

SÁ/TÁ- SEQUENCES IN THE RIGVEDA

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§ 0. In a prior study (KLEIN 2004–2005) I discussed sequences of relative pronouns and adverbials in the Rigveda as part of a comprehensive investigation of stylistic repetition in that text. I noted there that more than 25% of the nearly 4600 *yá-* stem forms appearing in the Rigveda occur in sequences, and that the diptychs *yá- ... sá/tá-*, *yá- ...* noun and their inverted variants are so numerous as to constitute a discourse strategy for the Rigvedic bards. In the present study I wish to approach Rigvedic discourse from the other pole of the diptych, investigating sequences of *sá/tá-* demonstratives in this text. By far the most frequently employed demonstrative, *sá/tá-* serves as a basic anaphor in structures involving nouns and/or relative pronouns, and, like the latter, is a fundamental operator governing the movement of Rigvedic discourse. My interest in this pronoun is not merely syntactic but also rhetorical-poetic and discourse oriented. That is, I wish to investigate here the manner in which sequential occurrences of *sá/tá-* contribute to the architecture of the stanza and the progression of the poet's thought. For this reason I will organize the discussion according to the position of this pronoun within the stanza, treating separately instances in which the pronoun appears no more than once within the verse or *pāda* and those in which it appears multiply. Ultimately, I hope to show how the bards employ this pronoun to structure their poetry.

§ 1. Statistical details concerning the frequency of sequences involving various *sá/tá-* forms are provided in Table 1. This shows that polyptotic sequences are most frequent, followed by instances involving *sá*. There is then a significant drop-off to *tád* and then again to *tám* and *té*. With the exception of *tá(u)* and *táh*, other forms appear in no more than two sequences. The percentage of *sá/tá-* forms occurring in sequences is on the same general order as that seen with *yá-* (ca. 21% of just under 3200 forms, vs. 25% for relatives), attesting to the degree to which the Rishis employed both these pronouns as discourse articulators.

Table 1 : Repetition of *sá/tá*- Pronouns in the Rigveda

Polyptoton: 97 sequences (251 occurrences)

sá: 76 sequences (199 occurrences)

tád: 31 sequences (74 occurrences)

tám: 21 sequences (49 occurrences)

té (nom. pl. masc.): 20 sequences (49 occurrences)

tá(u): 9 sequences (21 occurrences)

tāḥ: (nom. and acc. pl. not distinguished): 4 sequences (10 occurrences)

tásmād: 2 sequences (6 occurrences)

tām: 2 sequences (5 occurrences)

sá: 2 sequences (4 occurrences)

Other: 8 sequences (16 occurrences)¹

Total sequences: 272 (684 occurrences)

§ 2. We shall begin our discussion by investigating the most frequent type of *sá/tá*-sequence: that which appears isolated in a single pāda without any other appearances of *sá/tá*- within its stanza. A formal feature of such sequences is that the pronoun normally appears initially in its line and colon and again initially within either the break or the cadence of the line. Cf. (1a, b), respectively:

(1) a. VI.49.1cd *tá á gamantu tá ihá śruvantu / sukṣatrāso váruṇo mitró agníḥ* ‘Let those come hither, let those hear here, they of good dominion: Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni.’

b. X.85.21cd *anyām icha piṭṛśadaṃ vyāktām / sá te bhāgó janúṣā tásya viddhi* ‘Seek another dwelling in her father’s house, sexually mature. That is thy portion by birth. Be mindful of that.’

The coreferential structures of these passages are quite different from a discourse perspective. In the first case the demonstratives are cataphoric, referring to the deities mentioned in pāda d.² In the second passage the referent of *sá* is the content of the preceding pāda, whereas *tásya* refers in

¹ The forms represented, each of which appears in a single two-member sequence, are *tásya*, *tásmāi*, *téna*, *tá* (neut. acc. pl.), *tābhiḥ*, *tátaḥ*, *tátra*, and *táthā*.

² Mitrāvaruṇā, but not Agni, are mentioned in the first distich of this stanza.

the first instance to *bhāgáḥ* and secondarily, via *sá*, once again to the content of the prior *pāda*. Hence, both *sá* and *tásya* are anaphoric. Unlike the first passage, the demonstrative sequence here is polyptotic.

A very frequent feature of demonstrative sequences involving repetition of identical case forms is the threefold complex of anaphora, verbal gapping, and parallelism of a remaining argument or adjunct that is associated generally with anaphora of all word classes except, of course, verbs, in the Rigveda (cf. KLEIN 1999). In a smaller number of cases the verb is ellipsed,³ or the clause is a nominal sentence. Examples of this sort are (2a-c), respectively:

(2) a. VII.101.3cd *pitúḥ páyaḥ práti ḡrbhṇāti mātā / téna pitā vardhate téna putráḥ* ‘The mother takes in the milk of the father. Through that does the father grow, through that the son.’

b. VIII.25.14 *utá naḥ síndhur apām / tán marútas tát ásvínā / índro víṣṇur mīdhvāṃsaḥ sajóśasaḥ* ‘And (let) Sindhu of the waters (grant) (that) to us, that the Maruts, that the Ásvins, Indra, Viṣṇu, those having the reward, together.’

c. VIII.16.8ab *sá stómyaḥ sá hávyaḥ / satyáḥ sátvā tuvikūrmīḥ* ‘That one is worthy of praise, that one is to be called, the true warrior accomplishing mighty (deeds).’

In (a), where *téna* refers to *pitúḥ páyaḥ*, the verb *vardhate* belongs with each colon but is placed only in the first, while *pitā* and *putráḥ* comprise parallel subjects. On the conjunctive role of anaphora in Rigvedic discourse, cf. KLEIN 1987. It is worth noting that five of the ten words in this distich begin with *p* and two others with labials; moreover, the parallel arguments associated with the repetition of *téna* contain a great deal of phonological similarity (*pitā/putráḥ*). (b) is the middle stanza of an *uṣṇih* tercet. The initial stanza of the group introduces the goal of the singer’s prayer (13ab *tát vāryam vṛṇīmahe / váriṣṭham gopayátyam* ‘that desirable thing do we choose, the best [possession] to be protected’ – note again the v-alliteration). The passage we have cited continues this prayer, but the verb (*dā* ‘give’) is ellipsed in stanza 14, whose second verse shows both anaphora of *tát* (in

³ For the distinction between gapping (optional, but completely recoverable deletion of a linguistic element) and ellipsis (occasional non-representation of elements not always easily recoverable), cf. KLEIN 1999: 121-22.

reference to *vāryam*) and parallelism. Finally, (c) shows a set of nominal clauses. Of special interest here is the perseveration of the anacrusis *sa-* (following *sá stómyaḥ sá hávyah*) in the sequence *satyáḥ sátvā* of pāda b.

In three additional passages fronted constituents occur within a *sá/tá-* sequence occupying a single pāda. In (c) the fronted structure is a nominal clause:

(3) a. VIII.1.27c *gámat sá śiprī ná sá yoṣad á gamat* ‘That one with the lips shall come, he shall not stay away; he shall come hither.’

b. X.51.1a *mahát tád úlbam stháviraṃ tád āsīt* ‘Great was that membrane, firm was it.’

c. I.89.10b *áditir mātá sá pitá sá putráḥ* ‘Aditi is the mother, that one is the father, that one is the son.’

In the first of these passages *gámat* is fronted to emphasize that Indra will come. This fact is then repeated at the end of the pāda, producing the figure of redditió (X ... X). In the second clause *sá* is eclipsed by *ná*, the structure *gámat sá ... ná sá yoṣad* constituting a tautology of the sort ‘Aussage plus negierte Gegenaussage’ (cf. HUMBACH 1959). (b) consists of a set of statements characterizing the membrane surrounding Agni when he disappeared in the waters. In each case it is the predicate adjective which is fronted around the demonstrative – an infrequent pattern in the case of repeated demonstratives in the Rigveda. The first occurrence of *tád* here is an adjectival determiner modifying *úlbam*. In (c) a nominal sentence precedes, one of six cola in this stanza in which *áditih* appears. The employment of the masculine *sá* here despite its reference to the feminine *áditih* is the result of attraction to the predicate in each instance.

In the eight passages presented so far the demonstrative sequence stands on its own integrally within the pāda. In many instances, however, enjambement occurs as the *sá/tá-* sequence participates in a structure that exceeds the bounds of the pāda. Normally, however, as in (4), the enjambed structure appears integrally within a half-stanza or distich:

(4) X.37.6ab *tám no dyāvāpṛthivī tán na ápa / índraḥ śṛṇvantu marúto hávaṃ vácaḥ* ‘That call of ours let heaven (and) earth (hear), that speech of ours let the waters, Indra, (and) the Maruts hear.’

The interesting feature of this passage is that the differently gendered demonstratives refer, respectively, to *hávam* and *vácaḥ*, both of which are accumulated at the end of the stanza in the order masculine, neuter reflecting that of the demonstratives. While not grammatically coreferent, *tám* and *tád* are pragmatically so in that their referents are contextually synonymous.

As I noted above, the diptych *yá ... sá/tá-* and its inverse represent major discourse strategies for the Rigvedic bards. It is therefore only to be expected that a certain number of verse-internal *sá/tá-* sequences will participate in such larger structures as one moves outside the confines of the *pāda*. Examples in which the demonstrative sequence is preceded, followed, and embraced by relatives are seen in the following passages:

(5) a. I.177.2a-c *yé te vṛṣaṇo vṛṣabhāsa indra / brahmayújo vṛṣarathāso átyāḥ // tām ā tiṣṭha tébhir ā yāhy arvān* ‘Which bullish bulls are thine, O Indra, the coursers yoked with the formulation, having a bullish chariot, mount those; with those drive hither our way.’

b. IV.8.6 *té rāyā té suvīryaiḥ / sasavāṃso ví śṛṇvire / yé agnā dadhiré dúvaḥ* ‘Those have become famed as winners through their wealth, those through their possession of good slave contingents, who have heaped honor upon Agni.’

c. IV.4.10 *yás tvā sváśvaḥ suhiraṇyó agna / upayāti vásumatā ráthena // tásya trātā bhavasi tásya sákhā / yás ta ātithyám ānuśág jújoṣat* ‘Which one having a good horse, having good gold drives up to thee, O Agni, with chariot laden with goods, of that one dost thou become the rescuer, of that one the friend, who will enjoy thy hospitality in his proper turn.’

