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In 1976 the International Association of Sanskrit Studies selected it as its Official Organ (then Journal) on the occasion of the 30th International Congress of Human Sciences of Asia and Northern Africa (Mexico City, August 3rd-8th, 1976). It publishes also the report of the World Sanskrit Conferences and the minutes of the meetings of the I.A.S.S. (International Association of Sanskrit Studies). In 1996 it was acknowledged as a “Journal of High Cultural Value” by the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities.

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**A SELECTION OF THE PAPERS PRESENTED AT
THE MEETING OF THE ASSOCIAZIONE ITALIANA
DI STUDI SANSCRITI**

(Rome Sapienza 26th-28th October 2017)

edited by

Raffaele Torella, Marco Franceschini, Tiziana Pontillo,
Cinzia Pieruccini, Antonio Rigopoulos,
Francesco Sferra

Editorial

The *Associazione Italiana di Studi Sanscriti* (AISS) was established in the mid-1970s, founded by Oscar Botto, as the national counterpart of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies (IASS) founded in Paris in 1973. The first conference of the AISS was held in Turin on October 17, 1980, and from then onwards its meetings have been held fairly regularly every two years, each time at a different University where Sanskrit and South Asian studies are taught. The AISS has painstakingly published the proceedings of the conferences as well as summaries of the activities and research projects carried on in the main Italian Universities, thus documenting the developments of Sanskrit and South Asian studies in the last forty years. Recently, an official website of the AISS has been created which offers information on the activities of the *Associazione* and the principal Indological events taking place in Italy as well as abroad:

<http://www.associazioneitalianadistudisanscriti.org>.

The most recent conference of the AISS was held at the University of Rome Sapienza on October 26th-28th, and saw the participation of numerous Italian scholars working at Italian and foreign Universities, along with the participation of a few invited scholars from the Jagiellonian University of Cracow. The first day and part of the second were devoted to the presentation and brief discussion of thirteen papers freely investigating a wide variety of Indological topics. In the final seminar, titled “India and its encounter with the other” fourteen papers were presented and discussed. The articles comprised in this volume were selected by the AISS Board: R. Torella (President), M. Franceschini, T. Pontillo, C. Pieruccini, A. Rigopoulos, F. Sferra, and submitted to the standard process of double-blind peer review.

Raffaele Torella

MASSIMO VAI

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT VEDIC SUBORDINATION

In a famous article in KZ 33 (1895), Eduard Hermann wondered whether there could be subordinate clauses in Indo-European. His argument is especially based in searching for features which possibly distinguished main clauses from subordinate ones in various Indo-European languages. Finally, Hermann 1895, 504 claims that no features existed in Indo-European to clearly distinguish main clauses from subordinate ones. For instance, the Vedic accent (*udātta* tone) which characterizes all the verbs in subordinate clauses, should have arisen where it was not yet a subordination mark, but in some cases it was only a marker that distinguished between verbs in the context of contrast. This fact can still be seen in Vedic in several examples:

MS 2.5.1

sóma	evā_smai	réto	dádhati
Soma-NOM	PTC_to-him-CL	seed-ACC	√dhā-3SG
pūṣā	paśūn	prájanayati	
Pūṣan-NOM	creatures-ACC	PREV-√jan-CS3SG	

“Soma supplies him with seed, (whereas) Pūṣan completes creation”

In this case, the verb of the first clause **dádhati** is accented, although it does not occur in a subordinate clause: the accent is present due to the contrast with the verb **prájanayati** in the second clause, accented on the preverb, but not on the verb, as is usual for main clauses.

According to Hermann, the position of the verb in the clause also does not play a crucial part in distinguishing main from subordinate clauses. This was because, according to the rule pinpointed by Delbrück 1878, the verb moves towards the beginning of the sentence from its normal position at the end of the sentence, in cases where it receives a particular “emphasis” (see Vai 2016).

However, as regards the existence of relative pronouns (and relative clauses) in Indo-European, Hermann (1912: 341) seems to take an opposing view to what was expressed in Hermann (1895: 492), as Bonfante (1930: 4) also pointed out.

A century after Hermann 1895, Kiparsky 1995 asks the same question:

On the evidence of Vedic, Greek, and Hittite, the Indo-European proto-language had two left-peripheral operator positions corresponding to those in Hale (1987) [...] However, it lacked the category of complementizer and had no syntactically embedded sentences. Finite subordinate clauses, including relative clauses and sentential complements, were syntactically adjoined to the main clause, exhibiting “main-clause properties”, such as topicalization of constituents to clause-initial position.

However, this last approach has been superseded by Rizzi’s *Left Periphery Theory*,¹ according to which topic and focus (and related projections) are no longer considered as specific to main clauses alone.

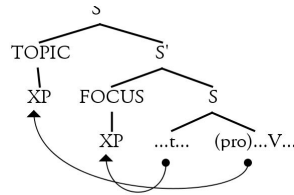
Kiparsky 1995, 141 adds these remarks:

In most daughter languages, including those of the Germanic family, subordinate clauses became syntactically embedded, taking up argument or modifier positions within the main clause, losing their main-clause properties and becoming headed by C° [...] *Id.Ib.*, 153:

¹ Rizzi 1997.

As in Germanic, Indo-European had two left-peripheral operator positions. As in Germanic, the inner of these positions hosted focal elements, in particular *wh*-phrases (relative and interrogative) and other focused elements, such as demonstratives [...] The key difference is that there were no complementizers, and therefore no CP, and no embedding.

This is the scheme Kiparsky proposed to illustrate his hypothesis:



Vedic clauses introduced by yád.

