalescence. Of the 42 occurrences of *mām* that remain after omitting repeated passages, 27 are before words beginning with vowels, and only 15 precede words beginning with consonants. Also, of nine line-initial occurrences (situations in which an enclitic variant is prohibited from occurring), only two precede words beginning with vowels, so nearly half (i.e., 7) of the instances in which *mām* precedes a consonant are instances in which the enclitic is forbidden. Thus, of the 33 non-initial occurrences of *mām*, only 8 precede words beginning with consonants (leaving 25 preceding words beginning with a vowel). This suggests that the tonic form is favored (though certainly not required) in cases preceding words beginning with vowels. The situation is still more striking for *tvām*. This form overwhelmingly occurs in initial position (123 of 171 distinct occurrences) where roughly half precede words beginning with consonants (61/123). Of the remaining 48 occurrences of this form in non-initial position, only 5 (= 10.4%) occur before consonants, 3 of which are line final (all preceding a [p] in the following line).⁶² The lopsided ratio of instances preceding vowels to instances preceding consonants (roughly 9:1 for *tvām* and 3:1 for *mām*) suggests a connection between the use of the tonic form of the singular accusative personal pronouns as a means to avoid vowel coalescence.

Also of interest is the tendency for these tonic personal pronouns not to occur in negative or relative clauses. In fact, the relative pronoun (discounting conjunctive relatives like *yādi*, *yathā*, *yadā* or *yād*) occurs almost exclusively in the nominative case with tonic personal pronouns in the accusative, genitive, or dative case. Such tonic personal pronouns occur 29 times with relative pronouns in the nominative case. In comparison, there are only four instances of non-nominative relative pronouns in the

⁶¹ Enclitic to a line-initial vocative. With one ambiguous instance (RV 7.71.1c), there are possibly seven.

⁶² Overall, 66 occurrences of *tvām* precede consonants, and 105 precede vowels.

clause with these pronouns, giving an approximately 7:1 ratio of nominative to oblique case forms: *yám tvám* in RV 3.8.11c, RV 1.63.8c *yáyā śūra prátý asmábhyaṃ yáṃsi*, RV 10.104.1c *mimikṣúr yám ádraya indra túbhyaṃ*, RV 2.11.3c *túbhyéd etā yásu mandasānáḥ*. In comparison, for the enclitic form *te* (genitive or dative singular), the nominative form of the relative pronoun is most common, but the ratio is smaller. There are 95 nominative case forms with *te* as opposed to 33 oblique cases (19 accusative + 13 genitive + 1 locative) for a ratio of only approximately 3:1 in favor of the nominative. Considering that the total number of all tonic personal pronouns in the accusative, genitive, and dative cases is comparable to the occurrences of just *te*, it is noteworthy also that just the nominative case forms of the relative pronoun with *te* outnumber all the occurrences of relative pronouns with all of these tonic personal pronouns by a ratio of nearly 2:1. Taken together, this suggests a strong tendency to use enclitic pronouns instead of tonic pronouns within a relative clause. Nevertheless, this tendency cannot be taken as a rule, as tonic personal pronouns do occasionally occur with relative pronouns.

Second Position

The most common location for enclitic pronouns to occur is the ‘second position’ within the clause where ‘second position’ discounts certain particles (such as *u*, *vā*, *cid*, *íd*, *nú*, *sú*, *hí*, etc.) which also fall into this position forming a second position particle chain.⁶³ This is the well-known Wackernagel position. In a number of such cases, the tonic personal pronoun would occur in the same position when raised either by topicalization or some focusing process. As such, the identification of the items that cause a fronted constituent to fall into second position is necessary. In a survey of the tonic personal pronouns, fronted pronouns fall in second position following:

⁶³ The means by which the various particles come to occur in second position are roughly identical to those by which enclitic pronouns come to occur in this position. That is, they either are placed in second position by syntactic means (the usual situation for emphatic particles whose domain is the immediately preceding word) or by Prosodic Inversion (the usual method by which enclitic conjunctions find their way to second position). In those situations in which the syntax places multiple particles that cannot remain initial in initial position, they form a single unit that undergoes Prosodic Inversion.

- A. Relative Pronouns
- B. Interrogatives
- C. Words of Negation
- D. Determiners
- E. Fronted preverbal adverbs
- F. Conjunctions
- G. Verbs
- H. Substantives

A brief discussion of each of these instances follows below. Since accusative tonic personal pronouns show the greatest tendency to follow these items, the examples involve these pronouns. **Table 4** above provides a count of second position occurrences of the other tonic pronouns.

A. relative pronouns (fronted to spec of CP)

As is standard practice, relative pronouns are assumed to raise into the specifier position of CP. This assumption forms the basis for the following explanation of the placement of various items within the extended CP that cause fronted (i.e., topicalized) tonic personal pronouns to occur in second position.

24)	yás	tvām	agne	havíṣpatir /
	wh-.NOM.SG	you.ACC.SG	Agni.VOC.SG	lord of the offering.NOM.SG
	dūtām	deva	saparyāti //	
	messenger.ACC.SG	heavenly.VOC.SG	honor.PRES.IND.3SG	
	tásya	sma	prāvitā	bhava
	that.GEN.SG	PTCL	promoter..NOM.SG	be.PRES.IMV.2SG

‘Which lord of the offering honors you, the messenger, O heavenly Agni, of him be a promoter!’

RV 1.12.8

- 25) yó asmān vīrá ānayat
wh-.NOM.SG us.ACC hero.NOM.SG PV~lead.PRES.IMP.3SG

‘...which hero led us here.’ RV 8.33.16c

cf. with an enclitic:

- 26) yé tvāhihātye maghavann āvardhan
wh-.NOM.PL you.ACC.SG~serpent-slaying.LOC.SG liberal.VOC.SG increase.PRES.IMP.3PL

‘Who strengthened you, O liberal one, in the serpent-slaying...’ RV 3.47.4a

B. Interrogatives (fronted to spec of CP leaving a trace in FocP)

All of the examples provided happen to involve double accusative verbs. Nevertheless, the same situation would be expected in simple transitive clauses as well. In these situations, as in relative clauses, the interrogative is raised to spec of CP and the pronoun is raised to spec of TopP. However, as interrogative pronouns are focused, it may seem that they should raise to the FocP. This study assumes that FocP and CP are only distinguishable when CP is already occupied by an element (such as a preverb) that has a stronger attraction to CP. The assumption, then, is that items in FocP raise to CP in the event that CP is unoccupied.

- 27) kīm mām anindrāḥ kṛṇavann anukthāḥ
wh-?.ACC.SG me.ACC non-Indra.NOM.PL do.PRES.SUB.3PL invocationless.NOM.PL

‘What (harm) will the invocationless, non-Indra-knowing do to me?’ RV 5.2.3d

cf. with an enclitic:

- 28) kīm mā karann abalā asya sēnāḥ
wh-?.ACC.SG me.ACC do.AOR.SUB.3PL feeble.NOM.PL his.SG army.NOM.PL

‘What can his feeble hosts do to me?’ (Macdonell, 1916:305) RV 5.30.9b

C. words of negation (fronted to spec of CP or XP)

Words of negation frequently occur in two positions within a clause: immediately before the verb, or as the first item in the clause. Usually, in relative clauses, the negator remains before the verb,

and indeed, *mā́* and the relative pronoun are in complementary distribution, never occurring in the same clause.⁶⁴ Occasionally, *ná* precedes the fronted relative pronoun, but in a cursory look throughout Lubotsky's concordance, this appears to occur less frequently than leaving the negator before the verb. Presumably this is a somewhat exceptional dislocation into the XP projection that precedes the CP. Nonetheless, it is likely that in most clauses, the negators raise to an open CP, and this movement is blocked by the presence of a relative pronoun. The only instance of the interrogative *ká-* that cooccurs with the negator *ná* (RV 8.1.20d) has an unraised negator. In contrast, *mā́* precedes a form identical to the interrogative pronoun in all clauses in which they cooccur (RV 1.120.8a, 4.3.13a, 5.70.4a, 7.94.8a). In all four of these cases, though, the interrogative acts as the homophonous indefinite pronoun, and so would not behave syntactically as an interrogative.

29) *mā́* *mām* *imé* *patatrīṇī* *ví* *dugdhām*
 NEG me.ACC this.NOM.DL winged.NOM.DL away milk.PRES.IMV.3DL
 ‘Let these two winged ones not exhaust me!’ (lit., milk me empty) (Geldner inserts ‘Day and Night’ to clarify the two winged ones in this hymn to the Ásvins) RV 1.158.4b

30) *mó* *śú* *tvām* *átra* *bahávo* *hí* *víprā* /
 NEG~PART PTCL you.ACC.SG here many.NOM.PL for inspired.NOM.PL
 ní *rīraman* *yájamānāso* *anyé*
 down stop.AOR.INJ.3PL worshipping.NOM.PL other.NOM.PL
 ‘Let not other worshippers—for there are many inspired (poets)—stop you in this.’ RV 2.18.3c

In 30, the context is that the singer has yoked Indra's chariot so that he may come. The prayer here asks that in doing so, Indra may not be diverted to come to others.

⁶⁴ The one clause (RV 7.104.16a) identified in Lubotsky's concordance under *mā́* that includes the relative pronoun is actually misplaced and should be placed under the enclitic pronoun *mā́*. The confusion derives from the vowel coalescence of *mā́* with *áyātum* into *mā́yātum*.

31) ná vá u mām vṛjāne vārayante
 NEG PTCL PTCL me.ACC pen.LOC.SG restrain.CAUS.PRES.IND.3PL

‘Surely they do not hem me in the pen.’ RV 10.27.5a

cf. with an enclitic:

31) ná tvā kētā ā dabhnuvanti bhūrṇayaḥ
 NEG you.ACC.SG expectation.NOM.PL to deceive .PRES.IND.3PL eager.NOM.PL

‘(Your) eager expectations do not deceive you.’ RV 1.55.7b

D. *determiners* (fronted to spec of CP or TopP)

Fronted determiners frequently act as correlatives to the relative pronoun. In other words, they are coreferent with a nearby (usually preceding) relative pronoun. As such, they perform a parallel function and are assumed to raise into spec of CP should this position be available. However, in cases in which determiners cooccur with other items that may be expected to raise to the spec of CP (such as negators, interrogatives, or relative pronouns), they appear to be blocked from CP by these (though they may still be topicalized into TopP).

32) só asmān rājā vāruṇo mumoktu
 that.NOM.SG us.ACC king.NOM.SG Varuṇa.NOM.SG release.PERF.IMV.3SG

‘Let that king Varuṇa release us.’ RV 1.24.12d (c precedes with a relative clause)

33) imā hí tvām ūrjo vardháyanti /
 this.NOM.PL for you.ACC.SG refreshment.NOM.PL increase.CAUS.PRES.IND.3PL
 vasūyávaḥ síndhavo ná kṣárantah
 desiring good.NOM.PL river.NOM.PL like flowing.NOM.PL

‘For, like flowing rivers, these refreshments, desiring good, strengthen you.’ RV 2.11.1cd

cf. with an enclitic:

- 34) sá tvā váрмаṇo mahimā pipartu
 that.NOM.SG you.ACC.SG shield.GEN.SG might.NOM.SG cross.PRES.IMV.3SG
 ‘Let the might of the shield help you through.’ RV 6.75.1d

E. Fronted preverbal adverbs (fronted to spec of CP or XP)

Preverbal adverbs behave very much like negators. They generally precede verbs or are raised to the initial position within a clause. Usually, relative pronouns result in preverbal adverbs remaining before the verb suggesting competition between relatives and preverbs for the same projection (i.e., CP). However, since preverbs occasionally raise to a position preceding the relative they may be better described as occupying XP.

- 35) ní tvām agne mánur dadhe /
 down you.ACC.SG Agni.VOC.SG Manu.NOM.SG set.PERF.IND.3SG
 jyótir jánāya śásvate
 light.ACC.SG folk.DAT.SG all.DAT.SG
 ‘Manu has installed you, O Agni, as a light for all the folk.’ RV 1.36.19ab
- 36) á ca tvām etā vṛṣaṇā váhāto /
 to and you.ACC.SG these.NOM.DL bull.NOM.DL convey.PRES.SUB.3DL
 hárī sákhāyā sudhúrā s_uvāṅgā
 bay steed.NOM.DL friend.NOM.DL having good poles.NOM.DL beautiful-limbed.NOM.DL
 ‘And if these two bullish bay steeds, (these two) friends, having good poles (and) beautiful-limbed, will convey you hither,...’ RV 3.43.4ab

cf. with an enclitic:

- 37) á tvā viśantu hárivarpasam gíraḥ
 to you.ACC.SG enter.PRES.INV.3PL gold-formed.ACC.SG song.NOM.PL
 ‘Let these songs enter you, having a golden form!’ RV 10.96.1d

F. Conjunctions

Generally, sentential conjunctions are expected to be syntactically between the clauses so conjoined.⁶⁵

- 38) evā hí mām tavāsam vardháyanti
thus for me.ACC strong.ACC.SG increase.CAUS.PRES.IND.3PL

‘For thus they strengthen me, the strong.’ RV 10.28.6a

- 39) utá tvām aruṇām vayām /
and you.ACC.SG red.ACC.SG we.NOM
góbhir añjmo mādāya kām
milk.INST.PL anoint.PRES.IND.1PL intoxicating drink.DAT.SG PTCL

‘And we anoint you, the reddish one, with milk for an intoxicating drink.’ RV 9.45.3ab

cf. with an enclitic:

- 40) ádha tvā víśve purá indra devā /
thereupon you.ACC.SG all.NOM.PL before Indra.VOC.SG god.NOM.PL
ékaṁ tavāsam dadhire bhārāya
alone strong.ACC.SG place.PERF.IND.3PL pillaging.DAT.SG

‘Thereupon all the gods placed you alone, the strong, at the front for pillaging (i.e., carrying off).’

RV 6.17.8ab

G. Verbs (fronted to CP leaving a trace in Foc)

Since the most common verbal form to be fronted is the imperative, verbs are expected to raise to Foc. This is because there is a logical incompatibility between interrogatives (which are generally assumed to be focused items) and the imperative. Other causes for verbal fronting (iteration, parallelism,

⁶⁵ Occasions in which the negator or a preverbal adverb precede the conjunction *úta* can be found, but at first glance they appear limited to instances of nominal conjunction or clauses with gapped verbs.

and chiasmic structures among others as identified in Klein (1991)) may be analyzed as reflecting focus as well. Like interrogatives, should CP be unfilled, the verb would be expected to raise from Foc to C.

- 41)** *īlate* *tvām* *avasyávaḥ* /
 call upon.PRES.IND.3PL you.ACC.SG desiring aid.NOM.PL
 kāṇvāso *vṛktābarhiṣaḥ* //
 Kaṇva.NOM.PL with grass spread.NOM.PL
 haviṣmanto *aramkṛtaḥ*
 oblation-bearing.NOM.PL ready-making.NOM.PL
 ‘The Kaṇva’s call upon you, (they) desiring aid, with sacrificial grasses spread, bearing the
 oblation, making (it) ready.’ RV 1.14.5

- 42)** *staviṣyāmi* *t_uvām* *ahám* / *vísvasyāmṛta* *bhojana* //
 praise.FUT.IND.1PL you.ACC.SG I.NOM all.GEN.SG~immortal.VOC.SG food.VOC.SG
 agne *trātāram* *amṛtam* *miyedh_iya* /
 Agni.VOC.SG rescuer.ACC.SG immortal.ACC.SG festive.VOC.SG
 yájiṣṭham *havyavāhana*
 best-worshipping.ACC.SG oblation-conveyor.VOC.SG
 ‘I will praise you, O immortal food of all, the immortal rescuer, O festive Agni, the best
 worshipping one, O conveyor of the oblation.’ RV 1.44.5

- 43)** *ávantu* *mām* *uśáso* *jáyamānā(h)*
 aid.PRES.IMV.3PL me.ACC dawn.NOM.PL being generated.NOM.PL
 ‘Let the arising dawns aid me!’ RV 6.52.4a

The remainder of this stanza (see example **44** below) is parallel to this, but with each line containing the enclitic *mā* instead of tonic *mām*. In this hymn, this stanza is the first in which a first person singular pronoun is employed. As such it is possible that this first usage carries a degree of emphasis that results in the full, accented form. The repetitions afterward have reduced prominence, and

thus the enclitic form occurs. However, it is also important to note that the first line of this stanza is the only one in which a word beginning with a vowel follows the pronoun. Because of this, it may be that the full form is used simply to prevent vowel coalescence.

cf. with enclitic pronouns:

44)	ávantu	mā	sindhavaḥ	pínvamānāḥ //
	aid.PRES.IMV.3PL	me.ACC	river.NOM.PL	swelling.NOM.PL
	ávantu	mā	párvatāso	dhruvāso /
	aid.PRES.IMV.3PL	me.ACC	mountain.NOM.PL	firm.NOM.PL
	ávantu	mā	pítaro	deváhūtau
	aid.PRES.IMV.3PL	me.ACC	father.NOM.PL	heavenly-invocation.LOC.SG
	‘Let the swelling rivers aid me! Let the firm mountains aid me! Let the fathers aid me in invoking the gods!’ RV 6.52.4bcd			

H. *and substantives (resulting in discontinuous noun phrases interrupted by fronted personal pronoun)*

Fronted substantives (i.e., nouns and adjectives) are clearest in those instances in which a noun phrase has become discontinuous. The precise position to which they raise is not clear. In general, the assumption is that fronted nominals are topicalized (in TopP) unless a focus particle (such as *íd* or *evá*) marks them as focused (in FocP). Given Hale’s framework assumes TopP precedes FocP, focused items that precede fronted personal pronouns (assumed to be in a TopP) are presumed to raise to an empty CP in a manner parallel to interrogatives. Note also that if personal pronouns are fronted into TopP in addition to a topicalized substantive, this would suggest the necessity of iterating TopP (as assumed by Rizzi 1991). However, such iteration produces an overly powerful model given the possibility of stranding in Sanskrit. Alternatively, nominals that precede fronted personal pronouns may occur in XP as a specially emphasized topicalized phrase.

- 45) uchántīr mām uśasaḥ sūdayantu
 shining.NOM.PL me.ACC dawn.NOM.PL put in order.CAUS.PRES.IMV.3PL
 ‘Let the shining dawns guide me right!’ RV 4.39.1c (Geldner ‘make me the master’)
- 46) āpo asmān mātaraḥ śundhayantu
 water.NOM.PL us.ACC mother.NOM.PL purify.CAUS.PRES.IMV.3PL
 ‘Let the motherly waters purify us!’ RV 10.17.10a
 cf. with an enclitic:
- 47) agníṣ tvā dūtó dhanuvāti ácha
 Agni.NOM.SG you.ACC.SG messenger.NOM.SG run.PRES.SUB.3SG hither
 ‘(Whenever we shall have pressed Soma,) Agni shall hasten to thee as a messenger.’ (Macdonell, 1916:359) RV 3.53.4d

Example 47 could be analyzed as having fronted only the enclitic pronoun which has undergone Prosodic Inversion around the first word of the subject noun phrase. However, the parallel structure with examples 45 and 46 in which the nominative noun phrases are also discontinuous makes this analysis uncertain.⁶⁶

As these eight categories may show tonic pronominals in second position, occurrences of enclitic pronominals in second position following these items should be explained by ordinary syntactic processes.

⁶⁶ A clearer example of a case in which the enclitic is in second position due exclusively to syntactic processes is RV 8.4.2cd: *kāṇvāsaḥ tvā brāhmabhi stómavāhasa / índrā yachanti ā gahi* ‘O Indra, the Kaṇva’s, conveying praises with the formulations, draw you here. Come!’

1.6 Clitics in Third Position

Occasionally, clitics may occur in a third position within the clause, as in the following.

48) tváṣṭā yám tvā sujānimā jajāna

Tvaṣṭar.NOM.SG wh-.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG good-creator.NOM.SG produce.PERF.IND.3SG

‘You whom Tvaṣṭar, creator of good things, created.’ RV 10.2.7ab

In most of these instances, as in example **48** (also **8** above), the clitic occurs in third position due to the presence of an occupied XP phrasal projection in addition to an occupied CP. Raised personal pronouns, tonic or clitic, are regularly raised to a position following the relative pronoun, so an item preceding this would necessarily result in a so-called ‘second position’ clitic occurring in third position.

CHAPTER 2

VEDIC PROSODY

If clitics, being ‘prosodically deficient’, are subject to prosodic constraints in addition to syntactic processes, an understanding of the prosody of the language to which they belong is essential. However, studying the prosody of a language that is no longer spoken presents special challenges. Since all evidence must be gleaned from written texts, any clues that can be gathered from these texts carry extra significance. It is in the matter of prosody that poetic texts carry an advantage over prose texts. Poetic texts have line breaks and caesurae that align with natural positions for a break in the prosody. Prose texts may have these prosodic breaks, but, aside from clause boundaries, they are not represented in Vedic prose texts. Indeed, attempts to explain the prosody of a clitic in prose texts risk circularity without some clue to the prosody outside of the clitic.

A familiarity with Vedic meter is necessary to recognize these prosodic clues. Most Vedic meters can be categorized into verses with an opening and a cadence (dimeter verses) and those with an opening, a break, and a cadence (trimeter verses). Dimeter verses, called Gāyatrī verses, have eight syllables, four in the opening and four in the cadence (the closing syllables of the verse). The opening shows great variety in the metrical weight of its syllables. Gāyatrī verses ordinarily have an iambic cadence (◡ – ◡ –) in which the sixth and eighth syllables are heavy (i.e., with a long vowel⁶⁷ or a short followed by a consonant cluster) and the fifth and seventh syllables are light (i.e., with a short vowel followed by no more than one consonant). A less common alternate, the Trochaic Gāyatrī, displays a trochaic cadence (– ◡ – ◡). These verses do not have a caesura. Trimeter verses, however, possess a caesura between the opening and break, following either a short opening of four syllables or a long opening of five syllables.

⁶⁷ In addition to those vowels marked with a macron, the vowels e, o, ai, and au are long. Vedic Sanskrit also features a rule that shortens long vowels that precede another vowel, so the sequence *vo astu* has the metrical structure ◡ – ◡.

Since the opening and break make up the first seven syllables of trimeter verses, the break has either three syllables with a short opening or two syllables with a long opening. As in dimeter verses, the cadence of trimeter verses shows greater regularity in the metrical weight of its syllables. The cadence of the Triṣṭubh verse is trochaic (– ˘ – ˘), and creates an eleven syllable verse when added to the seven syllables of the opening and break. The Jagatī verse extends the cadence of the Triṣṭubh by one syllable, forming a cadence with an iambic feel (– ˘ – ˘ –). In all verses, the final syllable can be either heavy or light (anceps).

For the Rigveda, the prosodic clues of greatest value are the line breaks and the caesura in trimeter verses (i.e., Jagatī and Triṣṭubh). These enforced pauses break the clauses into relatively short pieces (at most 8 syllables⁶⁸) arranged within the meter in accord with the prosody of the clause. Although less reliable, vocatives also provide clues to the prosody of the Rigveda, since they are inserted at phrasal boundaries which frequently correlate with prosodic boundaries within the clause. Nevertheless, vocatives appear to be incorporated into the prosody in certain situations and permit enclitic pronouns to cliticize to them. A peculiarity of vocatives in the Rigveda is that they are only marked as accented when they occur between sentences or in initial position within a line.

2.1 Prosodic Limitations of a Metrical Text

The metrical text of the Rigveda imposes further prosodic limitations that would not be found in ordinary speech. In addition to the line breaks, the cadences of the various verses have strict requirements with regard to the weight of each syllable. For example, Jagatī and Gāyatrī verses must end in two iambs,⁶⁹ and a Triṣṭubh verse must end in two trochees, though the final syllable is anceps. Such metrical requirements impact the data in requiring final noun phrases with enclitic genitive possessors to display different word orders depending on the meter. For example, Jagatī and Gāyatrī verses display the order

⁶⁸ Note that those stretches following the caesura must cross the break/cadence boundary, but there is no pause associated with the division between cadence and break, so this division does not provide evidence of prosody. However, occasionally a ‘secondary caesura’ following the eighth syllable (i.e., after the first syllable of the cadence) may provide additional prosodic evidence, but this ‘secondary caesura’ is not strictly required and cannot be relied upon consistently as evidence of prosody as can the caesura following the opening.

⁶⁹ Of course, the Trochaic Gāyatrī violates this, but must end in two trochees.

49) ṛtād iyarmi (|) te dhīyam manoyújam

established order.ABL.SG raise.PRES.IND.1SG your.SG devotion.ACC.SG thought-yoked.ACC.SG

‘From the established order, I raise your devotion, yoked with thought.’⁷⁰ RV 8.13.26c

50) tám íd vardhantu (|) no gíraḥ sadā́vṛdham

that.ACC.SG just increase.PRES.IMV.3PL our song.NOM.PL ever-increasing.ACC.SG

‘Let our songs increase just that one, the ever-increasing!’ RV 8.13.18c

⁷⁰ Or maybe ‘I raise the devotion to you’ with dative *te*.

⁷¹ The hymn is identified as an example of the ‘dimeter Uşnîh’ in Arnold (1905:162).

51) índraṃ vardhantu no gíraḥ
 Indra.ACC.SG increase.PRES.IMV.3PL our song.NOM.PL

‘Let our songs increase Indra!’ RV 8.13.16a

If it is the case that these are really extended Gāyatrī verses, since no caesura would be expected in the Gāyatrī line, the line would simply be augmented by an appositive to *te dhíyam* in **49** and an epithet describing *tám* in **50**. Likewise, if this is an extension of a Gāyatrī line, we might expect a double cadence. In other words, the third verse of each stanza should end in four iambic feet rather than two. Indeed, this is what we find in 32 of the 33 stanzas of this hymn (the lone exception is RV 8.13.12c *śrávaḥ sūribhyo amṛtaṃ vasutvanám* which is identical to RV 7.81.6a from a hymn composed in Bṛhatī and Satobṛhatī stanzas). Thus, since the line is merely an extended Gāyatrī, we would expect to find *te dhíyam* at the close of the Gāyatrī line before the extension with *manoyújam*. Since there is no caesura in these verses, there is nothing preventing enclisis on the preceding word. In this way we can reject the apparent proclisis of *te* and *nas* in these examples as a misanalysis of the meter.

However, more difficult to dismiss is the apparent proclisis in examples **52** and **53** (the caesura is marked by a comma).

52) supéśasam, māva sṛjanti ástaṃ /
 well-adorned.ACC.SG me.ACC.SG~down release.PRES.IND.3PL homeward
 gávāṃ sahásrai, ruśámāso agne
 cow.GEN.PL thousand.INST.PL Ruśama.NOM.PL Agni.VOC.SG

‘The Ruśama’s release me, well adorned with thousands of cows, homeward, O Agni.’ RV 5.30.13ab

53) [agnīm sudītīm, sudṛśam grṇánto] /
 Agni.ACC.SG well-shining.ACC.SG of good appearance.ACC.SG singing.NOM.PL
 namasyā́mas, tvédṛyam jātavedaḥ
 show reverence.PRES.IND.1PL you.ACC.SG~call upon.GDV.ACC.SG Jātavedas.VOC.SG
 ‘[Praising well-burning Agni, he of good visage], we show reverence to you, the one to be called
 upon, O Jātavedas.’ RV 3.17.4ab

These two hymns consist of ordinary Triṣṭubh verses, so an argument based on misanalysis of the meter cannot suffice. Indeed, the only way to preserve the enclitic character of these pronominals here is to posit that the meter is somehow violated. Either the caesura is exceptionally not present, or the meter here possesses an extra syllable.⁷² In the later case, the caesura may still follow the enclitic as is common, but by the absence of vowel coalescence, the meter gains an extra syllable (*mā́va* becomes *mā́*, *áva* and *tvédṛyam* becomes *tvā́*, *ídṛyam*).

Nevertheless, a proclitic reanalysis of these pronouns in these two instances at least appears plausible. Motivating this reanalysis is the fact that these two enclitic pronouns are the only ones capable of vowel coalescence (i.e., the final vowels of *mā́* and *tvā́* may combine with any other initial vowel). Under the circumstances in which vowel coalescence occurs, the direction of clisis may become ambiguous. Indeed, the vowel combination makes the phonetic link to the following word more obvious.

Consider, though, that both examples involve apposition. The expectation for apposition is that the personal pronoun will precede its apposition as it does in 53 (*tvā́* precedes *ídṛyam*). Nevertheless, the regular exception to this rule is that the personal pronoun follows its apposition when a line break or caesura immediately precedes the pronoun and its apposition following Prosodic Inversion. This is indeed what we see in 52, which places the enclitic in second position in the clause. This is particularly striking as the motivation for Prosodic Inversion is the requirement of the enclitic to have a suitable host

⁷² In discussing the similar occurrence of such verses with an extra syllable, Macdonell notes that “the extra syllable in such cases is perhaps due to the verse being inadvertently continued after a fifth syllable caesura as if it were a fourth syllable caesura” (1916:441). This is precisely the situation proposed for 52 and 53.

preceding it. Thus, a process motivated by enclisis paradoxically leads to proclisis—certainly an unattractive analysis. This suggests that the caesura is effectively absent before the clitic. This does not, however, deny the possibility that the caesura follows the clitic, though this would result in a Triṣṭubh verse with one syllable too many.

In contrast, Prosodic Inversion does not occur in **53**, so there is no such paradox. However, the enclitic would have been properly hosted by the preceding verb in the absence of a preceding caesura, so Prosodic Inversion would have been unnecessary. Furthermore, a caesura frequently separates an enclitic pronoun in the opening from its appositive in the break. Based on the tendency to separate appositives from enclitic pronouns with the caesura, the caesura ought to follow *tvā* creating a long opening with the rest of the verse continued as if it followed a short syllable. Thus in both **52** and **53**, Triṣṭubh verses of twelve syllables become a plausible solution to the problem of highly exceptional apparent proclisis.

Indeed, out of 2133 distinct verses with singular enclitic pronouns, only four potentially display proclisis (**49** and **52 – 54**). The last of these four is example **54** in which the clitic seems to follow an exceptionally extra-short three syllable opening. Furthermore, like **52** and **53**, the final vowel of *tvā* combines with the augment of *avardhayann*.

54) ghṛtēna tvāvardhayann agna āhuta
 ghee.INST.SG you.ACC.SG~increase.CAUS.IMP.3PL Agni.VOC.SG poured on.VOC.SG
 ‘They caused you to grow with ghee, O Agni poured upon (with ghee).’ RV 5.11.3c

This example is more doubtful as an example of proclisis. Oldenberg suggests possibly separating *tvā* and *vardhayann* because of the caesura (Oldenberg, 1909:318), though he expresses some doubt about this suggestion.⁷³ If we do not emend *avardhayann* to *vardhayann* following Oldenberg, we would again be forced to have a hypersyllabic Triṣṭubh verse. However, Arnold (1905) notes three situations in which the caesura is not necessarily characterized by a distinct pause. These involve “numerous examples in the

⁷³ “Wegen der Cäsar vielleicht *tvā vardhayann* zu trennen, doch recht zweifelhaft, insonderheit in der Umgebung meist augmentierter Formen” (Oldenberg, 1909:318).

Rigveda in which the caesura separates either (a) the two parts of a *dvandva* dual, or (b) an accented word from an enclitic which follows it, or (c) the negative particle or the augment *a-*, when combined by Sandhi with a word preceding, from the remainder of the word to which either of them belongs” (Arnold, 1905: 180). Situation (c) is precisely what we find in **54**. According to Arnold, this ought to be read *ghṛtēna tvā | 'vardhayann agna āhuta* with the augment *a-* absorbed by the enclitic. In addition, instances involving these three categories are not associated with a distinct pause in the pronunciation according to Arnold. As such, according to (b), all such situations involving enclitics following a caesura simply mean that the caesura does not have a distinct pause. However, most instances of enclitic pronouns apparently following a caesura have alternative explanations that place the caesura after the enclitic as has been demonstrated for examples **49**, **50**, and **52 – 54**.

Arnold provides two additional instances involving enclitic pronouns (examples **55** and **56**) which may be explained with metrical parallels elsewhere, though the evidence against a pre-enclitic caesura does not amount to proof.

55)	áśvinā	pāri	vām	īṣaḥ	purūcīr
	Aśvin.VOC.DL	around	you.ACC.DL	drink-offering.NOM.PL	abundant.NOM.PL
	īyúr		gīrbhír	yátamānā	ámṛdhrāḥ
	go.PERF.IND.3PL		song.INST.SG	stretching.NOM.PL	untiring.NOM.PL
‘O Áśvins, around you the abundant offerings have gone, striving with songs (and) untiring.’ RV 3.58.8ab					

To begin with, the last three stanzas in RV 3.58 all begin with the vocative *áśvinā*. Of particular interest is RV 3.58.7a *áśvinā vāyúnā yuvám sudakṣā* in which the caesura either must be in the middle of *vāyúnā*, after the third syllable or after the sixth syllable. None of these options is ideal as they all involve a violation of the general metrical tendencies in Triṣṭubh verses, though placing the caesura within the instrumental *vāyúnā* is especially difficult to support. Although the caesura occasionally falls between

the elements of a compound⁷⁴ or dvandva where a natural morphological division exists, *vāyúnā* lacks such a natural internal division that may support a ‘weak caesura’ which lacks a clear pause.

The second example Arnold provides (**56**) has partial parallels in dimeter verses.

56)	ágne	tokásya	nas	táne	tanúnām
	Agni.VOC.SG	offspring.GEN.SG	our.PL	continuation.DAT.SG	body.GEN.PL
	áprayuchan	dídiya	bodhi	gopáh	
	attentive.NOM.SG	shining.NOM.SG	be.AOR.IMV.2SG	(cow)-protector.NOM.SG	
	‘O Agni, shining, be the attentive protector for the continuation of our offspring, (our) bodies.’				
	RV 2.9.2cd				

In fact, *ágne tokásya nas táne tanúnām* is an example of what Arnold calls the “Vāsiṣṭhī verse” characterized by a secondary caesura after the eighth syllable and “distinctly influenced by dimeter rhythm” (Arnold, 1905:181). Directly reflecting this influence are the Gāyatrī verses RV 8.67.11c *mākis tokásya no riṣat* and RV 9.65.21a *iṣam tokāya no dádhad* which resemble the opening eight syllables of example **56** especially with the collocation of *toká* ‘offspring’ and *nas*. In addition, Arnold classifies the hymn RV 8.67 as belonging to the archaic period of the Rigveda so it is plausible that it serves as a model for the later hymns RV 2.9 and RV 9.65 (both from Arnold’s normal period). Although these parallels to Gāyatrī verses do not prove the absence of a caesura, they may reflect a weakness in the phonetic realization of the caesura. As such, examples **55** and **56** may more simply be considered clear examples in which the caesura need not represent a distinct pause in pronunciation as Arnold initially claims, thus rejecting the need to posit proclisis here as well. Nonetheless, all these potentially post-caesura enclitic pronouns offer support to the possibility of reanalysis as proclitics in certain contexts.

⁷⁴ As it does in RV 3.58.7c *nāsatyā tiróahniyaṃ juṣāṇā* as well as RV 3.58.9a *ásvinā madhuśúttamo yuvákūḥ* (both from this same hymn) where the caesura falls between the compositional elements *tiró-* and *-ahniyaṃ* in the first instance and *madhu-* and *-śúttamo* in the second.

2.2 The Value of Vocatives

Further clues to the prosody of a language recorded exclusively in texts can be obtained from an investigation of the placement of vocatives. Certain prosodic characteristics of vocatives are widespread crosslinguistically, and these crosslinguistic tendencies form a basis from which prosodic conclusions in a dead language may be made. Vocatives are generally considered extra-sentential elements (i.e., items that are not syntactically part of a clause). Further, they display great freedom of position within a clause. Steve Peter (1993) noted that vocatives pattern like parentheticals and adverbs in English. In addition, like parentheticals, vocatives “have clear intonational breaks preceding and following them” (Peter, 1993:131). Assuming that vocatives behave similarly crosslinguistically, these intonational breaks should prevent vocatives from hosting clitics. Thus, no enclitic should immediately follow a vocative. However, vocatives may also be incorporated into the prosody of an utterance without the occurrence of an intonational break. Hans Hock and Indranil Dutta claim that for English “utterance-final vocatives commonly are prosodically incorporated into the preceding utterance, without any appreciable break and without f0 resetting” (2010). Since utterance-final vocatives can never host any enclitic by definition, this phenomenon is irrelevant to this investigation. However, Lluïsa Astruc (2005:16) in a wider study of extra-sentential elements in English and Catalan finds initial vocatives, while usually forming independent intonational phrases, are “integrated in the same contour as the main phrase” in about 13% of instances. Even in medial positions Astruc finds that vocatives “mostly form independent intonation units (88%) separated by tonal movements” (2005:17), implying that they do not form such independent intonational units in the remaining 12%.

In the vast majority of instances in which vocatives happen to occur adjacent to enclitic pronouns in the Rigveda, the vocative follows the enclitic pronoun as expected, but in roughly one tenth of such situations (73 out of 737 distinct verses in which unaccented vocatives are adjacent to enclitic pronouns), the vocative precedes the enclitic pronoun—similar to the percentage of vocative incorporation found by

Astruc (9.9% for the Rigveda versus 12% in Astruc's study). Example **57** demonstrates the unexpected occurrence in which the enclitic pronoun *te* immediately follows the vocative *indra*.

- 57)** yójā nú indra te hārī
 yoke.AOR.SUBJ.1SG now Indra.VOC.SG you.GEN.SG bay steed.ACC.DL
 ‘Now I will yoke your two bays, O Indra.’ RV 1.82.1e (refrain)

For the most striking instances of enclisis to a vocative, consider the exceedingly rare situation in which the enclitic pronoun remains in initial position relative to the clause to which it belongs preceded only by the vocative that begins the poetic line. An example of this occurs in **58**, where the vocative and enclitic pronoun are the first two words of the hymn.

- 58)** índra tvā vṛṣabhám vayám /
 Indra.VOC.SG you.ACC.SG bull.ACC.SG we.NOM
 suté sóme havāmahe
 pressed.LOC.SG soma.LOC.SG call.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘O Indra, you, the bull, we call at the pressed soma.’ RV 3.40.1ab

There are three possible means by which enclisis to vocatives may occur: 1) erasure of the prosodic break following a vocative (perhaps triggered by the placement of enclitics in a position following vocatives by syntactic processes); 2) the metrical nature of the text occasionally forces vocatives to host enclitics in violation of general practice; and 3) formulaic phrasings may result in enclisis to vocatives. Although there is some evidence for all three, I propose that the erasure of the prosodic break following a vocative is required under certain syntactic conditions. That is, the syntax places the clitic in a position following a phrasal boundary at which the vocative may be inserted. The tendency for such vocatives to share metrical characteristics (such as the nearly exceptionless limitation to trochaic vocatives in octosyllabic lines) follows from the arrangement of such structures within a metrical text. From here, these shared metrical characteristics may become the basis of formulaic structures

involving enclisis to vocatives. Formulaic constructions are certainly significant in accounting for enclisis to vocatives, but such formulae should originate from legitimate grammatical patterns.

Assuming a grammatical source of enclisis to vocatives, there are two problems that the phenomenon must overcome: 1) the expected prosodic break between the vocative and enclitic and 2) the lack of accent on the item hosting the clitic⁷⁵ (in cases like example **57**). To address the first problem, I follow Hans Hock (1996) who claims that “[vocatives] may be prosodically rebracketed with neighboring structures” (Hock, 1996:259). The motivation for such prosodic rebracketing is unclear, but Astruc suggests that lack of vocative incorporation correlates with an attention-grabbing function while vocative incorporation correlates with communicative maintenance (Astruc, 2005:21). In other words, vocatives are incorporated to maintain contact that has already been established with the listener. Nevertheless, clear examples of situations in which vocatives must be prosodically rebracketed into a following phrase can be seen in examples **59** (with line-internal vocative) and **60** (with line-initial vocative), where the final vowel of the vocative coalesces with the initial vowel of the following word. Such examples are rare, but vowel coalescence would be impossible without the erasure of the prosodic boundary that is expected to follow the vocative.

- 59)** sthirām rátham sukhám indrādhitīṣṭhan /
 firm.ACC.SG chariot.ACC.SG happy.ACC.SG Indra.VOC.SG~mount.PRES.PPL.NOM.SG
 prajānán vidvāṁś úpa yāhi sómam
 knowing the way.NOM.SG wise.NOM.SG to drive.PRES.IMV.2SG soma.ACC.SG
 ‘Mounting the firm, pleasant chariot, O Indra, knowing the way, wise, drive to the soma!’ RV
 3.35.4cd

⁷⁵ Note that non-initial verbs in main clauses may also host clitics despite a lack of accent. The explanations provided for vocatives should be equally applicable to verbs.

60)	índrā	yāhi	suvitāya	mahé	naḥ
	Indra.VOC.SG~to	drive.PRES.IMV.2SG	welfare.DAT.SG	great.DAT.SG	our
	‘O Indra, drive here for our great welfare!’ RV 6.40.3d				

To account for the fact that the lack of accent of a vocative does not make the vocative an unsuitable host for a clitic, the manner of marking accentuation in the Rigveda may be considered misleading⁷⁶ and should not really be described as lacking an accent. The accented texts that come down to us mark the falling pitch that follows an accented syllable and the low pitch that precedes an accented syllable. The accented syllable itself is unmarked. Note that vocatives in English that are inserted into a clause carry a low pitch. Indeed, non-initial extra-sentential elements are noted for “tonal subordination” crosslinguistically (Astruc, 2005:6). This “tonal subordination” occurs either by 1) lowering the pitch of the extra-sentential element or 2) reduplicating the intonational contour of the main clause which may also involve lowering the pitch (Astruc, 2005:6). The “tonal subordination” characteristic of non-initial vocatives crosslinguistically may prevent the accented syllable of a non-initial vocative in the Rigveda from carrying a pitch peak that would engender marking of the accent. This is not to say that the vocative does not have an accent, but that its phonetic realization is reduced. Therefore, the low pitch of a vocative within a sentence in the Rigveda as reflected in the accented text may mask any secondary accent present on the vocative that could permit enclisis.⁷⁷

Vocatives are inserted at phrasal boundaries in an utterance. In the Rigveda, this is reflected in the frequency with which vocatives occur adjacent to a caesura or the edge of a line. Indeed, the occurrence of vocatives occupying the break following a caesura is a common formulaic device. Noun phrases that have not been scrambled should not be expected to include a phrasal boundary at which a vocative may be inserted, so as an initial hypothesis, a noun phrase that appears to have an inserted

⁷⁶ As an alternative analysis, vocatives may be considered underlyingly accented, but subject to a process of deaccentuation. In this view, enclisis would occur before deaccentuation. Thus, the enclitic is hosted by an accented item that is then deaccented by a later phonological process.

⁷⁷ A similar explanation may account for the apparent lack of accent on verbs in main clauses of the Rigveda when not in initial position.

vocative would be expected to have been scrambled even if its constituents happen to be adjacent to one another if the vocative were to be ignored. Interestingly, clitics appear to be able in certain circumstances to cliticize to vocatives. This is unexpected due to the general expectation that vocatives should have a prosodic break both preceding and following them, thus preventing any possible enclisis. Those situations in which the vocative shares the same referent with a clitic or element within a noun phrase may be considered potential exceptions to both of these expectations. In such instances, the vocative may be considered a pseudo-appositive to the clitic thus optionally permitting the vocative to intervene in the noun phrase following a clitic or permitting the enclitic to cliticize to the vocative.

2.3 Metrical and Formulaic Characteristics of Enclisis to Vocatives

In the Rigveda, the general tendency is for vocatives to follow enclitic personal pronouns when they happen to be adjacent, especially in clitic chains. Under certain circumstances, however, one or two vocatives may precede the enclitic pronoun, and the enclitics unexpectedly appear cliticized to the vocative. Out of 737 lines which contain unaccented vocatives adjacent to enclitic personal pronouns, only 73⁷⁸ vocatives precede the enclitic (roughly one in ten), 28 of which involve the vocative *indra* (compared to 135 instances in which *indra* [excluding dvandvas] follows an enclitic pronoun—20% of enclitics preceding vocatives versus 38% vocatives preceding enclitics). These 73 occurrences are split fairly evenly between dimeter and trimeter meters:

37 dimeter (one heptasyllabic verse with a strong iambic rhythm)

36 trimeter (one decasyllabic verse in a Triṣṭubh stanza, one decasyllabic in RV 1.120;⁷⁹ four differ only in the subject in the opening of the line)

With regard to the chronology of enclisis to vocatives within the Rigveda, **Table 6** indicates the percentage of passages displaying post-vocative enclisis within each of Arnold's five compositional periods and compares these percentages to Klein's estimate of the overall percentage of verses of the

⁷⁸ Counting separately four instances in RV 10.62 in which the lines only differ by their subjects in the opening of the line. All repeated verses are counted only once.

⁷⁹ On the metrical difficulties presented by this hymn, cf. Arnold 1905:232 – 3.

Rigveda belonging to each period (Klein, 2008:181). The table shows that the possibility of enclisis diminishes over time. These data exclude accented vocatives (i.e., those that are line initial) to which an enclitic may be attached. However, these 7⁸⁰ examples all occur in Arnold's strophic or normal period.

Table 6 Chronological Table of Verses with Enclisis to Vocatives

	out of 73:	out of 70 (see below)	
Archaic:	24 (32.8%) :	24 (34.3%) :	overall 22.2%
Strophic:	25 (34.2%) :	25 (35.7 %) :	overall 21.0%
Normal:	12 (16.4%) :	12 (17.1%) :	overall 22.7%
Cretic:	7 (9.6%) :	4 (5.7%) :	overall 20.3%
Popular:	5 (6.8%) :	5 (7.1%) :	overall 13.9%

Particularly noteworthy is the frequency of formulaic constructions in the later periods. Four of the seven Cretic examples involve a formulaic expression (*aṅgirasō vo astu*) in the same hymn (RV 10.62) (treating these four examples as one produces the *out of 70* column). All five of the popular instances involve enclitics preceding a final two syllable word—the most common position for enclitics hosted by vocatives. Of these, the most striking is RV 10.95.13d (example **86**) in which the enclitic *mā* coalesces with the following verb *āpas*.

There are three potential options for the analysis of vocatives that permit enclisis. First, we could posit (following Hock 1996) that under certain limited circumstances, the prosodic boundary following the vocative is erased, permitting enclisis of enclitic pronouns that happen to stand syntactically after the vocative. Second, we could posit some special status to vocatives such that they are underlyingly

⁸⁰ Two additional instances display line-initial vocatives serving as enclitic hosts. 9.40.6c displays an enclitic that is not clause-initial and that attaches to an unaccented vocative, the second of two line initial vocatives. 9.40.6c is already included in the **table 6** since an unaccented vocative hosts the clitic. 7.71.1c is excluded both from **table 6** and the tally of line-initial vocatives since the vocative may be construed as an accusative. If so, it does not belong in either category. See section **2.5** for further discussion of clause-initial vocatives hosting enclitic pronouns.

accented in some manner, and this underlying accentuation (removed when the vocative happens not to stand initially) is what permits enclisis. Third, we could posit (following Peter, 1993) that vocatives are underlyingly initial where they would appear accented in the text of the Rigveda. In this case, enclisis would occur when the vocative stands initially, and the vocative-enclitic complex would move as a unit after enclisis.

The third case finds some support in the occurrence of initial vocatives to which enclitic pronouns are bound, but the nature of a movement process to support such a phenomenon is unclear. It would certainly have to be post-syntactic, since vocatives, as extrasentential elements, are not part of the clausal syntax; however, post-syntactic movement processes should be motivated by some limitation (either morphological or phonological) that prevents the morphological sequence projected by the syntax—a limitation that does not apply to vocatives. The second possibility is conceivable, but it does not explain why the vocative much more frequently follows the enclitic pronoun. Even with this second possibility, which justifiably takes into account the odd vocative accentuation rules in Vedic Sanskrit, we still need to invoke the first possibility and remove the pause that generally follows vocatives in order to permit enclisis. Hence, the goal should be to determine what limited circumstances permit the deletion of the prosodic boundary following the vocative.

