Second Position in the *Rgveda*

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1 The *Rgveda*

The earliest surviving text in Sanskrit, the oldest surviving Indo-Aryan language. Collection of c. 1000 ‘hymns’, metrical texts with ritual function, composed 1500–1200 B.C. Rgvedic syntax: free word order, based on Information Structure (Viti, 2010); discontinuous constituents.

1.1 Second Position

Wackernagel’s Law (Wackernagel, 1892): unaccented elements occur in second position in the clause. This is an over-simplification. Ex. (1) fits the pattern, but exx. (2, 3) do not.

(1) *mó sú nah soma mṛtyāve párá dāḥ*  
not=and indeed us soma.v death.D.S away give  
‘And do not hand us over to death, Soma.’ (10.59.4a)

(2) *utá vā yó no marcāyād áṇāgasaḥ*  
also or who us would_harm innocent  
‘or also who would harm us innocent’. (2.23.7a)

(3) *divyā āpo abhī yād enam áyan*  
divine waters to when him came  
‘when the divine waters came upon him’ (7.103.2a)

Not all enclitics are unaccented, and not all unaccented words are enclitic. Several enclitics are written with accent, e.g. *ḥi, sú, nú*. Finite verbs in main clauses are unaccented but not syntactically enclitic.

1.2 The Initial String

Previous approaches to RV word order and the initial string: the ‘Phonological Template’ approach (e.g. Hock, 1982, 1989, 1996, 1997; Schäufele, 1996). A movement-based (GB) approach by Mark Hale (e.g. 1987, 1996, 2007). Hock’s ‘Phonological Template’ is based on the observation that descriptively the initial string of a RV clause appears to consist of a series of optional elements, a kind of template.

(4) *XP (XP) (Preverb) (Dem./Rel. Pronouns) (Particles) (Pronouns)*
2 Clitic Sequences in LFG

Bögel et al. (2010) – Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian:

(5) \textit{ta} j \textit{joj ga je \v{c}ovek poklonio}
\textit{that her it AUX man presented}

‘that man presented her with it’. (Bögel et al., 2010, ex. 12a, p.112)

(6) C-Structure for ex. 5 (Bögel et al., 2010, ex. 26, p.118)

(7) \textit{ta} j \textit{\v{c}ovek joj ga je poklonio}
\textit{that man her it AUX presented}

‘that man presented her with it’. (Bögel et al., 2010, ex.11a, p.112)

(8) C-Structure for ex. 7 (Bögel et al., 2010, ex. 39, p.123)

(9) a. Prosodic Second Position:
\(S \rightarrow LB_{S} \quad \text{(CCL)} \quad RHS_{S}\)
\[\uparrow = \downarrow\]

b. Prosodic or Syntactic Second Position:
\(S \rightarrow LB_{S} \quad [(\text{CCL}) RHS_{S} \mid \text{Second(RHS}_{S},\text{CCL})]\)
\[\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow\]

c. Interface Mapping:
\[|\Sigma^{*} \bigwedge \left( |_{(s \ CS_{i},0 \ W \ 0;CS_{i}}) \mid \Sigma^{*} \right)_{CS_{i}}|\]

The architecture developed by Bögel et al. (2009, 2010) - question marks:

• Should we project LB\(_{s}\) and RB\(_{s}\) in the c-structure?
• The ‘interface mapping rule’? Why should it require a CCL?
• Should the prosodic flip be treated as a last resort (Halpern, 1995)?
• What about more complicated data?
2.1 ‘Movement’

(10) τὸ τε βαρβαρικόν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν
    ART and barbarian and ART Greek
‘Both the barbarian and the Greek (force).’ (X.A. 1.2.1)

(11) frah ina, ga-u-hva-selvi
    asked him PRVB=Q=anything=sees
‘He asked him whether he could see anything.’ (Mk. 8:23)

But we can rarely prove syntactic constituency in Rāgvedic Sanskrit, due to the potential for discontinuity.

(12) inām ca no gavēṣaṇam sātāye sīṣadho ganaṁ
    this and our cow-seeking for_victory direct company
‘and direct this our cow-seeking company to victory’. (6.56.5ab)

Even so there is evidence that enclitics can interrupt constituents which are syntactically so ‘tight’ that they would otherwise be analysed as indivisible lexemes. PN nārāsāmsa- (lit. ‘praise of men’) separated by conjunctions: nārā ca śāmsam (9.86.42d) and nārā vā śāmsam (10.64.3a).

3 Rāgvedic Clitic Data

3.1 Enclitic Conjunctions

According to Bögel et al. (2010, p.121, on Russian li) second position clitic conjunctions such as ca in Sanskrit are generated in a CCL, but one which has only the Prosodic Second Position rule, not the Syntactic Second Position option.

(13) ávobhir vā mahádbhiḥ sā prā śṛṇve
    assistance.1PL or great.1PL this PRVB is_famed
‘or through your great assistances this one is famed’ (4.41.2d)

(14) C-Structure for RV 4.41.2d (ex. 13) flg. Bögel et al. (2010)

However this is effectively the same position as for a ‘normal’, non-enclitic conjunction.

(15)

(17) sahásradhāro asadan ny àsme mātūr u pāṣṭhe vána á ca sómah
thousand-flow sat down us.l mother.g.s lap.l.s wood.l.s in and Soma
‘Thousand-flowing Soma sat down in us, in the lap of the mother and in the wood.’ (9.89.1cd)

3.2 Clitics in the CCL

In some contexts a CCL is justified. This is most clear, as in SCB, where more than one clitic of different lexical categories appear together in a particular position in the clause which cannot be justified on the basis of their lexical categorization.