Vedic clauses introduced by *yád* (morphologically identical to relative pronoun neuter) correspond semantically to propositions of several functions. However, differently from the homophone pronoun *yád*, this kind of *yád* does not take the place of an argument of the clause in which it occurs, as instead happens in the following example:

RV 1.179.3

ná	mṛṣā	śrāntám	yád	ávanti	devā
NEG	vain	labor-NOM	REL-ACC	√av-3PL	gods-NOM

“Not in vain is the labor that the gods help”.

In this case, in fact, *yád* is co-referential to the subject *śrāntám*, but has the function of the object of *ávanti*. However, in cases when *yád* introduces the sentences, this element is not an argument of the proposition. This also happens in Italian where (*il fatto*) *che* (lit.: “the fact that”) can introduce sentences

in which the arguments of the verbs are already completely saturated, e.g.:

il fatto che Gianni ha mangiato la pizza mi rallegra.
Lit.: “the fact that Gianni ate the pizza makes me happy”.

As compared to:

il fatto che Gianni mi ha raccontato mi rallegra.
Lit.: “the fact that Gianni told me makes me happy”.

In Vedic too we can find cases analogous to the first, in which what formally appears as the neuter of the relative *ya-* is not the subject of the verb:

RV 1.164.23

yád	gāyatré	ádhi	gāyatrám	āhitam
yád	gāyatrī-line-LOC	PREV ²	gāyatrī-hymn-NOM	PREV-√dhā-P.P.
traīṣṭubhād	vā	traīṣṭubham	nirátakṣata	
triṣṭubh-line-ABL	CJ-CL	triṣṭubh-line-NOM	PREV-√takṣ-IMPF3SG.ATM	
yád	vā	jágaj	jáगत्य	āhitam
yád	CJ-CL	jagatī-line-NOM	jagatī-hymn-LOC	PREV-√dhā-P.P. foot-NOM
yá	ít	tád	vidús	té
REL-NOM.PL	PTC	DEM-N.SG	√vid-PF3PL	DEM-NOM.PL
			immortality-ACC	√amś-PF3PL

“(The fact) that the *gāyatrī* line is based upon a *gāyatrī* hymn or that a *triṣṭubh* line was fashioned out of a *triṣṭubh* hymn, or that the *jagatī* line is based on the *jagatī* hymn, only those who know this have reached immortality”.

In this case, the arguments of *ā-√dhā-* and *nis-√takṣ-* are the verses *gayatrī*, *tristubh*, *jagatī* and the corresponding hymns composed in these metres: in this case *yád* is not an argument of the sentence, but introduces the propositions whose content is resumed with *tád* in the main clause.

To sum up: in these cases, *yád* is not an argument of the proposition which it introduces: *yád* seems to behave as an introducer of particular types of sentences which Hettrich 1988, 395, on the basis of Delbrück 1900, 324, classifies as

² For the notion of “preverb”, see Booij-van Kemenade 2003.

Explikativsätze of temporal, conditional, causal, final, concessive and explanatory value.

As seen in the first examples, these sentences may depend on a noun, for which they provide an explanation:

RV 1.94.14

tát te bhadrám yát sámiddhaḥ své dáme
 this of-you-CL.benefit *yád* PREV-√idh-P.P.own-LOC house-LOC
 sómāhuto járase mṛṛayáttamaḥ
 sóma-ā-√hu-P.P. √**h₁ger*³-2SG.ATM most-merciful-NOM
 “This is your benefit, that, kindled in your own house and bepourd
 with soma, you remain wakeful as the most merciful”.

According to Delbrück 1900, 324, this value of *yád* has developed from temporal sentences, therefore: “this is your grace (/ benefit / gift), when ...”.

Instead, according to Chantraine (1953: 288) “Les propositions déclaratives sont issues de propositions complétives de cause”. In any case, they are introduced by the neuter *ō* < **H₁od* in Greek too, where *ō* is formally identical to Vedic *yád*.⁴ In general, Delbrück’s opinion⁵ is that “*yád* erscheint bereits im RV als fertige Conjunction, so dass wir ihre Entwicklung aus dem Neutrum des Relativums in dem überlieferten Sanskrit nicht mehr verfolgen können”.⁶

These are other cases where *yád* has an explanatory value:

RV 2.13.11

supravācanām táva vīra vīryam
 good-to-proclaim-NOM your hero-VOC heroism-NOM
yád ékena krátunā vindáse vásu
yád one-STRUM power-STRUM √vid-2SG.ATM good-ACC
 “Your heroism, o hero, is good to proclaim: that with your power
 alone you take possession of goods”.

³ LIV² p. 245; EWAIA p. 574.

⁴ Beekes (2010: 1117).

⁵ Delbrück (1888: 572).

⁶ “*yád* already appears as a complete conjunction in RV, so that we can no longer follow its development from the neuter of the relative pronoun in Sanskrit that has been handed down”.

RV 3.33.7

pravācyam śaśvadhā vīryam tād
 to-be-praised-NOM ever-anew heroic-act-NOM that-NOM
 índrasya kárma yád áhiṃ vivṛścát /
 Indra-GEN deed yád serpent-ACC PREV-√vraśc-INJ3SG
 “This act of heroism is to be proclaimed ever anew, the deed of Indra
 when he hewed apart the serpent”.

In general, these clauses are propositions that can have different values, for example, they can be subjects:

RV 1.93.4

ágniṣomā cēti tād vīryam vām
 Agni-and-Soma-VOC √cit-AOR.PASS-3SG this heroic-deed of-you-two-CL
 yád ámuṣṇītam avasám paṇiṃ gāḥ
 yád √muṣ-IMPF2DU food niggard-ACC cows-ACC
 “Agni and Soma, this heroic deed of you two has become conspicuous, that
 you two stole the food from the niggard, the cows”.