Here again, there are four possible motivations. First, there may of course be a syntactic motivation. If so, then the occurrences of post-vocative enclitics should share some syntactic characteristic. Second, there may be metrical motivations in a poetic text that occasionally force the occurrence of a pre-enclitic vocative. Third, there may be formulaic phrasings that happen to result in enclisis to vocatives. Finally, there may be a pragmatic distinction in the vocatives themselves that accounts for the presence or lack of vocative incorporation. Indeed, there is some evidence that all four are involved, though I believe the syntactic motivation is primary, leading to extension through formulaic constructions. This section focuses on the metrical characteristics of this phenomenon, noting formulaic

patterns where relevant. The following section discusses syntactic tendencies which serve as a source for the metrical and formulaic characteristics that lead to exceptional syntactic patterns.

The occurrences of pre-clitic vocatives appears to entail certain metrical effects as such vocatives share particular prosodic properties. For example, disyllabic vocatives that immediately precede enclitic pronouns have a heavy first syllable and light second syllable. All such vocatives are:

amba, indra, soma, deva, ugra, vāta, vipra, mūra, candra

The only exception to this is *indo* with two heavy syllables, in example **61**. Here, however, the line begins with two vocatives, neither of which falls within the metrical structure permitting disyllabic vocatives to precede an enclitic pronoun individually. RV 9.40.6c thus falls into the category of lines beginning with vocatives that are immediately followed by enclitic pronouns—a highly exceptional but related pattern.

61)	<i>punāná</i>	<i>indav</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>bhara</i> /
	being purified.NOM.SG	drop.VOC.SG	to	bear.PRES.IMV.2SG
	<i>sóma</i>	<i>dvibárhasam</i>		<i>rayím</i> //
	Soma.VOC.SG	doubly great.ACC.SG		wealth.ACC.SG
	<i>vṛṣann</i>	<i>indo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ukthṛyam</i>
	bull.VOC.SG	drop.VOC.SG	us.DAT.PL	to be praised.ACC.SG
	‘As one being purified, O drop, bring to us, O Soma, doubly great wealth to be praised, O bullish drop.’ RV 9.40.6			

For a disyllabic vocative without this metrical structure to precede an enclitic, it must be part of a longer vocative phrase:⁸¹

*agne candra, sūno sahaso*⁸²

⁸¹ This observation also applies to *vṛṣann indo* in **61**.

⁸² Note that both *agne* and *sūno* consist of two heavy syllables.

Indeed, in dimeter meters, vocatives (or vocative phrases) of more than two syllables must end with a heavy-light metrical structure (i.e., x x – ˘) as shown by the complete set of such vocatives:

śūrapatni (– ˘ – ˘), *pavamāna*, *tuviśagma* (˘ ˘ – ˘), *śaviṣṭha* (˘ – ˘), and *agne candra* (– – – ˘)

All of these agree only in their final two syllables. Note that the enclitic pronoun appears in the third syllable from the end in four of these five examples⁸³ (the exception is *tuviśagma* which occurs before a line final enclitic pronoun), and as such requires a short syllable preceding the enclitic in the fifth syllable. Furthermore, there is greater freedom in the metrical value of the early syllables within dimeter meters, explaining the variation of the first syllables of longer vocatives.

In dimeter meters, the most frequent position for the enclitic pronoun is in the sixth syllable (see **table 7**).

Table 7 Syllable Placement for Vocative-Hosted Enclitics in Dimeter Verses

syllable	distinct verses	notes
fourth	2	RV 5.35.2a is heptasyllabic with a metrically unfilled eighth syllable
fifth	1	<i>nas</i> occurs as <i>na</i> before <i>ukthīyam</i>
sixth	28	once shortened before <i>ūpa</i>
eighth (final)	6	one trochaic dimeter verse in RV 1.120; three identical lines occur as a refrain in RV 6.44

In trimeter meters, greater variety is found in the metrical structure of the vocatives preceding an enclitic pronoun. The vocatives that occur in trimeter verses are:⁸⁴

disyllabic: *indra*, *soma*, *mūra*

trisyllabic: *pr̥thivī*, *maghavan*, *aśvinā*, *maruto*, *vṛṣaṇo*, *uṣaso*, (*sūno*) | *sahasō*, *vṛṣabha*, *indara*, *rodasī*, *vājino*

tetrasyllabic: *purūravo*, *aṅgirasō*, *mitrāvaruṇā*, *pavamāna*, *puruhūta*

⁸³ The five examples are given in **82, 88, 93, 116** (with *tuviśagma*), and **120**.

⁸⁴ The vertical line (|) represents the unexpected occurrence of the caesura within the vocative in these instances.

However, there is a strong tendency for such pre-enclitic vocatives to occur immediately following the caesura, be it early or late (see **table 8**). Only two instances occur in the opening of a trimeter meter, one of which is a decasyllabic line in an otherwise Triṣṭubh stanza. Oddly, a small number of vocatives occur with portions of the vocative phrase on either side of the caesura. There are six such instances in which a vocative both precedes and follows the caesura. Four of these involve the vocative phrase *sūno sahasas*, ‘O Son of Might’, in which the caesura occurs between the two words of the vocative phrase. Eighteen involve alignment of the vocative with the caesura. The vocative begins with the cadence in three instances in which the enclitic is not final, and in three others in which it is final. Four instances involve verses ending in the most common vocative-enclitic collocation, *indra te*.

Table 8 **Position of Vocative and Vocative-Hosted Enclitic in Trimeter Verses**

2	in which the vocative and enclitic are in the opening
6	in which the vocatives both immediately precede and immediately follow the caesura
18	in which the vocative immediately follows the caesura
3	in which the vocative begins a cadence with a non-final enclitic
3	in which the vocative begins a cadence with a final enclitic
4	in which the verse ends in <i>indra te</i>

Note that b and c both involve alignment of vocatives with the caesura. With regard to the hypothesis that the vocative itself carries a distinction necessitating incorporation into the clause, this is striking as it suggests that the vocative is not fully integrated into the clause, as a prosodic break is metrically required before the vocative. In other words, the vocative incorporation only applies to the end of the vocative in 24 or 36 trimeter verses—six of which have a vocative phrase broken by the caesura. Nevertheless, only *sūno | sahasas* is truly striking here as the vocative phrase should not contain a pause within it.⁸⁵ One of the other two examples (62) involves a dvandva (*mītrāvaruṇā*) which could be analyzed as two separate

⁸⁵ Perhaps another instance of a ‘weak caesura’ not characterized by a significant pause in pronunciation.

vocatives that just happen to be adjacent, for dvandvas are frequently separate, as seen in **63**, where *dyāvā* and *prthivī* (the two elements of the dvandva *dyāvāprthivī*) are non-adjacent.

- 62)** dadhikrām u sūdanam mártiyāya /
 Dadhikrā.ACC.SG and blessing.ACC.SG mortal.DAT.SG
 dadáthur mitrāvaruṇā no áśvam
 give.PERF.IND.2DL Mitra-Varuṇa.VOC.DL us.DAT.PL horse.ACC.SG
 ‘O Mitra and Varuṇa, you have given us Dadhikrā the horse as a blessing for the mortal.’ RV
 4.39.5cd
- 63)** dyāvā rākṣatam prthivī no ábhvāt
 Heaven.NOM.DL protect.PRES.IMV.2PL Earth.NOM.DL us.ACC.PL chaos.ABL.SG
 ‘O Heaven and Earth, protect us from chaos!’ RV 1.185.2d

The dvandva may be simply split by the caesura thus treating it as two separate vocatives that just happen to appear adjacent to each other. This is presumably the situation in the second example (**64**), where one vocative precedes the caesura and a second follows.

- 64)** utá brahmāṇo maruto me asyá /
 and edifying.VOC.PL Marut.VOC.PL me.GEN this.GEN.SG
 índraḥ sómasya súśutasya peyāḥ
 Indra.NOM.SG soma.GEN.SG well-pressed.GEN.SG drink.PREC.3SG
 ‘And Indra should drink of this my well pressed soma, O edifying Maruts.’ RV 5.29.3ab

Alternatively, the caesura may simply be weakly articulated in the case of dvandvas (and the occasional instances with a caesura between the elements of a compound) as suggested by Arnold (1905:180).

More telling than the position of the vocative is the position of the enclitic pronoun that follows a vocative within trimeter lines. The positions are tallied below in **table 9**.

Table 9 **Syllable Position of Vocative-Hosted Enclitics in Trimeter Verses**

syllable	distinct verses	notes
fourth	1	<i>indra nas</i> in Triṣṭubh
fifth syllable	1	a decasyllabic, Vipadā Virāj verse in Triṣṭubh stanza
break	0	
first syllable of cadence	5	1 Jagatī; 4 Triṣṭubh
second syllable of cadence	16	1 Jagatī; 15 Triṣṭubh
third syllable of cadence	6	1 Triṣṭubh; 3 with vocative and enclitic only in cadence
final syllable of cadence	7	2 Triṣṭubh; 1 decasyllabic verse with strong trochaic feel in RV 1.120; all four Jagatī end in <i>indra te</i>

Note that post vocative enclitic pronouns usually appear in the cadence. Strikingly, the enclitic pronouns usually occur in the second syllable of the cadence. Since enclitic pronouns are usually heavy syllables, it is surprising that the second syllable of the cadence, which is ordinarily light, contains the heavy syllable. This is permitted, however, because certain enclitics undergo vocalic shortening before another vowel. Indeed, six of the sixteen cases are followed by forms of the root *as* ‘be’ and four by the adverb *adyá* ‘today’. Three of the instances involving *adyá* contain the formulaic construction *sūno sahaso no adyá*. In addition, one hymn contains a break and cadence consisting of *aṅgirasō vo astu* repeated in each of the first four stanzas. These two formulas account for roughly half of these Triṣṭubh examples.

Twenty instances of enclisis to vocatives in trimeter verses place the enclitic in the third syllable from the end of the line (5 Jagatī in third syllable of cadence + 15 Triṣṭubh in second syllable of cadence), or roughly 56 % (20 of 36). Compare this to the third syllable from the end in dimeter verses (i.e., the sixth syllable) in which over three quarters (28 of 37 = 75.7 %) of the enclitic pronouns following vocatives in dimeter verses occur. Altogether, 65.8% (48 of 73) of the instances involving enclisis to vocatives place the enclitic three syllables from the end of a line. From this we conclude that the usual tendency when vocatives precede an enclitic pronoun is that a single two syllable word follows. Thus we have an abstract formulaic construction composed of a vocative followed by an enclitic followed by a line-final disyllable.

Presumably, the difference in proportions between dimeter and trimeter verses arises due to the limitation that the enclitic pronoun must be followed by a vowel-initial disyllabic word in Triṣṭubh meters in order for the poets to employ the enclitic as a light syllable. Considering that ten of the fifteen occurrences of enclitics following vocatives in the ninth syllable of Triṣṭubh verses involve *adyá* or forms of the copula *as*, it appears that the dearth of trochaic vowel-initial disyllables forced the use of set formulaic constructions. This position is of great interest in trimeter verses, as the vocatives immediately follow the pause of the caesura emphasizing the independence of vocatives (i.e., they are not clitics); nevertheless, the enclitic pronoun can attach itself to these vocatives. Indeed, these post-caesura vocatives followed by an enclitic pronoun are reminiscent of those instances in which a line begins with an accented vocative to which a clitic is bound.

In the 24 instances in which the vocative follows the caesura, it is most common to have a late caesura with a break of two light syllables (13 of 24 = 54%). Interestingly, the second most common form of break (accounting for 25% of these cases) inverts the usual pattern for three syllable breaks with a heavy first syllable followed by two light syllables. However, four of these six occurrences are formulaic structures in the same hymn. The following list gives the vocatives occurring in this position with the position of the start of the cadence marked with a vertical line. In those cases in which vocatives also precede the caesura, the caesura is marked by a comma. All instances in Jagatī verses are labelled.

1 break ˘˘	<i>purūra vo</i>	(with strict iambic meter)
2 break ˘˘	<i>aśvi nā</i>	
	<i>indra </i>	(in Jagatī only with strict iambic meter)
6 break ˘˘˘	<i>aṅgira so</i>	(4 times in RV 10.62.1-4)
	<i>ind_ara </i>	(2 times)
13 break ˘˘˘	<i>pr̥thi vī</i>	
	<i>vṛ̥ṣa ṇo</i>	
	<i>uṣa so</i>	
	<i>brahmaṇo, maru to</i>	
	<i>mitrā, varu ṇā</i>	
	<i>sūno, saha so</i>	(3 times)
	<i>magha van</i>	(once in Triṣṭubh and once in Jagatī)
	<i>pava māna</i>	(in Jagatī only, 2 times)
	<i>puru hūta</i>	(in Jagatī only)
1 break ˘˘˘	<i>vṛ̥ṣabha </i>	
1 break ˘˘˘	<i>sūno, sahaso </i>	

After the ninth syllable, the final syllable is the most common position for post-vocative enclitic pronouns in trimeter verses. In Jagatī verses, the sequence is invariably *indra te* with two of the four occurrences involving the purifying of soma for Indra. In each of these instances (RV 9.72.5b and 9.72.4d), we have the formula *pavate sóma indra te* as a quasi-refrain in the break and cadence which itself would make a good Gāyatrī verse. Indeed, this formula is shared once by a Gāyatrī verse with the exception that *pavate* is replaced by a verbal form which reinforces the strong iambic character of the line (RV 1.84.1a *ásāvi sóma indra te*). In addition, the formula occurs within RV 6.43 (*ayám sá sóma indra te sutáh píba*) as a refrain to all four Uṣṇih stanzas within the hymn. Furthermore, this verse is another

instance which may be treated as a Gāyatrī verse extended with a second cadence (*sutáh píba*).⁸⁶

Therefore, though the formula *sóma indra te* is not final within the verse, it shows a distinct parallel to a verse such as RV 1.84.1a. The small number of Triṣṭubh examples with final post-vocative enclitic follow vocatives with a heavy-light-heavy metrical structure (satisfying the metrical requirements of a Triṣṭubh cadence). Indeed, all the vocatives preceding a final enclitic in the meters with a trochaic cadence (adding one trochaic Gāyatrī and one decasyllabic verse to the two Triṣṭubh verses) have a long-short-long metrical structure (*rodasī, vājino, áśvinā*) as is required by the meter.

From this metrical survey, it is evident that a late occurrence of the enclitic is extraordinarily common in instances involving enclisis to vocatives (48 in antepenultimate syllable + 13 in ultimate syllable = 61 of 73 verses = 83.6%). For comparison, out of the 2133 distinct occurrences of singular enclitic pronouns, only 341 (16.0%) occur in similar positions (166 in antepenultimate syllable + 175 in ultimate syllable). This may in part be due simply to the fact that vocatives occupy several preceding syllables, but the overwhelming frequency of late occurrence indicates a strong influence from formulaic expressions. In addition, the clear formulaic expressions *sūno sahaso no adyá* (3x), *aṅgirasō vo astu* (4x), and *sóma indra te* (4x) account for 15.1% (11 of 73) of all occurrences of enclisis to vocatives. Though this is not a large percentage, it is not insignificant or negligible.

2.4 On Syntactic Motivation of Enclisis to Vocatives

Having given a brief overview of the metrical and formulaic characteristics of vocative-enclitic pronoun sequences, we shall now discuss potential syntactic motivations for the phenomenon of enclisis to vocatives. The syntactic characteristic that forms the basis of this possibility is the situation in which the enclitic stands at the beginning of the syntactic phrase to which it belongs. This phrasal boundary provides a logical position at which the vocative may be inserted forcing prosodic rebracketing to allow enclisis to the vocative by incorporating the vocative into the following syntactic phrase. This

⁸⁶ The refrain of RV 6.44.1-3 *sómaḥ sutáh sá indra te* shows a distinct relation to this formula through rearrangement of the elements in the refrain of RV 6.43. According to Arnold, the verses from RV 6.43 and RV 6.44 are the archaic verses, suggesting that the line-final instances of *sóma indra te* are secondary.

characteristic commonly occurs in these instances: 1) the enclitic forms a phrase with an immediately following lexical item, 2) the enclitic stands in a copular clause, 3) the enclitic is stranded by a fronted or gapped lexical item (usually a fronted verb). In addition, some instances can only be analyzed with the enclitic in the extended CP, a situation that far more frequently would not involve enclisis to vocatives.

These categories are not mutually exclusive, and they do not address all occurrences of enclisis to vocatives, but they do provide a basis for the formation of formulaic constructions—particularly with respect to enclitics in the ultimate and antepenultimate syllables.

The enclitic as a possessive determiner (15)

Cases in which enclitics act as genitives preceding the possessed noun are fairly common. In these instances, there is little doubt as to the constituency. The noun phrases are bracketed below, and each bracketed noun phrase with initial genitive enclitic is immediately preceded by a vocative. The enclitic is expected to precede the noun underlyingly by the hypothesized noun phrase structure in section 1.3. Those instances of possessive enclitics found within copular clauses or with fronted verbs have been placed in sub-categories.

In copular clauses

In the following six examples involving copular clauses, the first five (examples 65 – 69) place the possessed noun phrase in final position in the absence of an expressed copula.

- 65)** áthedám víśvam pavamāna [te váśe]
 and so~this.NOM.SG all.NOM.SG Pavamāna.VOC.SG your.SG command.LOC.SG
 ‘And therefore all this is at your command, O Pavamāna.’ RV 9.86.28c
- 66)** sárvaṃ tát indra [te váśe]
 all.NOM.SG that.NOM.SG Indra.VOC.SG your.SG command.LOC.SG
 ‘All that, O Indra, is in your command.’ (or ‘at your will’) RV 8.93.4c

67)	yád	adó	vāta	[te	grhé] /
	what.NOM.SG	there	wind.VOC.SG	your.SG	house.LOC.SG
	amṛtasya		nidhír		hitáh //
	ambrosia.GEN.SG		treasure.NOM.SG		set.NOM.SG
	táto	no	dehi		jīváse
	thence	us.DAT.PL	give.AOR.IMV.2SG		live.INF

‘What is there in your house, O Wind, stored as a treasure of ambrosia, from that give us to live!’

RV 10.186.3

Example **67** parallels the structure of **65** and **66** in the first verse with the relative pronoun serving the role of the subject. Since the participle *hitáh* (masculine) of the second verse does not agree with *yád* (neuter) in the first verse, the second verse must be a distinct syntactic unit.

68)	aśvī	rathī	surūpá	íd /
	having horses.NOM.SG	having wagons.NOM.SG	well-formed.NOM.SG	just
	gómāñ	íd	indra	[te sákhā]
	having cows.NOM.SG	just	Indra.VOC.SG	your.SG friend.NOM.SG

‘Beautiful in form is the one possessing horses and wagons; Rich in cows, O Indra, is your friend.’ RV 8.4.9ab

In examples **65** – **68**, the vocative separates the two noun phrases joined by the unexpressed copula. As vocatives are expected to be inserted at natural phrasal boundaries, this is not surprising; however, the vocative serves a clear function of separating subject from predicate in these examples.

69)	vīṣāyám	indra	[te	rátha]
	bull.NOM.SG~this.NOM.SG	Indra.VOC.SG	your.SG	wagon.NOM.SG

‘(Like) a bull is this, O Indra, your wagon.’ RV 8.13.31a

Given the use of the vocative above as a functional divider between the two arguments of a copula, this clause might be translated as ‘(Like) this bull, O Indra, is your wagon.’ However, since

vocatives may be inserted at phrasal boundaries, the phrasal boundary between a deictic pronoun and its apposition would serve as a legitimate position to insert a vocative. Following Geldner, a third possibility, ‘(Like) a bull is this wagon of yours, O Indra,’ would treat the vocative as interpolating itself within the noun phrase. This option cannot be definitively rejected either, despite the expectation that a vocative should not ordinarily separate the elements of a noun phrase, since one of the potential exceptions to this prohibition mentioned at the end of section 2.2 is the situation in which the vocative is coreferent with a word within the noun phrase, as it is here with *te*. Nevertheless, considering additional instances of potentially cataphoric deictic pronouns in examples 75 and 81, the translation as appositional may be most plausible.

70 is significantly more complicated than the simple copular clauses above. Note also that it is the only example of a possessive enclitic preceding a trisyllabic head noun.

70)	nahí	tvád	anyán	maghavan	[na	áp̣yaṃ] /
	not	you.ABL.SG	other.NOM.SG	liberal.VOC.SG	our.PL	friendship.NOM.SG
		váśyo	ásti	pitā́		caná
		better.NOM.SG	be.PRES.IND.3SG	father.NOM.SG		not even

‘For there is no better friendship of ours other than you, O Liberal one, not even the father.’ RV 7.32.19cd

In this passage, formulaism likely plays a role. Two other instances of clauses beginning with *nahí tvád anyá-* are immediately followed by a vocative: RV 1.57.4c *nahí tvád anyó girvaṇo girah sāghat* ‘For no one is equal to the hymns other than you, O desirous of hymns’ and RV 8.66.13cd⁸⁷ *nahí tvád anyāḥ puruhūta kás caná / mághavann ásti marḍitā́* ‘For there is not any granting mercy other than you, O much-called liberal one.’ The value of *tvád anyá-* ‘other than you’ in these examples is as a (possibly parenthetical) condition on the main statement. If so, *tvád anyá-* is not a core constituent of the main

⁸⁷ Compare also the highly similar RV 1.84.19c *ná tvád anyó maghavann asti marḍitā́* ‘There is no other granting mercy than you, O liberal one.’

clause in the same way that *na āpyam* and *váśyo* are, although it agrees with the subject. Furthermore, if the condition is not a core constituent, it would be justifiably separated by a prosodic boundary at which the vocative may be inserted. A translation that better reflects such an analysis is ‘For, other than you, no friendship of ours is better—not even the father.’

With fronted verbs

In the following examples, the fronting of the verb strands the possessed noun phrases in final position. All of these are found in octosyllabic dimeter verses with three syllables (either a verb and particle or just a verb) preceding a disyllabic vocative which itself precedes the enclitic followed by a disyllabic noun.

- 71) jīgātu indra [te mánah]
- go.PRES.IMV.3SG Indra.VOC.SG your.SG mind.NOM.SG
- ‘Let your mind go, O Indra.’ (Geldner: ‘turn to us’) RV 8.45.32a

- 72) sād̥hantām ugra [no dhíyah]
- succeed .PRES.IMV.3PL mighty.VOC.SG our.PL thought.NOM.PL
- ‘Let our thoughts, O Mighty one, succeed.’ (i.e., our prayers will come true.) RV 6.53.4c

In both these instances, fronting of an intransitive verb leaves behind a clause-final subject.

- 73) gr̥nānti vipra [te dhíyah]
- sing.PRES.IND.3PL inspired.VOC.SG your.SG thought.ACC.PL
- ‘They praise your thoughts, O Inspired one.’ (lit. sing) RV 1.14.2b

- 74) yójā nú indra [te hārī]
- yoke.AOR.SUBJ.1SG now Indra.VOC.SG your.SG bay horse.ACC.DL
- ‘Now I will yoke your two bays, O Indra.’ RV 1.82.1e (refrain)

- 75) gr̥né tād indra [te śáva /
sing.PRES.IND.1SG that.ACC.SG Indra.VOC.SG your.SG might.ACC.SG
upamám] devātātaye //
highest.ACC.SG divinity.DAT.SG
yád dhāṃsi vṛtrám ójasā śacīpate
when slay.PRES.IND.2SG Vṛtra.ACC.SG might.INST.SG lord of power.VOC.SG
‘I sing that, O Indra, your highest might, to all divinity when you slay Vṛtra with might, O Lord
of Power.’ RV 8.62.8

As translated here, example **75** employs a cataphoric use of *tād* before the appositional noun phrase which renames it. Alone among these five examples, the clause of **75** is not contained exclusively within the line. By the framework employed here for the verb phrase (as introduced in section **1.3**), the verb would have originally stood between *upamám* and *devātātaye*, since datives frequently follow the verb in the Rigveda.

The remaining examples involve possession unaffiliated with a copular clause or a fronted verb. In all instances, the enclitic precedes a disyllabic head noun that concludes an octosyllabic verse.

- 76) káṇvāsa indra [te matím] /
Kaṇva.NOM.PL Indra.VOC.SG your.SG intention.ACC.SG
víśve vardhanti paúṃsiyam
all.NOM.PL increase.PRES.IND.3PL manliness.ACC.SG
utó śaviṣṭha vṛṣṇiyam
and~too most mighty.VOC.SG bullishness.ACC.SG
‘All the Kaṇva’s, O Indra, increase your intention, your manliness, and your bullish power, O
most mighty one.’ RV 8.6.31

77) á ta indra mahimānaṃ /
to your.SG Indra.VOC.SG greatness.ACC.SG
hárayo deva [te máhaḥ] //
bay horse.NOM.PL god.VOC.SG your.SG glory.ACC.SG
rátthe vahantu bíbhrataḥ
wagon.LOC.SG convey.PRES.IND.3PL bearing.NOM.PL
‘Let the bay steeds convey hither your greatness, O Indra, your glory, O god, bearing (it) on a wagon.’ RV 8.65.4

78) pári prá soma [te raso] /
around forth Soma.VOC.SG your.SG juice.NOM.SG
ásarji kaláše sutáḥ
send forth.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG bowl.LOC.SG pressed.NOM.SG
‘Your juice, O Soma, has been poured over the bowl, pressed.’ RV 9.67.15a

Example 79 violates the general expectation that the vocative should not break up an unscrambled noun phrase. However, the second person enclitic may justify the insertion of the vocative adjacent to the pronoun.

79)	új	[jātám	indra	te	śáva] /
	up	native.ACC.SG	Indra.VOC.SG	your.SG	might.ACC.SG
	út	t _u vām	út	táva	krátum
	up	you.ACC.SG	up	your.SG	insight.ACC.SG
	bhúrigo		bhúri	vāvṛdhur	/
	many-cattled.VOC.SG		much	increase.PERF.IND.3PL	
	mághavan		táva	śármaṇi	
	liberal.VOC.SG		your.SG	protection.LOC.SG	

‘They have often raised up your native power, (raised) up you, (and raised) up your insight, O cattle-rich one, in your protection, O liberal one.’ RV 8.62.10

Note also that the vast majority of these cases (all but **70** and **72**) involve the second person pronoun which refers to the entity named by the vocative. This may also help to motivate the rebracketing of the vocative phonological phrase to include the enclitic in those cases in which the vocative and the enclitic are referentially identical. If there were a prosodic break preceding the enclitic, it would undergo Prosodic Inversion. This would be the expected case when a vocative precedes such a collocation. However, in these cases, the prosodic break that is expected after a vocative is removed permitting the enclitic to attach to the vocative.

Similar in appearance are the following.

80)	ásṛgram		indra	te	gíraḥ
	send forth.AOR.IND.PASS.3PL		Indra.VOC.SG	you.DAT/GEN.SG	song.NOM.PL

‘The songs have been sent forth to you, O Indra.’ or ‘Your songs have been sent forth, O Indra.’
RV 1.9.4a

- 81)** dadhātha tát purūravo ma ójah
 set.PERF.IND.2SG that.ACC.SG Purūravas.VOC.SG me.DAT/GEN.SG might.ACC.SG
 ‘You have set that might against me, O Purūravas.’ or with cataphoric *tát* ‘You have granted that,
 O Purūravas—my might.’ RV 10.95.11b
- 82)** yé agne candra te gírah /
 wh-.NOM.PL Agni.VOC.SG shimmering.VOC.SG you.DAT/GEN.SG song.ACC.PL
 śumbhānti áśvarādhasaḥ
 beautify.PRES.IND.3PL horse-granting.NOM.PL
 ‘They who, granting horses, beautify the songs for you, O shimmering Agni,...’ or ‘...beautify
 your songs...’ RV 5.10.4ab

However, these can be interpreted quite sensibly as either dative (as in the first translation for each) or genitive (as in the second translation for each). Due to their structural similarity with the rest of the clauses in this section, a genitive interpretation appears desirable. If the enclitics are datives, examples **81** and **82** display a common syntactic construction in which the dative precedes the direct object (both moved into their respective Agr nodes), but example **80** would require both the verb and the enclitic to be moved into the extended CP as the subject follows the enclitic. A genitive interpretation of **81** would favor treatment of the phrase *ma ójah* as an apposition to the cataphoric *tát* which would provide a natural pause to allow for the insertion of the vocative. A dative interpretation would require a discontinuous noun phrase reading of *tat...ójah*. Nevertheless, **81** is certainly a dative despite this discontinuous noun phrase, as the context indicates that the goddess Urvaśī accuses Purūravas of turning his strength against her (i.e., taking her by force). In addition, the verbs in all three of these instances frequently employ dative arguments, so in **80** and **82** the genitive interpretation must remain uncertain.

Related to these simple possessives are the following, which involve discontinuous noun phrases. Crucially, the noun phrase is an argument of the verb; however, the noun has been moved to an earlier position in the clause while the clitic has been left in the original position.⁸⁸

- 83)** \acute{a}_j kaláśam_x mādhumān soma [[naḥ t_x] t_j sadah]
 to bowl.ACC.SG sweetened.NOM.SG Soma.VOC.SG our.PL sit.AOR.INJ.2SG
 ‘Sweetened, sit in our bowl, O Soma.’ RV 9.106.7c

- 84)** ádhi_j stotrásya_x pavamāna [[no t_x] t_j gahi]
 upon praise-song.GEN.SG Pavamāna.VOC.SG our.PL go.AOR.IMV.2SG
 ‘Pay attention to our praise-song, O Pavamāna.’ (lit. go over) RV 9.72.9d

- 85)** yá indra śúśmo_x maghavan [[te t_x] ásti] /
 what.NOM.SG Indra.VOC.SG battlespirit.NOM.SG liberal.VOC.SG your.SG be.PRES.IND.3SG
 śikṣā sākhibhyaḥ puruhūta nṛbhyaḥ
 exert.PRES.IMV.2SG friend.DAT.PL much-called.VOC.SG men.DAT.PL
 ‘What your battlespirit is, O benevolent Indra, exert yourself for friends, O much-called, for men!’ RV 7.27.2ab

Alternatively, **85** may be interpreted as ‘What battlespirit, O benevolent Indra, is yours,...’ in which case, it falls under the following sections involving verbal arguments.

As verbal object (accusative) (4)

In these instances, the direct object stands, as expected, immediately before the verb. Interestingly, in one of these examples (**88**), the enclitic acts as the subject of infinitival clauses following the verb. All these passages involve first person pronominal enclitics.

⁸⁸ The motivation of this fronting is unclear. It may be either topicalized or focused, though without an explicit focus marker (such as *íd* or *evá*), I favor a topicalization analysis.

- 86)** párehi ástaṃ nahí mūra [māpāḥ]
 away~go.PRES.IMV.2SG home.ACC.SG not fool.VOC.SG me.ACC~attain.PRES.SUBJ.2SG
 ‘Go home, for you will not get me, you fool.’ RV 10.95.13d

86 is the only example of enclisis to vocatives which shows vowel coalescence of the enclitic pronoun with the following word. As mentioned in section **2.1**, vowel coalescence with clitic pronouns makes the direction of clisis ambiguous and may motivate a proclitic reanalysis which would remove the problem of enclisis to vocatives.

- 87)** mā jásvane vṛṣabha [no rarīthāḥ]
 not hunger-pangs.DAT.SG bull.VOC.SG us.ACC.PL give.PRES.INJ.2SG
 ‘Give us not to hunger-pangs, O bull!’ RV 6.44.11a

- 88)** máhi śaviṣṭha [nas kṛdhi] /
 great.ACC.SG most mighty.VOC.SG us.ACC.PL make.AOR.IMV.2SG
 samcákṣe bhujé asyaí
 behold.INF enjoy.INF this.DAT.SG

‘O Most mighty, make us behold the great (deed) to enjoy this!’ RV 1.127.11de

For example **89**, the delayed pronunciation (extraposition) of the subject *priyāḥ* may be motivated by the presence of further epithets of Indra in the following verses.

- 89)** ā indra [no gadhi] priyāḥ
 to Indra.VOC.SG us.ACC.PL go.AOR.IMV.2SG beloved.NOM.SG
 ‘O Indra, come to us as the beloved!’ RV 8.98.4a

The enclitic, as direct object, stands in the base projected position in these clauses with respect to the verb. Although it is possible to treat the enclitic as standing in second position (i.e., in the expanded CP) in **86**, **88**, and **89**, the presence of the vocative reflects a natural phrasal boundary which probably corresponds to the boundary of the verb phrase. If so, then *jásvane* in **87** would be topicalized, not simply raised to the AgrIOP position. However, the caesura that follows *jásvane* could also prevent enclisis, so

the vocative may have been employed as a means of providing a more suitable host for the enclitic.

Although these examples support the hypothesis that vocatives may host enclitics that are governed by a word immediately following them, they do not, except for **88**, help to provide the basis for a formula placing vocative-hosted enclitics before a line-final disyllable. This is in direct contrast to the possessive enclitics, all but one of which support a formula placing a vocative-hosted enclitic before a line-final disyllable.

As verbal object (non-accusative) (10 + 1 questionable)

When the enclitic acts as an indirect object immediately preceding the verb, the verb is invariably final in its clause (with the exception of **92** in which the direct object exceptionally follows). Many of these instances involve copular verbs (i.e., *bhū* or *as*). In copular clauses, the enclitics are best analyzed as benefactive datives or possessive genitives. Considering the verbal framework of section **1.3**, a preverbal position of the dative indirect object reflects movement into AgrIOP.

- 90)** kuvít sú indra [ṇaḥ śākaḥ]
 surely well Indra.VOC.SG us.DAT.PL enable.AOR.SUBJ.2SG
 ‘Surely you will make (it) possible for us, O Indra.’ RV 8.80.3c

Alternatively, *nas* in **90** may be construed as an accusative. The translation ‘Surely you will empower us, O Indra’ would more clearly reflect such an analysis. If this is the case, then this example should be included in the previous category. Indeed, since *śak* may also take a dative direct object, it may be more similar structurally to the preceding section even with a non-accusative verbal object

- 91)** prāśastim amba [nas kṛdhi]
 honor.ACC.SG mother.VOC.SG us.DAT.PL make.AOR.IMV.2SG
 ‘Make honor for us, O Mother!’ (i.e., make us famous) RV 2.41.16d

As an alternative, **91** may be analyzed as a double accusative construction; however, this is unlikely due to the incompatibility of number between *nas* (plural) and *prāśastim* (singular).

- 92)** *tuvām* *ca* *soma* [*no* *váśo*] /
 you.NOM.SG and Soma.VOC.SG us.DAT.PL wish.PRES.SUBJ.2SG
 jīvātum *ná* *marāmahe* //
 life.ACC.SG not die.AOR.SUBJ.1PL
 priyástotro *vānaspátih*
 dear-praise.NOM.SG wood-lord.NOM.SG
 ‘And if you, O Soma, will wish us life, we will not die—(you,) the lord of the wood to whom
 praise is dear.’ RV 1.91.6

Example **92** is difficult to account for as the direct object follows the verb whereas the indirect object precedes. Under normal circumstances, the situation would be exactly reversed when the verb occurs between the two arguments (i.e., DO V IO). The direct object may be extraposed in this instance, motivated by the contrast of life and death in the second verse.

- 93)** *ā_x* *pavamāna* [*no t_x* *bhara*] /
 to Pavamāna.VOC.SG us.DAT.PL bear.PRES.IMV.2SG
 aryó *ádāśuṣo* *gāyam*
 godless.GEN.SG unpious.GEN.SG property.ACC.SG
 ‘Bear to us, O Pavamāna, the possessions of the godless unpious one.’ RV 9.23.3ab

Example **93** similarly has the inverted word order of **92**. In this instance, the direct object has probably been extraposed due to its length. In addition, the movement of the preverb to the front of the line would require the presence of a trace between the dative enclitic *nas* and the verbal form. As an alternative analysis, this could be one of the handful of cases in which the enclitic truly appears in second position yet is still preceded by a vocative. Even so, unless the verb has also been fronted into the extended CP, this clause would have to resort to extraposition of the direct object. As imperatives are frequently fronted, such movement into the extended CP (specifically to Foc) cannot be ruled out. In either case, only one constituent remains in a base-generated position.

Examples **94** – **96** are instances in which the enclitic pronoun is an argument of a copula.

- 94)** sumitráḥ soma [no bhava]
 good-friend.NOM.SG Soma.VOC.SG us.DAT.PL be.PRES.IMV.2SG
 ‘A good friend, O Soma, be thou unto us!’ RV 1.91.12c
- 95)** á na spārhé bhajatanā vasavyè /
 to us.DAT.PL desirable.LOC.SG share.PRES.IMP.2PL wealth.LOC.SG
 yád īṃ sujātám vṛṣaṇo [vo ásti]
 wh-.NOM.SG -ever noble.NOM.SG bull.VOC.PL your.PL be.PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘Give us a share in the desirable wealth, whichever noble (wealth) is yours, O bulls.’ RV
 7.56.21cd

- 96)** tébhyo bhadráṃ aṅgirasō [vo astu]
 that.DAT.PL prosperity.NOM.SG Aṅgiras.VOC.PL you.DAT.PL be.PRES.IMV.3SG
 ‘For you, O Aṅgiras, let there be prosperity.’ (*tébhyo* construed with *vas*) RV 10.62.1c

The formula *aṅgirasō vo astu* is found four times in this hymn alone with different four-syllable openings: in 2c: *dīrghāyutvám* ‘long-life’, in 3c: *suprajāstvám* ‘good offspring’; in 4c: *subrahmanyám* ‘ability with formulations’. Only the first stanza provides the deictic *tébhyo* that agrees with the pronominal enclitic.

The following, though really a copular clause, is included in this category as the clitic is a dative argument of the participle *sutáḥ*.

- 97)** ayám sá sóma indra [te sutáḥ] pība
 this.NOM.SG that.NOM.SG Soma.NOM.SG Indra.VOC.SG you.DAT.SG pressed.NOM.SG drink.PRES.IMV.2SG
 ‘This is that soma, O Indra, pressed for you. Drink!’ RV 6.43.1c (refrain 4x)

Example **97** includes the formula *sóma indra te* in its only non-final instance. As mentioned in section **2.3**, this verse, as a ‘dimeter Uṣṇih’, resembles an octosyllabic verse ending in *sóma indra te* extended by a second cadence. Note however, that the phrase *te sutáḥ* acts as an appositive to *sá sóma*, so

the placement of the vocative between the two noun phrases takes advantage of the natural pause between a noun and its appositive.

These instances in which vocative-hosted enclitic is a non-accusative argument of a following verb are particularly formulaic in appearance. In all instances (excepting the participial object of **97**), a single disyllabic verb follows the enclitic. Furthermore, two of the three clear formulaic expressions (*sóma indra te* and *aṅgirasō vo astu*) are found in this section if we include **97**.

As postpositional object (1 + 1 questionable)

The following two cases are unusual in that the adpositional items appear to govern the preceding enclitic. The clearer example is **98** in which *me* is the object of *sácā* which usually takes a locative complement. However, *sácā* occurs finally in collocation with other enclitic pronouns in RV 1.93.11(*naḥ sácā*), 1.139.7g (*me sácā*), 5.44.12b (*vaḥ sácā*), and 8.92.29c (*me sácā*). Only second person singular *tvé* occurs as a non-enclitic locative form with *sácā*, which is normally employed as a postposition (note the frequent occurrence of line-final *suté sácā*).

- 98)** evā rātís tuvīmagha /
 truly gift.NOM.SG much-giving.VOC.SG
 víśvebhir dhāyi dhātṛbhiḥ //
 all.INST.PL establish.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG establisher.INST.PL
 ádhā cid indra [me sácā]
 thereupon even Indra.VOC.SG me.LOC (?) with
 ‘Truly the gift, O much-giving one, was established by all the establishers; and still, O Indra, (you are) with me.’ RV 8.92.29

The second case, **99**, is a little more complicated as the adposition *úpa* is usually a preposition.

- 99)** átaś cid indra [ṇa úpa] /
 hence even Indra.VOC.SG us.ACC.PL unto
 á yāhi śatāvājayā //
 to drive.PRES.IMV.2SG having hundred-fold booty.INST.SG
 iṣā sahásravājayā
 refreshment.INST.SG having thousand-fold booty.INST.SG
 ‘From there, O Indra, drive up to us with refreshment containing hundred-fold booty, containing
 thousand-fold booty!’ RV 8.92.10

Indeed, the only instances in which an enclitic precedes *úpa* with the verbal root *gam* ‘go’ are those in which the enclitic has been clearly raised into second position within the clause. Furthermore, if the line break here is not strong, demonstrating a slight relaxation of the usual strict metrical guidelines,⁸⁹ we have the normal sequence of preverbs: *úpa* + *á* + *yā*. Assuming *yā* is parallel to *gam*, the expected order would have the enclitic between *úpa* and *á*. Thus, it appears more likely that this is a case in which the enclitic is really raised into second position with pre-enclitic vocative. Nevertheless, both examples in this category provide support for the formula placing a vocative-hosted enclitic in the antepenultimate syllable, as was the case with possessives and non-accusative verbal objects.

The following passage is unique in that the following items are emphatic particles. It is particularly surprising that a reduced enclitic form is emphasized, as such prosodic reduction would be expected to reflect some form of de-emphasis.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Note also that example **99** is metrically poor, as all four final syllables are short. This may be a further sign of a relaxation of the usual strict metrical guidelines.

⁹⁰ A similar instance is RV 5.17.5ab where the emphatic particles *íd dhí* follow *naḥ*: *nú na íd dhí vārīyam / āsā sacanta sūrāyah* ‘Now indeed may the lords attain the desirable thing for us by mouth!’ However, the previous hymn has a nearly identical stanza (cf. RV 5.16.5ab: *nú na éhi vārīyam / ágne grṇāná á bhara* ‘Now come to us! Being sung, O Agni, bring the desirable thing hither!’) with the phonetically similar *éhi* ‘come!’ in place of the strikingly unusually placed *íd dhí*. Emending RV 5.17.5a to be identical to RV 5.16.5a would provide a sensible translation without the problematic emphatic reduced form: ‘Now come to us! May the lords attain the desirable thing by mouth.’

100) grāvāṇaḥ soma [no hí kaṃ] /

pressing-stone.NOM.PL Soma.VOC.SG our.PL indeed EMPH

sakhitvanāya vāvaśúḥ

friendship.DAT.SG desire.PERF.IND.3PL

‘Our pressing stones desire (you), O Soma, for friendship.’ RV 6.51.14ab

As an alternative, the enclitic could represent an accusative inclusive first person pronoun joining ‘us’ with ‘Soma’. If this is the case, it may provide some motivation for the emphatic particles on the enclitic. The resultant translation would be ‘The pressing stones desire us (= you and us), O Soma, for friendship (i.e., to be friends).’ Such a translation has two arguments in its support. First, although there are three instances in which a vocative intervenes between a head noun and its enclitic possessor, in all such cases, the enclitic and vocative have an identical referent (i.e., all enclitic pronouns are second person). Second, the pressing of soma requires three logical participants: the pressing stones, soma, and those who perform the pressing (i.e., ‘us’). As such, it is plausible to believe that, in order to prepare the soma, the pressing stones desire the ‘friendship’ of both Soma and those who utilize them in its preparation. Militating against this theory is the fact that the enclitic does not stand immediately before the verb, as would be expected. In order to attain a sequence in which the direct object precedes the indirect object which itself precedes the verb, the direct object must be fronted (see section 4.5 examples 384 and 385). In addition, the nominative subject would be expected to stand between the direct object and indirect object. Since an enclitic cannot stand in initial position, the fronted enclitic direct object would necessarily undergo Prosodic Inversion. However, since Prosodic Inversion performs a minimal rearrangement of lexical items, the insertion of a vocative between the subject and the enclitic suggests that Prosodic Inversion has not occurred.

With fronted verbs

Examples with fronted verbs that are governed by the following lexical item have been discussed above in examples 71 – 75 and 80 – 81. This section deals with additional instances of fronted verbs that

also contain enclitics that are not governed by the following lexical item. Fronted lexical items are defined as items moved to a projection of the extended CP (either XP, CP, TopP, or FocP). Instances involving fronted verbs may strand enclitics within the verb phrase. If the enclitic is initial in the verb phrase, the natural phrasal boundary serves as a position at which to insert a vocative. The clearest such example that does not leave the vocative in line-final position is example **101**.

- 101)** dyāvā rākṣatam pṛthivī no ábhvāt
 Heaven.VOC.DL protect.PRES.IMV.2PL Earth.VOC.DL us.ACC.PL chaos.ABL.SG
 ‘O Heaven and Earth, protect us from chaos!’ RV 1.185.2d

Here the ablative *ábhvāt* was probably post-verbal underlyingly before the verbal fronting.

- 102)** aviṣṭām dhīṣú áśvinā na āsú
 help.AOR.IMV.2DL thought.LOC.PL Áśvin.VOC.DL us.ACC.SG these.LOC.PL
 ‘Help us, O Áśvins, in these (our) thoughts!’ RV 7.67.6a

Here the enclitic could also be a genitive possessing the noun phrase *dhīṣú...āsú*, but if so the clause has an unusual syntax. This would be an example of a determiner-final noun phrase (which is not accommodated in the hypothesized noun-phrase structure of section **1.3**, but which does occur elsewhere as in example **282** in section **3.9**). If the enclitic is accusative, the clause would have to front both the verb (through Foc to C) and the head noun *dhīṣú* (to TopP). The accusative analysis would place a phrasal boundary after the extended CP and before the enclitic that would permit the insertion of the vocative. The genitive analysis would require the vocative to break up the noun phrase without the identity of referent with the enclitic that may justify such insertion.

103)	sá	śakra	śikṣa	puruhūta	no	dhiyā	/
	that.NOM.SG	mighty.VOC.SG	exert.PRES.IMV.2SG	much-called.VOC.SG	us.DAT.PL	thought.INST.SG	
	tūje	rāyē	vimocana				
	thrust.DAT	wealth.DAT.SG	releasing.VOC.SG				

‘As such, O Mighty much-called one, exert yourself for us through (our) poetic thought for thrusting out wealth, O unharnesser.’ RV 8.4.15cd

Here we find a deictic pronoun in CP and the verb fronted into Foc stranding the enclitic in initial position within the verb-phrase (probably in AgrIOP). Interestingly, the trimeter verse with the enclitic can be converted into a standard dimeter verse by the removal of the vocative *puruhūta* that follows the caesura. As common occupants of the break immediately following the caesura, vocatives may be used as a means of introducing a pause into a dimeter line to create a trimeter line—a form of formulaic metrical expression.

104)	avipró	vā	yád	ávidhad	/
	uninspired.NOM.SG	or	if	devote.IMP.3SG	
	vípro	vā	indra	te	vācaḥ
	inspired.NOM.SG	or	Indra.VOC.SG	you.DAT.SG	word.ACC.SG

‘If the uninspired or the inspired has devoted a word to you, O Indra...’ RV 8.61.9ab

Here the verb *ávidhad* (in Foc) follows the subordinate conjunction *yád* (in CP) with the extra-topicalized phrase *avipró vā* preceding (in XP).

Line Final Enclitics

Several instances (**105 – 111**) involving fronted verbs strand their objects at the end of the clause. Excepting **105**, these fronted verbs follow an initial string as in Hock’s template (1996: 219). That is, they are presumably raised into the last position of the initial string (i.e., either Hale’s FocP (2009:5) or Rizzi’s FinP (1997: 288)) and may still be preceded by another element to include up to one accented

lexical item that is not a particle. **105** through **108** display trochaic cadences (generally Triṣṭubh verses, but **108** is decasyllabic), while **109** through **117** display iambic cadences (Jagatī or Gāyatrī verses).

- 105)** dyāvābhūmī śṛṇutām rodasī me
 heaven-earth.VOC.DL hear.PRES.IMV.DL world.VOC.DL me.GEN.SG
 ‘O heaven and earth, Hear me, O you two worlds!’ RV 10.12.4b

An emphatic iterative compound is found in absolute initial position (probably in XP) preceding the imperative in example **106**. This is a two-word clause in which the verb has been fronted as is common among imperatives. Note that even without verbal fronting the enclitic would have to follow the verb through Prosodic Inversion. In that case, however, there should not be a vocative intervening between the verb and enclitic.

- 106)** vāje-vāje avata vājino no /
 every battle.LOC.SG aid.PRES.IMV.3PL having war horses.VOC.PL us.ACC.PL
 dhāneṣu viprā amṛtā ṛtajñāḥ
 competition.LOC.PL inspired.VOC.PL immortal.VOC.PL truth-knower.VOC.PL
 ‘In every battle, aid us, O possessors of war horses—in the competitions, O inspired immortal truth-knowers!’ RV 7.38.8ab

In this example the complete clause is contained in 8a with a clarification of *vāje-vāje* by *dhāneṣu* in 8b, which has been separated from the clause by a line break. Thus the dislocated *dhāneṣu* should be considered an extra-clausal clarification (reflected in the translation by the dash). Similarly, the locative iterative compound *vāje-vāje* is separated from the main clause by the caesura. It may be considered to occupy the XP projection preceding the fronted imperative.

