

Syntax

(Delbrück 1888, Speijer 1886, 1896, Hock 2015a)

1. Word order

- “Verb-final” (“SOV”) and/or “Free Word Order”?

“Free Word Order” $\neq$ free phrase order

(Issue not covered by Pāṇini)

- Difficulties for analysis

- [1] agnīm īle puróhitam
 A.ACC.SG.M invoke.PRS.1SG front.placed.ACC.SG.M
yajñásya devám rtvíjam
 sacrifice.GEN.SG.M god.ACC.SG.M due.order.sacrificing.ACC.SG.M
hótāram ratnadhātām
 libator.ACC.SG.M wealth.most.bestowing.ACC.SG.M
 ‘I invoke Agni, the foremost (priest), god of the sacrifice, sacrificing in
 due order, libator, most bestowing wealth.’ (RV 1.1.1)
- [2] etām_i v eva + eṣa_j + etasmai
 DEM.ACC.SG.F PCL EMPH DEM.NOM.SG.M DEM.DAT.SG.M
viṣṇur_i yajño vikrāntim_i vicakrame
 V.NOM.SG.M sacrifice.NOM.SG.M stepping.ACC.SG.F step.PRF.3SG
 ‘This Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, stepped this (world-conquering three-fold)
 stepping for him (the sacrificer).’ (ŚB 1.1.2.13)

- Such difficulties can be dealt with by positing general grammatical processes, while assuming an underlying structure in which elements are in the same phrase (and hence can show agreement etc.)

“Liberation” – a low-level process that permits elements to move out of their phrases (Schäufele 1990)

Extraposition – the movement of elements to a position after the verb

Fronting – the movement of elements to(ward) clause-initial position

– Extraposition often serves as elaboration (Gonda 1959)

- [1] [*agním* *īle*] *puróhitam*
A.ACC.SG.M invoke.PRS.1SG front.placed.ACC.SG.M
yajñásya *devám* *ṛtvíjam*
sacrifice.GEN.SG.M god.ACC.SG.M due.order.sacrificing.ACC.SG.M
hótāram *ratnadhātām*
libator.ACC.SG.M wealth.most.bestowing.ACC.SG.M
‘I invoke Agni, the foremost (priest), god of the sacrifice, sacrificing in
due order, libator, most bestowing wealth.’ (RV 1.1.1)

but it can also be used to down-grade an element (e.g. addressee or speaker for politeness; more on this later)

- Fronting generally serves to highlight an element in the clause (something like Topic)
- It is almost the default for demonstratives in Vedic Prose and the Epic
For verbs it is common in narratives, serving a linking or stage-setting purpose (more on this later)
- In Vedic Prose, first position can only accommodate one word; hence there is frequent “partial fronting”

[2] [*etā*_i *v* *eva* + *eṣa*_j + *etasmai*]
 DEM.ACC.SG.F PCL EMPH DEM.NOM.SG.M DEM.DAT.SG.M
*viṣṇu*_i *yajño* *vikrāntim*_i *vicakrame*
 V.NOM.SG.M sacrifice.NOM.SG.M stepping.ACC.SG.F step.PRF.3SG
 ‘This Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, stepped this (world-conquering three-fold) stepping for him (the sacrificer).’ (ŚB 1.1.2.13)

“Initial strings” – [X P P E É]

- Variation in ratio of OV/verb-finality vs. other orders (a matter of genre; Hock 1997)

RV	ca. 65%
Vedic Prose	ca. 95%
Skt. Drama	ca. 65%
Fables	ca. 95%

Conclusions

Unmarked order is SOV / V#

Other orders are marked and can be attributed to movement processes (most notably fronting and extraposition)

Different genres have different preferences

- Subject-Predicate order (Hock 2014a)

Common view: Predicate > Subject is normal

Delbrück: Predicate > Subject is marked

- [3] **TEJO** vai **BRAHMA** *gāyatrī*
 brilliance.NOM.SG.N PCL brahman.NOM.SG.N gāyatrī.NOM.SG.F
 ‘The gāyatrī is brilliance, brahman.’ (KS 25.5)
- [4] **MUKHYAU** vā *āvām* **YAJÑASYA** SVO
 chief.NOM.DU.M PCL we.NOM.DU sacrifice.GEN.SG.M be.PRS.1DU
 ‘We two are the chiefs of the sacrifice.’ (ŚB 4.1.5.16)
 (Partial fronting)

2. Complex clause structure

2a. Coordination and Linkage

- Vedic coordinators: *ca* ‘and’, *vā* ‘or’, *tú* ‘but’ – enclitics, light elements that also behave like enclitics

[5] *yo* *’smān* *dveṣti*
RP.NOM.SG.M we.ACC.PL hate.PRS.3SG
yam ***ca*** *vayam* *dviṣmaḥ*
RP.ACC.SG.M & we.NOM.PL hate.PRS.1PL
‘... who hates us and whom we hate.’ (ŚB 1.2.4.16)

- Post-Vedic adds *api*, *api-ca*, *kim-ca*; *api-vā*, *kim-vā*, *atha-vā*; *api-tu*, *kim-tu* etc.

