SSL

Particle-verb constructions in Vedic:
The case of *ápa*

Serena Danesi

Abstract

Vedic verbs can be modified by certain particles, mainly expressing topological notions, which are homophonous with some adpositions and adverbs, and which can occur either attached to the verb or detached from it. New verbal forms derived by the combination of a verbal base with one of those particles have a quite controversial status. On the one hand, particle verbs are not morphological units since the particle and the verb can occur separated; thus they appear to be a product of syntax. On the other hand, they behave as morphologically derived complex verbs since they constitute semantic units. Indeed, a closer examination of the properties of particle verbs shows that they can be characterised both as syntactic entities and as lexical units. Therefore, Vedic particle verbs represent a challenge for theories assuming a strict division between lexicon and syntax. In order to meet the challenge, I propose to analyse these combinations as 'constructions' (in the sense assumed by Construction Grammar), varying with respect to their degree of idiomaticity vs productivity. As an example of particle-verb construction, a case study from the Ṛgveda will be presented: I will investigate the construction formed with the particle *ápa* and I will explain its structure and meaning.

Keywords: Construction Grammar, idioms, metaphorical extension, particle verbs, motion events, spatial prepositions, resultative constructions, Vedic.

1. *Introduzione*

In Vedic, as well as in many Indo-European languages, there are several indeclinable lexical items (as opposed to inflected forms) – mainly expressing topological notions – which are often able to occur in several grammatical categories, as shown in the following English examples[1]:

(1) a. The sun rose *over* the valley (preposition).
     b. The dancer fell *over* (adverb).
     c. Try to get *over* your fear! (particle verb).
     d. The cat *over*ate (prefix).

---

[1] Such lexemes express topological notions of proximity, location, interiority and exteriority, path and relation (Bubenik, 2007: 47).

Particles like *over* can function as adpositions when used with nouns, as in (1a); as free adverbs, as in (1b); or they may have a verb-specifying function, as in (1c) and (1d)[2].

New verbal forms derived by the combination of a verbal base to one of those particles are known as 'particle verbs' (or 'verb-particle combinations', 'phrasal verbs', 'separable verbs', etc.), i.e. constructions where a verb is specified by a particle often homonymous with an adverb or a preposition. Quoting the definition proposed by Dehé *et al.* (2002: 3), a particle may be characterised as follows:

A particle is an accented element which is formally (and, often, semantically) related to a preposition, which does not assign case to a complement and which displays various syntactic and semantic symptoms of what may informally be called a close relationship with a verb, but without displaying the phonological unity with it typical of affixes. (Dehé *et al.*, 2002: 3)

Particle verbs exhibit a similar syntactic and semantic behaviour across languages:
–   Firstly, verb and particle are separable;
–   Secondly, despite their syntactic separation, they form a semantic unit.

Particle verbs are widespread among both ancient languages and modern languages[3]. The main point of variation is related to the degree of 'separability'. There are languages where particle and verb are always separated. For example, in English, separation is the rule:

(2) a.   *Turn on* the radio.
     b.   *Turn* the radio *on*.

---

[2]   The uncertain categorial status of preverbs has often been interpreted as a proof of their adverbial origin. Consequently, the prepositional function has been regarded as a recent innovation. It is not the aim of this paper to outline a historical reconstruction of the origins of prepositions, but with regard to this topic, let me quote Luraghi (2003: 76): «To my view categorial status is to a large extent a pseudo-problem, and cannot demonstrate much with respect to the antiquity of prepositions. Variation in usage is also found in some modern Indo-European languages [...] but to my knowledge, nobody has ever used this variation as evidence for the fact that prepositions are a recent development in Modern English».

[3]   Particle verbs are attested in Avestan, in Hittite, Homeric Greek, Latin, Old Irish, Gothic and Vedic. As for modern languages, these constructions are common especially in Germanic languages such as in English, Dutch, German, Norwegian, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, Faroese (see Dehé *et al.*, 2002; Svenonius, 1996).

In English, the combination can appear either as a continuous sequence preceding the direct object or as a discontinuous sequence with the direct object intervening between the verb and the particle.

On the other hand, there are languages where separation and univerbation coexist, for example in German:

(3)   a.   *John rief das Mädchen an.*
           "John rang the girl up."
      b.   **John anrief das Mädchen.*
      c.   *... dass John das Mädchen anrief.*
      d.   **... dass John rief das Mädchen an.*

<div align="right">(Dehé et al., 2002: 2)</div>

In German, a (non topicalised) particle generally occurs at the end of the clause, as shown in (3a), but it is attached to the verb in sentence-final position, as shown in (3c).

In general, where separation occurs, the position of the particle depends on the configurationality degree of the language. In languages with a fairly rigid word order, particles usually occupy fixed positions. On the other hand, where word order is quite free, the particle position also is quite free.

Diachronically, particle verbs represent an intermediate phase of a process converting particles into bound morphemes. It is accepted that in Proto-Indo-European, preverbs were independent constituents (Beekes, 1995; Kuryłowicz, 1964; Watkins, 1964)[4]. The original situation is well documented in various ancient languages: particle verbs are attested in Vedic, Hittite, Homeric Greek, Old Irish and Latin (Watkins, 1964)[5].

---

[4]   In Indo-European linguistics, separable particles and prefixes are often grouped together under the label 'preverb'. The notion of 'preverb' is used as a cover term to refer to both affixes and independent words that modify the verb. Therefore, it is also used with reference to particle verbs. As stated by BOOIJ and VAN KEMENADE (2003: 1): «The preverb may be separated from the verb whilst retaining its close cohesion with the verb, which is called 'tmesis'. It may also develop into a bound morpheme, that is, a prefix inseparable from the verb, with concomitant reduction of phonological form in some cases».

[5]   Univerbation is the rule, even in our earliest Latin documents, but we have evidence of a stage where the verb and the preverb were separated. See for example the following passages from the Latin grammarian Festus (Cf. CUZZOLIN, 1995):

(i) 402: *sub vos placo, in precibus fere cum dicitur, significat id, quod supplico, ut in legibus* (XII, inc. 3)
    "When people say, generally in prayers, *sub vos placo*, it means the same as *supplico*"

(ii) 206: *ob vos sacro, in quibusdam precationibus est, pro vos obsecro, ut sub vos placo, pro supplico*
    "*ob vos secro* in certain prayers stands for *vos obsecro*, as *sub vos placo* stands for *vos supplico*"

This paper is focused on particle verbs in Early Vedic. Here I am going to explore the particle verb phenomenon as attested in the Rgveda, the earliest document of the Indo-Aryan linguistic branch. The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 describes particle verbs in Vedic, while Section 3 discusses their problematic status (word or phrases?); Section 4 suggests interpreting particle verb combinations as 'constructions' (in the sense proposed by Construction Grammar). In Section 5, I present a detailed examination of a specific particle verb construction, i.e. the construction formed with the particle *ápa*.

2. *Particle verbs in Vedic: a general description*

In Vedic, verbs occur very frequently in combination with the following particles of direction:

(4) *áti*   "across, beyond, past, over, to excess";
    ádhi "above, over, on, on to";
    ánu   "after, along, toward";
    antár "between, among, within";
    ápa   "away, forth, off";
    ápi   "unto, close upon or on";
    abhí "to, unto, against (often with implied violence)";
    áva   "down, of";
    ā́   "to, unto, at";
    úd   "up, up forth or out";
    úpa   "to, unto, toward";
    ní   "down; in, into";
    nís   "out, forth";
    párā "to a distance, away, forth";
    pári "round about, around";
    prá   "forward, onward, forth, fore";
    práti "in reversed direction, back to or against, against, in return";
    ví   "apart, asunder, away, out";
    sám   "along, with, together".

(List and meanings from Whitney, 1950: 396)

Most of these particles can also function as adpositions, for example[6]:

---

[6] I adopt the following abbreviations: ABL = ablative; ABS = absolutive; ACC = accusative; ADV= adverb; CAUS = causative; CONJ = conjunction; DAT = dative; ENCL = enclitic; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; IMPF = imperfect; IMPV = imperative; INF = infinitive; INJ = injunctive;

(5) *yó   áśmanor   antár agníṃ   jajā́na*
    who-NOM   stones-GEN/LOC ADP   fire-ACC generate-3SG.PF
    "He who produced the fire between two stones" (RV II 12, 3c)

Among these particles, *ápa*, *áva*, *úd*, *ní*, *nís*, *párā*, *prá* and *ví* never occur as adpositions, but only as adverbs (Renou, 1956).

When particles and verbs combine, they frequently undergo a considerable semantic modification in such a way that their original meaning is hardly detectable (Whitney, 1950: 396)[7]. The verbal complex thus created constitutes a semantic unit where the meaning of the whole cannot be easily derived from the simple sum of the constituents' meanings.

In Classical Sanskrit, particles stand immediately in front of the verb they modify, but in the *Vedas* and in the *Brāhmaṇas* particles may occur either formally united to the verb or separated from it. Their position has been extensively described by Delbrück (1888: 44-46), Macdonell (1910), Renou (1933), Hettrich (1991), Pinault (1995) among others, and some general tendencies have been noticed.

In main clauses, particle and verb are usually separated. The main verb is typically in sentence final position (Gonda, 1959: 7; Watkins, 1964: 1037) and is unaccented, for the accent falls on the particle. The particle either occupies the initial position, detached from the verb, as in (6a), or is located in front of the verb, still written as a separate word, as in (6b):

(6) a. *prá vā́m   bráhmāṇi kārávo   bharante*
       PTC you-DU.DAT.ENCL prayers-ACC poets-NOM bear-3PL.PRS.MID
       "To you the poets offer their prayers" (RV VII 72, 4b)

    b. *devó   devébhir   ā́ gamat*
       god-NOM gods-INSTR PTC go-3SG.SBJ
       "May the god come with the gods" (RV I 1, 5c)

As Renou (1933: 52-53) observes, the position of such particles is likely to be dictated by the formulaic character of Vedic hymns and by stylistic rea-

---

INSTR = instrumental; INTENS = intensive; MID = middle; OPT = optative; PART = participle; PASS = passive; PF = perfect; PL = plural; PRS = present; PPP = past passive participle; PTC = particle; REL = relative; SBJ = subjunctive; SG = singular; VOC = vocative.

[7]   About the meanings of the particles, WHITNEY (1950: 396) observes that «In combinations of root and prefix they undergo much modification, both literal and figurative - yet seldom in such a way that the steps of transition from the fundamental senses are not easy to trace. Sometimes, indeed, the value of a root is hardly perceptibly modified by the addition of the prefix».

sons. According to Renou, particles are most frequently placed in front of the verse in invocations and prayers, as in (6a), where they emphasise the initial impetus of the chant[8]. On the other hand, in hymns characterised by a flat and inexpressive tone, the particle may be placed in front of the verb at the end of the verse, as in (6b)[9].