The following two examples, both from the same hymn, are the only ones that demonstrate full vocative integration with vowel coalescence of the initial vowel of the vocative as well as enclisis following the vocative. Arnold suggests this hymn is highly corrupted and provides an emended form of the first nine verses of this hymn to regularize the meter (1905:232 – 3).

107) *ká* *rādhad* *dhótrāśvinā* *vām*
wh-?.NOM.SG satisfy.AOR.SUBJ.3SG invocation.NOM.SG~Áśvin.VOC.DL you.ACC.DL
‘Which invocation will satisfy you, O Áśvins?’ RV1.120.1a

Among the examples of verses with fronted verbs and trochaic cadences (**105 – 108**), **107** alone has a lexical item aside from the vocative that intervenes between the verb and clitic (the subject *hótrā*), and this is the one that most clearly demonstrates that the verb has been raised above the subject. Here also, the interrogative which agrees with the subject has been raised to absolute initial position creating a split constituent (*ká...hótrā*). Arnold’s suggestion for this verse converts the apparent trochaic Gāyatrī into a standard trimeter Triṣṭubh verse: *ká rādhati hótarā áśvinā vām* (1905:232).

108) *ahám* *cid* *dhí* *rirébhāśvinā* *vām*
I even for sing.PERF.IND.1SG~Áśvin.VOC.DL you.DAT.DL
‘For even I have sung to you, O Áśvins.’ RV 1.120.6b

This passage has a clearly emphatic subject (*ahám* marked with the emphatic particle *cid*) raised into the initial string before the fronted verb. The unusual position of the enclitic relative to the verb is the only clear evidence for the verbal fronting. Furthermore, there is no evidence for any Prosodic Inversion. If *vām* preceded the verb, it could easily have been incorporated into the opening to form a five-syllable opening with no recourse to Prosodic Inversion. Further, the vocative should not intervene between two items that Prosodic Inversion has transposed. As a metrical note, Arnold converts this decasyllabic verse into a standard Triṣṭubh by undoing the vowel coalescence of *rirébhā* and *áśvinā* (1905:233). Furthermore, a good Triṣṭubh verse can be created with the enclitic preceding the verb without recourse to verbal fronting (*ahám cid dhí vām | áśvinā rirébhā*) further emphasizing the needlessness of Prosodic Inversion. As a possible motivation for fronting the verb, the previous verse is verb initial beginning with the imperative *śrutām* ‘you two hear!’.

In Gāyatrī or Jagatī stanzas, when a line-final enclitic is preceded by a vocative, the enclitic is always *te*. Frequently, the enclitic pronoun acts as a genitive, either in a noun phrase or in a copular

Three of the four distinct instances involving the collocation *sóma indra te* have fronted verbs (the fourth instance is example **97**). The clearest case is example **109**.

In this line, the verb is found in initial position preceding the subject. The dative *te* may be expected to follow the verb (as in RV 8.33.12a *vṛṣā sôtā sunotu te*, the only other instance with this verbal root in which *te* cannot be construed as in second position). Hence, the verb is raised to initial position leaving the clitic stranded in final position.

A few additional phrases describing the setting precede this line. The phrase *śúcīr dhiyā́* has been left dislocated from *sóma* which it describes. The syntactic clause is simply *pavate sóma indra te* which directly parallels **109. 111**, which follows **110** immediately in the same hymn, is almost identical, except the phrases providing additional background information is different.

93

112) náḱīm vṛdhīká indra te /
 NEG increaser.NOM.SG Indra.VOC.SG your.SG=than you
 ná suṣā ná sudā utá //
 not good acquirer.NOM.SG not good giver.NOM.SG and
 nānyás tvác chūra vāghātaḥ
 not~other.NOM.SG you.ABL.SG hero.VOC.SG singer.GEN.SG
 ‘Not at all is (there) an increaser, O Indra, (other) than you, nor a good acquirer, nor also a good giver—the singer has no other than you, O hero.’ RV 8.78.4

Over half the verses ending in vocatives hosting an enclitic pronoun (7 of 13) end in the formulaic collocation *indra te*. This passage extends the formulaic employment of final *indra te* beyond the phrase *sóma indra te*. Here, *te* serves no functional purpose except to proleptically echo *tvát* in verse 4c. The striking employment of *te* to echo an ablative form against the ordinary usage of Sanskrit enclitic pronouns results from an extension of the formulaic collocation *indra te*. This passage exhibits the way in which formulaic constructions may result in non-functional employments of an enclitic.

As a possessive at the end of a noun phrase

This is a small category involving the four instances in which the vocative intervenes between a head noun and the enclitic pronoun. Note, however, that **79** similarly has a vocative intervening between the adjective and the enclitic.⁹¹ In all these cases, the noun phrase to which the enclitic belongs is towards the beginning of the clause (including **79**). The translations below reflect the separation of the head noun from the possessive pronoun by the vocative.

113) utá [vratāni soma te] / prāhām mināmi pākṛyā
 and vow.ACC.PL Soma.VOC.SG your.SG forth~I break.PRES.IND.1SG foolishness.INST.SG
 ‘And (those) vows, O Soma, of yours I break by foolishness.’ RV 10.25.3ab

⁹¹ If the cataphoric analysis of *tát* is rejected, **75** and **81** may be grouped with **79**. Also, if the enclitic in **102** is treated as a genitive instead of an accusative, it too behaves in a similar manner.

These verses do not fall neatly into the syntactic framework employed in this investigation since the placement of the pronoun *ahám* between the verb and preverb is a sign of tmesis which should place the preverb in CP and leave only one available position for the conjunction and the noun phrase *vratāni te*. If the conjunction stands outside of the initial string (i.e., precedes the expanded CP), then the phrase *vratāni soma te* could stand in the XP position preceding the preverb *prá* in CP as a form of topicalization. Alternatively, perhaps a clause may be associated with multiple XP phrases. This iteration of XP may suggest that this is not a syntactic position, but a reflection of a postsyntactic operation such as dislocation or extraposition.

- 114)** [d_iyaúś cid asya ámavāṁś áheḥ svanād /
heaven.NOM.SG even this.GEN.SG mighty.NOM.SG serpent.GEN.SG sound.ABL.SG
 áyoyavīd bhiyāsā] [vájra indra te]
 separate.IMP.INT.3SG fear.INST.SG cudgel.NOM.SG Indra.VOC.SG your.SG
vṛtrásya yád badbadhānásya rodasī⁹²
Vṛtra.GEN.SG when oppressing.INT.GEN.SG world.ACC.DL
 máde sutásya śávasābhīnac chīraḥ
 intoxicant.LOC.SG pressed.GEN.SG might.INST.SG~split.IMP.IND.3SG head.ACC.SG
‘[Even mighty heaven recoiled from the sound of this serpent with fear] when in the intoxication
of the pressed (soma), (that) cudgel, O Indra, of yours split the head of Vṛtra, oppressing the two
worlds.’ RV 1.52.10

The syntax of this clause is uncertain. The relative conjunction *yád* ‘when’ would be expected to stand in CP, but the clause has two distinct noun phrases preceding *yád*, the subject *vájra...te* and *vṛtrásya*. In addition, *yád* separates *vṛtrásya* from its appositive *badbadhānásya rodasī*. Finally, the object of the verb (*chīraḥ* for *śīraḥ*) is separated from its possessor by several phrases. Perhaps the direct object is extraposed, though there is no discourse motivation for such extraposition. The subject *vájra...te*

⁹² Emending the vocative *rodasī* to the accusative dual *rodasī* following Geldner (1951:67).

may be in XP (before *yád* in CP) or it may be extraposed. The syntax is messy, and all that can be claimed with confidence is that the phrase *vájra...te* is early in the clause.

- 115)** *nū* *cin* *nú* *te* *mānyamānasya* *dasma* /
 never now you.GEN.SG thinking.GEN.SG master.VOC.SG
 úd *aśnuvanti* *mahimānam* *ugra* //
 up attain.PRES.IND.3PL greatness.ACC.SG mighty.VOC.SG
 ná [*vīryam* *ind_ara* *te*] *ná* *rādhah*
 nor manliness.ACC.SG Indra.VOC.SG you.GEN.SG nor generosity.ACC.SG
 ‘They never attain the greatness of you, as you reflect (upon something), O Mighty master, nor
 the manliness, O Indra, of you, nor generosity.’ RV 7.22.8

115 involves a possessive enclitic separated from its head noun by a vocative. This example may be considered to be at the beginning of a clause, though the clause must have a gapped verb (omitting a redundant *aśnuvanti*). In essence, *ná* acts as a clausal conjunction though much of the clause is supplied by the context.

As an argument of a copular clause

Copular clauses in which the enclitic acts as an argument behave similarly to the copular clauses in which the enclitic precedes its head noun (**65 – 69**). The vocative takes advantage of the natural phrasal boundary between the arguments of the copula as a place of insertion.

- 116)** *yáh* *śagmās* *tuviśagma* *te* /
 wh-.NOM.SG effective.NOM.SG very-potent.VOC.SG your.SG
 rāyó *dāmā* *matīnām*
 wealth.GEN.SG giver.NOM.SG thought.GEN.PL

‘Which effective (soma), O very potent one, as a giver of wealth (and) thoughts (is pressed) for you,...’ RV 6.44.2ab

This clause is similar to **97** in that the enclitic appears to be a dative object of the participle *sutáh* (by enjambment with the first two words of **117** below). However, this translation is difficult to account for syntactically within the framework of section **1.3** because of the discontinuous nominative noun phrase which appears to require two TopP phrases in the extended CP to accommodate both *śagmās* and *te*. As an alternative, each verse could be taken as a unit. The first line contains the basic statement (‘which effective thing, O mighty potent one, is yours.’). The second line contains an epithet further describing the effective thing as ‘a giver of wealth (and) of thoughts’ before the first two words of the refrain (*sómaḥ sutáh* in **117**) names the effective item as ‘the pressed soma’.

117)	sómaḥ	sutáh;	sá	indra	te	/
	Soma.NOM.SG	pressed.NOM.SG	that.NOM.SG	Indra.VOC.SG	your.SG	
	ásti	svadhāpate	mādaḥ			
	be.PRES.IND.3SG	lord of independence.VOC.SG	intoxicant.NOM.SG			
	‘...the soma is pressed, that intoxicating drink is yours, O Indra, lord of independence.’ RV					
	6.44.1cd, 2cd, 3cd					

117 has a discontinuous noun phrase *sá...mādaḥ* which complicates the analysis. The simplest solution is to treat *mādaḥ* as a dislocated subject. The translation ‘...that, O Indra, is yours, O lord of independence—the intoxicating drink’ reflects this dislocation.

118)	yāmiṣṭhāsaḥ	sārathayo	yá	indra	te	/
	best-driving.NOM.PL	coachmen.NOM.PL	wh-.NOM.PL	Indra.VOC.SG	yours.SG	
	ná tvā	kétā	ā	dabhnuvanti	bhūrṇayaḥ	
	not you.ACC.SG	expectations.NOM.PL	to	harm.PRES.IND.3PL	eager.NOM.PL	
	‘The best-driving coachmen which, O Indra, are yours—the eager expectations do not deceive (injure) you.’ (meaning, essentially: ‘Your eager expectations, which are your best driving coachmen, do not deceive you.’ RV 1.55.7cd					

Since the copula is omitted in **118**, the verb that governs the enclitic strands the enclitic in final position through its absence. Not also the similarity in the cadences of **117** and **118**, differing only in that **117** has *sá*, **118** *yá*. The translation as given reflects the apparent anacolouthon in which the clause begins again in 7d.

Second Position

Aside from the various examples mentioned above in which the enclitic may be regarded as fronted into the extended CP or initial string, a fair number of the remaining instances of enclisis to vocatives may best be analyzed as involving topicalized enclitic pronouns. The problem with vocatives hosting enclitics in the extended CP is that vocatives tend to follow the extended CP, taking advantage of the phrasal boundary between the initial string and the clause proper. The items analyzed as belonging to the extended CP are placed between brackets.

- 119)** [nūtnā íd indra te] vayám /
 now just Indra.VOC.SG you.GEN.SG we
 ūtī abhūma nahí nū te adrivaḥ //
 help.DAT.SG become.AOR.IND.1PL not now your.SG pressing stone lord.VOC.SG
 vidmā purā pārīṇasaḥ
 know.PERF.IND.1PL previously fullness.GEN.SG
 ‘O Indra, we now have become (ready) for your help, since we have not yet come to know
 previously of your fullness, O Lord of the pressing stone.’ RV 8.21.7a

- 120)** [kīm śūrapatni nas] tūvām / abhy àmīṣi vṛṣākapiṃ
 why hero-wife.VOC.SG our.PL you.NOM.SG toward harm.PRES.IND.2SG Vṛṣākapi.ACC.SG
 ‘Why, O hero’s wife, do you harm our Vṛṣākapi?’ (Indra speaking to his wife about their son,
 Vṛṣākapi) RV 10.86.8cd

119 and **120** share the formulaic tendency of vocative-hosted enclitics to stand in the antepenultimate syllable. This tendency may have influenced the composition of these two verses,

encouraging the inversion of the positions of the enclitic and vocative as a means of attaining a suitable iambic cadence—a form of metrical inversion from the more usual vocative following an initial string ending in an enclitic.

- 121)** [brahmaṇyánta ind_ara te] návīya /
 speaking formulations.NOM.PL Indra.VOC.SG you.GEN.SG anew
 íṣam úrjaṃ sukṣítim sumnám ásyuḥ
 refreshment.ACC.SG strength.ACC.SG good-dwelling.ACC.SG favor.ACC.SG attain.AOR.OPT.3PL
 ‘Might they, speaking formulations, O Indra, obtain from you anew refreshment, strength, good dwelling (and) favor.’ RV 2.19.8cd

121 is one of only five instances among the 36 trimeter verses in which a vocative-hosted enclitic is placed in the first syllable of the cadence—another unusual occurrence.⁹³

- 122)** [sám indra ṇo] mánasā neṣi góbhiḥ /
 together Indra.VOC.SG us.DAT.PL mind.INST.SG lead.PRES.IMV.2SG cow.INST.PL
 sám sūribhir harivaḥ sám suastí //
 together generous.INST.PL with bay steeds.VOC.SG together well-being.INST.SG
 sám bráhmaṇā deváhitam yád ásti /
 together formulation.INST.SG god-granted.NOM.SG wh-.NOM.SG be.PRES.IND.3SG
 sám devānām sumatyā yajñíyānām
 together god.GEN.PL favor.INST.SG worship-worthy.GEN.PL
 ‘O Indra, with your mind present us with cows, with generous lords, O thou of bay steeds, with well-being, with a formulation which is god-granted, with the favor of the worship-worthy gods!’
 RV 5.42.4

⁹³ Of 962 occurrences of singular enclitics in a Triṣṭubh verse, only 36 (3.7%) occur in the first syllable of the cadence. Note, however, that the presence of a vocative preceding the enclitic prevents their occurrence in the otherwise common second and third syllables. This limitation accounts for the much increased percentage of 13.8% of enclitics hosted by a vocative occurring in the first syllable of the cadence.

122 places the enclitic in the final syllable of a four-syllable opening. The final position of an opening is a favored position for enclitics. In openings of four syllables, 239 occurrences of singular enclitics are in the fourth syllable, 161 are in the second syllable, and only ten are in the third syllable, neglecting the four occurrences of *tvā* as a disyllable in the opening. As similar examples with a metrically equivalent vocative showing the opposite sequence of vocative and enclitic can be found, such as RV 9.81.3a *ā naḥ soma pávamānaḥ kirā vásu* ‘O Soma, purifying yourself, scatter good out for us!’, this sequence cannot be claimed to be metrically or formulaically supported, but rather, it must remain merely a highly irregular option for the poets.

123) [yád indra te] cátasro /
 if Indra.VOC.SG yours.SG four.NOM
 yác chūra sánti tistráḥ //
 if hero.VOC.SG be.PRES.IND.3PL three.NOM
 yád vā páñca kṣitínām /
 if or five.NOM nation.GEN.PL
 ávas tát sú na ā bhara
 help.ACC.SG that.ACC.SG well us.DAT.PL to bear.PRES.IMV.2SG
 ‘Whether, O Indra, four (nations are) yours (to aid?), whether, O Hero, three are, or if five of the nations, bring that help well to us.’ RV 5.35.2

The beginning of **123** is metrically similar to **122**. However, the first two verses of this stanza are the only two heptasyllabic verses in this Anuṣṭubh hymn (stanzas composed of four octosyllabic verses). As if to make up for the syllable lacking at the end, these two verses have emphasized a strong iambic rhythm throughout the lines (◡ – ◡ – ◡ – ◡).⁹⁴ This regular alteration of short and long syllables may have motivated the inversion of the usual order of vocative and enclitic at the end of an initial string.

⁹⁴ But the second verse begins with two long syllables.

Though no clear syntactic reason can be provided for the five examples above that can only be described as involving enclitics within the extended CP, formulaic tendencies appear to play a role in these instances. The following five cases of vocative-hosted enclitics do not fall neatly into the preceding categories.

124)	yád	dyā́va	indra	te	śatám /
	if	heaven.NOM.PL	Indra.VOC.SG	yours.SG	100
		śatám	bhūmīr	utá	s,yúḥ
	100	earth.NOM.PL	and	be.PRES.OPT.3PL	

‘If a hundred heavens, O Indra, would be yours, and a hundred earths,...’ RV 8.70.5ab

124 is a copular clause, but the predicative *te* does not stand in line final position or before the final verb as it does in **94 – 96** and **116 – 118**. Indeed, though the enclitic acts as a verbal argument, it splits the noun phrase *dyā́va...śatám*. In addition, it shows the unusual conjunctive syntax of X Y *utá* as noted in Klein 1985 (348). The discontinuity of the noun phrase and the unusual conjunctive syntax suggest that *dyā́va...śatám* must have been scrambled via movement into the extended CP. However, since *te* does not stand before the copula, it too must have been moved into the extended CP, and both such movements are not possible. Therefore, the syntax of this clause cannot be accommodated by the framework of this study. Nonetheless, the position of the enclitic in the antepenultimate syllable suggests formulaism may play a role.

125)	utáhám	náktam	utá	soma	te	dívā /
	and~I	at night	and	Soma.VOC.SG	you.GEN.SG	by day
		sakhyā́ya		babhra	údhani	
		friendship.DAT.SG		brown.VOC.SG	udder.LOC.SG	

‘Both night and day, O Soma, I am in your udder for friendship, O brown one.’ (possibly more literally: ‘And I am at night—and, O Soma, for you by day—for friendship, O brown, in the udder.’) RV 9.107.20ab

This selection is unusual in the positioning of *utá* as well. Its presence twice (presumably conjoining the temporal lexical items *náktam* and *dívā*) is bizarre because of the intervention of personal pronouns between the conjunction and the conjoined elements. Complicating matters is the dissociation of the possessive *te* from its presumed head noun *údhani*. Apparently, the two conjunctions conjoin two initial strings within the same clause. Alternatively, we could consider this example to include a parenthetical afterthought (as represented by the alternative translation provided in parenthesis). Again, the presence of the enclitic in the antepenultimate syllable suggests a formulaic influence.

- 126)** ābhūṣantas te sumataú návāyāṃ /
 waiting.NOM.PL your.SG favor.LOC.SG new.LOC.SG
 vayám indra tvā śunám huvema
 we Indra.VOC.SG you.ACC.SG success.ACC.SG call.PRES.OPT.1PL
 ‘Waiting on your new favor, we would call you, O Indra, for success.’ (*śunám* adverbial) RV
 10.160.5cd

126 shows an accusative enclitic before the verb with an adverbial intervening within the verb phrase. In essence, this is again an instance in which the enclitic is initial in the verb phrase. The phrasal boundary between the subject and the predicate serves as a legitimate position for the insertion of the vocative necessitating prosodic rebracketing to include the vocative and provide the enclitic with a suitable host.

127) punāná indav á bhara /
being purified.NOM.SG drop.VOC.SG to bear.PRES.IMV.2SG
 sóma dvibárhasam rayím //

Soma.VOC.SG doubly great.ACC.SG wealth.ACC.SG

vṛṣann indo na ukth₂yam
bull.VOC.SG drop.VOC.SG us.DAT.PL to be praised.ACC.SG

‘As one being purified, O drop, bring to us, O Soma, doubly great wealth to be praised, O bullish drop.’ RV 9.40.6

127 may be analyzed in a couple ways. First of all, note the discontinuous accusative noun phrase with *ukth₂yam* separated from the rest of the noun phrase in 6b. If *ukth₂yam* is right dislocated, then the verb might be expected to stand between the direct object *rayím* and the indirect object *nas*. Since the verb does not stand there, it must have moved, stranding the indirect object *nas*. In this instance, the vocatives are inserted in the middle of the verb phrase in the position where the verb might be expected to stand. Alternatively, 6c may be considered a second predicate to the verb. In this case, *nas* would stand at the beginning of the second predicate which would place it initially within the verb phrase. Such an alternative may be reflected in a translation such as ‘O drop, as one being purified, O Soma, bring doubly great wealth—O bullish drop, to us (bring) what is to be praised.’

Formulaic

The remaining vocative-hosted clitics do not have a good syntactic justification, but they do follow a formulaic pattern (cf. **112** with formulaic final *indra te*). Following the caesura, the poets fill in metrical slots with a vocative of a metrical structure ∪ ∪ – followed by an enclitic and a vowel-initial disyllable. The disyllable must begin with a vowel in order to reduce the length of the vowel of the enclitic by the Vedic rule that a long vowel is shortened before another vowel. In this manner, the enclitic may stand in a syllable that the meter requires to be short. Following Arnold’s dating, the oldest cases all

involve the collocation *sūno sahaso no adyá*. The pattern is extended following the archaic period apparently on a metrical basis.

- 128)** utá tvám sūno sahaso no adyá /
 and you.NOM.SG son.VOC.SG might.GENSG us.DAT today
 á devām asmín adhvaré vavṛtyāḥ
 to god.ACC.PL this.LOC.SG service.LOC.SG turn.PERF.OPT.2SG
 ‘May you, O Son of Might, turn the gods hither to us today in this service.’ RV 6.50.9ab
- 129)** áchidrā sūno sahaso no adyá /
 unbroken.ACC.PL son.VOC.SG might.GENSG us.DAT today
 stotṛbhyo mitramahaḥ śárma yacha
 singer.DAT.PL friend-greatness.VOC.SG protection.ACC.PL extend.PRES.IMV.2SG
 ‘Grant us singers today, O Son of Might honored as a friend, unbroken protection!’ RV 1.58.8ab
- 130)** ihá tvám sūno sahaso no adyá /
 here you.NOM.SG son.VOC.SG might.GENSG us.GEN today
 jātó jātām ubháyām antár agne //
 born.NOM.SG born.ACC.PL both.ACC.PL between Agni.VOC.SG
 dūtá īyase yuyujāná ṛṣva /
 messenger.NOM.SG go.PRES.IND.2SG yoking.NOM.SG towering.VOC.SG
 ṛjumuṣkán vṛṣaṇaḥ śukrāmś ca
 straight-testicled.ACC.PL bull.ACC.PL light.ACC.PL and
 ‘Here you, O son of might, go today between both the born (beings), O Agni, born as our messenger, yoking, O towering one, the straight-testicled and light-colored bulls.’ RV 4.2.2

128 and **129** are from Arnold’s archaic period and serve as the source of this formula. **130** is from Arnold’s strophic period—still early, but not the source of the pattern. In these instances, the enclitic may be treated as positioned within the extended CP with the insertion of the vocative *sūno*

sahasō in its common location with the caesura splitting the two elements of the vocative phrase. Note also that these three examples all have a late caesura (following an opening of five syllables).

131 provides a further archaic source for the formula, without itself following the formula.

131)	vadmā́	sūno	sahasō	no	vīhāyā /
	speaker .NOM.SG	son.VOC.SG	might.GEN.SG	us.DAT.PL	mighty.NOM.SG
	agne	tokām	tānayaṃ	vājī	no dāḥ
	Agni.VOC.SG	offspring.ACC.SG	seed.ACC.SG	victorious.ACC.SG	us.DAT.PL give.AOR.INJ.2SG
	‘O son of might, Let there be a mighty speaker for us. O Agni, give us victorious offspring seed.’				
	RV 6.13.6ab				

Also from the Archaic period, **131** is the last example involving *sūno sahasō no*, but this example follows a short opening and places the enclitic in the first syllable of the cadence before a trisyllable. As such, it provides another example of the origin of this formula before the formulaic requirement that the line end in a vowel-initial disyllable had been set.

The second line of **132**, from Arnold’s normal period of Rigvedic composition, displays the extension of the formula to a different vocative. In addition, the enclitic is no longer *nas*. However, the final disyllable is still *adyá*.

132)	kuvít	sá	devīḥ	sanáyo	návo	vā /
	INTERROG	that.NOM.SG	divine.VOC.PL	old.NOM.SG	new.NOM.SG	or
	yámo	babhūyād		uṣaso	vo	adyá //
	ride.NOM.SG	be.PERF.OPT.3SG		Uṣas.VOC.PL	you.DAT.PL	today
	yénā	návagve	āṅgire	dáśagve /		
	wh-.INST.SG	Navagva.LOC.SG	Aṅgira.LOC.SG	Daśagva.LOC.SG		
	saptásiye	revatī		revád	ūṣá	
	seven-mouth.LOC.SG	wealthy.VOC.PL		richly	shine.PERF.IND.2PL	
	‘Might that course of yours, O divine Uṣas, be an old or new one today by which, O rich ones, you have shined richly upon Navagva, Aṅgira, Daśagva, (and) the seven-mouthed (god) [i.e., Bṛhaspati]?’ RV 4.51.4					

Note especially that the vocative *uṣaso* is metrically equivalent to *sahasō*. The formula is limited to the break and cadence at this point as the item preceding the caesura is not a vocative. However, reflecting its metrical origin, the final two syllables of the opening are long, matching the metrics of *sūno*. With this example, the formula is no longer restricted to the beginning of a clause.

133, also from Arnold’s normal period, shows that the formula is a metrical abstraction by introducing the new vowel-initial disyllable *asyá* (though phonetically similar to *adyá*) with the third enclitic (*me*) to be included in the formula as well as yet another vocative.

133)	utá	brahmāṇo	maruto	me	asyá /
	and	edifying.VOC.PL	Marut.VOC.PL	me.GEN	this.GEN.SG
	índraḥ	sómasya	súṣutasya	peyāḥ	
	Indra.NOM.SG	soma.GEN.SG	well-pressed.GEN.SG	drink.PREC.3SG	

‘And Indra should drink of this my well pressed soma, O edifying Maruts.’ RV 5.29.3ab

Here again, the vocative *maruto* is metrically equivalent to *sahasō*. Likewise, the vocative preceding the caesura (*brahmāṇo*) ends in two long syllables to match the metrics of *sūno*.

134 exhibits a vocative (*mitrāvaruṇā*) with the same metrical pattern (– – ∪ ∪ –) as *sūno sahaso*.

Here too, a new vowel-initial disyllable is introduced.

134)	dadhikrām	u	sūdanam	mārtiyāya /
	Dadhikrā.ACC.SG	and	blessing.ACC.SG	mortal.DAT.SG
	dadáthur		mitrāvaruṇā	no áśvam
	give.PERF.IND.2DL		Mitra-Varuṇa.VOC.DL	us.DAT.PL horse.ACC.SG
‘O Mitra and Varuṇa, you have given us Dadhikrā the horse as a blessing for the mortal.’ RV				
4.39.5cd				

This hymn is from the popular period of Rigvedic composition according to Arnold, and as such is a late example of the formula. In addition, **134** is an example in which the verb functions as the fulcrum of a chiasitic structure. The second line appears to be a complete clause with a fronted verb and the indirect object raised into AgrIOP. Taking this as a starting point, the first line could be considered a second predicate in which the verb has been gapped. A translation reflecting such an analysis more clearly would be ‘And Dadhikrā, as a blessing for the mortal—you have given us, O Mitra and Varuṇa, that horse.’

In conclusion, although a formulaic explanation is necessary to account for all the instances of enclisis to a vocative, a syntactic explanation can provide a motivation for the creation of these formulas. When an enclitic stands at the beginning of its phrase, a vocative may reasonably be inserted prior to the enclitic. Frequently, such situations placed the vocative in the antepenultimate syllable leading to the creation of a formula permitting enclisis to vocatives generally if the enclitic would then stand in the antepenultimate syllable

2.5 Enclisis to Vocatives in Clause-Initial Position

Most striking are those cases in which the enclitic pronoun remains initial within the clause and cliticizes to a preceding vocative directly violating the rule that the enclitic forms of the personal pronoun “are forbidden...when immediately after a vocative, which heads the sentence” (Speijer, 1886:195). Since

vocatives are generally assumed to be syntactically extrasentential, the handful of such cases presents a glaring counterexample to the claim that these Wackernagel elements must occur in second position within the clause, as they occur in the initial position syntactically. Interestingly, almost all such instances involve Indra. All but RV 1.17.7 (example **135**) and RV 9.40.6c (example **145**) involve the clitic *tvā*. It should be noted that the tonic form *tvām* never occurs in second position within a line following a vocative, but 123 of 179 occurrences of *tvām* are initial in the line (of which 24 are immediately followed by a vocative with no intervening particles, usually *agne*—never *indra*). This would suggest that the vocative is inserted into the sentence in second position following the clitic which then undergoes Prosodic Inversion around the vocative while syntactically remaining in initial position. Refuting this hypothesis, however, the dual form *yuvām* does occur immediately following the vocative *indrāgnī* in RV 6.60.7ab (*indraagnī yuvām imé / abhī stómā anūṣata* ‘O Indra and Agni, these praisesongs have acclaimed you two.’), one of 3 instances (out of a total of 24 occurrences) in which this form does not appear initially within its line.⁹⁵ Given this, we are forced to revise our observation and say only that the form of the second person singular pronoun that is permitted to follow a vocative is *tvā*.

This observation fails to explain why enclitic pronouns are occasionally permitted to follow initial vocatives. Indeed, the problem is not syntactic in these cases, but prosodic since enclitics are supposed to be incapable of standing initially in a clause due to their prosodic deficiency. Further, prosodic breaks would be expected on both sides of the vocative,⁹⁶ which should prevent the possibility of enclisis to vocatives more generally. However, under certain circumstances, “[vocatives] may be prosodically rebracketed with neighboring structures” (Hock, 1996:259), while still remaining syntactically extraclausal. With this prosodic rebracketing, the vocative becomes a part of the prosodic

⁹⁵ There are 2 instances in which the vocative immediately follows *yuvām*: RV 1.109.5a *yuvām indrāgnī vásuno vibhāgé / tavástamā śuśrava vṛtrahátye* ‘I have heard that you two, O Indra and Agni are strongest in the distribution of wealth—in the battle with Vṛtra.’, and RV 7.83.1ab *yuvām narā páśyamānāsa āpyam / prācā gayántaḥ pṛthupársavo yayuḥ* ‘Wide-chested they, seeing companionship, (and) desiring cows, went forward to you two, O men.’

⁹⁶ Note the common position of vocatives adjacent to the caesura in trimeter meters (both preceding and following the caesura), pointing to the frequent presence of a pause or other minor prosodic boundary before and after a vocative.

phrase of the following clause, which licenses the clitic to find its host outside of the syntactic clause to which it belongs. Thus, when the vocative is incorporated into the prosody of the following clause, the vocative can host the clitic so it can remain in initial position as expected from ordinary syntactic processes. All the cases of enclitic pronouns standing initially in their respective clauses cliticized to vocatives follow below. Note especially **136**, in which the vocative and enclitic are the first two words of the hymn.

135) *índrāvaruṇa* *vām* *ahám* / *huvé* *citrāya* *rādhase*
 Indra-Varuṇa.VOC.DL⁹⁷ you.ACC.DL I.NOM call.PRES.IND.1PL excellent.DAT.SG gift.DAT.SG
 ‘O Indra (and) Varuṇa, I call you (dual) for an excellent (honor-)gift.’ RV 1.17.7ab

136) *índra* *tvā* *vṛṣabhám* *vayám* /
 Indra.VOC.SG you.ACC.SG bull.ACC.SG we.NOM
 suté *sóme* *havāmahe*
 pressed.LOC.SG soma.LOC.SG call.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘O Indra, you, the bull, we call at the pressed soma.’ RV 3.40.1ab

137) *índra* *tvāyám* *arká* *īṭte* *vásūnām*
 Indra.VOC.SG you.ACC.SG~this.NOM.SG hymn.NOM.SG implore.PRES.IND.3SG good.GEN.PL
 ‘O Indra, you this hymn calls upon for treasure.’ (īḍ ‘implore for’ + *genitive*) RV 7.24.5c

138) *índra* *tvā* *yajñáh* *kṣámamāṇam* *ānaṭ*
 Indra.VOC.SG you.ACC.SG worship.NOM.SG enduring.ACC.SG attain.AOR.IND.3SG
 ‘O Indra, you, the forbearer (enduring one), the worship attained.’ RV 10.104.6c

It should be noted that in all of these examples (**135 – 138**), the accusative enclitic has been topicalized to precede the subject. Should Prosodic Inversion operate in these instances as expected, the enclitic would revert to its original preverbal position, and the emphasis produced by the topicalized fronting would be lost. The problem arises simply due to the use of the enclitic form of the personal

⁹⁷ Exceptionally ending with a short vowel.

pronoun where the full, accented variant would be expected—especially since the verses would remain metrically identical in **136** and **138** if the tonic variant *tvām* took the place of *tvā*. These examples, though, appear to provide evidence that enclitic pronouns are occasionally syntactically placed in clause initial position, and so at least some instances of these pronouns in second position must be due to the operation of Prosodic Inversion.

In addition to the four clear cases given above, **139** may also be an example of this phenomenon. However, since it is not possible to distinguish the vocative from the dual accusative form in this case, it is not a certain example.

139) áśvāmaghā gómaghā vām huvema
 horse-gift.VOC/ACC.DL cow-gift.VOC/ACC.DL you.ACC.DL call.PRES.OPT.1PL
 ‘O horse-givers, O cow givers, you two we would call.’ (or ‘We would call you (two), the horse-givers, the cow-givers.’) RV 7.71.1c

Note that **139** is the only instance that does not have an explicitly expressed subject.⁹⁸ This might be taken to suggest that the two initial items are actually accusatives and not vocatives, as the explicit subject may be a necessary condition for an initial second person enclitic accusative pronoun to engender prosodic rebracketing. Unfortunately, with such a small set of examples, this cannot be claimed as certain. Nevertheless, **139** is a key to understanding how clause-initial enclitics are permitted to attach to vocatives. Were these ambiguous forms taken to be accusatives, there would be nothing striking about this clause. Indeed, they would resemble simple apposition with the clitic following two appositives, one of which begins the break (cf. example **183** in section 4.3 with dative appositions and enclitic). However, when such dual forms are reanalyzed as vocatives, the result is clause-initial enclitics creating a basis for further clauses with initial enclitics hosted by a vocative.

⁹⁸ With optional items in parentheses, the four clear examples all follow the template: Voc Enclitic (Acc) Nom (Acc) V (goal/purpose). Also, this is the only such situation that does not address Indra.

Further explaining the appearance of clause-initial enclitics is **140**. This clause is unexceptional, since it has a normal preverbal accusative that is not initial in the clause due to the preceding purpose datives. It is the presence of the line break and the vocative that creates the problem, not the syntax of the clause itself.

140)	vātrahatyāya	śávase	/	pṛtanāṣāhiyāya	ca //
	obstacle-slaying.DAT.SG	might.DAT.SG		battle-victory.DAT.SG	and
	índra	tvā́		vartayāmasi	
	Indra.VOC.SG	you.ACC.SG~to		turn.CAUS.PRES.IND.1PL	

‘For obstacle-slaying superior might and for victory in battle, O Indra, you we turn here.’ RV

3.37.1abc

The problem of enclisis to a vocative following a line break⁹⁹ can be solved with prosodic rebracketing of the vocative to allow it to host an enclitic (as must have occurred in the 73 instances discussed in section **2.4** above). Such prosodic rebracketing has been seen with non-enclitics in section **2.2** with examples **59** and **60**, demonstrating that the process is more general in the Rigveda and not merely limited to providing suitable hosts for troublesome clitics.

Notably, however, line *c* of **140** resembles the clause-initial vocative sentences cited earlier in examples **135** – **138** (and possibly **139**). Given the frequent equivalence of clause to line in the Rigveda, this verse may have been taken to support the reanalysis of the accusatives in example **139** as vocatives, further justifying the occurrence of clause-initial vocatives preceding enclitics.

To demonstrate that, were it not for the line break before the vocative, **140** is paralleled elsewhere in the Rigveda, examples **141** and **142** (**88** and **89** from section **2.4**—note also **90** and **91**). also include immediately preverbal accusative enclitics following vocatives but without intervening line breaks.

These two examples occur in essentially the expected base word order with focusing of negators and an

⁹⁹ This situation occurs in roughly one tenth of the passages in which unaccented vocatives are adjacent to enclitic pronouns (73 post-vocative enclitic pronouns out of 742 instances of adjacent vocatives and enclitic pronouns).

inserted vocative. Note especially the vowel coalescence in example **141** between the enclitic and the verb.

- 141)** párehi ástaṃ nahí mūra mápah
 away~go.PRES.IMV.2SG home.ACC.SG NEG fool.VOC.SG me.ACC.SG~attain.AOR.SUB.2SG
 ‘Go home, for you will not get me, you fool.’ RV 10.95.13d

- 142)** má jásvane vṛṣabha no rarīthā(h)
 NEG hunger.DAT.SG bull.VOC.SG us.ACC give.PRES.INJ.2SG
 ‘Give us not to hunger-pangs, O bull.’ RV 6.44.11a

Similar to **140** are **143 – 145** in which the vocative hosting the enclitic is also initial in the line, but not the clause. These passages include a doubly unique case in which the enclitic is both a first person pronoun and not an accusative. **143 – 145** appear to fall into two categories: 1) those that would be unexceptionally placed were it not for the line break and vocative (one case) and 2) those that appear to be afterthought additions or clarifications (these could be considered clauses with gapping).

- 143)** ā tvā vahantu hārayo /
 to you.ACC.SG convey.PRES.IMV.PL bay horse.NOM.PL
 vṛṣaṇaṃ sómapīṭaye //
 bullACC.SG Soma-drinking.DAT.SG
 índra tvā sūracakṣasaḥ
 Indra.VOC.SG you.ACC.SG sun-eyed.NOM.PL
 ‘May the bay horses take you, the bull, to the Soma-drinking; you, Indra, the sun-eyed ones.’
 (Hock, 1996:259) RV 1.16.1

144)	tám	te	yávam	yáthā	góbhiḥ /
	that.ACC.SG	you.DAT.SG	grain.ACC.SG	like	milk.INST.PL
	svādúm	akarma		śrīṇántaḥ //	
	sweet.ACC.SG	make.AOR.IND. 1PL		mixing.NOM.PL	
	índra	tvāsmín		sadhamāde	
	Indra.VOC.SG	you.ACC.SG~this.LOC.SG		gathering for exhilaration.LOC.SG	

‘We, cooking (it), have made that sweet for you, like grain with milk. O Indra, you (I call) in this sacrificial-banquet (gathering for exhilaration).’ RV 8.2.3abc

143 – 144 are best considered examples of gapping of the verb in clauses with fronted enclitic pronouns. That is to say, the post-vocative enclitics begin independent sentences that lack an expressed verb. In example **143**, the subject and object are repeated. The repetition of the enclitic *tvā*, would be especially striking if the entire stanza were considered one clause. As such, it is the repeated enclitic that suggests that 1c is an independent clause.

144 must be an independent clause due to the lack of referential identity between the accusative object in the clause of 3ab and that of 3c (the accusative *tám* of 3ab refers to the soma that is sweetened for the referent of *tvā* in 3c, Indra). In addition, the benefactive dative *te* of 3ab points to the same referent as the accusative *tvā* in 3c, further emphasizing the independence of 3c. Unlike **143**, however, the second clause does not restate the first, so the verb to be supplied is not so easily recovered.

145 is the only other case in which an enclitic pronoun follows line initial vocatives.

145)	<i>punāná</i>	<i>indav</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>bhara</i> /
	being purified.NOM.SG	drop.VOC.SG	to	bear.PRES.IMV.2SG
	<i>sóma</i>	<i>dvibárhasam</i>	<i>rayím</i> //	
	Soma.VOC.SG	doubly great.ACC.SG	wealth.ACC.SG	
	<i>vṣann</i>	<i>indo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ukthiyam</i>
	bull.VOC.SG	drop.VOC.SG	us.DAT.PL	to be praised.ACC.SG
	‘As one being purified, O drop, bring to us, O Soma, doubly great wealth to be praised, O bullish drop.’ RV 9.40.6c			

Here, however, the enclitic is not accusative, but dative. In this instance, the dative would be expected to follow the verb underlyingly, and the accusative *ukthiyam* must have been extraposed as additional information modifying *rayím* ‘wealth’. The raising of the verb leaves the enclitic stranded following the vocative phrase *vṣann indo*, and out of necessity the enclitic and vocative are rebracketed into the same phonological phrase (an alternative analysis is presented in section 2.4).

Clause-initial enclitics may be taken as an extension of enclitics hosted by line-initial vocatives. From instances such as **140**, in which the line beginning with a vocative that hosts an enclitic can be reinterpreted as a complete sentence on its own, the possibility of clause-initial vocatives hosting enclitics may arise. Additionally, instances such as **139** in which an accusative form is identical to a vocative may lead to reanalysis of an ordinary situation in which an enclitic is hosted by an accusative to an unusual situation in which an enclitic is hosted by a vocative. Once the possibility arises for a vocative to host a clause-initial enclitic, additional examples (**135 – 138**) may follow. Nevertheless, such enclitics standing in clause-initial position provide support for Prosodic Inversion because they are hosted by an element (a vocative) outside of the clause.

CHAPTER 3

ENCLITIC PRONOUNS IN NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1 Apposition to Enclitic Pronouns Line-Internally

According to Astruc, appositives are a form of nominal anaphora that occurs in two forms: 1) as a modifier to a noun phrase and 2) as a supplement to another noun phrase (2005:14). As a modifier, an apposition is integrated into both the syntactic structure and the phonological phrase of the noun phrase. In contrast, supplementary appositions are not integrated into the syntactic structure or the phonological phrase, but are extra-sentential elements set off by prosodic breaks from both the nominal they describe as well as the rest of the clause.

Likewise as an anaphor, the apposition in Sanskrit “follows the word which it explains or defines” (Macdonell, 1916:284). Furthermore, the presence of a prosodic break before or after an appositive is often reflected in the position of the caesura. Should Astruc’s findings with regard to English and Catalan be valid crosslinguistically, the caesura may indicate that an appositive is a supplement (and therefore extra-sentential). However, lack of a caesura does not indicate that the appositive is a modifier since the absence of a caesura does not necessarily indicate lack of a prosodic break.

Taking into account the fact that enclitic pronominals are incapable of standing in initial position, only apposition that occurs line-internally may be capable of reflecting a canonical sequence of personal pronoun followed by appositive without modification. In fact, the usual sequence of apposition and pronominal enclitic line-internally places the pronoun before the apposition as expected. The following is a large, though non-exhaustive, collection of appositives to enclitic pronouns that begin within the verse. In verses with caesurae, the caesura is marked with a vertical line to suggest the frequency with which the caesura aligns with the expected prosodic break between a noun and its appositive. The enclitic pronoun

and its appositive are italicized to ease identification and marked with a subscript x to indicate coreferentiality. If the apposition includes multiple words, the constituents of the appositive are placed between brackets.

- 146)** *íti* *cid* *dhí* *tvā_x* | [*dhānā* *jáyantam*]_x /
 so just indeed you.ACC.SG wealth.ACC.PL conquering.ACC.SG
 māde-made | *anumádanti* *víprāḥ*
 exhilaration.ITER.LOC.SG gladden.PRES.IND.3PL inspired.NOM.PL
 ‘Just so indeed the inspired ones gladden you, conquering wealth, in every exhilaration.’ RV
 10.120.4a

146 provides the only instance in which the appositive is long enough to stretch from the caesura to the line break reflecting both prosodic breaks that are expected on either side of the appositive. **147 – 152** place the caesura between the enclitic pronoun and its appositive

- 147)** *hṛdí* *yát* *te_x* | *jaghnúṣo_x* *bhír* *ágachat*
 heart.LOC.SG when your.SG having slain.GEN.SG fear.NOM.SG go.IMP.3SG
 ‘...when fear went into the heart of you having slain (Vṛtra).’ RV 1.32.14b
- 148)** *purūṇi* *ánnā* | *sáhasā* *ví* *rājasi* /
 many.ACC.PL food.ACC.PL power.INST.SG wide rule.PRES.IND.2SG
 tvíṣiḥ *sā* *te_x* | *titviṣāṇásya_x* *nādhṛṣe*¹⁰⁰
 excitement.NOM.SG this.NOM.SG your.SG being excited.GEN.SG not~venture against.INF
 ‘You rule over many foods with power. That excitement of you, being excited, is not to be
 ventured against.’ RV 5.8.5cd

¹⁰⁰ Uncombined form: *ná ā dhṛṣe*.

- 149)** nú cin nú *te_x* | *mányamānasya_x* dasma /
 never now your.SG thinking.GEN.SG wonderful.VOC.SG
 úd aśnuvanti | mahimānam ugra //
 up attain.PRES.IND.3PL greatness.ACC.SG mighty.VOC.SG
 ná vīryam | ind_ara te ná rádhah
 not heroism.ACC.SG Indra.VOC.SG your.SG not generosity.ACC.SG

‘They never attain the greatness of you, thinking, O wonderful mighty one, nor the heroism, O Indra, of you nor the generosity.’ RV 7.22.8abc

- 150)** várdhāma *te_x* | *papúšo_x* vṛṣṇiyāni
 increase.PRES.SUBJ.1PL your.SG having drunk.GEN.SG bullish.ACC.PL

‘We will increase the bullish (strengths) of you having drunk.’ RV 10.44.2d

- 151)** ásāvi *te_x* | *jujuṣāṇāya_x* sómah /
 press.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG you.DAT.SG having enjoyed.DAT.SG soma.NOM.SG
 krátve dáksāya | bṛhaté mādāya
 insight.DAT.SG ability.DAT.SG great.DAT.SG intoxication.DAT.SG

‘The soma has been pressed for you, enjoying (it), for insight, for ability, for great intoxication.’
 RV 5.43.5ab

- 152)** utá sma *me_x* | *āvīyatyai_x* pṛṇāsi
 and especially me.DAT.SG undesiring.DAT.SG fill.PRES.IND.2SG

‘And you give me, undesiring, plenty.’ (literally ‘give me (my) fill’) RV 10.95.5b

A caesura or line break follows the appositive in **153 – 159**, reflecting the expected prosodic break following the appositive.

- 153)** mā *te_x* *revātaḥ_x* | sakhyé riṣāma
 not your.SG rich.GEN.SG friendship.ACC.SG harm.AOR.SUBJ.1PL

‘We should not suffer harm in your, the rich one's, friendship.’ RV 6.44.11b

154) ná *te_x* *bhojáśya_x* | *sakh_iyám* *mṛṣanta*
 not your.SG generous.GEN.SG friendship.ACC.SG forget.AOR.INJ.3PL
 ‘They do not forget the friendship of you, (of) the generous.’ RV 7.18.21c

155) mahát *te_x* *vṛ́ṣṇo_x* | *abhicákṣ_iyaṃ* *kṛtám*
 great.NOM.SG your.SG bull.GEN.SG to be seen.NOM.SG deed.NOM.SG
 ‘The great deed of you, of the bull, is worth seeing.’ RV 8.4.7c

156) ágne *mā́kiṣ* *te_x* *deváśya_x* /
 Agni.VOC.SG no one.NOM.SG your.SG heavenly one.GEN.SG
 rātím *ádevo* *yuyota*
 gift.ACC.SG godless.NOM.SG separate.PRES.INJ.3SG
 ‘O Agni, no godless one shall keep your, the heavenly one’s, grace (gift) distant.’ RV 8.71.8ab

157) té *te_x* *devā́ya_x* | *dāśataḥ* *s_iyāma*
 those.NOM.PL you.DAT.SG heavenly one.DAT.SG worshipping.NOM.PL be.PRES.OPT.1PL
 ‘Those paying homage to you, the heavenly one, would we be.’ RV 7.17.7a

The following verses lack a caesura, so only the line break can reflect prosodic boundaries. Note, however, that **158** and **159** place the line break after the appositive, taking advantage of the natural prosodic break. As such, among this set of examples, only **160** does not provide any support for the hypothesis that a pause is associated with the edges of an appositive.