(18) vidmá hi tvā vásupatim vásūnām
know.1PL for you wealth_lord wealth.g.pl
‘For we know that you are the lord of all wealth.’ (3.36.9b)

(19) vśvā sū no vithurā pibdānā vaso ’mitrān susūhān kṛdhi
all indeed us.d unstable firm good.v enemies easy_to_conquer make.imp
‘Indeed, make everything which is unstable firm for us, (and make) our enemies easy to conquer.’ (6.46.6cd)

(20) C-Structure for ex. (19)

Sometimes a clitic pronoun or sentence particle (but not conjunction) appears after the first constituent; as in SCB the CCL can be generated in second syntactic position, and the clitics do not ‘move’.

(21) mahē kṣatrāya śāvase hi jajñē
great.D.S dominion.D.S might.d.s for born.perf.3sg
‘For he is born to great dominion (and) might.’ (7.28.3c)

3.3 Clitics later than second position

(22) divyā āpo abhī yād enam āyan
divine waters to when him came
‘when the divine waters came upon him’ (7.103.2a)
3.3.1 Left-dislocated topics

(23) brahmá kó vaḥ saparyati
priest.N.S. who you(pl) honour..3SG
‘which priest honours you?’ (8.7.20c)

(24) C-Structure for RV 8.7.20c (ex. 23)

E

NP               S
   
 N               NP             CCL               VP
   brahmá
       N               CL               V
       kó               vaḥ               saparyati

3.3.2 Relative/Demonstrative Pronouns

Sandhi (sandhi): external vs. internal.

(25) nākiḥ só asty árano, jahúr hí túṁ
no-one this is enemy leave.PF.3PL for him
‘This one is no enemy, for they left him’ (2.24.7d)

(26) nīś táj jabhāra camasáṃ ná vrksád bṛhaspátīr viravēnā vikīṭya
out that bring.PF.3SG ladle like wood.AB.S Bṛhaspati roar.1.S having_opened
‘Bṛhaspati brought that out like a ladle from wood, having opened (the mountain) with a roar.’ (10.68.8cd)

Evidence for relative pronouns as enclitics from other Indo-European languages: identical position in Old Irish (Watkins, 1963, p.29); the definite adjective declension in Balto-Slavonic; ezafe in Iranian languages; clitic positioning of relatives in Ancient Greek (Fraser, 2001, p.141).

3.3.3 Preverbs

Directional adverbs - in initial string (often first) or preceding verb. Former = topicalized (40–60%)? Or topicalizing verb? There are c. 200 clauses with yāṁ (a.s.m. rel. pron.) where the verb has no preverb - the verb precedes in 3.5% of them; there are c. 70 clauses with a preverb, the preverb precedes in 28.3% of them.

(27) prá vó vám mitrāvaraṇaḥ- ajiró dūtó ádravat
forth who you.DU M-V swift messenger runs
‘which swift messenger runs forth to you two, Mitra-Varuṇa’ (8.101.3ab)

(28) índro vidvāṁ ánu hí tvā cacākṣa
Indra wise PRVB for you look
‘For wise Indra looks at you’ (5.2.8c)

In the following example, we appear to have two distinct topicalized phrases preceding the preverb, which itself is followed by the CCL.
(29) agnir māhyam prā īd u vocan manīśām
   Agni me.D.S. PRVB PTCL also spoke intent
   ‘Agni has also revealed to me his intention’ (4.5.3d)

Preverbs are clearly not enclitic, but are often proclitics. If we assume that the CLL could host not just enclitics, but also proclitics, then both the position of the preverbs and the late position of the ‘second-position’ clitics can be easily explained.

(30) C-Structure for RV 7.103.2a (ex. 3=22)

As proclitics, there is no restriction against preverbs occurring in clause-initial position (cf. ex. 27): therefore it is possible for the elements of a CCL to remain in first position in a clause if the first element of the CCL is a proclitic.

3.4 Combinations

The following shows both an enclitic conjunction, generated in Conj, and an enclitic pronoun, generated in the CCL, which both undergo phonological movement to within the first constituent of the clause.

(31) kēna vā te mānasā dāśema
   what.I.S.N. or you attitude.I.S. worship.PRS.OPT.1PL
   ‘or with what attitude should we worship you?’ (1.76.1d)

(32) C-Structure for RV 1.76.1d (ex. 31)

3.5 Summary of RV clitics

- Not all clitics are generated in the CCL
- Clitic conjunctions always ‘move’, CCL clitics only when necessary.
- Preverbs and non-initial demonstrative/relative pronouns can appear within the CCL.
- A proclitic at start of a CCL removes need for ‘movement’.
- ‘Movement’ may occur despite discontinuity of constituents.
4 An OT analysis of ‘movement’

(33) Correspondence relations in the projection architecture (fragment)

P-structure $\rho$ C-structure $\phi$ F-structure

(34) agnirugróvendrah (ex. 16)

Constraints:

- F-AL: the c-structure is coherent with a possible/given f-structure.
- P-AL: the c-structure is coherent with a possible/given p-structure.
- $\omega$-AL: preserve the order and integrity of phonological words.
- S-ORD.: preserve the order of lexical items as given in the p-string.
- ECONOMY: Economical structure is preferred (every XP and $X^0$ is penalized).

The constraint system is set up to require coherence between the c-structure and f- and p-structure, but not requiring preservation of the order of lexical items (the string) only in the case of clitics and only where necessary to produce valid structures.
(35) kénavātemānasādāśema (ex. 31)

(36) mahēksatrāyaśāvasehājāne (ex. 21)
References


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