Therefore, the difference of position seems to affect the pragmatic level, i.e. information structure and stylistic aspect, without consequences on the semantics of particle verbs; their meaning, indeed, is not influenced by the proximity between the particle and the verb. Consider the following examples:

(7) a. *índrasya   nú   vīryā̀ṇi   prá vocaṃ*
         Indra-GEN now manly.deeds-ACC PTC tell-1SG.INJ
         "Now I want to announce the manly deeds of Indra" (RV I 32, 1a)

     b. *prá nū́ mahitváṃ   vṛṣabhásya vocaṃ*
         PTC now greatness-ACC bull.GEN   tell-1SG.INJ
         "Now I want to announce the greatness of the bull (Indra)" (RV I 59, 6a)

The root *vac* means "speak". When it is combined with *prá*, the particle verb means "announce, proclaim". As it is illustrated by the examples (7a) and (7b), the semantics of the complex is not connected to the position of the components. In both cases, the meaning is the same: the poet is going to report, in a solemn way, the heroic actions of the god Indra. Thus, contact and/or separation are not relevant for the meaning of particle verbs: the presence of the particle itself, regardless of its position, modifies the meaning of the verbal root. As Pinault (1995: 47) clearly explains:

Les facteurs de rapprochement du préverbe et du verbe sont certainement multiples. En tout cas, la modification sémantique du verbe par le préverbe ne dépend pas de la proximité immédiate du préverbe e du verbe. (Pinault, 1995: 47)

---

[8]   Precisely, Renou expresses the following observation (1933: 52-53): «On conçoit que, mettant le préverbe en évidence, elle ait une place privilégiée dans des hymnes qui consistent surtout en invocations; en fait, près d'un tiers de ces séparations sont fournies par des phrases du type *ā́ no gatam, ā́ no yāhi* [...]. La séparation a sa place d'abord dans les strophes d'appel e de prière, où il a convenu de marquer par le préverbe, l'invocation, l'élan initial dont le reste de la phrase développe le contenu».

[9]   As Renou states (1933: 52-53): «C'est pour la raison inverse – diction inexpressive et impersonnelle – que beaucoup d'hymnes du livre IX, pourtant ancien, comptent relativement peu des préverbes séparés».

Apart from these general tendencies (the particle being in sentence initial position and the particle being in preverbal position), the particle position is quite free; particles may even come after the verb with which they form a semantic unit:

(8) *jáyema   sám yudhí   spŕdhaḥ*
     defeat-1PL.OPT PTC battle-LOC enemies-ACC
     "May we conquer our enemies in battle" (RV I 8, 3c)

The behaviour of particle verbs is different in subordinate clauses: here the particle is usually united to the verb and the accent falls on the verb, not on the particle. For example:

(9) *védā   yé   adhyā́sate*
     know-3SG.PF   who-NOM.PL   PTC=sit-3PL.PRS.MID
     "He knows those who preside" (RV I 25, 9c)

Separation in subordinate clauses is very rare and it never exceeds one *pāda*. When there is separation, it is often the subordinating element that intervenes between the particle and the verb, e.g.:

(10) a. *ní   yé   riṇánty*
         PTC   who-NOM.PL   break-3PL.PRS
         "Those who break down" (RV V 56, 4a)

     b. *prá   yác   chócanta*
         PTC   when glow-3PL.INJ.MID
         "When (hidden thoughts) glow" (RV VIII 6, 8b)

Similarly, particles are generally attached to non-finite forms of the verb and are unaccented (for example, *apa-gácchant*, i.e. the present active participle from the particle verb *ápa-gam* "go away", *apa-gáccha-māna*, i.e. the present middle participle from the particle verb *ápa-gam* "go away", *apa-jaganvā́ṃs*, i.e. the perfect active participle from the particle verb *ápa-gam* "go away", and *apa-jagm-āná*, i.e. the perfect middle participle from the same particle verb)[10]. Separation is practically unknown also in negative clauses.

---

[10] Past passive participles and infinitives from *-tu* stems constitute an exception: when compounded with a particle, they lose their accent, which instead, falls on the particle (for example *ní-hita* "deposited", *sáṃ-kar-tum* "to collect"; MACDONELL, 1916: 462-463).

In conclusion, the separation of the particle is determined by syntactic factors (main clauses vs dependent clauses) and prosodic elements. The position does not affect the semantics. Some variants –such as the particle stranded in sentence initial position vs the particle in front of the verb (in both cases placed at the end of the sentence)– possibly reflect a pragmatic difference.

3. *The controversial status of Vedic particle verbs*

The status of Vedic particle verbs is quite controversial. Particle verbs are not morphological units since the particle and the verb can be separated; thus they appear to be a product of syntax. None the less, they behave as morphologically derived complex verbs since they constitute semantic units. In fact, a closer examination of the properties of particle verbs shows that they can be characterised both as syntactic entities and as lexical entities. For the following properties, they appear to be created at a syntactic level:

a.   Separability. Vedic preverbs have the special property of being separable (see Section 2). This distinctive feature prevents us from studying such structures as a regular phenomenon of preverbation, derived morphologically by means of verbal prefixes. In the latter case, the combination of the preverb and the verb is no longer productive: prefixed stems must be listed, one by one, in the lexicon. Instead, the situation documented in Vedic is different: the combination is realised at syntactic level and is productive.

b.   Productivity. Particle-verb combinations are productive, at least partially, since particles are spread throughout the Vedic verbal system: they are attested with most Ṛgvedic verbal roots. Whitney (1950: 395) notes that almost all verbs, with the exception of some denominative stems, combine with particles[11]. The roots attested without particles are very few: they have been listed by Delbrück (1888: 433)[12].

---

[11]   WHITNEY (1950: 395) observes that «All the forms, personal and other, of verbal conjugation – of both primary and secondary conjugation, and even to some extent of denominative (so far as denominative stems have become assimilated in value to simple roots) – occur very frequently in combination with certain words of direction, elements of an adverbial character [...], the so-called prepositions (according to the original use of that term), or the verbal prefixes».

[12]   DELBRÜCK (1888: 433) draws up a list of verbs not found with particles. It consists of *īś* "be master", *kar* "commemorate", *krudh* "be angry", *gras* "devour", *trā* "rescue"; *tviṣ* "be stirred", *dakṣ*

c. Ellipsis of the verb. Another characteristic of particle verbs that provides evidence for their syntactic status is their absolute use. In the Ṛgveda, there are many occurrences of verbal ellipsis; the preverb stands alone and the omitted verb is provided either by a previous phrase or by the context:

(11) *saptá svásāro   abhí mātáraḥ   śíśum*
      seven sisters-NOM PTC mothers-NOM babe-ACC
      "The seven sisters rush as mothers to the babe" (RV IX 86, 36a)

Here the omitted verb is probably *arṣanti* (third person plural from the root *ṛṣ* "flow"), retrievable from the previous stanza (Renou, 1933: 60). In many cases, the understanding of the missing verb is a very difficult task. See example (12):

(12) *prá te   nā́vaṃ ná   sámane   vacasyúvam*
      PTC you-DAT ship-ACC like-ADV assembly-LOC eloquent-ACC
      "In the assembly, I send (?) you (my chant) like an eloquent ship"
      (RV II 16, 7a).

On the basis of the comparison with similar formulaic groups, Renou (1933: 61) proposes that the form to reconstruct is *prá iyarmi* "I set in motion, I send forth", where *iyarmi* is a first singular person from the root *ṛ* "go, move, set in motion (intr. and tr.)".
Verbal ellipsis suggests that the particle and the verb are two distinct formal elements. In fact it is not the case that, with morphologically prefixed stems, we can find the prefix standing alone. While ellipsis is a stylistic device, we must remember that it is permitted by the particular properties of particle verbs. As Renou notes (1933: 61): «L'emploi n'est ainsi qu'une résultante du style védique, mais rendu possible par l'autonomie extraordinaire dont jouit le préverbe dans le Rv». Therefore, the verbal ellipsis phenomenon shows that particles possess a high degree of syntactic autonomy, but it also tells that particle verbs are, to a certain extent, stored as whole units in the lexicon. Otherwise, the particle standing alone would be meaningless and the unexpressed verb could not be recovered.

"be able", *dhraj* "sweep", *dhvan* "sound", *dhvar* "injure", *nāth* "seek aid", *niṃs* "kiss", *bhand* "be greeted with praise", *bharv* "chew", *bhām* "be angry", *bhikṣ* "beg", *bhrī* "hurt", *bhreṣ* "totter", *raṃh* "hasten", *ran* "rejoice", *rup* "break", *vrādh* "be great", *śad* "to fall"; *śam* "be quiet", *sas* "sleep", *sparh* "be eager", *sridh* "blunder", *sriv* "fail", *hrī* "be ashamed".

For the following properties, particle verbs show an unquestionable semantic cohesion and word-like behaviour:

d.   Particles are usually attached to the verb in dependent clauses.

e.   Particle and verb may constitute a single prosodic unit[13].

f.   Particle-verb combinations sometimes give rise to unpredictable meanings. See for example *ádhi-gam* "accomplish", *abhí-gam* "understand" vs *gam* "go"; *abhí-car* "bewitch", *pári-car* "serve" vs *car* "move one's self"; *abhí-vṛt* "overcome, be victorious", *sáṃ-vṛt* "take shape, come into being, arise from" vs *vṛt* "roll".

g.   Some particles like *prá* and *sám* can express *Aktionsart* features.
     prá has an inchoative value as it can emphasise the beginning of an action (Delbrück, 1888: 460; Gonda, 1962: 232; Renou, 1935: 144). This value appears in some particle verbs like *prá-gā* "begin to sing, start a song, extol"[14], where the simple *gā* means "sing", or in *prá-i* "begin, start"[15], where the simple *i* means "go". For example:

(13) *prayatí*   *yajñé*   *asmín*
      begin-PART.PRS.LOC sacrifice-LOC this-LOC
      "in this sacrifice which begins" (RV III 29, 16)[16]

The *Aktionsart* function of *sám* is a completive one: it designates the completeness or perfection of an action and focuses on its end (Gonda, 1962: 225). This value is found in particle verbs like *sám-añj* "anoint or rub in thoroughly" (Gonda, 1962: 229), where the simple *añj* means "anoint", or in *sáṃ-dah* "consume by fire", where the simple *dah* means "burn". For example:

(14) *víśvaṃ*   *sám* *atríṇaṃ*   *daha*
      every-ACC PTC demon-ACC burn-2SG.IMPV
      "Destroy by fire every demon" (RV I 36, 14b)

---

[13] As WHITNEY (1950: 398) notes: «the verb along with its normally situated prefix or prefixes so far constitutes a unity that the whole combination is allowed to take but a single accent».
[14] According to DELBRÜCK (1888: 461), it means precisely "zu singen anheben". GONDA (1962: 237) suggests that the verb particle underlines the initial stage of the action and proposes as a meaning "to begin to sing" or "to sing forth, to sing from now on".
[15] According to DELBRÜCK (1888: 461): "anheben (von der Opferhandlung, die beginnt und sich entwickelt)".
[16] My translation is based on Geldner's translation: "bei diesem beginnenden Opfer".