158) asmábhyaṃ *tvā́_x* *vasuvídā_x* /
 us.DAT.PL you.ACC.SG good-finder.ACC.SG
 abhi *vāṇīr* *anūṣata*
 towards song.NOM.PL praise.AOR.IND.3PL
 ‘The songs have shouted to you, the finder of good, for us.’ RV 9.104.4ab

159)	ṛdhad	yás	<i>te_x</i>	<i>sudā́nave_x</i> /
	thrive.AOR.SUB.3SG	wh-.NOM.SG	you.DAT.SG	well-giving.DAT.SG
	dhiyá	mártaḥ	śaśámate	
	devotion.INST.SG	mortal.NOM.SG	serve.PERF.SUB.3SG	

‘He will prosper who, a mortal, will serve you, the well-giving one, with devotion.’ RV 6.2.4ab

160)	vṛṣā	<i>te_x</i>	<i>vṛṣṇa_x</i>	índur
	bullish.NOM.SG	you.DAT.SG	bull.DAT.SG ¹⁰¹	drop.NOM.SG

‘The bullish drop is for you, the bull.’ RV 1.175.1c

The following set of examples (**161** – **169**) insert a vocative immediately after the enclitic pronoun before the appositive, taking advantage of the expected prosodic boundary between the pronoun and appositive (as well as the more general tendency for vocatives to follow a caesura). In a sense, the vocative acts as another appositive since the enclitic is a second person pronoun in all of these instances.

161)	makṣū	tā	<i>ta_x</i>		<i>(ind_ara)_x</i>	<i>dānāpnasa_x</i> /
	soon	that.NOM.PL	your.GEN.SG		Indra.VOC.SG	gift-possessor.GEN.SG ¹⁰²
	ākṣāṇé				śūra	vajrivaḥ //
		axle (and) lynchpin.LOC.SG			hero.VOC.SG	cudgel-bearer.VOC.SG
	yád	dha	śuṣṇasya		dambháyo /	
	when	EMPH	Śuṣṇa.GEN.SG		render ineffective.PRES.INJ.2SG	
	jātām		vísvaṃ		sayāvabhīḥ	
		born.ACC.SG	all.ACC.SG		companion.INST.PL	

‘Soon these (will be) yours (for you?), the gift-possessor, O Indra, in the (battle) over axle (and) lynchpin, O hero, O Cudgel-bearer, when you render ineffective each one born of Śuṣṇa with (your) companions.’ RV 10.22.11abcd

¹⁰¹ Sandhi would result in an identical form if *vṛṣṇa* is genitive. Padapāṭha says dative. Similarly in example **164**.

¹⁰² Sandhi would result in an identical form if *dānāpnasa* is dative. Padapāṭha says genitive.

162)	prāṇītibhiḥ	<i>te_x</i>		(<i>hariaśva</i>) _x	<i>suṣṭóh_x</i> /
	guiding.INST.PL	you.GEN.SG		having bay-horses.VOC.SG	well-praised.GEN.SG
	<i>suṣumnásya_x</i>		<i>pururúco_x</i>	<i>jánāsaḥ</i> //	
	very gracious.GEN.SG		much-shining.GEN.SG	folk.NOM.PL	
	mámhiṣṭhām	ūtīm		vitíre	dádhanā /
	most liberal.ACC.SG	help.ACC.SG		cross.INF	being granted.NOM.PL
	stotāra	indra		táva	sūnṛtābhiḥ
	singer.NOM.PL	Indra.VOC.SG		your.SG	generosity.INST.PL

‘The people, by the guidings of you, O possessor of bay horses, the well-praised, the very gracious, the much-shining one, the singers (are) being granted the most liberal help to cross over, O Indra, by your generosity.’ RV 10.104.5abcd

161 and **162** place the caesura before the vocative with a line break following the appositive (or the first of three appositives in **162**), maximizing the alignment of natural prosodic breaks with the metrical requirements for a pause at the caesurae and line breaks. In **162**, the first appositive of the second verse fills the opening, again maximizing the alignment of metrics with expected prosodic breaks around appositives. **163** has no caesura, so metrical support is only present for the prosodic break expected to follow an appositive.

163)	sakhyé	<i>ta_x</i>		(<i>indra</i>) _x	<i>vājino_x</i> /
	friendship.LOC.SG	your.GEN.SG		Indra.VOC.SG	victorious.GEN.SG
	má	bhema		śavasas	pate
	not	fear.AOR.INJ.1PL		might.GEN.SG	lord.VOC.SG

‘O Indra, in the friendship of you, the victorious, let us fear not, O Lord of superior might.’ RV 1.11.2 ab

164)	etát	t _i yát	<i>ta_x</i>		<i>(indra)_x</i>	<i>v_ṣṇa_x</i>	ukthám
	this.NOM.SG	this.NOM.SG	you.DAT.SG		Indra.VOC.SG	bull.DAT.SG	invocation.NOM.SG
	‘This invocation is for you, the bull, O Indra.’ RV 1.100.17a						

165) ṛṣvā́ ta_x (indra)_x | sthāvīrasya_x bāhū́
lofty.NOM.DL your.SG Indra.VOC.SG sturdy.GEN.SG arm.NOM.DL
‘Towering are the arms of you the sturdy one, O Indra.’ RV 6.47.8c

167) yé ta_x (indra)_x | dadúṣo_x vardháyanti /
wh-.NOM.PL your.SG Indra.VOC.SG giver¹⁰³.GEN.SG increase.CAUS.PRES.IND.3PL

 máhi kṣatrām | stháviraṃ vḥṣṇiyaṃ ca
 great.ACC.SG dominion.ACC.SG firm.ACC.SG bullish.ACC.SG and

‘...who increase your, the giver’s, great firm dominion and bullish strength, O Indra.’ RV
1.54.8cd

121

168) út te śúṣmā | jihatām út te arcír /
 up your.SG battle-song.NOM.PL go forth.PRES.IMV.3PL up your.SG flame.NOM.SG
 út *te_x* (*agne*)_x | śaśamānāsya_x vājāḥ
 up your.SG Agni.VOC.SG laboring.GEN.SG spoil.NOM.PL
 ‘Let your battle-songs, let your flame, O Agni, let the spoils of you, laboring, rise.’ RV
 10.142.6ab

169) índras *te_x* (*soma*)_x | sutásya_x peyāḥ /
 Indra.NOM.SG your.SG Soma.VOC.SG pressed.GEN.SG drink.AOR.PREC.3SG
 krátve dākṣāya | víśve ca devāḥ
 insight.DAT.SG ability.DAT.SG all.NOM.PL and god.NOM.PL
 ‘Indra shall drink of you, O Soma, the pressed, for insight (and) ability—and all the gods!’ RV
 9.109.2ab

In these instances (**161** – **169**), the vocative has a dual role of addressing the second person and of appositional supplement to the personal pronoun. This dual role may motivate the tendency for the vocative to favor the position between the pronoun and the appositive since it shares the role of addressing the second person with the personal pronoun and the role of supplement to the personal pronoun with the apposition. Nevertheless, this tendency is violated in some instances. **170** and **171** have vocatives separated from the enclitic pronoun they coreference, though they still follow the appositive with which they share the role of appositional supplement.

170) siyāma *te_x* | jáyataḥ_x (*śakra*)_x medíno
 be.PRES.OPT.1PL your.SG conquering.GEN.SG mighty.VOC.SG ally.NOM.PL
 ‘We would be the allies of you, the conquering one, O Mighty one.’ RV 10.38.2c

171)	suśáhā		soma	táni	te _x /
	easy to gain mastery over.NOM.PL		Soma.VOC.SG	that.NOM.PL	you.DAT.SG
	<i>punānāya_x</i>		<i>(prabhūvaso)_x</i>		
	self-purifying.DAT.SG		having great goods.VOC.SG		

‘O Soma, easy to gain mastery over [are] those (goods) for you, the self-purifying, O thou having great riches (goods).’ RV 9.29.3ab

Note again that the placement of the caesura in **170** and the line break in **171** reflect the prosodic breaks that mark the appositive as supplemental material (i.e., an extra-sentential element). Furthermore, the line break at the end of line *3b* in **171** marks the boundary of the vocative as well, so two of the three expected prosodic breaks are reflected in the line breaks (omitting the expected prosodic break between the appositive and the vocative).

Although, it is much less likely for non-singular enclitic personal pronouns to be renamed by appositives, a small number of examples can be found. Why there should be such a paucity of appositives to dual and plural enclitic pronouns is unclear, though perhaps the lack of a distinctive accusative form plays a role. **172** displays many appositives to *vas*.

172)	stuśá	u	vo		[mahá	ṛtásya	gopán]	/
	praise.PRES.IND.1SG	and	you.ACC.PL		great.GEN.SG	truth.GEN.SG	protector.ACC.PL	
	<i>áditim</i>		<i>mitráṃ</i>		<i>váruṇaṃ</i>		<i>sujātān</i>	
	Aditi.ACC.SG		Mitra.ACC.SG		Varuṇa.ACC.SG		noble.ACC.PL	

‘I praise y’all, protectors of the great truth: Aditi, Mitra, Varuṇa, the noble ones.’ RV 6.51.3ab

With *nas*, the one potential example (if translated “make us heroes...”) uncovered in this investigation is more likely to be acting as a genitive.

173)	ún	no	vīráṃ		arpaya	bheṣajébhir
	up	our.PL	hero.ACC.PL		rise.CAUS.PRES.IMV.2SG	remedy.INST.PL

‘Make our heroes rise (i.e., prosper) with remedies!’ RV 2.33.4c

No examples occur with *nau*, but as there are only nine total occurrences of this particular form, that is not surprising, or particularly informative.

Interestingly, with the second person dual and plural, the enclitic personal pronouns are quite frequently renamed, but they are almost always clarified using vocatives. Again, vocatives are always addressed to the second person, and so by nature must be associated with second person pronouns. The general tendency is for vocatives to follow the enclitic personal pronoun like appositives. Under certain circumstances, however, one or two vocatives may precede the enclitic pronoun as discussed in section 2.4.

3.2 Prosodic Inversion as a Rescue Mechanism

As noted in section 1.5, enclitic pronominals may be expected to undergo the same syntactic operations as their tonic counterparts. As such, those second position occurrences that parallel second position occurrences of the tonic pronouns are unexceptional and result from ordinary processes of topicalization. Of greater interest are those second position occurrences in which the clitic appears within a phrase that is not ordinarily permitted to be split apart. Appositives and similes provide some of the clearest examples of this situation. In these cases, syntactic operations raise the personal pronoun to absolute initial position within the clause. The appositive or simile should occur immediately after the renamed personal pronoun, as seen in section 3.1 (possibly inserted as an extra-sentential element). However, since clitics are not permitted to occur in initial position (excepting the small number of unusual occurrences following initial vocatives discussed in section 2.5), they undergo a post-syntactic process called ‘Prosodic Inversion’. This process, licensed by the lack of prosodic support for the enclitic, enables the clitic to “ ‘trade places’ with a prosodic unit which is adjacent to it” (Halpern, 1995:17).


3.3 Prosodic Inversion with Appositives to Enclitic Pronouns

Usually, an enclitic pronoun has other appositional nominals adjacent to it only on one side, either preceding or following. This suggests that the enclitic is either an appositive to a preceding noun

phrase to which it cliticizes, or that the agreeing noun phrase that follows is an appositive to the clitic which must cliticize to something else. The general expectation, as discussed in section 3.1, is that the personal pronoun should precede the appositive. As evidence that the underlying order of appositives should not differ in initial position, consider **174** with the tonic personal pronoun *tvām*:

- 174)** [t_uvām] [rājānaṃ | suvidātram] ṛñjate
 you.ACC.SG king.ACC.SG benevolent.ACC.SG strive.PRES.IND.3PL
 ‘They strive for you, the benevolent king.’ RV 2.1.8b

Frequently, though, the enclitic pronoun follows a single nominal apposition. Since the clitic is not permitted to stand in initial position, Prosodic Inversion would correct this into a position in which the clitic follows its appositive. Therefore, it is not clear how to demonstrate in these instances whether the clitic is in apposition to the noun that precedes it or vice versa. **175** demonstrates how Prosodic Inversion may explain this situation (yielding the translation showing apposition to the clitic: ‘you, the best worshipping’).

- 175)** 
 —_x [yájiṣṭhaṃ] tvā_x | yájamānā huvema
 best worshipping.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG worshipping.NOM.PL call.PRES.OPT.1PL
 ‘We, worshipping, would call you, the most worshipful.’ RV 1.127.2a

However, if the personal pronoun is the appositive to *yájiṣṭhaṃ*, there would be no need for Prosodic Inversion. The translation reflecting that situation (‘We, worshipping, would call the best worshipping (namely) you.’) intuitively seems much less likely.

Providing support for the analysis involving Prosodic Inversion are **176 – 179**, which show the enclitic in the middle of the phrase renaming it. This cannot be a syntactic process as there is no syntactic projection within these phrases to which the enclitic could have moved. The simplest solution is that the PF filter produces a minimal adjustment to satisfy the prosodic requirement of the enclitic—i.e., Prosodic Inversion.

176)



—_x [havíṣ tvā́_x sántam] | havíṣā yajāma
 oblation.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG being.ACC.SG oblation.INST.SG worship.PRES.SUB.1PL

‘We shall worship you, being the oblation, with the oblation.’ RV 10.124.6d

177)

—_x [gaṇā́nām tvā́_x | gaṇápatim] havāmahe
 troop.GEN.PL you.ACC.SG troop-lord.ACC.SG call.PRES.IND.1PL

‘We call you, the troop-lord (i.e., commander) of the troops.’ RV 2.23.1a¹⁰⁴

178)

—_x [nṛṇā́m (u tvā́)_x | nṛ́tamam] gīrbhír uktháir /
 man.GEN.PL and you.ACC.SG manliest.ACC.SG song.INST.PL hymn.INST.PL
 abhí prá vīrám | arcatā sabā́dhaḥ
 unto forth hero.ACC.SG sing.PRES.IMV.2PL fervently

‘And to you (sg), the manliest of men with songs, with hymns—sing (pl) praises to the hero fervently!’ RV 3.51.4ab

179)

—_x [mahás te_x sató] | ví caranti arcáyo
 great.GEN.SG you.GEN.SG being.GEN.SG away move.PRES.IND.3PL flame.NOM.PL

‘The flames of you being great, spread.’ RV 1.36.3c¹⁰⁵

Such occurrence of enclitic pronominals within clear phrasal appositions strongly supports an analysis involving Prosodic Inversion. Given also that apposition occurring line internally regularly occurs with the enclitic pronoun preceding its appositive, appositives that precede the enclitic pronoun in line-initial position suggest additional instances in which Prosodic Inversion occurs (as in **175** above). **180** exhibits a line-initial appositive preceding a genitive enclitic pronoun followed by two vocatives (a similar structure is found in RV 9.61.17).

¹⁰⁴ Compare RV 8.53.1a, RV 10.143.1c, and RV 2.23.8a which similarly involve appositional phrases involving genitive plurals.

¹⁰⁵ cf. RV 8.101.11c, RV 9.31.6a, RV 9.64.2a all of which involve a line-initial genitive followed by *te satás*.

180) ---_x [pávamānasya] te_x kave /
 being purified.GEN.SG you.GEN.SG seer.VOC.SG
 vājīn sárgā aṣṭkṣata //
 victorious.VOC.SG stream.NOM.PL release.AOR.IND.3PL
 árvanto ná śravasyávaḥ
 racehorse.NOM.PL like fame-desiring.NOM.PL
 ‘O victorious Seer, the streams of you, being purified, have been released like racehorses desirous
 of fame.’ RV 9.66.10

181 shows a clause-initial apposition to a dative enclitic pronoun.

181) ágne ---_x [dhṛtāvratāya] te_x / samudrāyeva síndhavaḥ //
 Agni.VOC.SG fixed-vow.DAT.SG you.DAT.SG ocean.DAT.SG~like river.NOM.PL
 gíro vāśrāsa īrate
 song.NOM.PL roaring.NOM.PL set in motion.PRES.IND.3PL
 ‘O Agni, the roaring (bellowing?) songs are set in motion for you whose vow is fixed like the
 rivers to the ocean.’ RV 8.44.25

The vocative that precedes the appositive, being extra-sentential, does not inhibit Prosodic Inversion (but see section 2.5 for the handful of instances in which line-initial vocatives do prevent Prosodic Inversion). The dative that follows in line 25b is part of the simile *samudrāyeva síndhavaḥ* ‘like rivers to the ocean’ describing the entire clause and should not be considered a second appositive.

In **182**, the enclitic follows two appositional elements that begin the line. However, a caesura intervenes between the two dative appositions to *te*.

182) [cákṣuṣmate | śṛṇvaté te] bravīmi /
 eye-having.DAT.SG hearing.DAT.SG you.DAT.SG say.PRES.IND.1SG
 mā naḥ prajāṃ | rīṣo móta vīrān
 not our.PL child.ACC.PL harm.AOR.INJ.2SG and~not hero.ACC.PL
 ‘To you, possessing eyes and hearing, I say: Harm not our children and not (our) heroes’ RV
 10.18.1cd

182 proves problematic for Prosodic Inversion as it should not result in the enclitic trading places with two words. If we assume standard apposition with the personal pronoun preceding both of its appositives, *te* could have undergone Prosodic Inversion to follow *cákṣuṣmate*, thus creating a five-syllable opening. If this were the case, the cadence would remain trochaic, satisfying the metrical requirements. However, that is not what has occurred. In essence, there are two possibilities here. The first is that the syntax fronted the two appositives around the enclitic into the extended CP and no Prosodic Inversion is necessary. This follows the general principle that an enclitic that follows multiple words ought to be explained by syntactic, not prosodic means. The second possibility is that *cákṣuṣmate* has been left dislocated and is no longer phonologically integrated with the rest of the clause. In this analysis, as the sequence *te śṛṇvaté* becomes the *de facto* beginning of the clause and cannot follow the caesura, Prosodic Inversion operates to provide a suitable host for the enclitic (producing *śṛṇvaté te*). Reflecting this situation is a translation such as “To the one having eyes—to you who hears I say ...” in which the first appositive is separated from the main clause by a distinct pause (reflected in the caesura). The strongest support for this second possibility is the placement of the caesura, but since a caesura is metrically necessary and may be weakly articulated, it does not provide proof against the purely syntactic analysis.

Indeed, an example like **183** involving an enclitic that follows all the words of a phrasal apposition (in contrast to **176 – 179**) suggests that the syntactic analysis may be more appropriate.

183) [adbhíḥ soma | papṛcānāsya]_x te_x rāso /
 water.INST.PL Soma.VOC.SG being mixed.GEN.SG you.GEN.SG juice.NOM.SG
 ávyo vāraṃ | ví pavamāna dhāvati
 sheep.GEN.SG wool.ACC.SG apart being purified.VOC.SG run.PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘The juice of you being mixed, O Soma, with water runs through the sheep’s wool, O thou being purified.’ RV 9.74.9a

With the expectation that the phrasal apposition *adbhíḥ papṛcānāsya* should follow the pronoun, Prosodic Inversion should place the enclitic within the phrase (cf. **176 – 179**), so it would seem that only a syntactic explanation could account for such a verse. However, the final eight syllables of this verse resemble a handful of Gāyatrī verses which open with a participial appositive to a following enclitic (as in **180**). Additional examples of similar octosyllabic verses can be found in RV 8.14.6a, RV 9.61.4a, and RV 9.61.17a, all involving line-initial genitive participles of four syllables¹⁰⁶. Particularly similar is RV 9.61.17 which also involves the juice of the soma rushing through sheep’s wool. This is also the only such verse that shares the same possessed head noun (i.e., *rāso*). Therefore, **183** may have been influenced by the similarity between octosyllabic verses and the eight syllable sequence in a Jagatī verse following a short (four syllable) opening.

In addition, the following pair of examples (**184** and **185**) suggests that Prosodic Inversion is not infrequent following the caesura, supporting the analysis of **182** as the result of dislocation and Prosodic Inversion.

¹⁰⁶ RV 9.61.4a and RV 8.14.6a are discussed further below in section 3.5 examples **200** and **201** respectively.

- 184)** ná dyā́va indra | —_x [tavásas] ta_x ójo /
 not day.NOM.PL Indra.VOC.SG strong.GEN.SG you.GEN.SG might.ACC.SG
 náhā ná māsāḥ | śarādo varanta
 not~day¹⁰⁷.NOM.DL not month.NOM.PL season.NOM.PL cover.AOR.SUB.3PL

‘Neither days nor day and night nor months (nor) seasons can check the might of you, the strong one, O Indra.’ RV 3.32.9cd

- 185)** sūro ná yasya | dṛśatī arepá /
 Sun.GEN.SG like wh-.GEN.SG face.NOM.SG spotless.NOM.SG
 bhīmā yád éti | —_x [śucatás] ta_x ā dhīḥ //
 fearsome.NOM.SG when go.PRES.IND.3SG glowing.GEN.SG you.GEN.SG to thought.NOM.SG
 ‘Of whom, as of the Sun, the face is spotless, (though) fearsome, when the thought of the glowing one, of you, comes here...’ RV 6.3.3ab

Both **184** and **185** share the metrical tendency for enclitics in the cadence to occur in the antepenultimate syllable, but the syntax is convoluted. In **184**, it may be best to treat 9c as a verse in which the verb is gapped, to be supplied from 9d which also provides additional subjects. Although bordering on the ungrammatical in English, a translation reflecting this analysis would be ‘Days do not ___ the might of you, the strong one, O Indra; nor do day and night, nor do months, nor do seasons check (it).’ For **185**, the relevant clause (*yád éti śucatás ta ā dhīḥ*) is difficult to account for primarily because of the placement of the preverb *ā* which should not precede the subject when it has clearly not been moved into the extended CP. Since *ā* is acting as a simple adverb meaning ‘here’, perhaps it is displaying an atypical distribution. Nonetheless, the most sensible means of accounting for this ordering is to posit the focusing of the verb *éti* into the extended CP stranding the preverb *ā* in its base position while also positing that the subject *dhīḥ* has been extraposed to the end of the clause leaving its possessors stranded in the expected position for the subject. The opening words of 3c may motivate the extraposition of *dhīḥ*. The initial

¹⁰⁷ In dual representing ‘day and night’.

genitive *hēṣasvataḥ* ‘of the one full of injuring wrath’ provides additional information about the possessor of *dhīḥ*. Extraposition of the enjambed noun phrase *dhīḥ hēṣasvataḥ* brings it closer to the simile *śurúdhoná* ‘like (warriors) to booty’, thus emphasizing the comparison of the approach of the glowing one’s thought to the approach of warriors to booty. A translation that reflects this extraposition more clearly is ‘when your, the glowing one’s, (thought) comes here—the thought of (you) full of injuring wrath (comes) like (warriors) to booty’.

Example **186** displays the result of Prosodic Inversion involving line-initial apposition, but it also shows apparent redundancy of the enclitic pronoun *vas*.

186)	— _x	[śṇvató]	vo _x		váruṇa	mítra	dévā /
		hearing.ACC.PL	you.ACC.PL		Varuṇa.VOC.SG	Mitra.VOC.SG	god.VOC.PL
		bhadrásya	vidvām̐		ávase	huve	vaḥ
		luck.GEN.SG	know.PERF.PART.NOM.SG		aid.DAT.SG	call.PRES.IND.1SG	you.ACC.PL
		‘You hearing, O Mitra, Varuṇa, (and other) gods—I, knowing of the luck, call you for aid.’ RV					
		2.29.1cd					

Such redundancy is not to be expected, and, as discussed in section **4.2**, this is probably an example characterized by anacolouthon. In essence, the clause begins again in the second line after the string of vocatives. Therefore, although the sentence fragment *śṇvató vo* anticipates the clause in line d accounting for the accusative case, it is not syntactically connected to the following clause, avoiding clause-internal redundancy.

As a side note, apparent redundancy is also present in **187**, involving a possessive adjective that resembles an appositive to the enclitic *te* following the caesura. The translation below follows Geldner, who apparently ignores either the enclitic or the possessive adjective as redundant.

187)	sugám	tát	te		tāvakébhyo	ráthebhyo
	well-going.NOM.SG	then	your.SG		your.DAT.PL	wagon.DAT.PL
	‘Then a good way is for your wagons.’ RV 1.94.11c					

However, such redundancy with personal pronouns is not to be expected, so it is unlikely that this clause actually contains an appositive. It may be that this line should be translated with two distinct dative predicates, and that the caesura simply helps distinguish these. Reflecting this possibility is a translation such as ‘Then there is a good way for you—for your wagons’.

3.4 On Enclitic Pronouns Surrounded by Multiple Appositives

Enclitics in apposition with other nominals nearly always occur at either the left or right edge of the sequence of agreeing nominal elements. Furthermore, such enclitics generally precede their appositives unless the enclitic and appositive collocation immediately follows a line break or caesura. In fact, the number of cases in which an enclitic pronoun is both preceded and followed by nominals that rename the clitic (i.e., those that are not either determiners or relative pronouns) are exceedingly rare. All examples of such situations happen to involve singular forms of the enclitic pronouns, and all depend on Prosodic Inversion. The coreferential noun phrases in **188** – **191** are italicized to aid in the identification of apposition.

188)	<i>makhásya</i>	<i>te</i>		<i>taviśásya</i>	<i>prá</i>	<i>jūtím</i> /
	generous.GEN.SG	you.GEN.SG		strong.GEN.SG	forth	incentive.ACC.SG
	<i>íyarmi</i>	<i>vácam</i>		<i>amṛtāya</i>		<i>bhúṣan</i>
	raise.PRES.IND.1SG	word.ACC.SG		immortal.DAT.SG		attending.NOM.SG
	‘Attending to the immortal, I raise a word as an incentive for you, the generous, the strong.’ RV					
	3.34.2b					

188 is the simplest case in that Prosodic Inversion easily transforms a normal appositional structure of pronoun followed by appositives as in **te makhásya taviśásya* to the surface form by the transposition of *te* and *makhásya* to provide prosodic support for the enclitic *te*. **189** likewise undergoes Prosodic Inversion of **te yudhmásya* within the opening string of nine genitive appositives. In both cases, the genitive enclitic appears after the first of a string of coreferenced genitives.

189) *yudhmásya te | vṛṣabhásya svarāja /*
 fighter.GEN.SG you.GEN.SG bull.GEN.SG self-ruler.GEN.SG
[ugrásya yúna] | [sthávirasya] [ghṛṣveḥ] //
 mighty.GEN.SG youth.GEN.SG firm.GEN.SG eager.GEN.SG
[ájūryato | vajríṇo] vīrīyāṇi /
 unaging.GEN.SG cudgel-bearer.GEN.SG heroic deed.NOM.PL
(indra) śrutásya | maható mahāni //
 Indra.VOC.SG famed.GEN.SG great.GEN.SG great.NOM.PL

‘O Indra, great are the heroic deeds of you, the fighter, the bull, the self-ruling, the mighty youth,
 the firm, the eager, the unaging cudgel bearer, the famous, the great one.’ RV 3.46.1

In addition, **189** has the added complication of a couple more discontinuous genitives (*śrutásya maható*) separated by one of the nominative arguments (*vīrīyāṇi*) of the copular clause from the other coreferential genitives. Discontinuity is discussed in section **3.5**.

190 likewise involves several verses of appositives to the enclitic pronoun.

190)	— _x	[<i>upamám</i>	<i>tvā</i> _x	<i>maghónām</i>] /
	highest.ACC.SG		you.ACC.SG	generous.GEN.PL
	— _y	[<i>jyéṣṭham</i>	<i>ca</i> _y	<i>vṛṣabhāṇām</i>] //
	greatest.ACC.SG		and	bull.GEN.PL
	<i>pūrbhittamam</i>		(<i>maghavann</i>	<i>indra</i>) <i>govídam</i> /
	first fortress-smasher.ACC.SG		generous.VOC.SG	Indra.VOC.SG cattle-finding.ACC.SG
	<i>śānaṃ</i>	<i>rāyá</i>	<i>īmahe</i>	
	ruler.ACC.SG	wealth.ACC.PL	beseech.PRES.IND.1PL	

‘For wealth we beseech you, the highest of the generous and greatest of bulls, the first fortress-smasher, O generous Indra, the cattle-finder, the ruler.’ RV 8.53.1¹⁰⁸

In **190**, the two conjoined phrasal appositives in the first two verses both display Prosodic Inversion. The first verse shows Prosodic Inversion of **tvā upamám maghónām*, while the second displays Prosodic Inversion of the enclitic conjunction *ca* with *jyéṣṭham vṛṣabhāṇām*.

191 contains three full Triṣṭubh verses in apposition with the enclitic *tvā*, but the enclitic occurs towards the beginning of the third verse instead of the the first verse—relatively late in the string of appositions.

¹⁰⁸ cf. also RV 10.134.1cde where, as in **177** a and b, both c and d each contain a phrasal appositive.

191)	evā	[tā	viśvā		caṅṛvāṃsam]	īndram	/
	so	this.ACC.PL	all.ACC.PL		make.PERF.PART.ACC.SG	Indra.ACC.SG	
		mahām	ugrām		ajuriyām	sahodām	//
		great.ACC.SG	mighty.ACC.SG		ageless.ACC.SG	victory-granting.ACC.SG	
	suvīram	tvā		suvāyudhām	suvājram	/	
	heroic.ACC.SG	you.ACC.SG	well-armed.ACC.SG		good-cudged.ACC.SG		
	ā	brāhma	nāvyam		āvase	vavṛtyāt	
	to	formulation.NOM.SG	new.NOM.SG		aid.DAT.SG	turn.PERF.OPT.3SG	
	‘So might a new formulation turn Indra, having made all those things, the great, mighty, ageless, victory-granting one, you, the heroic well-armed one (with a) good cudgel, here for aid.’ RV						
	6.17.13abcd						

Here, lines c and d do not look striking in and of themselves. Neglecting a and b for a moment, this would appear to be a situation in which an initial pronominal element is followed by a couple appositives, and the enclitic pronoun undergoes Prosodic Inversion around the first word of the following appositives (i.e., ---_x [suvīram tvā_x suvāyudhām]). However, we must account for lines a and b. The simplest solution would be to propose that the first two lines are composed of highly topicalized background information (perhaps iterations of XP preceding CP or a series of left dislocated elements). The problem with this is the presence of *evā* at the beginning of line a. However, as a conjunction, it could be expected to stand outside of the conjoined clause syntactically.

3.5 Discontinuous Apposition

In addition to standard apposition in which the appositive is adjacent to the enclitic, there are a number of discontinuous appositives in which the apposition is separated from the clitic by one or more words in the clause. Such discontinuous coreferential noun phrases generally fall into one of three categories. In the first, the enclitic appears in second position within the clause while the appositive remains stranded in the base position for the enclitic. In the second, the appositive is really a dislocated phrase providing

additional information about the referent of the enclitic pronoun. In the third, the enclitic pronoun and appositive surround a possessed head noun. In this section, all coreferential nominals (excluding vocatives) will be marked with a subscript.

192 – 199 exemplify the first category in which an enclitic pronoun raised into the extended CP strands appositional elements in the base position for the noun phrase of the enclitic. In **192**, the enclitic strands the remaining accusatives in immediately pre-verbal position.

- 192)** ádha tvā_x víśve | purá indra devā́ /
thereupon you.ACC.SG all.NOM.SG before Indra.VOC.SG god.NOM.SG
[ékam taváśam]_x | dadhire bhārāya
alone.ACC.SG strong.ACC.SG place.PERF.IND.3PL bearing.DAT.SG
‘Thereupon all the gods placed you alone, the strong, at the front for pillaging (i.e., carrying off)’
RV 6.17.8ab

In **193 – 195**, the enclitic pronoun has stranded the coreferential genitives in the position preceding the possessed head noun.

- 193)** ágne kadā́ ta_x ānuśág /
Agni.VOC.SG when you.GEN.SG in (proper) order
bhúvad devásya_x cétanam
be.AOR.SUB.3SG god.GEN.SG manifestation.ACC.SG
‘O Agni, when will your, the god’s, manifestation be in its proper order?’ RV 4.7.2ab
- 194)** kadā́ te_x mártā | amṛtasya_x dhā́ma /
when your.SG mortal.NOM.PL immortal.GEN.SG law.ACC.SG
íyakṣanto | ná minanti svadhāvaḥ
desiring.NOM.PL not break.PRES.IND.3PL having self-determination.VOC.SG
‘When do the mortals, having a desire, not break the law of you, the immortal, O Self-determined one.’ RV 6.21.3cd

195) prá_{te_x} dhārā | áti āṇvāni meṣíyaḥ /
 forth your.SG stream.NOM.SG across space.ACC.SG sheephair.GEN.SG
 punānāsya_x | samyáto yanti rāṃhayaḥ
 being purified.GEN.SG continuous.NOM.SG go.PRES.IND.3PL racing (stream).NOM.SG
 ‘Your streams go forth across the sheep(-hair) sieve, the continuous racing (streams) of (you) the
 one being purified.’ RV 9.86.47ab

195 also exhibits a highly discontinuous subject noun phrase. Even assuming that *rāṃhayaḥ* is dislocated, it is difficult to account for the remaining positions unless the movement of *dhārā* to spec of IP strands *samyáto* in the verb-internal subject position with the genitive *punānāsya*.

In **196** and **197**, the datives have been moved into the AgrIOP projection. The enclitic pronoun is then fronted into the extended CP stranding the datives before the accusatives. In addition, in both these passages, the verb has been fronted into the extended CP (probably to Foc).

196) yás ta_x ānaṭ | kaváye_x śūra dhītīm /
 wh-.NOM.SG you.DAT.SG attain.AOR.IND.3SG seer.DAT.SG hero.VOC.SG devotion.ACC.SG
 yajñāsya vā | níśitiṃ vóditim vā
 worship.GEN.SG or stimulus.ACC.SG or~output.ACC.SG or
 ‘...who has brought to you, the seer, O hero, devotion or (has brought about) the stimulus of the
 worship or the output.’ RV 6.15.11bc

197) yás te_x bhārād | [ānniyate cid]_x ānnaṃ
 wh-.NOM.SG you.DAT.SG bear.PRES.SUB.3SG desiring food.DAT.SG even food.ACC.SG
 ‘Who will bring food to you, desiring food (i.e., even as you desire food),...’ RV 4.2.7a

In **198**, treating Varuṇa’s quotation in the verses following as the object, the verb has been fronted into CP to precede the topicalized enclitic that strands *médhirāya* in AgrIOP.

202 and **203** also seem to include discontinuous appositives.

- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 202) | hváyāmasi | tvā | | índra | yāhi | arvā́n / |
| | call.PRES.IND.1PL | you.ACC.SG | | Indra.VOC.SG | drive.PRES.IMV.2SG | hitherward.NOM.SG |
| | áram | | | te _x | sómas | tan _ũ ve _x bhavāti |
| | agreeable.NOM.SG | | | your.SG | soma.NOM.SG | body.DAT.SG be.PRES.SUB.3SG |
| | ‘We call you, O Indra. Drive hitherward! The soma will be agreeable to your body’ RV 6.41.5ab | | | | | |

Although *te* could be treated as agreeing with *tanĩve*, the noun *tanĩ-* is also employed as a means of referring to one's 'self', and the possessive sense of *te* is intuitively more plausible. However, such examples point to the similarity between such discontinuous noun phrases and discontinuous apposition.

The second category in which we have noun phrases coreferencing a noncontiguous enclitic pronoun involve dislocation of the noun phrase. These examples also frequently involve fronting the enclitic pronoun into the extended CP. **204 – 208** display instances involving such dislocation. **204** dislocates portions of both the subject and object after the verb. Note also that the enclitic has been raised into the extended CP.

- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|---------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 204) | ánu | tvāhighne ¹¹⁰ | | ádha | deva | devā / |
| | along | you.ACC.SG~serpent-slaying.LOC.SG | | thereupon | god.VOC.SG | god.NOM.PL |
| | mádan | víšve | | [kavítamaṃ | kavīnām] _x | |
| | exhilarate.PRES.INJ.3PL | all.NOM.PL | | wisest.ACC.SG | wise.GEN.PL | |
| | ‘Thereupon all the gods cheered you, the wisest of the wise, O heavenly one, in the serpent-battle.’ RV 6.18.14ab | | | | | |

¹¹⁰ uncombined form = $tv\bar{a} + \acute{a}highne$

205 – 207 simply dislocate the genitive modifying the enclitic pronoun to a position following the clause while the enclitic itself has been fronted into the extended CP.

205) mǎ te_x bhūma | prásitau hīlitásya_x
 not your.SG be.AOR.INJ.1PL net.LOC.SG angered.GEN.SG
 ‘Let us not come to be in your net when you are angered.’ RV 7.46.4b

206) ná te_x gíro | ápi mṛṣye turásya_x
 not your.SG song.ACC.PL on forget.PRES.IND.1SG strong.GEN.SG
 ‘I do not forget the songs of you, the strong.’ RV 7.22.5a

207) prá te_x asyā́ | uśásaḥ prāparasyā /
 forth your.SG this.GEN.SG dawn.GEN.SG future.GEN.SG
 nṛtaú s_iyāma | [nṛtamasya nṛñām+]_x
 dance.LOC.SG be.PRES.OPT.1PL manliest.GEN.SG man.GEN.PL
 ‘We would excel in this dawn’s and the later (dawn’s) dance, (in the dance) of you, the manliest of men.’ RV 10.29.2ab

208 involves standard apposition (note the caesura between *te* and the first appositive *tuviḥjātasya*) as well as a dislocated phrase (placed in brackets at the end of the clause).

208) sád íd dhí te_x | tuviḥjātasya_x mánye /
 real.NOM.SG indeed for your.SG strong-born.GEN.SG think.PRES.IND.1SG
 sáhaḥ sahiṣṭha | [turatás turásya]_x
 might.NOM.SG mightiest.VOC.SG showing power.GEN.SG powerful.GEN.SG
 ‘Indeed I believe the might of you, the strong-born, O most mighty, of the powerful one as (you) show your power, is real.’ RV 6.18.4ab

In addition to probable dislocation, **209** exhibits an unusual instance in which Prosodic Inversion seems to have operated despite the absence of a caesura or line break before the appositive *ámartiyasya*.

209) mártā ámartṛyasya_x te_x / bhūri náma manāmahe //

mortal.NOM.PL immortal.GEN.SG your.SG great.ACC.SG name.ACC.SG think.AOR.SUB.1PL

víprāso jātāvedasaḥ_x

inspired.NOM.PL Jātavedas.GEN.SG

‘We inspired mortals think of the great name of you, the immortal, Jātavedas.’ RV 8.11.5

In this stanza, the genitive *jātāvedasaḥ* appears to be simply dislocated. The nominative *víprāso* that shares the line with *jātāvedasaḥ* may also have been dislocated to follow the verb, providing additional information about the mortals. An alternative analysis that does not rely upon double dislocation would treat this last verse as a single dislocated noun phrase ‘the inspired ones of Jatavedas’. In either case, the placement of the enclitic pronoun after its appositive is unusual without an explicit prosodic break reflected in a line break or caesura. Without metrical support for the prosodic break, the poet may have delayed the enclitic pronoun merely to produce an iambic cadence as preferred by a Gāyatrī verse.

The last coherent category of nominal elements that are discontinuous with a coreferential enclitic pronoun is that in which the enclitic and appositive surround the head noun that they possess. **210** and **211** illustrate this situation.

210) á te_x rúcaḥ | pávamānasya_x soma /

to your.SG light.NOM.PL being purified.GEN.SG Soma.VOC.SG

yóseva yanti | sudúghāḥ sudhārāḥ

maiden.NOM.SG~like go.PRES.IND.3PL well-milking.NOM.PL well-streaming.NOM.PL

‘The flashes of you being purified, O Soma, come as a young woman, (like) (cows) that are easy to milk, giving good streams (of milk).’ RV 9.96.24ab

211)	yás	te _x	prajā	amṛtasya _x /
	wh-.NOM.PL	your.SG	children.NOM.PL	immortal.GEN.SG
	párasmin	dhāmann	ṛtasya //	
	highest.LOC.SG	abode.LOC.SG	(cosmic) order.GEN.SG	
	mūrdhā	nābhā	soma	vena /
	head.NOM.SG	hub.LOC.SG	Soma.VOC.SG	see.PRES.INJ.2SG
	ābhūṣantīḥ	soma	vedaḥ	
	being active.ACC.PL	Soma.VOC.SG	know.PRES.SUB.2SG	

‘Which children of you, the immortal, are in the highest abode of (cosmic) order—you, O Soma, see (them) as (their) leader in the hub (of the world), and you shall know (them) as active (in your service), O Soma.’ RV 1.43.9

In these two instances, the enclitic precedes the possessed noun and is in second position within the clause. However, it is uncertain whether the enclitic has been moved into the extended CP, since genitives frequently precede their possessed noun without such movement.

212 may also belong in this category.

212)	bhūyāma	te _x		sumataú	vājino _x	vayám
	be.AOR.OPT.1PL	your.SG		goodwill.LOC.SG	victorious.GEN.SG	we

‘We would be in your, the victorious one’s, goodwill.’ RV 8.3.2a

The translation above follows Geldner. However, the term *vājino* can be either genitive singular or nominative plural. If it is taken as a nominative plural predicated upon *vayám*, it should be translated as ‘We would be victorious in your goodwill’ and does not belong in this category.

213 and **214** also contain instances of a head noun that appears to be surrounded by possessive genitives one of which is an enclitic pronoun. However, they may be better understood as instances of apposition that involve two phrases each containing a genitive modifying a head noun. In each instance, the genitives are coreferential (and hence are marked with a subscript), but they do not modify the same

head nominals; however, the nominals they do modify are coreferential as well (and hence marked with a second subscript).

213)	ṛbhúr	ṛbhukṣā́		ṛbhúr	vidható	máda /
	artistic.NOM.SG	Ṛbhukṣā.NOM.SG		artistic.NOM.SG	worshipping.GEN.SG	intoxicant.NOM.SG
	á	te _x		hárī _y		jūjuvānāsya _x
	hither	your.SG		bay horse.NOM.DL	hurrying.GEN.SG	vājínā _y //
	duṣṭāraṃ	yāsya _x		sāma		cid /
	unsurpassed.NOM.SG	wh-.GEN.SG		Sāman.NOM.SG		even
	ṛdhag	yajñó		ná	mānuṣaḥ	
	distinguished	worship.NOM.SG		like	human.NOM.SG	

‘Artistic is Ṛbhukṣā, artistic the exhilarating drink of the worshipper; hither (may) your two bay steeds (come), the victorious ones of the hurrying one of whom even the Sāman is unsurpassed like a human worship (carried out) with distinction.’ RV 10.93.8a–d

In **213**, it may be tempting to translate the second verse as ‘hither (come) the two victorious bay steeds of you, the hurrying one,’ and indeed the sense is little altered. However, the position of the caesura separates the elements of this noun phrase in a manner reminiscent of apposition. For this reason, it is conceivable that the verse involves apposition.

214 presents a similar situation.

214)	yó	me _x	gíras _y		tuvijātásya _x	pūrvīr _y /
	wh-.NOM.SG	my	song.ACC.SG		high-born.GEN.SG	many.ACC.SG
		yukténābhí			tríaruṇo	grṇāti
		yoked.INST.SG~towards			Tryaruṇa.NOM.SG	sing.PRES.IND.3SG

‘Tryaruṇa who honors my songs, the multitude of the high-born one (?), with a yoked (team)’

RV 5.27.3c

Again, it may be tempting to treat the two coreferential nominals *gíras* and *pūrvīr* as a single phrase altering the translation to ‘...the many songs of me, the high-born one...’, but the caesura suggests a separation of the two noun phrases. **213** and **214** may provide insight into the construction noted in **210** and **211**. The second genitive may be considered appositional, but with an elided head noun which is to be supplied by the preceding noun phrase. Supporting such an analysis is the position of the caesura between the head noun and the following genitive in **210**. However, **211** does not provide overt support for this analysis.

Similar to the situations in which a head noun is nestled between two genitives are **215** and **216**, where an enclitic acting as a verbal argument immediately precedes a verb and a coreferential nominal immediately follows the verb. In both instances, the verbal arguments are accusatives.

215) *á* *tvā_x* *viśantu* | *hárivarpasam_x* *gírah*
 to you.ACC.SG enter.PRES.IMV.3PL golden-form.ACC.SG song.NOM.PL

‘Let the songs enter you, having a golden form!’ RV 10.96.1d

With the subject in final position, it is difficult to account for the placement of *hárivarpasam* in **215**. If the verb, as an imperative, has been fronted into the extended CP (in Foc), and the enclitic has stranded *hárivarpasam* with its topicalization, the subject would have to be extraposed to be in final position. Although such movements are possible, it may be better to consider the two words following the caesura to be a clarifying clause with gapped verb resulting in a translation like ‘Let them enter you—the one having a golden visage (let) the songs (enter)!’

216 shows no subject extraposition, so the fronting of the verb¹¹¹ and enclitic pronoun into the extended CP easily account for the syntax of the stanza with stranding of *vāreṇiyam* in the base position.

¹¹¹ The base position for double accusative verbs is hypothetically parallel to standard ditransitive verbs with the verb standing between its two arguments. In this hypothesized structure, the accusative following the verb is predicated on the accusative preceding the verb.

216)	ní	tvā _x	dadhe	vāreṇ _i yaṃ _x /
	down	you.ACC.SG	set.PRES.IND.1SG	to be chosen.ACC.SG
		dákṣasyeḷā́	sahaskṛta //	
		Dakṣa.GEN.SG~Iḍ.INST.SG	might-made.VOC.SG	
	ágne	sudītīm	uśíjam	
	Agni.VOC.SG	shining.ACC.SG	Uśij.ACC.SG	

‘I install you, the one to be chosen, O thou Dakṣa’s (son) made with might by Iḍ, O Agni, as the shining Uśij.’ RV 3.27.10

Following Geldner, we take the second verse to be a phrasal vocative with an exceptional accent on the instrumental *iḷā́* occurring in the position between the two accusative objects of the verb. As a second accusative, the phrase *sudītīm uśíjam* in the third verse is predicated upon *tvā...vāreṇ_iyaṃ* and is not dislocated.

217 does not fall into any of the categories so far considered.

217)	īśānā́ya _x		práhutiṃ	yás	ta _x	ā́naṭ
	ruling.DAT.SG		oblation.ACC.SG	wh-.NOM.SG	you.DAT.SG	attain.AOR.IND.3SG

‘...who has brought the oblation to you, the lord.’ RV 7.90.2a

Here, the presence of two items preceding the relative pronoun *yás* is unexpected. One item can be accommodated by the XP position that precedes CP. One solution is to posit left dislocation of *īśānā́ya*. The presence of the caesura following *īśānā́ya* may support such an analysis. A translation reflecting this possibility is ‘To the lord—whoever brings the oblation to you, (you make that one praised among mortals)’.

218 likewise does not fall into the categories of discontinuous phrases so far considered.

- 218)** átas t_uvā_x rayím abhí /
hence you.ACC.SG wealth.ACC.SG toward
 rājānaṃ_x sukrato divāḥ //
 king.ACC.SG insightful.VOC.SG heaven.ABL.SG
suparṇó avyathír bharat
eagle.NOM.SG unwavering.NOM.SG bear.PRES.INJ.3SG
‘The unwavering eagle bore you, the king, O Insightful one, from this heaven toward wealth.’
RV 9.48.3

Indeed, the syntax of **218** deviates from expectations so greatly as to be impossible to account for within the syntactic framework of this investigation. Nevertheless, the stanza is composed of syntactically valid sentence fragments that together build a coherent stanza. The first two verses provide predicates with a gapped verb. The second verse expands on the sense of the predicate in the first verse. The third verse supplies the verb and subject. The stanza thus appears to involve a striking extraposition of predicates. A translation reflecting such extraposition is ‘[You from this toward wealth—the king, O insightful one, from heaven]_x the unwavering eagle bore ____.’