- Linkage – Narrative Linkage incl. stage-setting (Hock 2016)

a. Verb-fronting

[6] a. Stage-setting

āsīd *rājā* *nalo* *nāma*
 be.IMP.3SG king.NOM.SG.M N.NOM.SG.M by.name

vīrasenasuto *balī* ...

V.son.NOM.SG.M powerful.NOM.SG.M

‘(There) was a king, named Nala, son of Vīrasena, powerful ...’

(Nala 1.1)

b. Narrative linkage/highlighting

<i>īndrasya</i>	<i>nú</i>	<i>vīryāṇi</i>	<i>prá vocaṁ</i>
I.GEN.SG.M	now	heroic.ACC.PL.N	proclaim.AOR.SUBJ.1SG
<i>yāni</i>	<i>caḱāra</i>	<i>prathamāni</i>	<i>vajrī</i>
RP.ACC.PL.N	do.PRF.3SG	first.ACC.PL.N	cudgel-holder.NOM.SG.M
<i>áhann</i>	<i>áhim</i>	<i>ánv</i>	<i>apás</i>
slay.IMPF.1SG	dragon.ACC.SG.M	after	water.ACC.PL.F
<i>tatarda</i>			
bore.PRF.3SG			
<i>prá</i>	<i>vakṣāṇā</i>	<i>abhinat</i>	<i>párvatānām</i>
forth	bowel.ACC.PL.F	split.IMPF.3SG	mountain.GEN.PL.M

‘I will now proclaim Indra’s heroic (deeds) which he, holder of the cudgel, performed (as) the first ones.’ (RV 1.32.1)

He slew the dragon, bored out the waters after, split open the bowels of the mountains.’

b. DEM-fronting ($\pm$ verb fronting)

- [7] *sa* *prajāṛthe* *param yatnam*
 DEM.NOM.SG.M for.offspring utmost effort.ACC.SG.M
 akarot ...
 make.IMPF.3SG
 tam *abhyagacchad* *brahmarṣir*
 DEM.ACC.SG.M approach.IMPF.3SG brahma.seer.NOM.SG.M
 damano nāma ...
 D.NOM.SG.M by.name
 tam *sa* *bhīmaḥ ...*
 DEM.ACC.SG.M DEM.NOM.SG.M Bh.NOM.SG.M
 toṣāyām āsa ...
 be.pleased.CAUS.PRF.3SG
 ‘He (Bhīma) made the utmost effort for the sake of offspring ...
 Him a brahma-seer named Damana approached ...
 Him that Bhīma pleased ... (Nala 1.5-6)

– Tail-Head Linkage and Switch Reference

- [8] a. nāradasya tu tad vākyaṃ śrutvā vākyaaviśāradaḥ |
pūjayām āsa dharmātmā sahaśiṣyo mahāmuniḥ ||
- b. yathāvat **pūjitas** [TPPL.NOM.SG.M] tena devarṣir nāradas tadā |
āprṣṭvaivābhyānujñātaḥ sa *jagāma* viḥāyasam ||
- c. sa muhūrtaṃ **gate tasmin** [TPPL.LOC.ABS] devalokaṃ munis tadā |
jagāma tamasātīraṃ jāhnavyās tv avidūrataḥ ||
- d. sa tu tīraṃ **samāsādyā** [CVB] tamasāyā mahīpatiḥ |
śiṣyam āha sthitaṃ pārśve drṣṭvā tīrtham akardamam ||

‘When the eloquent one (Vālmiki) had heard this speech of Nārada, the righteous great sage (Vālmiki) and his disciples **honored** him. **When the divine seer Nārada had been duly honored** by him at that time, he **went** to heaven, having asked for permission to leave and received it. **When he (= Nārada) had gone** to the heavenly world, the sage (Vālmiki) at that time **went** after a while to the bank of the Tamasā, not far from the Jāhnavī (= the Gaṅgā). **But when he reached** the bank of the Tamasā, the ruler of the earth, seeing a bathing spot free from mud, spoke to his pupil who was standing next to him.’ (Rāmāyaṇa 1.2.1-4)

2.b Subordination

- Preference for finite vs. nonfinite subordination differs between genres (Tsiang-Starcevic 1997)
 - Narrative genres tend to use nonfinite subordination
 - Technical and hymnal genres use finite subordination frequently

- Nonfinite subordination
 - Participles (incl. ***ta*-participle**), **converbs**, infinitives, **gerundives**