Or these propositions may have the value of an object, *e.g.*:

RV 1.131.4

vidúṣ te asyá vīryasya pūravaḥ
 √vid-PF3PL of-you-CL DEM-GEN deed-GEN Pūru-NOM.PL
 pūro yád indra śāradīr avātiraḥ
 castles-ACC yád Indra-VOC autumnal-ACC PREV-√tī-IMP2SG
 sāsahānó avātiraḥ
 √sah-PT.PF.ATM.NOM PREV-√tī-IMP2SG
 “The Pūrus know of this deed of yours, o Indra, that you brought
 down the autumnal strongholds, being victorious you brought (them)
 down”.

Here the arguments that saturate the verb *ava-√tī-* are: the agent of 2SG (*i.e.*, Indra) and the patient *pur-* “stronghold”; in any case, although *yád* is not the subject of the sentence, it is explanatory with respect to *vīryasya*.

The proposition introduced by *yád* can also have adverbial value, *e.g.*:

RV 1.158.2

kó	vāṃ	dā́sat	sumatáye	cid ⁷	asyaí
who-NOM	you-two-CL	√dās-INJ3SG	favor-DAT	PTC	DEM-DAT
vásū	yád dhéthe	námasā	padé	góḥ	
Vasu-VOC.DU	yád √dhā-SUBJ.AOR.2DU.ATM	homage-STRUM	place-LOC	cow-GEN	

“Who will serve you two for this very favor, when, Vasus, by (his) homage you two will take your place in the place of the cow?”

The explanatory proposition can appear without a nominal head in the main clause: in this case, only a demonstrative pronoun occurs in the main clause, indicating the syntactic function of the explanatory proposition:

RV 5.31.7

tád	ín	nú	te	káranam	dasma	vipra_
this	PTC	now	of-you-CL	deed	wondrous-VOC	poet-VOC
áhiṃ	yád	ghnánn	ójo	átr_ámimīthāḥ /		
serpent-ACC	yád	√han-PT.PR.NOM	strength	there_√mā-IMPF2SG		

“Just this now is your deed, wondrous poet: that smashing the serpent, you measured your strength there”.

Here the cataphoric *tád* in the main clause indicates that the explanatory proposition has the value of a subject.

Sentences in Greek introduced by *ὅ* may also contain a cataphoric *τό/τά* in the main clause:

II.1.120

λεῦσσετε γὰρ **τό** γε πάντες **ὅ** μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλῃ.
 “For you all see this, (**Hiod*) that my prize goes elsewhere”.

II.19.421

εἶ νυ **τὸ** οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς **ὅ** μοι μόνος ἐνθάδ’ ὀλέσθαι

⁷ Lühr (2016: 284-5): “The accentless and thus unstressed focus particle *cid* ‘even’ is a scalar focus particle assigning to its domain an extreme position on a scale formed by its contextually relevant alternatives”.

“I well know this even of myself, (**Hiod*) that it is my fate to perish here”.

Il. 9.493

τῷ φρονέων ὄ μοι οὐ τι θεοὶ γόνον ἐξετέλειον

“Thinking this, (**Hiod*) that the gods did not grant me a son”.

However, different authors have interpreted the same facts in various ways. Thus, according to Speyer 1896, 87: “Der *yad*-Satz ist ein Inhaltssatz [...] Dieser Typus ist ved. und skt”.

Speyer quotes some Vedic examples, *e.g.*:

RV 8.62.8

gṛṇé	tád	indra	te	śáva	upamám	devátātaye
√gṛ-1SG.ATM	that	Indra-VOC	of-you-CL	strength	utmost	godhead-DAT
yád	dhámsi	vṛtrám	ójasā		śacīpate	
yád	√han-2SG	Vṛtra-ACC	might-STRUM		lord-of-might-VOC	

“I praise that utmost strength of yours, Indra, for the divine assembly, that you smash Vṛtra with your might, o lord of might”.

Speyer observes that the demonstrative in the main clause is often lacking with verbs of knowing, thinking, believing, etc., with which *yád* introduces an object clause, *e.g.*:

Ch. Up. 4.10.5

vijānāmy	aham	yat	prāṇo	brahma			
PREV-√jñā-1SG	I	yád	life-NOM	<i>Brahman</i>			
kaṃ	ca	tu	khaṃ	ca	na	vijānāmi	iti
ka	CJ-CL	PTC	kha	CJ-CL	NEG	PREV-√jñā-1SG	íti

“I understand that Brahman is life. But I do not understand [that Brahman is] *ka* and *kha*”.⁸

Kaṭha Up. 1.1.22

devair	atr	āpi	vicikitsitam	kila		
gods-STRUM	here	even	vi-√cit-DES.PPP	PTC		
tvaṃ	ca	mṛtyo	yan	na	sujñeyam	āttha
you	CJ-CL	death-VOC	yád	NEG	easy-to-understand	√ah-PF2SG

⁸ Radhakrishnan (1994: 413): “I understand that life is Brahman. But joy and ether I do not understand”.

“Even the gods had doubt, indeed, as to this, and thou, O Death, sayest that it is not easy to understand”.⁹

Contrary to Delbrück and Speyer, Haudry 2012, 22-23, quoting the last two examples, claims: “La proposition complétive conjonctive régime d’un verbe de ce genre est totalement inconnue en védique, y compris dans la prose, et n’apparaît pas avant les *Upaniṣad*”. Moreover, Davison 2009b: 286 argues that the use of the relative form *joo* as a complementizer is an innovation of Neo-Indo-Aryan (see below). However, as we have already seen in the above-mentioned cases of *yād*, this does not seem to be such a late innovation.