In general, discontinuous noun phrases may be understood as instances in which a portion of a noun phrase has been stranded by another portion that has moved into the extended CP or as an instance involving dislocation.

3.6 Similes and Enclitic Pronouns

Like appositives, similes are also found almost exclusively with singular enclitic forms. In addition, similes behave like appositives, ordinarily following the item they describe, as in **219** and **220**.

- 219)** [īndraṃ]_x [útsaṃ ná | vāsunaḥ]_x sicāmahe
Indra.ACC.SG well.ACC.SG like good.GEN.SG pour.AOR.SUB.1PL
‘We will pour Indra like a well of good.’ RV 2.16.7d

- 220)** brahmāṇam brāhmavāhasam /
 formulator.ACC.SG formulation-conveyor.ACC.SG
 gīrbhīḥ [sākhāyam ṛgmīyam]_x //
 song.INST.PL friend.ACC.SG praiseworthy.ACC.SG
 [gāṁ ná doháse]_x huve
 cow.ACC.SG like to milk.INF call.PRES.IND.1SG
 ‘The formulator conveying the formulas (edifying speech), the praiseworthy friend, I call with
 songs like a cow for milking.’ RV 6.45.7

Also compare **221** involving the collocation *tām tvā*.

- 221)** [tām tvā]_x [nāvam ná]_x [parśāṇim]_x /
 that.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG ship.ACC.SG like leading across.ACC.SG
 śūśāsya dhurí dhīmahi //
 battle-song.GEN.SG shaft.LOC.SG set.AOR.OPT.1PL
 índram ná yajñáís | citáyanta āyáva /
 Indra.ACC.SG like sacrifice.INST.PL distinguishing.NOM.PL Āyu.NOM.PL
 stómebhir índram āyávaḥ
 praise song.INST.PL Indra.ACC.SG Āyu.NOM.PL
 ‘As such you, crossing (us) (over danger) like a ship, we would set on the shaft (crossbar) of the
 battle song, like the Āyu’s distinguishing Indra with sacrifices, like the Āyu’s (distinguishing)
 Indra with praises.’ RV 1.131.2d–g

In this instance, it is particularly clear that *tām* (masculine accusative) must modify the enclitic *tvā* and not the simile (i.e., *nāvam* feminine accusative) since they disagree in gender. Here, the simile is inserted between the enclitic pronoun and its modifier *parśāṇim*. The crucial point to note is that a simile marked with *ná* is never split—there is never syntactic stranding of a portion of a simile. However, the normal situation with enclitic pronouns is for the enclitic to occur within the simile following the combination of

the simile's first word with the simile marker. Only in situations in which the enclitic is prosodically supported (as in examples **221** – **223**) can an enclitic pronoun remain in a position preceding the simile.¹¹²

222)	pári	te	[jigyúšo	yathā] /
	around	your.SG	conquering.GEN.SG	as
	dhārā		sutásya _x	dhāvati //
	stream.NOM.SG		pressed.GEN.SG	run.PRES.IND.3SG
	rámhamāṇā	ví	avyáyaṃ /	
	hastening.NOM.SG	asunder	of sheep.ACC.SG	
	vāraṃ		vājīva	sānasīḥ
	wool.ACC.SG	horse.NOM.SG~as	winning.NOM.SG	

‘The stream of you, the pressed, like (the horse) of the conqueror, flows around rushing across the sheep’s wool like a winning horse.’ RV 9.100.4

223)	prá	te _x	[divó	ná] _x	stanayanti	śúsmāḥ
	forth	your.SG	heaven.GEN.SG	like	thunder.PRES.IND.3PL	battle-spirit.NOM.PL

‘The battle-spirits of you, like those of heaven, thunder forth.’ RV 4.10.4d

Frequently, again like appositives, the simile and the phrase it describes are raised to the beginning of the clause. In such situations, if the phrase described is an enclitic pronoun, it would be syntactically placed in initial position. However, as an enclitic, it cannot stand in initial position, and so must undergo Prosodic Inversion around the first adjacent prosodic unit. With similes, the marker of the simile forms a prosodic unit with the first word of the simile for the purposes of Prosodic Inversion, as is evident in the following examples. Indeed, if the simile marker did not form a prosodic unit, and the enclitic could occur between the first word of the simile and the simile marker (as if **224** said **agnīm mā ná mathitām...*), it might be taken to create a simile of the personal pronoun (i.e., ‘like me’ or ‘like you’).

¹¹² Note that the simile need not describe the enclitic, though it may. Frequently the simile describes the clause or another constituent, as in **222** in which the simile describes *dhārā* ‘the stream’.

Instances of Prosodic Inversion of an enclitic personal pronoun with the first prosodic unit of a multiword simile marked with *ná* are presented below (224 – 233).

224) ____x [agnīm ná mā_x | mathitām] sám didīpaḥ
 Agni.ACC.SG like me.ACC stirred.ACC.SG together shine.CAUS.AOR.INJ.2SG
 ‘Like Agni stirred, you ignite me.’ RV 8.48.6a

225) ____x [áśvaṃ ná tvā_x | vāravantaṃ] / vandádhyā agnīm námobhiḥ //
 horse.ACC.SG like you.ACC.SG valuable.ACC.SG to praise.INF Agni.ACC.SG reverence.INST.PL
 samrājantam adhvarāṇām
 ruling.ACC.SG service.GEN.PL
 ‘Like a valuable horse, (I intend) to praise you, Agni ruling over the services, with reverences.’
 RV 1.27.1abc

These first two examples involve two-word similes in apposition to the the enclitic object of the main verb of the clause. **225** exemplifies the peculiar usage of a Vedic infinitive to express intention as if the infinitive were the main verb.

226) ____x [áśvaṃ ná tvā_x | vājīnam] marjáyanto /
 horse.ACC.SG like you.ACC.SG prize-winning.ACC.SG wiping.CAUS.ACC.SG
 áchā barhī | raśanābhir nayanti
 to sacrificial grass.ACC.SG rein.INST.PL lead.PRES.IND.3PL
 ‘Cleaning (lit. wiping) you, like a prize-winning horse, they lead (you) by the reins to the barhis.’
 RV 9.87.1cd

227) ____x [śísuṃ ná tvā_x | jénīyaṃ] vardháyantī /
 child.ACC.SG like you.ACC.SG noble.ACC.SG increasing.CAUS.NOM.SG
 mātā bibharti | sacanasyāmānā
 mother.NOM.SG bear.PRES.IND.3SG joyous.NOM.SG
 ‘The mother, raising you like a noble child, bears (you), joyous.’ RV 10.4.3ab

226 and **227** also involve two-word similes appositional to the enclitic object, but here they are primarily objects of participles in addition to being the understood objects of the main verbs.

- 228)** ____x [dhenúm ná tvā_x | sūyāvase] dúdukṣann /
 cow.ACC.SG like you.ACC.SG good pasture.LOC.SG milking .NOM.SG
 úpa bráhmāṇi | sasṛje vasiṣṭhaḥ
 to formulation.ACC.PL release.PERF.IND.3SG Vasiṣṭha.NOM.SG

‘Vasiṣṭha, milking you like the cow on good pasture, has released the formulations.’ RV 7.18.4ab

In **228**, the simile and enclitic pronoun are again objects of the participle, but they are not objects of the main verb. It is also notable that the simile is not just a noun phrase, but an alternative predicate (accusative complement and locative adjunct) of the participle.

- 229)** ____x [índraṃ ná tvā_x | śávasā devátā] /
 Indra.ACC.SG like you.ACC.SG power.INST.SG divinity.INST.SG
 vāyúm pṛṇanti | rādhasā nṛtamāḥ
 Vāyu.ACC.SG fill.PRES.IND.3PL gift.INST.SG best man.NOM.PL

‘The best men fill you, Vāyu, with a gift like (they fill) Indra with power (and) with divinity.’

RV 6.4.7cd

The simile in **229** is again an alternative predicate (accusative complement and instrumental adjuncts), but this time the predicate is to the main verb rather than to a non-finite participle.

- 230)** ____x [vār ṇá tvā_x yaviyābhir] /
 water.NOM.SG like you.ACC.SG stream.INST.PL
 vārdhanti śūra bráhmāṇi
 increase.PRES.IND.3PL hero.VOC.SG formulation.NOM.PL

‘O hero, the formulations increase you like water (is increased) by streams.’ RV 8.98.8ab

230 is like **229** in that the simile provides an alternative predicate, which, however, must be understood passively. Note the sandhi on the simile marker ṇá, which reflects a close connection between

this word and *vā́r* and is taken as further support for the treatment of the simile marker *ná* and the word it follows as a single prosodic unit around which Prosodic Inversion operates.

231 and **232** contain another second position particle between the simile marker and the enclitic pronoun. *hí* is a clausal particle that generally acts as a subordinating conjunction and, despite having an accent cannot stand in initial position. It too, therefore, is presumably subject to Prosodic Inversion despite the fact that it bears an accent.¹¹³ It always precedes enclitic pronouns in this function,¹¹⁴ and the two appear to form a prosodic unit undergoing Prosodic Inversion as a single entity. Hence, we signal this fact by marking both the clitic and *hí* with a subscript.

231) ---_x [bhágaṃ ná hí_x tvā_x | yaśásaṃ vasuvídam] /
 auspicious.ACC.SG like for you.ACC.SG honored.ACC.SG wealth-finding.ACC.SG
 ánu śūra cárāmasi
 after hero.VOC.SG move.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘...for we run after you, O hero, as (after) an honored auspicious one who acquires wealth.’ RV
 8.61.5cd

232) ---_x [hradám ná hí_x tvā_x | niṛśánti ūrmáyo] /
 sea.ACC.SG like indeed you.ACC.SG fill up.PRES.IND.3PL wave.NOM.PL
 bráhmāṇi indra | táva yāni vārdhanā
 formulation.NOM.PL Indra.VOC.SG you.GEN.SG wh-.NOM.PL strength.NOM.PL
 ‘Indeed, O Indra, the formulations which are your strength (fill) you like waves fill the sea.’ RV
 1.52.7ab

¹¹³ This may be because these accented particles are “prosodically ‘weaker’ than fully accented words” as Hock speculates (1996:265). It is also possible that these elements are actually clitics, but they developed a lexicalized accent before the text was stabilized. Such stabilization may have been due to the tendency for particles in a string to occur in consistent orders and with alternating accent. In support of such a speculative scenario, consider Ancient Greek clitics which engender an accent on the preceding element, even if it is a clitic. A similar speculative scenario is considered and rejected in a footnote of Schäufele 1996 (458¹⁶).

¹¹⁴ There are a few instances where *hí*, in association with either *íd* (*íd dhí*) or *kam* (*hí kam*), follows an enclitic pronoun, but in these instances it functions clearly as an emphatic particle rather than a conjunction.

233 involves a genitive enclitic pronoun undergoing Prosodic Inversion with a simile.

As with appositives, similes may be discontinuous with the item they describe, as exemplified in

Similes involving *iva* do not describe enclitic pronouns, but they seem to behave similarly with

152

Note, however, that this is also the beginning of a new clause, and so is equivalent to the line-initial instances given above. Consider, though, that the simile is actually an argument of the copula. As this is the case, there may be no need to posit the operation of Prosodic Inversion since *vṛṣabhāsyeva* may simply precede *te rávaḥ*, the other argument of the copula.

Unlike *ná*, the simile marker *iva* appears to be capable of forming discontinuous similes, as shown in **236**.

- 236)** —_x [dṛter 'va]_y te_x | avṛkám astu sakhyám /
 skin.GEN.SG¹¹⁵ like your.SG protective.NOM.SG be.PRES.IMV.3SG friendship.NOM.SG
 [áchidrasya dadhanvátah]_y /
 unbroken.GEN.SG with sour milk.GEN.SG
 [súpūrṇasya dadhanvátah]_y
 well-filled.GEN.SG with sour milk.GEN.SG
 ‘Let your friendship be secure like an unbroken skin with sour milk, well-filled with sour milk!’
 RV 6.48.18

Here, *dṛteḥ* which is marked as a simile by *iva* must be construed with the second and third verse, from which it is separated by the main clause. Since, as in **235**, the simile forms the predicate of the copula instead of describing the enclitic pronoun, it is likely that there was no need for Prosodic Inversion and that *dṛter* 'va simply precedes the enclitic. Indeed, evidence for Prosodic Inversion involving *iva* is circumstantial and inconclusive.

Only those similes marked by *ná* provide robust evidence for Prosodic Inversion. The sole example with *yathā* (**222**) follows the enclitic pronoun, and *iva* does not form similes to enclitic pronouns.

¹¹⁵ Perhaps a pseudo-nominative for *dṛtiḥ* influenced by the prior word *veḥ* which ends the preceding stanza.

3.7 On Prosodic Inversion in Double Accusative Constructions

Double accusative verbs like *śru* ‘hear’ (i.e., in the sense ‘to hear that *acc x* is *acc y*’) show the operation of Prosodic Inversion in situations like those in which an enclitic pronoun with an apposition in initial position shows Prosodic Inversion (see section 3.3). In **237**, *tvā* undergoes Prosodic Inversion to fall within the phrase predicated upon it by *śṛṇomi*.

- 237)** ---_x [bhiṣāktamaṃ *tvā_x* bhiṣājāṃ] śṛṇomi
 best-healer.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG healer.GEN.PL hear.PRES.IND.1SG
 ‘I hear that you are the best healer of healers.’ RV 2.33.4d

To show that the personal pronoun can be expected to precede the phrase renaming it, compare the above to **238** in which the enclitic is prosodically supported. For clarity, the two accusative noun phrases are bracketed.

- 238)** [ékam (nú) *tvā*]¹¹⁶ [sátpatim pāñcājanyaṃ /
 one now you.ACC.SG true-lord.ACC.SG of five races.ACC.SG
 jātām] śṛṇomi yaśásam jáneṣu
 born.ACC.SG hear.PRES.IND.1SG honored.ACC.SG men.LOC.PL
 ‘I hear that you alone are born as the rightful lord of the five races, honored among men.’ RV
 5.32.11ab

Interestingly, due to the fact that most of these examples with *śru* involve single words renaming *tvā*, and the enclitic cannot stand initially, Prosodic Inversion would require the enclitic to follow the word predicated to it even if the clitic were to have preceded, so these instances cannot help determine what would be expected to occur first. **239** and **240** display how Prosodic Inversion could have resulted in the order as it appears.

¹¹⁶ An alternative analysis would treat the enclitic (along with *nú*) as undergoing Prosodic Inversion from initial position to fall within the noun phrase *ékam sátpatim pāñcājanyaṃ / jātām* which would alter the translation to ‘I hear that you are born as the single rightful lord of the five races, honored among men.’

239)

(śiśīhī mā) —_x [śiśayām] tvā_x śṛṇomi
 sharpen.PRES.IMV.2SG me.ACC invigorating.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG hear.PRES.IND.1SG
 ‘Invigorate me; I hear you are invigorating.’ RV 10.42.3b

240) —_x [revántam] hí tvā_x śṛṇómi
 rich.ACC.SG indeed you.ACC.SG hear.PRES.IND.1SG
 ‘I hear that you are indeed rich.’ RV 8.2.11c

The only case of *tvām* (the tonic variant of *tvā*) with the root *śru* is seen in **241**. Because the subject here follows both accusatives, it appears to have the entire indirect quotation fronted. Note particularly, though, that this order suggests that no Prosodic Inversion has occurred in **239** and **240**.

241) svavíjām hí tvām ahám indra śuśráva
 own-master.ACC.SG indeed you.ACC.SG I.NOM Indra.VOC.SG hear.PERF.IND.1SG
 ‘I have heard, O Indra, that you are indeed your own master.’ RV 10.38.5a

We therefore have conflicting evidence as to the position of the personal pronoun with respect to the second accusative in examples **238** and **241**. Unfortunately, this cannot be resolved by the root *vid* ‘know’, which has a parallel construction involving two accusatives (i.e., in the sense ‘to know that *acc x* is *acc y*’) and invariably involves a clause opening with *vidmā hí tvā* ‘We know that you are...’ followed by the accusatives predicated on *tvā*.¹¹⁷

Further complicating matters among double accusative verbs is an example like **242**, in which the enclitic pronoun occurs in the midst of the accusatives predicated upon it in a non-initial position.

¹¹⁷ These instances are: RV 1.10.10a, RV 1.81.8c, RV 3.36.9b, RV 3.42.6a, RV 8.61.3c, RV 8.81.2a, and RV 10.47.1c.

242)	vásavo	rudrá	[āḍityā]		uparispṛśam	mā /
	Vasu.NOM.PL	Rudra.NOM.PL	Aditya.NOM.PL		superior.ACC.SG	me.ACC.SG
	ugráṃ		céttāram		adhirājām	akran
	mighty.ACC.SG		guard.ACC.SG		overlord.ACC.SG	make.AOR.IND.3PL
‘The Vasu’s, Rudra’s, [(and) Āditya’s] made me superior, a mighty guard (and) overlord.’ RV						
10.128.9cd						

To correct the presence of three extra syllables in 9c, Arnold suggests discarding *āḍityā* as “having been added as an aid to intelligence or devotion” (Arnold, 1905:102). Hence, the accusative enclitic and the accusatives predicated upon it all follow the caesura, suggesting that a strong prosodic break following the subjects triggers the operation of Prosodic Inversion within the clause.

3.8 The *sá figé* Paradigm

The *sá figé* paradigm involves forms of the *sá-/tá-* pronoun followed by a form of the second person pronoun in the same case and number. The most common instances of the *sá figé* paradigm involving enclitics occur in the singular accusative form *tám tvā*. Indeed, the frequency of this collocation may result from its treatment as a single syntactic unit.¹¹⁸ In these situations, the anaphoric pronoun *tám* acts as a discourse connector (frequently translated ‘as such’). Five¹¹⁹ cases in which the enclitic is immediately preceded and immediately followed by an accusative involve the collocation *tám tvā*. These are essentially cases of apposition (243 through 245) and simile (246) which are prevented from undergoing Prosodic Inversion by the prosodic support provided by *tám*. Indeed, some instances of *tám tvā* may represent little more than an expletive *tám* inserted during Spell Out as a means of supplying prosodic support instead of resorting to Prosodic Inversion.¹²⁰ If this is the case, it would be permitted

¹¹⁸ 48 of 565 distinct occurrences of *tvā* involve this collocation. However, 10 additional instances of *tám u tvā* suggest that *tám* and *tvā* do not form a prosodic unit as the particle *u* is permitted to fall between them.

¹¹⁹ Four are given below as involving simple transitive verbs. The fifth is RV 7.16.4a [*tám t_vtvā*] [*dūtám*]_x *kṛṇmahe* [*yaśástamam*]_x ‘As such we make you the most famous messenger’ with the double accusative verb *kṛ* and a discontinuous second noun phrase.

¹²⁰ The collocation *tám tvā* may represent multiple phenomena. Teasing these disparate functions apart is beyond the scope of this investigation.

solely because the position under CP that is frequently reserved for deictic or relative lexemes remains empty.

- 243)** [tām tvā] [sahásracakṣasam / átho sahásrabharṇasam] //
 that.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG thousand-eyed.ACC.SG and thousand-gifted .ACC.SG
 áti vāram apāviṣuḥ
 across wool.ACC.SG purify.AOR.IND.3PL

‘You, the thousand-eyed and thousand-gifted one, they have purified through the wool.’ RV 9.60.2abc

- 244)** [tām tvā] [dhartāram oṇyoh / pávamāna s_uvardīśam] //
 that.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG upholder.ACC.SG arm.GEN.DL Pavamāna.VOC.SG sun-visaged.ACC.SG
 hinvé vājeṣu vājínam
 impel.PRES.IND.1SG battle.LOC.PL victorious.ACC.SG

‘You, the upholder of the two arms, O Pavamāna, having the appearance of the sun, I impel in the battles (for booty)—you the victorious (having the booty).’ RV 9.65.11abc

- 245)** [tām tvā] [ṇṛmṇāni bíbhrataṃ] /
 that.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG skill of man.ACC.PL bearing.ACC.SG
 sadhástheṣu mahó divāḥ //
 seat.LOC.PL great.GEN.SG heaven.GEN.SG
 cāruṃ sukṛtyáyemahe
 dear.ACC.SG good-work.INST.SG~beseech.PRES.IND.1PL

‘You, bearing the skills of man in the seats of high heaven, the dear one we beseech with good work—(you who... 9.48.2 consists of further epithets of *tvā*).’ RV 9.48.1

246)	[tám	tvā] _x	[nāvam	ná] _x	[parśāṇim] _x /
	that.ACC.SG	you.ACC.SG	ship.ACC.SG	like	leading across.ACC.SG
	śūśāsya		dhurí		dhīmahi //
	battle-song.GEN.SG		shaft.LOC.SG		set.AOR.OPT.1PL
	índram	ná	yajñáís		citáyanta āyáva /
	Indra.ACC.SG	like	sacrifice.INST.PL		distinguishing.NOM.PL Āyu.NOM.PL
	stómebhir		índram		āyávaḥ
	praise song.INST.PL		Indra.ACC.SG		Āyu.NOM.PL

‘As such you, crossing (us) (over danger) like a ship, we would set on the shaft (crossbar) of the battle song, like the Āyu’s distinguishing Indra with sacrifices, like the Āyu’s (distinguishing) Indra with praises.’ RV 1.131.2d–g

247 is of interest in that it involves the sentential particle *nú* exceptionally occurring after the enclitic pronoun.¹²¹ The freedom of this particle to appear initially (though with lengthened vowel *nú́* = *nú u*) suggests that it is syntactically placed in this position between the pronoun and its appositive. However, this is an exceptional position relative to the enclitic pronoun. *nú* far more frequently precedes enclitic pronouns in the second position string. This suggests that *tám* and *tvā* form a unit that resists separation by other particles (except for *u*).

247)	[tám	tvā]	nú	[návyaṃ]		sahasó	yuvan	vayám /
	that.ACC.SG	you.ACC.SG	now	praiseworthy.ACC.SG		might.GEN.SG	youth.VOC.SG	we
	bhágam		ná	kāré		mahiratna		dhīmahi
	auspicious.ACC.SG		like	battle.LOC.SG		great-treasure.VOC.SG		set.AOR.OPT.1PL

‘You now, worthy of praise, O youth of might, we would set like an auspicious one (dispenser of luck) in the battle, O thou having great treasure.’ RV 1.141.10cd

¹²¹ Additional instances in which the particle *nú* follows an enclitic pronoun are RV 8.93.11a, 10.34.14c, and 10.54.3a. Also compare RV 8.46.11c in which a vocative separates an enclitic pronoun from a following *nú*.

Similar to **247** is **248** with the dual accusative case of the *sá fígé* paradigm. Both of these clauses involve double accusative constructions, and the particle *nú* separates the two accusative arguments of the verb.

248) [tá vām] nú [návyāv] | ávase karāmahe
 that.ACC.DL you.ACC.DL now praiseworthy.ACC.DL aid.DAT.SG make.AOR.SUB.1PL
 ‘Now we will make you praiseworthy for aid.’ RV 10.39.5c

Directly contradicting the notion that *tám tvā* resists separation is the related collocation *tám u tvā* which occurs almost exclusively in Gāyatrī stanzas (9 of 11 instances). In fact, the two non-Gāyatrī occurrences (**249** and **250**) appear to be derived from Gāyatrī stanzas. Note that if the line were to begin post caesura in **249**, it would be a perfectly fine Gāyatrī line.

249) (mahó rāyé) | tám u tvā sám idhīmahe
 great.GEN.SG wealth.DAT.SG that.ACC.SG PTCL you.ACC.SG together kindle.PRES.OPT.1PL
 ‘We would ignite you for great wealth.’ RV 8.23.16c

In addition, **251** shares the opening with the first 5 syllables of the Gāyatrī verse of **252**:

250) tám u tvā nūnám | asura prācetasam /
 that.ACC.SG PTCL you.ACC.SG now Asura.VOC.SG wise.ACC.SG
 rádhō bhāgām ivemahe
 gift.ACC.SG share.ACC.SG like~beseech.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘And you, now, the wise one, we beseech, O Asura, for a gift as a share.’ RV 8.90.6ab

251) tám u tvā nūnám īmahe /
 that.ACC.SG PTCL you.ACC.SG now beseech.PRES.IND.1PL
 návyam dāmsiṣṭha sányase
 new.ACC.SG most mastering.VOC.SG old.DAT.SG

‘And now you we beseech for a new (hymn) for the old (god), O greatest master.’ RV 8.24.26a

This suggests that the *tám u tvā* variant is a metrical variant with what may be a meaningless usage of the particle *u* through contamination with the frequent occurrence of *tám u* + personal pronoun (for a brief

sampling, see RV 1.80.7d with *tvám*; RV 3.46.5c and RV 6.40.2c with *te*; RV 6.22.2a with *naḥ*; RV 8.21.9b and RV 8.23.7c with *vaḥ*; and RV10.39.1c with *vām*)

Passages involving the tonic variant *tvām* in collocation with an accusative singular form of the *sá-/tá-* pronoun are quite rare. Note that these include the only instance (**253**) in which the second person pronoun refers to a feminine noun, the goddess Uṣas. The two instances in which this occurs are **252** and **253**. Note also the appositions to the personal pronoun found in **252**. This clause has both ordinary apposition at its beginning as well as a discontinuous element (*váhnim hótāram*) stranded before the verb by the fronting of the pronoun.

252)	[tām	tvām] _x	[ájmeṣu	vājínam] _x /
	that.ACC.SG	you.ACC.SG	course.LOC.PL	victorious.ACC.SG
		tanvāná	agne	adhvarám //
		extending.NOM.PL	Agni.VOC.SG	service.ACC.SG
	[váhnim	hótāram] _x	īlate	
	driver.ACC.SG	hotar.ACC.SG	call upon.PRES.IND.3PL	

‘They, extending the service, call upon you, victorious on the courses, O Agni, the driver (and) Hotar.’ RV 8.43.20abc

253)	tām	tvām	uṣar	vasūyávo /
	that.ACC.SG	you.ACC.SG	Uṣas.VOC.SG	desiring good.NOM.PL
		gīrbhīḥ	kāṇvā	ahūṣata
		song.INST.PL	Kaṇva.NOM.PL	call.AOR.IND.3PL

‘You, O Uṣas, the Kaṇva’s, desiring good, called with (praise-)songs.’ RV 1.49.4cd

254 does not display the standard order of anaphor followed by personal pronoun, but the overt emphatic particles that follow the personal pronoun may motivate its occurrence in XP.

254) *t_uvām* *íd* *evá* | *tám* *áme* *sám* *aśvayúr* /
 you.ACC.SG EMPH just that.ACC.SG swear.PRES.IND.1SG together desiring horses.NOM.SG
 gavyúr *ágre* *mathīnām*
 desiring cows.NOM.SG beginning.LOC.SG devotion.GEN.PL
 ‘(For) unto you alone I, desiring horses and cows, swear in the beginning of the devotions’
 (emending *mathīnām* to *matīnām* per Roth) RV 8.53.8cd

Compare also *tám mā* in **255** and *tásya me* in **256**, the only instances in which the *sá-/tá-* pronoun occurs in agreement with a first person pronoun.

255) *tám* *mā* *viyanti* *ādhīyo* /
 that.ACC.SG me.ACC.SG follow.PRES.IND.3PL worry.NOM.PL
 vṛko *ná* *ṛṣṇājam* *mṛgām*
 wolf.NOM.SG like thirsty.ACC.SG beast.ACC.SG
 ‘Worries follow me like the wolf (follows) a thirsty beast.’ RV 1.105.7cd

256) *tásya* *me* *tanvò* | *bahudhā* *níviṣṭāḥ*
 this.GEN.SG my.GEN.SG body.NOM.PL often entered.NOM.PL
 ‘My bodies have often entered (into the water).’ RV 10.51.4c

The rarity of the anaphoric pronoun with other accusative personal pronouns¹²² suggests that the collocation *tám tvā* may serve some other function aside from the usual anaphoric coreference since such anaphoric coreference appears to be exceptional with personal pronouns. At the same time, the presence of the *sá-/tá-* pronoun with pronouns aside from the second person suggests that at least some instances of the *sá fīgé* collocation are not peculiar to the second person, but more importantly that pronouns do not often require anaphoric support from an element such as the *sá-/tá-* pronoun.

¹²² 1 out of 106 distinct instances of *mā*, 3 of 171 distinct instances of *tvām*.

Cases of the sá fígé paradigm outside of the singular accusative

Although unusual, the *sá fígé* paradigm also occurs with enclitic pronouns aside from the singular accusative, most frequently in the dual accusative. These instances behave identically to instances of *sá fígé* involving singular accusatives as illustrated above.

The accusative dual with six distinct instances (see also **248** above) is the most frequent of the remaining examples. Among these, only **257** is not coindexed with a following appositive (**258 – 260**), predicated accusative (e.g., **248**), or anaphoric pronoun (**261**).

257)	[tá	vām]	adyá	sumatíbhiḥ	śubhas	patī /
	that.ACC.DL	you.ACC.DL	today	goodwill.INST.PL	splendor.GEN.SG	lord.VOC.DL
	áśvinā	prá	stuvīmahi			
	Aśvin.VOC.DL	forth	praise.PRES.OPT.1PL			

‘We would praise you two today, O lords of splendor, with goodwill, O Áśvins.’ RV 8.22.6cd

Since the remaining five examples involve a following coindexed nominal element, the *sá-/tá-* pronoun is associated with a cataphoric coreferential function. **258** contains an appositive separated from the enclitic pronoun by a vocative as in **161 – 169** in section 3.1.

258)	[tá	vām] _x	mitrāvaruṇā	dhārayátkṣitī _x /
	that.ACC.DL	you.ACC.DL	Mitravaruṇa.VOC.DL	upholding the people.ACC.DL
	suṣumnā _x	īṣitatvātā	yajāmasi	
	gracious.ACC.DL	enthusiasm.INST.SG	worship.PRES.IND.1PL	

‘You two gracious ones, upholding the people, O Mitravaruṇa, we worship with enthusiasm.’

RV 10.132.2ab

259 leaves the appositive stranded in the base position preceding the verb as in **192** in section 3.5.

- 259)** [tá vām] narā | sú ávase sujātā_x /
 that.ACC.DL you.ACC.DL man.VOC.DL well aid.DAT.SG noble.ACC.DL
 hávāmahe | aśvinā nādhamānāḥ
 call.PRES.IND.1PL Aśvin.VOC.DL pleading.NOM.PL
 ‘Pleading, O Aśvin’s, we call you both, nobles, for assistance, O men (dual).’ RV 1.118.10ab

260 has a dislocated accusative phrase as in **204 – 208** in section 3.5.

- 260)** [tá vām]_x adyá havāmahe /
 that.ACC.DL you.ACC.DL today call.PRES.IND.1PL
 havyébhir vājinīvasū //
 oblation.INST.PL rich in gifts.VOC.DL
 [pūrvīr iṣá | iṣáyantāv áti kṣapāḥ]_x
 many.ACC.PL refreshment.ACC.PL sending.ACC.DL across night.ACC.PL
 ‘You two, sending many refreshments through the night, we call today with oblations, O richly-giving ones.’ RV 8.26.3

261 shows both linguistic and rhetorical anaphora of *tau*, together with the threefold structure involving “anaphora, non-overt representation of the verb, and parallelism” (Klein, 1999:121). Only the first instance is followed by *vām*.

- 261)** [tá vām]_x adyá | táv_x aparām huvema /
 that.ACC.DL you.ACC.DL today that.ACC.DL in future call.PRES.OPT.1PL
 ‘You two today, you two in the future we would call.’ RV 1.184.1a

248 and **258 – 261** suggest that the *sá fígé* construction may result in part from a need for cataphoric reference that otherwise would be unavailable to the personal pronoun. Such cataphoric reference to appositives may have motivated the presence of the anaphoric pronoun with the tonic accusative *tvām* in example **252** as well.

Note that the occurrence of the collocation *tā vām* is not always indicative of the *sá figé* paradigm as exemplified in **262**, where the anaphor modifies a neuter plural rather than the genitive dual enclitic.

- 262)** *tā* *vām* *vāstūni* | *uśmasi* *gāmadhyai*
 that.ACC.PL your.DL dwelling.ACC.PL wish.PRES.IND.1PL go.INF
 ‘We wish to go to those dwellings of you two.’ RV 1.154.6a

Instances of the *sá figé* paradigm with the accusative plural number only two. One of these (**263**) exhibits apposition to the enclitic pronoun, thus offering support for a cataphoric function for *sá figé*.

- 263)** [*tān* *vo*]_x [*mahó* | *marúta* *evayāvano*]_x /
 that.ACC.PL you.ACC.PL great.ACC.PL Marut.ACC.PL hurrying.ACC.PL
 viṣṇor *eśāsya* | *prabhṛthé* *havāmahe*
 Viṣṇu.GEN.SG quick.GEN.SG offering.LOC.SG call.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘We call you, the great, hurrying Maruts, in quick Viṣṇu’s offering.’ RV 2.34.11ab

In contrast, **264** shows no such support for a cataphoric function.

- 264)** [*tān* *va*] *enā* | *bráhmaṇā* *vedayāmasi*
 that.ACC.PL you.ACC.PL this.INST.SG formulation.INST.SG know.CAUS.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘We cause you to know with this formulation.’ RV 4.36.7d

The employment of the *sá figé* paradigm with enclitic pronouns outside the accusative case is extremely limited. Only two clear cases occur, one with a dative singular (**265**) and one with a genitive singular (**266**).

- 265)** [*tásmai* *ta*] *indo* | *haviṣā* *vidhema*
 that.DAT.SG you.DAT.SG drop.VOC.SG oblation.INST.SG worship.PRES.OPT.1PL
 ‘We would pay homage to you, O Indu, with the oblation.’ RV 8.48.13c

Neither example supports a cataphoric understanding of *sá fîgé*, but **266** utilizes the ordinary correlative function of the anaphoric pronoun to link the clause of RV 6.49.13cd to the relative clause in the two verses preceding. As such, multiple functions may be associated with *sá fîgé* to include the standard functions of the *sá-/tá-* pronoun as an anaphor or correlative as well as possible cataphoric functions. In some cases, the anaphoric pronoun may be used as a means of providing neutral prosodic support for an enclitic pronoun.

¹²³ An additional two instances (RV 7.77.6a and RV 7.79.4c) address the goddess Uṣas with *yām tvā*.

267) [yám tvā] dyāvāpṛthivī [yám tvā] āpas /
wh-.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG heaven-earth.NOM.DL wh-.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG water.NOM.PL
tvāṣṭā [yám tvā] sujānimā jajāna
Tvaṣṭar.NOM.SG wh-.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG good-creator.NOM.SG create.PERF.IND.3SG
‘You whom heaven and earth, you whom the waters, you whom Tvaṣṭar, creator of good things,
created...’ RV 10.2.7ab

268 and **269** demonstrate this collocation with enclitics in the accusative plural and genitive singular respectively.

268) yān vo náro devayānto nimimyr
wh-.ACC.PL you.ACC.PL men.NOM.PL godly.NOM.PL establish.PERF.IND.3PL
‘You whom the godly men have established...’ RV 3.8.6a

269) yāsya te agne anyé agnāya /
wh-.GEN.SG your.SG Agni.VOC.SG other.NOM.PL fire.NOM.PL
upakṣito vayā iva
dependent.NOM.PL tree-branch.NOM.PL like

‘O Agni, you of whom the other fires are dependent are like tree-branches.’ RV 8.19.33ab

The only example which presents a potential appositive to a collocation of a relative and an enclitic pronoun is **270**. However, in this instance *pūrvam*, while accusative in form, functions as an adverb, and so does not function appositionally.

270) [yám tvā] pūrvam tīlito vadhriaśvāḥ /
wh-.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG first.ACC.SG called.NOM.SG Vadhryaśva.NOM.SG
samīdhé agne sá idām juṣasva
kindle.PERF.IND.3SG Agni.VOC.SG that.NOM.SG this.ACC.SG enjoy.PRES.IMV.2SG
‘You whom first Vadhryaśva, being called, kindled, O Agni, as such enjoy this.’ RV 10.69.4a

Also structurally similar to the *sá figé* paradigm are the following in which forms of the proximal deictic determiner *ayám* forms a phrase with an enclitic pronoun. There are only three distinct verses with this collocation, one with a genitive and two with datives. In each case, the determiner is the first word of the clause with the enclitic in second position. **271** provides an example of this collocation with a genitive.

The first verse of **271** (*āsya te sakḥyē vayāṃ*) is also found in RV 9.66.14a in a structurally similar clause. **272** and **273** contain the dative occurrences of this collocation. Both show appositives after the enclitic pronoun.

The determiner *ásmāi* has an accent on the initial syllable characteristic of an emphatic employment of this lexeme (note the accent is on the second syllable in **273**). As a reduced form, the enclitic is not typically associated with emphasis. The determiner may be an alternative means of providing emphasis to a form that generally is incompatible with emphatic particles (but see example **100** in section **2.4**). **273** shows the intervention of the particle *u* between the determiner and the enclitic in a position parallel with *tám u tvā*.

273)	[asmā́	u	te]ₓ	máhi	[mahé]ₓ	vidhema /
	this.DAT.SG	PCL	you.DAT.SG	greatly	great.DAT.SG	honor.PRES.OPT.1PL
	námobhir	agne		samídhotá		havyaīḥ //
	reverence.INST.PL	Agni.VOC.SG	kindling log.INST.SG~and			oblations.INST.PL
	védī	sūno	sahasó	gīrbhír		uktháir
	altar.LOC.SG	son.VOC.SG	might.GEN.SG	song.INST.PL		hymn.INST.PL

‘You, the great one, we would greatly honor with reverences, O Agni, with the kindling log, and with oblations on the altar, O Son of Might, with songs, with hymns.’ RV 6.1.10abc

Unfortunately, such examples are too rare to arrive at any definite conclusion. Nevertheless, they pattern structurally with the *sáfigé* paradigm. In addition, they show that determiners other than *sá/tá-* are capable of appearing in a similar configuration. The rarity of such collocations, however, suggests that *sáfigé* encompasses additional functions beyond the usual anaphoric and correlative functions of the determiner.

3.9 The Position of Enclitic Possessive Pronouns in the Rigveda

Within noun phrases, enclitic possessors show a great variety of positions. As a starting point, consider the following (**274 – 278**), in which enclitic personal pronouns acting as possessors of a noun occur as expected according to Wackernagel’s Law (if understood to mean in second position within its domain [i.e., the noun phrase] against the general practice in which it refers exclusively to second position in a clause). The noun phrase is italicized for ease of recognition throughout this section.

- 274)** *ápo* *revatīḥ* *śṛṇutā* *hávam* *me*
waters.VOC.PL rich.VOC.PL hear.PRES.IMV.2PL call.ACC.SG my
‘O rich waters, hear my call!’ RV 10.30.8d
- 275)** *imām* *me* (agne) *samídham* *juṣasva*¹²⁴
this.ACC.SG my Agni.VOC.SG kindling log.ACC.SG enjoy.PRES.IMV.2SG
‘Enjoy this my kindling log, O Agni!’ RV 10.70.1a
- 276)** *sémám*¹²⁵ *na* *stómam* *á* *gahi*
that.NOM.SG~this.ACC.SG our.PL praise.ACC.SG hither go.AOR.IMV.2SG
‘Approach (come to) this our praise!’ RV 1.16.5a
- 277)** *sá* *no* *netā* *vājam* *á* *darṣi* *bhūrim*¹²⁶
that.NOM.SG our.PL leader.NOM.SG spoils.ACC.SG hither pierce.IMV.2SG rich.ACC.SG
‘As our leader, open up rich spoils!’ RV 4.16.8c
- 278)** *ási* *priyó* *no* *átithiḥ*
be.PRES.IND.2SG dear.NOM.SG our.PL guest.NOM.SG
‘You are our dear guest.’ RV 6.2.7a

These five examples illustrate an enclitic in second position with respect to a head noun (**274**), a determiner that precedes the head noun (**275 – 277**), and an adjective that precedes the head noun (**278**). While these examples are perfectly ordinary according to the expectations of a broad understanding of Wackernagel’s Law, examples **274** and **278** would require some form of adjustment in order to arrive at the enclitic placement in these clauses since a genitive would be expected to precede an adjective or a noun according to the hypothesized noun phrase structure proposed in section 1.3 (repeated below).

[DP₁ [DP₂ [GenP [AP [NP]]]]]

¹²⁴ However, this may involve fronting of the determiner and enclitic as the vocative would be expected to be inserted at prosodic boundaries. I would not expect a prosodic boundary within a normal noun phrase.

¹²⁵ i.e. *sá~imám*

¹²⁶ *bhūrim vājam* is more literally ‘great booty’

There are two potential means of adjusting the placement. The first option relies on the operation of Prosodic Inversion, which would only be triggered by a prosodic break preceding the noun phrase. The second option proposes that an emphatic noun or adjective moves into one of the DP positions as a sign of emphasis. Note that in the absence of a genitive, such an adjective would be indistinguishable from a non-emphatic adjective without the addition of an emphatic particle.

In addition, there are a number of cases in which the possessive clitic appears outside of second position within the domain of the noun phrase as apparent exceptions to Wackernagel's Law. They occur in first position relative to the rest of their noun phrase in **279** – **281**.

279) *nū* *me* *hávam* *ā* *śṛnutam* *yuvānā*
 now my call.ACC.SG hither hear.PRES.IMV.2DL youths.VOC.DL
 ‘Now, O youths (dual), hear (dual) my call!’ RV 7.67.10a

280) *áver* *indra* *prá* *ṇo* *dhíyah*
 aid.PRES.OPT.2SG Indra.VOC.SG forth our.PL thought.ACC.PL
 ‘O Indra, you should support our intentions.’ RV 8.21.12d

281) *śṛnutám* *ma* *imám* *hávam*
 hear.PRES.IMV.2DL my this.ACC.SG call.ACC.SG
 ‘Hear (dual) this my call!’ RV 8.73.10b

Consider, however, that in **279** and **280** the enclitic occurs in the expected base position for an enclitic possessive according to the structure of the noun phrase employed in this investigation. It is only **281** that is striking within this framework since the enclitic precedes the determiner *imám*.

Furthermore, enclitics occur later than second position in **282** – **284**.

282) *śrótā* *dūtásya* *jagmúšo* *no* *asyá*
 hear.PRES.IMV.2PL messenger.GEN.SG having-come.GEN.SG our.PL this.GEN.SG
 ‘Listen (plural) to this our messenger who has come!’ RV 7.39.3d

- 283)** várdhantu tvā *suṣṭutáyo* *gíro* *me*
 increase.PRES.IMV.3PL you.ACC.SG good-praise.NOM.PL song.NOM.PL my
 ‘Let these good praises, my songs increase you!’ RV 7.99.7c
- 284)** víśve devāḥ śṛṇutémām *hávam* *me*¹²⁷
 all.VOC.PL god.VOC.PL hear.2Pl.Imv~this.ACC.SG call.ACC.SG my
 ‘O All-Gods, Hear this my call!’ RV 6.52.13a

In all three cases, the enclitics occur in third position of the noun phrase. In **282**, the noun phrase occurs in a sequence that is precisely the opposite of that expected by the hypothesized framework for the noun phrase employed in this investigation. Examples **283** and **284** both have the enclitic following the head noun.

Finally, enclitics also occur in discontinuous phrases, appearing variously in second position within the clause or stranded by a portion of the noun phrase which itself appears in a position early in the clause, as illustrated in examples **285** – **289**.

- 285)** ádhā *ma* indra śṛṇavo *hávemā*¹²⁸
 then my Indra.VOC.SG hear.PRES.SUB.2SG call.ACC.PL~these.ACC.PL
 ‘Then, O Indra, you will hear these invocations of mine.’ RV 7.29.3d
- 286)** úpa *bráhmāṇi* śṛṇava *imā* *naḥ*
 unto formulation.ACC.PL hear.PRES.SUB.2SG these.ACC.PL our.PL
 ‘You will hear these our devotions.’ RV 6.40.4c
- 287)** *imā* juṣasva *no* *gírah*
 these.ACC.PL enjoy.PRES.IMV.2SG our.PL song.ACC.PL
 ‘Enjoy these our songs!’ RV 3.40.8c

¹²⁷ i.e., śṛṇutá~imām hávam me

¹²⁸ *hávemā* is a contraction of *hávā imā*

- 288)** *imám* *me* *śṛṇutam* *hávam*
 this.ACC.SG my hear.PRES.IMV.DL call.ACC.SG
 ‘Hear (dual) this my call!’ RV 8.85.2b
- 289)** *imám* *yajñám* *nayata* *devātā* *naḥ*
 this.ACC.SG worship.ACC.SG lead.PRES.IMV.2PL god-ward our.PL
 ‘Lead (pl) (bring) this worship of ours to the gods!’ RV 4.58.10c

These examples illustrate the variety of discontinuous noun phrases involving possessive enclitics. Any single element of a noun phrase may be fronted, stranding the remainder as in **285 – 287**, where the enclitic, head noun, and determiner have been fronted, respectively. In addition, two elements of the noun phrase may appear early in the clause stranding the remainder, as in **288** (with determiner and enclitic standing the head noun) and **289** (with determiner and head noun stranding the enclitic).

Three processes are necessary to account for the great variety of enclitic placement noted above:

- 1) Prosodic Inversion (à la Halpern [1995]: the transposition of a clitic with an adjacent item when they follow a prosodic boundary (i.e., a prosodic break).
- 2) Raising of items within a noun phrase to a position within an extended CP to satisfy various functions within the discourse.
- 3) Right dislocation of portions of a noun phrase as a post-syntactic PF operation. Such dislocations should be motivated by the context (e.g., continued discourse on the dislocated noun).

The second process frequently results in discontinuous (i.e., scrambled) noun phrases, though occasionally a topicalized portion of a noun phrase may happen to remain adjacent to the rest of the noun phrase that is unmoved. Some instances may be more easily explained by invoking the third process, dislocation, which also results in discontinuous noun phrases. The discussion that follows will occasionally provide both alternatives.

The simplest cases involve only the clitic and the head noun adjacent to each other in one of two possible orders *clitic + head noun* (e.g., *me hávam* ‘my call’) and *head noun + clitic* (e.g., *hávam me*).

One means of approaching these cases (as in Hale 2009) is to propose that the underlying syntactic construction would result in the order *clitic + head noun* (e.g., *me hávam*), but in situations in which the syntax leaves a clitic prosodically unsupported on the left side, Prosodic Inversion licenses the clitic to “trade places” with a prosodic unit which is adjacent to it” (Halpern, 1995:17) giving the final order *head noun + clitic* (e.g., *hávam me*) as illustrated below.



Indeed, a normal, accented genitive is usually expected to precede its head noun in Sanskrit, leading us to expect the syntactic projection to place genitives before their head nouns.¹²⁹

Using such an analysis, Hale (2009) notes that the order *cl + head noun* is disproportionately common immediately following verbs (providing an appendix with a number of examples involving the noun *gír* ‘song’). He takes this as evidence that verbs may provide a host to NP-initial clitics that immediately follow the verb (i.e., they are within the same phonological or prosodic phrase).

290) tám íd vardhantu no gírah
 that.ACC.SG EMPH increase.PRES.IMV.3PL our.PL song.NOM.PL
 ‘That one, let our songs strengthen.’ RV 8.44.19c (= RV 8.92.21c and RV 9.61.14a)

291) śáviṣṭha śrudhí me hávam
 most-mighty.VOC.SG hear.AOR.IMV.2SG my call.ACC.SG
 ‘O most mighty one, hear my call!’ RV 8.66.12d

¹²⁹ Full (accented) genitives occasionally do follow their head nouns (as exemplified below), but this order is considered to be possible only when the noun is emphasized (Macdonell, 1916:285).

1) yádi stómam máma śrávad
 ‘If he shall hear my praise,...’ RV 8.1.15a
 2) yáthā no mīdhvān stávate sákhā táva metrically poor with táva sákhā
 ‘So that our rewarder, your friend, will be praised...’ RV 2.24.1c

- 292)** agníṃ nakṣanta *no* *gírah*
 Agni.ACC.SG reach.PRES.INJ.3PL our song.NOM.PL
 ‘Our songs will reach Agni.’ RV 8.103.1d
- 293)** índra śrudhí sú *me* *hávam*¹³⁰
 Indra.VOC.SG hear.AOR.IMV.2SG well my call.ACC.SG
 ‘O Indra, hear well my call!’ RV 8.82.6a

From this, Hale takes the occurrence of Prosodic Inversion as a sign of the presence of a prosodic boundary (at least a weak prosodic break) and the lack of Prosodic Inversion as a sign of a closer prosodic connection between phrases.

