Vedic, along with other early IE languages, operated a double system of coordination, whereby coordinate structures fall within two types: (A) one in which the coordinator ($\&^0$) is placed in the medial, head-initial (non-dislocated) surface position (e.g., the configurational status of *utá*); (B) in another type, the coordinator (e.g., *ca*, *vā*, *tu*) is placed in a non-medial and dislocated surface position, as (1) succinctly and clearly shows.

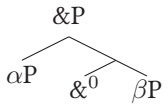
(1) [*yásmin* *víśvāś* *carṣanáya* UTÁ [*cyautnā́* *jráyāṅsi* CA]^{B}]^{A}
upon.whom.M all men and.$\&^0$ achievements.PL.NOM regions.N.PL.NOM and.$\&^0$

'He upon whom all men depend [AND^{A}], all regions, [AND^{B}] all achievements, [he takes pleasure in our wealthy chiefs.]' (*Ṛgveda*, 8.2.33^{ab})

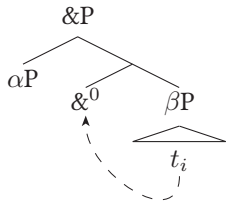
As Klein (1985*a*, 88) observes, *ca* in *Ṛgveda* normally functions as an inner coordinator signalling tighter nexus between shorter units, while *utá* serves as an outer, higher level concatenator conjoining longer stretches of discourse.

A Kaynean approach to phrase structure allows us to view the differential surface placements of the coordinator in the coordinate allosentences (*utá*/*ca* as 1) as underlyingly occupying a single position and as such deriving from different featural makeup of the two kinds of coordinating heads. Assuming a version of antisymmetry (Kayne 1994; Biberauer et al. 2010), whereby all head-non-initial configurations are derived through movement, and a relatively traditional syntactic template for coordination (Kayne 1994; Zhang 2010), we may posit that one $\&^0$ (*-ca*, *-vā*, *-tu*) triggers (head) movement of, and cliticises onto, its complement/internal coordinand (2b), while the other (*utá*) does not (2a).

(2) a. MEDIAL configuration (*utá*)



b. NON-MEDIAL configuration (*ca/vā/tu*)



Biberauer et al. (2010, 2) note that the more archaic Indo-European languages show variation in head-complement orders across categories, having both head-complement and complement-head orders in different categories. Sanskrit word order is also disharmonic: although it shows a predominantly verb-final configuration, clause-level elements, such as complementisers, are head-initial. Disharmonic orders, such as the one in (3∼4) result when some complements, and/or elements contained in those complements, undergo movement and others do not. (Biberauer et al., 2010, 63) Given the predominantly SOV configuration, it may be assumed that verbs in Sanskrit carry a movement-triggering feature ([μ]), which causes its objects to undergo movement. Complementisers, on the other, do not carry [μ], hence its complements remain *in situ*, as generalised in (5).

(3) *yad* *evāpaḥ* *praṇayati*
why/that.C PART-water.ACC bring.3.SG.ACT
'[The reason why/] as he brings water.'
(*Śathapathabrahmaṇa*, 1.1.1.14.1)

(4) $\left[_{\text{CP}}\ \text{C}\ \ldots\ \text{NP}_i\ \ \text{V}^0_{[\mu]}\ \ [\ \langle\text{NP}_i\rangle^{\text{OBJ}}]\ \right]$

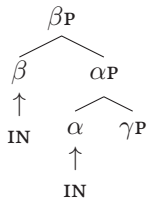
(5)

	CLAUSAL DOMAIN=*category* C {C}	SUBCLAUSAL DOMAIN=*categories below* C {T, V, N, A}
INITIAL	+	
FINAL/NON-INITIAL		+

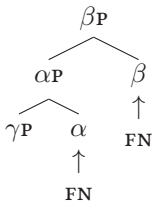
Assuming a feature inheritance in coordination, whereby a coordinator inherits the (categorial, formal, etc.) features of its coordinand(s), the differences in linearisation of coordinate complexes in Vedic can therefore be analysed as resulting from different c-selectional properties of two different &^{0}s: *utá*-type &^{0}s c-select for (head-initial) clausal elements, while *ca*-type &^{0}s c-select for (head-final) sub-clausal elements, as per (5).[1] This finding also invalidates the phonological/prosodic accounts of coordinate linearisation and places this phenomenon in narrow syntax: since the linear position of non-medial coordinators (*ca/vā/tu*) is sensitive to categories they coordinate, c-selection is clearly at work and a phonological account of coordination (Hale 1987, *et seq.*) cannot be maintained. Another argument in favour of a syntactic analysis of (the double system of) coordination in Vedic comes from the syntactic constraints that apply to coordinate complexes.

The observation that the head-final phrases (generally subclausal elements belonging to categories T, V, N, A, etc.) are coordinated by a head-final (or in complex phrases, head-non-initial/2P) coordinator, and the observation that head initial phrases (generally clausal C-elements) are coordinated by a head-initial &^{0}, is consistent with the prediction of the Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC), which as an invariant syntactic principle rules out the possibility of a head-final (FN) phrase dominating a categorially alike head-initial (IN) phrase (6) in the same extended projection (EP). (See Biberauer et al. 2010, 63, *inter al.*) FOFC thus predicts that higher a X^0 is (in the EP), the likelier the X^0 is to be initial/on the left.[2]

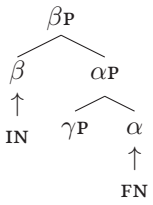
(6) a. ✓



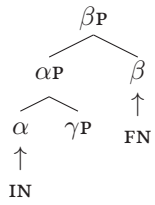
b. ✓



c. ✓



d. χ



The synchronic analysis of coordination in Sanskrit also facilitates an elegant model of the syntactic mechanism of diachronic change, the locus of which lies in the loss of the ([μ]) features (cf. Roberts and Roussou 2003) that manifests in the change of linear configuration from a disharmonic to a harmonically head-initial. The explanation for this change lies with FOFC, which predicts that the change from a head-final to a head-initial system must proceed top-down (within an EP). The diachronic competition between the two configurations is resolved with a unified C-like configurational system of coordination.

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[1] See Klein 1985*a*; 1985*b* for statistical and evidentiary support for this fact.

[2] This also explains why final Cs are typologically rarer than OV order.