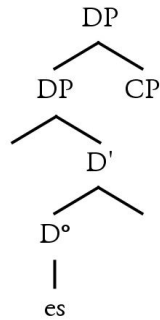
It may be possible that the occurrence of the correlate demonstrative pronoun makes Rigvedic completive sentences look less prototypical than other subordinate clauses. However, in this case, the problem should also arise for some modern Indo-European languages which use cataphoric pronouns co-indexed with the subordinate clauses, *e.g.*:¹⁰

weil Peter **es** bedauert, **dass** er krank ist

Various analyses have been proposed for these sentences, among which:

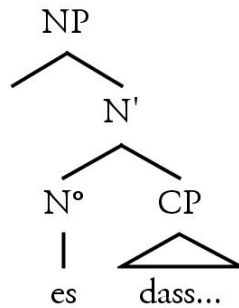
⁹ Radhakrishnan (1994: 604).

¹⁰ Sudhoff (2016: 23-24).

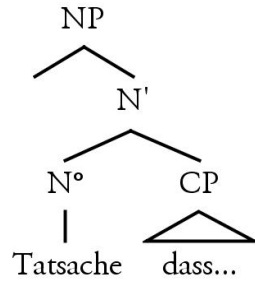


According to this analysis, DP is the place of adjunction of the subordinate clause. However, according to Sudhoff (2016: 27), this analysis does not consider the fact that the subordinate clause in this representation is an adjunct, rather than an argument of the sentence.

Thus, Müller's analysis¹¹ - adapted by Sudhoff (2016: 28) - would be preferable:



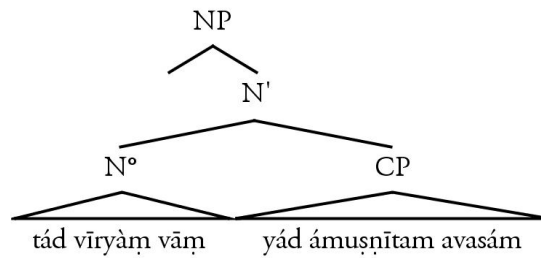
¹¹ Müller (1995: 231).



In this analysis, the sentence introduced by *dass* reverts to being a possible argument of the superordinate sentence. It is thus no longer an adjunct, but a complement of a nominal head – the argument of the proposition – which houses the element *es*.

The same analysis could also be applied to the sentences introduced by *yád* in Vedic and *ὅ* in Greek: these sentences are complements of the arguments *tád*, *τό* which are contained in the superordinate clause, *e.g.*:

RV 1.93.4



J- complementizers in Middle Indo-Aryan.

The reluctance to attribute true subordinate clauses to Old Indian also continued in successive phases of Indo-Aryan. For instance, Davison 2009b: 286 starts from the assumption: “As classical Sanskrit continued to be used as a literary language for many centuries, and there are no known texts surviving from the intermediate period between Middle Indic and the early modern language, it is very hard to define a chronology before the seventeenth century”. Thus, according to Davison, the first documentation useful for this purpose is a text in Braj Bhasha: “One of the earliest modern texts from a variety of Hindi, Braj Bhasha, show two changes. One is that a relative form *joo* is used as a complementizer introducing a complement clause”:¹²

so	tānasena-nē	kahī	[jo	[jīnanē	yaha	kīrtana
this	Tansen-ERG	say-PF	that	rel-ERG	this	hymn
kiyau	hai,]	so	braja	mē	rahata	hai]
do-PF	is	that	Braj	in	stay-IMPF	is

“Tansen said that the one who made this hymn lives in Braj”.

Davison quotes this example to show the presence of the complementizer *jo*, and, moreover, that the placement of the relative clause introduced by *jīnanē* follows the complementizer. This shows that the relative clause is added to TP, hence below CP: “I take this example to mean that Braj Bhasha of this period had syntactic subordination, with the relative *joo* reanalysed as a lexical non-relative complementizer [...] This trend continues with the borrowing of Persian *ke/ki* as a lexical complementizer”.

However, at least the presence of the complementizer *jo* can already be traced back to apabhramśa which, according to Chatterji (1986: 87) and Sen (1973: 11; 25),¹³ is closely related to the Neo-Indo-Aryan languages.

In Hemacandra’s grammar¹⁴ we find *e.g.*:

¹² Davison (2009b: 287). The example is quoted from Snell (1991: 71). I follow Davison’s analysis, but use Snell’s transliteration.

¹³ See also Nara (1979: 2-3).

¹⁴ Cardona-Jain (2003: 211).

Hc 351, 1¹⁵

bhallā	huā	ju	māriā	bahiṇi	mahārā	kantu
samyag	bhūtaṃ	yan	mārito	he bhaginy	asmākam	kāntaḥ
properly	was	<i>yād</i>	was-killed	o sister	our	beloved

lajjejjantu		vayaṃsyahu
alajjishyata	vayasyābhyo	vayasyānām vā
would-be-ashamed		with-friends

jai	bhaggā	gharu	entu
yadi	bhagno	ham	âgamishyat
If	defeated	home	would-come

“It was well, o sister, that my beloved was killed. He would be ashamed in the presence of my friends, if he had returned home defeated”.

Hc 418, 2¹⁶

kantu	ju	sīhaho	uvamiai	taṃ	mahu	kaṇḍiu	māṇu
kānto	yat	siṃhasyo	pamīyate	tan	mama	khaṇḍito	mānaḥ
beloved	<i>yād</i>	to-lion	is-compared	for-this	of-me	is-broken	pride

sīhu	nirakkhaya	gaya	haṇai	piu	paya-rakkha-samāṇu
siṃho	arakṣakān	gajān	hanti	priyaḥ	padarakṣān samānam
lion	unguarded	elephants	kills	lover	bodyguards together

“(The fact) (*yad*) that my beloved is compared to a lion, that (*tad*) puts down my pride: for a lion kills unguarded elephants, my lover (kills them) along with bodyguards”.