Thus to account for post-verbal occurrences that show a prosodic flip (e.g. **294**), Hale suggests that there is a prosodic break in these instances (# signifies a prosodic break).

- 294)** ápo revatīḥ śṛṇutá# #hávam *me*
 water.VOC.PL rich.VOC.PL hear.PRES.IMV.2PL call.ACC.SG my
 ‘O rich waters, hear my call!’ RV 10.30.8d

In support of this analysis, Hale (2009: 10-11) notes that although vowels usually coalesce across word boundaries, occasionally noun phrases immediately following verbs fail to have vowel coalescence with the verb.¹³¹ Thus, Hale proposes two distinct prosodic relations between verbs and post-verbal objects: 1) vowels coalesce and clitics lean on the verb (object and verb forming one prosodic unit) and 2) vowels do not coalesce and clitics undergo Prosodic Inversion (prosodic break between object and verb). Hale

¹³⁰ Note that the enclitic does not immediately follow the verb due to the intervention of the second position particle *sí*.

¹³¹ Failure of vowel coalescence occurs between the last two words (the verb and its direct object) in the following two examples (cited in Hale, 2009:11):

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1) | té | sapsaráso | ’janayanta | ábhvam |
| | that.NOM.PL | comrade.NOM.PL | beget.IMP.IND.3PL | monstrosity.ACC.SG |
| | ‘These comrades begot [the] monstrosity.’ RV 1.168.9c | | | |
| 2) | yám | devāso | ájanayanta | agníṃ |
| | wh-.ACC.SG | god.NOM.PL | beget.IMP.IND.3PL | Agni.ACC.SG |
| | ‘Agni, whom the gods begot...’ RV 10.88.9c | | | |

(2009:10) proposes that the two cases differ syntactically in that verb raising still permits the object to form a prosodic unit with the verb, but dislocation results in a prosodic boundary between the verb and object.

Taking advantage of this analysis, we may treat examples such as **295** and **296**, in which the clitic appears delayed within the noun phrase, as the result of apposition and the prosodic break that occurs between the two noun phrases that name each other (note the pause in the English translations of **295** and **296**). Thus, since apposition results from one noun phrase renaming another, the clitic is not in third position within one noun phrase, but in second position within the appositional noun phrase.

295) *śrótā* *dūtāsyā#* | *#jagmúšo* *no* *asyá*
 hear.AOR.IMV.2PL messenger.GEN.SG having come.GEN.SG our.PL this.GEN.SG
 ‘Listen (plural) to the messenger, this one of ours who has come!’ RV 7.39.3d

296) *várdhantu* *tvā* | *suṣṭutāyo#* *#gíro* *me*
 increase.PRES.IMV.3PL you.ACC.SG good-praise.NOM.PL song.NOM.PL my
 ‘Let these good praises, my songs increase you!’ RV 7.99.7c

In these examples, the prosodic break between the two noun phrases engenders Prosodic Inversion. Indeed, the meter requires a caesura in **295** precisely where the prosodic break would be expected from the location of the clitic; however, the caesura is not so conveniently located in example **296**.

Similarly, conjunctions also appear to provide prosodic hosts for NP-initial genitive clitics, as can be seen in **297** – **303**. The conjunction and the noun phrase are underlined to aid identification.

297) *sá* *no* *rakṣiṣad* *duritād* *avadyād* /
 that.NOM.SG us.ACC.PL protect.AOR.SUB.3SG misfortune.ABL.SG dishonor.ABL.SG
 asmān *grṇatā* *utá* *no* *maghónah*
 us.ACC.PL singing.ACC.PL and our.PL liberal.ACC.PL
 ‘He will protect us from misfortune, from dishonor—us singers and our liberal ones.’ RV 7.12.2c

- 298) yātām chardiṣpā utá nah paraspā
drive.PRES.IMV.2DL roof-protector.NOM.DL and our.PL distant-protector.NOM.DL
‘Drive(dual) as protectors of (our) roof and our protectors from the distance!’ RV 8.9.11a
- 299) bhūtām jagatpā utá nas tanūpā
become.AOR.IMV.2DL moving thing-protector.NOM.DL and our.PL body-protector.NOM.DL
‘Become (dual) protectors of the (our) moving possessions (i.e., livestock, etc.) and our body-protectors!’ RV 8.9.11b
- 300) rāthāya nāvam utá no grhāya /
chariot.DAT.SG ship.ACC.SG and our.PL house.DAT.SG
nītyāritrām¹³² padvātīm rāsi agne
own-oars.ACC.SG having feet.ACC.SG give.AOR.IMV.2SG Agni.VOC.SG
‘O Agni, grant to the chariot and to our house a ship with its own oars and possessing feet.’ RV 1.140.12ab
- 301) asmākam vīrām utá no maghóno /
our hero.ACC.PL and our.PL liberal.ACC.PL
jánāmś ca yá pārayāc chárma yá ca
folk.ACC.PL and wh-.NOM.SG pass.CAUS.SUB.3SG refuge wh-.NOM.SG and
‘...which will both bring across our heroes and our gift-givers, and (our) folks, and which (will be) a refuge.’ RV 1.140.12cd
- 302) áso havyavāl utá nah purogāh
be.PRES.SUB.2SG oblation-conveyer.NOM.SG and our.PL fore-goer.NOM.SG
‘You will be the conveyer of the oblation and our leader.’ RV 10.124.1c

303 shows the enclitic conjunction *ca*, which differs from *utá* in needing to trade positions with the first element of a conjoined phrase. Underlyingly, we may expect the sequence **ca grhāpatiś no*

¹³² Grassmann suggests *nītyāritra* means self-rowing.

dáme in which *nas* precedes the noun *dáme* which it possesses. After Prosodic Inversion of *ca*, the conjunction falls before the enclitic pronoun. In such a circumstance, *ca* appears to prevent Prosodic Inversion allowing *naḥ* to be hosted with *ca* by *grhápatiḥ*. However, such situations are uncommon.

303) brahmā cāsi¹³³ grhápatiś ca no dáme
 brahman.NOM.SG and~be.PRES.IND.2SG house-lord.NOM.SG and our.PL house.LOC.SG
 ‘You are both the brahman and host in our house.’ RV 2.1.2d

More usual is the situation seen in **304**, where the underlying order for the conjoined phrases would be **yajñam ca naḥ haviś* before the operation of Prosodic Inversion. The conjoined elements may be expected to have some prosodic boundary between them (consider English conjoined lists; i.e., the chairs, the table, and the table cloth). Since both *ca* and *naḥ* are enclitic, the prosodic boundary following *yajñam* would engender Prosodic Inversion of both clitics as a unit (see section **1.4**). Note that this is opposed to Frank and King’s limitation of Prosodic Inversion to a single enclitic at the beginning of a clause.

304) ágne devāñ ihā vaha /
 Agni.VOC.SG god.ACC.PL here~to convey.PRES.IMV.2SG
 úpa yajñám haviś ca naḥ
 unto worship.ACC.SG offering.ACC.SG and our.PL
 ‘O Agni, Lead the gods here unto the worship and our offering.’ RV 1.12.10b

In addition to verbs and conjunctions, preverbal adverbs too (sometimes acting as prepositions) appear to form a prosodic unit with a following noun phrase preventing Prosodic Inversion of the clitic with the head noun, as exemplified in **305 – 312**.

¹³³ Saṃdhi for *cañási*

- 305) á ghā gamad (yádi śrávat) /
 hither EMPH go.AOR.SUB.3SG if hear.AOR.SUB.3SG
 sahasrīṇībhīr ūtībhīh // vājebhir úpa no hávam
 1000.INST.PL help.INST.PL booty.INST.PL unto our.PL call.ACC.SG
 ‘He will come hither (if he hears) / with (his) thousandfold aids / with booties up to our call.’
 (Klein, 1991: 127) RV 1.30.8
- 306) devāṁ etu prá no havīh
 god.ACC.PL go.PRES.IMV.3SG forth our.PL oblation.NOM.SG
 ‘Let our oblation approach the gods!’ RV 8.19.27b
- 307) áver indra prá no dhíyah
 aid.PRES.OPT.2SG Indra.VOC.SG forth our.PL thought.ACC.PL
 ‘O Indra, you should support our intentions.’ RV 8.21.12d
- 308) prá te sumnā no aśnavan
 forth your.SG good-will.NOM.PL us.ACC.PL attain.PRES.SUB.3PL
 ‘Thy good intentions shall reach us.’ RV 8.90.6d
- 309) (pībendra sómam) áva no mṛdho jahi
 drink.IMV.2SG~Indra.VOC.SG soma.ACC.SG down our.PL enemy.ACC.PL strike.PRES.IMV.2SG
 ‘(Drink the Soma, O Indra!) Strike down our enemies!’ RV 9.85.2d
- 310) prāti me stómam áditir jagrbhyāt
 against my hymn.ACC.SG Aditi.NOM.SG seize.PERF.OPT.3SG
 ‘Aditi should take my hymn.’ RV 5.42.2a
- 311) gámantu índram ánu vo mādāsah
 go.AOR.IMV.3PL Indra.ACC.SG after your.PL intoxicating drink.NOM.PL
 ‘Let your exhilarating drinks go after Indra!’ RV 4.35.1d

312) úd va ūrmih śámyā hantu
 out your.PL wave.NOM.SG yoke pin.ACC.PL strike.PRES.IMV.3SG

‘Let your wave drive the yoke pins out (of the mire)!’ (Klein 1991:133) RV 3.33.13a

These examples show that the preverbs *úpa*, *prá*, *áva*, *práti*, *ánu*, and *úd* may be expected to provide prosodic support for enclitic pronouns. This representative sample suggests preverbs generally may prevent Prosodic Inversion involving enclitic pronouns, but example **313** displays a counterexample to complicate matters.

313) úpa bráhmāni nah śṛṇu
 unto formulation.ACC.PL our.PL hear.PRES.IMV.2SG

‘Listen to our formulations!’ RV 8.17.2c

Given **305** – **312**, there should be no prosodic break to justify Prosodic Inversion in **313**. In this instance, **úpa no bráhmāni śṛṇu* has a metrically poor structure in the Gāyatrī cadence (i.e., – ∪ ∪ ∪), whereas the line as it appears possesses a proper iambic cadence (i.e., ∪ – ∪ –¹³⁴). The meter certainly provides a motivation for delaying the pronunciation of the enclitic pronoun. Indeed, both a clitic first and a clitic second sequence are permitted under certain conditions. The poet may simply be employing an unjustified sequence of noun and enclitic as a means of obtaining a proper cadence. If this sequence is justified, a possible explanation may be that the preverb *úpa* here is exceptionally followed by a prosodic break (perhaps emphasizing *úpa*) licensing the Prosodic Inversion. Alternatively, this could be an instance in which the noun precedes the genitive for emphasis, a pattern permitted full, accented genitives as well. Such movement (perhaps a noun raising to the position usually occupied by determiners) would resemble Prosodic Inversion in outcome, but it is purely syntactic in motivation.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ The final syllable may be either short or long (anceps). In this instance it is short.

¹³⁵ Both explanations are unsatisfactory in that the first means preverbs occasionally do have a prosodic break immediately following them, violating the general principle that preverbs support NP-initial clitics, and the second would mean that the emphatic order for head noun + genitive is frequently ambiguous with clitics due to Prosodic Inversion. Further investigation is necessary to clarify the situation.

In the following pair of examples as well, Prosodic Inversion fails to operate. In **314**, no movement has affected the constituents immediately adjacent to the enclitic particle.

- 314)** *árcanta* *indra* *marútas* *ta* *ójah*
 sing.PRES.INJ.3PL Indra.VOC.SG Marut.NOM.PL your.SG might.ACC.SG
 ‘O Indra, the Maruts praise your might.’ RV 3.32.3b

Here, the subject immediately precedes the direct object, the unmarked order of S and O for Sanskrit. The verb has been raised to one of the higher functional projections of the extended CP (presumably a Foc, though which projection does not affect the analysis). The vocative is inserted at the prosodic boundary between the topicalized verb and the rest of the clause, but no significant prosodic break exists between the subject and direct object, so the clitic is permitted to lean on the subject.

[_{CP} *árcanta*_i [_{IP} *marútas* [_{VP} [*ta ójah*] *t*_i]]

315 is less clear due to the simile inserted in the second verse.

- 315)** *ví* *mṛīḥkāya* *te* *māno* /
 apart mercy.DAT.SG your.SG mind.ACC.SG
 rathír *áśvaṃ* *ná* *sāṃditam* //
 charioteer.NOM.SG horse.ACC.SG like tethered.ACC.SG
 gīrbhír *varuṇa* *sīmahi*
 song.INST.PL Varuṇa.VOC.SG bind.AOR.OPT.1PL

‘We would unbind¹³⁶ your mind for mercy (graciousness), like a charioteer (un-binds) a tethered horse, with (praise-)songs, O Varuna.’ RV 1.25.3

In **315**, the basic sentence (removing the simile and the vocative) is:

ví mṛīḥkāya+ te māno gīrbhír sīmahi

¹³⁶ ‘Unbind’ in the sense of ‘relieve’ the mind of its burdens.

From this simplified clause, however, the simplest solution may be that the dative has moved into the AgrIOP projection to precede the accusative, but since this is still part of the verb phrase, no prosodic boundary would be expected. For further discussion, see **321** below.

Movement to a Projection within an Extended CP (*The Scrambling Solution*)

At this point, discontinuous noun phrases (e.g., **285** – **289**) remain unexplained as do certain cases of exceptional clitic placement that cannot be explained purely by Prosodic Inversion (such as **316** and **317**).

316) víśve devāḥ śṛṇutémāṃ hāvam me¹³⁷
 all.VOC.PL god.VOC.PL hear.PRES.IMV.2PL~this.ACC.SG call.ACC.SG my
 ‘O All-Gods, Hear this my call!’ RV 6.52.13a

317) śṛṇutám ma imāṃ hāvam
 hear.PRES.IMV.2DL my this.ACC.SG call.ACC.SG
 ‘Hear (dual) this my call!’ RV 8.73.10b

All these cases share the same explanation: the raising of portions of the noun phrase to certain functional projections within an extended CP.

The precise syntactic processes of scrambling acting upon noun phrases of Vedic Sanskrit are not fully clear,¹³⁸ but, following Hale (2009), scrambling may be understood as the result of a number of functional heads early in the clause that serve as landing positions with various info-structural functions (e.g., emphasis, given, or new information) to which various sentential elements may be raised. It is movement to these functional heads of an extended CP that gives rise to discontinuous noun phrases as well as cases such as **316** and **317** in which the clitic has been raised out of the noun phrase and merely happens to be adjacent to the rest of the noun phrase by chance.

¹³⁷ i.e., śṛṇutáṃ imāṃ hāvam me

¹³⁸ Indeed, the syntax of scrambling is not clear in any language. I provisionally assume that scrambling results from the ability of any portion of a phrase to move as a phrase itself to another functional projection. Frequently this movement is to a projection within the extended CP.

To exemplify, **318** has the preverb \acute{a} in CP, the two clitic pronouns may be treated as occupying two TopP phrases preceding the FocP which is occupied by the verb *gantu*. The subject remains unmoved. A tree illustrating this structure is given in **figure 9**.

318)	\acute{a}	nas	te	gantu	matsaró /
	hither	us.ACC.PL	your.SG	go.AOR.IMV.3SG	intoxicating.NOM.SG
	<i>vṛṣā</i>		<i>mádo</i>	<i>váreṇiyah</i>	
	bullish.NOM.SG		drink.NOM.SG	desirable.NOM.SG	

‘Let your intoxicating desirable strong drink come to us!’ RV 1.175.02a

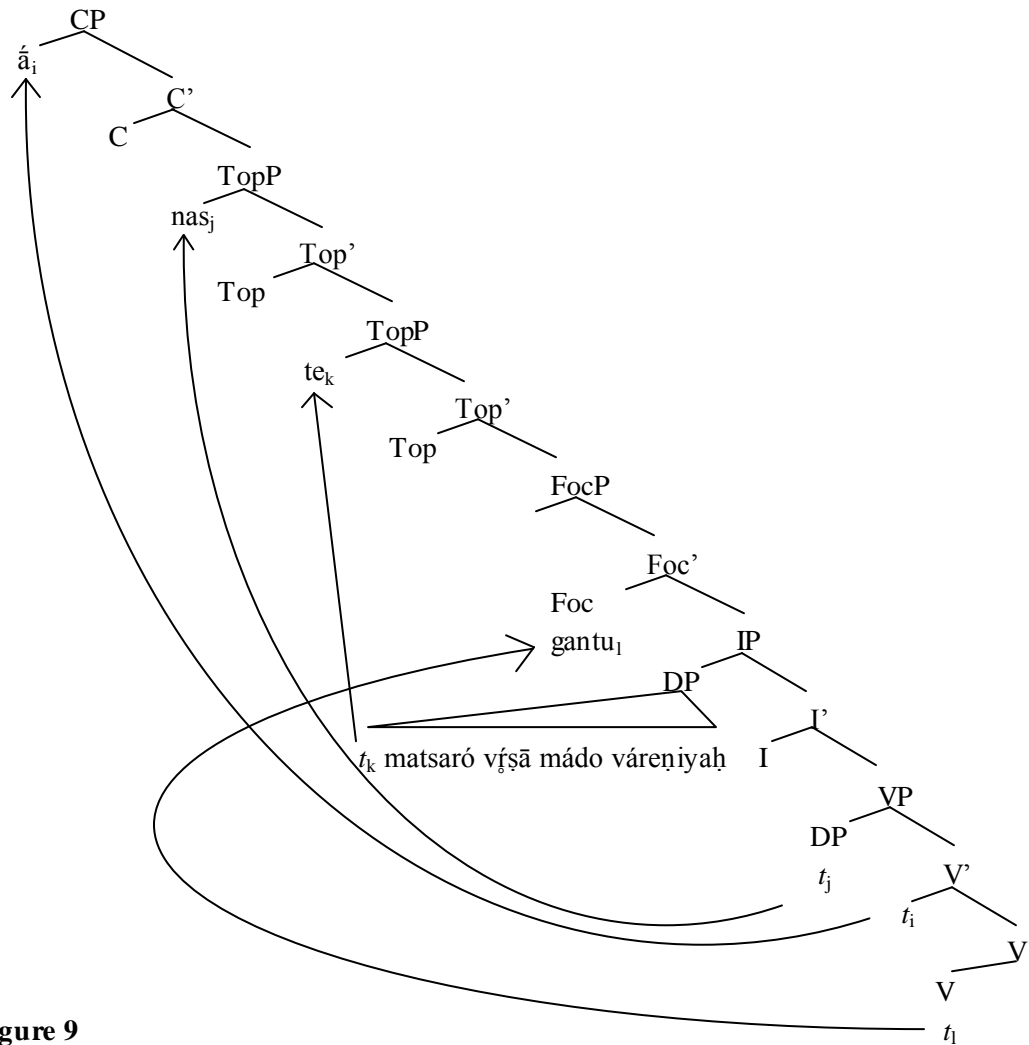


Figure 9

Such an analysis may be criticized as employing an overly powerful framework, however. With the iteration of TopP projections which allow stranding, any clause may be modeled. If the extended CP of Vedic Sanskrit is limited to containing only one TopP, then the string of nominatives would have to be dislocated to the position following the verb. In this analysis, \hat{a}_i would still be moved into CP, and *nas* would still be fronted into TopP, but *te* would be stranded by the dislocation of the rest of the subject noun phrase. The length of the subject noun phrase may encourage dislocation. In addition, *gantu* would remain in its base position. A simplified tree is presented in **figure 10**.

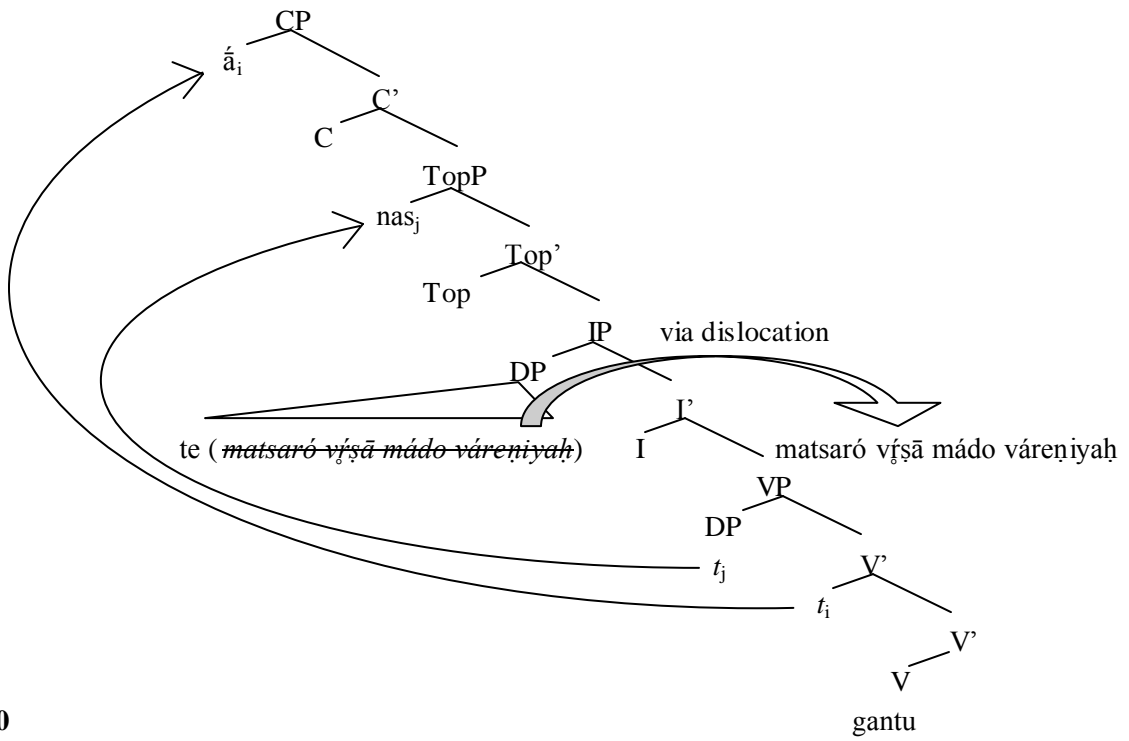


Figure 10

Returning to **285 – 289**, the discontinuity of the noun phrase is usually due to the raising of the verb to a functional projection within the extended CP. In the following, The enclitic pronoun is raised to a TopP projection. Relative pronouns and demonstratives are raised to CP. Conjunctions are treated here as occupying CP as well, but their position is not certain.

319) yádi me śṛṇávad dhávam
if my hear.PRES.SUB.3SG call.ACC.SG

‘If he will hear my call...’ RV 8.61.10b

[_{CP} yádi [_{TopP} me_i [_{FocP} śṛṇávad_j [_{IP} Pro [_{VP} [_{DP} t_i dhávam] t_j]]]]]

320) ádhā ma indra śṛṇavo hávemā¹³⁹
then my Indra.VOC.SG hear.PRES.SUB.2SG call.AP1~these.AP1

‘Then, O Indra, you will hear these invocations of mine.’ RV 7.29.3d

[_{CP} ádhā [_{TopP} ma_i [_{FocP} śṛṇavo_j [_{IP} Pro [_{VP} [_{DP} t_i hávemā] t_j]]]]]

321) [imám me stómam aśvinā] /
this.ACC.SG my praise.ACC.SG Aśvin.VOC.DL

imám me śṛṇutam hávam

this.ACC.SG my hear.PRES.IMV.2DL call.ACC.SG

‘[(Hear) this my praise, O Aśvins,] / Hear (dual) this my call!’ RV 8.85.2ab

[_{CP} imám_j [_{TopP} me_k [_{FocP} śṛṇutam_l [_{IP} Pro [_{VP} [_{DP} [t_j t_k hávam][t_i]] t_l]]]]]]]

In 321, the initial phrase (*imám me stómam*) is not included in the bracketed structure as it is analyzed as a separate clause with gapping of the verb which is to be supplied from the following line. The vocative is merely inserted at the phrasal boundary (likewise in 320).

In 322 – 324, the enclitic pronoun remains in the base generated position abandoned by a portion of the noun phrase which has raised to a projection within the extended CP. These examples, all with accusatives immediately before the verb, seem to be likely candidates for dislocation involving the enclitic pronoun. However, since enclitics require prosodic support, dislocation is not suitable for an example like 323 due to the expected prosodic break before a dislocated phrase. In addition, imperatives are frequently fronted in Sanskrit (Klein 1991), so it is reasonable to suppose that the verbs have moved

¹³⁹ *hávemā* is a contraction of *hávā imā*

into the Foc head in these examples. A dislocation analysis (reflected in a translation like ‘You will listen to the formulations—these of ours.’) is most plausible for **322**.

- 322)** *úpa* *bráhmāṇi* *śṛṇava* *imā* *naḥ*
 unto formulation.ACC.PL hear.PRES.SUB.2SG these.ACC.PL our.PL
 ‘You will hear these our devotions.’ RV 6.40.4c
 [_{CP} *úpa*_i [_{TopP} *bráhmāṇi*_j [_{FocP} *śṛṇava*_k [_{IP} *Pro* [_{VP} [_{DP} *imā* *naḥ* *t_j*] *t_i t_k*]]]]]]

- 323)** *imā* *juṣasva* *no* *gírah*
 these.ACC.PL enjoy.PRES.IMV.2SG our.PL song.ACC.PL
 ‘Enjoy these our songs!’ RV 3.40.8c
 [_{CP} *imā*_i [_{FocP} *juṣasva*_j [_{IP} *Pro* [_{VP} [_{DP} *t_i* *no* *gírah*] *t_j*]]]]]]

- 324)** *imám* *yajñám* *nayata* *devátā* *naḥ*
 this.ACC.SG worship.ACC.SG lead.PRES.IMV.2PL god-ward our.PL
 ‘Lead (pl) (bring) this worship of ours to the gods!’ RV 4.58.10c
 [_{CP} *imám*_i [_{TopP} *yajñám*_j [_{FocP} *nayata*_k [_{IP} *Pro* [_{VP} [_{AdvP} *devátā*] [_{DP} *t_i* *no* *t_j*] *t_k*]]]]]]

Note in example **324** that the verb raised to a Foc functional projection is still permitted to host a clitic. Of particular relevance to this analysis is the prosodic effect of focus as opposed to topicalization (as in Rizzi, 1997:285). Focus fronting does not engender a pause (comma intonation) following the fronted phrase, whereas topicalization does.¹⁴⁰ Note the English examples distinguishing (a) topic-comment articulation (i.e., topicalization) and (b) focus-presupposition articulation (from Rizzi, 1997:285):

- (a) Your book, you should give *t* to Paul (not to Bill). (Topicalization with comma intonation)
 (b) **Your book** you should give *t* to Paul (not mine). (with focal stress)

¹⁴⁰ Admittedly, this generalization may not hold for Sanskrit. Alternatively, this could reflect the emphatic noun positioning relative to the genitive.

The effect of this distinction is that noun phrases that contain enclitic possessives would be expected to undergo Prosodic Inversion when following topicalized elements, but not when following focused elements. However, items within the extended CP seem to form a single prosodic phrase (i.e., they may host clitic elements that happen to also appear within the extended CP),¹⁴¹ so this only applies to noun phrases following the extended CP that immediately follow either a focused element or a topicalized element.

This distinction provides an alternative explanation to the lack of Prosodic Inversion in **315** (repeated here as **325**) if the dative *mṛṭīkāya* is in the FocP position. Nevertheless, as discussed above, the simplest solution is that the dative is in AgrIOP within the verb phrase, and no significant prosodic break is expected between different elements of the verb phrase.

325)	ví	mṛṭīkāya	te	māno /
	apart	mercy.DAT.SG	your.SG	mind.ACC.SG
		rathīr	śvaṃ	ná sámđitam //
		charioteer.NOM.SG	horse.ACC.SG	like tethered.ACC.SG
	gīrbhīr	varuṇa	sīmahi	
	song.INST.PL	Varuṇa.VOC.SG	bind.AOR.OPT.1PL	

‘We would unbind your mind for mercy (graciousness), like a charioteer (un-binds) a tethered horse, with (praise-)songs, O Varuna.’ RV 1.25.3

The occurrence of Prosodic Inversion in *vácāṃsi me* in **326** suggests that the verb is exceptionally found in a Top functional projection, if the analysis favors prosodic distinction between topic and focus.

¹⁴¹ The terms that appear within an extended CP may be able to host clitics that also occur within the CP, but they also permit the occurrence of vocatives showing at least some sort of weak prosodic boundary between the phrases, allowing the vocatives to be inserted.

326)	<i>viśvāni</i>	<i>ékaḥ</i>	<i>śṇavad</i>	<i>vácāṃsi</i>	<i>me</i>
	all.ACC.PL	one.NOM.SG	hear.PRES.SUB.3SG	word.ACC.PL	my

‘He alone will hear all my words.’ RV 1.145.3b

[_{CP} *viśvāni*_i [_{TopP} ? / _{FocP} ? *ékaḥ*_j [_{TopP} *śṇavad*_k [_{IP} *t_j* [_{VP} [_{DP} *t_i* *vácāṃsi* *me*] *t_k*]]]]]

For this clause, the precise structure of the extended CP is unclear. Presumably *viśvāni* occupies CP as a determiner, but this creates a problem for *ékaḥ* which would probably need to be understood as either a second topic or an exceptionally placed focus. A simpler solution may be to posit a fronting of *viśvāni* in order for it to precede the nominative *ékaḥ* which remains in IP. The verb could also remain *in situ*, and the remaining phrase (*vácāṃsi me*) would be dislocated. The prosodic break separating the dislocated phrase from the verb would justify Prosodic Inversion.

Occasionally these processes leave topicalized or focused elements of a noun phrase adjacent to the rest of the noun phrase leading to peculiar orders for the elements of a noun phrase (determiners, clitic possessives, head nouns, etc.). **316** (repeated as **327**) exemplifies an instance in which the raised determiner appears adjacent to the rest of the noun phrase left *in situ*. Presumably this raising creates a prosodic break which triggers the inversion of the clitic and noun leading to the appearance of a delayed occurrence of the clitic (here, in third position).

327)	<i>viśve</i>	<i>devāḥ</i>	<i>śṇutémam</i>	<i>hávam</i>	<i>me</i> ¹⁴²
	all.VOC.PL	god.VOC.PL	hear.PRES.IMV.2PL~this.ACC.SG	call.ACC.SG	my

‘O All-Gods, Hear this my call!’ RV 6.52.13a

[_{CP} *śṇutá*_i [_{TopP} *imám*_j [_{IP} *Pro* [_{VP} [_{DP} *t_j* *hávam* *me*] *t_i*]

317 (repeated as **328**) demonstrates the situation in which the clitic is raised out of the noun phrase into a TopP and the imperative is raised to the CP.¹⁴³

¹⁴² i.e., *śṇutá imám hávam me*

¹⁴³ Assuming imperatives raise to CP if it is unoccupied and only appear in FocP if another item that has a greater claim on CP is present (see section **1.5**).

328) śṛṇutám *ma* *imám* *hávam*
 hear.PRES.IMV.2DL my this.ACC.SG call.ACC.SG
 ‘Hear (dual) this my call!’ RV 8.73.10b
 [CP śṛṇutám_i [TopP ma_j [IP *Pro* [VP [DP imám *t_j* hávam] *t_i*]]]]

The position of clitic possessive pronouns in the Rigveda can be explained through the use of three processes: 1) Prosodic Inversion, 2) fronting elements of a noun phrase into various functional projections within an extended CP, and 3) dislocation of elements of a noun phrase to a position after the clause. However, without explicit prosodic evidence of dislocation (i.e., a line break or caesura), it is as yet uncertain how best to determine whether fronting nominal elements to the extended CP or dislocating nominal elements is more plausible in those instances in which both processes can account for the data.

CHAPTER 4

ENCLITIC PRONOUNS AS VERBAL ARGUMENTS

4.1 On the Position of Accusative Enclitic Pronouns

As verbal arguments, enclitic pronouns display significant variation outside of the canonical second position expected with Wackernagel elements. In addition to second position within a clause (329), they occur before a clause final verb (330), at the end of a clause (postverbal in 331 and postnominal in 332), and even initial in a clause and cliticized to a vocative (333).

- 329)** *sá* *tvā* *vármaṇo* | *mahimā* *pipartu*
that.NOM.SG you.ACC.SG shield.GEN.SG might.NOM.SG cross.PRES.IMV.3SG
‘Let the might of the shield help you through.’ RV 6.75.1d

- 330)** *úpastutir* | *maghónām* *prá* *tvā* *avatu*
praise.NOM.SG patron.GEN.PL forth you.ACC.SG aid.PRES.IMV.3SG
‘Let the praise of the patrons encourage you!’ RV 8.1.16c

- 331)** *áyur* *viśvāyuh* *pári* *pāsati* *tvā*
Āyus.NOM.SG all-life.NOM.SG around protect.AOR.SUB.3SG you.ACC.SG
‘Āyus, bringing life support to all, will protect you.’ RV 10.17.4a

- 332)** *yābhiḥ* *kāṇvasya* *sūnávo* / *hávante* *ávase* *t_utvā*
which.INST.PL Kaṇva.GEN.SG son.NOM.PL call.PRES.IND.3PL aid.DAT.SG you.ACC.SG
‘(Hear you well these songs) with which the Sons of Kaṇva call you for aid.’ RV 1.45.5cd

333)	índra	tvā	vṛṣabhám	vayám /
	Indra.VOC.SG	you.ACC.SG	bull.ACC.SG	we.NOM
	suté	sóme	havāmahe	
	pressed.LOC.SG	soma.LOC.SG	call.PRES.IND.1PL	

‘O Indra, you, the bull, we call at the pressed soma.’ RV 3.40.1ab

Although one expects sentential clitics to occupy second position in a clause according to Wackernagel’s Law, the domain of enclitics that act as verbal arguments is not the sentence as a whole, but the verb phrase. The expected position for the direct object of a transitive verb in Sanskrit is immediately before the verb (Macdonell, 284). 330 exemplifies this situation in which the clitic merely remains in the base position in which it was generated in the syntax as in the tree in **figure 11**.

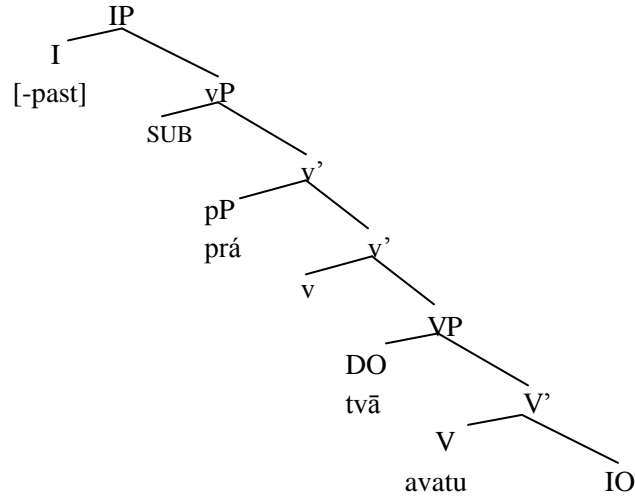


Figure 11

Employing the extended verbal structure proposed for Slavic by Franks and King (2000:317) (see section 1.3), but omitting the various agreement phrases which are unnecessary for this particular sentence gives the syntactic structure of **figure 11** for the predicate (or VP). SUB represents the base location of *úpastutir maghónām* which would then raise into the specifier of IP (substituting IP for TP in Franks and King’s framework). In such a situation, there would be no need for any movement within the verb phrase.

Indeed, this is a common position for tonic personal pronouns in the accusative case when they are not raised to initial position. It is, therefore, the unmarked situation for accusative verbal objects. However, enclitic pronouns often move to other positions within the clause.

Second position is frequently the result of fronting the enclitic personal pronoun into one of the functional projections of the extended CP with no further operations (as discussed in section 1.5). A tree for 329 exemplifying this process is given in figure 12.

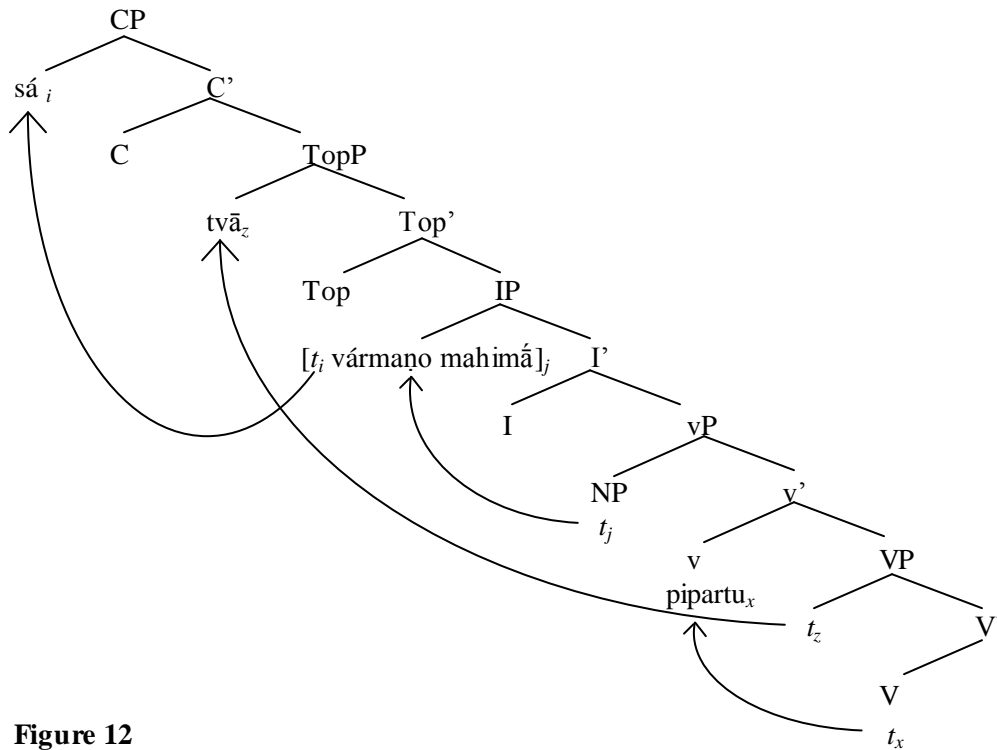


Figure 12

Occasionally, however, the syntactic operations may leave a clitic prosodically unsupported on the left side (primarily clause-initially in instances in which CP is unoccupied). In such a case, Prosodic Inversion licenses the clitic to “ ‘trade places’ with a prosodic unit which is adjacent to it” (Halpern, 1995:17). Since a prosodic unit need not equal a syntactic phrase, this accounts for the appearance of accusative clitics within another phrase as discussed previously in sections 3.3 (176 – 178), 3.4 (190 – 191), and 3.6 (224 – 232) involving appositions and similes.

333 provides the striking case in which the clitic appears in initial position within its clause without undergoing Prosodic Inversion (discussed more fully in section 2.5). In this instance, the accusative has been topicalized by ordinary syntactic processes fronting a personal pronoun into TopP, and no lexical item occupies an earlier projection within the extended CP. In essence, since enclitics are generally forbidden from remaining in clause-initial position, Prosodic Inversion should produce the sequence **indra*, *vṛṣabhāṃ tvā*... since the vocative ordinarily does not count as first position (i.e., the vocative is extracausal). Summarizing 2.5, the vocative is incorporated into the prosody of the following clause permitting it to host the enclitic pronoun. This exceptional prosodic incorporation prevents Prosodic Inversion, leaving the enclitic pronoun in clause-initial position.

4.2 Accusative Enclitic Pronouns in Final Position

Having addressed second position and immediate preverbal positions as well as the handful of clause-initial instances, we now turn to accusative enclitics in final position. Final accusatives result from two distinct processes in the R̥gveda: 1) verbal fronting and 2) dislocation/extraposition of the accusative. Of the seven line-final instances of *mā*, three¹⁴⁴ are not clause-final and four consist of two word clauses (i.e., V *mā*). **334** is the most striking of the non-clause-final instances of line-final *mā*.

334)	índrāvaruṇāv	abhí	á	tapanti	<i>mā</i> /
	Indra-Varuṇa.VOC.DL	toward	to	burn.PRES.IND.3PL	me.ACC
	aghāni	aryó		vanúṣām	árātayaḥ
	evil deeds.NOM.PL	enemy.GEN.SG		assailant.GEN.PL	malignity.NOM.PL
	‘O Indra and Varuṇa, the malignities of the assailants, the evil deeds of the enemy torment me.’				
	RV 7.83.5ab				

Here we have a VOS sentence. To arrive at this surface structure given an unmarked order of SOV, there are two options: 1) the verb, preverbs, and enclitic pronoun all raise to precede the subject,

¹⁴⁴ In RV 4.42.6a, line-final *mā* is actually in second position within the clause following *nákir*. RV 10.128.9cd has a line final *mā* in c, but the verb takes a double accusative (*mā* renamed by a number of accusatives—one immediately preceding and the rest following immediately in d).

and 2) the object and the subject are both extraposed to final position. It turns out, however, that the first option is not allowed in this case, as Rigvedic Sanskrit does not permit two preverbs and the verb all to raise to the beginning of the clause. Thus, this clause exemplifies double extraposition. Extraposition of more than one argument is permitted though very rare for the Rigveda (Schaufele, 1991: 189).¹⁴⁵ Such a sentence may be better reflected in a translation involving dislocation in English such as ‘O Indra and Varuṇa, they torment me—the evil deeds of the enemy, the malignities of the assailants.’

Of the 33 instances of line final *tvā*, eleven are not clause final (due to enjambment) and therefore do not fall into this section, five consist of two word clauses, three show an initial oblique noun, five involve initial nominatives (three with preverbs immediately preceding the verb), four involve relative clauses, and five cannot be classified together (though two of these have no expressed verb and so a verb must be supplied: RV 10.105.11a and RV 4.16.19a).

As mentioned previously, there are two possible syntactic means (verbal fronting and dislocation/extraposition) by which an argument which is generated preverbally may be pronounced postverbally. In verbal fronting, the argument that was immediately preverbal (frequently an accusative direct object) becomes final in the surface form. Consider both clauses in **335**.

335) *pībā* *sómam* *ind_ara* *mádatu* *tvā*
 drink.PRES.IMV.2SG Soma.ACC.SG Indra.VOC.SG exhilarate.PRES.IMV.3SG you.ACC.SG
 ‘Drink the Soma, O Indra! Let it exhilarate you!’ RV 7.22.1a

The first clause has a normal tonic object, while the second employs a clitic, but both have parallel structures. Therefore, both clauses likely have undergone the same processes. It is quite common for imperatives to occur in initial position, so it is likely that such instances involve verbal raising resulting in a final clitic (which happens to also be in second position due to the fact that the clause consists of only

¹⁴⁵ Schaufele (1991:189) finds this to be a characteristic syntactic distinction between Rigvedic and vedic prose texts which only allow one extraposed argument. He finds verbal adjuncts to be more freely extraposed, but his analysis differs from the framework of this investigation notably in the base generation of datives before the final verb. This greater facility with extraposition in the Rigveda may be permitted partly for metrical purposes.

two words). Such fronted verbs are analyzed here as having undergone some form of topicalization (or focus fronting). Within the framework employed here, topicalization is movement to a head within the extended CP. To demonstrate the process, compare the two simplified trees in **figure 13** below (omitting superfluous projections).

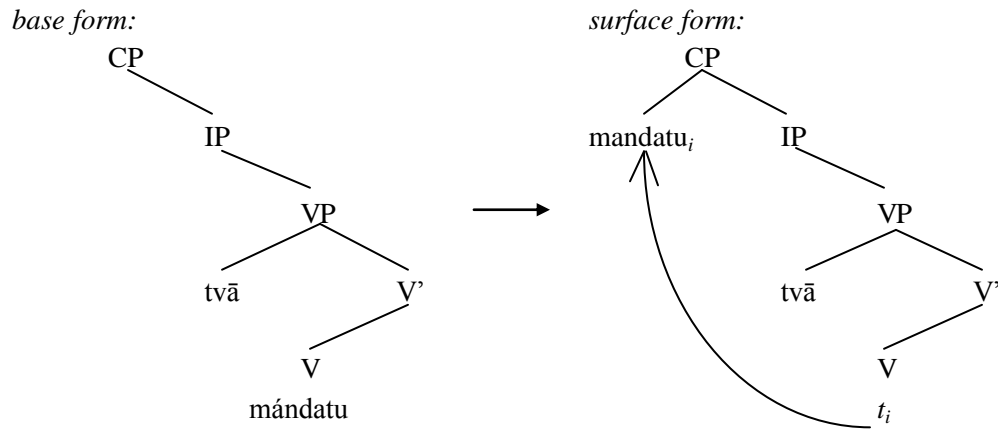


Figure 13

In such two word clauses, the precise projection within an extended CP to which the verb raises is not clear.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, there is no reason to believe the various potential heads within an extended CP are distinguished in this situation. However, in the following cases, a single constituent precedes the verb (discounting the vocative in **338**). In this situation, there are again two options: 1) extrapose the enclitic pronoun or 2) raise the verb as well as the one term that precedes it into the extended CP.

- 336)** āhārṣaṃ tvā́vidaṃ¹⁴⁷ t_uvā
- to~take.AOR.IND.1SG you.ACC.SG~find.AOR.IND.1SG you.ACC.SG
- ‘I have got you; I have found you.’ RV 10.161.5a

¹⁴⁶ Following the hypothesis of section **1.5**, the verb is fronted into FocP and then moves further into CP if that projection is unoccupied.

¹⁴⁷ Uncombined form: *tvā + ávidaṃ*. Note the elision of vowels across a clausal boundary.

337) *índrāya* *sunavai* *t_uvā*
 Indra.DAT.SG press.PRES.SUB.1SG you.ACC.SG
 ‘For Indra I will press you.’ RV 8.91.1d

338) *suṣvāṇāsa* *ind_ara* *stumási* *tvā*
 press.PERF.PART.NOM.PL Indra.VOC.SG praise.PRES.IND.1PL you.ACC.SG
 ‘O Indra, having pressed, we praise you.’ RV 10.148.1a

The situation in **336** appears to be indicative of the correct solution. Here we have two clauses that are clearly parallel to each other. One possesses a preverbal element (the preverb *á* preceding and coalescing with the initial vowel of *ahārṣam*), while the other is verb initial (*ávidam t_uvā*). It is reasonable to presume that the two clauses have undergone similar syntactic processes, and that they differ only in that one clause has an extra lexical item to account for. The parallelism of the verbal forms (both first person aorist forms) acting as a link between the clauses correlates with verbal fronting as Klein (1991:128) has shown. As such, we can assume some form of raising of the verb to a position in the extended CP.

The second clause in **336** would be as in the trees given above (**figure 13**), but the presence of the preverb *á* in the first clause necessitates the occurrence of a second fronting as in **figure 14**.