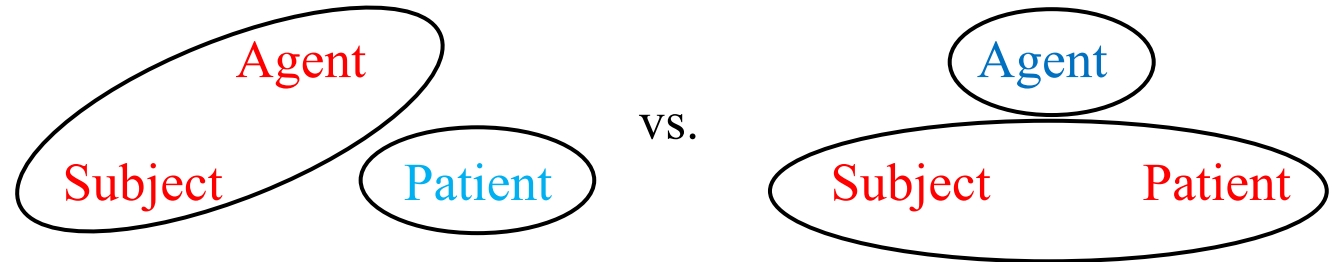
ta-participles and gerundives are also used as (equivalent to) finite main verbs – focus of what follows

– For the use as subordinating nonfinite verbs see e.g.

[8b]	<i>yathāvat</i>	<i>pūjitas</i>	<i>tena</i>
	duly	honor.TPPL.NOM.SG.M	DEM.INS.SG.M
	<i>devarṣir</i>	<i>nāradas</i>	<i>tadā</i>
	divine.seer	N.NOM.SG.M	then
	<i>āprṣtvā</i> +	<i>eva</i> +	<i>abhyanuññātaḥ</i>
	ask.CVB	EMPH	permit.TPPL.NOM.SG.M
	<i>sa</i>	<i>jagāma</i>	<i>vihāyasam</i>
	DEM.NOM.SG.M	go.PRF.3SG	heaven.ACC.SG.N

‘When the divine seer Nārada had been duly honored by him at that time, he went to heaven, having asked (for permission to leave) and received it.’

– *ta*-participle – ergative alignment (agreement and case marking)



- [9] a. *devadattaḥ* *mūrtīḥ* *karoti*
 D.**NOM.SG.M** icon.**ACC.PL.F** make.PRS.3**SG**
 ‘Devadatta makes icons.’
- b. *devadattaḥ* *tiṣṭhati*
 D.**NOM.SG.M** stand.PRS.3**SG**
 ‘Devadatta is standing.’
- [10] a. *devadattena* *mūrtayaḥ* *kṛtāḥ*
 D.**INS.SG.M** icon.**NOM.PL.F** make.TPPL.**NOM.PL.F**
 ‘Devadatta made icons/Icons were made by D.’
- b. *devadattaḥ* *sthitāḥ*
 D.**NOM.SG.M** stand.TPPL.**NOM.SG.M**
 ‘Devadatta stood.’

Alignment of the ergative similar to passive, but passive is marked and has a corresponding active, ergative is unmarked without corresponding active

- [9] a. *devadattaḥ* *mūrtīḥ* *karoti*
 D.**NOM.SG.M** icon.**ACC.PL.F** make.PRS.3**SG**
 ‘Devadatta makes icons.’
- a’ *devadattena* *mūrtayaḥ* *kriyante*
 D.**INST.SG.M** icon.**NOM.PL.F** make.PRS.PSV.3**PL**
 ‘Icons are made by Devadatta.’
- [10] a. *devadattena* *mūrtayaḥ* *kṛtāḥ*
 D.**INS.SG.M** icon.**NOM.PL.F** make.TPPL.**NOM.PL.F**
 ‘Devadatta made icons/Icons were made by D.’
- a’ —————

- Converbs – “verbal adverbs”, controlled by kartṛs (“agents” in Pāṇini’s definition)

samānakartṛkayoḥ ‘in the presence of identical kartṛs’
(Pāṇini 3.2.187)

- [11] a. *svagrhaṁ gatvā devadattaḥ patnīm paśyati*
own.house go.CVB D.NOM.SG.M wife.ACC.SG.F see.PRS.3SG
KARTṚ

‘Having gone to his home, Devadatta see (his) wife.’