In both cases the Sanskrit translation of apabhraṃśa *ju* is *yad*, therefore a neuter, which in this context should only be a complementizer with an explanatory value “(the fact) that”. See also Pischel (1981: 356): “§427. The relative pronoun *ja-* [...]”

¹⁵ Hc 351, 1 = Vaidya (1954: 284); Pischel (1877: 157; 1880: 188): “Es ist gut, o schwester, dass mei geliebter getödtet worden ist”. Er würde sich vor der freundinnen schämen, wenn er gebrochen (*i.e.* besiegt) nach hause käme”. Sen (1973: 129): “It was well, O sister, that my husband was killed. He would put it to shame in the presence of my friends, if he had returned home defeated.”

¹⁶ Hc 418, 2 = Vaidya (1954: 256): “*padarakṣaiḥ samam*”; Pischel (1877: 173; 1880: 213-214): “Dass der geliebte mit einen löwen geglichert wird, der stolz (darauf) ist mich zu nichte gemacht”. Der löwe tödtet unbewachte elephanten, der geliebte ebenso die elephantenwärter”. Sen (1973: 137): “It puts down my pride (it ashes me) that my lover is compared to a lion; for a lion kills elephants without watchman, while my lover kills them along with bodyguards.”

In the nom. acc. sing. neut. A[pabhraṁśa] has *ju* too (Hc. 4, 350, 1; 418, 2) [...]”.

A similar use of *jo* is present in Hindi too. Some grammars report a use of the relative *jo* as a conjunction, which is a recessionary use now, but more widespread in Nineteenth Century literature (see e.g. Caracchi 1996, 229). This kind of *jo* may have conditional value (“if”, often in the correlation *jo...to*); a final and consecutive value and it may also correspond to the Italian complementizer *che* (“that”):

acchā	huā	jo	ve	log	cale	gae
good	was	that	they	PLUR	moved	went

“It was good that they went away”.

Coexistence of complementizer and quotative in some Indo-Aryan languages.

In some modern Indo-Aryan languages there is a formal and syntactic distinction between a complementizer to the left of a sentence and a quotative placed on the right. For instance, in Bengali, a complementizer *je* and a quotative *bole* are distributed according to the following scheme (from Bayer 2001):

[[V [*je* S]]
[[S *bole*] V]

Here V is the verb of the main clause and S is the sentence introduced by *je/bole*, see also Thompson 2012: 238-239.

It is clear that the quotative *bole* is a grammaticalized form of the verb “to say”, whereas the origin of *je* is the subject of much discussion.

According to Bloch 1965: 310-312: “Old Sanskrit has two procedures for denoting subordination: 1) the use of the subjunctive, which in this case has no modal value, and becomes just a grammatical tool [...]; 2) The accentuation of the verb [...] Classical Sanskrit and middle Indian have no longer any grammatical process for denoting subordination.

Clauses introduced by the relative *yat* and by the other relative adverbs *yavat*, *yadi*, *yathā*, etc. are formed as if they were independent [...] The meaning of the particles has hardly yet been evolved: even in *yat* which comes the nearest to a true particle, the relative sense is still on the surface; its use after the verbs “to say, believe, know” is not generalized”. In particular, as far as Marathi is concerned, Bloch (1970: 285) claims that: “Only during the modern epoch has been formed a sort of subordinate proposition opening, either with *jem* (cf. Skr. *yat*) “that” following the principal one, or with *kim* “that”. [...] Nowadays *jem* in this usage has gone out of use but it does not necessarily follow that *jem* preceded *kim*. It is probable that the latter conjunction was the model for the other. Whatever the case may be, *kim* in Marathi is probably borrowed from the Hindustani *ki*”. However, no agreement has been reached regarding the origin of *ki*: for instance, according to Meenakshi 1986, *kim* should be traced back to a Middle-Indo-Aryan *kimti*, which itself finally goes back to Old Indian *kim + iti*.

Indirect interrogative sentences introduced by ya-

In Vedic the non-frequent indirect (subordinate) interrogative sentences are introduced by pronouns or adverbs from the theme *ya-*, so it is not always easy to distinguish them from true relative sentences (see Etter 1985, 195).

Delbrück 1888, 569 adopts the following criterion for verbs such as *e.g.* “to say”. He considers interrogative subordinate sentences as being those clauses in which the subject generally does not agree with the demonstrative pronoun of the main clause, or when the demonstrative pronoun is completely lacking.

He thus considers the following as a true relative clause:

RV 1.170.1

kás tád veda yád ádbhutam
 INT-NOM.SG DEM-N √vid-PF3SG ya-N wonder-N
 “who knows what is wonder?”.

Whereas, the following example results as an indirect interrogative sentence:

RV 8.92.18

vidmā hí yás te adrivās
 √vid-pf1pl PTC ya-NOM of-you-CL armed-with-stone-VOC
 tvādattaḥ satya somapāḥ
 by-you-given-NOM true-VOC drinker-of-Soma
 “For we know what of yours was given by you – possessor of the stone, real drinker of soma”.

In some cases the sentence containing ya- depends on the verb *prach-* “to ask”.¹⁷

RV 1.145.2

tám ít prchanti ná simó ví prchati
 him-ACC PTC √prach-3PL NEG himself-NOM PREV √prach-3SG
 svéne_ya dhīro mánasā yád ágrabhīt
 own-STRUM_like clever-NOM mind-STRUM ya-ACC.N √grabh-AOR3SG
 “They ask him, (but) he himself does not ask (in turn), what he has grasped, like a clever man, with his own mind”.

Hettrich 1988, 522 adopts this similar criterion in order to differentiate between relative and indirect interrogative sentences in Latin:

Plautus, *Captivi* 1-2

[*Hos quos videtis stare hic captivos duos*];

†*illi qui astant, hi, stant ambo, non sedent*

“These two captives, whom you see standing here, those who are standing, they are both standing, and are not sitting”.