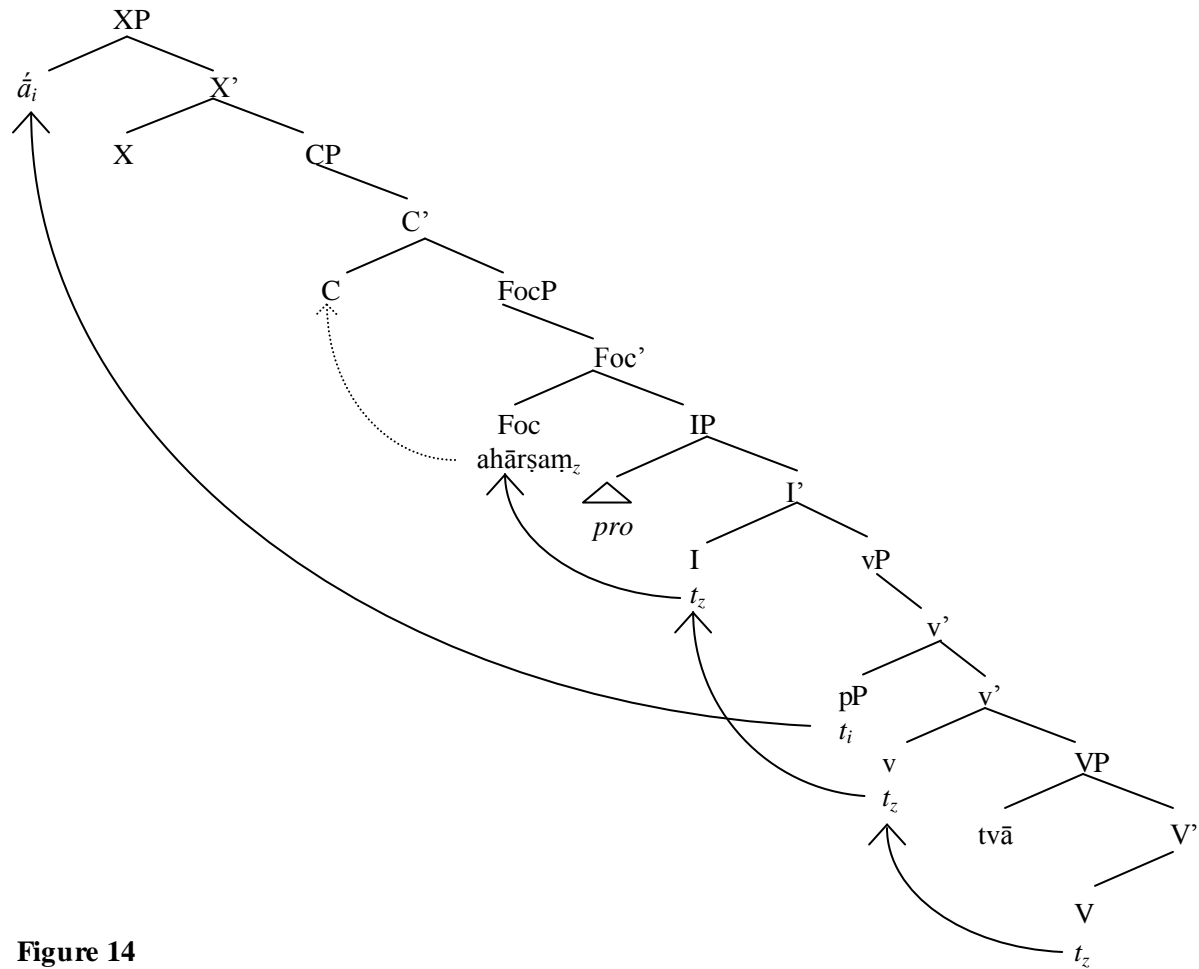


Figure 14

Given also that preverbs are permitted to precede relative pronouns, which are expected to move into spec of CP, this is a situation in which it appears that the preverb appears in Hale's (2009) pre-CP phrase (here labeled as XP). The clauses in **337** and **338** would presumably behave in like manner, except that a noun (*indrāya* in **337** and *suṣvāṇāsa* in **338**) occurs in the position of the preverb. Similar as well is **339**, where the preverb *ānu*¹⁴⁸ remains *in situ*, presumably being blocked by the fronting of the noun phrase *vīśve devāso*.

¹⁴⁸ Note that *ānu* is not a preposition here, but an adverb that must modify the verb; hence, *ānu tvā* is not a single constituent.

339)	<i>víśve</i>	<i>deváśo</i>	<i>amadann</i>	<i>ánu</i>	<i>tvā</i>
	all.NOM.PL	god.NOM.PL	exhilarate.PRES.IMP.3PL	along	you.ACC.SG

‘All the gods cheered you.’ RV 1.52.15b (= RV 1.103.7d)

The structural similarity between these two clauses suggests that they should behave in a nearly identical manner. If true, the phrase *víśve deváśo* should undergo a movement similar to that of the preverb in **336** in the tree above (i.e., movement to spec of XP).¹⁴⁹ However, as a topicalized phrase, it might be expected to raise into TopP. Further, it is possible that *víśve deváśo* is raised into spec of CP. Note, however, that the distinction between TopP and CP may be neutralized in this situation. In the absence of a relative pronoun, the various projections within Hale’s framework for the structure of the left periphery are difficult to tease apart.¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, *víśve deváśo* is likely raised into Hale’s pre-CP projection as represented in **figure 15**.

One possible explanation of the discourse value of this XP position is that what we have in this clause is a left dislocated phrase (topicalized beyond the normal boundaries of the clause and hence in a separate intonational phrase). In support of this analysis, the caesura of this verse falls immediately after *víśve deváśo*, requiring a pause in precisely this position. The metrical requirement for a pause in this position supports an analysis as a dislocated phrase. If XP is a representation of the position for dislocated phrases, we might better translate this as “All the gods—they cheered you.”

The strongest support for such an analysis of fronting into XP would be found in a similar clause sharing many of the lexical items of **339** but also possessing a relative pronoun. The Rigveda provides just such an example in **340**. Here, the finer distinctions within the extended CP are revealed due to the presence of both a topicalized phrase and a relativizer. In RV 7.18.12d (similarly RV 6.33.4c and RV

¹⁴⁹ Alternatively, we could propose that *ánu* and *tvā* are extraposed (delayed in a PF operation to the end of the clause). However, the presence of a verb-initial clause in the previous line (RV 1.52.15a *ārcann átra marútaḥ śásmīn ājau* ‘Here the Maruts sang in this battle.’) suggests that we may again have parallel verb raising obscured by the preceding subject.

¹⁵⁰ In Hale’s 1996 account of the extended CP, TopP preceded CP and FocP followed (Hale, 1996:177). Thus, the structure was [TopP [CP [FocP [IP]]]]. This reflects doubt about the position of topicalized phrases in the absence of an explicit relative (or interrogative) pronoun.

7.33.10b, both lacking preverbs), the simplest analysis is that the verb is focused (or topicalized) following the relative pronoun.

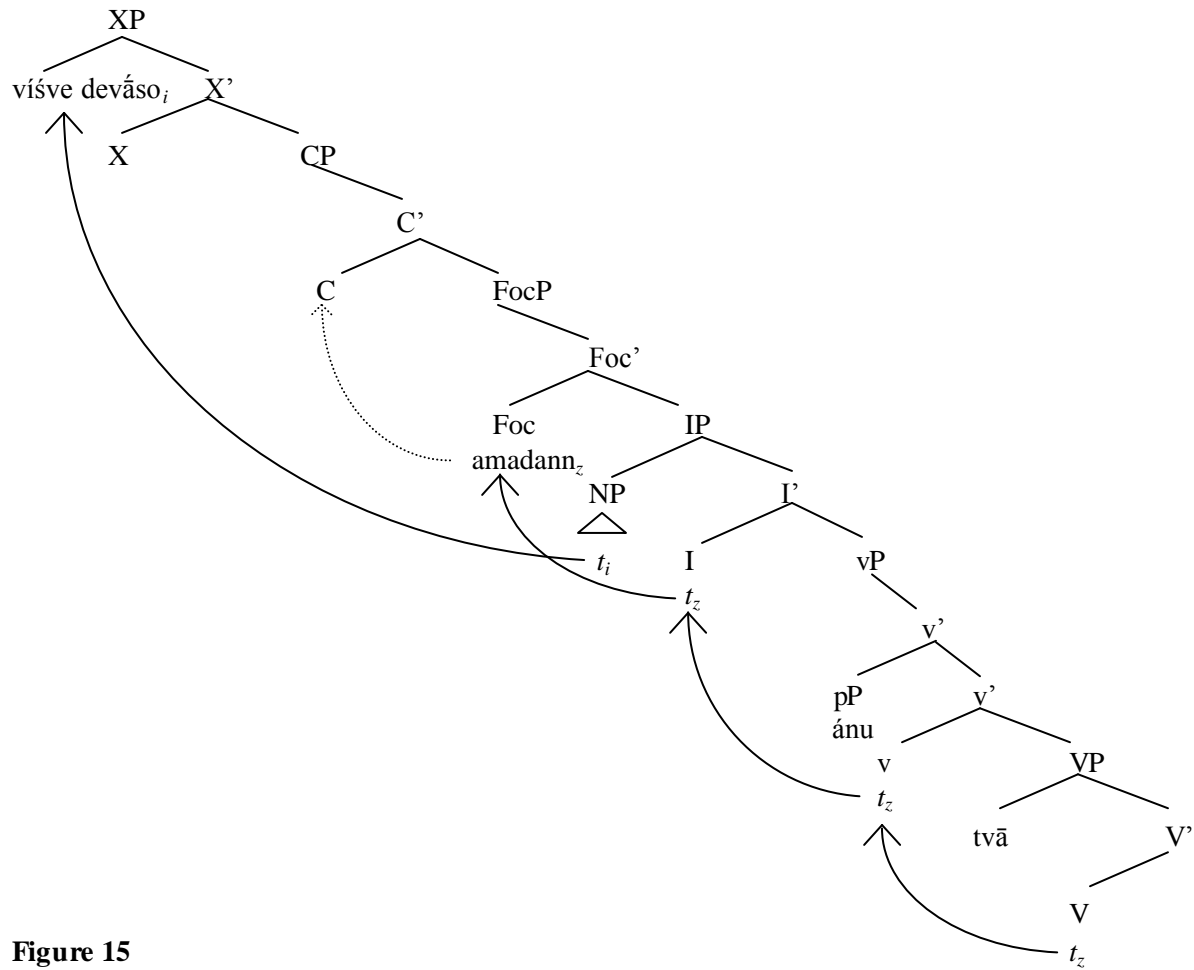


Figure 15

340)	[ádha	śrutám	kaváṣaṃ	vṛddhám	apsú /
	then	famed.ACC.SG	Kavaṣa.ACC.SG	increased.ACC.SG	water.LOC.PL
	ánu	druhyúm	ní	vṛṇag	vájrabāhuḥ] //
	along	Druhyu.ACC.SG	down	twist.PRES.INJ.3SG	cudgel-armed.NOM.SG
	vṛṇāṇá	átra	sakh _i yáya	sakh _{yá} m /	
	choosing.NOM.PL	here	friendship.DAT.SG	friendshipACC.SG	
	t _u vāyánto	yé	ámadann	ánu	tvā
	desiring you.NOM.PL	wh-.NOM.PL	exhilarate.PRES.IMP.3PL	along	you.ACC.SG
‘Then the cudgel-bearer twisted down the famous old Kavaṣa (and) Druhyu in the waters while those desiring you here, choosing friendship for friendship, cheered you.’ RV 7.18.12					

For such a situation, I propose that the verb raises to the focus position within the extended CP while the relative pronoun moves to spec of CP itself¹⁵¹ as in **figure 16**.

The subject noun phrase *t_uvāyántaḥ* raises into spec of XP. Complicating matters is that the relative pronoun likely stands for the subordinating relative conjunction *yád* which has been attracted to the nominative case of *t_uvāyántaḥ*. Indeed, the two clauses most similar to this one, RV 6.33.4c *s_uvarṣātā · yád dhváyāmasi tvā* ‘...when, in the fight for the sun, we call you’ and RV 7.33.10b *mitrávaruṇā yád ápaśyatām tvā* ‘...when Mitra and Varuṇa saw you’, both have the relative conjunction *yád* instead of a relative pronoun. As a complementizer much like *that* in English, it would stand in the head of CP leading to some doubt as to the precise position in which this item should be located. However, as most of its uses lead to the expectation that it should be found in the specifier of CP (i.e., as the neuter nominative/accusative form of the relative pronoun), the tree below places *yé* in spec of CP. The tree omits the base position within the verb phrase from which *yád* (remade into *yé* by attraction as a late surface process) would have originally been projected before movement.

¹⁵¹ Alternatively, this could be considered as a parallel to English question syntax with the relative pronoun moving to spec of CP and the verb moving to the head of CP.

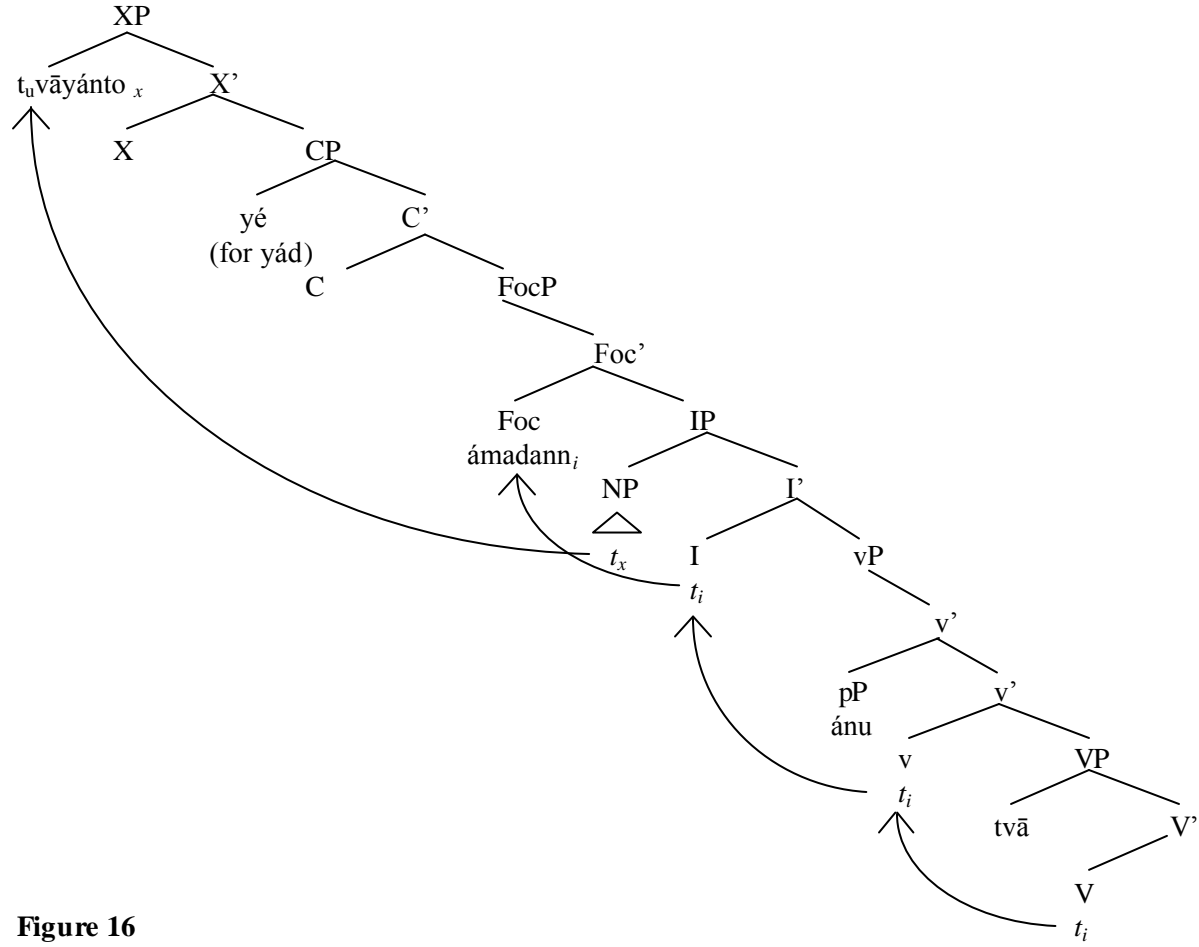


Figure 16

341 appears to require two positions preceding the relative pronoun (which should appear in spec of CP) in which *itthāādhīr* and *abhi* can appear.

341)	[<i>t_u vām</i>	<i>inó</i>		<i>d_aāśúṣo</i>	<i>varūtā́</i>]	/
	you.NOM.SG	mighty.NOM.SG		worship.PERF.PART.GEN.SG	defender.NOM.SG	
	<i>itthāādhīr</i>		<i>abhi</i>	<i>yó</i>	<i>nákṣati</i>	<i>tvā</i>
	such-thought.NOM.SG	toward	wh-.NOM.SG	attain.AOR.SUB.3SG	you.ACC.SG	
	‘You are the mighty defender of the worshipper who, with such thoughts, will attain you.’ RV					
	2.20.2cd					

Alternatively, however, it may be best to analyze **341** as a sort of cleft sentence with no expressed copula in which the relative clause is subordinated to *itthāādihīr*: ‘You are the mighty defender of the praising one. (It is) one with such thoughts who will attain you.’ If this is correct, then the relative clause falls easily within the structure proposed in Hale 2009 which posits one phrasal projection preceding the CP to which a single emphatic word or phrase may raise. Note that since the preverb *abhī* does not have scope over the relative pronoun *yó*, it cannot be moved with the relative pronoun into the same position of the tree. In fact, *abhī*, as a preverb, modifies the sense of the verb and as such has scope over the accusative clitic pronominal *tvā*. The relative pronoun would raise to CP; the verb would be focused (or topicalized) within the relative clause; and the preverb *abhī* would raise to Hale’s pre-CP phrase. Thus, we generate a tree as in **figure 17** for the clause *abhī yó náḁṣati tvā*:

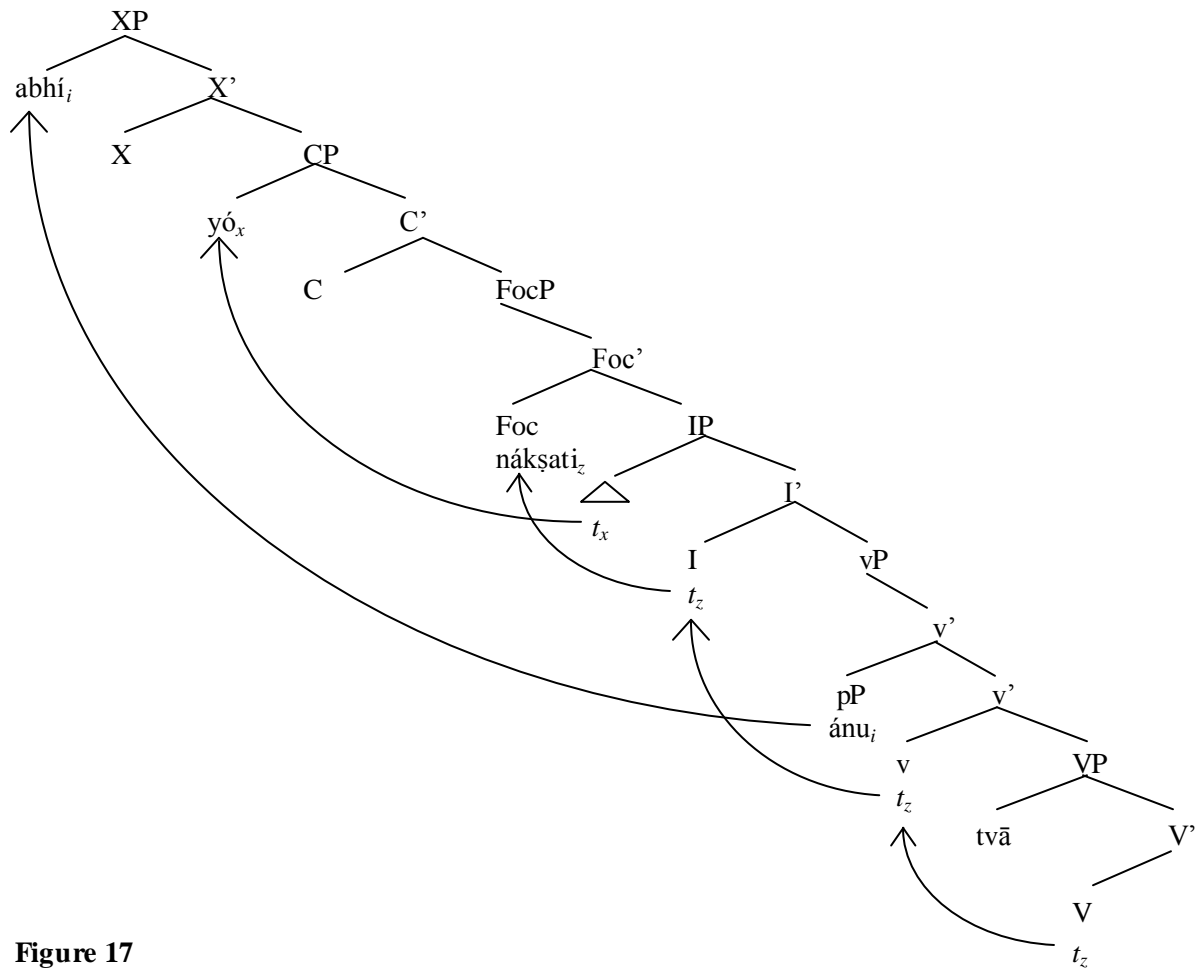


Figure 17

342 appears to behave identically to **341** with further information added as a clarifying afterthought in the following line.

342)	s _ū varṣātā		yád	dhváyāmasi	tvā /
	sun-fight.LOC.SG		when	call.PRES.IND.1PL	you.ACC.SG
	yúdhanto		nemádhitā	pṛtsú	śūra
	fighting.NOM.PL		confrontation.LOC.SG	battles.LOC.PL	hero.VOC.SG
‘When in the fight for the sun we call you—(we) fighting in the confrontation, in the battles, O hero.’ RV 6.33.4cd					

Because it provides parenthetical details concerning “us” and the “sunfight”, verse 4d need not be represented in the syntax of the clause of verse 4c, since its content is likely extraposed as a PF operation. So, ignoring 4d, the main difference is that the item in XP is a noun instead of a preverbal adverb. This difference appears to have prosodic effects. The noun in XP of **342** is followed by a caesura which separates it from the relative conjunction, whereas the preverb in XP of **341** is not separated from the relative pronoun by a caesura, but rather, the caesura precedes the preverb.

The clause of **343** could be analyzed in a manner similar to **342**.

343)	áyur	viśvāyuh	pári	pāsati	tvā
	Āyus.NOM.SG	all-life.NOM.SG	around	protect.AOR.SUB.3SG	you.ACC.SG
‘Āyus, bringing life support to all, will protect you.’ RV 10.17.4a					

That is, the subject could be raised to spec of XP, the verb to Foc, and the preverb to spec of CP. The assumption that *pári* might raise to the same position as relative pronouns has some support in that preverbs are not usually raised in relative clauses following the relative pronoun. That is to say, except in situations that motivate exceptional displacement of the preverb (i.e., movement to XP as in **figure 17**), relative pronouns appear to block the raising of the preverb. Nonetheless, much of this movement is poorly motivated except in that it would give rise to the surface form we find. A simpler explanation is that the pronoun is extraposed to final position in order to create a chiasmic structure with the following

line (i.e., *pāri pāsati tvā / (pūṣā) tvā pātu*).¹⁵² By these means, the poet puts special emphasis on ‘protecting you’.

344 provides another situation in which extraposition is likely to be the simplest account. Here, the clause occurs in standard SOV word order, but verse 16a closes with an extraposed enclitic pronoun. However, this is likely a double accusative sentence in which the reference of the anaphoric pronoun *tām* (possibly for *tāt*) is to that for which they call upon you much like the *tāt tvā yāmi* ‘I beseech you for that...’ found in RV 1.24.11a and RV 8.3.9a. The extraposed *tvā* creates a link to the additional information found in 16b.¹⁵³ See section **4.6** for an alternative analysis.

344)	saptá	hótāras	tām	íd	īlate	<i>t_utvā</i> /
	seven	hotar.NOM.PL	that.ACC.SG	PTCL	call upon.PRES.IND.3PL	you.ACC.SG
	agne	sutyájam			áhrayam	
	Agni.VOC.SG	offering good offspring.ACC.SG			unashamed.ACC.SG	
‘The seven Hotars call upon you for that, O Agni, the unashamed one offering good offspring.’						
RV 8.60.16ab						

The next example of a final accusative enclitic pronoun is also the only case in which a verb is first in its pāda and yet is not followed immediately by such a pronoun. Usually, when verbs are first in their pādas, they are also first in their clause, but in **345**, the verb stands in a relative clause that begins in the prior pāda.

345)	yābhiḥ	kāṇvasya	sūnávo	/	hávante	ávase	<i>t_utvā</i>
	which.INST.PL	Kaṇva.GEN.SG	son.NOM.PL	call.PRES.IND.3PL	aid.DAT.SG	you.ACC.SG	
‘(Hear you well these songs) with which the sons of Kaṇva call you for aid.’ RV 1.45.5cd							

In verb-initial main clauses, *tvā* and *mā* only occur immediately after the verb as in **346**, a typical example (see also **335** and **336**, both of which are two-word clauses).

¹⁵² RV 10.17.4b *pūṣā tvā pātu prāpathe purástāt* ‘Let Puṣan protect you on the long path from in front!’

¹⁵³ The late accusative phrase is perhaps delayed in pronunciation as a result of the size of the noun phrase (cf. optional heavy NP shift in English).

346) váhantu tvā | hárayo madríāñcam
 convey.PRES.IMV.3PL you.ACC.SG bay steed.NOM.PL facing me.ACC.SG

‘Let the bay steeds convey you, (the one) directed towards me.’ RV 7.24.3c

Here, the enclitic is clearly separated from its tonic counterpart, the appositive *madríāñcam*. As is usual for imperatives, the verb is fronted from a position following the accusative *madríāñcam*. The simplest explanation for the rest of the clause is that the enclitic pronoun is also raised leaving its appositive stranded in the base position.

345 is unusual in having an apparently unraised verb with a dative and accusative following in that order. The simplest explanation is that the accusative is extraposed (that is, delayed) to the end of the line. This analysis exploits extraposition as an optional post-syntactic operation (i.e., a PF movement) that avails itself of a post-clausal position of emphasis usually set off by a prosodic break. A reduced clitic form is unexpected in an emphatic position, but there appear to be other instances in the Rigveda in which such reduced clitics are also overtly marked as emphatic (see **100** in section **2.4**).

An alternative analysis invokes a perhaps excessive degree of movement, with a syntactic structure as shown below in which the enclitic pronoun alone remains *in situ*. The dative of purpose, base generated in the same post-verbal position as indirect object datives,¹⁵⁴ raises to the AgrIOP position within the extended VP, and all further arguments would move into the extended CP.

[_{CP} yābhi_y [_{TOPP} kánvasya sūnávo_x [_{FocP} hávante_i [_{IP} t_x [_{VP} t_y ávase_z t_uvā t_i t_z]]]]]]

This pattern is far from common in the Rigveda, but it can be found among ditransitives for which a dative argument is necessary. Many of these appear to involve raised verbs as in **347** and **348**.

¹⁵⁴ Perhaps this position is best considered a syntactic position for the Goal in a loose sense so as to include the various senses of the dative, including purpose and benefactive.

- 347)** ágne dā dāśúṣe rayīm /
 Agni.VOC.SG give.AOR.INJ.2SG worship.PERF.PART.DAT.SG wealth.ACC.SG
 vīrávantam pārīṇasam
 having men.ACC.SG complete.ACC.SG
 ‘O Agni, give to the worshipper wealth consisting of men—complete (wealth)!’ RV 3.24.5b
- 348)** ágne náya supáthā rāyé asmān /
 Agni.VOC.SG lead.PRES.IMV.2SG good-path.INST.SG wealth.DAT.SG us.ACC.PL
 víśvāni deva vayúnāni vidvān
 all.ACC.PL heavenly one.VOC.SG landmark.ACC.PL know.PERF.PART.NOM.SG
 ‘O Agni, Lead us along the good path to wealth—(you) knowing, O heavenly one, all the landmarks!’ RV 1.189.1ab

Such examples can be explained by raising the indirect object to the AgrIOP position and raising the verbs (both verbs of command—an injunctive and imperative) into the extended CP. **348** would appear to contain a delayed subject noun phrase which may have been dislocated due to its size. The line break may be taken to align with the prosodic break that sets off this large dislocated phrase.

Although instances with raised verbs are probably the most common, the clue to what is occurring in **345** may be found in more complicated examples containing discontinuous noun phrases. Such a case is **349**, where the accusative noun phrase contains the discontinuous elements *t_uvāyatáḥ* and *asmān*.

- 349)** [piśā gíro | maghavan góbhir áśvais] /
 adorn.AOR.IMV.2SG song.ACC.PL liberal.VOC.SG cow.INST.PL horse.INST.PL
 t_uvāyatáḥ | śísīhi rāyé asmān
 desiring you.ACC.PL sharpen.PRES.IMV.2SG wealth.DAT.SG us.ACC.PL
 ‘[Adorn the songs, O Liberal one, with cows, with horses;] sharpen the ones desiring you, (namely) us, for wealth!’ RV 7.18.2cd

In this example, the verb phrase appears to reflect the hypothesized base form. That is, we have an immediately preverbal accusative direct object and an immediately postverbal dative indirect object. In addition, however, we have what appears to be a dislocated clarification of the accusative noun phrase (*asmān*). Most likely, though, this is produced by legitimate syntactic processes of verbal focus (verb raising to Foc) and topicalization of *t_uvāyatáh* (moved to TopP, but possibly moved to XP if the caesura is taken as a sign of dislocation and movement into XP). Nonetheless, this clause could easily be reanalyzed as involving the extraposition of *asmān* with no movement instead of two movement processes. This reanalysis may be supported by the formulaic structure (*verb*) *rāyé asmān* shared by 348 – 350 which could then be extended to a syntactically unexpected instance like 345 in which an unraised verb is followed by a dative and accusative.

350) ábhakte cid á bhajā rāyé asmān
unshared.LOC.SG PTCL to share.PRES.IMV.2SG wealth.DAT.SG us.ACC.PL
‘Give us a share in the undistributed for wealth.’ RV 10.112.10d

From such a formulaic structure, the Rigvedic poets may have extended this pattern (originally produced syntactically by verb fronting as in example 348) to situations in which there has been no verb fronting, as in example 345. All such situations, however, share the structure *verb-dative-accusative*. In essence, such instances that do not involve verb fronting must be explained by some manner of extraposition or dislocation delaying the pronunciation of the accusative to an unusually late position, possibly based on a pattern produced legitimately by normal syntactic processes in other situations.

Example 351 is a striking passage in that it appears at first glance to have a redundant occurrence of the enclitic pronoun. The repetition of an enclitic pronoun with the same usage (here, both appear to be the direct object of the same verb) is highly unexpected. Likewise unexpected are the three accented vocatives, since vocatives are only marked as accented in the Rigveda when they occur before a sentence or when they are initial in a line. This instance appears to have accented vocatives in the midst of a clause with a fronted object. The accented vocatives are the clue to what is likely happening in this instance.

351) śṛṇvató vo váruṇa mītra dévā /
 hearing.ACC.PL you.ACC.PL Varuṇa.VOC.SG Mitra.VOC.SG god.VOC.PL
 bhadrásya vidvām ávase huve vaḥ
 luck.GEN.SG know.PERF.PART.NOM.SG aid.DAT.SG call.PRES.IND.1SG you.ACC.PL
 ‘You hearing, O Mitra, Varuṇa, (and other) gods—I, knowing of the luck, call you for aid.’ RV
 2.29.1cd

Likely the result of proleptic accusative fronting and anacoluthon, the participle and clitic anticipate the clause that follows (contained exclusively in *d*), but they are not grammatically part of that clause. The false start is interrupted by the accented vocatives, necessitating a restart in line *d*. Line *c* provides background information relating to the accusative of the following clause, though it is syntactically outside of it. The clitic in *c* merely disambiguates the case of the participle which can be genitive or ablative singular as well as accusative plural. In addition to the extra clausal nature of line *c*, its caesura licenses the accentuation of the vocatives as independent utterances. In *d*, the dative *ávase* is raised to AgrIO and *vas* is extraposed, motivated by the further descriptions of ‘you’ in the next stanza (RV 2.29.2a *yūyám devāḥ prámātir yūyám ójah* ‘You, O gods, are providence; you are strength.’).

Indeed, the final enclitic would be unnecessary if the vocatives were unaccented, since this would show that *śṛṇvató vaḥ* is part of a simple clause in cd. However, the accented vocatives tell us that the clause begins after them. As a result, the clause appears to lack a preverbal direct object. Thus, the need arises to append a second extraposed *vas* after the verb as a means to clarify who is called.

4.3 Enclitic Pronouns in Final Position due to Verbal Gapping

Aside from verb fronting stranding a preverbal enclitic and extraposition of an enclitic, a third means by which a clitic may fall in final position is through gapping of the verb. On these occasions, the clitic remains syntactically in the position immediately preceding the final verb, but the verb is omitted as in example 352 (the expected position of the verb is marked by ____).

352) śatām vā yád asur_iya prāti tvā —_x /
 100.NOM.SG or if Asurya.VOC.SG against you.ACC.SG

 [sumitrá ithhā astaud_x /

 Sumitra.NOM.SG so praise.PRES.IMP.3SG

 durmitrá ithhā astaut //

 Durmitra.NOM.SG so praise.PRES.IMP.3SG

 āvo yád dasyuhát_ye kutsaputrám /

 hither~help.PRES.INJ.2SG when demon-slaying.LOC.SG Kutsa-son.ACC.SG

‘O Asurya, if a hundred (praise) you, [so Sumitra (the good friend) praised, so Durmitra (the bad friend) praised when you aided the son of Kutsa in the demon slaying.]’ RV 10.105.11a–d

In this instance, the verb is to be supplied from the following verse (*astaud*) where it is expressed overtly with a new subject. In contrast, compare example **353**, where the verb is to be supplied from the previous verse.

353) [mā śúne agne ní śadāma_x nñā́m] /

 NEG lack.LOC.SG Agni.VOC.SG down sit.AOR.INJ.1PL men.GEN.PL

 māsésaso avīratā pári tvā —_x //

 NEG~lacking heirs.NOM.PL lack of sons.INST.SG around you.ACC.SG

 [prajāvatīṣu dūr_iyāsu durya —_x]

 rich in children.LOC.PL dwelling.LOC.PL house.VOC.SG

‘O Agni, let us not sit down in a lack of men; (let us) not (sit) around you without heirs by lacking sons, (but) in dwellings rich in children, O thou of the house.’ RV 7.1.11

Here, each of the three verses constitutes a distinct clause which shares the verb with the first verse. As is frequently the case in a series of injunctives, the presence of the negator *mā* appears to license the elision of a verb shared by adjacent clauses. The contrast between the clauses of the second verse (lacking sons) and the third verse (rich in children) provides the link between these two clauses that

again leads to the gapping of the verb. It is this contrast also which proves the third verse must be a separate clause (and that therefore *tvā* is clause-final in the second verse of **353**) so as to prevent contradiction within the same clause. It is evident then that gapping not only gives rise to occasional final enclitic pronouns, but it also provides a connection between clauses.

Thus far, it appears that the majority of occurrences of accusative enclitic pronouns can be explained by strictly syntactic processes in which the pronoun either remains in the base position preceding the verb or is raised into the TopP of the extended CP following an item that precedes it in CP (or XP). However, many instances remain unaccounted for within a strictly syntactic approach. These cases can be placed into two categories: 1) enclitic accusatives that have undergone extraposition in order to follow an unraised verb and 2) enclitic pronouns that have undergone Prosodic Inversion as a minimal correction to avoid occurrence in sentence-initial position (primarily involving apposition or similes, as in sections **3.3** and **3.6**). Strikingly, there are several instances in which enclitic accusative pronouns occur in absolute clause-initial position hosted by vocatives. In these instances, as discussed in section **2.5**, the vocative is prosodically rebracketed to become phonologically part of the clause, thereby licensing the clitic to cliticize beyond the syntactic clause.

4.4 Enclitic Pronouns as Arguments of Ditransitive Verbs

Remaining to be discussed are instances involving enclitics as arguments of ditransitive verbs. Ditransitive verbs appear in two broad categories in Sanskrit: 1) standard ditransitive verbs (i.e., those taking an accusative and a dative argument), and 2) double accusative verbs (i.e., those taking two accusative arguments). Both categories of ditransitives behave syntactically in a similar manner. Thus, the second argument frequently occurs in a post-verbal position in ditransitive verbs of both categories. However, this is not strikingly different from clauses involving simple transitive verbs, where adverbial nominals such as ablatives or instrumentals as well as datives of purpose are frequently positioned post-verbally.

4.5 Argument Placement among Standard Ditransitive Verbs

This section will primarily use examples involving verbal roots with the sense ‘give’ as representing ditransitive verbs *par excellence*. In the syntactic framework employed here (see section 1.3), the verb phrase includes two potential positions for the occurrence of datives: before the direct object of the verb in the AgrIOP position or immediately following the verb. In addition, a dative may be fronted into a position within the extended CP. The great variety of sentence patterns in the Rīgveda requires many options for the position of datives. Indeed, all possible permutations of the order of direct object, verb, and indirect object are attested a multitude of times in the Rīgveda, with and without enclitic indirect objects. Nevertheless, given the ‘agreement’ projection and the topicalization phrases in the extended CP, there is seldom need to resort to non-syntactic processes (like extraposition) to account for the placement of indirect objects. A syntactic account of the various permutations of verb phrase arguments (V, DO, and IO) follows. As is typical for Vedic enclitic pronominals, there is no syntactic distinction between dative enclitic pronouns and full dative nouns.¹⁵⁵

DO V IO

The following examples represent the base projection in which the direct object precedes the verb and the indirect object follows the verb. This syntactic arrangement is common both for enclitics (354) and for full nominals (355).

354) agnīr iṣāṃ sakhyé dadātu naḥ
 Agni.NOM.SG refreshment.GEN.PL friendship.LOC.SG give.PRES.IMV.3SG us.DAT.PL

‘Let Agni give us some refreshment in friendship!’ RV 8.71.13a

355) ahám bhūmim adadām áryāya
 I earth.ACC.SG give.IMP.IND.1SG Ārya.DAT.SG

‘I gave the earth to the Ārya.’ RV 4.26.2a

¹⁵⁵ However, it is striking that the singular enclitics *me* and *te* never occur in post-verbal position with the verbal roots *dā* and *rā* ‘to give’. They always occur in second position instead. This limitation does not affect other enclitic pronouns.

354 illustrates the use of a partitive genitive object to indicate that the direct object is not given over in its entirety. However, this semantic distinction (partial versus complete bestowal) does not affect the syntactic role of direct object, just the case employed to signal this role. The locative *sakhyé*, operating adverbially, intervenes between the direct object and verb, exhibiting the freedom of position inherent in the class of adverbs. Notable also is that vocatives as well frequently fall in this position (as in **356** and **357**), displaying a parallelism in placement between adverbials and vocatives, noted as well by Peter for English (1993:131).

356) *nūnām* *tád* *indra* *daddhi* *naḥ*
 now that.ACC.SG Indra.VOC.SG give.PRES.IMV.2SG us.DAT.PL
 ‘Now, O Indra, give that to us!’ RV 8.13.5a

357) *sugávyam* *indra* *daddhi* *naḥ*
 possession of good cows.ACC.SG Indra.VOC.SG give.PRES.IMV.2SG us.DAT.PL
 ‘O Indra, give us possession of good cows!’ RV 8.12.33b

Frequently, the nominative subject is omitted in the clause (as in **356** – **359**). This is partly due to the great frequency in which verbs of giving are imperatives addressed directly to the god from whom some boon is requested.

358) *putrām* *dadāti* *dāśúṣe*
 son.ACC.SG give.PRES.IND.3SG worshipper.DAT.SG
 ‘(He) gives a son to the worshipper.’ RV 5.25.5d

359) *bhūridā* *bhūri* *dehi* *naḥ*
 giver of much.VOC.SG much.ACC.SG give.PRES.IMV.2SG us.DAT.PL
 ‘O giver of much, give us much!’ RV 4.32.20a

Nevertheless, all such instances can be modeled as in **figure 18** below, which illustrates **355** and **358**.

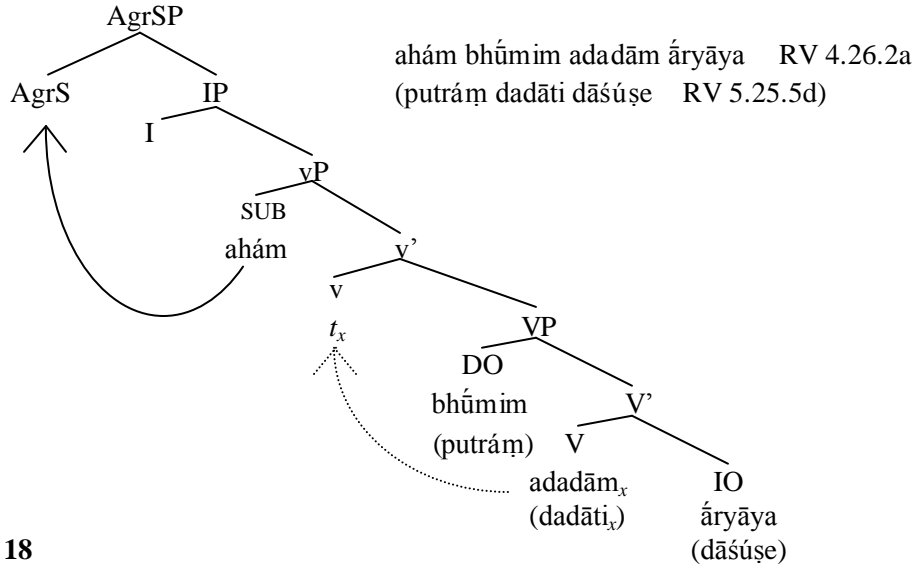


Figure 18

In **figure 18**, the movement of V to v may be considered covert. Employing the copy theory of movement, a copy of the verb may be made at the v head, but it is not pronounced.¹⁵⁶

360, however, displays a fronted direct object raised into the extended CP for extra emphasis (possibly into TopP)¹⁵⁷ as can be shown by the presence of the subject *devī* intervening between the direct object *rāyó* and the verb *dadātu*.

360)	rāyó	devī	dadātu	naḥ
	wealth.ACC.PL	goddess.NOM.SG	give.PRES.IMV.3SG	us.DAT.PL

‘Let the goddess give us wealth!’ RV 10.141.2d

The following also appears to have a fronted enclitic direct object, though with no expressed subject, it is difficult to prove that the object has been raised into the extended CP rather than simply standing before the preverb-verb collocation.

¹⁵⁶ Alternatively, the direct object may move overtly into the AgrO head where the verb could collect it during its movement from V to v. If so, the indirect object can only have an unpronounced copy in the AgrIO head reflecting a covert movement. Such an analysis could also result in a direct object preceding the verb which itself precedes the indirect object. Why one argument should show overt movement and the other covert movement, however, is unclear.

¹⁵⁷ Such a raising would have a simplified structure bracketed as follows:

[_{CP} [_{TOPP} rāyó_x [_{IP} devī [_{VP} t_x [_V dadātu [_{V'} naḥ]]]]]]

361) áthem enam pári dattāt pitṛbhyaḥ
 then~ACC.SG him.ACC.SG around give.PRES.IMV.2SG father.DAT.PL
 ‘Then give him to the fathers!’ RV 10.16.2b

V DO IO

Closely related to the above, **362** and **363** exemplify the situation in which the verbal arguments remain in the same relation to each other (i.e., direct object precedes indirect object), but the verb precedes both of its arguments suggesting that the verb has moved to an earlier position within the clause.

362) (mā no mardhīr ā bharā) daddhī tán naḥ
 (not us.ACC neglect.INJ.2SG to bear.IMV.2SG) give.PRES.IMV.2SG that.ACC.SG us.DAT.PL
 ‘Don’t neglect us! Bear hither! Give us that!’ RV 4.20.10a (similarly RV 10.47.8a)

363) ádadā árbhām mahatē vacasyáve
 give.IMP.IND.2SG small.ACC.SG great.DAT.SG eloquent.DAT.SG
 ‘You gave the small one to the great eloquent one.’¹⁵⁸ RV 1.51.13a (similarly RV 5.27.4c, RV 5.27.4d)

Such verb-initial clauses suggest that the verb has been moved into the extended CP; however, the subject regularly precedes the verb in these instances as seen in **364** and **365**.

¹⁵⁸ The following line (RV 1.51.13b) clarifies the verbal objects further with *kakṣīvate vṛcayām indra sunvaté*. This may be analyzed in several ways. It could be treated as two distinct dislocated phrases (separated by the caesura following *kakṣīvate*) which would be translated as such: ‘You gave the small one to the great eloquent one—to Kakṣīvat—Vṛcayā (you gave), O Indra, to the one being pressed.’ Similarly, though more plausible in my view, the first dative could be simply an apposition to *mahatē vacasyáve* with the caesura setting off the reiterating clause with a gapped verb *vṛcayām indra sunvaté* ‘Vṛcayā (you gave), O Indra, to the one being pressed.’ Least plausible is an analysis in which all words in these two lines truly belong to one ordinary syntactic clause with multiple discontinuous constituents due to stranding as well as a fronted verb which could be bracketed as follows (ignoring the extrasentential vocative):

[_{CP} ádadā_z [_{TOPP} árbhām_y [_{AGrIOP} mahatē_x vacasyáve_x kakṣīvate_x [_{VP} t_y vṛcayām [t_z [_V t_x sunvaté]]]]]]]
 For this reason, it seems best to treat RV 1.51.13a as the complete syntactic clause thus placing it in the V DO IO category.

364) yamó dadāti avasānam asmai
 Yama.NOM.SG give.PRES.IND.3SG resting place.ACC.SG this.DAT.SG
 ‘Yama gives him a resting place.’ RV 10.14.9d (similarly RV 2.35.10d, RV 3.14.6c, RV 8.100.12b)

365) agnír dadātu téṣām ávo naḥ
 Agni.NOM.SG give.PRES.IMV.3SG that.GEN.PL favor.ACC.SG us.DAT.PL
 ‘Let Agni give us their favor!’ RV 10.115.5d

This suggests that the verb does not move into the extended CP, but raises to the head of vP. However, the verbal arguments must undergo covert movement in which the copy in the Agr projections is unpronounced. At present, there is no means of determining whether argument movement should be overt or covert. Nevertheless, **figure 19** provides a tree for **365** omitting the covert movement to the Agr projections.

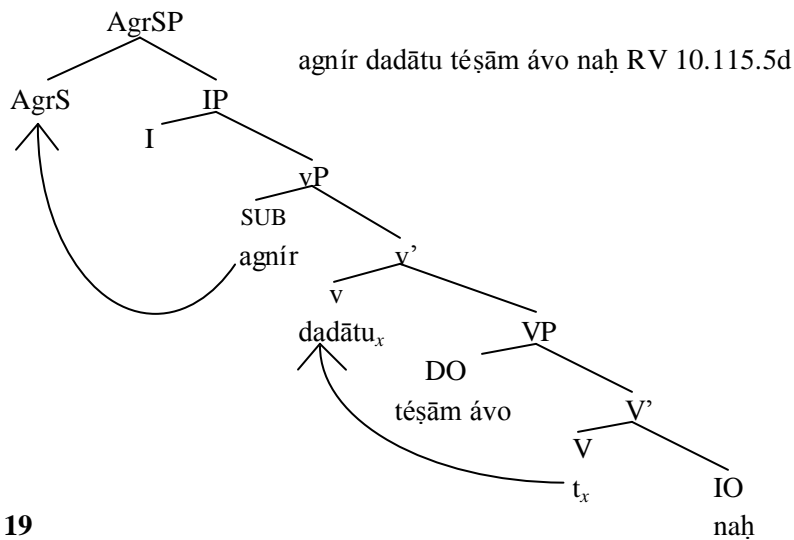


Figure 19

Alternatively, since movement into the extended CP is extraordinarily common, we may claim that both the subject and the verb raise into the extended CP (TopP for the subject and FocP for the verb).

Unfortunately, such an analysis is undesirable due to the apparent requirement that both the subject and the verb move into the extended CP. There is no clear motivation connecting the movement of the subject and the verb which should be two separate movement processes. If a case should be found in which an initial ditransitive verb is followed by the subject, movement into the extended CP would become more acceptable. But no such instance occurs involving enclitic pronouns and this investigation did not uncover such an instance with full nominals. Therefore, resorting to the single process of verb movement into vP seems more plausible.

IO DO V

The category of clauses in which the indirect object precedes the direct object which itself precedes the verb is very common. Within Franks and King's model, this situation involves the raising of the direct object and indirect object into their respective AgrP projections as is most clearly seen in an example like **366** modeled in **figure 20**. Note that the movement of the verb from V to v through the Agr nodes would collect the indirect and direct objects in the proper order, so distinguishing overt and covert movement is difficult in this case. The tree diagram of **figure 20** represents overt V to v movement with the verb collecting its objects via dotted arrows with the pronounced sequence under v placed in parentheses. Covert V to v movement is seen by ignoring the dotted arrows and parentheses.

- 366)** yuvām śyāvāya rúsatīm adattam
 you.NOM.DL Śyāva.DAT.SG light.ACC.SG give.IMP.IND.2DL
 ‘You two gave the white (cow) to Śyāva.’ RV 1.117.8a (similarly RV 6.27.7c)

Due to the frequent lack of an expressed subject in Sanskrit, it is frequently unclear whether the enclitic dative is in AgrIO or in TopP. Both analyses could give rise to a sentence as in **367**.