The first of these passages shows a *yá- ... sá/tá- ... sá/tá-* structure in which the preposed relative clause occupies the entire opening distich followed by anaphoric polyptotic correlatives. This passage shows as well much paronomastic use of *vṛṣa(n)-*. The diptych has been inverted in (b), a *gāyatrī* line with the threefold structure in *pādas* a and b. In (c) the initial relative is restrictive, the final appositive or expatiatory, while the *sá/tá-* sequence of *pāda* c shows the threefold structure.

Another prominent feature of *sá/tá-* sequences generally is the *sá-*figé construction in which *sá/tá-* appears in apparent second person value:

(6) a. I.62.4 *sá* suṣṭúbhā *sá* stubhā saptá vípraiḥ / svaréṇādrim svaryò návagvaiḥ // ... indra ... / ... darayo dáśagvaiḥ ‘With a well-exulting (troop), with shouting, with the seven poets, roaring with a roar, with the Navagva’s, ... O Indra didst thou split the rock, with the Daśagva’s.’

b. I.104.6ab *sá* tvám na indra sūrye só apsv / ànāgāstvā á bhaja jīvaśamsé ‘Do thou, O Indra, give us a share in the sun, in the waters, in sinlessness, in the praise of those alive.’

c. I.184.1a.c *tá* vām adyá *tāv* aparám huvema / ... // nāsātyā ... ‘You two today, you two later would we call, ... O Nāsātyā’s.’

These passages show, respectively, *sá*-figé in second person singular value without a doubling pronoun (a), with a doubling orthotonic pronoun (b), and in second person dual value with a doubling enclitic pronoun (c). In KLEIN 2004-2005 I noted that, whatever its diachronic origin may be, an important synchronic function of *sá*-figé is to extend the discourse strategies *yá*- ... *sá/tá*- and *yá*- ... noun together with their inversions to second person contexts. In cases where the relative or noun precede, it is fairly easy in many instances to assign *sá/tá*- the anaphoric value ‘as such’; but when the demonstrative is sequence-initial, such a rendition is more often than not without foundation. However, it should be noted that just as a structure such as *yó mīdhvān ... sá no (a)viṣtu* ‘Which one possesses the reward, let him aid us’ is easily converted to *yó mīdhvān ... sá no (a)viḍdhi* ‘which one possesses the reward, being such, aid us’, so it is possible to convert *indro mahān ... sá no (a)viṣtu* ‘Indra is great, let him aid us’ to *indra mahān (asī) ... sá no (a)viḍdhi* ‘O Indra, thou art great ... ; as such, aid us.’⁴ That is to say, *sá* can be construed anaphorically with a quality predicated of Indra. However, given the possibility of inverting the diptychs *yá*- ... *sá/tá*- and noun ... *sá/tá*- to *sá/tá*- ... *yá*- and *sá/tá*- ... noun in third person discourse, the type with second person imperative (the overwhelmingly most frequent type, cf. JAMISON 1992) can also be inverted, resulting in a *sá*-figé structure that is in

⁴ Indeed, going in the other direction, it was precisely the perceptual difficulty surrounding the role of *sá* within the *sá*-figé construction which, in my view, led to the reevaluation of *tū*, the old unextended form of the second person singular pronoun, as a particle, once it was replaced by the fuller *tvám*. Poets not understanding the old form in a construction such as **sá tú śrudhi* took *sá* to be the unique subject, producing **sá tú śrotu*. Cf. IV. 1.5a *sá tvám no agne (a)vamó bhavotī* beside 10a *sá tú no agnir nayatu prajānān*. For details, cf. KLEIN 1982.

effect cataphoric. If, as a further step, the predicated characterization of the vocative in the „diptych normal“ (the *mahán* [asi] of *indra mahán asi*) gets dropped in the inversion, one can no longer apply even a cataphoric reading to the demonstrative (*sá no (a)viddhi ... indra*). Such is the case in a passage like (6a), where, however, the verb (here an augmentless preterite) is to the right of the vocative. One can then imagine that it was precisely in such cases that a pronominal form was introduced to clarify locally the second person nature of the referent of *sá/tá*-. This is what we see in (6b). The construction would then have spread from the nominative to the accusative, as reflected in a passage such as (6c). This is, to be sure, a hypothetical internal reconstruction, but at its core lies the employment of *yá*- ... *sá/tá*-/*sá/tá*- ... *yá*- and noun... *sá/tá*-/*sá/tá*- ... noun as fundamental discourse strategies in the Rigveda.⁵

Unique among the passages showing isolated, pāda-internal *sá/tá*- sequences is the following, where the repeated *sá/tá*- pronoun can only be described as possessing intensifying or identifying function:

(7) IV.51.7 *tā ghā tā bhadrá uṣásaḥ purásur / abhiṣṭidyumnā ... // yásv*
ījānáḥ śásamāná ukthái / stuvāñ cháṃsan dráviṇaṃ sadyá āpa ‘Those indeed,
 those very ones were the previously auspicious dawns of overwhelming
 brilliance ... among whom the toiling worshipper praising with hymns,
 proclaiming, attained wealth at once.’

Here the poet is strongly identifying the previous dawns with the present ones; and the doubled employment of *tā* emphasizes this identity.

§ 3. In the preceding section we have examined the smallest metrical-poetic and discourse unit within which *sá/tá*- sequences appear: the individual pāda. In the process, we have introduced some of the basic features of these constructions which will play roles in the remaining sections of our study: position of the demonstrative within the line and colon, the threefold figuration associated with rhetorical anaphora, sequences with

⁵ Note, however, that there are many cases in which *sá*, particularly in initial position, cannot be understood as possessing anaphoric value. For a speculative attempt to explain these as showing an archaic original second person deictic value for *sá/tá*-, cf. KLEIN 1996.

relatives, linguistic anaphora,⁶ cataphora, *sá*-figé, and the occasional non-sequential employment of repeated demonstratives to indicate strong identification. We shall now turn to larger metrical-poetic and discourse units within which *sá/tá*- sequences occur, beginning with structures showing no more than one occurrence of *sá/tá*- within each pāda and then moving on to structures with multiple occurrences of the pronoun in at least one of the pādas of the sequence.

§ 4. Among *sá/tá*- sequences in which the pronoun appears at most once in its pāda within four-verse stanzas (primarily triṣṭubh and jagatī, occasionally bṛhaṭī and satobṛhaṭī), the most common pattern is for the pronoun to appear in the first and third pādas. Because of the attendant metrical space, one does not encounter triadic figuration in these instances. That is, the poet is not compelled to condense his thought by employing short cola with gapping of a verb and parallelism of remaining arguments. *sá/tá*- is normally initial in its pāda, but in (e) below it is preceded by a relative group plus a fronted verb (pāda a) or by a preverb (pāda c):

(8) a. IX.95.4 *tám* marmṛjānám mahiṣám ná sánāv / *aṃśúm* duhanty uk-
ṣāṇaṃ giriṣṭhām // *tám* vāvaśānám matáyaḥ sacante / tritó bibharti váruṇaṃ
samudré ‘That stalk cleansing itself on the back (of the sheep’s wool) like a
buffalo on the back (of a mountain) do they milk, the bull residing upon the
mountain. That roaring one do the thoughts accompany. Trita bears Varuṇa
in the ocean.’

b. X.90.5 *tásmād* viráḥ ajāyata / virájo ádhi pūruṣaḥ // *sá* jāto áty
aricyata / paścād bhūmim átho puráḥ ‘From him was the great king born,
from the great king Pūruṣa. He, once born, towered over the earth from
behind and from in front.’

c. VII.1.23 *sá* máрто agne svanīka revān / ámartye yá ājuhóti havyám //
sá devātā vasuvāniṃ dadhāti / yám sūrīr arthī pṛchámāna éti ‘That mortal, O
Agni, (thou) of beautiful countenance, is rich who pours out an oblation
upon (thee,) the immortal. That one (viz. Agni) makes (him, viz. the
worshipper) a winner of wealth among the gods, whom the lord having a
purpose approaches with a request.’

⁶ On the distinction between rhetorical and linguistic anaphora and their ultimate unity on a discourse level, cf. KLEIN 1987.

d. X.47.8 yát tvā yāmi daddhí tán na indra / bṛhantaṃ kṣáyam ásamaṃ jánānām // abhí *tád* dyāvāpṛthiví gṛñitām / asmábhyaṃ citráṃ vṛṣaṇaṃ rayiṃ dāḥ ‘What I beseech of thee, grant that to us, O Indra: lofty dwelling, incomparable of (i.e. among) men. Let heaven (and) earth welcome that. Grant us wondrous, bull(-like) wealth.’