¹⁷ Etter (1985: 200).

Even though the correlate pronoun is rarely expressed in indirect questions, whenever it is present, it appears as the neutral *id*. This is because it is not just the correlate of a phrase, as in the case of relative clauses, but also of the entire interrogative sentence:

Plautus, *Stichus* 363

Tum tu igitur [qua causa missus es¹⁸ ad portum]i id_i expedi

“So then, you, explain this to me, why you were sent to the port”.

Returning to Vedic sentences and applying this criterion, Hettrich 1988, 524 believes that it is possible to ascribe the indirect interrogative meaning to the following sentence introduced by *ya-*:

KS 7.15 (69.2)

na	hi	tad	veda	yam	ṛtum	abhijāyate
NEG	PTC	this	√vid-PF3SG	ya-ACC	time-ACC	PREV-√jā-3SG
yan		nakṣatram				
ya-ACC		constellation-ACC				

“Because he does not know at what time of the year he will be born, under what constellation”

In fact, in this case, the neuter *tád* is cataphoric with respect to the whole sentence introduced by *ya-*.

Homeric Greek also has some sentences containing a **Hio*-pronoun which can be analyzed as indirect interrogative sentences. In this regard, Schwyzer observes that indirect interrogative sentences may not only be dependent on “to ask”, but also on other verbs, such as “to say” and “to know”.¹⁹ Chantraine 1963, 238 quotes the following example:

¹⁸ See Bennett (1910: 120).

¹⁹ Schwyzer (1950: 631): “Vor indirekten Frage stehen aber nicht nur Verba des Fragens, sondern auch des Sagens (Zeigens) und Wissens, z.B. *ich kann dir sagen* (oder *ich weiss*), wer du bist, weiter des Hörens, Überlegens u.a.; so griech. εἰπεῖν, (οὐκ) εἰδέναί, ἀκούειν (bes. Imper.), αἰσθάνεσθαι, μερμηρίζειν, σκοπεῖν, φροντίζειν u.a. Nach den Verba εἰπεῖν usw. (γνώμεναι, ἰδεῖν, τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν, δῆλον) stehen auch εἰ, ἕάν, ἦν, εἶτε - εἶτε, ob (oder ob)”.

Π. 2.365-366

γνώση ἔπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακὸς ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν
ἦδ' ὅς κ' ἐσθλὸς ἔησι

“You will know then who among your captains is a coward, and who among your men, and who too is brave”.

Davison (2009b: 281) claims that: “Sanskrit has several ways of marking sentential complements: simple parataxis of the complement clause, prefixation or suffixation of the quotative *iti* ‘thus’, or else the interrogative complement is put in relative form, with an interrogative interpretation [...] So Sanskrit expresses a semantic selection relation, but this selection relation can be expressed syntactically in Vedic Sanskrit only by the very general CP-CP adjunction, sanctioned by the relative form of one of the clauses”. As a result, syntactic subordination should be absent in Sanskrit. In particular, Davison (2009a: 232) claims that: “Interrogative subordinate clauses cannot be marked as interrogative. [...] If a question is in a dependent complement clause, Vedic Sanskrit substitutes a relative *y*-determiner for the *k*-interrogative [...]”.

We also find the relative pronoun in cases of indirect interrogative sentences in Homeric Greek. This use may have been determined by reasons of general semantic ambiguity between relative and indirect interrogative sentences.

Moreover, Viti (2007: 220) interprets the same use as an incipient syntactic change from a non-embedded to an embedded completive clause, since, in her opinion, indirect interrogative clauses are the only subordinates with a completive function that commonly present an embedded structure in the *Rig-Veda*.²⁰

On the other hand, Hock (1982: 44) claims that an indirect question in Vedic may also be introduced by an interrogative pronoun, *e.g.*:

²⁰ Viti (2007: 220): “This syntactic change from a non-embedded completive clause [...] to an embedded completive clause [...] presumably starts from indirect interrogative clauses [...], which are the only subordinates with a completive function that commonly present an embedded structure in the *Rig-Veda*”.

RV 8.33.7

ká īṃ veda suté sácā
 int-NOM him-ACC √vid-PF3SG pressing-LOC together
 pībantaṃ kád váyo dadhe
 √pā-PT.PR.ACC INT-ACC vigor-ACC √dhā-3SG.ATM

Hock: “Who knows of him [...] what strength he puts on”.

Geldner: “Wer kennt ihn beim Soma, wenn er trinkt, welche Stärke er annimmt?”.

But Jamison-Brereton: “Who recognizes him when he drinks when (the soma) is pressed? What vigor has he assumed?”

In this case, the indirect interrogative should be contained in a direct interrogative clause. However, the clause *kád váyo dadhe* cannot be analyzed as a subordinate clause, because the verb *dadhe* is unaccented. Etter 1985, 195 believes that in these cases there may be a semantic relation between the sentences of the text, which, however, is not formally expressed.

Interrogative sentences introduced by prach + iti, cfr. Delbrück (1900: 272).

The verb *prach-* “to ask” can also select an interrogative sentence containing the quotative *īti*:

RV 10.34.6

sabhám eti kitaváh pṛchámāno
 gambling-house-ACC √i-3SG gambler-NOM √prach-PT.PR.ATM-NOM
 jeṣyām_īti
 √ji-FUT1SG_QUOT

“The gambler goes to the gambling-house asking himself, “will I win?”

As opposed to Vedic Sanskrit, Davison 2009a: 233 observes that Hindi/Urdu has an available subordination marker (*ki*) that distinguishes interrogative and also other complement types as being syntactically distinct from main clauses.