- 367)** ugrāya te sāho bālaṃ dadāmi
 mighty.DAT.SG you.DAT.SG power.ACC.SG strength.ACC.SG give.PRES.IND.1SG
 ‘I give power, strength to you, the mighty.’ RV 10.116.5c

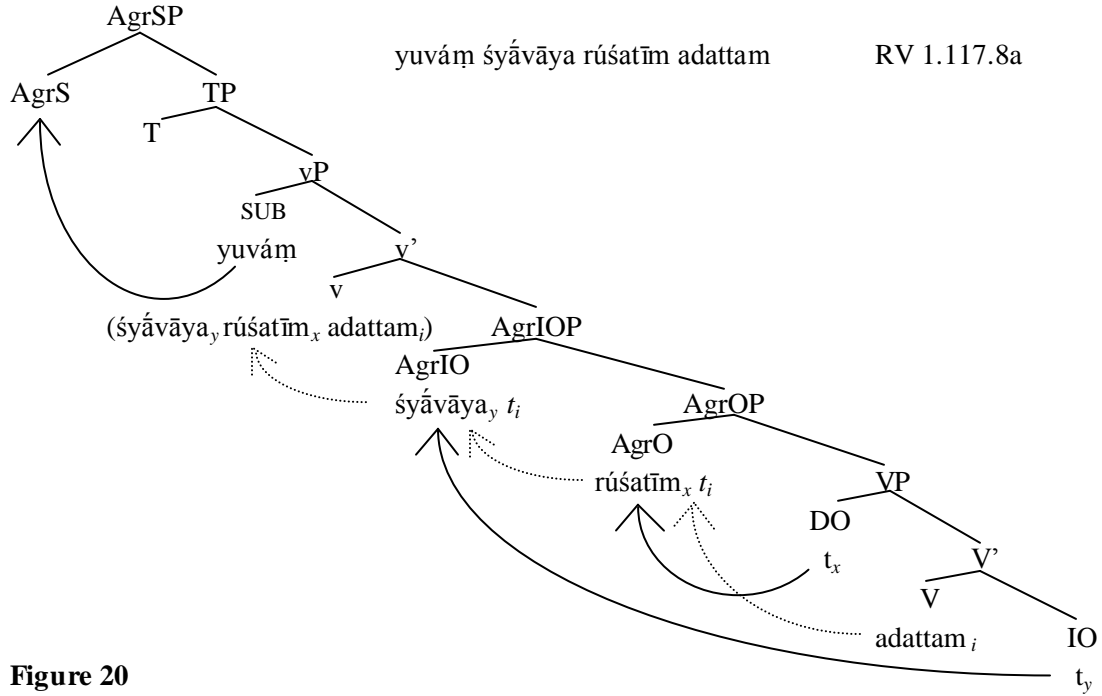


Figure 20

For the analysis in which the datives are in TopP, the accusatives may remain *in situ* or be collected by the verb as it moves through the Agr nodes, and the dative *te* moves into TopP along with its appositive (with Prosodic Inversion inverting the normal order of personal pronoun and appositive in initial position as noted in section 3.3).

Nevertheless, many clauses of this type (IO DO V) appear likely to involve some movement into the extended CP, especially since both enclitics and pronominals frequently move towards the beginning of the clause (with enclitics necessarily only occurring as early as second position). In 368 and 369, it is at least plausible that one of the verbal arguments is in the extended CP.

368) tábhyām enam | pári dehi rājan
 that.DAT.DL him.ACC.SG around give.PRES.IMV.2SG king.VOC.SG

‘O king, give him over to those two.’ RV 10.14.11c

369) máhyaṃ tvādur | gārhapatyāya devāḥ
 me.DAT.SG you.ACC.SG~give.AOR.IND.3PL house-lord.DAT.SG god.NOM.PL

‘They gave you to me—to the lord of the house the gods (gave).’ RV 10.85.36d

For **368**, the strong tendency for the *sá/tá* pronoun to be drawn to the beginning of a sentence suggests that *tábhyām* stands in CP. It is possible that *enam* as a 3rd person enclitic pronominal may also have been fronted into TopP, but its precise position is ambiguous since it stands immediately before the preverb/verb collocation. For **369**, the tendency for personal pronouns to occur early in the clause (in TopP in this framework) suggests that *máhyam* may be in the extended CP. However, since the personal pronouns would presumably compete for the same fronted position, *tvā* would remain *in situ* before the verb. The two words following the caesura, *gārhapatyāya devāḥ*, are best considered a parallel construction with complementary gapping of the verb and object. Furthermore, the parallel initial position of the dative *gārhapatyāya* before the subject reinforces the likelihood that *máhyam* has been fronted. In this analysis, the caesura is taken to emphasize the separation between the two parallel structures. Alternatively, however, the nominative *devāḥ* could be extraposed and *máhyam* raised while stranding *gārhapatyāya* in the standard post-verbal position for a dative. The caesura, however, suggests a separation that would be unexpected if *gārhapatyāya* simply remains in the base position following the verb.

The following two clauses are possible instances in which the enclitic has been fronted into the extended CP. Both **370** and **371** involve the formulaic opening of *púnar nas* followed by a dissyllable.

- 370)** *púnar* *naḥ* *sómas* *tanṁvaṃ* *dadātu*
 back us.DAT.PL Soma.NOM.SG body.ACC.SG give.PRES.IMV.3SG
 ‘Let Soma give us back the body.’ RV 10.59.7c
- 371)** *púnar* *na* *indra* *gā* *dehi*
 back us.DAT.PL Indra.VOC.SG cow.ACC.PL give.PRES.IMV.2SG
 ‘O Indra, give us back the cows.’ RV 10.19.6b

In such instances, *púnar* would stand in CP like preverbs elsewhere, and *nas* would stand in the TopP projection. The subject and object would remain *in situ* displaying no special movement. However, a similar verse from the same stanza as **370** displays a problematic position for the subject.

372) púnar no ásum | pṛthivī dadātu
 back us.DAT.PL life.ACC.SG earth.NOM.SG give.PRES.IMV.3SG

‘Let the earth give life back to us.’ RV 10.59.7a

The position of the subject suggests here that both the direct and indirect object have been raised into the extended CP. Such an analysis would resort to the dubious duplication of TopP proposed as one option for the analysis of 318 in section 3.9¹⁵⁹. However, when the entire stanza is considered in 373, the frequent repetition of *púnar* reveals the likelihood of poetic influence affecting the syntax.

373) púnar no ásum | pṛthivī dadātu /
 back us.DAT.PL life.ACC.SG earth.NOM.SG give.PRES.IMV.3SG
 púnar dyaúr devī | púnar antárikṣam //
 back heaven.NOM.SG goddess.NOM.SG back sky.NOM.SG
 púnar naḥ sómas | tanūvaṃ dadātu /
 back us.DAT.PL Soma.NOM.SG body.ACC.SG give.PRES.IMV.3SG
 púnaḥ pūṣā | pathiyāṃ yā suastīḥ
 back Pūṣan.NOM.SG path.ACC.SG wh-.NOM.SG well-being.NOM.SG

‘Let the earth give life back to us; (let) heaven the goddess (give) back; (let) the sky (give) back; let Soma give us back the body; (let) Pūṣan (give) back the path which is well-being.’ RV 10.59.7

The repetition is a clue to the structure of this stanza. Exemplifying the threefold structure of anaphora described in Klein 1999, each occurrence of *púnar* initiates an incomplete clause to be completed contextually. It is a frequent Rigvedic convention to repeat an adverbial (often a negator or a preverb, here *púnar*) as a means of implying a gapped verb (cf. Klein, 2007:101). Verses b and d supply the additional subjects *dyaúr devī* ‘goddess heaven’, *antárikṣam* ‘sky’, and *pūṣán* ‘Pūṣan’ for the gapped

¹⁵⁹ It is possible that there is no need to duplicate TopP as *naḥ* could occupy TopP and *ásum* could occupy FocP. If so, however, the caesura following FocP would be unexpected (see section 3.9).

dadātu within this threefold structure employing *púnar* anaphorically. Only verses a and c appear to be complete and well-formed clauses. However, the particular sequence of verse a is highly unusual. To obtain dative and accusative objects preceding the subject without resorting to duplication of TopP would require the enclitic in TopP and *ásum* in FocP, but without an explicit focus marker.¹⁶⁰ Having introduced the topic in the opening of this verse, the remainder of the verse and the following line supply agents of the topic. To introduce the first agent, the verb *dadātu* is employed in parallel to the use of this verb in the cadence of verse c. In addition, the metrical structure of the opening (a formulaic *púnar nas* followed by a disyllable) is shared with verse c. Since the subject and object of verse a have the metrical properties of the object and subject of verse c respectively, their positions must be inverted in order to produce a suitable Triṣṭubh verse in a.

Strikingly different is **374** in which the subject stands in final position.

374)	áhayē	vā		tān	pradādātu	sómaḥ
	serpent.DAT.SG	or		that.ACC.PL	give forth.PRES.IMV.3SG	Soma.NOM.SG
	‘Or let Soma give those to the serpent.’ RV 7.104.9c					

In this instance, the simplest solution is to posit extraposition of the subject *sómaḥ*. Indeed, the following verse shares the subject *sómaḥ* with **374**, and this may supply a motivation for the delayed pronunciation.

V IO DO

Instances in which a verb precedes an indirect object which itself is followed by a direct object have been discussed in section 4.2, examples **347** and **348** in connection with simple transitive verbs with a purpose dative, since purpose datives appear to behave syntactically parallel to indirect object datives. As noted above, most instances of a verb preceding its indirect object and direct object in that order involve clearly fronted verbs as in **347** and **348**. Additional examples include **134** in section 2.4 as well as the following.

¹⁶⁰ Alternatively, verse a may be employing the post-caesura position as a secondary focus position emphasizing *prthivī*, but such a possibility is not widely investigated here.

375) dá no agne bṛható (dāḥ sahasrīṇaḥ)
 give.AOR.INJ.2SG us.DAT.PL Agni.VOC.SG great.ACC.PL give.AOR.INJ.2SG thousand-fold.ACC.PL
 ‘O Agni, give us great (gains)! (Give thousandfold (gains)!)’ RV 2.2.7a

Such examples can be explained by raising the indirect object to the AgrIOP position and raising the verbs into the extended CP. Following the hypothesis of **1.5** that a focused verb moves from Foc to CP if CP is unoccupied, all of these instances would involve verbal fronting into C. Since a verb in C would be expected to precede an enclitic pronoun whether it is in TopP or AgrIOP, it is unclear whether the enclitic pronoun is indeed in AgrIOP or if it is also in the extended CP with the verb.

In **376** and **377**, CP is occupied by *yābhir* and *táto* respectively, so the verb is only fronted into FocP in these examples.

376) yābhir dādāsi dāśúṣe vásūni
 wh-.INST.PL give.PRES.IND.2SG worshipper.DAT.SG good.ACC.PL
 ‘by which you give goods to the worshipper.’ RV 2.32.5b

377) táto dadāti dāśúṣe vásūni
 thence give.PRES.IND.3SG worshipper.DAT.SG good.ACC.PL
 ‘Thence, he gives goods to the worshipper.’ RV 7.27.3c

These examples suggest that the dative may remain in AgrIOP with a fronted verb, but since they do not involve pronominal datives, they may not necessarily behave identically, considering the frequency with which pronouns (enclitic or otherwise) are fronted into the extended CP.

378, however, suggests that the enclitic *no* is in AgrIOP since the nominative *hárītaḥ* intervenes between the verb and the enclitic.

378) pṛśnir adād | dhárito no vásūni
 speckled.NOM.SG give.AOR.IND.3SG tawny.NOM.SG us.DAT.PL good.ACC.PL
 ‘The speckled, tawny one gave goods to us.’ RV 7.103.10b

Furthermore, this example displays a discontinuous subject, suggesting that *pṛ́śniḥ* has also been moved into the extended CP. Assuming a topicalized nominal and a focused verb (following the assumptions set forth in section 1.3), the expectation is for the focused verb to raise further from Foc into the unoccupied C. Note, however, that such a movement would result in a surface form that would appear to undo topicalization of *pṛ́śniḥ*. Therefore, either topicalization should prevent movement from Foc to C, or such instances involve topicalization into XP which would leave CP empty (as assumed in figure 15 of section 4.2).

The following example suggests that personal pronouns are raised into the extended CP due to the presence of the subject between the indirect object and the direct object.

379)	dádāti	máhyam	yádurī /
	give.PRES.IND.3SG	me.DAT	lustful.NOM.SG
	yáśūnām	bhoj,yā	śatā
	embrace.GEN.PL	enjoyment.ACC.PL	hundred.ACC.PL

‘(That) lustful one gives me hundreds (of) pleasures of embraces.’ RV 1.126.6cd

As the pronoun *máhyam* has clearly been fronted (presumably to TopP), the verb must be earlier in the extended CP. This suggests that a focused verb is not blocked from movement to C by the presence of a topicalized phrase. Nevertheless, the dative pronoun must be in the extended CP in 379, whereas the dative enclitic of 378 must remain in AgrIOP. Given the conflicting evidence of 378 and 379, the position of the enclitic pronouns in examples such as 347, 348, and 375 may have to remain unresolved due to the ambiguity between AgrIOP and TopP in these instances.

In contrast to these complications, examples such as 380 appear to be more easily accounted for by dislocation of the accusative to the end of the clause.

380)	ádhenum	dasrā	star _i yam	víṣaktām /
	not-milking.ACC.SG	wondrous.VOC.DL	unfruitful.ACC.SG	hung up.ACC.SG
	ápinvatam	śayáve	aśvinā	gām
	swell.PRES.IMP.2DL	Śayu.DAT.SG	Aśvin.VOC.DL	cow.ACC.SG

‘The one not giving milk, O Masters (pair of wondrous deed), the unfruitful stopped up one (i.e., dry of milk) you two fattened for Śayu, O Aśvins—the cow.’ (i.e., You, O Aśvins, made the dry cow ‘bursting with milk’) RV 1.117.20ab

The telling characteristic of a clause such as **380** is that it does possess preverbal accusatives. This means that the structure of the verb phrase follows the underlying syntactic structure of DO V IO before the addition of the dislocated accusative *gām*. Nevertheless, a similar process is proposed for **345** in which the accusative enclitic may have been extraposed to the final position of the clause.

In general, clauses exhibiting a structure in which the indirect object follows the verb but precedes the direct object involve verbal fronting into the extended CP as well as movement of the indirect object. However, whether the indirect object has moved to AgrIOP or to the extended CP may be unclear in some cases.

IO V DO

Clauses such as **381** and **382** that exhibit the sequence indirect object-verb-direct object are striking as they represent precisely the reverse of the base order.

381)	índraagnī	yuvám	sú	naḥ /
	Indra-Agni.VOC.DL	you.NOM.DL	well	us.DAT.PL
	sáhantā	dāsatho	rayím	
	conquering.NOM.DL	give.AOR.SUB.2DL	wealth.ACC.SG	

‘O Indra and Agni, you conquerors will give us wealth.’ RV 8.40.1ab

382) sunvānāya | índro dadāti ābhúvaṃ
 pressing.DAT.SG Indra.NOM.SG give.PRES.IND.3SG helping.ACC.SG

‘To the one pressing Indra gives assistance.’ RV 1.133.7f

In order to achieve this sequence by syntactic means, the indirect object must move into the extended CP (presumably TopP as is typical for personal pronouns and other fronted nominals). Those instances that contain an explicit subject frequently place the subject (or a stranded portion of the subject as in example 381) immediately before the verb. This would suggest that the verb here moves around the direct object to vP, which means the movement of the objects to the Agr projections must be covert. A simplified tree (omitting the movement of the indirect object to AgrIO) presenting such an analysis for 382 is given in figure 21.

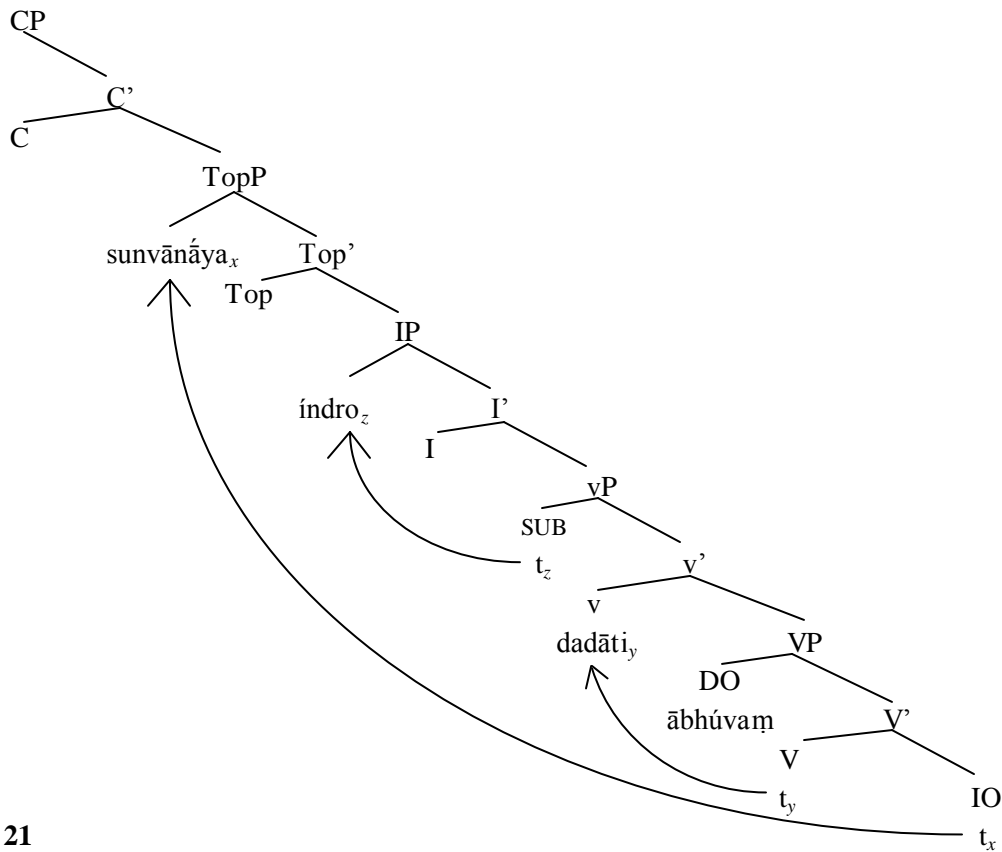


Figure 21

Note, however, that the pronoun *yuvám* in **381** would also be expected to occupy TopP, and so the tree in **figure 21** could not apply to this clause. To avoid iteration of TopP, *yuvám* must occur in XP.

383 exemplifies a structure similar to that modeled in **figure 21**.

- 383)** *sá* *vo* *dadad* | *ūrmím* *adyā́* *súpūtaṃ*
 that.NOM.SG you.DAT.PL give.PRES.SUB.3SG wave.ACC.SG today well-purified.ACC.SG
 ‘He will give you today the well-purified wave.’ RV 10.30.3c

The primary difference is the presence of the subject pronoun *sá* before the indirect object *vo*. However, since determiners like *sá* are frequently drawn to CP, this instance is easily modeled by the movement of *sá* to the CP projection.

DO IO V

Instances in which the direct object precedes the indirect object which itself precedes the verb, though also unusual, involve a clearly fronted direct object. In order to be preverbal, the dative must move to AgrIOP. The clearest example is **384** with an expressed subject.

- 384)** *etát* *sárvaṃ* | *dákṣiṇaibhyo* *dadāti*
 this.ACC.SG all.ACC.SG Dakṣiṇā.NOM.SG~this.DAT.PL give.PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘All this the Dakṣiṇā gives to these ones.’ RV 10.107.8d

These would presumably have a structure as in the tree in **figure 22**. The tree is simplified in omitting the AgrOP as well as some of the other projections that are not of direct relevance to this derivation. Again, ignoring the dotted arrows reflects covert movement of V to v, while following the dotted arrows would represent the analysis with overt movement of V to v. Although AgrOP has been omitted, note that the direct object would be expected to move through the omitted AgrOP projection to Top P just as the indirect object moved to AgrIOP.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ More precisely, the direct object may be collected by the verb in its movement from V to v, but it is fronted to TopP stranding the remainder of the verb phrase under v. Thus, the parenthetical phrase under v in **figure 22** would have to be modified to *ebhyo_x t_y dadāti_i*, showing the trace of the direct object. Omitting AgrOP, however, conceals this movement.

Similar is **385** involving both direct and indirect object enclitic pronouns, though without an expressed subject.

385) áthainam me púnar dadat
 then~him.ACC.SG me.DAT.SG back give.PRES.SUB.3SG

‘Then he will give him back to me.’ RV 4.24.10d

Although the lack of an expressed subject is often reason to be uncertain whether an enclitic dative is in AgrIOP or in TopP, here the presence of a second enclitic pronoun (*enam*) which itself must be in TopP suggests that the competition for this position leaves *me* in AgrIOP. The adverbial *púnar* stands immediately before the verb in an adjunct position.

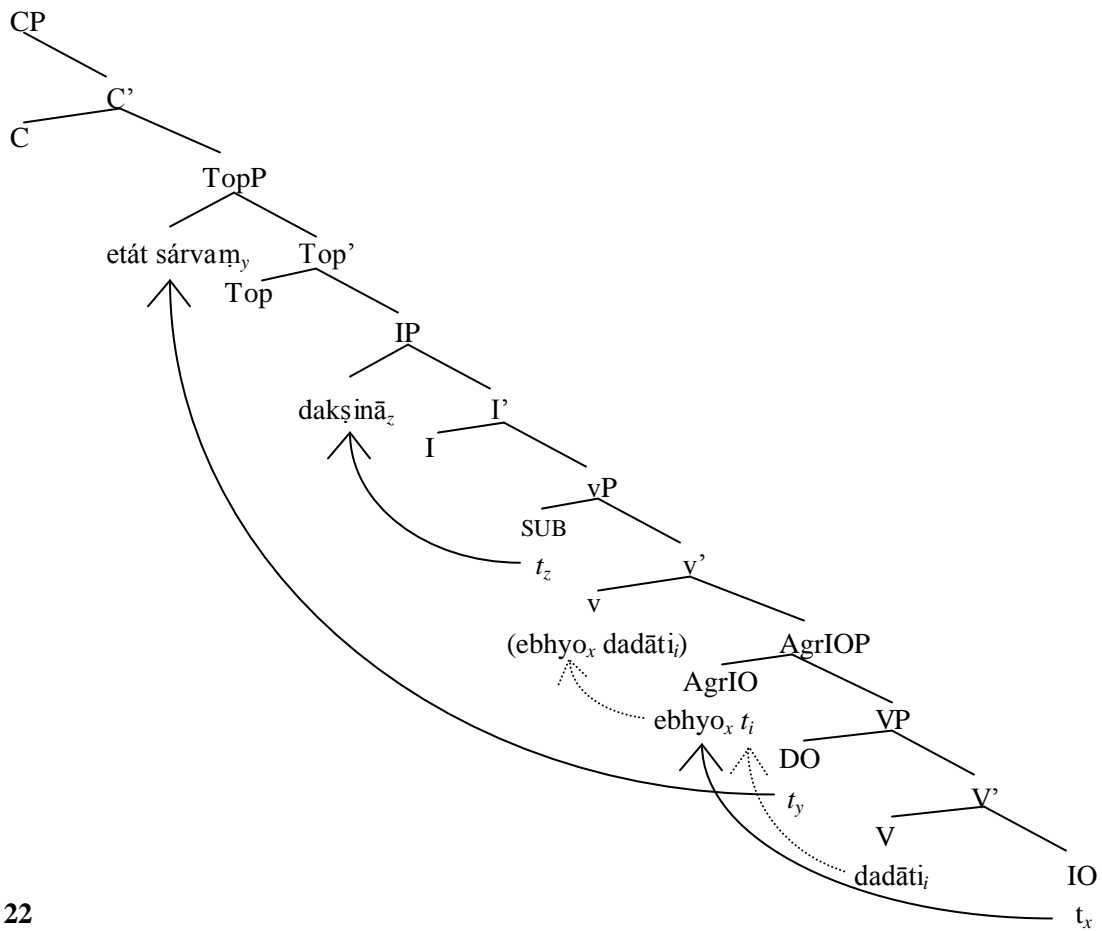


Figure 22

4.6 Enclitic Pronouns as Arguments of Double Accusative Verbs

The double accusative verbs of Vedic Sanskrit are presumed to have a syntactic structure similar to standard ditransitives. Jan Gonda noted that ‘(i)f a verb is accompanied by two accusatives, one of which is predicative in character this case form is often placed, after the verb, at the end of the sentence’ (Gonda, 1959:16). This predicative accusative would then appear in the postverbal position that is characteristic for datives. Oddly enough, this does not appear to be the typical occurrence with enclitics; however, the great tendency for enclitics to be fronted into the extended CP may partially account for this discrepancy. Furthermore, section 4.5 has demonstrated how any sequence of a ditransitive verb and its two arguments may be obtained. Alternatively, however, some double accusative verbs may be instances of embedded copular clauses functioning as the direct object of a verb.

Section 3.7 has partially discussed ditransitive verbs with respect to the occurrence of Prosodic Inversion. In that section, almost all examples involved the enclitic pronoun and the predicative accusative at the beginning of the clause. It was noted then that 238 and 241 present conflicting evidence as to the position of the personal pronoun with respect to the second accusative. However, given the possibility of movement of either argument of a ditransitive into the extended CP, such conflicting evidence may be expected. More telling is that most instances uncovered in this investigation that present a personal pronoun following a double accusative verb involve verb-initial clauses such as those beginning *vidmā́ hí tvā́* (accusative). The one exception is example 386.

386)	saptá	hótāras		tám	íd	īlate	<i>t_uvā́</i> /
	seven	hotar.NOM.PL		that.ACC.SG	PTCL	call upon.PRES.IND.3PL	you.ACC.SG
		agne		sutyájam			áhrayam
		Agni.VOC.SG		offering good offspring.ACC.SG			unashamed.ACC.SG

‘The seven Hotars call upon you for that, O Agni, the unashamed one offering good offspring.’

RV 8.60.16ab

In section 4.2 (example 344), this passage was analyzed as involving extraposition of the enclitic pronoun due to the extended apposition in the following verse. Alternatively, it may be treated as showing massive movement, which suggests that the extraposition analysis is correct. Omitting the vocative, the purely syntactic analysis involving many movement processes is shown in the simplified tree of figure 23.

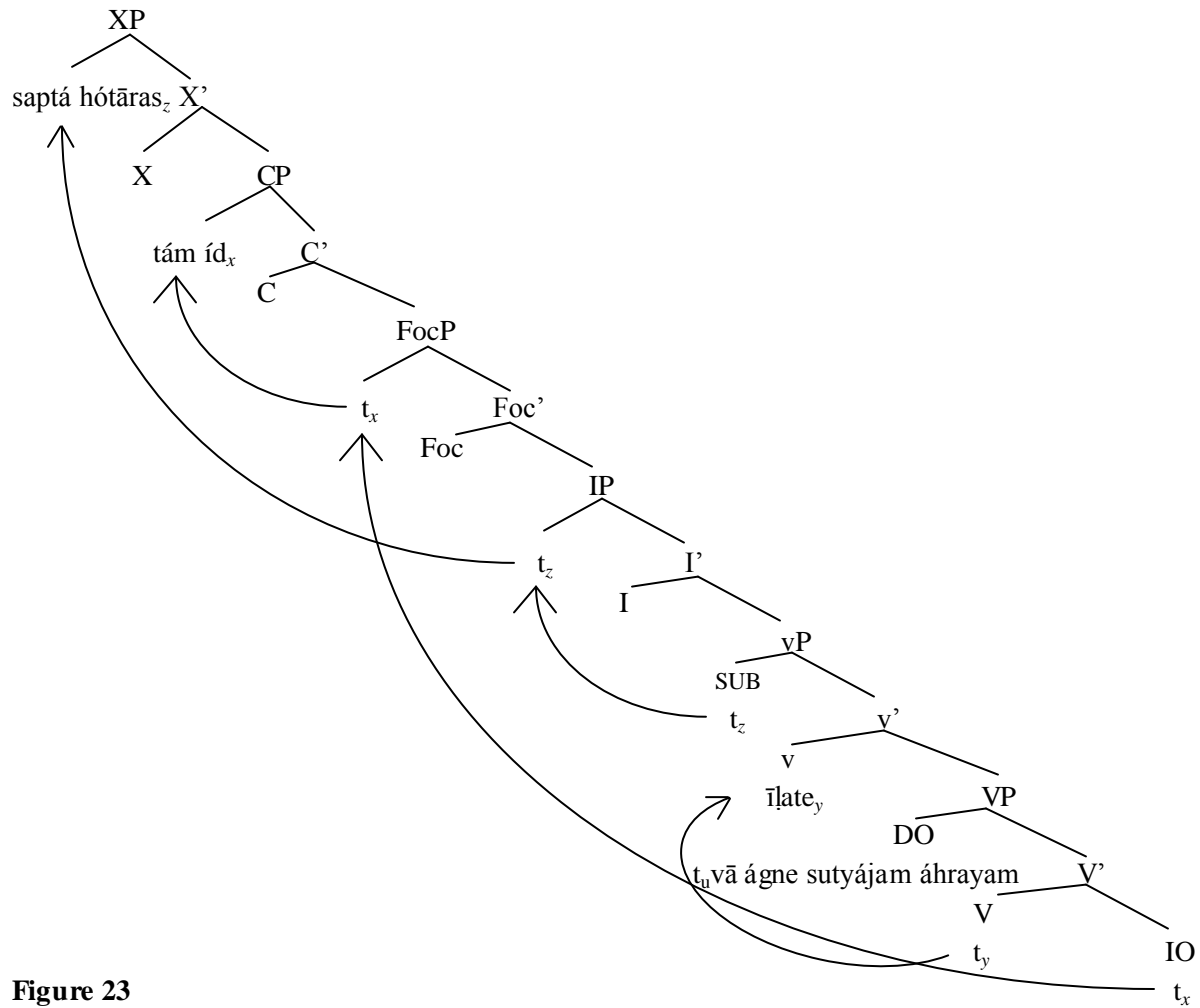


Figure 23

If we assume that the base structure would place the enclitic pronoun and its appositives before the verb and the pronoun *tám* after the verb as the predicate to *t_u vā*, this tree would resemble that of 383 in section 4.5. As in instances with standard ditransitives that display a IO V DO order, the verb may be

expected only to move to v. Note, however, that since *tām* is overtly marked as focused by the particle *íd*, the verb is blocked from the Foc position. The subject *saptá hótāras* must be fronted into XP in order to remain before the pronoun *tām*, since the focused pronoun would be expected to move into the unoccupied CP and thus precede the subject should it have occupied TopP. The caesura following the subject reflects the common situation in which a nominal in XP is separated from the rest of the clause by a pause.

Since most instances of double accusative verbs with enclitic objects place both arguments at the beginning of the clause, examples displaying a post-verbal accusative predicated on the enclitic pronoun are not common. **387** and **388** exhibit such a situation.

387) *tām* *t_uvā* *dūtām* | *kṛṇmahe* *yaśástamam*
 that.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG messenger.ACC.SG make.PRES.IND.1PL most famous.ACC.SG
 ‘That very you we make the most famous messenger’ RV 7.16.4a

388) [*ékaṃ* *nú* *tvā*] | [*sátpatim* *pāñcajanyaṃ* /
 alone now you.ACC.SG true-lord.ACC.SG of five races.ACC.SG
 jātām] *śṛṇomi* | *yaśásam* *jāneṣu*
 born.ACC.SG hear.PRES.IND.1SG honored.ACC.SG men.LOC.PL
 ‘I hear that you alone are born as the rightful lord of the five races, honored among men’ RV
 5.32.11ab

In both these instances, the post-verbal accusative modifies the predicative accusative that immediately precedes the verb. This may be taken in two ways. Either the pre-verbal predicative accusative has moved into AgrIOP,¹⁶² stranding the remainder of the noun phrase, or the post-verbal predicative accusative may simply be dislocated. This latter possibility still does not remove the need for the predicative accusative to move to AgrIOP, assuming that double accusatives possess the same underlying

¹⁶² Note that this label for the projection is misleading. It is merely a label for a secondary argument of the verb, be it a dative in standard ditransitive verbs or a predicative accusative in double accusative verbs.

syntactic structure as standard ditransitives. The presence of the caesura immediately prior to the post-verbal accusative phrase in **388** (*yaśásam jáneṣu*) supports a dislocation analysis for this clause, but this support is far from conclusive. In either analysis, the personal pronoun *tvā* has been moved to the extended CP.

An alternative view of the syntax of double accusative verbs such as *śru* and *vid* is that the two accusatives form a subordinated copular clause that functions as the direct object. Such an analysis would help to explain the Prosodic Inversion that occurs in an example like **389**.

389)	vásavo	rudrá	[ādityā]		<i>uparispṛśam</i>	<i>mā</i> /
	Vasu.NOM.PL	Rudra.NOM.PL	Aditya.NOM.PL	superior.ACC.SG	me.ACC.SG	
	<i>ugráṃ</i>	<i>céttāram</i>	<i>adhirājám</i>		akran	
	mighty.ACC.SG	guard.ACC.SG	overlord.ACC.SG		make.AOR.IND.3PL	
	‘The Vasu’s, Rudra’s, [(and) Āditya’s] made me (be) superior, a mighty guard (and) overlord.’					
	RV 10.128.9cd					

Here, the accusatives may be construed as representing a subordinate clause. This clause is bounded by the caesura, after which the enclitic pronoun cannot appear. Because this clause has been embedded into the matrix clause as a direct object, both copular arguments receive exceptional case-marking as accusatives (‘I (am) superior...’ becomes ‘me (be) superior...’). This analysis would explain the strong tendency for both accusatives of double accusative verbs to be contiguous. Furthermore, it would suggest that instances displaying post-verbal accusatives (like **387** and **388**) likely involve dislocation.

390 may further support an analysis of the two accusatives as representing an embedded clause, since both have been moved to a position preceding the subject.

390)	svavṛ̥jāṃ	hí	tvām	ahám	indra	śuśráva
	own-master.ACC.SG	indeed	you.ACC.SG	I	Indra.VOC.SG	hear.PERF.IND.1SG
	‘For I have heard, O Indra, that you are indeed your own master.’ RV 10.38.5a					

We earlier argued that in the superficially similar structure of **372**, involving standard ditransitives, poetic circumstances prevailed over syntactic considerations. But with the analysis of *svavṛjam hí tvām* as a clausal direct object, **390** may be accommodated within the framework of this study simply by topicalizing the embedded clause as a single constituent.

In **391**, however, all the arguments are not contiguous, militating against an analysis of the two accusatives as subordinate clauses with exceptional case-marking.

391) yām tvā devā dadhiré havyavāham
 wh-.ACC.SG you.ACC.SG god.NOM.PL set.PERF.IND.3PL oblation-conveyor.ACC.SG
 ‘You whom the gods installed as conveyor of the oblation...’ RV 10.46.10a

This structure is best analyzed as like that of a standard ditransitive. Indeed, the only significant deviation from the base position occurs with the normal fronting of the relative pronoun and its clarifying enclitic pronoun (see **figure 24** displaying covert movement of the indirect object¹⁶³).

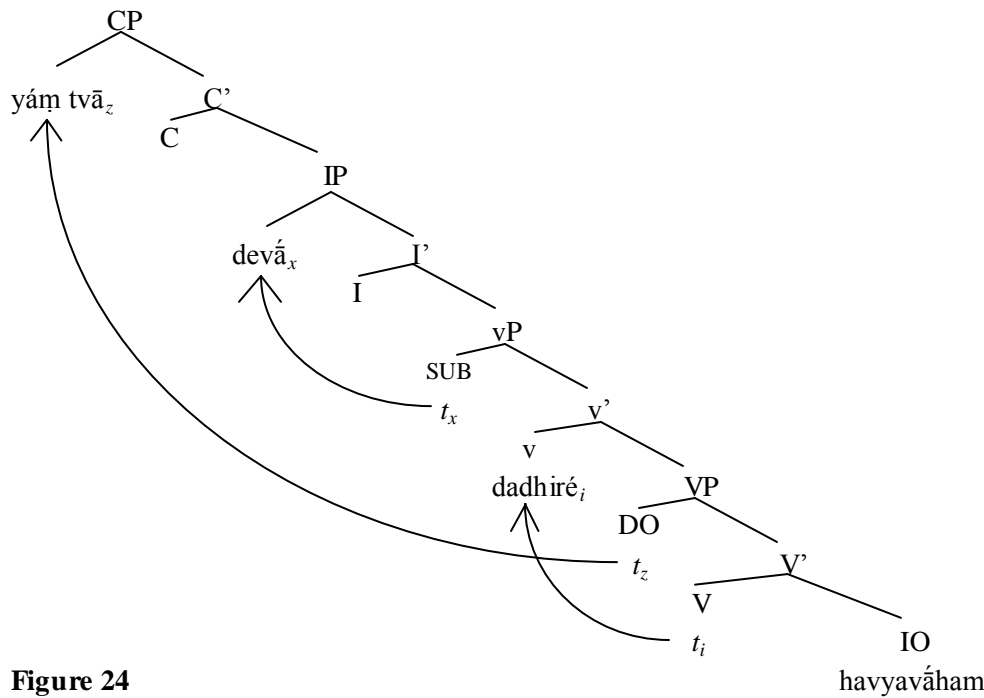


Figure 24

¹⁶³ Note that the surface structure would be indistinguishable here if V to v movement was covert.

At this point, it must remain a possibility that different double accusative verbs involve different constructions that become conflated under the term ‘double accusative’. Some verbs that take two accusatives may best be considered as standard ditransitives (so, for example, **391** with the verbal root *dhā*), whereas others may be best considered verbs that take an embedded copular clause as a direct object (as in examples involving *śru* and *vid*). A larger study of verbal valency in the Rigveda would be necessary to draw a conclusion which goes beyond the scope of this investigation.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As a preliminary investigation into the issues that arise in accounting for the placement of enclitic pronominals, only some of the most striking or basic employments of the enclitics have been addressed. The limitations set on this investigation restricted the scope to initial forays into the prosodic characteristics, enclitic occurrences in noun phrases, and accusative and dative objects of finite verbs. Notably absent is a discussion of copular clauses employing enclitics. Although a handful of copular clauses have been cited, they were primarily employed in discussions of prosody, and so their syntactic nature has been glossed over. Relatedly, little mention has been made of the effect of verbal gapping with regard to pronominal enclitic placement under the assumption that the enclitic placement would not differ greatly from a clause with an expressed verb. Furthermore, the limitation to finite verbs neglects the occurrence of enclitics with infinitives (which frequently take dative subjects) or participles. Occasional passing reference to these constructions has been made when an example happened to display them, but they were always beside the point under discussion.

Nevertheless, an initial probe into the issues affecting enclitic pronominals of the Rigveda has uncovered some significant findings. Most striking is that enclitic pronouns do not differ greatly in their syntax from their accented counterparts. Although enclitic pronouns as a general rule do not begin a clause, many of the instances in which they occur in second position are shared by their tonic counterparts (section 1.5), suggesting a shared explanation. Even the general rule forbidding enclitic pronouns from standing clause-initially is occasionally violated when a vocative may act as a host for the enclitic (section 2.5), further reducing the apparent distinction between enclitic and accented personal pronouns. Enclitic pronouns also frequently fail to occur in second position, counter to the general understanding that they are Wackernagel elements. Indeed, with no special syntactic characteristic reserved for the enclitic

pronouns, they cease to be ‘special clitics’ in a strict understanding of Zwicky’s categorization (Zwicky, 1977:3-4). Rigvedic enclitic personal pronouns are syntactically ‘simple’ since the syntax does not differ in how it handles clitic and tonic personal pronouns. However, they do remain ‘special’ in that there is a phonological process reserved for enclitics that affects the ordering of lexemes—Prosodic Inversion.

Nevertheless, the operation of Prosodic Inversion as a minimal lexical rearrangement within the PF filter is greatly limited in the Rigveda. In clause-initial position, it is clearly demonstrable only in instances involving apposition (section 3.3), similes (section 3.6), or double accusative verbs (section 3.7). Within noun phrases, enclitics acting as possessive genitives may also undergo Prosodic Inversion in situations in which they follow a significant prosodic break (section 3.9). Indeed, the possibility of Prosodic Inversion of possessive enclitics with an element of the possessed noun phrase leads to the search for limitations on its operation in this context. It appears that preverbs and conjunctions are likely candidates for word classes that prevent Prosodic Inversion. In addition, assuming the crosslinguistic validity of the prosodic distinction between incorporated focused elements and unincorporated topicalized elements, Prosodic Inversion is potentially prevented following fronted focused phrases, but not following topicalized phrases. However, the distinction between focused elements and topicalized elements is not always clear in the Rigveda, so this possibility risks becoming a circular argument (i.e., when there is Prosodic Inversion after a fronted element, that element was topicalized; when there is not, that element was focused).

Unfortunately, the difficulty of determining whether a particular fronted lexical item in Rigvedic Sanskrit is topicalized or focused is not resolved here, as it is beyond the scope of this investigation. Indeed, the pragmatic/discourse effects of the various portions of the extended CP require further study to determine what motivates their use precisely and to determine what items may or may not occur in the various positions (particularly the XP, CP, FocP). Nonetheless, some tentative assumptions have been necessary in this investigation. For example, the FocP phrase is treated as the default fronted position for verbs based on the incompatibility of questions and imperatives in which the lexical item that determines

the form of the clause is fronted. This incompatibility suggests that verbs are frequently raised to a focus position despite lacking any overt focus marker (such as *id*, *éva*, etc.). This incompatibility of interrogatives and imperatives is directly relevant to Rizzi's proposal (1997) of separating CP into ForceP (a head determining the type of clause as interrogative, imperative, indicative, etc.) and FinP (determining that the verb of the clause is finite or non-finite). This study operates with a CP that is not separated into ForceP and FinP, so the relevance of Rizzi's proposal to Sanskrit is also not explored here.

With regard to topicalized phrases, the possibility of iterating these (as in Rizzi 1991) or limiting them to one phrase (as in Hale 2009) is unanswered, though the tendency in this study has been to assume there is one unique TopP topicalization. A handful of examples that may require multiple TopP projections have been noted in the text, but always with an alternative analysis that does not assume iteration of TopP. The motivation for avoiding multiple TopP projections is that providing theoretically unlimited recursive TopP projections would generate limitless word order combinations, especially when taken together with the possibility of stranding portions of the phrase in a lower projection. Indeed, too much theoretical fronting could result in the counterintuitive outcome of a fronted item occurring towards the end of a clause. Furthermore, with stranding as an option, excessive fronting of portions of noun phrases becomes progressively more difficult to process. Therefore, there may be a link between limiting topicalization and permitting stranding of a portion of a phrase, though such a conclusion would require a deeper investigation into topicalization and stranding in the language of the Rigveda as well as crosslinguistically.

The Rigveda requires a flexible syntactic framework in order to address its great variety of basic constructions. Franks and King's verb phrase proposal for Slavic and Hale's extended CP from 2009 provide sufficient flexibility to model most of this variety. Nevertheless, to achieve this flexibility, a degree of variation in the usage of the AgrP projections has been invoked. Some clauses appear to require movement of verbal arguments into the AgrP projection whereas others appear to check these projections while remaining in the base position. Utilizing the copy theory of movement, we could posit

that there is movement in all such cases, but that the option of pronouncing either a higher or a lower copy is permitted. Ideally, such a distinction would be limited in some manner,¹⁶⁴ though this original distinction may be disguised in the Rigveda.

Finally, this study demonstrates the value of poetic texts as a means of revealing prosodic characteristics in a dead language. The prosodic arrangement of text in the poetry of the Rigveda specifies particular moments of pause within a verse or stanza. Furthermore, these pauses frequently align with crosslinguistically common positions of pause within an utterance (such as those that set off vocatives or appositives from the rest of a clause). In addition to crosslinguistic expectations, such prosodic clues can provide additional support for conclusions regarding the prosody of clitics. Unfortunately, certain presumably permissible syntactic configurations are not present in the Rigveda due to metrical considerations (for example, an imperative form such as *śṛṇutām* is invariably followed by the sequence *hávam me* as this results in the required metrical structure of the cadence of a Triṣṭubh line, – ˘ – ˘).¹⁶⁵ A further complication of poetic texts is the use of formulaic constructions which may not adhere to syntactic expectations. The precise interaction between the syntactic possibilities and the metrical constraints still needs further investigation.

Since the scope of this study has been limited exclusively to accounting for the syntactic, prosodic, and formulaic effects on the placement of enclitic pronominals within the Rigveda, a systematic account of the semantics of these clitics could not be addressed. Indeed, the hope is that through an increased understanding of the syntax of these enclitics, a window into the various usages of the pronominal enclitics may be opened. Unfortunately, the great flexibility which Rigvedic syntax exhibits largely fails to limit the semantics of the enclitics through syntactic means. Indeed, enclitics as direct objects, indirect objects, and possessors of noun phrases may all be fronted into the same position within

¹⁶⁴ For example, there may have been a distinction between Vedic Sanskrit dialects that habitually employed movement to AgrP projections and others that lacked such movement. However, the poets may easily have borrowed constructions from other dialects, thus conflating such a possible distinction.

¹⁶⁵ Also, the phrase *imám me hávam* never happens to occur although various other similar constructions are found. However, no such construction has a head noun with two light syllables. In fact, most have head nouns with a heavy initial syllable (e.g., *imám me stómam*, *imám no yajñám*, and *imám no adhvarám*)

the extended CP according to the framework of this investigation. The disambiguation of the function of enclitic pronominals must wait for a systematic contextual study of the employment of enclitic pronouns in various collocations.

This intrusion into the swamp of syntactic data provides an initial attempt at formulating a framework to accomodate the syntax of the Rigveda. Nevertheless, the post-syntactic processes of dislocation and extraposition seem to play a significant role in the Rigveda as poetic means of expanding on the information of a clause, though they seldom affect enclitic pronouns. Although the presence of a caesura or line break was taken as support for an analysis invoking dislocation through much of this investigation, these two processes are poorly understood in the Rigveda. Indeed, there is no diagnostic that determines positively that a phrase has been dislocated or extraposed in this text. Also poorly understood is the function of these two processes in the discourse of the Rigveda. However, until a diagnostic is developed that identifies dislocation or extraposition in the Rigveda, attempts to understand the role of dislocation or extraposition in Rigvedic discourse will be subject to uncertainty.

Furthermore, certain constructions involving enclitic pronouns remain undiscussed. As mentioned earlier, copular clauses are likely the most common construction involving enclitics that have been largely omitted from this study. Also largely omitted are instances in which an enclitic is the object of a non-finite verb, be it a participle or infinitive. Furthermore, the small set of nominals in Sanskrit that take dative complements (such as *váṣat* ‘hail!’, *námas* ‘reverence’, *śám* ‘welfare’, etc.) have been omitted. The base position of a dative complement to a nominal was not included in the hypothesized noun phrase, and indeed the noun phrase of Vedic Sanskrit would benefit greatly from further study. The great difficulty in such a study is the frequency in which noun phrases are discontinuous or otherwise scrambled.

Another undiscussed phenomenon is the possibility that an enclitic pronoun occurs as an ethical dative with scope over the clause as a whole as in **392**.

392) gókāmā me achadayan yád áyam
 cow-desiring.NOM.PL me.DAT.SG seem.CAUS.IMP.3pl when go.IMP.IND.1SG

‘They seemed to me desirous of cows when I came.’ (Macdonell, 1916:298) RV 10.108.10c

Since sentential clitics ordinarily fall in second position, ethical datives may be expected to occupy some position within the extended CP as a sentential use of the enclitic pronoun, as it does in this example.

However, this dissertation has not performed a systematic study of ethical datives, leaving open another avenue of investigation for future research.

While the unresolved questions regarding the placement of enclitic pronominals in the Rigveda remain extensive, some of the major issues affecting these enclitics have now received serious consideration. Furthermore, since the placement of enclitic pronominals could not be understood without some understanding of the syntax of the Rigveda more generally, groundwork has been laid for future developments in the study of Rigvedic syntax which may also help shed light on nonconfigurational languages generally. Nonetheless, the findings of this investigation remain tentative. Indeed, the language of the Rigveda does not lend itself to certainty of any sort.

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