These passages represent the range of discourse-referential types one encounters in *sá/tá*- sequences spanning both distichs of a stanza. Thus, in (a) the structure *tám ... / aṃśúm ... // tám ...* shows the coreferential terms in initial position of pādas a-c. The fourth pāda is separate from and unrelated to this structure (discourse type abc/d). (b) shows a case of paradoxical inversion, where the outer coreferential pair *tásmād ... pūruṣa* (ablative ... nominative) and the inner *virāt ... virājah* (nominative ... ablative) are set beside each other chiasmically with *tásmād ... pūruṣah* ringing the first distich. *sá* continues the reference to *pūruṣah* in contact position with the former across the distich boundary, initiating a single clause which spans the entire second distich (discourse type a/b//cd). (c) shows the referential sequences *sá ... / ... yāḥ ... // sá ... /yám ...*. The two occurrences of *sá* are not coreferent, the first referring to the sacrificer, the second to Agni. The discourse structure here is therefore ab//cd, and in its first occurrence *sá* is an adjectival determiner (*sá mártah*).⁷ Finally, in (d) *tád* of pāda a is at once anaphoric within the *yád ... tád* diptych and cataphoric, referring to the material content of pāda c; and this reference is then continued in pāda c with repeated *tád*. The fourth pāda here is an unrelated refrain ending every stanza of this hymn, and the discourse type is ab/c//d.⁸

§ 5. In another group of passages the *sá/tá*- sequence appears within the individual pādas of a distich, either ab or cd. In the first of these cases one expects a certain number of instances to be cataphoric; that is, the *sá/tá*-form points ahead to a following coreferential partner. In others, of course, we can assume the referent to have already been introduced into the

⁷ This inference seems inescapable in this case and in a passage like (3b) above, based on both the adjacency of *sá/tá*- to what appears to be its head noun and its translational value. From the perspective of the latter alone the same could be said of *tám* and *tád* in (4a) as well as of *tám* (... *aṃśúm*) in (8a). The question of what positional constraints, if any, are imposed on determiners in the language of the Rigveda awaits a comprehensive study of determination in this text.

⁸ Here I employ the double slash (/) not to indicate a distich boundary but rather a significant discourse break. In most instances the two are equivalent.

discourse in a prior stanza. This is indeed what we find. Moreover, the discourse units are short enough that one finds occasional occurrences of triadic figuration. Some examples showing these various features are the following:

(9) a. I.24.11 *tát tvā yāmi brāhmaṇā vāndamānas / tād ā śāste yājamāno havírbhiḥ // āheḷamāno varuṇehā bodhy / úruśaṃsa mā na āyuḥ prá moṣīḥ* ‘For that do I beseech thee, praising with the formulation. That does the worshipper implore with (his) oblations: Be without wrath here, O Varuṇa. O thou whose praise is broad, do not steal away our lifetime.’

b. VIII.3.9 *tát tvā yāmi suvīryam / tād brāhma pūrvácittaye // yéna yátibhyo bhṛgave dhāne hité / yéna práskañvam ávitha* ‘I beseech thee for that possession of a heroic contingent, for that formulation in order to be the first noted (by thee), through which (thou hast provided aid) to the Yati’s, to Bhṛgu, when the prize was set (out), through which thou hast aided Praskaṇva.’

c. III.2.2 *sá rocayaj janúṣā ródasī ubhé / sá mātrór abhavat putrá ḷḍyaḥ // havyvāḷ agnír ajáraś cánohito / dūḷábho viśám átithir vibhāvasuḥ* ‘That one has illuminated from birth both worlds; he, the son, became the one to be called upon by the two mothers. Agni, the unaging one, gladdened, is the conveyor of the oblation, the difficult to deceive guest of the clans, the one whose goods consist of radiance.’

d. II.34.12ab *té dáśagvāḥ prathamā yajñám ūhire / té no hinvantūṣáso vyūṣṭiṣu* ‘The Daśagva’s first conveyed the worship. Let those impel us at the lightings up of the dawn.’

e. II.37.2ab *yám u pūrvam áhuve tám idám huve / séd u hávyo dadír yó náma pátyate* ‘Which one I have previously called, that one do I call now. That one is to be called, who possesses the name ‘Giver’.

In the first of these passages both occurrences of *tád* refer cataphorically to the prayers of the Rishis and the sacrificer (opening distich) followed by the substance of the entreaty, which is bipartite (pādas c and d). In (b) the demonstratives are determiners of, respectively, *suvīryam* and *brāhma*; hence, they are not coreferent. The relationship between the determined nouns and *pūrvácittaye* is that the latter functions somewhat like a relative pronoun (\cong ‘that formulation [which will earn for us the right] to be the first noted’). The structure shows threefold figuration with gapping of *yāmi* in b

and parallelism of the head nouns. The second distich responds with anaphoric relatives together with, once again, the threefold figure. In (c) the role of the repeated *sá* is anaphoric within the hymn, for its referent, Agni, is mentioned in the prior stanza. However, within its own stanza *sá ... sá ...* stands in cataphoric sequence with *agníḥ*, who is mentioned and described with a series of epithets throughout the second distich. In (d) the first occurrence of *té* approaches articular value relative to *dásagvāḥ*, who are nowhere previously mentioned in the hymn (hence, not ‘those Daśagva’s’) and therefore provide new information. The second *té* simply continues the reference to these in a non-narrative vein. (e) shows a classical *yá- ... sá/tá-* diptych followed by the inverse structure *sá/tá- ... yá-* in the succeeding pāda. All four pronouns are coreferent.

The number of instances in which the *sá/tá-* sequence appears in the second distich is predictably more numerous than the type just discussed, because here the pronoun can possess its normal anaphoric function, continuing a prior referent in the opening distich. The following passages show a variety of structures of this type:

(10) a. X.173.3 *imám índro adīdharad / dhruvám dhruvéṇa haviṣā // tásmāi sómo ádhi bravat / tásmā u bráhmaṇas pátiḥ* ‘Indra has preserved this (dominion) firm(ly) with the firm oblation. On its behalf has soma spoken, on its behalf Brahmaṇaspati.’

b. I.105.16a-d *asú yáḥ pánthā ādityó / diví pravácyam kṛtáḥ // ná sá devā atikráme / tám martāso ná paśyatha* ‘Yon path of the Āditya’s which was made in heaven as a praiseworthy (act), that is not to be transgressed, O heavenly ones. That do ye not see, O mortals.’

c. IX.89.5 *cátasra īṃ gṛtadúhaḥ sacante / samāné antár dharúṇe níṣat-tāḥ // tá īṃ arṣanti námasā punānās / tá īṃ viśvátaḥ pári śanti pūrvīḥ* ‘Four ghee-milkers follow him, seated within the same ground. Those flow unto him, purifying themselves with reverence; those surround him on all sides in great number.’

d. X.112.5 *yásya śásvat papivāñ indra śátrūn / anānukṛtyā ráṇyā cakártha // sá te púramdhiṃ táviṣim iyarti / sá te mādāya sutá indra sómaḥ* ‘Of which having drunk, O Indra, (thou didst) over and over (smite) the enemies, thou didst perform inimitable joy-producing deeds, that stirs up thy granting of abundance (and) strength; that soma is pressed for thee for exhilaration, O Indra.’

e. VIII.89.5 *yáj jāyathā apūrvya / mághavan vṛtrahatyāya // tát pṛthivīm aprathayas / tát astabhnā utá dyām* ‘When thou wast born, O thou without a predecessor, O liberal one, for the smashing of the obstacle, then didst thou spread out the earth, and then didst thou prop up heaven.’

f. I.162.17 *yát te sādé máhasā śúkṛtasya / páṛṣṇyā vā kásayā vā tutóda // srucéva tá havīṣo adhvarēṣu / sárva tá te bráhmaṇā sūdayāmi* ‘If in thy saddle one has thrust (thee) with an overabundance of agitation, (or) with the heel, or with the whip, those (acts) like (portions) of the oblation at the ceremonies with the sacrificial spoon, all those (acts) do I make right for thee with the formulation.’

g. VI.66.3cd *vidé hí mātā mahó mahí śā / sét pṛśniḥ subhvè gárbham ádhāt* ‘For the mother knows her great ones (viz. her sons), she the great one. That one alone, Pṛśni, implanted the embryo for the thriving one.’

h. II.13.6 *yó bhójanaṃ ca dáyase ca várdhanam / ārdṛád ā śúṣkam mádhumad dudóhitha // sá śevadhīm ní dadhiṣe vivásvati / víśvasyaika īśiṣe sāsý ukthyàḥ* ‘Thou who dost distribute nourishment and increase, (who) hast milked the dry (and) sweet from the moist, thou hast deposited for thyself a treasure by Vivasvat. Thou alone dost rule over all. As such, thou art praiseworthy.’

Examples (10a-d) show four different coreferential structures: *imám ... sá/tá- ... sá/tá-*, *asáu yá- ... sá/tá- ... sá/tá-*, noun ... *sá/tá- ... sá/tá-* (phrasal anaphora)⁹ *tá īm ... tá īm* with enclitic accusative *īm* occupying Wackernagel’s Law position not only in pādas c and d, but also in a), and *yá- ... sá/tá- ... sá/tá-*. The first of these shows the threefold anaphoric figure. In (e) the value of the diptych *yád ... tát ... tát* is temporal. In (d) and (e) the relative clauses occupy the entire first distich. In (f) the referent of *tá* is not the relative *yád* of the opening distich, which is a subordinating conjunction with conditional value, but the set of conditions which *yád* introduces treated as events for which amends are to be made. The interesting feature of this passage is the fact that the two *tá*’s do not form a normal *sá/tá-* sequence, but rather the first is proleptic, holding down a place over an extended stretch for

⁹ Understanding this term loosely to refer to repetition of any two or more words, whether or not they technically form a phrase. On this type of repetition in the Rigveda, cf. KLEIN 2004b.

the second.¹⁰ This passage also shows fronting of a simile in c and of *sárvā* in d. Fronting is frequent with both *sárva-* and *viśva-* in collocations meaning ‘all that/those’. In (g) the movement of *sá* to final position of pāda c is unusual and must be understood as an attempt to produce the paronomastic figure *mahó mahī* (core structure: *vidé hí māṭā mahāḥ*). The further poetic result of this, however, is to produce anadiplosis or repetition across a pāda boundary (*sá / séd [= sá+íd]*). Our translation of pāda d here allows for two of three possible interpretations: hermaphroditic conception (if *subhvè* refers to *Ṛṣni*) or paradoxical impregnation of male by female (if *subhvè* refers to *Rudra*). Alternatively, one might make *sét pṛśniḥ* a separate nominal sentence, and then make *Rudra* subject of *ádhāt* and *subhvè* refer naturally to a female womb. On the various possibilities, cf. GELDNER ad loc., OLDENBERG ad loc., and RENO 1962: 40, 98-99. Finally, (h) is once again an example of the extension of the *yá- ... sá/tá-* discourse strategy to second person contexts by means of the *sá-figé* construction. It should be noted further that, whereas the cadence *sásy ukthyàḥ* appears in all but the first and last stanzas of this hymn,¹¹ its first three occurrences, from which it can be said to have been extended, are all found within the larger pāda II.13.2-4d *yás tākṛṇoḥ prathamām sásy ukthyàḥ* ‘Thou who didst first do those (deeds), thou art praiseworthy’, a classical *yá- ... sá/tá-* diptych. Moreover, in stanzas 5-8, including (h) above, a *yá- ... sá/tá-* diptych is present. The *sásy ukthyàḥ* cadence is therefore in these instances not adscititious but an integral part of these stanzas. Although not always appropriate as a rendition of *sá-figé*, our translation of *sásy ukthyàḥ* as ‘As such, thou art praiseworthy’ is justified here, because *Indra* is said alone to rule over all, a sufficient basis (‘as such’) for his being termed praiseworthy.