Aktionsart values have also been recognised in other particles (see Gonda, 1962; Renou, 1935, for an overview), which modify the verbal semantics either focusing on a particular phase of the action described by the verb or specifying how the process is performed. As Gonda observes (1962: 226): «these semantic distinctions cover different processes or modifications of the performance of the processes, not different views of the speaker with regard to their being momentary or continuing». Clearly particles have a lexical function, since they create a new lexeme meaning. Thus a high level of semantic cohesion between particle and verb must be presupposed.

h. Particles may change the syntactic valency of the verb, from intransitive to transitive, as instantiated by the following occurrence of the root *vṛt*, which means "roll" in the simple form, but means "overcome" in combination with *abhí*:

(15) *abhivṛ́tya   sapátnān/ abhí yā́   no   árātayaú*
      PTC.roll-ABS rivals-ACC PTC who-ACC we-GEN evil.spirits-ACC
      "Having overcome the rivals and (having overcome) those who are
      our enemies [...]" (RV X 174, 2ab)

Transitivity is a consequence of the meaning change caused by the combination with the particle. It would not be possible if the two elements did not constitute a unit. This demonstrates, again, a remarkable level of semantic cohesion[17].

i. Particle verbs provide bases for word formation:

adhivaktṛ́ (n.) "an advocate, protector"   < *ádhi-vac* "speak in favour of"
adhiṣṭhātṛ́ (adj.) "governing"; (n.) "a ruler"   < *ádhi-sthā* "stand upon, govern"
anuvácana (n.) "repetition"   < *ánu-vac* "repeat (the formulas)"
apagohá (n.) "a hiding-place"   < *ápa-guh* "hide"
abhíbhūti (adj.) "superior";(n.) "supremacy"   < *abhí-bhū* "overpower, overcome"
avapā́na (n.) "the act of drinking, a drink"   < **áva-pā* (not attested in the Ṛgveda)
avaródhana (n.) "a close or private place"   < *áva-rudh* "obstruct, enclose, contain"
udgātṛ́ (n.) "a chanter"   < *úd-gā* "sing or chant"
úpastuti (n.) "invocation, praise"   < *úpa-stu* "invoke, praise"

---

17 Note that example (15) is also a case of verbal ellipsis. In fact, there are two particles *abhí*: the former *abhí* is in the absolutive form *abhivṛ́tya* "having overcome", where the particle is regularly attached to the verb because the form is non-finite; the latter *abhí* stands alone but presupposes the same verb.

nidātṛ́ (n.) "one who fastens or ties up" < *ní-dā* "bind on, fasten"
níṣkṛti (n.) healing, atonement"   < *nís-kṛ* "extract, remove, cure"
práṇīti (n.) "conduct, guidance"   < *prá-nī* "lead forwards, conduct"
pratiṣṭhā́ (n.) "a standpoint, support" < *práti-sthā* "stand firm, be established, dwell"
páriviṣṭi (n.) "service, attendance"   < *pári-viṣ* "serve, wait on"
vidhātṛ́ (adj.) "distributing"; (n.) "a distributer, disposer, creator" < *ví-dhā* "distribute"
sáṃgati (n.) "coming together, meeting with" < *sám-gam* "go together, meet, join"

Derivational processes of word creation make evident that particle and verb were perceived, at some level, as units.

j.   Particle verbs represent a transitional phase. Vedic particle verbs are evolving structures where the particle still retains much of its concrete value. This explains the fact that the same particle displays a range of meanings varying from a more literal and spatial one to a more abstract or figurative one. Vedic particle verbs tend to evolve to morphologically prefixed verbs, as shown by Classical Sanskrit where particles are always prefixed to verbs.

Therefore, Vedic particle verbs possess a multifaceted nature. From one point of view, they cannot be studied as prefixed verbs for properties like separability, productivity, verbal ellipsis. From another point of view, the particle and the verb cannot be considered to be completely independent from each other, for the properties d.-j. listed above.

In order to account for the complex nature of particle verbs, in the course of the next section I will suggest to consider particle verbs as 'constructions' in the sense proposed by Construction Grammar.

4. *A Constructional approach to Vedic particle verbs*

My claim is that Vedic particle verbs are 'constructions'. This perspective is advantageous in that it accounts for their singular nature: mainly the fact that they blur the boundary between lexicon and syntax (as they are syntactically complex structures exhibiting the semantic cohesion typical of words).

The notion of 'construction' to which I refer, arises in the Construction Grammar framework (as developed in Fillmore *et al.*, 1988, Goldberg, 1995, Lakoff, 1987, among others). Construction Grammar assumes no strict

separation between syntax and the lexicon. In contrast to other syntactic theories, grammar of a language is not structured in distinct 'modules': a syntactic module, a semantic module, and a phonological module. Instead, the main claim is that the linguistic system is composed of form-meaning correspondences, i.e. 'constructions', taken to be the basic units of language. As Croft (2001: 16) defines them:

Constructions are objects of syntactic representation that also contain semantic and even phonological information [...]. In other words, constructions are like lexical items in the componential model: they link together idiosyncratic or arbitrary phonological, syntactic, and semantic information. The difference between lexical items and constructions is that lexical items are substantive and ATOMIC (that is, minimal syntactic units), while constructions can be at least partially schematic and COMPLEX (consisting of more than one syntactic element). (Croft, 2001: 16)

Within Construction Grammar, words and constructions are treated alike. Constructions are larger units than words (since they are syntactically complex) but they are also stored in the lexicon. Consequently, constructions are similar to idioms with which they share some features: like idioms, they have a complex structure, they may specify a semantic or a pragmatic distinct value from what might be predicted from the simple sum of their component parts, and they vary along a scale of idiomaticity-to-productivity (from partially schematic to fully schematic). Analysing idioms as constructions, Fillmore *et al.* (1988) pointed out that even fully compositional form-meaning pairings must be considered constructions when they are highly frequent regularities. In such cases, the schema and the general meaning associated to that particular combination is taken to be stored and to license a set of actual constructs of a language.

Going back to our Vedic particle verbs, we can observe that there is not any special feature, either in the verb structure or in the particle structure, by which the combination may be predicted. Despite that, in the Ṛgveda corpus it is a conventional way to form new verbal phrases. This suggests that such combination is a stored pattern, regularly employed in order to say what it is said. Quoting an expression of Fillmore *et al.* (1988: 505), I would define the particle-verb combination as «an extent of idiomaticity in the productive apparatus of the language».

Similarly to Booij (2002) who analyses Dutch separable complex verbs as 'constructional idioms', I consider the Vedic particle-verb construction as

a schema, an empty template, consisting of two slots which are filled by one of the particles listed in (4) and by any verb that may be coupled with that particle[18]. In this view, each specific particle construction is – at least partially – idiomatic in that:

–   The slot for the particle is fixed;
–   The whole complex has an idiosyncratic meaning, or range of meanings, present in every actual construct instantiating that specific particle construction.

Hence the generic and fully schematic particle-verb construction hosts some partially schematic constructions, as many as the number of the particles, each one with its specific meaning which is imposed to the whole construction. Using the label 'V' for 'verb' and 'PTC' for particle, and putting the particle in parentheses to underline the freedom of position, we can paraphrase the schema as follows:

(16) (PTC) V (PTC)

This general construction is filled by other constructions, partially schematic, different from each other, and as many as the particles that may participate in the particle-verb construction.

In order to exemplify my view, in the following sections I will analyse a specific particle-verb construction, i.e. the construction formed by *ápa* (henceforth the '*ápa* construction'), its central sense and related values.

---

[18] Working within the Construction Grammar framework, Booij (2002) suggests that Dutch separable complex verbs are periphrastic word formations or periphrases where syntactic structures perform the same function as (and hence compete with) morphological structures. He names such particular phrasal structures as 'constructional idioms'. As shown by Booij, in Dutch preverb-verb sequences (i.e. particle verbs) differ from prefixed verbs in that they may be separated from the verb but, in spite of that, they clearly possess an unitary lexical character as shown by properties like the following:
a.   Particle and verb may be attached and orthographically written as one word in embedded clauses.
b.   The semantics of particle verbs is not always predictable. See for example the various meanings of the verb valen "fall" combined with the particles: *aanvallen* "attack", *afvallen* "lose weight", *bijvallen* "applaude", *invallen* "invade, set in", *meevallen* "turn out better than the expected", *omvallen* "fall down", *opvallen* "draw attention", *tegenvallen* "disappoint", *toevallen* "come into possession" (Booij, 2002: 26).
c.   Particles, through their specific lexical meaning, may add aspectual values like telicity or duration to the particle verb construction or they may change the syntactic valency of the verb. E.g. *lopen* "walk" is intransitive, while *aflopen* is transitive (Booij, 2002: 29-30).
d.   Particle verbs feed deverbal word formation. E.g. *aankomen* "arrive" / *aankomst* "arrival", *aantrekken* "attract" / *aantrekkelijk* "attractive" (Booij, 2002: 26).

5. *The* ápa *construction*

In this section, I am going to examine particle verbs formed with the particle *ápa*. I will show that the central sense and the basic value of such construction may be firstly identified when it occurs with motion verbs. This central sense has a resultative value that is imposed upon each verb participating in the construction. We will begin by introducing the notion of 'resultativeness' together with the symbolism – borrowed from Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004)– which we will be using in our discussion.

5.1. *Resultativeness and particle verbs*

It has often been observed that particle verbs convey a resultative value. Intuitively speaking, this means that particles encode the change of state caused by the action expressed by the verb on one of its arguments.

In his famous investigation of English phrasal verbs, Bolinger (1971: 85) argues that particles have two main features, one of motion-throughlocation, the other of terminus or result, and that phrasal verbs entail the notion of a resultant condition since they represent the action as leading to a conclusion (Bolinger, 1971: 96). This perspective has been advanced by Tenny (1994), who claims that particles as *up* in *eat the apple up* impose a delimited reading of the event (Tenny, 1994: 37) in that such event is supposed to achieve a result. So the presence of *up* in *eat the apple up* implies that the apple is completely consumed.

The resultative feature can be conveyed by particles but also by an adjective such as *flat* in *She hammered the metal flat*, like *open* in *She cracked the egg open*, or by a prepositional phrase like *to pieces* in *He broke the glass to pieces*. Hence, resultatives constitute a complex phenomenon exhibiting a great deal of syntactic and semantic variation. Working in a Constructional framework, Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004) suggest that resultatives should be treated as a family of constructions sharing some basic properties and differing in some specifics (Goldberg and Jackendoff, 2004: 535).

In their analysis, resultatives have the same event structure. Each resultative sentence is formed by two subevents:

a.   The 'verbal subevent' determined by the verb;

b.   The 'constructional subevent' determined by the construction.

The two subevents are related: generally the verbal subevent expresses the means by which the constructional subevent is realised, e.g., the resultative sentence *Bill watered the tulips flat* means that Bill made the tulips flat *by* watering them. This structure is the common basis of all the resultative constructions. Apart from the well-known cases where the result consists in an entity coming to have a property, they consider as resultatives even those constructions where the constructional subevent consists of the moving entity going through a path, e.g. *Bill climbed the mountain to the top*. Here Bill, the moving entity, travels a path terminating at the top of the mountain. The result corresponds to the change of location of Bill, i.e. to his being at the top of the mountain.

According to Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004), resultatives may be grouped in four major subconstructions whose different configuration is described with the following symbolism:

(17) a.   Causative property resultative (e.g. *Bill watered the tulips flat*)
           Syntax: NP1 V NP2 AP/PP
           Semantics: X1 CAUSE [Y2 BECOME Z3]
               MEANS: [*VERBAL SUBEVENT*]

     b.   Noncausative property resultative (e.g. *The pond froze solid*)
           Syntax: NP1 V AP/PP2
           Semantics. X1 BECOME Y2
               MEANS: [*VERBAL SUBEVENT*]

     c.   Noncausative path resultative (intransitive motion construction, e.g. *The ball rolled down the hill*, *The truck rumbled into the station*)
           Syntax: NP1 V PP2
           Semantics: X1 GO Path2
               MEANS: [*VERBAL SUBEVENT*]

     d.   Causative path resultative (caused motion construction, e.g. *Bill rolled the ball down the hill*)
           Syntax: NP1 V NP2 PP3
           Semantics: X1 CAUSES [Y2 GO Path3]
               MEANS: [*VERBAL SUBEVENT*]

This representation indicates the correspondence between syntactic arguments and semantic arguments and the relation between the constructional subevent and the verbal subevent. Furthermore, it clearly shows that there are two main dimensions of variation: property resultatives *vs* spatial configuration resultatives, and causative *vs* non-causative resultatives.

My analysis aims to demonstrate that the *ápa* construction is a resulta-

tive construction, moreover that *ápa* basically forms path resultatives and, by a mechanism of metaphorical extension, it also creates property resultatives. In the discussion, I will adopt Goldberg and Jackendoff's (2004) symbolism and terminology. In using the adjectives 'causative' and 'non-causative' I refer specifically to the fact of having or not-having a CAUSE operator in the semantic structure of the constructional subevent.