- b. *svagrhaṁ gatvā devadattena patnī*
own.house go.CVB D.INS.SG.M wife.ACC.SG.F
KARTṚ

dṛṣṭā / dṛśyate

make.TPPL.NOM.PL.F/PRS.PASS.3PL

‘Having gone to his home, Devadatta saw his wife/his wife was/is seen by Devadatta.’ – ‘Having gone home his wife was seen ...’*

- Some apparent (and real) exceptions to Agent control

[12] a. Possessive kartṛs (Hock 1991)

svasti vācayitvā svasti ha + eṣām
 svasti recite.CAUS.CVB svasti PCL they.GEN.PL.M
bhavati
 be.PRS.3SG

‘Having caused s.b. to recite “svasti”, they have “svasti” (i.e. well-being).’ (§B 6.1.5)

b. Anticausative: form-identical with the passive; different syntax

tatra gatvā na muc-ya-se (tena)
 there go.CVB NEG free.PRS.PASS.2SG DEM.INS.SG.M

‘He_i having gone there, you are not freed by him_i.’

vs. *tatra gatvā na muc-ya-se tena**

there go.CVB NEG free.PRS.ANTICAUS.2SG

‘(You_i) having gone there you_i do not get free.’

c. Bracketing

[*ity* *eva* *kāle*
thus EMPH time.LOC.SG.M
[śyenena + *ānīya* *khādyamānasya*
hawk.INS.SG.M carry.CVB eat.PRS.PASS.PPL.GEN.SG.M
sarpasya] *garalam* *taddravye*
snake.GEN.SG.M venom.NOM.SG.N his.food.LOC.SG.N
nipatitam]
fall.TPPL.NOM.SG.N

‘At that very time, the venom of a snake being eaten by a hawk,
(the hawk) having carried it off, fell into his food.’
(Vetālapañcaviṁśati 76.11-13)

d. Grammaticalization

a-prāpya *nadīm* *parvataḥ*
NEG-reach.CVB river.ACC.SG.F mountain.NOM.SG.M
sthitāḥ
stand.TPPL.NOM.SG.M

‘Not having reached the river (i.e. on this side of the river) stands the mountain.’ (traditional example for Pāṇ. 3.4.20)

Note also quasi-adpositions like *adhi-kṛ-t-ya* CVB ‘about’ (lit. ‘having referred to’)

e. Rare genuine examples of “sloppy converb structures”

siprānadīm *gatvā* *tubhyam*
Sipra.river.ACC.SG.F go.CVB you.DAT.SG
aḥam *mantram* *dāsyāmi*
I.NOM.SG mantra.ACC.SG.M give.FUT.1SG

‘I will give a mantra to you, (you) having gone to the river Siprānadī.’ (Vetālapañcaviṁśati 92.20-22)

- Gerundives – obligational (or potential) function, passive-like for both transitives and intransitives (except *bhavya-* from *bhū* ‘be’ and optionally *śakya-* from *śak-* ‘be able’)

- [13] a. *devadattena* *mūrtiḥ* *kartavyā*
 D.INS.SG.M icon.NOM.SG.F make.GDV.NOM.SG.F
 ‘An icon is to be made by Devadatta/Devadatta must make an icon’
- b. *devadattena* *sthātavyam*
 D.INS.SG.M stand.GDV.NOM.SG.N
 ‘Devadattena must stand.’

- Finite subordination (mainly relative-correlatives) (Hettrich 1988, Hock 2026, Lowe et al. 2025)

- [14] [yám_i u ha + evá tát paśávo
 RP.ACC.SG.M PCLS EMPH then cattle.NOM.PL.M
 manuṣyèṣu **kāmam_i** árohaṁś]RC
 human.LOC.PL.M desire.ACC.SG.M obtain.IMP.3PL
 [tām_i u ha + evá paśúṣu **kāmam_i**
 CP.ACC.SG.M PCLS EMPH cattle.LOC.PL.M desire.ACC.SG.M
 rohati]CC
 obtain.PRS.3SG
 ‘What very desire the cattle then obtained among men, that very desire
 he (now) obtains among cattle.’ = ‘The very desire the cattle then
 obtained among men he now obtains among cattle.’ (ŚB 2.1.2.7)

- [15] [te tam_i **kāmam** na+
 DEM.NOM.PL.M CP.ACC.SG.M desire.ACC.SG.M NEG
 aśnutha]CC
 get.PRS.2PL
 [yo_i yajñe **kāma(h)**]RC
 RP.NOM.SG.M sacrifice.LOC.SG.M desire.NOM.SG.M
 ‘You do not get the wish which is in the sacrifice’ (lit. ‘These you do
 not get the wish which wish is in the sacrifice’) (JB 3.127)

– Summary of possibilities

(a) [**RP** (...) (head)]_{RC} [(CP) (...) (head)]_{CC}

(b) [(CP) (...) (head)]_{CC} [**RP** (...) (head)]_{RC}

– Some remarkable characteristics

– Inexact correlation

- [16] a. *átha* [yásya_i kapálam bhidyéta]_{RC}
 now RP.GEN.SG.M bowl.NOM.SG.N break.OPT.SG.3
 [tát_j sám dadhyād]_{CC}
 CP.ACC.SG.N together put.OPT.SG.3

‘Now whose bowl should break, that he should put together.’ Or ‘If his bowl should break, he should put it together.’ (MS 1.3.13)