§ 6. The two remaining possibilities for the occurrence of two-member *sá/tá-* sequences within four-line stanzas in which the demonstratives do not appear in the same pāda are bc and ad. The first of these typically shows a noun in the first pāda which is anaphorically continued by *sá/tá-* in the second and third pādas. Alternatively, as in (c) below, the demonstrative continues a relative of the first pāda:

¹⁰ Because in this passage it is a place-holder rather than a marker of emphatic identity, the extra occurrence of *tā* functions differently here than in (7).

¹¹ In stanza 11 it is distracted as *séndra viśvāsy ukthyàḥ*.

(11) a. X.177.2 *patam̐gó vācam mānasā bibharti / tām̐ gandharvó (a)vadad gārbhe antāḥ // tām̐ dyótamānām svaryām manīṣām / ṛtāsya padé kavāyo ní pānti* ‘The bird bears speech with his mind. That did the Gandharva speak in the womb. That gleaming solar/sounding(?) wisdom do the poets protect in the place of truth.’

b. III.8.4 *yūvā suvāsāḥ párivīta āgāt / sá u śréyān bhavati jāyamānaḥ // tām̐ dhīrāsaḥ kavāya ún nayanti / svādhyò mānasā devayāntaḥ* ‘The youth well-clothed, bedecked, has come hither. Being born, he becomes (even) more beautiful. Him do the wise poets lead up, those having good thoughts, cultivating the heavenly ones with their mind.’

c. X.69.4 *yām tvā pūrvam īlītó vadhryaśvāḥ / samīdhé agne sá idām juṣasva // sá na stipā utá bhavā tanūpā / dātrām̐ rakṣasva yád idām te asmé* ‘Thee whom previously Vadhryaśva, called upon, kindled, O Agni, as such enjoy this (oblation of ours). Become a protector of our belongings and of our bodies. Protect thy gift, which is here for us.’

In the third of these passages the preposed relative group *yām tvā ... agne* shows enjambment and entails *sá*-figé as its anaphor. This construction is then continued in the next distich.

In those cases where the demonstratives appear in the first and fourth *pādas* of a four-line stanza one naturally expects them to play a lesser role in shaping the discourse in metrical-poetic terms, and this is indeed the case. Cf. the following examples:

(12) a. IV.51.11 *tād vo divo duhitaro vibhātīr / úpa bruva uṣaso ya-jñāketuḥ // vayām̐ syāma yaśáso jáneṣu / tād dyáuś ca dhattām̐ pṛthivī ca devī* ‘For that do I beseech you, O daughters of heaven, O dawns, the shining ones, (I) whose beacon is the worship: May we be glorious among men. That let heaven and the heavenly earth grant.’

b. VI.15.13 *agnír hótā gr̥hāpatiḥ sá rājā / vísvā veda jānimā jātāvedāḥ // devānām̐ utá yó mártyanām̐ / yájiṣṭhaḥ sá prá yajatām̐ ṛtāvā* ‘Agni is the Hotar, the master of the house, he is king. Jātavedas knows all the births (i.e. races). And which one is the best worshipping of heavenly ones and mortals, let that one continue to worship as a true one.’

c. VI.17.2 *sá īm pāhi yá ṛjīṣī tārutro / yāḥ śípravān vṛṣabhó yó maṭīnām̐ // yó gotrabhíd vajrabhíd yó hariṣṭhāḥ / sá indra citrāñ abhí tṛndhi vājān* ‘Drink it, (thou) who art possessor of the soma dregs, an overcomer,

who possesseth lips, who art the bull (i.e. inseminator) of the thoughts, who art the splitter of the pen, the bearer of a cudgel, who dost stand on the bay steed. As such, O Indra, bore out gleaming booty.’

d. VIII.22.12 *tābhir* á yātam vṛṣaṇópa me hávaṃ / viśvápsuṃ viśvāvāryam // iṣā máṃhiṣṭhā purubhūtāmā narā / yābhiḥ krívīm vāvṛdhús *tābhir* á gatam ‘With those (aids) drive hither up to my call, O bulls, (uttered) with my whole breath, possessing every desirable thing. (Come) with nourishment as the most liberal ones having the greatest number of appearances, O heroes. With which (aids) you two¹² strengthened Krivi, with those come hither.’

In the first of these passages stanza-initial *tád* is cataphoric, referring to the prayer of pāda c; and this is immediately continued anaphorically by *tád* of pāda d. The structure here is therefore *tád* ... clause [= prayer] ... *tád* The two occurrences of *tád* are thus coreferential and together illustrate the two important discourse roles signaled by the *sá/tá*-pronoun: anaphora and cataphora. In (b) the sequence *agnih* ... *sá* of the first distich is followed by an integral *yá*- ... *sá/tá*-diptych in the second half-stanza. (c) is a unique passage. Both occurrences of the demonstrative are instances of *sá*-figé, between which are inserted five relative phrases. The first occurrence of *sá* here is deictic, representing, in effect, a second person pronoun. The second occurrence of the pronoun allows, however, a perfectly natural anaphoric reading, based on the preceding descriptor relatives. The structure is therefore ringed by *sá*-figé. Moreover, pādas b and c represent a perfect parisyllabic responsion, the two relative phrases surrounding in each case a trisyllable within the break of the line that is not without an element of phonological play (*vṛṣabháh* / *vajrabhít* – note the inverse vowel assonance *ṛ – a – a* / *a – a – ṛ* as well as the initial *v*’s, medial *bh*’s, and the partial sibilance of the medial consonants *ṣ/j*). Finally, in (d) the stanza-initial *tābhiḥ* appears far removed from and largely unconnected to the same form nestled within the *yá*- ... *sá/tá*-diptych of pāda d, except that the final three words, with the exception of one sound substitution (*g* for *y*) in a nearly synonymous verb (*gam* vs. *yā*), are a virtual copy, in stanzaic ring composition, of the opening three words.

§ 7. In cases where *sá/tá*- appears three times within a four-line stanza, never more than once per line, the pattern abc is the most frequent; but the

¹² *vāvṛdhúh* for *vāvṛdhátuh*, cf. OLDENBERG ad loc.

other three possibilities, abd, acd, and bcd are attested as well. Examples include the following:

(13) a. VI.28.4 ná *tá* árvā reṇúkakāto ásnute / ná saṃskṛtatráṃ úpa yanti *tá* abhí // urugāyám ábhayaṃ tásyā *tá* ánu / gāvo mártasyā ví caranti yájvanaḥ ‘The courser with dust at the back of his head does not gain those; they do not go up to the slaughtering bank. Over broadly stretching (pastureland) free from fear do those of his, the cows of the worshipful mortal wander.’

b. VIII.89.6 *tát* te yajñó ajāyata / *tád* arká utá háskṛtiḥ // *tád* vísvam abhibhūr asi / yáj jātám yác ca jántvam ‘Then was the worship born for thee, then song and laughter. Thou dost tower over all that: what has been born and what is to be born.’

c. V.31.13 yé cākánanta cākánanta nú *té* / mártā amṛta mó *té* ámha áran // vāvandhí yájyūñr utá *tésu* dhehy / ójo jáneṣu yéṣu te syāma ‘Which mortals will be pleasing (to thee), those shall be pleasing (to thee) now, O immortal. May they not come into straitened circumstance. Love the worshippers, and set among them strength, among which races of thine we would be.’

d. X.36.10 yé sthā mánor yajñíyās *té* śṛṇotana / yád vo devā ímahe *tád* dadātana // jáitram krátum rayimád vīrávad yásas / *tád* devānām ávo adyā vṛṇímahe ‘Ye who are worthy of the worship of man, do ye hear! What we beseech of you, O heavenly ones, that give (to us): conquest, determination (bzw. power), glory full of wealth, full of heroes. That aid of the heavenly ones do we choose today.’

e. IV.37.6 *séd* ṛbhavo yám ávatha / yūyám índraś ca mártiyam // *sá* dhībhír astu sánitā / medhásātā *só* árvatā ‘That one alone, O Ṛbhuv, the mortal whom ye and Indra aid, let that one be a winner with his thoughts (and) in the attainment of wisdom, that one with his courser.’

f. X.90.10 *tásmād* áśvā ajāyanta / yé ké cobhayádataḥ // gāvo ha jajñire *tásmāt* / *tásmāj* jātā ajāvāyaḥ ‘From him were the horses born and (all) those (beasts) having two rows of teeth. The cows were born from him; from him were born the goats and sheep.’

g. X.71.3 yajñéna vācāḥ padavīyam āyan / *tām* ánv avindann ṛṣiṣu práviṣṭām // *tām* ābhṛtyā vy ádadhuḥ purutrā / *tām* saptá rebhā abhí sám navante ‘Through worship they came upon the track of speech. Her did they

find entered into the Rishis. Having fetched her, they distributed (her) in many places. Unto her do the seven singers shout forth as a chorus.’