5.2. *The analysis*

Ápa expresses the meanings "away, off, forth" (cf. Gk. ἀπό, Latin *ab*, Goth. *af*)[19] and it is one of those particles not functioning as a preposition (Delbrück, 1888: 446; Renou, 1956: 114). *Ápa* combines with verbal roots of existence, location and motion but also with verbal roots of other semantic classes.

The analysis I am going to propose is based on the *ápa* occurrences in the Ṛgveda (for a detailed overview see also Schneider, 2010)[20]. Verbs attested with *ápa* will be listed and grouped on the basis of their semantics. For each verb, I will provide both the meaning of the simple form and the meaning of the combined form, and for each group of verbs, I will present and translate a sample of passages from the Ṛgveda.

5.2.1. ápa + *verbs of motion*

As *ápa* mainly has a topological connotation, it mostly combines with motion verbs. Before going through our data, let me introduce some basic spatial notions, useful for our discussion. First of all, a motion event involves a 'trajector' (Langacker, 1987) or 'figure' (in Talmy's 1975 terminology), i.e. the entity whose location or displacement is of relevance. The trajector may be static or dynamic and its location is specified in relation to a 'landmark' (or 'ground' in Talmy's terminology). The trajectory of the moving entity, with respect to the landmark, is generally termed as 'path'. For instance, in a sentence like *She went to the museum*, *she* is the trajector, *the museum* is the landmark and the trajectory along which the trajector moves to reach the museum is the path.

The verbal roots listed below denote the movement of a trajector creating a path. In the table there are both verbs not marked with regard to the

---

[19]   Perhaps also Hittite *appa(n)*, see Dunkel (1982/1983: 71, 85).
[20]   The meanings are gathered from the following Sanskrit dictionaries: Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875), Grassmann (1873), Monier-Williams (1899), Whitney (1885).

manner of motion (e.g. *i* "go") and verbs specified for this feature (e.g. *kram* "step").

Simple verb		Particle Verb	
i	"go"	*ápa-i*	"go away, to vanish"
īṣ	"move, go, rush"	*ápa-īṣ*	"withdraw (from [abl.])"
kram	"step, stride, walk, go"	*ápa-kram*	"go away, vanish, retreat"
cyu	"move, stir" (tr. and intr.)	*ápa-cyu*	"go away, depart"; caus.: "expel, drive away [acc.]"
drā	"run"	*ápa-drā*	"run away, disappear"
mluc	"go" (in RV only with *ápa*)	*ápa-mluc*	only part. pf. pass. *mlukta-* "disappeared, vanished, hidden"
vī	"go, approach, set in motion; grasp, seize" etc.	*ápa-vī*	"go away, turn away"
vṛt	"turn, to roll"	*ápa-vṛt*	caus.: "turn or drive away [acc.]"
sac	"accompany, follow [acc.]"	*ápa-sac*	"keep away from, escape, avoid, evade [acc.]"
sṛ	"run, glide, flow, speed, go"	*ápa-sṛ*	"go away, retreat, flee"
sphar, sphur	"spring (with *upári*); jerk"	*ápa-sphar*	"go away, escape speedily"
hā	"go, leave"	*ápa-hā*	"go away, withdraw, vanish"

Table 1. ápa + *verbs of motion*

With all these verbs, *ápa* introduces a trajectory going from the landmark – which may be either explicitly expressed by an ablative noun or may be derived from the context – to an unspecified place which is out of sight of the landmark: *ápa* signals that the moving entity exits the scene. For example:

(18)   *ápānyád (=ápa anyát) éty   abhy ànyád   eti*
       PTC the.one-NOM go-3SG.PRS PTC the.other-NOM go-3SG.PRS
       "The one (part of the day) departs, the other comes" (RV I 123, 7a)

In this passage, the poet depicts one part of the day while it is going out of his view.

(19)   *ápehi   manasas   paté*
       PTC=go-2SG.IMPV mind-GEN lord-VOC
       "O Lord of the Mind disappear!" (RV X 164, 1a)

Here the poet begs a negative entity to disappear.

The action of going away may be performed in various manners; the manner is specified by the semantics of the verb participating in the construction. For example, the root *drā* which means "run", with the particle *ápa* refers to a motion event where a moving entity moves away from a landmark and performs this action by running:

(20) *ápa drāntv   árātayaḥ*
      PTC run-3PL.IMPV foes-NOM
      "The foes shall run away!" (RV X 85, 32d)

Here, the poet expresses his desire that certain negative entities disappear.

The root *sṛ* "flow", with the particle *ápa* refers to a motion event where a moving entity abandons a place in order to disappear and performs the action by flowing. The meaning is highly transparent, but the particle verb has a special semantic nuance – that of escaping – not strictly predictable from its component parts. Indeed the bare verb simply means "flow":

(21) *índrasya   yā́ḥ   prasavé   sasrúr   ā́paḥ*
      Indra-GEN who-NOM.PL stimulation-DAT flow-3PL.PF waters-NOM
      "The waters that began to flow on Indra's command" (RV X 111, 8b)

In example (21), the perfect form of the simple root *sṛ* "flow" refers to the flow of the waters, prisoners of the demon Vṛtra. Indra killed him and made the waters free to run.

Instead, the particle verb does not simply mean "flow away", but it entails the idea of slipping away and escaping, as exemplified in (22):

(22) *ápoṣā́ (= ápa uṣā́ḥ) ánasaḥ   sarat*
      PTC Uṣas-NOM chariot-ABL flow-3SG.INJ
      "Uṣas fled from her chariot" (RV IV 30, 10a)

The stanza explains that Indra, angry with Uṣas, broke her chariot to pieces so that the frightened goddess left the crushed vehicle and quickly escaped. The particle verb *ápa-sṛ* refers to her running away in order to vanish and escape Indra's fury.

In general, if we compare the meaning of simple verbs with the meaning of particle verbs, we observe that when *ápa* combines with a verb of motion, a construction designating disappearance of the moving entity arises. The entity disappears – physically or metaphorically – as a result of a motion. The change of location corresponds to a vanishing. This resultative value is

the general meaning present in every *ápa* construction. The role of the verb
is to specify the manner of the motion event.

The *ápa* construction filled by motion verbs is a non-causative path
resultative construction formed by two subevents: the constructional sub-
event, where *ápa* introduces a path and the subject moves along such path
leading to a disappearance; the verbal subevent, which specifies the manner.
Adapting Goldberg and Jackendoff's (2004) representation, I propose the
following abstract analysis of the event denoted by *ápa* plus motion verbs
(note that in the proposed syntactic structure I put all the constituents be-
tween parentheses in order to emphasise the fact that in Vedic their position
is relatively free):

(23)   Syntax: (NP1) (V) (PTC)
         Semantics: X1 GO Path2
             MEANS: [*VERBAL SUBEVENT*]

where X1 is the moving entity of the constructional subevent, while Path2
has a fixed value, namely the particle *ápa*, and consists of a trajectory origi-
nated from the landmark and ending up in a disappearance. This result is
obtained by means of the action specified by the verb (the verbal subevent).
Consequently, the ápa particle verbs formed with motion verbs may be char-
acterised as resultative constructions in that they focus on the state – the
disappearance of the displaced entity – resulting from the motion action.

The distinctive feature of the *ápa* construction is that it is idiomatic to
a certain degree since one of its elements is fixed and is responsible for the
semantics of the constructional subevent. Such constructional subevent –
with its basic meaning – is a constant in all the particle verbs formed by *ápa*.

A special case to take into account is represented by morphological caus-
ative forms realised by adding the suffix *-aya-* to the root, e.g. *cyu* "move": caus.
cyāváya- "make (someone/something) move". The motion event described by
morphological causative particle verbs has the following basic structure:

(24)   Syntax: (NP1) (V) (NP2) (PTC)
         Semantics: X1 CAUSE [Y2 GO Path3]
             MEANS: [*VERBAL SUBEVENT*]

where Y2 is the moving entity whose movement is caused by the entity X1
and is performed in the way described by the verb combining with ápa. E.g.:

(25)   *bŕ̥haspate   ápa   táṃ   vartayā   patháḥ*
Br̥haspati-VOC PTC this-ACC turn-2SG.IMPV.CAUS path-ABL
"O Br̥haspati make him (i.e. a bad man mentioned in the verse before)
deviate from our path" (RV II 23, 7c).

Finally, a specific comment should be made about the root *sac* "accompany, follow", as its presence in the category of motion verbs could appear strange. I put *sac* among motion verbs because it describes a simple motion event, not a caused-motion one. Moreover, even if *sac* has a transitive use, the object constitutes a landmark – not a patient – since it is the followed entity. In the Ṛgveda, there is only one occurrence of this root inside the ápa construction[21]:

(26) *ápa dvéṣo   ápa hváro/   'nyávratasya   saścire*
PTC hostility-ACC PTC deceit-ACC devoted.to.others-GEN follow-3PL. PF.MID
"They escape the hostility, they escape the deceit of a man devoted to another creed" (RV V 20, 2cd)

The interpretation of the whole strophe where this verse occurs is quite controversial, and the exact meaning of the particle verb is not easy to render[22]. Probably we should give the fully idiomatic meaning "escape, avoid" to the particle verb and take this specific combination as a lexical idiom stored in the lexicon, namely one of those cases where the construction is no longer productive and the meaning of the complex is not transparent.

5.2.2. ápa + *verbs of existence and location*

Simple verb		Particle Verb	
as	"be"	*ápa-as*	"be away, absent"
bhū	"become, be, arise, exist"	*ápa-bhū*	"be distant"
sthā	"stand, stay"	*ápa-sthā*	"stay away, depart, turn away, withdraw (from [ab.])"

Table 2. ápa + *verbs of existence and location*

[21]   Besides this occurrence in the Ṛgveda, the particle verb *ápa-sac* is documented in a Yajurveda mantra, i.e. VS 38, 20de (on this passage see Kümmel, 2000: 539).
[22]   My interpretation of this passage is based on Geldner's translation "[Die an gewaltiger Macht erstarkt deine (Feindschaft) nicht erregen, o Agni,] die halten sich fern von der Feindschaft, der Tüche des Andersgläubigen". I propose to translate *ápa-sac* as "escape" since it allows to render the transitive value of the particle verb. As for the exegetical problems related to the whole strophe, see Renou (1964: 31); Oldenberg (1909: 322).

The particle verb expresses the location of a trajector that is far away from a landmark, often as a result of a previous motion away from it.

With the root *bhū*, the trajector is frequently represented by evil beings (*mṛ́dh*, *sapátna*, *ámīvā*, *durmatí*), and the poet wants them to stay away from him. E.g.:

(27) yé   naḥ   sapátnā   ápa té   bhavantu
     who-NOM.PL we-GEN enemies.ACC PTC these-NOM become-3PL.IMPV
     "Those who are our enemies should stay at a distance" (RV X 128, 9a)

ápa-sthā is similar to *ápa-bhū* as it denotes the act of keeping away from someone or something. In addition, it can designate the act of moving away (also in a figurative sense) from someone or something:

(28) bībhatsúvo   ápa   vṛtrā́d   atiṣṭhan
     loathing-NOM.PL PTC Vṛtra-ABL stand-3PL.IMPF
     "Loathing him, (the Waters) turned away from Vṛtra" (RV X 124, 8d)

The stanza narrates that the waters left the demon Vṛtra and chose the god Indra as their new sovereign. The particle verb *ápa-sthā* refers to an act of intentional separation resulting from a motion away of the trajector, i.e. the Waters, from the landmark, i.e. Vṛtra.