Benveniste’s idea 1958, 47 suggests a *reductio ad unum* of the previously described cases, according to which **yo-* assumes the role of a definite article: in this way, the sentence introduced by this element assumes the function of a proposition

with the function of a substantive, which could be adapted to both the role of a relative clause and to that of an indirect interrogative sentence.

Questions about minimality.

In order to show the substantial divide between the syntax of Old Indian and Hindi/Urdu, Davison 2009a: 235 uses the analysis of a sentence quoted in Delbrück 1888: 550:

ŚB 4.1.5.4

yát kím ákaraṃ tásmād idám ápadi

Eggeling: “This has come to pass for something or other I have done!”

It should be noticed that, according to Speyer (1896: 87): “*yad* hat ganz die Bedeutung des causalen “weil”. Hier ist *tasmād*, *tena*, in B. auch *etad* correlative”, *e.g.*:

ŚB 4.1.5.7

yán n āvedīṣaṃ tēnā himsiṣaṃ (*yad...tena*)

yád NEG_√vid-AOR.1SG DEM-STRUM_√hims-AOR1SG

Eggeling: “Because I knew thee not, therefore have I offended thee”.

According to Davison 2009a: 233 minimality violations in Hindi/Urdu (and in other languages like English and Italian), including violations of the Complex NP condition, prevent the questioned phrase from being extracted from a relative clause.

In general, minimality concerns the satisfactory formation of chains between displaced elements and their respective traces (or silent copies), *e.g.*:

How did you solve the problem <how>?

but:

*How do you wonder who could solve this problem <how>?

Rizzi formally defined minimality in 1990; 2001:

Y is in a Minimal Configuration (MC) with X if there is no Z such that:

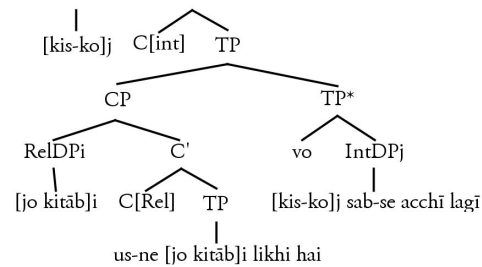
- (i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and
- (ii) Z intervenes between X and Y

Davison 2009a: 233 notes that in Hindi, an interrogative phrase can be extracted from the main clause, but not from the correlative sentence, *e.g.*:

	[[jo	kitab] _i	us-ne	t _i	likhī	hai]	vo
REL	book	him/her-ERG	write-PF-PT	is	that (one)		
	kis-ko	sab-se	acchī	lagī?			
INT-DAT	all-from	good	seemed				

“Who likes best the book [that he/she wrote]?”

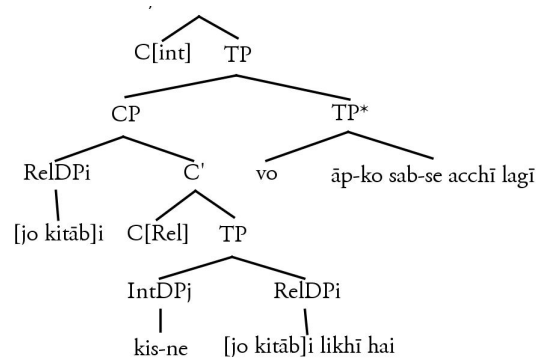
According to Davison 2009a, 234 this sentence is grammatical in Hindi because “the relative DP, *RelDP_i* has a copy in the nearest CP projection, which is typed as a relative clause”. The relative clause *[[jo kitab]_i us-ne t_i likhī hai]* is adjoined to TP*, containing an interrogative *in situ* (*kis-ko*). According to Davison 2009a: 234 “The TP structure is the complement of a C[Int], with a copy of the interrogative phrase, *IntDP_j* in its specifier”, *i.e.*, in the specifier of the interrogative phrase, at LF. “This specifier is the closest such position to the interrogative phrase. This conforms to Rizzi’s (1990) Minimality requirement”, because there is no Z such that: i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and ii) Z intervenes between X and Y. Thus the whole clause is projected as a question, and the restrictive relative is interpreted within the scope of the question. The syntagmatic representation is the following:



On the contrary, in the following sentence, which is ungrammatical in Hindi, both *RelDP_i* and *IntDP_j* originate in the same TP, which is projected as a relative clause:

*[jo kitāb_i kis-ne t_i likhī hai] vo
 REL book int-erg write-PF-PT is that (one)
 āp-ko sab-se acchī lagī?
 You-DAT all-from good seemed
 Davison: “*Who_j did You like best the book [that t_j wrote]?”

The structural representation should be the following:

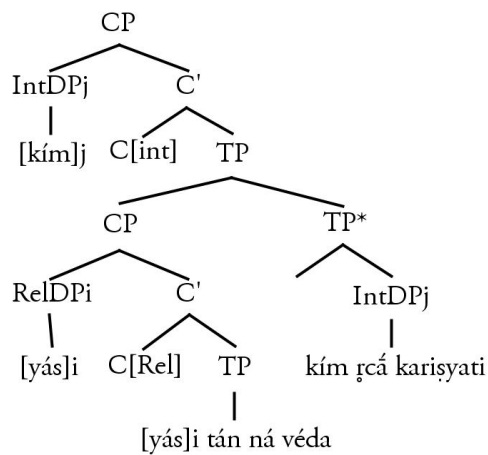


In this ill-formed sentence, both RelDP_i (*jo kitāb*) and IntDP_j (*kis-ne*) originate in the same TP, which is projected as a relative clause. Davison 2009a: 235 observes that: “Nothing is wrong with the relation between the relative specifier and RelDP_i ; this is the closest specifier position. But the interrogative, IntDP_j is copied to a specifier position which is not the closest to it, as the relative specifier with RelDP_i intervenes”.