In the first of these passages the first two occurrences of *tāḥ* are polyp-totic (acc. pl. and nom. pl., respectively) and show chiasmic placement relative to their verbs, while the outer structure of the opening distich here is *ná* Clause₁ / *ná* Clause₂ with anaphoric negation. In the second distich *tāḥ* (nom. pl.) of pāda c is anaphoric, but the collocation *tāsya tāḥ* of c is also a chiasmic proleptic (cataphoric) pronominalized version of *gávo mártasya* of d, a relationship we have attempted to capture in our translation. We have not counted the occurrence of *tāsya* within the demonstrative sequence here, because it is not an architectural element of the stanza but rather functions locally. (b), which continues (10e) above, illustrates the polysemous quality of the neuter *tád*. The first two occurrences of this form are temporal, while the third is cataphoric within the sequence *tád ... yád ... yác ca ...*. (c) is remarkable for the anadiplosis or repetition across the colon boundary of the verb *cākánanta*, and the contiguous paronomastic *mártā amṛta* has produced enjambment. A consequence of the anadiplosis in pāda a is the chiasmic positioning of *yé* and *té* in, respectively, pāda-initial and pāda-final position – a very rare configuration. Even if the diptych *téṣu ... yéṣu* of the second distich should be coreferential with the sequence *yé ... té ... té* of the opening half-stanza, it functions as a separate unit within the stanza as a whole. (d) shows independent, referentially different *yá-* ... *sá/tá-* diptychs in each of the first two pādas, the first of which (*yé ... té*) involves *sá-figé*. As in X.47.8 (8d above), *tád* of the object diptych *yád ... tád* is followed by an explanatory clause specifying the substance of the singer’s prayer. The final pāda, which is a refrain in stanzas 2-12 of this hymn, is included in our citation because in this stanza *tád* can be understood as anaphoric to the material of the preceding pāda and hence in integral sequence with *tád* of pāda b. In (e), as was the case with (7) and (10f) cited above, stanza-initial *sá* and the *sá* which opens the second distich are not parts of different clauses. Rather, the first occurrence of *sá* functions as a proleptic place-holder, over a long interval, for the major predication *sá ... astu sánitā* of pāda c. Also here, *mártyam* has been attracted into the object relative clause. (f) shows successively chiasmic positioning of *tásmād* relative to the

subject and paronomastic verb¹³ complex (*tásmād S ajāyanta ... // S [ha] jajñire tásmāt / tásmāj jātā S*), resulting in anadiplosis across the boundaries of pādas c and d. Finally, in (g) *tām* is anaphoric to *vác-* mentioned in the first pāda and is then the object of two subsequent clauses.

§ 8. The final pattern which we shall discuss here is what I have elsewhere termed „4 x 4 [read: ‘four-by-four’] anaphora“ (KLEIN 2004a): the appearance of the demonstrative (which may be polyptotic) in initial position within all four pādas of a four-line stanza. There are seven such instances in the Rigveda, three of which belong here,¹⁴ including (c), where *sómasya* has been fronted in the final pāda (covered anaphora):

(14) a. VIII.96.20 *sá vṛtrahéndras carṣaṇīdhṛt / tām suṣṭutyā hávyam hu-*
vema // sá prāvitā maghāvā no (a)dhivaktā / sá vājasya śravasyāsyā dātā
‘That one, Indra, is the smasher of the obstacle, the holder of the races; him, the one to be called, would we call with a good hymn. That one, the liberal one, is (our) aider, our advocate. He is the giver of booty to be famed.’

b. I.164.42 *tásyāḥ samudrā ádhi ví kṣaranti / téna jīvanti pradísāś cātas-*
raḥ // tátaḥ kṣaraty akṣāraḥ / tád vísvam úpa jīvati ‘From her (sc. the buffalo-cow) flow out the oceans; through that do the four regions (of the world) live; from there flows the indestructible one (bzw. the syllable). Everything lives off that.’

c. II.15.5 *sá īm mahīm dhúnim étor aramṇāt / só asnātṣṇ apārayat svastí*
// tá utsnáya rayím abhí prá tastuḥ / sómasya tá máda índraś cakāra ‘That one brought to a standstill the great rushing (river) from its movement. That one led across to well-being the non-swimmers. They, having swum out (from the water), mounted unto wealth. Indra did those things in the exhilaration of soma.’

The first of these passages shows a typical trimeter structure with four clauses, three of which, however, are nominal. The passage is from an Indra hymn, so that from the first word there can be no doubt about the identity of the referent. The second passage shows all the vagaries associated with this famous riddle hymn. The initial demonstrative refers to the *gaurī* or buffalo-cow men-

¹³ For this usage of paronomasia and its derivatives to refer to different stem forms of a given verb, cf. KLEIN 2004a.

¹⁴ The remaining four instances involve extra occurrences of the demonstrative and will be treated in (22a-d), § 15 below.

tioned in the prior stanza. *téna* of pāda b then must be taken as referring generally to the content of the prior pāda – the flowing of the rivers. Vaguer yet is the referent of *tátaḥ*, a non-paradigmatic member of the *sá/tá-* group of forms, while *tád* can refer to *akṣáram*, the indestructible syllable. The structure here approaches that of a gradatio, with each new idea taking off from the last; and in this process the *sá/tá-* forms constitute the referential pivots. (c) does not constitute a coreferential sequence of demonstratives throughout: *sá* of a and b both refer to Indra, but *té* of c continues the reference to the *asnātárah* saved by Indra, and d actually represents a refrain pāda appearing in stanzas 2-9 of this hymn, but which can here be referentially integrated, via *tá*, into the acts of Indra described in the opening distich.

§ 9. All the examples we have discussed so far appear in four-line stanzas, which are notable for their balanced, symmetrical structures, divided first in halves (the distich) and then halved again (the pāda). A word must be said here, however, about the occurrence of *sá/tá-*sequences in the asymmetrical stanzas, the three-line gāyatrī (occasionally also uṣṇih and kakubh) as well as in strophic stanzas. Such structures are far less frequent in these than in four-line stanzas. Within the gāyatrī and its relatives one finds, as expected, the patterns ac, ab, bc, and abc. Examples of the first three types are presented in (15a,b), to which we have added two passages from strophic stanzas (c and d). Note the consecutive occurrence of bc, ac, and ab in I.21.1-3, presented together as (a):

(15) a. I.21.1-3 ihéndrāgnī́ úpa hvaye / táyor ít stómam úsmasi / tá́ sómaṃ somapátamā́ /// tá́ yajñéṣu prá śamsata / indrāgnī́ śumbhatā naraḥ / tá́ gāyatréṣu gāyata /// tá́ mitrásyā práśastaya / indrāgnī́ tá́ havāmahe / somapá́ somapítaye ‘I call upon Indra (and) Agni here. We desire the praise of those two. They are the best soma-drinkers. / Praise them forth at the worships; beautify Indra (and) Agni, O men; sing them in gāyatrī’s. / Those two for the praise of Mitra, Indra (and) Agni, those two do we call, the soma-drinkers, for the drinking of soma.’

b. I.30.12 táthā́ tád astu somapāḥ / sákhe vajrin táthā́ kṛṇu / yáthā ta úsmásīṣṭáye ‘In that way let that be, O soma-drinker, O friend, O cudgel-bearer, do in that manner as we wish for thy hastening (to us).’

c. I.139.9 dadhyáñ ha me janúṣam púrvo ángirāḥ / priyámedhaḥ kánvo átrir mánur vidus / té me púrve mánur viduḥ // téṣāṃ devéṣu áyatir / asmákam téṣu nábhayaḥ / téṣāṃ padéna máhy á name girá / indrāgnī́ á name

girā ‘Dadhyañ, the previous Angirases, Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Atri, Manu know my birth. Those previous ones (and) Manu know my (birth). Their line of continuity is with (i.e. extends to) the gods; our origins are among them. In their footsteps do I offer great reverence with song. Indra (and) Agni do I reverence with song.’

d. 1.129.3d-f *īndrotá túbhyaṃ tád divé / tád rudrāya sváyaśase // mi-trāya vocaṃ váruṇāya sapráthaḥ* ‘O Indra, also to thee will I speak that, to heaven, that to the self-glorious Rudra, to Mitra (and) to Varuṇa (that) extensive (word).’

Of these passages (a) shows the order noun ... *sá/tá-* ... *sá/tá-* that we expect at the beginning of a hymn, whereas the second verse continues *sá/tá-* ... noun ... *sá/tá-*. That is, in the larger context all the demonstratives are anaphoric. In the third verse, however, as was the case in (10f), the two occurrences of *tá* are not the objects of separate predications but rather both refer to *īndrāgní*, the first being proleptic while the second appears immediately before the verb. Stanza 1c shows the interesting tournure *sómaṃ somapátamā*, lit. ‘the best soma-drinkers of soma’ (a syntactic variant of the type *gañánām gañápati-* ‘troop-master of troops’). (b) represents an adverbial diptych *táthā ... / ... táthā ... yáthā*, with fronting of two vocatives in pāda b. We ignore *tád* here as immaterial to the architecture of the stanza as a whole. The demonstrative sequence of (c) provides a good example of how the Rishis employed *sá/tá-* sequences to sustain reference over an extended period. In this atyaṣṭi stanza the spiritual forebears of the worshipper are mentioned in the first two pādas, and then further reference to them is made in the four subsequent pādas by means of *sá/tá-*. An enchainement between gods, early Rishis, and current worshippers is established in pādas d and e, and the fronting of *asmákam* is emphatic in e. In (d) the precise position of *tád* within the cola is uncertain. The normal tendency of anaphora to be colon-initial especially, as here, in the presence of a threefold structure would suggest *tád divé / tád rudrāya* ‘that to heaven, that to Rudra (would I speak)’. But it is possible that *īndrotá túbhyaṃ* has been fronted around a colon-initial *tád* (**tád īndrotá túbhyaṃ*) or even that *utá* is employed emphatically in lieu of what would otherwise have been **tád īndra túbhyaṃ tád divé / tád rudrāya sváyaśase*, in order to emphasize Indra’s preeminence in the list by means other than that of position alone.