Therefore, the same constructional subevent we saw with motion verbs, as exemplified in (23), also appears with this class of verbs.

5.2.3. ápa + *verbs of bodily states, processes, movements*

Simple verb		Particle Verb	
an	"breathe"	*ápa-an*	"breathe out, expire"
tras	"tremble, be afraid"	*ápa-tras*	"flee in terror"
nam	"bend or bow (either trans. or oftener intr.), bow to, subject or submit to"	*ápa-nam*	"bend away, go away by bending (namely with respect), flinch"

Table 3. ápa + *verbs of bodily states, processes, movements*

I grouped together these roots because they all designate a physical movement without entailing displacement of the moving entity. Once they enter the *ápa* construction, they share the same behaviour: a path resultative comes to be created.

The root *an* means "breathe" and relates to a bodily process. The corresponding particle verb means "expire by breathing one's last breath". In the

Ṛgveda, it is said about Uṣas, the Dawn, who vanishes when the Sun arrives:

(29) *asyá   prāṇā́d   apānatī́*
    this-GEN breath-ABL expire-PART.PRS.NOM
    "Expiring from his breath" (RV X 189, 2b)[23]

The root *tras* means "tremble for fear". It refers to a body movement that reveals an emotional or physical reaction and does not entail displacement. The corresponding *ápa* construction means "go away, flee in terror":

(30) *ápa   sma   mát   tarásantī́   ná   bhujyús*
    PTC indeed I-ABL tremble-PART.PRS.NOM like gazelle(?)-NOM
    tā́   atrasan   rathaspṛ́śo   nā́śvāḥ
    these-NOM tremble-3PL.IMPF chariot.touching-NOM.PL like.horses-NOM.PL
    "Like a scared gazelle[24], they fled from me in terror, like horses bumping against the chariot" (RV X 95, 8cd)

The sentence, uttered by the king Purūravas, tells about the sudden vanishing of the nymphs as soon as they saw the king.

As examples (29)-(30) show, when a bodily process/movement verb enters the *ápa* construction, a displacement of the subject is entailed. The particle verb has a resultative value – absent in the corresponding simple verb – in that it designates a change of location corresponding to a vanishing. Again, the constructional subevent is that of a path resultative, i.e. X1 GO Path2 (where Path2 = *ápa*, GO Path2 = DISAPPEAR) and consists in a disappearance. In the case of the root *an*, it is a going out of existence; in the case of *tras*, it is a going out of view.

The root *nam* is a little bit different from *an* and *tras* for it can be used transitively: in this case relates to the action of bending something. However, I put this root here because, when the root is used intransitively, it designates a bodily movement – the act of bowing to someone with respect – not involving a displacement. When it is combined with *ápa*, it has an intransitive use and – crucially – a dislocation of the subject comes to be entailed. E.g.:

---

[23] This passage is usually interpreted in the sense that Uṣas expires when the Sun starts to breath, i.e. when he arrives and the day begins, but it occurs in a quite mysterious strophe where the course of the sun is described. For a detailed exegesis and a possible alternative interpretation see MELI (2004: 344-345). See also the translations of GELDNER (1951/III: 403), AMBROSINI (1981: 166), RENOU (1966: 13), and KRISCH (2006: 167).

[24] *bhujyú*: "gazelle" according to Geldner's translation, "snake" according to Grassmann's dictionary and Griffith's translation. For the interpretation of the expression *tarásantī ná bhujyús,* see also the discussion in OLDENBERG (1912: 307) and SCHNAUS (2006: 373 ff.)

(31) *ádha dyaúś   cit   te   ápa sā́   nú   vájrād/*
then   heaven-NOM even you-GEN PTC this-NOM indeed *vajra*-ABL
dvitā́ namad   bhiyásā   svásya   manyóḥ
doubly=bend-3SG.IMPF fear-INSTR own-GEN anger-GEN
"Then, even that heaven itself retreated from your *vajra*, and doubly for fear of
your anger" (RV VI 17, 9ab)

5.2.4. ápa + *caused-motion verbs*

The *ápa* construction is frequently filled by verbs that relate to caus-
ing an entity to change location. The following table lists the verbs of this
semantic class occurring in the *ápa* construction and the corresponding
meanings.

Simple verb		Particle Verb	
aj	"drive, throw"	*ápa-aj*	"drive away, remove"
ṛ	"set in motion (tr. and intr.), raise, send"	*ápa-ṛ*	"open by removing anything"
as	"throw"	*ápa-as*	"throw away, fling away"
*ūh	(only attested with particles) "push"	*ápa-ūh*	"chase away, push away"
dhā	"put"	*ápa-dhā*	"remove, take away"
nud	"push, remove"	*ápa-nud*	"remove"
par	"bring over or to, further, convey"	*ápa-par*	"remove, drive away"
bhṛ	"bear, carry, convey, hold"	*ápa-bhṛ*	"remove, take away"
yu	"keep or drive away, separate"	*ápa-yu*	"remove, eliminate, turn away"
śri	"cause to lean something [acc.] on [loc.], lay something on, direct or turn something [acc.] towards [loc]"; mid., (intrans.) "lean on, lie on, rest on [loc.]"	*ápa- śri*	mid., "retire, withdraw, hide oneself, be hidden (in [loc.])"
sidh	"drive off, chase away, repel"	*ápa-sidh*	"remove, ward off, drive away"
sū	"set in motion, urge, impel; vivify, create"	*ápa-sū*	"remove, drive away, drive off"

Table 4. ápa + *caused-motion verbs*

Verbal roots in Table 4 refer to an event where the subject causes a
change of location of the object: the causer argument makes the theme argu-
ment move along a path.

In the corresponding particle verbs, the presence of *ápa* signals that the
path ends at a point that is far away from the landmark and out of its view.

These particle verbs have the same semantic structure of causatives morphologically derived from motion verbs namely, that of a causative path resultative construction, which we reported in (24) and we repeat here as (32):

(32)   Syntax: (NP1) (V) (NP2) (PTC)
         Semantics: X1 CAUSE [Y2 GO Path3]
             MEANS: [*VERBAL SUBEVENT*]

where Y2 is the moved entity, Path3 is always realised by *ápa* and the predicate GO Path3 specifically consists in an act of going away until disappearing.

For example, the verbs formed by the root *aj* are verbs of driving: they describe the causation of accompanied motion whose direction may be specified by directional phrases and is not part of their meaning. The root *aj* refers to the action of driving a vehicle (usually a chariot) or to the action of leading a troop of soldiers or in general an object that is moved to a new position, for example:

(33)   *dáśa svásāro   ádhi   sā́no   ávyé*
         ten sisters-NOM upon-ADP ridge-LOC woollen-LOC
         ʿjanti   váhnim   sádanāny áccha
         drive-3PL.PRS draught.animal-ACC seats-ACC to-ADP
         "The ten sisters upon the woollen ridge drive the draught horse (i.e. Soma)
         to its seats" (RV IX 91, 1cd)

This passage metaphorically describes a phase of the pressing ceremony of the *soma*. The ten sisters are the fingers that drive the *soma* juice into a vessel. They are the subjects that make the object move to a new position expressed by the prepositional phrase *sádanāni áccha* "to (its) seats".

The corresponding particle verb *ápa-aj* still expresses a caused-motion event, but the object is moved to a remote and unspecified location until it is made to disappear:

(34)   *ápa   jyótiṣā   támo   antárikṣād/   ... ājat*
         PTC   light-INSTR darkness-ACC atmosphere-ABL   drive-3SG.IMPF
         "(The god Bṛhaspati) with light removed the darkness from the atmosphere"
         (RV X 68, 5ab)

The god Bṛhaspati is a companion and ally of the god Indra. With him, he released the cows, prisoners of the demon Vala, he conquered the light, and he dispelled the darkness. In this passage, it is described one of his deeds: when he made the darkness vanish. The landmark is represented by

antárikṣa "the atmosphere" and is realised in the ablative case. *támas* "the darkness" is the moved entity, forced to go away from the landmark until disappearing. In the Ṛgveda, the particle verb *ápa-aj* always makes reference to an act of removal (of a thief standing in the way, in RV I 42, 3a, and of the black Night, in RV X 3, 1d).

The idea of an action of removing something, mostly directed against something negative and generally absent in the simple verb, accompanies all the particle verbs formed by *ápa* plus a caused-motion verb[25]. In this regard, consider the contrast between *as* in (35) and *ápa-as* in (36), and between *sū* (in 37) and *ápa-sū* in (38):

(35)   *brahmadvíṣe   tápuṣim   hetím   asya*
        impious-DAT   burning-ACC weapon-ACC throw-2SG.IMPV
        "(O Indra) throw your burning weapon at the impious one" (RV III 30, 17d)

(36)   *abhímātīr   ápāsya*
        enemies-ACC PTC=throw-2SG.IMPV
        "(O Agni) drive away our enemies" (RV III 24, 1b)

Both passages are requests to gods. In the former, the action denoted by the simple verb should be performed by a subject, i.e. Indra, who should move an object, i.e. his dart, towards a landmark, i.e. the impious man. In the latter, the action denoted by the simple verb should be performed by a subject, i.e. Agni, who should remove the enemies by throwing them in an unspecified place as farthest as possible from the landmark, i.e. the poet himself.

(37)   *sá   hí   rátnāni   dāśúṣe*
        this-NOM indeed treasures-ACC   honour-PART.PF.DAT
        suvā́ti   savitā́   bhágaḥ
        set.in.motion-3SG.SBJ Savitṛ-NOM dispenser-NOM
        "So this Savitṛ, the Dispenser, shall send treasures to his worshipper"
        (RV V 82, 3ab)

---

[25] Schneider (2010: 271) quotes an occurrence of the root *aj* (in RV, VII, 5, 6cd: *tváṃ dásyūm̐r ókaso agna āja* "You drove the Dasyus from their home"), where the sense of removal results from the combination of the bare verb plus an ablative of separation. As a consequence, she identifies a relation between the particle *ápa* and the nouns denoting a reference point, and argues that the omission of the particle is possible when the verb by itself has an inherent sense of motion away or distance. Even though I agree with this observation with regard to verbs such as *yu* "keep or drive away" or *sidh* "chase away", I think that the case of *aj* is different and that, in order to explain the fact that *aj* can refer to an action of driving something somewhere without entailing any removal (as in example (33)), we must assume that its semantics is not specified with regard to the path.

(38) *ténāsmád   víśvām   ánirām   ánāhutim*
      this-INSTR=we-ABL every-ACC weakness-ACC absence.of.sacrifice-ACC
      ápā́ mīvām   ápa   duṣvápnyaṃ   suva
      PTC desease-ACC PTC   evil.dream-ACC set.in.motion-2SG.IMPV
      "(O Sūrya) with this (light) drive away from us every weakness, lack of
      sacrifice, disease and evil dream" (RV X 37, 4cd)

In example (37), the deity is requested to set in motion treasures in order
to bring them to his worshipper. In example (38), the deity is requested to set
in motion some bad things in order to remove them.

The root *as* forms verbs of throwing: they relate to causing motion by
exerting an instantaneous force on the moved entity. The root *sū* relates to
the action of causing motion by imparting force on the moved entity. When
verbs of throwing occur in the *ápa* construction, they denote the action of
causing a bad entity to vanish by throwing it or generally setting it in motion
towards a remote place.