- b. [*devānām* nú vayām jñā
 god.GEN.PL.M now we.NOM.PL generation.ACC.PL.N
prá vocāma vipanyáyā |
 praise.INJ.1PL rejoicing.INS.SG.F
ukthéṣu śasāmāneṣu]_{CC}
 hymn.LOC.PL.N recite.PRS.MID.PPL.LOC.PL.N
 [yáh? pásyād úttare yugé]_{RC}
 RP.NOM.SG.M see.SBJV.3SG later age.LOC.SG.N

‘Let us now, with rejoicing, proclaim the generations of the Gods, in (well-) recited hymns who (i.e. so that someone) shall see them at a later age.’ (RV 10.72.1)

– Multiple relative pronouns

- [17] a. *yatare_i* *no* *yatarān_j* *yājayaṣyanti*
 RP.NOM.PL.M we.OBL RP.ACC.PL.M sacrifice.CAUS.PRS.3PL
te_i *hāsyante*
 CP.NOM.PL.M leave.behind.ANTICAUS.FUT.3PL
 "Who_i of us will make whom_j (= the others) sacrificers, they_i will be left behind." Or: 'If some of us make the others to be sacrificers...' (JB 3.187)
- b. *yah_i* *svabhāvo* *hi* *yasya_j* *syāt*
 RP.NOM.SG.M nature.NOM.SG.M PCL RP.GEN.SG.M be.OPT.3SG
tasya_j + *asau_i* *duratikramah*
 CP.GEN.SG.M CP(that).NOM.SG.M difficult.to.overcome.NOM.SG.M
 "Whatever nature_i who_j might have, that_i is difficult to overcome of/by him_j."
 'What(ever) nature someone might have ...' Or: 'If someone has a particular nature ...' (Hitopadeśa 3.8)

– Interrogative in RC

- [18] [*yát* *kím* *ákaram*]_{RC}
 RAdv Q.ACC.SG.N do.IMPF.1SG
 [*tásmād* *idám* *āpad(i)*]_{CC}
 CAdv this.NOM.SG.N happen.AOR.PASS/ANTICAUS.3SG
 ‘Because I have done what ?, therefore this has happened.’ ≈ ‘What
 have I done to have gotten into this?’ (ŚB 4.1.5.4)

- RC attached to two different CCs

[19] [*sā_i* *vai* *daivī vāg*]_{CC}
 CP.NOM.SG.F PCL divine speech.NOM.SG.F
 [*yayā_i* *yad yad_j* *eva* *vadati*]_{RC}
 RP.INST.SG.F RP.ACC.SG.N EMPH speak.PRES.SG.3
 [*tad tad_j* *bhavati*]_{CC}
 CP.NOM.SG.N come.about.PRES.SG.3
 ‘That_i is divine Speech by which_i whatever_j one speaks, that_j comes
 about.’
 ≈ ‘Whatever one speaks by means of divine Speech comes about.’ (BAU
 1.3.27)

3. Agreement with mixed antecedents (Hock 2012)

- Gender resolution

Masculine if all antecedents are human

[20]	<i>so</i>	<i>'śvīnau</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>sarasvatīñ</i>	<i>ca+ upādhāvac </i>
	DEM.NOM.SG.M	A.ACC.DU.M	&	S.ACC.SG.F	& go.to.IMPF.3SG
	<i>chepāno</i>	<i>'smi</i>	<i>namucaye ...</i>	<i>(iti)</i>	
	sworn.NOM.SG.M	be.PRS.1SG	N.DAT.SG.M	QUOT	
	<i>te</i>	<i>'bruvan ...</i>			
	DEM.NOM.PL.M	say.IMPF.3PL			
	'He (Indra) went to the Aśvins and Sarasvatī, (saying) "I have sworn to Namuci ..." They said ...' (ŚB 12.7.3.1-2)				

Neuter elsewhere

- [21] *mṛdaṁ* *gāṁ* *daivataṁ*
clod.ACC.SG.F cow.ACC.SG.F idol.ACC.SG.N
vipraṁ *ghṛtaṁ* *madhu*
brahmin.ACC.SG.M ghee.ACC.SG.N honey.ACC.SG.N
catuṣpatham | *pradakṣiṇāni* *kurvīta*
crossroads.ACC.SG.N on.right.ACC.PL.N make.OPT.3SG
‘He should keep on his right a lump of earth, a cow, an idol, a brahmin,
ghee, honey, and a crossroads.’ (Manu 4.39)

- Closest-antecedent agreement

[22] *kāntimatī rājyam idaṁ mama ca jīvitaṁ*
 K.NOM.SG.F this kingdom.NOM.SG.N my & life.NOM.SG.N
apy adyaprabhṛti tvadadhīnam
 also from.today your.control.NOM.SG.N
 ‘Kāntimatī, and this kingdom, and also my life [are] from today under
 your control.’ (Daś. 135)