Examples of 3 x 3 anaphora are the following:

(16) a. VIII.19.9 *só addhá dāśvādhvaro / (á)gne mártāḥ subhaga sá praśámsyaḥ / sá dhībhir astu sánitā* ‘That mortal truly is one whose ceremony has been offered in worship, O auspicious Agni, that one is to be praised. Let that one be a winner with (his) thoughts.’

b. II.6.5 *sá no vṛṣṭim divás pári / sá no vājam anarvāṇam / sá naḥ sahasrīṅīr íṣaḥ* ‘(Bring) us rain from heaven, us unassailable booty, us thousand-fold nourishments.’

c. VIII.22.13 *tāv idá cid áhānām / tāv asvínā vādamāna úpa bruve / tá ū námobhir ímahe* ‘Those two precisely at this time of the days, those two Aśvins do I address with praise; and those two do we beseech with reverences.’

d. VIII.93.8 *índraḥ sá dámane kṛtá / ójīṣṭhaḥ sá máde hitáḥ / dyumnī ślokī sá somyáḥ* ‘That Indra was made for giving, that most powerful one was set in exhilaration. That brilliant, famous one is worthy of soma.’

The first of these passages shows a straightforward anaphoric *sá*-sequence across a kakubh stanza with enjambment in pāda b. The anaphora of (b) is phrasal, involving also the Wackernagel clitic *naḥ*. The stanza shows strong reduction: all three demonstratives are instances of *sá*-figé, but the verb is also ellipsed throughout – a rarity for this construction. The two preceding stanzas also begin with *sá*-figé, and the three together show successively less anchoring of the pronoun in its discourse matrix: 3 *tām tvā gīrbhīḥ ... / saparyéma ...* parsable as ‘That thee would we worship with hymns’,¹⁵ 4 *sá bodhi sūrīr maghāvā*, conceivably, following WATKINS (2000), with *sá* as determiner and deletion of the pronoun, but more likely, once again, by extension of noun ... *sá/tá*- from third to second person discourse. In 5, however, there is neither a personal pronoun nor a verb. The construction here can surely not represent ordinary language but is a type of brachyology belonging solely to the province of poetry.¹⁶ In (c) the first occurrence of *taú*, as was the case with I.21.3 (=15a) and (10f), represents a

¹⁵ The vocative *agne* appears in the prior stanza. Hence, by extension of the diptych noun ... *sá/tá*- from third to second person, ... *agne ... /// tām tvā ...* .

¹⁶ Note, however, that if this passage is not simply to be reckoned as poetic license, it could be interpreted as providing the strongest type of evidence for the archaic value of *sá/tá* as a second person deictic. When I made this claim in KLEIN 1996 I was unaware of this passage. Note that GELDNER unabashedly translates ‘(Bring) du uns Regen vom Himmel, du unbestrittenen Gewinn, du uns tausendfältige Labsal’, showing by his repetition of ‘du’ that he understood *sá* here to possess the value of *tvám*.

proleptic accusativus pendens whose sole purpose is to produce 3 x 3 anaphora within a pāda providing a temporal adjunct for the following core structure *tāv asvínā ... úpa bruve*. In (d) the precise role of *sá* is not clear. Either we take *índrah* in pāda a as topicalized and followed by a predication *sá dāmāne kṛtāh* ‘Indra, he was made for giving’ or as a postposed determiner ‘that Indra was made for giving’. The similar post-positioning of *sá* in each subsequent pāda suggests that we should take its syntactic role as similar in each case. The preceding stanza has fronted *tām índram* and *sá vṛṣā* in pādas a and c, apparently with preposed determiner in each instance. This favors the reading of *sá* as a determiner in the present passage.

§ 10. The passages we have discussed in §§ 3-9 have all involved *sá/tá*-sequences occurring no more than once in their pādas. We now turn to sequences in which one or more pādas show more than one occurrence of the pronoun. Such pādas of course illustrate the kinds of structures seen in § 2; but they differ from those passages in that they participate in larger *sá/tá*-sequences as well. The most frequently represented type shows the demonstratives in pādas a and b of a four-line stanza. Sequences of both three and four demonstratives are attested:

(17) a. I.53.6ab *té tvā mādā amadan tāny vṛṣṇyā / té sómāso vṛtrahātyeṣu satpate* ‘Those exhilarations have exhilarated thee, those bull-acts, those somas in the battles with the obstacle, O master of the seat.’

b. II.26.3 *sá íj jánena sá viśá sá jánmanā / sá putráir vājam bharate dhánā nṛbhiḥ // devánāṃ yáḥ pitáram āvívāsati / śraddhāmanā havíṣā bráhmanas pátim* ‘That one alone with his folk, that one with his clan, that one with his race, that one with his sons bears (off) booty, the prizes with his men, who desires to win hither the father of the heavenly ones, Brahmaṇaspati, with his oblation, (he), whose mind is faithful.’

c. X.16.4ab *ajó bhāgás tāsasā tām tapasva / tām te śocís tapatu tām te arcíḥ* ‘A goat is (thy) portion. With (thy) heat burn that. That let thy flame burn, that thy ray.’

I.53.6ab (a) is the only passage in this group showing variation in the forms of the demonstrative, and here it is variation of number rather than case. In this passage all three demonstratives are employed attributively with their head noun, and the threefold structure pervades the entire distich. (b) is made up entirely of a *sá/tá*- ... *yá*- diptych, each part confined to its own

half-stanza. The demonstratives are therefore cataphoric, and the threefold figure ending with *bharate* is interlaced with a second threefold figure encompassing the two following words. Finally, in addition to showing the threefold figure in pāda b, (c) shows constituent fronting in a following an opening nominal clause, producing the paronomastic alliterative sequence *tāpasā tām tapasva*.

§ 11. Passages in which *sá/tá-* appears in pādas a and c include the following:

(18) a. II.20.4 *tām* u stuṣa indraṃ *tām* gr̥ṇīṣe / yásmin purá vāvṛdhúḥ śāśadús ca // *sá* vásvaḥ kāmam pīparad iyānó / brahmaṇyató nūtanasyāyóḥ
‘That one, Indra, do I praise, that one do I sing, in whom they have previously become strong and triumphant. That one, beseeched, will fulfill the desire for good (i.e. wealth) of the current brahman-proclaiming Āyu.’

b. X.107.6 *tām* evá ṛṣiṃ *tām* u brahmāṇam āhur / yajñanyāṃ sāmāgām ukthaśāsam // *sá* śukrāsya tanvò veda tistró / yáḥ prathamó dáksīṇayā rarādha
‘That one, indeed, do they say to be a Rishi and that one a Brahmin, a leader of the worship, a singer of songs, a proclaimer of hymns. That one knows the three bodies of light, who first attained success with the dakṣiṇā.’

c. I.77.3 *sá* hí krátuḥ *sá* máryaḥ *sá* sādḥúr / mitró ná bhūd ádbhutasya rathīḥ // *tām* médheṣu prathamám devayántīr / víśa úpa bruvate dasmám āṛīḥ
‘For that one is determination, that one a youth, that one unerring. Like Mitra, he has become the charioteer of wondrous (insight?). Him do the Aryan clans, cultivators of the heavenly ones, address first as the wondrous one at the worship meals.’

(a) and (b) are good examples of the manner in which the poets utilize *sá/tá-* sequences, in particular together with relatives, to structure their stanzas. In the first case, taken from an Indra hymn, the entire first distich is occupied by the inverse diptych *tām ... tām ... / yáḥ ...*. Then the entire second distich is occupied by a *sá*-clause expatiating upon the reciprocal action of Indra. In (b), where the referent of *tām* is not retrievable from the immediate context of the hymn, the pronoun is cataphoric in relationship to the relative of pāda d. The *tām ... tām ...* structure of pāda a is followed by a post-posed set of appositives which fill out the distich in b. The following half-stanza is then occupied in its entirety by a *sá ... yáḥ* diptych, which continues and resolves the cataphoric referential chain begun in a. (c) shows

a four-term sequence of demonstratives. The threefold repetition of *sá* in *pāda* a leaves no room for anything but three nominal clauses, each demonstrative having its own predicate. The hymn is to Agni and therefore *sá* is contextually anaphoric. This is then followed by a separate clause about Agni, rounding out the opening distich; and the second distich is occupied in its entirety by a single clause beginning with *tám*.

§ 12. Just slightly less frequent than the foregoing examples are instances in which the *sá/tá*- sequence is localized within *pādas* c and d of a four-line stanza:

(19) a. V.6.6a-d *pró tyé agnáyo (a)gnīṣu / vísvam puṣyanti váryam // té hinvire tá invire / tá iṣaṇyanty ānuśák* ‘These fires stand first among the fires; they bring every desirable thing to fruition. They are impelled, they are driven; they hasten in their proper turn.’

b. I.36.11 *yám agnīm médhyātithīḥ / káṇva īdhá ṛtád ádhi // táśya préšo dīdiyus tám imá ṛcas / tám agnīm vardhayāmasi* ‘Which fire (Agni) Medhyātithi Kaṇva kindled for the sake of truth, of that (him) have the nourishments (i.e. nourishing flames) shone out; it (him) do these songs (sing). That fire (Agni) do we make grow.’

c. X.69.3cd *sá revác choca sá gíro juṣasva / sá vājaṃ darṣi sá ihá śrávo dhāḥ* ‘Gleam richly, enjoy the songs, split the booty, create fame here.’

d. I.103.5b-d *śrād índrasya dhattana vīryāya // sá gá avindat só avindat áśvān / sá oṣadhīḥ só apáh sá vānāni* ‘Put faith in the heroism of Indra: he found the cows, he found the horses, he the plants, he the waters, he the trees.’