The *ápa* construction may also be found with verbs that relate to putting
or bearing an entity at some location. The root *bhṛ* relates to the causation
of an accompanied motion whose direction must be overtly specified by a
directional noun or phrase:

(39) *bhárā   candrā́ṇi   gṛṇaté   vásūni*
     bring-2SG.IMPV shining-ACC.PL sing-PART.PRS.DAT goods-ACC
     "(O Soma) bring splendid treasures to the singer!" (RV IX 69, 10c)

In this passage Soma is invoked in order to bring riches to the man who
raises lauds to him. *vásūni* "treasures" is the moved entity and the landmark
is expressed by the dative *gṛṇaté* "to the singer".

When *bhṛ* enters the *ápa* construction, it relates to the action of remov-
ing something bad by taking it away:

(40) *bháratām   ápa yád   rápo*
     bring-3DU.IMPV PTC which-ACC infirmity-ACC
     "And both (Heaven and Earth) shall remove whatever infirmity!"
     (RV X 59, 8c, 9d, 10d)

Here the poet invokes Heaven and Earth for being freed from disease.
rápas "infirmity" is the moved entity, the poet is the implicit landmark, and
the trajectory is directed out of his view.

The root *dhā* relates to putting an entity somewhere, typically by mov-
ing it:

(41) *dádhāti   rátnaṃ   vidhaté   jánāya*
     put-3SG.PRS treasure.ACC worship-PART.PRS.DAT man-DAT
     "(Uṣas) brings a treasure to the man who worships her" (RV VII 75, 6d)

In the *ápa* construction, *dhā* relates to an action of removing by placing something at a distance:

(42) *agnír   víśvāny ápa duṣkr̥tā́ny/ ájuṣṭāny*
     Agni-NOM all-ACC PTC sins-ACC   hateful-ACC.PL

     āré   asmád   dadhātu
     far-ADV we-ABL put-3SG.IMPV

     "May Agni bear away all the hateful sins, far from us" (RV X 164, 3cd)

In sum, we may reasonably conclude that when a verb of caused-motion (of driving, throwing, setting in motion, putting, carrying, pushing etc.) combines with the particle *ápa*, a specific path resultative construction arises. Such construction relates to an action of removing, generally directed against negative entities and performed in the way specified by the verbal semantics.

With the simple verb, the moved entity is displaced *to* a location that constitutes the landmark (which can be either overtly expressed by a locative, dative or accusative noun or by a prepositional phrase or omitted and retrieved from the context). In the *ápa* construction, instead, the entity is displaced *from* a location, i.e. the landmark (which can be either expressed in the ablative case or omitted and retrieved from the context). The displacement ends up in an action of removal. The change of location of the moved entity corresponds to its vanishing, disappearing. The disappearance of the moved entity is the *result* associated to the construction. *ápa* particle verbs describe an event of change of state in that they focus on the state – the disappearance of the displaced entity – resulting from the removing action. The verb participating in the *ápa* construction specifies how the result is obtained.

Therefore, the *ápa* construction filled by motion verbs and the *ápa* construction filled by caused-motion verbs very resemble each other. The main difference between the two is that the former ones are non-causative path resultatives, while the latter ones are causative path resultatives: with motion verbs, there is a moving entity, namely the subject, which moves until its disappearance; with caused-motion verbs, there is a moved entity, namely the direct object, which is moved away until it disappears.

Since all the *ápa* particle verbs share this basic semantics, we must sup-

pose that the *ápa* construction as a whole – and not every single *ápa* particle verb – is stored in the lexicon.

However, looking at the meanings given in Table 4 we can observe some exceptions. Besides regular combinations with the typical meaning of the construction, according to which an entity X removes an entity Y by means of the action expressed by the verb, there are combinations where the meaning of the complex is almost fully idiomatic. Particle verbs vary with respect to their degree of idiomaticity. No longer productive combinations become lexical idioms. It is the case of the root *r̥* "set in motion, raise" which means "open" in the *ápa* construction:

(43) *r̥ṇór*   *ápa*   *vrajáṃ*   *diváḥ*
     set.in.motion-2SG.INJ PTC stall-ACC heaven-GEN
     "You (Soma) could open the stall of heaven" (RV IX 102, 8b)

Here the poet relates some virtues of the *soma* juice such as that it opens the stall of the sky i.e., a heavenly place. The particle verb does not refer to an action of moving away the stall but it has the specific sense of opening it.

A special group of verbs is represented by caused-motion verbs, like *nud* "remove", *yu* "separate", *sidh* "repel", that possess by themselves a sense of removal and have the path already specified in their own meaning. With these verbs, the particle can be omitted, and the bare verb can occur with an ablative expressing separation or distance (Schneider, 2010: 271). When verbs of this type combine with the particle *ápa*, the construction has an emphasising function:

(44) *agnī́*   *rákṣāṃsi*   *sedhati*
     Agni-NOM   demons-ACC remove-3SG.PRS
     "Agni chases the demons away" (RV I 79, 12b)

(45) *grā́vā*   *vádan*   *ápa* *rákṣāṃsi*   *sedhatu*
     stone-NOM speak-PART.PRS.NOM PTC demons-ACC remove-3SG.IMPV
     "May the sounding pressing-stone chase away the demons" (RV X 36, 4a)

This emphatic value – difficult to render in translation – is due to the fact that the meaning of the constructional event and the meaning of the verbal subevent coincide.

Before analysing another group of particle-verb combinations, it is worth noticing that if the verb is used in a passive form, or in a middle form with reflexive or passive meaning, the entity removed – as we can expect – is the subject itself. This is shown by the root *śri* "cause to lean, lay; direct"

which refers to an action of placing an entity in a particular spatial configuration with respect to a location. Realised in the middle or passive form, it means "lie" as in:

(46) *áhann   áhim   párvate   śiśriyāṇáṃ*
     kill-3SG.IMPF snake-ACC mountain-LOC lay-PART.PF.MID.ACC
     "(Indra) killed the snake lying on the mountain" (RV I 32, 2a)

In the *ápa* construction, the root *śri* is only attested in the passive participle *-ta* form and has the sense of being hidden or retired:

(47) *eṣá   kṣeti   ráthavītir/   maghávā*
     this-NOM dwell-3SG.PRS Rathavīti-NOM bountiful-NOM

     gómatīr   ánu/ párvateṣv   ápaśritaḥ
     places.rich.in.cattle-ACC ADP mountains-LOC PTC=lay-PART.PF.PASS.NOM.

     "This bountiful Rathavīti dwells near to places rich in cattle, retired among the mountains" (RV V 61, 19abc)

5.2.5. ápa + *verbs of emission*

Ápa combines with a group of roots, basically intransitive, designating a substance emission:

Simple verb		Particle Verb	
dham	"blow"	*ápa-dham*	"blow away or off [acc.]"
pruth	"snort, neigh, puff (as a horse), blow"	*ápa-pruth*	"blow away or off [acc.]"
myakṣ	"shimmer, sparkle"	*ápa-myakṣ*	"drive away by radiating light [acc.]"
vas/uṣ	"emit light, shine"	*ápa-vas*	"drive off by brightness, remove by brightness [acc.]"
vā	"blow"	*ápa-vā*	"blow off [acc.]; exhale (smell)"
śuc	"shine, emit light, burn"	*ápa-śuc*	"drive off by flames [acc.]"

Table 5. ápa + *verbs of emission*

The events denoted by these verbal roots consist of a subject emitting a substance from the body. When they combine with *ápa*, they give rise to a transitive construction which has the same structure as caused-motion verbs:

(48) Syntax: (NP1) (V) (NP2) (PTC)
     Semantics: X1 CAUSE [Y2 GO Path3]
          MEANS: [*VERBAL SUBEVENT*]

where X1 is the subject argument that causes the object Y2 to move away until it disappears (GO Path3) by lightening, blowing, etc., hence by means of the emitted substance. Even in this case, there is a causative path resultative where the Path3 value is fixed, namely *ápa*, and the constructional subevent is always the same. Let see some examples.

The root *vā* means "blow" and is generally referred to the wind. When it is combined with *ápa*, it means "remove by blowing, blow away":

(49) śáṃ   vā́to   vātv   arapā́ /
     auspiciously-ADV wind-NOM blow-3SG.IMPV beneficial-NOM
     ápa   srídhaḥ
     PTC   enemies-ACC
     "Auspiciously the beneficial wind shall blow away our enemies!"
     (RV VIII 18, 9cd)

The root *pruth* "snort, neigh, puff" refers to a sound emission or air emission typical of horses. The corresponding ápa construction means "chase away, blow away":

(50) *ápa protha   dundubhe   ducchúnā   itá*
     PTC snort-2SG.IMPV war.drum-VOC harms-ACC hence-ADV
     "O War-Drum, chase away harms from here" (RV VI 47, 30c)

In the example, the entities that have to be removed are *ducchúnā* "misfortune, calamity, harm", often personified as demons. The war-drum shall neutralise them by its sounding.

The root *vas/uṣ* "shine" and the root *śuc* "shine" relate to a light emission:

(51) *uṣā́   uchati   váhnibhir   gṛṇānā́*
     Uṣas-NOM shine-3SG.PRS priests-INSTR sing-PART.PRS.MID.NOM
     "Celebrated by the priests, Uṣas shines" (RV VII 75, 5d)

(52) *bṛhác   chócanty   arcáyaḥ*
     on.high-ADV shine-3PL.PRS rays-NOM
     "His rays (Agni's rays) shine on high" (RV V 17, 3d)

The same verbs designate an action of removal by means of an emission of light, when they occur with *ápa*:

(53) *uṣā́ uchad   ápa srídhaḥ*
Uṣas shine-3SG.INJ PTC enemies-ACC
"Uṣas with her light shall remove the enemies" (RV I 48, 8d)

Uṣas, the goddess of Dawn, is invoked in order to make all the evil creatures (often associated with the darkness) vanish by means of her light.

(54) *ápa   naḥ   śóśucad   aghám*
PTC we-GEN shine-PART.PRS.INTENS.NOM sin-ACC
"Chasing with light our sin away" (RV I 97, 1c)

The subject is Agni that removes something bad from his worshipper by lightening it and causing it to vanish.

In conclusion, as soon as a verb of emission enters the *ápa* construction, a path resultative caused-motion event is created. The argument structure does not depend upon the verb alone, but it is a consequence of the interaction between verb and construction. Thus, it is not that verbs of emission change their meaning in order to license an object argument; they maintain their semantics. The sense of removal of something is instead contributed by the construction: through a mechanism of coercion (for the notion of 'coercion' in Construction Grammar see Michaelis 2003; 2004), the construction determines the reinterpretation of the verbal syntax and semantics.

5.2.6. ápa + *verbs of change of state (creation, destruction, etc.)*
Since *ápa* has a topological connotation, it is quite obvious to find it combined with motion verbs and with verbs related to space. But curiously *ápa* also combines with other types of verbs. They are listed with the corresponding meanings in Table 6.

Frequently *ápa* joins change-of-state verbs, i.e. verbs describing events where one of the arguments undergoes a change of state. The change of state marks the end of the event in that when the change is completed, the event terminates. In this sense the event is delimited (Tenny, 1994).

Among change-of-state verbs combined with *ápa*, there are forms of roots denoting actions that cause a change in the material integrity of an entity.