[23] *vyāmamātrau pakṣau ca*
 fathom.measure.NOM.DU.M wing.NOM.DU.M &
pucchaṁ ca bhavati
 tail.NOM.SG.N & be.PRS.3SG
 ‘the two wings and the tail are (lit. is) measuring-a-fathom.’ (TS
 5.2.5.1)

- Default agreement

If there is no antecedent (explicit or implicit), verbs are marked for 3SG or NOM.SG.N

- [24] a. *janaiḥ* *sthīyate*
 people.INS.PL.M stand.PASS.**3SG**
 ‘By the people is stood’ ≈ ‘There is standing going on of the people’
- b. *devadattena* *sthātavyam*
 D.INS.SG.M stand.GDV.**NOM.SG.N**
 ‘Devadattena must stand.’

- Pronoun agreement in Subject-Predicate structures (Hock 2022)

Common wisdom: Pronouns must agree with nouns (irrespective of syntax)

Actual evidence

- Predicate pronouns take their own agreement features

[25] *amī* *vā idām* *abhūvan*
 that.NOM.PL.M (S) PCL this.NOM.SG.N (PRED) become.AOR.3PL
 yād *vayām* *smāḥ*
 RP.NOM.SG.N(PRED) we.NOM.PL (S) be.PRS.1PL
 ‘Those have become that which we are.’ (TS 3.3.7.1)

- Subject pronouns tend to agree with their predicates (and not with their antecedents in prior clauses)

[26] *sa* *bhūr* *ity* *eva*
 DEM.NOM.SG.M *bhūḥ* QUOT EMPH
ṛgvedasya *rasam*_i *ādatta* |
ṛgveda.GEN.SG.M essence.ACC.SG.M *take*.IMPF.3SG
*sā*_i + *iyam* *prthivy* *abhavat* | ...
 DEM.NOM.SG.F this earth.NOM.SG.F *be*.IMPF.3SG
 ‘With “bhūḥ” he took the essence of the Ṛg Veda. That became this earth.’ (JUB 1.1.1.3)

- but they don’t have to

[27] *karmaṇā* *yam*_i *abhipraiti*
 karman.INS.SG.N RP.ACC.SG.M *aim*.at.PRS.3SG
*sa*_i *sampradānam*
 DEM.NOM.SG.M sampradāna.NOM.SG.N
 ‘Whom one aims at with the karman, that one is (called) sampradāna.’
 (Pāṇini 1.4.32)

4. Relation-changing processes

4.a Passive (karmavācya, bhāvavācya) (Hock 1982)

- In early Vedic, passives are almost exclusively made from transitives

[28] *īndur* *hinvānó*
sap.NOM.SG.M impel.PRS.ĀTM.PPL.NOM.SG.M
ajyate *manīṣībhiḥ*
anoint.PRS.PASS.3SG wise.INS.PL.M
‘The sap, being impelled, is anointed by the wise ones.’ (RV 9.76.2d)

- Most commonly, there is no explicit agent

[29] *mādhvā* *yajñáh* *sám* *ajyate*
honey.INS.SG.M sacrifice.NOM.SG.M together anoint.PRS.PASS.3SG
‘The sacrifice is anointed with honey.’ (RV 1.188.2b)

- In such cases it is difficult to distinguish passive from anticausative

[30] *śvātrēṇa* *yāt* *pitror*
 swelling.INS.SG.N when father.LOC.DU.M
mūc-ya-se *pāri*
 release-ya-3SG.MID on
 ‘when you (Agni) are freed/get free through swelling on your parents
 (the kindling sticks)’ (RV 1.31.4c)

- Vedic Prose and later, passive and anticausative differ in terms of converb control (Hock 2019)

[31] a. *tatra* *gatvā* *na* *muc-ya-se* (*tena*)
 there go.CVB NEG free.PRS.PASS.2SG DEM.INS.SG.M
 ‘(He_i) having gone there you are not freed by him_i.’

b. *tatra* *gatvā* *na* *muc-ya-se* *tena**
 there go.CVB NEG free.PRS.ANTICAUS.2SG
 ‘(You_i) having gone there you_i do not get free.’

- Only a very few attestations of passives from intransitives in Vedic

- [32] a. *ápāyy* *asya ándhaso ...*
 drink.AOR.PASS.3SG this juice.GEN.SG.N
 ‘Of this juice was drunk.’ (RV 2.19.1a)
- b. *samvatsarāya* *sám amyate*
 year.DAT.SG.N ally.PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘It is allied for a year’ ≈ ‘One makes alliances for a year’ (MS 2.1.2)

- Post-Vedic freely has intransitive passives

- [33] *tena* *rājñā* *bhūyate*
 DEM.INS.SG.M king.INS.SG.M be.PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘By him is been by king.’ ≈ ‘Being king is done by him.’