The first of these passages, characterized by polyptoton in *pāda* a and a hypogram in b (*hinvire/invire*), illustrates the opposition of deictic *tyé agnáyaḥ* and anaphoric *té*. We have disregarded the final *pāda* of this stanza, which is an adscititious refrain. (b) is occupied entirely by a *yá*- ... *sá/tá*-diptych that has the further feature of modified ring composition: *yám agnīm ... tám agnīm (vardhayāmasi)* with both *yám* and *tám* serving as determiners. In (c) a series of four *sá*-figé demonstrative clauses occupies the entire second distich (*sá ... V₁ sá ... V₂ / sá ... V₃ sá V₄*). If we are to understand these as textually anaphoric, this will have to be based on the vocative *agne* of the prior *pāda* (cf. our discussion of II.6.3 following [16] above and footnote 15). Finally, (d) with its five-term sequence, includes the 3/2 responsion¹⁷ *sá*

¹⁷ For this term (three-word cola, of which two words are repeated), cf. KLEIN 2004b.

X *avindat só avindat* Y as well as a stripped down version of the threefold figure (verb to be supplied from pāda c), in the final pāda.

§ 13. The remaining possibilities for demonstratives appearing in only two pādas are ad and bc. Examples are the following:

(20) a. VI. 15.11 *tám* agne pāsy utá *tám* piparṣi / yás ta ánaṭ kaváye śūra dhītīm // yajñásya vā níśitiṃ vóditīm vā / *tám* ít pṛṇakṣi śávasotá rāyā ‘That one, O Agni, dost thou protect, and that one dost thou rescue, who has attained the (poetic) thought for thee, the poet, O hero; or (has brought about) the inspiration for the worship or its beginning, that one alone dost thou fill with power and with wealth.’

b. I.87.6 śriyáse kám bhānúbhiḥ sám mimikṣire / *té* raśmíbhis tá řkvabhiḥ sukhādāyaḥ // *té* vāśimanta iśmīṇo ábhīravo / vidré priyásya mārutasya dhāmnāḥ ‘They have united for beauty with their radiances, those with their rays, those with their singers, the ones having good bracelets. Those, having axes, having arrows, fearless, are cognizant of their dear Marut nature.’

In (a) the initial structure *tám ... tám ... yáḥ* shows cataphoric demonstratives within the ‘diptych inverse’. The idea of successful attainment of a ritual act is extended into pāda c, whereas d continues with the specification of a reward for this service, referring to the recipient, this time anaphorically, with *tám*. The discourse structure of this stanza is therefore abc/d. In (b), the last stanza of a hymn to the Maruts, the reference of the two *té*’s of pāda b would have been immediately clear to the hearer. This pāda shows the threefold structure, except that the verb, *sám mimikṣire*, resides in the prior pāda. The entire second distich is taken up by a single clause initiated by the third occurrence of *té*.

§ 14. We now move to patterns showing demonstratives in three pādas of four-line stanzas. The most frequent type is abc, but acd and abd are also represented:

(21) a. III.13.3 *sá* yantā vípra eṣāṃ / *sá* yajñānām áthā hí śáḥ // *agnīm tám* vo duvasyata / dátā yó vānitā maghám ‘That one, the inspired (poet), is the leader of these (men); that one (is the leader) of the worships – for so he is. Worship that Agni of yours, who gives (and) wins a gift.’

b. IV.36.6 *sá* vājy árvā *sá* řṣir vacasyáyā / *sá* śúro ástā pṛtanāsu duṣṭáraḥ // *sá* rāyás póṣaṃ *sá* suvīryaṃ dadhe / yáṃ vājo víbhvāñ řbhávo

yám āviṣuḥ ‘That one is a prize-winning courser, that one a Rishi with his eloquence, that one a heroic archer, hard to overcome in battles. That one gains for himself thrivance of wealth, that one possession of a good slave contingent, whom Vāja, Vibhvan, whom the Ṛbhu’s have aided.’

c. II.18.2 *sāsmā āram prathamam śa dvitīyam / utó tṛtīyam mānuṣaḥ śa hótā // anyāsyā gārbham anyā ū jananta / śo anyébhiḥ sacate jényo vṛṣā* ‘That one is prepared for him (sc. Indra) the first time, that one the second time, and the third time, that Hotar of Manu. Others (sc. priests) have begotten the embryo (sc. Agni) of another (sc. the rubbing stick). That one consorts with (yet) others, the domestic bull.’

d. I.24.12 *tād ín náktam tād dívā máhyam āhus / tād ayám kéto hṛdá á ví caṣṭe // śunaḥśépo yám áhavad grbhītāḥ / śo asmán rájā váruṇo mumoktu* ‘That indeed by night, that by day do they say to me. That does this illumination perceive from the heart: which one Śunaḥśepa called when bound, let that one, King Varuṇa, release us.

e. VI.18.7 *śa majmánā jánima mānuṣāṇām / ámartyena námñāti prá sarsre // śa dyumnéna śa śávasotá rāyá / śa vīryèṇa nṛtamaḥ sámokāḥ* ‘That one with his greatness, with his immortal name stretched forth beyond the races of men, that one joined with splendor, that one with power and with wealth, that one with heroism, the best of men.’

In (a) the first 1½ pādas constitute a nominal sentence with parallel adjuncts, but following this is a very short nominal clause, *áthā hí śaḥ*, which apparently emphasizes the description of Agni as leader of the men (possibly to be understood as the entire cohort of singers [so GELDNER ad loc.]) and of the worships. Within this short clause the enclitic-like *hí* takes its normal place in second position following *áthā*. As a consequence, *śa* occupies line and colon-final position, producing the figure of *restitutio* (*śa ... śaḥ*) in pāda b. The following *tām* is then preceded by *agnim*, to which it serves as a postposed determiner. To all this a nonrestrictive relative clause is appended in pāda d. In (b), a five-term sequence, the demonstratives are cataphoric and defined only by the relatives of pāda d. Both the demonstrative subsequence of pāda c and the relative sequence of d show the threefold structure. In (c) the third occurrence of *śa* is a determiner of *hótā* and has moved with its head to the end of the distich, where it functions as an appositional adjunct to the preceding *śa*-sequence. This reference (to Agni) is then continued by *śa* in pāda d. (d) shows a cataphoric sequence of

demonstratives in ab referring to the entirety of the second distich, which is itself composed of a *yá-* ... *sá/tá-* diptych whose demonstrative is unrelated to the first three. Finally, (e) is from an Indra hymn, where initial *sá* would be easily understood as referring to that deity. The force of *áti prá sarsre* extends throughout the second distich, producing an unusually expansive form of the threefold structure.

§ 15. There are four passages in the present group in which a demonstrative occurs in each pāda of a four-line stanza. In (a-c) one finds five terms, while (d) is an eight-term sequence:

(22) a. I.89.4 *tán* no váto mayobhú vātu bheṣajám / *tán* mātá pṛthivī *tát* pitá dyáuḥ // *tád* grāvāṇaḥ somasúto mayobhúvas / *tád* ásvinā śṛṇutaṃ dhiṣṇyā yuvám ‘Let the wind blow that balm-bringing healing to us, that (let) mother earth, that (let) father heaven (bring); that the balm-bringing soma-pressing stones. Hear that, O Ásvins, you dhiṣṇyā.’

b. X.114.4 ékaḥ suparnāḥ *sá* samudrám ā viveśa / *sá* idám víśvam bhúvanaṃ ví caṣṭe // *tám* pákena mánasāpaśyam ántitas / *tám* mātá reḥi *sá* u reḥi mātáram ‘The single bird, that one entered the ocean. That one looks out over all this creation. Him have I beheld with simple mind from up close. That one does the mother lick, and that one licks the mother.’

c. VIII.20.14 *tán* vandasva marútas *tán* úpa stuhi / *téṣāṃ* hí dhúnīnām // arāṇām ná caramás *tád* eṣām / dānā mahná *tád* eṣām ‘Celebrate those Maruts, praise them; for of those roaring ones, as (is the case) of wheel-spokes, there is no last one. That (is reflected) through their liberality, that through their greatness.’

d. I.145.1 *tám* pṛchatā *sá* jagāmā *sá* veda / *sá* cikitvāñ ñyate *sá* nv ñyate // *tásmin* santi praśiṣas *tásminn* iṣṭáyaḥ / *sá* vājasya śávasaḥ śuśmīṇas pátiḥ ‘Ask that one, he has come, he knows; he is prayed to as the wise one, he is prayed to now. Upon him are the wishes, upon him the desires. He is master of booty, of mighty power.’

In the first of these passages the threefold structure with ellipsis of the verb appears in pādas b and c, whereas *tád* of pāda d refers to the entire preceding structure. (b) shows fronting of the topic – the single bird – in pāda a followed by a series of statements about him. In d these take the form of a pair of inverse actions. (c) is not an integral sequence but rather a set of two coreferential structures, the first of which is enjambed across a distich

boundary. The second sequence is in the form of a chiasmic 3/2 responsion which is itself enjambed across a pāda boundary. (d) is the opening stanza of a hymn to Agni. Since the god is nowhere mentioned by name, we must assume the pragmatic context of the ritual to be the source of referential recovery from the outset. Within this structure, however, we find the three-fold figure in pāda c and the figure of complexio (X ... Y, X ... Y) within the two cola of pāda b.

§ 16. There remain to be discussed only passages in which *sá/tá*-sequences of the sort surveyed in §§ 10-15 appear in three-line stanzas. Attested are the types ab, ac, and abc, as in the following examples:

(23) a. VIII.16.9 *tám* arkébhīś *tám* sāmabhiś / *tám* gāyatrāiś carṣaṇāyaḥ / indraṃ vardhanti kṣitāyaḥ ‘That one, Indra, do the races, the dwellings strengthen with songs, that one with chants, that one with gāyatrī stanzas.’

b. III.10.3 *sá* ghā yás te dá dáśati / samídhā jātāvedase // *só* agne dhatte suvīryaṃ *sá* puṣyati ‘That one, truly, who will worship unto thee, Jātavedas, with the kindling log, that one, O Agni, acquires a good slave contingent, that one thrives.’

c. I.5.3 *sá* ghā no yóga ā bhuvat / *sá* rāyé *sá* púraṃdhyām / gāmad vājebhir ā *sá* naḥ ‘That one, truly, shall be present for us in our work, that one for wealth, that one in the granting of abundance. That one will come hither to us with booty.’