Simple verb		Particle Verb	
ac	(only with particles) "bend, turn, make curved [acc.]"	*ápa-ac*	"drive away, push away [acc.]"
guh	"hide, remove [acc.]"	*ápa-guh*	"eliminate [acc.]"
dar	"burst, decompose; blast, break [acc.]; intens., caus., "make burst; crash, open [acc.]"	*ápa-dar*	Intens., "tear open [acc.]"
das	"languish, become exhausted"; caus. "exhaust [acc.]"	*ápa-das*	"become dry (*dhenávas* "the cows" RV I 135, 8)"
dah	"burn, consume by fire [acc.]"	*ápa-dah*	"burn up, burn away; to burn out so as to drive out, to remove by fire, to drive away by fire [acc.]"
kr	"make"	*ápa-kr*	"carry away, remove [acc.]"
bhid	"break, split"	*ápa-bhid*	"beat off, remove, drive away by beating [acc.]"
rudh	"stop, block, obstruct"	*ápa-rudh*	"drive out, throw away, cast out [acc.]"
vadh	"strike, slay, destroy"	*ápa-vadh*	"cut off [acc.] (*dā́ru* "a piece of wood", RV X 146, 4)"
vr	"cover"	*ápa-vr*	"uncover, open [acc.]"
vrj	"twist, turn, gather, pluck, break, etc."	*ápa-vrj*	"drive off, turn away, scare away; tear off, demolish [acc.] (AV); mid., RV X 117, 7 (?)"
vyadh	"pierce, wound, strike"	*ápa-vyadh*	"drive away, throw away, push away by wounding [acc.]"
vyā	"cover"	*ápa-vyā*	"remove [acc.]"
śnath	"pierce, strike"	*ápa-śnath*	"push away, repel [acc.]"
han	"smite, beat, strike"	*ápa-han*	"beat off, ward off, repel, destroy, drive away by beating [acc.]"

Table 6. ápa + *verbs of change of state (creation, destruction, etc.)*

For example, the root *dah* means "burn, consume by fire, destroy":

(55) *ágne   rákṣas   tvám   daha*
Agni-VOC evil.being-ACC you-NOM burn-2SG.IMPV
"O Agni, burn you the evil being!" (RV X 118, 7b)

In the *ápa* construction, *dah* has a similar meaning, but there is the additional sense of "drive away by means of fire, removing by fire":

(56) *víśvā   agné 'pa dahā́ rātīr* (= *ápa daha   árātīḥ*)
all-ACC Agni-VOC   PTC burn-2SG.IMPV fiends-ACC
"O Agni, burn away all fiends!" (RV VII 1, 7a)

The *árātīḥ* are evil spirits frustrating good intentions and disturbing the happiness of men. Agni should burn such beings in order to remove them or drive them away.

The root *bhid* means "break":

(57) *máde   sutásya   śávasā́ bhinac   chíraḥ*
excitement-LOC juice-GEN might-INSTR=break-2SG.IMPF head-ACC
"In the excitement of the juice you broke with might the head (of Vṛtra)"
(RV I 52, 10d)

In the *ápa* construction, the same root means "remove by breaking":

(58) *bhindhí   víśvā   ápa dvíṣaḥ*
break-2SG.IMPV all-ACC PTC enemies-ACC
"(O Indra) drive all our enemies away" (RV VIII 45, 40a)

Here the poet begs Indra to crush his enemies in order to remove all of them.

The root *vyadh* means "pierce, wound, strike", and in the *ápa* construction means "push away by striking":

(59) *ápa śátrūn   vidhyatāṃ   saṃvidāné*
PTC enemies-ACC pierce-3DU.IMPV in.unison-NOM
"The two (bows), in unison, shall beat off our enemies " (RV VI 75, 4c)

In this passage two personified weapons, the bows, are invoked. They shall pierce the enemies in order to scatter or repel them.

Similarly, the simple root *śnath* means "pierce, strike", while *ápa-śnath* means "scatter, push away by piercing, by striking", e.g.:

(60) *ápa śvā́naṃ   śnathiṣṭana*
PTC dogs-GEN pierce-2PL.IMPV
"(O my friends) push away the dog " (RV IX 101, 1b).

Finally, the root *han* "beat, strike", combined with *ápa*, means "beat off, remove by beating, destroy":

(61) *jahí   víśvā   ápa dvíṣaḥ*
beat-2SG.IMPV all-ACC PTC enemies-ACC
"(O Soma) drive away all our enemies" (RV IX 8, 7b)

Here Soma is invoked: the poet asks him to beat the enemies until they are removed.

(62) *sthāṇúm   patheṣṭhā́m   ápa durmatíṃ hatam*
stump-ACC standing.in.the.way-ACC PTC hatred-ACC beat-2DU.IMPV
"(O Aśvin) remove the stump standing in the way, the hatred" (RV X 40, 13d)

In this passage the poet asks the Aśvin to remove the stump on his way, symbol of obstacles and difficulties.

Therefore, the same pattern we identified for caused-motion verbs also occurs with these change-of-state verbs: an entity X removes an entity Y by means of the action expressed by the verb. Such overlapping could seem somehow strange but, as pointed out by Goldberg (1995), the resultative construction can be seen as a metaphorical extension of the caused-motion construction. As shown in the previous section, the *ápa* construction has a resultative value in that it introduces a path and entails the result of moving through such path, i.e. the disappearance of the moving/moved entity. Following Goldberg's suggestion, we may suppose that when change-of-state verbs fill the *ápa* construction, the change of state is metaphorically interpreted as a change of location. In this sense, I propose to explain verb particle constructions formed by *ápa* plus a change-of-state verb as a metaphorical extension of the causative path resultative *ápa* construction.

In many cases, such a special combination has the peculiar meaning that the removal consists in a complete destruction of the entity affected by the action denoted by the verb. Hence the removal corresponds to an annihilation. The reason why the combination with *ápa* produces this particular effect, must be sought in the nature of change-of-state verbs. These verbs designate delimited events: the end of the event coincides with the result of the action described by the verb and takes place when the entity undergoing the change of state is completely affected by such action (of burning, breaking etc.). Thus change-of-state verbs themselves entail a limit. But also the *ápa* construction entails a limit: indeed, the *ápa* construction involves a final result consisting in the disappearance of the entity that moves away. Now, as Tenny (1994: 114) underlines, an event can be delimited only once. Therefore, when a change-of-state verb enters the *ápa* construction, it cannot add a new limit to the construction, but it can only specify the already present limit, i.e. the disappearance of the entity involved, by expressing the way to obtain the result, e.g., by breaking it, beating it, burning it, etc.

Even among change-of-state verbs, there are cases where the *ápa* construction has an emphasising function. This emphatic value is registered when the verb has a very similar meaning to the central sense of the construction. Specifically, it happens when the idea of removal is already present in the verb and it comes to be reinforced by the *ápa* construction. For example, the root *guh* itself means "hide, remove":

(63) *ágūhat   támo   vy àcakṣayat   svàḥ*
     remove-3SG.IMPF darkness-ACC PTC appear-3SG.IMPF.CAUS sun-ACC
     "He removed the darkness and let the Sun appear" (RV II 24, 3d)

Similarly, in the *ápa* construction, the root *guh* means "remove, eliminate":

(64) *svàrbhānor   ápa mā́yā́   aghukṣat*
     Svarbhānu-GEN PTC sorceries-ACC remove-3SG.AOR
     "He eliminated Svarbhānu's sorceries" (RV V 40, 8d)

The final observation of this section regards the various degrees of semantic transparency of particle-verb combinations. Constructions typically vary from a high level of semantic transparency to a lower level. Verbs of covering listed in Table 6 occupy a low position of the scale: in the *ápa* construction, they express a meaning that is the opposite of the idea contained in the simple root – from "cover" to "open, remove" – and does not derive from the simple combination of the verb with the particle. This phenomenon of a particle turning the meaning of a verb into its opposite is quite common among ancient Indo-European languages and is particularly frequent with particles expressing the meaning "off, away" e.g. in Greek ἀμφιέννυμι "dress" vs ἀπαμφιέννυμι "undress" (Wackernagel, 1928: 182). In Sanskrit, this effect is evident in the particle verbs *ápa-vṛ* "uncover, open" and *ápa-vyā* "uncover, remove", derived from the combination of *ápa* with *vṛ* "cover" and *vyā* "cover, hide", respectively:

(65) *tvám   gotrám   áṅgirobhyo 'vṛṇor   ápa*
     you-NOM stable-ACC Aṅgiras-DAT cover-2SG.IMPF PTC
     "You opened the kine's stable for the Aṅgiras" (RV I 51, 3a)

(66) *ápo   (= ápa u)   máhi   vyayati   cákṣase támo*
              PTC PTC great-ACC cover-3SG.PRS see-INF darkness-ACC
     "She (the Dawn) removes the wide darkness so that we may see" (RV VII 81, 1c)

Other examples of verbs that lose a considerable part of their semantic weight as soon as they enter the *ápa* construction are forms of the roots *ac* (attested only with particles) "make something curved" and *rudh* "block, hold"[26].

Once these two roots combine with *ápa*, the construction imposes its usual sense of removal and the original meaning of the verb is hardly detectable, as shown in example (67) where the poet asks Soma to remove hostile and foolish people, and in example (68) where a gambler says that he threw away his wife (in the sense that he caused his wife to go away because of his vice of gambling):

(67) *ápāmítrā̃m̐*   *ápācíto*   *acetáḥ*
     PTC enemies-ACC   PTC foolish-ACC.PL   bend-2SG.IMPV hence-ADV
     "(O Soma) turn away the enemies and the fools from here" (RV IX 97, 54d)

(68) *ánuvratām*   *ápa jāyā̃́m arodham*
     faithful-ACC PTC wife-ACC obstruct-1SG.AOR
     "I threw away a faithful wife" (RV X 34, 2d)

Through a mechanism of coercion, the *ápa* construction imposes its central sense on the verb whose basic meaning comes to be almost completely lost.

This happens also when the *ápa* construction is filled by forms of the root *kṛ* "make". This root – basically related to events of creation– changes its meaning in connection with particular adverbs or nouns (e.g., "prepare" with *áram* "readily", "tear in pieces" with the onomatopoeic word *kikirā́*, "hide" with *gúhā* "secretly")[27]. When *kṛ* combines with *ápa,* the complex means "carry away, remove":

---

[26] These two roots, i.e. *ac* and *rudh*, have various senses and could be inserted in other semantic classes besides that of change-of-state verbs. *ac* –attested only with particles– means "make something curved". Because of this meaning, I considered *ac* as a change-of-state verb. However, it may also be interpreted as a verb of putting something in a particular spatial configuration, when it takes *kóśam* "a vessel" as object (in RV V 83, 8, the vessel is lifted up and bended in an appropriate position to pour down water) or as a verb of assuming a position when it takes *jā́nu* "the knee" as object (in RV X 15, 6). Similarly, *rudh* can be analysed as a verb of change of state in that it refers to the action of blocking something and holding it. Besides, it has the meaning "keep back, retain, withhold something" related to keeping something at some place (for example, when it takes *dhánā* "goods, riches" as object, in RV I 102, 10; X 34, 12; X 42, 9).

[27] Events of creation are analysable as change-of-state verbs in the sense that the object come gradually into existence hence it passes from the state of being non-existent to the state of being existent (TENNY, 1994).

(69) *sā́   śáṃtāti   máyas   karad   ápa srídhaḥ*
     she-NOM beneficent-ACC delight-ACC make-3SG.SBJ PTC foes-ACC
     "May she (Aditi) bring us a beneficent delight and drive away our foes"
     (RV VIII 18, 7cd)[28]

As example (69) shows, the constructional subevent, totally flattens the meaning of the verbal subevent and the fixed sense of removal and disappearance conveyed by *ápa* – as usual – prevails.