- Double-direct object verbs and passivization (Hock 2014b)

- [34] a. *kád* *u* *bravaḥ* ... *nṛ̥ṇ* (SPEAK)
 what.ACC.SG.N PCL say.SUBJV.2SG man.ACC.PL.M
 ‘What will you say to the men?’ (RV 10.10.6)
- b. *tát* *tvā* *yāmi* ... (ASK/ENTREAT)
 that.ACC.SG.N you.ACC.SG.N request.PRS.1SG
 ‘... that I request from you.’ (RV 1.24.11a)
- c. *duduhre* *páyah* ... *ṛ̥ṣim* (MILK)
 milk.PRF.3PL.ĀTM milk.ACC.SG.N ṛ̥ṣi.ACC.SG.M
 ‘They milked the milk (from) the sage.’ (RV 9.54.1)
- d. *devān* *ásurāḥ* *yajñám* (WIN)
 god.ACC.PL.M asura.NOM.PL.M sacrifice.ACC.SG.M
ajayan
 win.IMPF.3PL
 ‘The asuras won the sacrifice (from) the gods.’ (MS 1.9.8)
- e. *yád* *ámuṣṇīta* ... *pañim* *gāḥ* (ROB)
 when rob.IMPF.2PL miser.ACC.SG.M cow.ACC.PL.F
 ‘... when you robbed the cows (from) the miser.’ (RV 1.93.4)
- f. *tān* *sahasraṁ* *daṇḍayet* (PUNISH)
 DEM.ACC.PL.M 1000.ACC.SG.N punish.OPT.3SG
 ‘... he should fine/punish them (with) a thousand.’ (Manu 9.234)

[35] Single-DO structure passivization (or ergative TPPL)

- a. (a)sya **vāg** *uditā* (SPEAK)
his speech.NOM.SG.F speak.TPPL.NOM.SG.F
bhavati
be.PRS.3SG
'His speech is spoken.' (AB 1.6.12)
sa *ha + indreṇa + ukta*
DEM.NOM.SG.M PCL indra.INS.SG.M speak.TPPL.NOM.SG.M
āsa
be.PRF.3SG
'He was addressed by Indra.' (ŚB 14.1.1.19)
- b. **rayīr vibhūtir** *īyate* ... (ASK/ENTREAT)
wealth great.NOM.SG.F implore.PASS.3SG
'Great wealth is implored.' (RV 6.21.1)
rājā medhābhir īyate
king.NOM.SG.M insight.INS.PL.F implore.PASS.3SG
'The king is implored with insight.' (RV 9.65.16)
etc.

[36] Double-DO passivization (or ergative TPPL)

- a. *viṣayam* [sa] *uktas* (SPEAK)
 victory.ACC.SG.M DEM.NOM.SG.M tell.TPPL.NOM.SG.M
taiḥ
 DEM.INS.PL.M
 ‘... (he was) told (about) the victory by them.’ (Kathās. 18.247)
- b. *vaśāṃ* *īndreṇa* *yācitāḥ* (ASK/ENTREAT)
 cow.ACC.SG.F indra.INS.SG.M ask.TPPL.NOM.SG.M
 ‘... asked by Indra for (his) cow’ (AV 12.4.50)
- d. ... *sarvajyāniṃ* *vā jīyate* (WIN)
 total.defeat.ACC.SG.F or defeat.PASS.3SG
 ‘... or he is defeated a complete defeat.’ (KS 29.6)

vs. a’. *viṣayas* *tam* *uktah**
 victory.NOM.SG.M DEM.ACC.SG.M tell.TPPL.NOM.SG.M
 ‘Victory was told to him.’

– The more agentive/personal/animate object is primary

4.b Causatives (hetumati) (Hock 1981)

Pāṇini 1.4.52-53

gati-buddhi-pratyavasānārtha-śabdakarma+akarmakāṇām aṇikartā sa nau
[*karma*]

‘The noncausative kartṛ is defined as karman in the causative for roots meaning ‘going’, ‘understanding’, ‘eating’, ‘sound-making’, and for intransitives’

hṛ-kr-or anyatarasyām

‘in the case of *hṛ* and *kr* optionally’

By implication, the kartṛ of other verbs (all of them transitive), the kartṛ remains unchanged and therefore has to be morphologically realized like a kartṛ (not marked on the verb)

Pāṇini's predictions

[37] devadatto **yajñadattaṁ** kaṭaṁ darśayati
D.NOM.SG.M Y.ACC.SG.M mat.ACC.SG.M see.CAUS.PRS.3SG
CAUSEE OBJECT

‘Devadatta makes Yajñadatta see the mat.’ (*gati-buddhi*-...)