However, more than one example exists in Vedic that is also grammatical in Hindi, such as the following:

RV 1.164.39

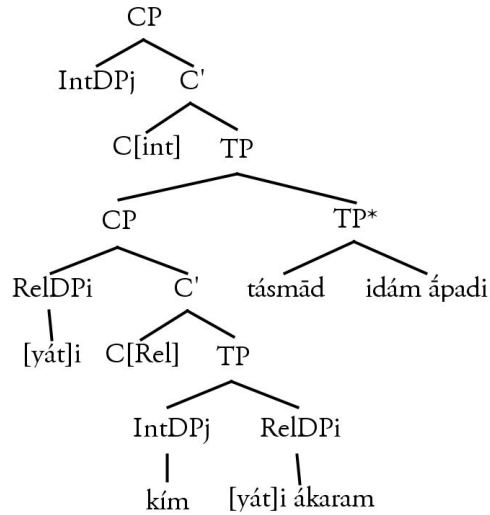
yás tán ná véda kím ṛcā kariṣyati
 REL-NOM.SG DEM-N NEG $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$ -PF3SG INT-N verse-STRUM $\sqrt{\text{kṛ}}$ FUT3SG
 “He who does not know that, what will he accomplish by his verse?”



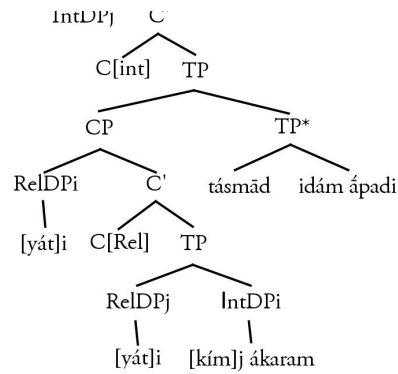
In this case, the specifier to which the relative *yás* moves does not intervene between the interrogative *kím* and its copy in the IntDP .

However, on the basis of the example quoted in Delbrück (1888: 550) (ŚB 4.1.5.4) *yát kím ákaraṃ tásmād idám āpadi*

(lit.: “because I do what?, therefore this happened”), Davison 2009a: 235 argues that unlike Hindi, Sanskrit does not appear to have a minimality contrast, because a relative clause in Sanskrit does not asymmetrically c-command its correlate in TP. If Sanskrit had the same asymmetric adjunction [TP CP TP] as Hindi, we would expect a sentence containing a relative *yád* and an interrogative *kím* in the same subordinate clause to be made ungrammatical by minimality, as shown in the following diagram:

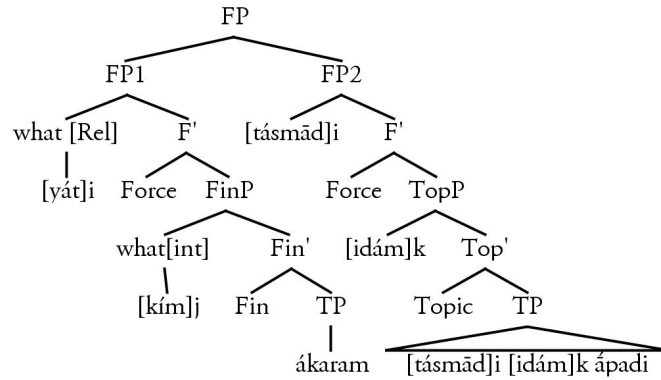


In this ill-formed structure, both RelDP_i (*yád*) and IntDP_j (*kím*) originate in the same TP, which is projected as a relative clause. There is no violation of minimality in the relation between the relative specifier and RelDP_i, because this is the closest specifier position. But the interrogative, IntDP_j is copied (at LF) to a specifier position which is not the closest one to it, since the relative specifier RelDP_i intervenes between the interrogative *kím* and its silent copy. Even if we started from a *yát kím* order in the lower TP, the relative *yád* would intervene between the interrogative *kím* and its silent copy:



In both cases we have: $yát_i \ kím_j \ \dots \ t_i \ t_j$, with a violation of minimality.

In order to separate the operator positions of relatives and questions, Davison resorts to Rizzi's (1997) proposal of *Left Periphery*, according to which a CP projection may be a series of related, but semantically distinct functional projections. In the following diagram (from Davison 2009a: 236), the relative *yád* is placed in ForceP, whereas the interrogative *kím* is in Fin(iteness)P; Top(ic)P and Foc(us)P are projections between ForceP and FinP:



However, Davison 2009a: 236 notes that this diagram also has a minimality violation in FP_1 (the same as in the case of $[TP CP TP]$ structure). There is also a minimality violation in FP_2 , which depends on whether $TopP$ involves operators or not, *i.e.* if *tásmād* and *idám* need to be moved or not, when they are dislocated in the *Left Periphery*, depending on whether they are base-generated *in situ* or not. Finally, this analysis does not take into account that, according to *Relativized Minimality*, the intervening element must be of the “same structural type”: if the *yád* introducing a subordinate clause is a head, there is no minimality violation.

Conclusions

As already claimed by Delbrück 1888, 572, Vedic *yád* already occurs with the value of a subordinating conjunction with the meaning of “(the fact) that”, “when”, “if”, and thus its development cannot be followed starting from the neuter of the relative pronoun. However, it seems that the idea of the lack of a syntactic subordination structure in the Indo-European protolanguage has sometimes also been projected to Vedic and, in general, to Old Indo-Aryan; this leads to the hypothesis that true subordinate clauses were only really created in more recent

phases of Indo-Aryan and through induction from other languages (*e.g.* the borrowing of Persian *ke/ki* as a lexical complementizer, see Davison 2009b: 287).

Co-presence with postponed quotatives has probably contributed to the emergence of this theory, but it is clear that the whole question deserves further consideration, also starting from the data of the Middle-Indian stage and the results of *yád* in the different modern Indo-Aryan languages.

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