5.2.7. ápa + *remaining verbs*

Simple verb		Particle Verb	
gir	"eat, swallow"	*ápa-gir*	(only Intens. Part. in RV V 29, 4) "devour" (?)
gur	"greet, accept, enjoy, approve"	*ápa-gur*	"reject, disapprove, threaten"
*paj	(only attested with particles)	*ápa-paj*	(only in RV X 105, 3) "become stiff, start back, draw back" (?)
bhaj	"divide, distribute, share with"; med., "partake of, receive a part, enjoy, achieve"	*ápa-bhaj*	"cede or transfer a share to"
spṛ	"release, protect"	*ápa-spṛ*	"refresh or repel" (?) (only in RV VIII 2, 5, and the translation is controversial)

Table 7. ápa + *remaining verbs*

Table 7 collects the remaining verbs attested in combination with *ápa* that do not fit in the previous groups. These verbs are some activity verbs, in the sense of Vendler (1957), whose combination with *ápa* is very infrequent in the Ṛgveda. Because of the shortage of the occurrences, the meaning of such particle verbs often is unclear. By the few data we possess, it seems that generally such combinations have a fairly idiomatic meaning.

---

[28] Note that in this verse probably, we should hypothesise an ellipsis of the verb *karad* in order to explain the presence of the accusative *śáṃtāti máyas* "beneficent delight". However, the phrase *śáṃtāti máyas karad* by itself does not make much sense, hence we should probably imagine that also the particle *ā́* (which creates another construction with the meaning "bring") has been omitted. This is not so weird as it could seem, since, as noted by SCHNEIDER (2010: 275), the particles *ā́* and *ápa* often co-occur with the root *kṛ* (for an analysis of the interaction of *ápa* with other particles see SCHNEIDER, 2010: 275-278).

6. *Conclusions*

Adopting the Construction Grammar framework and the perspective introduced by Booij (2002) regarding particle verbs in Dutch, I have proposed to consider Vedic particle verbs as constructions, claiming that their essential structure – formed by one slot for the particle and one slot for the verb – is a stored pattern, regular and fully schematic, employed in order to create new verbs.

I have argued that the Vedic particle-verb construction functions as host for other specific partially schematic constructions as many as the number of the particles involved in the phenomenon. Every construction associated to a specific particle is idiomatic to a certain degree because the particle slot is invariably filled by the same element – namely that particle – while the verbal position may be filled by any appropriate verb. As a consequence, each specific particle-verb construction has a central constructional meaning – or family of related meanings – which is regularly present in the particle verbs instantiating that construction. It is this basic sense which is stored in the lexicon and not every single combination of that particle plus a verb. An exception is represented by particle-verb combinations which are no longer productive and possess a fully idiomatic meaning.

As an example of particle-verb construction, I have analysed the *ápa* construction, observing that it is often filled by verbs related to motion events and drawing the following conclusions:

a. The *ápa* basic function is to introduce a path going from a certain landmark to an unspecified and remote place.
b. The general sense of the *ápa* construction is that a certain entity moves away, exits the scene and disappears with respect to a landmark.
c. As the motion event leads to a disappearance through the path introduced by the particle, the *ápa* construction may be analysed as a 'path resultative construction' ('noncausative' if the moving entity is the subject of a motion event; 'causative', if the moving entity is the object of a caused-motion event).
d. The *ápa* construction is formed by a constructional subevent and a verbal subevent. The constructional subevent depends on the particle and is fixed: it is present in each particle verb formed with *ápa*. The verbal subevent depends on the specific verb filling the construction and specifies the manner or the means for achieving the result.

e.   Such path resultative construction extends to bodily process and emission verbs.

f.   Since all *ápa* particle verbs share a similar general sense, not strictly predictable from the single components, we must suppose that the construction as a whole – and not each combination of specific verbs with *ápa* – is stored in the lexicon.

Furthermore, we have noticed that curiously the *ápa* construction may be filled by verbs belonging to other semantic classes, especially by change-of-state verbs. In this case:

g. The *ápa* construction is a resultative construction where the change of location is metaphorically interpreted as a change of state.

References

Ambrosini, R. (1981), *Dal X libro del Ṛg-Veda*, Giardini, Pisa.

Beekes, R. S. P. (1995), *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Bolinger, D. (1971), *The Phrasal Verb in English*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Booij, G. E. (2002), *Separable complex verbs in Dutch: A case of periphrastic word formation*, in Dehé, N., Jackendoff, R., McIntyre, A. and Urban, S. (2002, *eds.*), *Verb-Particle Explorations*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, pp. 21-42.

Booij, G. E. and van Kemenade (2003), *Preverbs: an Introduction*, in Booij, G. E. and Van Marle, J. (2003, *eds.*), *Yearbook of Morphology 2003*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, pp. 1-11.

Bubenik, V. (2007), *On the evolution of the Greek prepositional system from Proto-Indoeuropean local adverbs and adpositions*, in «Papers in English from the 8th International Conference of Greek Linguistics», pp. 41-60.

Croft, W. (2001), *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in a Typological Perspective*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Cuzzolin, P. (1995), *A proposito di* sub vos placo *e della grammaticalizzazione delle adposizioni*, in «Archivio Glottologico Italiano», 80, pp. 122-143.

DEHÉ, N., JACKENDOFF, R., MCINTYRE, A. and URBAN, S. (2002), *Introduction*, in DEHÉ, N., JACKENDOFF, R., MCINTYRE, A. and URBAN, S. (2002, *eds.*), *Verb-Particle Explorations*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, pp. 1-20

DELBRÜCK, B. (1888), *Altindische Syntax*, Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, Halle (Saale).

DIKKEN, M. D. (1995), *Particles. On the syntax of Verb-Particle, Triadic and Causative Constructions*, Longman, London-New York.

DUNKEL, G. E. (1982/1983), πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω, in «Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung», 96, 1, pp. 66-83.

FILLMORE, C. J, KAY, P. and o' CONNOR, M. C. (1988), *Regularity and Idiomaticity in Grammatical Constructions: The Case of Let Alone*, in «Language», 64, 3, pp. 501-538.

GELDNER, K. F. (1951), *Der Rig-Veda: aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche Übersetzt*. 3 vols., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

GOLDBERG, A. E. (1995), *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago-London.

GOLDBERG, A. E. and JACKENDOFF, R. (2004), *The English Resultative as a Family of Constructions*, in «Language», 80, 3, pp. 532-568.

GONDA, J. (1959), *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda*, Mouton and Co., The Hague.

GONDA, J. (1962), *The Aspectual Function of the Rig-Vedic Present and Aorist*, Mouton and Co., 's-Gravenhage.

GRIFFITH, R.T.H. (1889), *The Hymns of the Rig Veda*. 3 vols., E.J. Lazarus and Co., Benares.

HETTRICH, H. (1991), *Syntax und Wortarten der Lokalpartikeln des Rigveda. 1:* ádhi, in «Münchener Studien für Sprachwissenschaft», 52, pp. 27-76.

JACKENDOFF, R. (1990), *Semantic Structures*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

KRISCH, T. (2006), *Rivelex : Rigveda Lexikon, Band 1*: Worter beginnend mit "a" / Words incipient with "a", unter Mitarbeit von Christina Katsikadeli, Stefan Niederreiter, Thomas Kaltenbacher, Grazer vergleichende Arbeiten, Bd. 20. Leykam, Graz.

KÜMMEL, M.J. (2000), *Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen*, Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden.

KURYŁOWICZ, J. (1964), *The inflectional categories of Indo-European*, Winter, Heidelberg.

Lakoff, G. (1987), *Women, fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Langacker, R. (1987), *Foundations of cognitive grammar.* Vol. 1: *Theoretical prerequisites*, Stanford University Press. Standford.

Luraghi, S. (2003), *On the meaning of prepositions and cases: the expression of semantic roles in ancient Greek*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Macdonell, A. A. (1910), *Vedic Grammar*, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg.

Macdonell, A. A. (1916), *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Meli, M. (2004), *Il cammino dei morti*, in Celli, A. (2004, *ed.*), *Ritorni medievali. Europa e Oriente nella reinvenzione moderna dell'Età di mezzo*, Unipress, Padova, pp. 321-403.

Michaelis, Laura A. (2003), *Headless Constructions and Coercion by Construction*, in Francis, E.J. and Michaelis, L.A. (2003, *eds.*), *Mismatch: Form-Function Incongruity and the Architecture of Grammar*, CSLI Publications, Stanford, pp. 259-310.

Michaelis, Laura A. (2004), *Type Shifting in Construction Grammar: An Integrated Approach to Aspectual Coercion*, in «Cognitive Linguistics», 15, pp. 1-67.

Oldenberg, H. (1909), *Ṛgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Bd. 11, 5, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin.

Oldenberg, H. (1912), *Ṛgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Bd. 13, 3, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin.

Pinault, G.-J. (1995), *Le problème du préverbe en indo-européen*, in Rousseau, A. (1995, *ed.*), *Les préverbes dans les langues d'Europe. Introduction à l'étude de la préverbation*, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, Lille, pp. 35-59.

Renou, L. (1933), *La séparation du préverbe et du verbe en védique*, in «Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris», 34, pp. 49-96.

Renou, L. (1935), *Grammaire sanscrite*, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris.

RENOU, L. (1956), *Préposition et préverbe dans le Ṛgveda*, in RENOU, L. (1956, *ed.*), *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*. Vol. 2, Paris, pp. 113-127.

RENOU, L. (1964), *Études védiques et Pāṇinéennes*. Vol. 13, E. de Boccard, Paris.

RENOU, L. (1966), *Études védiques et Pāṇinéennes*. Vol. 15, E. de Boccard, Paris.

SCHNAUS, S. (2006), *Die Dialoglieder im altindischen Rigveda: Kommentar unter besonderer Berücksichtigung textlinguistischer Kriterien*, Schriftenreihe Philologia, Bd. 116, Verlag Dr Kovač, Hamburg.

SCHNEIDER, C. (2010), *Lokalpartikel im Ṛgveda (Folge 13): ápa*, in «Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik», 27, pp. 257-292.

SVENONIUS, P. (1996), *The Verb-Particle alternations in Scandinavian Languages*, Ms. University of Tromsø, Tromsø.

TALMY, L. (1975), *Semantics and syntax of motion*, in KIMBALL, J. (1975, *ed.*), *Syntax and Semantics*, *Vol. 4*, Academic Press, New York, pp. 181-238.

TENNY, C. (1994), *Aspectual Roles and the Syntax-Semantics Interface*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.

TOIVONEN, I. (2002), *Swedish particles and syntactic projection*, in DEHÉ, N., JACKENDOFF, R., MCINTYRE, A. and URBAN, S. (2002, *eds.*), *Verb-Particle Explorations*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, pp. 191-210.

VENDLER, Z. (1957), *Verbs and times*, in «The Philosophical Review», 66, 2, pp. 143-160.

WACKERNAGEL, J. (1928), *Vorlesungen über Syntax: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch*. Vol. 2, Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel.

WATKINS, C. (1964), *Preliminaries to the reconstruction of Indo-European sentence structure*, in LUNT, H. G. (1964, *ed.*), *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Linguists*, Mouton and Co., The Hague, pp. 1035-1045.

WHITNEY, W.D. (1885), *The Roots, Verb-Forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language*, Breitkopf und Härtel, Leipzig.

WHITNEY, W. D. (1950 [1889[1]]), *Sanskrit Grammar: Including Both the Classical Language, and the Older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Dictionaries

Böhtlingk, O. and Roth, R. (1855-1875), *Grosses Petersburger Wörterbuch.* 7 vols., St. Petersburg.

Grassmann, H. (1873), *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig.

Monier-Williams, M. (1899). *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Serena Danesi
Dept. of Linguistic, Literary & Aesthetic Studies
University of Bergen
PO Box 7805
NO-5020 Bergen (Norway)
Serena.Danesi@lle.uib.no