[38] devadatto **yajñadattaṁ/yajñadattena** kaṭaṁ
D.NOM.SG.M Y.ACC.SG.M / Y.INS.SG.M mat.ACC.SG.M
C A U S E E OBJECT

kārayati

make.CAUS.PRS.3SG

‘Devadatta makes Yajñadatta make a mat.’ (*hr̥kror anyatarasyām*)

[39] devadatto **yajñadattena** kaṭaṁ grāhayati
D.NOM.SG.M Y.INS.SG.M mat.ACC.SG.M take.CAUS.PRS.3SG
CAUSEE OBJECT

‘Devadatta makes Yajñadatta take the mat.’ (Other transitives by default)

I.e., the causee remains marked as kartṛ and, not being marked on the verb, is realized as INS

Madhyadeśa tradition (from Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā) (see also Deshpande 1983, Borooah 1879)

- [40] a. *oṣadhīr* *eva* *phalam* *grāhayati*
 plant.ACC.PL.F EMPH fruit.ACC.SG.N take.CAUS.PRS.3SG
 CAUSEE OBJECT
 ‘He causes the plants to take fruit.’ (KS 26.5)
- b. *taṁ* *varuṇena*⁺ *eva* *grāhayitvā* ...
 that.ACC.SG.M V.INS.SG.M EMPH take.CAUS.CVB
 CAUSEE
 ‘Having caused Varuṇa ... to take him.’ (TS 2.1.4.4)

karman-marking is used if the causee benefits from the action or is otherwise affected by it; kartr-marking when the causee is simply a means to accomplishing the action

- [41] a. *lekham* *śakaṭadāsenā* *lekhayitvā*
 letter.ACC.SG.M Ś.INS.SG.M write.CAUS.CVB
 OBJECT CAUSEE
 ‘having had Śakaṭadāsa write the letter ...’ (Mudr. 1.19.5)

- b. *yena* ... *tādrśam kapaṭalekham* ...
 RP.INS.SG.M such fictitious.letter.ACC.SG
 OBJECT

lekhitas *tapasvī śakaṭadāsaḥ*
 write.CAUS.TPPL.NOM.SG.M unfortunate Ś.NOM.SG.M
 CAUSEE

‘... (I) by whom the unfortunate Śakaṭadāsa was made to write such a fictitious letter’ (Mudr. 7.9.5-6)

- c. *yaḥ* ... *tapasvinam śakaṭadāsam*
 RP.NOM.SG.M unfortunate Ś.ACC.SG.M
 CAUSEE

tādrśam kapaṭalekham *alekhayat*
 such fictitious.letter.ACC.SG.M write.CAUS.IMPF.3SG
 OBJECT

‘Who made unfortunate Śakatadāsa write such a fictitious letter.’

- In structures with double karman (CAUSEE + OBJECT), the more animate/agentive causee is primary in passivization (compare the fate of non-causative double DO structures)

[41]b' ... *tāḍṛśam kapaṭalekham* ...
 such fictitious.letter.ACC.SG
 OBJECT

lekhitas

write.CAUS.TPPL.NOM.SG.M

tapasvī śakaṭadāsaḥ

unfortunate Ś.NOM.SG.M

CAUSEE

b'' ... *tāḍṛśaḥ kapaṭalekhaḥ*
 such fictitious.letter.NOM.SG
 OBJECT

lekhitas

write.CAUS.TPPL.NOM.SG.M

*tapasvīṁ śakaṭadāsam**

unfortunate Ś.ACC.SG.M

CAUSEE

5. Extraposition, passivization, pronoun choice, and politeness (Van de Walle 1993, Wallace 1984)

- Beginning in Vedic Prose, *bha(ga)va(n)t-* (lit. ‘lord(ship)’) is used as honorific second-person form
 - Throughout the tradition (but not at present), the use tends to be inconsistent

[42] *yad* *eva* *bhagavān* *veda*
RP.ACC.SG.N EMPH you.HON.**NOM**.SG.M know.PRF.**3SG**
tad *eva* *me* *brūh(i)*
CP.ACC.SG.N EMPH I.OBL tell.IMPV.**2SG**
‘What your lordship knows, tell me that.’ (BAU 2.4.3)

- To reduce the prominence of speaker or addressee, extraposition may be used

- [43] a. *tatra gacchatu bhavān*
 there go.IMPV.3SG you.HON.NOM.SG.M
 ‘Please go there.’
- b. *tatra gacchāmy apy aham*
 the go.PRS.1SG also I.NOM.SG
 ‘I (will) go there too.’

- Another way to reduce addressee prominence is the use of the passive, with or without agent drop, and with (or without) extraposition

- [44] *tatra gamyatām (tvayā) / (bhavatā)*
 there go.PASS.IMPV.3SG you.SG.INS you.HON.INS.SG.M
 ‘May your lordship / you go there.’ (Lit. ‘may it be gone by your lordship/you’)

- As the examples show, all of these devices may be used in the same utterance