(a) shows the threefold structure in pādas a and b, although the verb resides in c. This is an example of what I have termed „anaphorization“ (cf. KLEIN 1985.1: 110, with reference to repeated relatives). The basic idea here could have been expressed as *arkébhīś (ca) sāmabhiś (ca) gāyatrāiś cén-draṃ vardhanti kṣitāyaḥ* ‘The dwellings strengthen Indra with songs, chants, and gāyatrī stanzas’. However, each of the instrumental adjuncts is attached to an instance of *tám* and preposed to the core structure, which is also augmented by *carṣaṇāyaḥ*, a semantic variant of *kṣitāyaḥ*. In (b) instead of the simple diptych *yá... sá ... sá ...* an additional occurrence of *sá* has been proleptically fronted, together with the emphatic clitic *ghā*; hence, not merely ‘which one will worship’ but ‘that one, truly, who will worship’. In (c), which shows the threefold structure in pādas a and b, the new structure of pāda c generally inverts the word-order of a, producing the ring-like configuration *sá ghā naḥ ... / ... / ... ā sá naḥ* within the stanza.

§ 17. This concludes our study of *sá/tá-* sequences in the Rigveda. In this section we shall summarize our major findings, referring in each case to a passage in §§ 2-16 which illustrates the phenomenon in question. The smallest domain of the *sá/tá-* sequence is the individual pāda; and sequences appearing exclusively here generally show the pronoun in initial position in the line and again initially in the break or cadence (VI.49.1c, X.85.21d = 1ab). As is the case with all forms of anaphora in the Rigveda not involving verbs, an important stylistic feature of *sá/tá-* sequences is the threefold structure of anaphora itself, gapping of the verb in one of the anaphoric cola, and parallelism of a remaining argument or adjunct (VII.101.3d = 2a). Frequently, however, the anaphoric cola are nominal sentences (VIII.16.8a = 2c) or, rarely, show ellipsis of a full verb (VIII.25.14b = 2b). The major text linguistic roles signaled by *sá/tá-* are anaphora and cataphora (X.85.21cd and VI.49.1cd = 1b,a, respectively). Occasionally, a given occurrence of the pronoun may occupy a pivotal position within a sequence, functioning in both roles at once (X.47.8ab = 8d). In the many instances where a referent is introduced in a prior stanza, *sá/tá-* may be anaphoric within its hymn as a whole yet function cataphorically within its stanza (III.2.2 = 9c). Rarely, a *sá/tá-* sequence begins in the opening pāda of its hymn in the absence of any specified nominal referent. In such cases the pragmatic context of the ritual may allow the identification of its referent (I.145.1 = 22d). Occasionally, *sá/tá-* is employed proleptically. That is, it is not itself part of any predication but precedes a subsequent occurrence of the same form that does participate in a predicate construction (I.162.17cd = 10f). In instances of this sort the pronoun appears to serve as a place-holder bridging a relatively long stretch of text until the form is introduced again. Another, less frequent nonpredicative usage of *sá/tá-* is in an emphatically identifying function (IV.51.7 = 7). In many instances *sá/tá-* serves as a determiner in construction with a following adjacent noun (VII.1.23a = 8c). These cases usually precede other coreferential terms but in one instance *sá* + noun is postposed appositionally (II.18.2 = 21c). *sá/tá-* may sometimes follow its head noun in this role (VIII.93.8 = 16d); and very rarely it functions as a virtual definite article with bleaching of its demonstrative value (II.34.12a = 9d). The most polysemous of *sá/tá-* forms is *tád*, which may be concretely referential or, less commonly, temporal (VIII.89.5 = 10e). Not infrequently it possesses clausal reference (IV.51.11 = 12a); and in one instance successive occurrences of *tád* are temporal and concretely referential, respectively (VIII.89.6 = 13b). A notable feature of *sá/tá-* sequences which differs from that observed with sequences of relative pronouns is the infrequent occurrence of

non-paradigmatic (adverbial) forms of this stem (only *tátaḥ*, *tátra*, and *táthā*, each represented once, e.g. I.30.12 = 15b). A special role in Rigvedic discourse is reserved for *sá-figé*, the appearance of *sá/tá-* in apparent second person value with second person, normally modal verb forms. Although the ultimate source of this construction is not clear (cf. WATKINS 2000 and KLEIN 1996 for differing suggestions), one of its undoubted functions is to extend the widely occurring Rigvedic discourse strategies *yá- ... / sá/tá-* and noun ... *sá/tá-*, together with their inverted variants, from third to second person contexts. In this role *sá/tá-* may occur by itself (I.62.4 = 6a), doubled by an orthotonic pronoun (I.104.6ab = 6b), or doubled by an enclitic (I.184.1 = 6c). Rarely, the verb may be ellipsed (II.16.5 = 16b), a construction which is likely to be only poetic. In cases where one or more predications precede, *sá-figé* may be understood anaphorically (II.13.6 = 10h), but very frequently this is not possible, and the value of the pronoun appears to be deictic or cataphoric (I.184.1a, VI.17.2a = 6c, 12c).

The majority of *sá/tá-* sequences occur over a range of *pādas* within a stanza, symmetrical four-line stanzas predominating by a wide margin over three-line and strophic stanzas. Where no more than one occurrence of the demonstrative appears in a line, the pronoun is usually line and colon-initial. Even in cases of a preceding integral relative group (II.37.2a = 9e) or a fully specified or nominal clause (II.13.6d = 10h, I.89.10b = 3c), the pronoun is nevertheless still colon-initial; and the same is true where a prior clause is enjambed into a *pāda* where *sá/tá-* occurs (VI.15.13d = 12b). Where an enclitic element follows *sá/tá-* in two or more of its colon-initial occurrences, we may speak of phrasal anaphora (IX.89.5 = 10c). Only in cases of word or constituent fronting is *sá/tá-* neither *pāda* nor colon-initial (X.47.8a.c = 8d, I.162.17cd = 10f). Such cases may produce interesting rhetorical effects, including anadiplosis (X.90.10cd = 13f), reditio (III.13.3b = 21a), and (modified) ring composition (I.5.3 = 23c). Another rhetorical feature associated with *sá/tá-* repetition is anaphorization, whereby parallel case forms of nouns and adjectives which might otherwise have been conjoined appear asyndetically together with the demonstrative, which is mapped onto each on a 1-1 basis (X Y Z [ca] → *sá/tá-* X *sá/tá-* Y *sá/tá-* Z) (VIII.16.9 = 23a). This is merely a manifestation of the functional identity of anaphora and conjunction at a discourse level.

Finally, and most importantly, we must speak of the role of *sá/tá-* within the structure of the stanza. The major referential markers of Rigvedic discourse are nouns, *sá/tá-*, and relative pronouns; and it is through the sequencing of all three that discourse movement is facilitated. As noted earlier, the major discourse

strategies of the Rigvedic bards were the coreferential sequences noun ... *sá/tá-*, *yá-* ... *sá/tá-*, together with their inversions *sá/tá-* ... noun and *sá/tá-* ... *yá-*; and anaphora and cataphora, which we have characterized as the major text linguistic roles associated with *sá/tá-*, are assumed primarily within these structures. The type noun ... *sá/tá-* of course represents universal linguistic usage ('I saw *John* at the party. He was talking to a woman.'). Less common, perhaps, universally is the cataphoric structure *sá/tá-* ... noun ('*That one* do I praise, *Indra*, the smiter of *Vṛtra*'), but in the Rigveda this is a very frequent construction; and when the demonstrative and noun are contiguous (*tám indram*), it is natural to understand *sá/tá-* as a determiner ('That *Indra* [do I praise].'). The sequence types involving relative pronouns are highly characteristic of the Rigveda, whether in the form *yá-* ... *sá/tá-* ('diptych normal') or *sá/tá-* ... *yá-* ('diptych inverse'). It is not uncommon to find *sá/tá-* sequences preceded, followed, or embraced by relative clauses (I.177.2a-c, IV.8.6, IV.4.10 = 5a-c, respectively). However, less frequently *sá/tá-* may itself embrace one or more relatives (VI.17.2 = 12c). It is within four-line stanzas that the interrelationships of *sá/tá-* sequences and nouns and relatives are displayed to the fullest degree. Here, as one would predict, the types noun ... // *sá/tá-*... / *sá/tá-* ... (IX.89.5 = 10c) and *yá-* ... // *sá/tá-* ... / *sá/tá-* ... (X.112.5 = 10d) predominate, because in these *sá/tá-* possesses its normal anaphoric value; however, one also finds the inverse type *sá/tá-* ... / *sá/tá-* ... // *yá-* ... (/ *yá-* ...) (VIII.3.9 = 9b), as well as more expanded structures such as *sá/tá-* ... noun ... *sá/tá-* ... / *yá-* ... // *sá/tá-* ... (II.20.4 = 18a). In addition to integral coreferential sequences of these sorts, one finds many instances of repeated occurrences of *sá/tá-* where the pronoun belongs to different coreferential subsequences: *sá/tá-* ... *yá-* // *sá/tá-* ... *yá-* ... (VII.1.23 = 8c), *yá-* ... *sá/tá-* ... / *yá-* ... *sá/tá-* ... (X.36.10 = 13d). In one case a sequence of neuter demonstratives refers cataphorically to a clause consisting itself of a *yá-* ... *sá/tá-* diptych (I.24.12 = 21d). Because of the general frequency of *sá/tá-*, it is often the case that a final refrain verse containing a *sá/tá-* form can be integrated with the occurrence of the pronoun earlier in the stanza, producing a *sá/tá-* sequence (X.36.10 = 13d). Finally, we have said nothing here about deictic pronouns, primarily *ayám*, *syá/tyá-*, and *asáu*. Predictably, each of these is found in sequences of repeated *sá/tá-* pronouns, always in initial position of the coreferential structure (X.173.3 = 10a, V.6.6 = 19a, I.105.16 = 10b, respectively).

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